

"To speak or not to speak?"¹: Silence and Trauma in Rajinder Singh Bedi's 'Lajwanti' and Sa'adat Hasan Manto's 'Open It'

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Abstract:

This paper explores the problematic of trauma and silence narrated in the two story viz. "Lajwanti" and "Open It." The chief characters of these stories are women who are shown to have been abducted and raped in the violence during the Indian partition. It is in their psycho-social status that the paper finds its thesis where I debate the problems of gender, identity, chastity as a patriarchal bluff and purity as its sob stuff. Tempered with a psychoanalytical treatment of the subject the paper not only presents these harsh realities in its contemporary garb, it also probes the vicissitudes of women's condition during and after partition. The paper also tries to reveal the negativities of a woman's smaller world, the household, where she is deified as a goddess but denied her sexuality, as in 'Lajwanti' when she returns to her home after abduction. On the other hand this essay explores the condition of Sakina in Manto's 'Open It' who suffers at the hands of men from her own community. Above all this is an effort to reveal as many layers as possible that tell of women suffering at men's hand in atypical ways.

Key words: Partition, women, gender, trauma, silence

INTRODUCTION

Though partition of India is one of the worst tragedies that the world has seen in the twentieth century along with the two

world wars and the Jewish Holocaust by the Nazis there is a darker side to it about which the recent generation of historians and critics of partition-literature have written. Louise Harrington of the SOAS University of London says: "In the gaping absence of public memorials or museums dedicated to the Partition of India the narration of this traumatic story is vital to its commemoration. Yet the tragedy of the violent events of 1947, which saw mass displacement, death, abduction and rape, is punctuated by silence."²

And though, while researching for this essay, I came across a dozen articles claiming that most critics and historians forget writing or do not write about personal losses and trauma inflicted on thousands in partition, I would say there is a sizeable amount of criticism on partition-literature that touches such delicate issues like abduction of women, general violence of all sorts against them due to partition. But behind the larger issue of partition as a tragedy, at political and personal levels, there lies a continuum of voices that are extremely complex in their fabric. It is a discourse in purity, chastity, sexuality, honor and above all identity. It is a matter to reckon with as to how and why women were deified as goddesses and sanctified in a mother/wife sanctorum in modern India and especially during and immediately after partition. Was there a hidden agenda of the policy makers of the newly born nation? If no, why did the Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Act 1949 state that conversions done after 1 March 1947 would not be recognized, relegating abducted and/or raped women taken by a man from other community as *persona non grata*. It is evident that such policies reflected how the nation/state considered purity and chastity in women a shield to protect their own biases. Hindu women who were wronged and who were on the other side of border as a result were reclaimed as a matter of state honour and "the recovery of 'their' women, if not land, became a powerful assertion of Hindu manhood." (Menon and Bhasin 116)

One has to realize the complications of a contested status of those human beings who happened to be on the 'wrong side' of gender in the days of partition. Women who were missing should be referred to as 'abducted' or not is a question that is located in nationalist emotions and patriarchal reading of the matter. Although many discussions on the two stories have been done earlier too³, I have taken special care to be just on one of the most sensitive writings, writing on or about partition of India in the postcolonial aftermath. As Krishna Sobti once remarked about partition that it is "difficult to forget but dangerous to remember," (qtd in Jain, Jasbir 218) I wish to explain those dangerous areas between fiction and reality that may inspire many a brow to twitch especially when it comes to realizing the fact that even the nation/state paradigm is marred with the blot of feminizing the issue for communal honor.

Before I proceed into a difficult debate I wish to give a thought to certain questions that I deem important to put forward here. Firstly why at all does anyone need to write on issues mentioned above, I mean that the very process of writing about women's issues is somewhere or the other fraught with the idea of sympathy, thereby undermining the ends it aims to achieve. Secondly if a sound case is made in favour of a positive answer to the first question there arises another question and perhaps more fundamental as to why should one emphasize so much on sex and gender? Thirdly, after all, what comes out of it? I am sure that I am not sure of any answers to the first two questions but the answer to the third question is, to some extent, possible, and it is of consequence. And the answer is that an honest interrogation of the processes involved in the issues of gender and identity constructed by men and lost by women during partition, and to some extent regained by women who investigated the larger issues of personal loss involved in the psycho-social tragedy, is achievable. And with such an investigation we can understand the finer strands that held the destiny of women whose bodies and souls were violated.

I will, therefore, primarily engage with those areas of historiography that have been only recently dealt by critics such as Urvashi Bhatia, Veena Das, Ritu Menon, Kamla Bhasin, etc. As this proceeds to become a part of a 'common minimum narrative' my aim is to draw on the trauma of partition with 'witnessing,' 'remembrance,' 'gender' and 'identity' as tools to unravel the deal that Bedi and Manto have put forward in their stories 'Lajwanti' translated by the author himself and 'Open It' translated by Alok Bhalla. My interrogation into the silence on the part of the women in these stories should not be confused with the silence in the narration of history as discussed by Jil Didur and Urvashi Butalia.³ Voices of such women were lost in the patriarchal hubbub of age-old repressive demands like the maintenance of chastity and sacrifice. As Shoshana Felman says in *What Women Want* that "Sexual difference raises, thus, on the one hand, questions of desire, and on the other hand, question of violence: the truth of difference is at once its power and its violence" (2) Women and their bodies are the sites of power-play and this was a frequent phenomenon among families related to a sexually-victimized woman by the partition mechanism. Still I am not here to forward the larger question as to who should be held responsible for the whole situation, I am, on the other hand, trying to locate the problematic within what we call 'us,' for 'they' and 'them' are not my present concern.

In both the stories there are two things common, one is abduction and rape and the other is silence. Although one wishes to speak but she is silenced by her husband and the other is silenced by trauma inflicted upon her because of nightmarish violence of her mind and body.

Abduction as a gendered violence weaves manifold implications where women are ethicized, raced and then relegated to the status of an object of desire and subject for a psychoanalysis. The present paper aims at unraveling the trauma behind such phenomenon in reality and its remarkable

portrayal in two identical short stories viz. Lajwanti by Rajinder Singh Bedi and 'Open It' (*Khol Do*) by Saadat Hasan Manto. Lajwanti is a story set in colonial India's partition days in a small village Mulla Shakoor where there is a small but ambitious rehabilitating society for 'abducted' women, which carries out daily peaceful processions inspiring the village to accept such women back to their homes and households. Sunder Lal who is although not much eloquent sounds quite credible because his wife whose name is Lajwanti is also abducted and while the procession often chants a local song that uses the word Lajwanti to show how it curls up if touched. Sunder Lal feels nervous every time this name is repeated, although inadvertently as far as his wife's name is concerned. He is embarrassed but doesn't reveal this to others. When he comes to know that his wife has been found, Bedi has cleverly showed, how he escapes revealing his emotions about it. Readers wish to know if he is really happy or like many others, somewhere he too feels that she should have committed suicide or died. He is unable to come to terms with the reality of an abducted woman back to her home after her chastity has been violated. On the other hand there is Sirajuddin who is least bothered about these social constructs when his daughter Sakina is found almost dead near railway tracks in Saadat Hasan Manto's 'Open It.' He is old enough to understand what his daughter might have gone through but he is deliriously happy to find her alive, ironically by a gesture that would fill a man's heart with embarrassment and a sense of utter shame. Manto's and Bedi's stories defy prevalent constructs and throw doors open for the reading of traumatic situation.

PERSPECTIVES

Judith Lewis Herman in his book *Trauma and Recovery* recounts the developments in 'psychoanalytical' problems of women as studied by Jean Martin Charcot a predecessor of

Freud, Breuer, and Janet. Before long it is to be admitted that to tread into such an inquiry "is to come face to face both with human vulnerability in the natural world and with the capacity for evil in the human nature." (Herman 7) In his study of trauma, Herman, in one of its facets takes up the study of hysteria "the archetypal psychological disorder of women." Although, being a partial feminist myself, as one must admit that women can be true feminists, I don't like the phrase "disorder of women," rather it can be rephrased as 'disorder in women.' Well that is not the emphasis of enquiry here, yet I deemed it important to give it a thought in a search like this. Herman describes the progress into the study of hysterics and gives a brief account of how Charcot demonstrated the phenomenon of hysteria in his public lectures, although he credits Charcot to have for the first time given the idea that hysteria was a psychological problem. Herman says that Freud and Janet wanted to surpass Charcot by studying and finding out the causes of hysteria. Freud in collaboration with Joseph Breuer found that hysteria was the result of psychological trauma and this and many other inquiries similar to it led Freud to what he called Psychoanalysis. They understood that it was necessary to talk to the subjects and make a simulation of the trauma that a subject had undergone to heal her. Well in doing so they reached a conclusion that hysteria could be found among "people of the clearest intellect, strongest will, greatest character, and highest critical power." (qtd. in Herman 12). This gives credence to the stances that feminists in the second half of the twentieth century had regarding the physical and emotional strength of women and their claim that gender is not a biological issue but a socio- psychological construct. Ellyn Kaschak rejects Freud's approach as reductionist in her book *Engendered Lives: A New Psychology of Women's Experience* and says:

Freud was accurate in observing that anatomy is destiny, but erred in his explanation, in his level of analysis, which was both phallogentric and reductionist. Destiny is inherent not in biological anatomy but in anatomy gendered and meaningfully contextualized. Anatomy given meaning in our society becomes destiny, for this is the meaning that it is given. One of the most existentially profound and psychologically meaningful issues with which each of us must contend is the arbitrariness of anatomy and its assigned meanings, which then determine every individual's life path to an extraordinary extent. Once assigned, this gender, as the basic psychological organizing principle in the family (along with age) and in larger society (along with race and class), that determines and organizes development and identity. (42)

And I am one with Kaschak as far as Freud's approach to traumatic theory of hysteria is concerned because "he insisted that women imagined and longed for the abusive sexual encounters or which they complained." (Herman 19) I also believe in Herman's statement that "Psychological trauma is an affliction of the powerless" (33) and in doing so I realize that traumatic events not only reduce healthy and soulful bodies to cold and silently pathological scramble of misfortune and marred memory. Memory too, here, is a matter of concern as Herman distinguishes normal memory from the traumatic. He goes on to quote Janet by calling memory as "the action of telling a story" and traumatic memory as silent, or "wordless and static" to quote him. (175)

As Charcot retreated from the world of hypnosis and hysteria, Breuer retreated from the world of women's emotional attachments. The first "talking cure" ended with Breuer's precipitate flight from Anna O. He may have broken off the relationship because his wife resented his intense involvement with the fascinating young woman. Abruptly, he discontinued a course of treatment which had involved prolonged, almost daily meetings with his patient over a period of two years. The

sudden termination provoked a crisis not only for the patient, who had to be hospitalized, but apparently also for the doctor, who was appalled at the realization that his patient had become passionately attached to him .He left his final session with Anna O in a “cold sweat.”

Another doctor in cold sweat, although this was in last quarter of the 19th century, almost 70 years before Manto's character who happens to be a doctor is in cold sweat for similar reasons. Such a symptomatic manifestation of shock is an alternative to silence, whether it is found in these real and fictional doctors or in the real and fictional subjects like Anna and Sakina respectively. (The rhyme in the pronunciation of these two names is purely co-incidental)

REMEMBRANCE AND SILENCE IN 'LAJWANTI'

It is although a matter of choice to read a text with a particular perspective, Lajwanti offers multiple choices of responses where it can be approached at different point of entries. Lajwanti's silence, which is the matter at hand, resonates with all such discourses in suppression. Lajwanti the character's absence from most of the length of the story is remarkable and that makes her short and silent presence felt strongly. She lingers in the agonized subconscious of Sunder Lal. The story, on the one hand, echoes the loss of a particular person, if looked at psychoanalytically and on the other it ekes out a narrative of distress of those who are displaced by forces of communal hatred and violence. This violence is also a result of an utter failure in realizing the pitilessness sprung out of lust and despicable immorality.

Sunder Lal is not a result of an author's imagination, he dwells within spaces of an uneasy adjustment with a strange situation that calls to duty a soul reverberating with remorse without retribution, a situation akin to the near and dear ones of the 75000 women 'abducted' during and as a result of

partition. (Butalia: 4) Instead of Lajwanti it is Sunder Lal who seems to curl up when he has to do what he preaches others, to rehabilitate "unattached women" (Butalia 279) in their hearts.

As the story goes on when Miss Mridula Sarabhai arranges for the exchange of these unfortunate women, there are some in the village Mulla Shakoor who refuse to recognize some of their women and think as to why not those women committed suicide. These women, who could not die or did not commit suicide, had to suffer the loss of their own identities and "the possibility of betrayal coded in their everyday relations." (Das 72) Their communities indulged in what Eyerman calls 'cultural trauma.' He defines it and says:

As opposed to psychological or physical trauma, which involves a wound and the experience of great emotional anguish by an individual, cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion. In this sense, the trauma need not necessarily be felt by everyone in the community or experienced directly by any or all. (2)

Sunder Lal, the primary witness to this cultural trauma, accepts his woman back but at heart he is more like those who refuse to do so, the only difference is that he cannot speak it out as he is the precursor of the local rehabilitation campaign. In doing so he becomes the agent of trauma and its implications manifested in Lajwanti's silence. R. K. Kaul in a book review says:

"Lajwanti" stands out as a revelation of the treachery in the heart of man. Its protagonist campaigns for the rehabilitation of abducted women but when confronted with his own wife he is embarrassed rather than relieved by her return. (Hashmi et al 306)

Lajwanti raises questions against social norms of a society surrounded by the myth-kitty. J. Sutherland says "I consider

Bedi to be an anomaly in Urdu letters because he uses Hindu imagery and symbolism even though he writes in a language that has increasingly become the province of South Asian Muslims." (Sutherland: 120) Through the creation of a neolithically silent woman Bedi plugs those holes that help maintain an uneasy and unlivable space in the history of partition literature. Lajwanti is a triply marginalized entity whose identity is located in the suspended animation of silence. While she ponders over in silence on the word 'Devi' when Sunder Lal responds "No Devi...never... I shall never beat you again" her silence is transmuted into tears perhaps due to a reinforced economy of speech. This order in Sunder Lal's household after Lajwanti has returned to her hearth and home is dangerous, if we remember Krishna Sobti's dictum above. Debali Mookerjea says:

His acceptance of her is also tempered with irony because Lajwanti's brief absence has altered the dynamics of their marriage, a fact condensed in the switch from his former intimate mode of address 'Lajo' to the courteously distant 'devi' (goddess). This recasting of her desecrated body into the sacred, inviolable body of a goddess, pushes her beyond human contact, and constitutes a denial of her embodiedness. It amounts ultimately to a rejection of her sexuality. (Lal, Malashri and Sukrita P. Kumar 5)

Lajwanti has experienced the touch and curl phenomenon. Although she has grown physically healthier, she is emotionally struck down by the contagion of partition evil and in Sunder Lal's heart she has virtually (or viciously) become an Untouchable, after all. Lajwanti thus becomes the part of a 'common minimum narrative.' More so the trauma of partition is more personal than political, an uncovering of women's situation in a monolithic structure reinforcing a silence like that of Lajwanti's. In Lajwanti one can read a transformation of identities and a crisis of identities precipitated by forces that manipulate the nation/home problematic. State and patriarchal

interests coincide. Ramifications of nation and its constructs intrude very often, and aptly, into such non-fictitious fiction. Lajwanti represents a lamenting voice deeply rooted in the discourse of partition inspiring a theoretical framework for a poststructuralist approach. It is a problematic of gender/class conflict located in nation/imagined communities. Jill Didur in *Unsettling Partition* insists that "fictional power of texts can be an important resource for understanding the collusion among state and patriarchal elite interests in the treatment of 'abducted' women. (17)

Jill Didur's remark about a congress party resolution of 1946 that "**people** should be given every opportunity to return to their homes and the life of their choice but that **women must** be restored to their homes is symptomatic of the patriarchal norms that privileged the rights of male citizens at the expense of women at the time of partition." strikes a vitriolic chord. (Didur 131) Didur questions the treatment of women by a nation's responsible public representation. She insists that "the silence at the core of 'abducted' women's narratives should not ... be resolved, accounted for, translated, or recovered, but understood as a refusal to identify with the project of (patriarchal) modernity that has produced it in the first place" (156).

TRAUMA AND/OR SILENCE IN 'OPEN IT'

Remembering the sheer magnitude of violence that official statistics usually disown is easier for us than it was for Manto. He created interstitial spaces in the labyrinths of memory with the play of silence and simultaneously challenged ideologies of state and authority along with the elite and/or patriarchy. Manto bridges the gap between the victim and the reader by creating a space that is located somewhere between the generations of partition and the 'midnight's children.' He

weaves a web of traumatic memories that live in the flesh and blood of the witness as a neoplasm. Erikson says:

Trauma is generally taken to mean a blow to the tissues of the body—or more frequently now, to the tissues of the mind—that results in injury or some other disturbance. Something alien breaks in on you, smashing through whatever barriers your mind has set up as a line of defense. It invades you, takes over you, becomes a dominating feature of your interior landscape—"possesses" you....Above all, trauma involves a continual reliving of some wounding experience in daydreams and nightmares, flashbacks and hallucinations, and in a compulsive seeking out of similar circumstances. (qtd in Caruth 183-4)

"A continual reliving of some wounding experience" is at the heart of the problem. This is what comes to mind first when one tries to empathize with someone in a situation like abduction and rape, although no one can really do justice to such an exercise least men. Perhaps it is true that men cannot write a true feminist discourse. While trauma in such cases is overwhelming, there has been some appreciable amount of research in this field especially about the 'abducted' women's treatment and many have pondered over the causes of 'gendered violence' but inquiries by Butalia, Menon, Das, etc. have dug up the issue of dichotomy in glorifying those who were martyred but obscuring those who couldn't commit suicide or were either not killed. The obfuscated account of this latter class is what they call the silence in narratives of partition. And this is quite akin to Lajwanti's inability to find a chance to speak out, or shall we say a superimposed silence by Sunder Lal, who is probably not ready to hear it all or who hates what happened. Both ways he is not capable of rehabilitating Lajwanti in his heart. That is another version of violence perhaps a non-violent violence. This is what most of accounts of partition don't mention, the facet of suffering on the hand of their own men sometimes in a 'silent' fashion like Sunder Lal's

that Bedi has subtly insinuated in the story or like the eight volunteers who were kind to Sakina initially to gain her confidence but later mutilate her soul. Butalia says:

The violence that women faced in the aftermath of Partition is shrouded in many layers of silence. If in historical accounts we hear little about the rape and abduction of women, what we do know about violence in general relates only to men of the "other" community. There is seldom, if ever, any acknowledgment (except perhaps in fiction) that Hindu and Sikh women could have become the targets of Hindu and Sikh men. (47)

In Manto's 'Open It' (*Khol Do*) there is a terrible silence in the narration of a battered psyche of a seventeen year old lovely girl torn apart by men who were expected to provide her solace. To locate such trauma in the 'master narrative' of partition is to unravel those instabilities that lurk within such dark areas that Manto discovers in 'Open It' (*Khol Do*). The text offers no explanation, no respite for the reader in search of a perspective. It leaves the reader speculating to imagine as much trauma as they can in the story 'Open It' (*Khol Do*). There is a silence in horror in the very idea of a father being able to forget everything for his daughter's life. There is a violated flesh, a violated pair of beautiful eyes and above all a wounded soul. This violence is not the part of the text and therefore it is a suggestion, a horrifying suggestion. 'Open It' is perhaps too short if compared to the magnitude of the problem it tells. In fact it doesn't tell a lot, it leaves for the reader to imagine in a state of shock what crimes were committed in the name of freedom that India achieved. The resulting imagination of the reader brings in a kind of inspiration for mourning what Veena Das calls "a desolating experience of violence and loss."⁴ She comments further on the problem of linguistic dearth in sketching the inexplicable. She says:

The normality of language has been destroyed, as Sakina can hear words conveying only the "other" command. Such a fractured relation to language has been documented for many survivors of prolonged violence, for whom it is the ordinariness of language that divides them from the rest of the world. I noted that even Sakina's father cannot comprehend the non-world into which she has been plunged, for he mistakes the movement in the body as a sign of life whereas in truth it is the sign of her living death. Only the doctor as the off-the-center character in the story can register the true horror. (*Life and Words* 46-47)

This horror may act as a tool to dismiss the reality in the background for some especially those who wish to hush these voices to legitimize their interests, but for the reader I wish it helps to make sense of the remembrance in Sakina's psyche. Remembrance is "not simply a matter of choice," it is "learning to live with loss, a learning to live with a return of a memory that inevitably instantiates loss and thus bears no ultimate consolation, a learning to live with a disquieting remembrance," which "continues to pose questions of what it means to live in the shadows of mass violence." (Didur 130) It is easy to imagine that Sakina was alive after all but she was only alive through Sirajuddin's words. She was brought as dead and the doctor too thought her to be dead, although he had not examined her but from a distance he assumed that. Perhaps there is more than clinical assumption involved, perhaps the doctor was influenced by the political atmosphere of the country and he too knew what could happen to girls in those situations. He was after all a part of the same society. And in the times of violence during and after partition men would want their women to be dead instead of living with a Lajwanti or discovering a Sakina because the very fact that to be the part of a difficult process of reconciliation involves being Sisyphean at living with the memory of that trauma. Sirajuddin's statement, when he finds his daughter alive, "is to beseech the daughter to find a way to

live in the speech of the father. And it happens not at the moment when her dishonor is hidden from the eyes of the world but at the moment when her body proclaims it. This sentence is the beginning of a relationship, not its end." (48) Although Das goes on to prove that there exists an idea that women should bear witness to death and in Manto's story too Sakina, being an example of "bad death" in Das' words, is a witness of the death of an order of love and harmony and her body remembers a trauma of the most severe kind.

Mark the phenomena of remembrance in such situations. Remembrance has its own problematic in the reproduction of a trauma lived by a subject and her immediate family, in the above case, her father. Before I make a point here it is important to understand the layers of topography carved on a gendered body. In 'Open It,' Sakina and Sirajuddin are diametrically opposite in a causality singular in its own way. Sakina cannot remember her present and Sirajuddin is made not to remember her past, both traumatized in different degrees but to different ends. He is not bothered about her past and contrary to the tradition of his times where honor killing became a matter of prestige, an idea that might have struck to Sunder Lal in Lajwanti (just wondering if a reader can extrapolate that way), Sirajuddin is more concerned for the life of his beloved daughter. His daughter Sakina is traumatized to an extent that she is conscious of nothing. Perhaps the little life left in her is just capable of deciphering a semiotic reality that is nightmarishly real. Dr. Laub says that trauma is "an event that has no beginning, no ending, no before, no during and no after" and is therefore „outside the range of comprehension." Perhaps it is difficult to realize that we fail to estimate such situations and when Sakina's senses are dulled and yet she responds to those two words that can bring a drastic change in her situational status, it becomes a painfully real dilemma for most of us. She is oblivious of the old world order where the lack of a two yard fabric around her bust makes her shrivel and

in this traumatized state she pushes her pajamas down laying her privates bare, something a woman never does in the presence of her father and other people.

In the seemingly mad utterance of Sirajuddin, thus, there is a tragic backdrop that Manto leaves the readers to surmise. What could be felt by a father of a young daughter who finds only her *dupatta* (A two-meters or more fabric that girls and women in both Hindu and Muslim cultures hang around their neck to cover their breasts apart from the two piece suit they wear as a part of the dressing tradition in India as well as Pakistan. It is also a symbol of honor without which a traditional woman would not meet even her father or brother.) Here tragedy is located not only in Sakina's trauma but also in Sirajuddin's horror that leaves a reader silent, not listlessly but in shock and awe of absent screams.

CONCLUSION

The chapter 'Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching' written by Shoshana Felman in Cary Caruth's book *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* carries a reaction by a man about the Holocaust and its literature whose words I have chosen as part of the title of this essay. He says "Yet I cannot discount the literature which in the dark awakens the screams, which opens the wounds, and which makes one want to fall silent."

It is not the physical damage but the emotional and psychological detriment that makes the condition unstable, in the sense, that there is a lack of anchoring forces that usually root a subject to one's soil. The tragedies of Lajwanti and Sakina, though of different physical symptoms, represent a single pathology, a sclerosis of human relationships. Women have, in every age, been the target of "power and its violence." Stories like these exhort the readers to become a co-witness to

the trauma, not in a passive way but in a decisive reaction towards a change at least in the modes of perception.

Endnotes

1. A man's reaction in Dory Laub's 'Truth and Testimony: The Process and the Struggle'
2. See http://www.academia.edu/2653744/_Fragmentary_evidence_the_struggle_to_narrate_partition
3. Witnessing Violence: Perspectives on Sa'adat Hasan Manto's "Khol Do" and Rajinder Singh Bedi's "Lajwanti" by Michael Jauch
4. Veena Das, "Language and Body: Transactions in the Construction of Pain"

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