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## **Siting Memory in Select Mizo Narratives**

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#### **Abstract:**

The article shall dwell upon the significance of memory and its representation in select Mizo narratives, namely 'Rambuai' Literature which literally translated means literature of the 'troubled land'. I have chosen fictional as well as non fictional texts and while doing so, I shall attempt to focus upon the impact of memory upon the unrest and the turmoil brought about by political instability concerning the Government of India and the Mizo National Front. Mizos especially the civilian population had suffered the most and more than any other inhabitants within India, who had been in a situation of conflict with the Government of India. These narratives have been documented in memory of the horrendous incidents that occurred during the said period and also its aftermath. Recorded instances of the Rambuai have been few and far between but there are instances where varying narratives have been recorded in memory.

**Keywords:** memory, representation, Mizo National Front, unrest, turmoil

#### Introduction

"All we have are memories of memories: and the longer we live it would seem, the more fictional our pasts-and of course, we have to be. So it goes" (Freeman, 1990, p.90).

The article shall dwell upon the significance of memory and its representation in select Mizo narratives, namely 'Rambuai' Literature which translated means literature of the 'troubled land.'I have chosen fictional as well as non-fictional texts. While doing so, I shall attempt to focus on the impact of memory on the unrest and the turmoil brought about by political instability concerning the Government of India and the Mizo National Front. Mizos, especially the civilian population, had suffered the most and more than any other inhabitants within India who had conflicted with the Government of India (Zama & Vanchiau, 2016). These narratives have been documented in memory of the horrendous incidents during the said period and its aftermath. Recorded instances of the Rambuai have been few and far between, but there are instances where varying narratives have been recorded in memory. Memory and remembering

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are also intimately linked with questions of ethics, moral responsibility, and the experience of being a traumatized victim (Sommer et al., 2006, p. 5).

Most accounts chronicled the initial response to the government's operations to suppress the rebellion in 1966. These depict the extreme atrocities that had been committed by the Indian Air Force even as they carried out airstrikes in Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram. Incidentally, this bombing event remains the only instance of India carrying out an airstrike in its civilian territory. Some accounts have also recorded events concerning counter-insurgency operations that continued over the next two decades, which mercifully were less intense. Eventually, these attacks continued to diminish over time gradually. The labeling of such works as 'insurgency' writing has been avoided as the term is decidedly limiting and, in several ways, politically incorrect, for it can be seen as denoting an underlying implication of condemnation of an ideology that others have sacrificed their lives for, or died in the countering of it (Zama &Vanchiau, 2016). The representative narratives pertinent to the political turbulence of the then period shall examine the magnitude of memory embedded and etched amidst this momentous political interlude.

Topography is significant in determining the gravity of Gautam or bamboo famine, an incident that accelerated political turbulence. Mizoram is located in Northeast India, with Aizawl as its capital city; the name of the state has been derived from two words: Mi (people), Zo (signifying a lofty place, such as a hill), and Ram (land), and put together the term Mizoram thus implies land of the hill people. Conversely, cultural scholars have also denoted that the state's name is derived from the term 'Mizo,' which is the self-described name of the native inhabitants, and 'Ram,' which in the Mizo language means land. Thus the word Mizoram in this context means land of the Mizos. Within India's Northeast region, the land remains inherently the most landlocked state even as it shares its borders with Tripura, Assam, and Manipur. The state is also interconnected with the neighboring countries of Bangladesh and Myanmar. However, the creation of statehood was a long and arduous process, and this article is an attempt to record the memories of the Mizos in their traumatic journey towards the achievement of the same.

### The Uprising

The roots of the political trauma were sown in the 1950s, especially due to political pressure imbibed by the fears of political hegemony from Assam. There was also the belief that the government was not concerned about the matter, eventually leading to significant disgruntlement amongst the Mizos. The Mizos were, of course, particularly discontented regarding the government's inadequate response to the 1959–60 Gautam or bamboo famine. As denoted in Jacob's text

"the government is not helping us either. The leaders of Assam know all about the Gautam and famine, but they don't care. We are only a district of Assam, and what do they care about tribal people like us?"(38)

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An organization was subsequently formed for famine relief in 1959, known as the Mizo National Famine Front (MNNF). This association later developed into a political organization in 1961, known as the Mizo National Front (MNF). Staging an armed insurrection, the group sought sovereign independence for the Mizo territory, ultimately leading to an uprising on 28 February 1966. The Government of India suppressed this revolt, and it was here that the latter carried out airstrikes in Aizawl and several other villages surrounding the town. The MNF uprising was a revolt against the government of India, and it was aimed at establishing a sovereign nation-state for the Mizo people, and this movement started on 28 February 1966.

Suddenly, a roaring sound came from above. The men looked up during their shooting and saw two airplanes in the sky. They put down their guns and watched in horrified fascination as some objects dropped from the planes and fell with loud bursts...About two decades earlier, during the Second World War, there had been fears that the Japanese might reach Mizoram. But the area had stayed safe. Not one bomb of the enemy had fallen. But now, India had begun an attack on the part of its territory. They were targeting its citizens. The Mizo people started to experience genuine terror for the first time in their national history. (Jacob, 2015, p.p. 99-100)

Over the next two decades, there were several counter-insurgency operations across the state; however, these continued to diminish over time in intensity. The Mizoram Peace Accord was signed at length on 30 June 1986 between the Government of India and the MNF. This ended the strife and led to the creation of what has been called 'the most peaceful state in India.'

### **Dokhuma's Evocation**

"...even if the enemies strike in earnest/the children of Mizoram shall fight against them in solidarity/, and when we attain victory /, we shall all meet amidst the flag of victory" (Dokhuma, 2015).

Chief amongst the narratives selected for study is a text entitled *Rinawmin*, written in 1970by Padma Shri James Dokhuma, who enlisted with the Mizo National Front(MNF). In his foreword, he places the aspect of memory as inherently central, and he even begins by writing, 'lest I forget the days of my internment.' Ernest Schachtel denotes that we are steadily made to forget, to erase that endless well of emotions, so that we can successfully carry on with the various tasks upon which the social order depends (Freeman,1990, p. 51). Dokhuma has made an effort 'not to forget. Comprising twenty-three chapters, the novel is not merely one of the first fictional narratives that explored the uprising concept. Still, it was decidedly pioneering, especially in terms of being based upon narratives of memory. It was an account of the troubled times through the lenses of Dokhuma, who had been an active volunteer in the struggle for an independent land, thereby portraying with intensity the works within the ram but an or the troubled land. After the declaration of independence of Mizoram by the MNF in 1966, he joined the movement. He became the MNF Block president, Tlungvel Circle, Deputy Speaker, and Member of Parliament to the MNF underground movement. In 1968 he was captured and

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sent to Nowgong Special Jail and then to Gauhati Central Jail and released in 1971. The author has managed to encapsulate an entire gamut of reflections that have been associated with the period of turmoil. More significantly, the novel had been written while he had been imprisoned at Gauhati Central Jail, and in the preface, to the text, he has denoted that it was:

...a record of the incidents when Mizoram was gearing up earnestly towards its independence movement. It covers the span of events in Mizoram in 1965 when the MNF Special Assembly was held, and it runs on till the declaration of independence in 1966. It further denotes incidents that occurred in 1968 in a manner that is as close to reality as possible. (Dokhuma, 2015)

The processes of memory are reconstructed in the narrative and the construction of the self who does the remembering (King, 2000, p.11). In this instance, Dokhuma is the self who continues to nurture the memory of the erstwhile rambutan. The novel recalls the cases of the outset of the unrest by placing it in the context of the Mizopasaltha (warrior, brave) and the call for unity. Written in the third person narrative, the central protagonist Rozuala, was (at the novel's inception) already a member of the MNF.By evoking the concept of 'pasaltha,' Dokhuma conveys that rambutan had much to do with the idea of Mizo nationalism.

In *Devotedly*, Dokhuma highlights that the movement was inherently regional and had support from every corner of the land. Of course, some instances narrate aspects regarding how international support was to be facilitated.... the first plan was to select fifty men from their Battalion to go to Pakistan (p. 80). "In the new year, I shall be promoted, and in March, if all goes as planned, we shall be moving to Pakistan... (p. 99). The protagonists expressed these and several other musings on a very frequent basis.

But at the heart of the matter, the author asserts that the movement he had been passionately involved in was decidedly indigenous even as they sought independence from India. While it is commonly accepted that identity or a sense of self is constructed by and through narrative, one must realize that in the stories we tell ourselves and each other about our lives...the concept of the self which is constructed in these narratives is also dependent upon assumptions about the function and process of memory and the kind of access it gives us to the past (King, 2000, p.3). In Dokhuma's narrative, which has political turbulence as central to the text, he also cites typical rustic life in the Mizo hills when life had been tranquil and uninterrupted by political turmoil. It has also been emphasized that soldiers were camping in the forest because they believed Mizoram belonged to the Mizos. They despised the Vai (a reference to the non-Mizo plain dwellers) who took shelter in the villages. Dokhuma's narrative also recalls major belief narratives that encapsulated many terrifying speculations encompassed within the local communities. Some of these were: "there are a lot of Vai in the river bordering the boundary, and they have completely taken control of the land"(p.22). Statements such as "there were Vai who entered the neighboring village from the forest area all of a sudden and they killed people at random, and they stole away into the forest"(p.22) abounded amidst them. There was a lot of heresy mounting, and their origins could not be traced, evidence not

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found, and there was talk that was strange yet novel, things that could not be verified, where there were none to prove the truth, and none existed to render a semblance of peace to the people. Every rumor that circulated was believed and repeated by all.

On the other hand, there was also a lot of news that placated the volunteers too. These were: "there are some soldiers whose ethnicity is unknown, people who do not speak Mizo, who have only the word Mizo sewn on their clothing, a least ten thousand of them have arrived in Mizoram to help the Mizo"(p.23) "a white colored plane has landed in Lunglei and has taken off with some MNF leaders" (p.23) "many Jet Fighters will soon be starting from East Pakistan to help us"(p.23). And just as such words and authority no longer had any definite meaning; the lives of the individuals were meaningless. During that time, when chaos and lies abounded, the local volunteers were in a quandary, and it was difficult for them to make coherent decisions (Dokhuma, 2015, p.23).

The role of the song as a memory in the narrative becomes reminiscent of how significant the genre is, especially within the Mizo context. There are several instances wherein the music emphasizes the gravity of the mission. To cite an example:

Clouds envelop the west and north/and when the thunder rolls, I long for our life of yore even if a new year dawns/ many are the days when we weep with nostalgia/I long to call out for our lives that will soon be a memory.(Dokhuma, 2015, p. 30)

That the members of the Mizoarmy had been tortured and often done to death was also profoundly etched in the author's memory, for he writes of his protagonists by recalling:

When I regained consciousness, I realized that they had dragged me inside, and my body was washed in blood. While I lay down, drained upon the floor, I realized that the young man I had traveled with was lying on the floor, next to me, whacked out than me.I tried my best to regain some semblance of consciousness, and with great difficulty, I wiped off the blood from his body with my tattered clothes, and as he breathed in and out, blood oozed out from his mouth, and he groaned softly.(Dokhuma, 2015, p. 59)

Everyone needed medical attention, yet nothing could be done, and language posed a problem. "...even if they were ill, they did not have medicines, and the only medicines they had were APC tablets. If their foot hurt or their stomachs ached, they ate APC tablets but always felt that they were healed by it"(Dokhuma, 2015, p. 72). One of the protagonists in the narrative had even denoted that the army used the services of the natives: My elder brother is a Havaldar from the Assam Regiment who has superannuated, and he is someone whose services the village and the army utilize to communicate with the soldiers and to translate matters (Dokhuma, 2015, p.67). Dokhuma denotes that Mizos, who were retired army personnel, proved helpful.

### **Recollecting Survival**

As Steedman(cited in King, 2000)conveys, memory can only be reconstructed in time, and time catches together what we know and do not yet know(Steedman, 1986, p.141). This

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is reminiscent of the study conducted by researcher Denise Adele Ségorin the late twentieth century for her doctoral dissertation that finally saw the light of day in 1996. Shehad traveled to Mizoram to record the memories of the victims of Rambuai or the troubled times. She narrates that for background information, "I used historical documents, books, and articles...the search for historical documents was a challenge as there was no central repository of information" (Ségor, 2006, p. 67). She notes, too, that the "everyday details of a woman's life were woven into frightening stories of danger and disruption. It was a stark reminder to me that this disturbance was not isolated to fighting, by soldiers, on a distant battlefield" (Ségor, 2006, p.155). In her narratives concerning stories of the disturbance and forced village groupings, she writes about the victims of Rambuai. She focuses upon the unique perspective of their trauma and identity in terms of being a Mizo women amidst the independence movement of the Mizo National Front, the Indian security forces, and their counterattacks....I used data from other sources to contextualize their stories within a larger social and political setting (Ségor, 2006, p. 67). The disturbance and forced village groupings were significant and traumatic events most women had never experienced before (Ségor, p.239); according to her, these were characterized as epiphanies, that is, "interactional" moments that "leave marks on people's lives...Such moments are often interpreted ... as turning point experiences" (Strauss, 1959, 200, p.34). Denise Adele Ségor further quotes, "having had such a moment; a person is never quite the same again" (p.34).

She cites Denzin (2001), who characterized such traumatic experiences as "interactional moments that leave marks on people's lives...such moments are interpreted...as turning point experiences (Strauss, 1959, 2001, p.34). While recalling their suffering, the women lament that narrativizing memory had never been so traumatic for these women, even as they relived their experiences as the disturbance and forced groupings were agonizing. When people are exposed to trauma, a frightening event outside of ordinary human experience, they experience "speechless terror" (van der Kolk, 1987, as cited in Caruth, 1991b, p. 172). Thus, women reflected upon their experiences in a variety of ways by uttering statements such as "I have never experienced this before" or "I have no words to describe the experience" (Ségor, 2006, p. 239).

In a subtext within her narrative entitled 'Known Danger in our Midst: The MNF,' she denotes that in her conversations with the women, they spoke about 'being the same people as the MNF-they knew each other ways too well' (p. 243). This emphasizes that it was not only the Vai but also some of the native Mizos who were enemies during the uprising. Dokhuma denotes this too in his text;

Then they spoke about the action they were to take in their battalions and also the reasons that hindered the same; they also mentioned the people who were a nuisance against the Mizo Army, and some of them were those who had also been in the jungles for a great deal of time and had held high power in terms of the administration. Yet they had collaborated with the Vai

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soldiers and had been the cause of the arrest of the Mizos; they spoke of how these were objectionable (Dokhuma, 2015, p. 81).

Even as the MNF were fighting for their freedom, their fellow men suffered in the process, especially as members of the MNF were all Mizos, posing an additional danger for the villagers. For instance, she recollects that a woman by the name of Than chhingire calls in anger that the MNF was 'dangerous, demanding and ungrateful' (p. 249).On the other hand, many villages supported the MNF by looking out for the soldiers from mainland India and supplying food and other amenities to the MNF, even at the risk of their own lives. The women also recalled that many were the reasons why their fellow Indians were deemed, outsiders. The Indian security forces were often regarded as 'foreigners' and addressed as 'vai' (inhabitants of the plains) or 'sip'(soldiers). This was predominantly because they were different in physical appearance, and the Sikhs were considered all the more dangerous and described as 'ferocious.' So frightening was the Indian army that evens the sound of the soldiers and their voices were terrifying. Men often absconded deep into the jungles, and during this time, the women were left all alone at night and even during the day. They had to devise ways and means by which they could escape rape by the soldiers. As Caruth observes,

The experience cannot be organized on a linguistic level. This failure to arrange the memory in words and symbols leaves it to be contained on a somatosensory or iconic level: somatic sensations, behavioral re-enactments, nightmares, and flashbacks (Brett and Ostr off, 1985, as cited in Caruth, 1991b, p. 172).

Ségor recalls that it had been inherently difficult to get the women to speak up, even after years of a decidedly peaceful actuality. Many women recalled that their experience was not something they could share with all and sundry, as those who had not experienced the disturbance would not know how to empathize or even be sympathetic.

For those of us who had never been held at gunpoint, witnessed torture, or had all our food and domestic animals are taken away, what can we know of what it is like to be caught at the mercy and under the direction of armies who carry guns? ... Forced migrations in the name of village grouping were done. (Ségor, 2006, p.p. 283-284)

To remember is precisely not to recall events as isolated; it is to become capable of forming meaningful narrative sequences (Connerton, 2010, p.26). Lalbiakthangi, a woman who had suffered much atrocity, recalls, "we cried and cried so much...it made our hearts ache...it was terrifying" (Ségor, p.285). Indian Air Force attacks and army counter-assaults against insurgents followed (the rebels left as soon as they began), torching of homes and villages, displacement of 220,000 out of a district population of 280,000, and marching many villagers to new sites for settlement without considering the long-term consequences or indeed how such regrouped villages would survive in the future (Zama &Vanchiau, 2016). Amidst all this, many were even under the assumption that they were moving away only for a short while, even as the village was set afire by the Indian army. As aptly denoted by Caruth, "...if we were to remember all that went on in those difficult years, the pains, the passions, and the wishes, we would be swallowed up in frustration and disappointment all our lives" (p. 51) Rangkhumi was

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upset because the people who came to lead them away ate all the food meant for the Christmas celebration (Ségor, p. 290). In the rain, they plodded on, with the soldiers prodding them on "cholo, cholo", and even the food they harvested had to be left behind. Saiziki pondered about leaving behind her home; the crop already harvested could last the entire season (Ségor, p.293). This reflects the interrelationship between the Mizo women and their rural community and the sentiments attached towards the same. In her study, she has demonstrated that the women's act of remembering (p.414) is pertinent to the concept of memories that continue to linger on in the subconscious. The experience of such memories ensured that they provided fuel to reflect upon their live-in terms of what it meant to be Mizo. The atrocities caused by army operations were many, but so too were the sufferings in the hands of the underground. And yet, most narratives remain untold. But with the passing of time, there comes a strong desire to set certain records straight, retell histories, do justice to those no more, and provide an unbiased account for the future generation (Zama &Vanchiau, 2016, p.p. 57-58). As Ségor notes;

The concept of personal memory, which reconstructs events that happen to oneself, which is again linked to 'autobiographical memory is the source of information about our own lives ,from which we are likely to make judgments about our own lives and predictions of our own, and to some extent, others' behavior...provides a sense of identity and continuity (Ségor, 2006, p. 5).

### Remembrance in Zorami

In his book How Societies Remember (2010), Paul Connerton denotes that our present experience largely depends upon our knowledge of the past, hence the difficulty of extracting our history from our present(p.2).In 2016, Malsawmi Jacob published Zorami: A Redemption Song, concerning Rambuai or the troubled period. In this novel, she reminisces, "I had started this research way back in 2005, but when I sat down to write, I would keep crying. I realized that just listening to the recordings of my conversation was so painful; I just couldn't write." (Rajpal, 2016). In her dedication to the text, Jacob denotes that it is "for all who are caught in violent conflict and long for peace." Comprising forty chapters, the text indicates instances of painful memories that are recollected in the aftermath of the political turbulence. Written in the third person narrative and denoted through the eyes of the central protagonist Zorami, we are given an insight into the tragic nuances of rambuai and its wretched aftermath at the very outset. Jacob conveys the gravity of the situation when the protagonists narrate: "The government is not helping us either. The leaders of Assam know all about the Mautam and famine, but they don't care. We are only a district of Assam, and what do they care about tribal people like us?"(Jacob, p. 38).In like manner, Cathy Caruth denotes that the traumatized carry an impossible history (Rossington, 2007, p. 201).

Bamboo flowering has been explained at length, even as this phenomenon is not common across the country.

The Mizo hills are covered extensively by various bamboo species, which periodically rot, flower and seed. The bamboo seeds appeared to be a delicious food item for jungle rats, which emerged in massive numbers to devour them, and the consumption of bamboo seeds

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seemed to produce a vast increase in the rodent population. Once the millions of rats had exhausted the bamboo seed, they began to attack the standing crops in the fields. (Nag. S, 1999, p. 245)

"What is mautam?

It means bamboo dying. Bamboos flower once in fifty years, produce fruit and then die.Rats eat the fallen fruit and give birth to many babies...." (Jacob, p. 38)

Connection astutely observes;

"Our history is an important source of our conception of ourselves; our self–knowledge, our conception of our character and potentialities, is largely determined by how we view our past actions" (Connerton, 2010, p.22).

Nikhuma, a protagonist, repeatedly reminded the Mizo soldiers not to take anything by force from the people or terrorize them in any way. "Remember they are our people. We are fighting for their freedom. We will be acting against our own goal if we oppress them," (p. 91)he would say.

There were also fellow native Mizos who conspired with the vai. Jacob denotes that a confident Subedar N Sinha of the Assam Rifles, who had once been wounded in an ambush by the MNF soldiers, also was afflicted with 'an obsessive zeal in hunting down the underground forces' (p.126). In this regard, we are told that he made use of a particular person who was a local, a man by the name of Ralkapa and that he knew how to make the latter betray his people. While this man was an informer, what was more horrifying was that whether the people were guilty or not, he 'enjoyed punishing them'(p.127).

In the same light, Dokhuma also denoted that some were determined to eradicate the nationalists, and they took refuge under the wings of the Vai soldiers in the form of spies and identifiers. They only pretended to be brave without even leaving the places where they dwelt just because the Vai protected them. Blindfolded, they caused their fellow villages to be arrested because they could not bear to see the light of day, spying upon every town under the auspices of the lord of darkness and pretending they were the bravest of men amidst their fellow Mizo. (Dokhuma p.35)

The Indian army had brought in a reign of terror—no law of the land operated anymore. The supposed defenders of the country had become the worst kind of criminals (Jacob, p.p. 199-200).

Aspects of doubt rented the air, the editor of a daily newspaper by the name of Lalrinmawia had written an editorial "what is the point of all this bloodshed? will all these killings bring independence? No.Will they improve a lot of our people in any way?No.They are butchering innocent civilians. They are slaughtering their fellow Mizo men."(Jacob, 2015, p.p. 142-143)

In her study, she narrates that the women had reflected upon their experiences in various ways. In the case of traumatic memory, King (2000) suggests that it may be a process of repetition with a difference, as we revisit painful or otherwise significant moments of the past with changed and changing emotions and understanding (p. 175). As in the case of rambuai

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and in the instance of many other traumatic circumstances, the imperative to retell the narratives is often inhabited by the impossibility of telling; therefore, silence about the truth commonly prevails. Some have hardly spoken of it, but even those who have talked incessantly feel they managed to say very little that was heard. None find peace in silence, even when it is their choice to remain silent (Caruth, 1991b,p. 63). In Ségor's text, the agonized women recall, "I have no words to describe the experience.." "I can't forget still.." "it is hard for youth to understand because they have not experienced such things" (p. 239).

#### Conclusion

The telling of a story in which past and present are brought into connection is a necessary and therapeutic process for many. Nicola King emphasizes that 'remembering the self is not a case of restoring an original identity, but a continuous process of 'remembering, of putting together moment by moment, of provisional and partial reconstruction(King, 1990, p. 175). Even as we make as Bollas has denoted 'the past available for the self's future,' King argues that memory does not lie dormant in the past, awaiting resurrection, but holds the potential for creative collaboration between past and present (p. 180, as cited in Freeman, 1993, p.5).

Memory, therefore, which often has to do not merely with recounting the past but with making sense of it from 'above' as it were —is an interpretive act: the end of which is an enlarged understanding of the self (p. 29). In the Mizo narrative, too, many have chosen to remember, and yet at the same time, many more have chosen to forget. However, the sense of perspective that has been rendered across narratives of memory assumes the form of the chronicles of the past, and these represent a vivid share of the trajectory in terms of how the Mizo self has come to be.

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