



## BONDAGE OF 'INDEPENDENT' NATIONS: NEO-IMPERIALISM IN NGUGI WA THIONG'O'S PETALS OF BLOOD AND INDRA SINHA'S ANIMAL'S PEOPLE

'BAĞIMSIZ' ULUSLARIN ESARETİ: NGUGİ WA THIONG'O'NUN  
KANIN ÇİÇEKLERİ VE İNDRA SİNHA'NIN HAYVAN'IN  
İNSANLARI ROMANLARINDA YENİ-EMPERYALİZM

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### Abstract

According to Frantz Fanon, in the former colonies "independence does not bring a change of direction" (1978, p. 100). In postcolonial era the "national bourgeoisie discovers its historical mission as intermediary. As we have seen, its vocation is not to transform the nation but prosaically serve as a conveyor belt for capitalism, forced to camouflage itself behind the mask of neocolonialism" (1978, p. 100-101). In both Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petals of Blood* and *Indra Sinha's Animal's People* after independence, the colonialists are replaced by a national bourgeoisie who, without capital and economic power, become dependent on foreign investment. In both novels, the unprivileged poor are the victims of the neo-imperialist system which attracts multinational corporations to take advantage of low-cost land and cheap labour. Ngugi explores the subjectivity of African history as reflected by Westerners by the dual narration of his novel, from a subjective and a relatively objective but complementary narrative voice. Neither the previous colonial domination nor the national bourgeoisie which replaces them represents the victims of the system. The narration of the novel from the perspective of Munira, who refuses the familial capitalist wealth by escaping to live in Ilmorog, successfully reflects the contradictory concerns of the capitalists and the victims. In *Animal's People*, Sinha gives voice to the subaltern victims of the system by the first-person narrative of Animal, who is one of the worst victims of the system. Sinha emphasizes the reality of his story by indicating each chapter as a tape recording and using a sharp, slangy, and witty language for Animal. Both novels give voice to the subaltern victims of the society, and they are milestones in the freeing of the unprivileged classes from the bondage of the dominating national and foreign powers.

### Öz

Frantz Fanon'a göre, eski sömürgelerde "bağımsızlık farklı bir yön getirmez" (1978, p. 100). Koloni sonrası dönemde, "ulusal burjuva tarihsel görevini arabulucu olarak keşfeder. Tecrübe edildiği gibi, amacı ulusu dönüştürmek değil, kapitalizm için doğrudan bir sağlayıcı olarak hizmet etmek ve bunu da yeni-sömürgecilik kisvesi altında saklamaktır" (1978, p. 100-101). Ngugi Wa Thiong'o'nun *Kanın Çiçekleri* ve *Indra Sinha'nın Hayvan'ın İnsanları* romanlarında bağımsızlığın ardından sömürgeci sınıf, sermayesi ve ekonomik gücü olmayan yerli burjuva sınıf ile yer değiştirmiş, böylece yabancı yatırım bağımlı kalmıştır. Her iki romanda da dezavantajlı yoksul sınıflar, düşük arazi fiyatları ve ucuz iş gücünün yarattığı fırsatlardan yararlanmak isteyen çok uluslu şirketlere hizmet eden yeni-emperyalist sistemin kurbanı olmuşlardır. Ngugi, *Kanın Çiçekleri* romanında, Afrika tarihinin Batılılar tarafından öznel anlatımını hem öznel hem de göreceli olarak nesnel olan ve birbirini tamamlayan ikili bir anlatım tekniği ile araştırır. Bu anlatımda ne önceki kolonyal rejim ne de onun yerine geçen milli burjuva sınıf dezavantajlı sınıfları temsil eder. Romanın ailevi sermayeyi reddedip Ilmorog'da yaşamayı tercih eden Munira'nın bakış açısı ile anlatılması sermayedar sınıfın ve sistemin kurbanlarının çelişik endişelerini başarılı bir şekilde yansıtır. Sinha'nın *Hayvan'ın İnsanları*, sistemin altık mağdurlarına, sistemin en büyük kurbanlarından biri olan *Hayvan'ın* birinci tekil şahıs anlatımı ile ses verir. Sinha *Hayvan'ın* anlatımının her bölümünü kaset kayıtları olarak sunarak ve keskin, küfürlü ve zekice dil kullanımı ile hikâyenin gerçekliğine vurgu yapar. Her iki roman da dezavantajlı gruplara ses vererek onları sömüren milli ve yabancı güçlere karşı onları bağımsızlaştırma yolunda birer kilometre taşı olma görevini üstlenirler.

## Introduction

David Harvey, in his *The New Imperialism* book, claims that Karl Marx's concept of primitive accumulation is no more appertaining especially in the neo-liberal era as considering any land that is left out of the world capitalist system is becoming more and more impossible (2003, p. 144). Therefore, he coins a new term, "accumulation by dispossession", and claims that under the rubric of neo-liberal economic policies, Marx's primitive accumulation would require new adaptations (2003, p. 145). Some of these wide-ranging processes include:

the commodification and privatization of land and the forceful expulsion of peasant populations; the conversion of various forms of property rights (common, collective, state, etc.) into exclusive private property right; the suppression of rights to the commons; the commodification of labour power and the suppression of alternative (indigenous) forms of production and consumption; colonial, neo-colonial, and imperial processes of appropriation of assets (including natural resources) (2003, p. 145).

According to Harvey, the above listed processes has been aggravated through the neoliberal turn of the 1980s that has been implemented through the leadership of Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. In this essay, I would argue that in Indra Sinha's *Animal's People* (2007) and in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petals of Blood* – even though the latter was published in 1977 and depicts post-independence Kenya (1963-1977) – majority of the above mentioned processes are already in-place. The encoding of these processes in both novels' narration sheds light on how the post-colonial nations get integrated into the world capitalist system and provide a global world economic perspective though which these novels could be examined.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petal's of Blood* and Indra Sinha's *Animal's People* are two novels that strikingly reflect the catastrophic outcomes of neo-imperialism in Kenya and in India respectively. Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petal's of Blood* reflects the dynamics within the Kenyan population by combining a description of colonial, independent and neo-colonial periods of the country with a remarkable portrayal of character. He does this by narrating the struggle of the people of Ilmorog, which is an isolated village, impoverished by drought and primitive agricultural techniques. The villagers' journey to Nairobi is a plea for better standards of living and development. However, with the sudden change of the tiny nineteenth-century town to a modern industrial city, they lose their land and become slaves on their own soil. Indra

Sinha's *Animal's People* recounts the most tragic catastrophe of neo-imperialism in India in the last few decades, direct from the mouth of "Animal" who is one of the worst victims of the Bhopal gas explosion. Both novelists give voice to the victims of the capitalist system. This essay aims to analyze the different trajectories of neo-imperialism and the importance of form and narrative voice in these novels.

After the decolonization movements of 1940s, the nations who became independent were not economically self-sufficient. The colonialist administrative power was replaced by a native middle class; however, the dependence of these nations on foreign currency to balance their budgets gave birth to a new period, neo-imperialism. In neo-imperialist system, the privileged national bourgeoisie supports the investment of foreign capital at the expense of the rights of the national unprivileged and this process fastens the integration of the post-independence states into the world capitalist economy at an accelerated rate.

According to Karl Marx, the essential feature of capitalism was "*the way in which the means of production were owned and controlled*" (Mitchell, 1968, p. 24). This gives rise to the social classes as the owners and the non-owners of capital, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat respectively. The bourgeoisie, in order to make profit, pays the labour force wages less than the full value of its product (Mitchell, 1968, p. 24). Rising competition returns in price-cutting, which reduces the return paid to labour. As a consequence, Marx hopes that the proletariat, impelled by their increasing pauperization, would revolt and destroy the system (Mitchell, 1968, p. 25).

*Petals of Blood* and *Animal's People* reflect the post-independence era and rise of neo-imperialism in Kenya and India, respectively. In *Petals of Blood*, the establishment of a neo-imperialist economic and administrative power structure is visible during the development process of The New Ilmorog. The trajectory of the capitalist system — its establishment and struggle of the proletariat against the system — is experienced by the people of Ilmorog. In contrast, *Animal's People* narrates a shorter time period indicating the consequences of the capitalist system. This includes the gas tragedy caused by a multinational corporation, its lethal damage to the health and living standards of the victims, and their struggle for justice, which indicates how the global and the local come together in a catastrophic enclosure.

### **Form and Narration**

*Petals of Blood* opens with a third person narrative voice and then turns into Munira's prison notes, and as the novel develops the voice of the two narrators intermingle with each other. The identity of the anonymous third person narrator is never revealed throughout the novel. However, the narration becomes first-person by talking of the people of Ilmorog as 'we' which gives the impression that the speaker is a person from the community (Cook & Okenimkpe, 1997, p. 103). The knowledge of the past events mostly acquired from Munira's prison notes form the subjective narration, which combines with the more objective voice of the third-person narrator. In the novel, Ngugi raises the question of whether Western interpretations of history are subjective or objective, and the style of the narration is a response to the same dilemma.

Munira is an outsider to Ilmorog and has an intermediary position between the victims of the capitalist system and the dominant class. Munira refuses the bourgeois life-style of his father, who increases his wealth by all methods of the capitalist system, and escapes to Ilmorog to live in comparative poverty. As a teacher at Ilmorog Primary School, he gains a reverend position in the village. However, Munira embodies contradictions within his character. He is escaping from his past and his failure to get involved with the imperialist system of making money. Ilmorog is a secluded hiding place for him. His silence and refusal to talk about his past-similar to Abdulla- distances him from the reader at the beginning of the novel. His desperate love of Wanja and inescapable hatred for Karega make him a very human character and a subjective voice. With the changes in Ilmorog, his isolation grows and his desperate attraction to Theng'eta and to Christianity as the only way of salvation, turns the innocent schoolteacher into a man of passions and wretchedness. Therefore, as a narrator he has a subjective voice, and the reader could suspect him of unreliability and the potential to omit relevant facts and invent things. His implication that Karega and Wanja were meeting secretly locates Karega as a potential murderer and reveals Munira's capacity to manipulate reality in his narration (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 356). Ngugi creates a riddle that the reader must solve – like the inspector Godfrey- by the clues given by the two narrative voices. In this way, by the way the novel is narrated, Ngugi questions the reliability of historians.

With colonialism, Africa is divided into Africa North of the Sahara (White) and Africa South of the Sahara (Black): White Africa has a thousand-year-old culture, while Black Africa is looked on as a region that is “inert”, “brutal”, “uncivilized” and “savage” (Fanon, 1978, p. 130-31). As Frans Fanon puts forward, “[c]olonialism is not satisfied merely with hiding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures and destroys it” (Fanon, 1978, p. 37). Ngugi resists the distorted interpretation of history by colonialist historians and also by the Africans educated in Western critical modes of thought (Ogude, p. 8). In *Petals of Blood*, Ngugi questions the historical roots of the African people and criticizes the distorted interpretation of African history:

For there are many questions about our history which remain unanswered. Our present-day historians, following on similar theories yarned out by defenders of imperialism, insist we only arrived here yesterday. Where went all the Kenyan people who used to trade with China, India, Arabia long long before Vasco de Gama came to the scene and on the strength of gunpowder ushered in an era of blood and terror and instability- an era that climaxed in the reign of imperialism over Kenya? But even then these adventurers of Portuguese mercantilism were forced to build Fort Jesus, showing that Kenyan people had always been ready to resist foreign control and exploitation. The story of this heroic resistance: who will sing it? Their struggles to defend their land, their wealth, their lives: who’ll tell of it? What of their earlier achievements in production that had annually attracted visitors from ancient China and India? (2002, p. 80)

Against the colonizers’ attempts to erase the history of the colonized peoples, Ngugi traces the roots of African history long before the arrival of Vasco da Gama. Africa has been exposed to exploitation since its discovery by Westerners and this reached its climax with imperialism. Ogude indicates that, Ngugi “*privileges resistance as the key plot element in African history*” (1999, s. 9). As the African bourgeoisie is on the side of imperialists, it is the duty of the peasants and the working-class people to resist the exploitation of their land and economic bondage to the imperialist system which has impoverished them.

In this regard, the character portrayal is remarkable, and each character represents a different period and problem of Kenyan history. In the novel, it is generally the outsiders who are effective in the changing fate of the town. Each outsider character is inserted into the novel separately, becoming the 'hero' of the town, and with their presence Ilmorog changes: Munira is respected as he brings education; Wanja is a new spirit for the town which is dying from apathy; Karega becomes the leader of the journey to the city. Karega is one of the main characters that Ngugi uses as his spokesman to express his ideology. Throughout the novel, Karega longs for African unity and explores the roots of African history. He searches history books in the hope of building the future by criticizing the past. However, the books written by black professors ignore the pre-colonial period and avoid defining colonialism and imperialism. The lawyer indicates in his letter that intellectuals writing the country's history are "*only voices-not neutral, disembodied voices- but belonging to bodies of persons, of groups, of interests*" (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 238). The body behind the voice is crucial to understand the ideas of the voice.

The novel has a circular narrative structure: It begins with the climax, in which three leading personalities of the system (Chui, Kimeria, Mzigo) are murdered. The second and third parts give insight into the characters and the development of Ilmorog. At the end of the novel, the narration returns to the climax; the prison notes and the third person narrative are brought together to explain the climax. The form of the novel is remarkable in reflecting its main theme: within the capitalist system the local people are doomed to lose their struggle, whatever it may be. 'Petals of blood' is metaphor for the victims of the capitalist system. The petals are eaten by a worm which symbolizes the capitalist powers feeding upon the local people. Wanja's motto in the neo-imperialist system is "*You eat somebody or you are eaten*" (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 345). Wanja, in self-delusion, believes that she is not one of the victims of the system. However, in her method of revenge by becoming wealthy through prostitution, she totally depends on the capitalist powers who exploit her body. Her wealth is gained at the expense of her dignity and self-respect. In contrast to her self-image as superior to the capitalist powers, she is completely drowned by the system. At the end of the novel, the flames that swallow Wanja's *Sunshine Lodge* turn into 'petals of blood' that take their revenge on the system. However, the fire not only eliminates the prominent capitalists but also lethally injures Wanja. Struggle with the system inevitably injures the victims, for the second time. Even though Wanja with her pregnancy and Karega with the movement of the workers still carry hope at the end of the novel, their fate is

determined at the beginning: As victims of the capitalist system, their lives are doomed to suffer and be spent in struggle with the system, as the circular narration of the novel emphasizes.

Approaching the subject of neo-colonialism from a different angle, in *Animal's People*, Indra Sinha rewrites the history of the Bhopal gas tragedy, which occurred in 1984, from the perspective of one of the worst victims of the tragedy. Instead of Bhopal, the imaginary city of "Khaufpur" is created as the location and Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) is named 'the Kampani'. The majority of the people in the novel are victims of the tragedy and they are subaltern. The lives of the subaltern are reflected in a strikingly vivid and desperate way with the author's wit and humour. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak explains, "*a subaltern cannot speak*", and a subaltern is no longer a subaltern when it gains its voice (1993, p. 104). Therefore, Sinha's attempt to give voice to the subaltern is a step on the way to break the enslavement of those subaltern people.

At the beginning of the novel, an "Editor's Note" indicates that the story was originally narrated in Hindi by a nineteen-year-old boy and recorded onto tapes by him at the request of a foreign journalist doing research on Khaufpur. The note indicates that apart from translation into English nothing has been changed. Detailed information on the tapes and the written notes (the novel) are given. The novel is divided into sections according to the tapes and first-person singular narration is used. From the beginning, Sinha aims at creating a world as closely attached to reality as possible.

The novel begins with the striking sentence "I used to be human once". Animal continues, "*So I am told. I don't remember it myself but people who knew me when I was small say I walked on two feet just like a human being*" (Sinha, 2007, p. 1). The reader finds himself face to face with Animal's blunt and frank confession. He appears to be not interested in the past and throughout the novel insists that he is not a human being but an animal walking on four-legs. If the first few sentences are investigated closely, it appears that the most important reason why he is to be considered an animal is that he is not walking on two feet. However, the name 'Animal' is a licence for him to be freed from the restrictions and codes of behaviour imposed on him by society. Being 'Animal', he can speak and behave freely without thinking about consequences. Therefore, the language used in the novel is straightforward, sharp and even coarse — full of colloquial words and slangy language. Animal's inaccurate 'pronunciation' of some words is deliberately

misspelled. The use of the word 'Inglis' instead of 'English', and 'Amrika' instead of 'America' indicates illiteracy of Animal and his language emphasizes the fact that he belongs to the lowest class in the society. 'The Kampani' is probably a mutation of the English word 'company'. As it is written with a capital letter throughout the novel, it signifies Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) without directly naming it.

He declares that "*I am not clever like you. I can't make fancy rissoles of each word. Blue kingfishers won't suddenly fly out of my mouth. If you want my story, you'll have to put up with how I tell it*" (Sinha, 2007, p. 2). The language and the narration are under his full control. He has the complete power to reveal or manipulate the story. In contrast to the mask of 'unclever' narrator, he uses a witty challenging language throughout the novel.

As the protagonist of the novel, Animal is quite significant. He is one of the worst victims of the tragedy; his spinal cord is bent, and he is doomed to walk on his legs and hands. The shape of his body indicates the physical damage that neo-imperialist exploitation can inflict. Having lost his parents on the night of the explosion, he has grown up in an orphanage. He comes from the lowest class structure, feeding on the wasted food in bins and, like animals, struggling for a piece of rotten food. He lives on the boundary between being human and animal. His narration reflects the perspectives of both the suffering poor and their leaders, struggling for the welfare of the poor population. Living in Nutcracker, the poorest region of the city, he strikingly reflects the lives of the suffering poor. On the other hand, working for Zafar, who is a fervent defender of the struggling poor, he has connection to the leaders of the victims.

Animal is a subjective narrator with internal contradictions and his reliability is suspect. His sharp tongue and frankness in sharing even the most embarrassing sentimental feelings directly with the reader seem to be the guarantee of his honesty. His wonder at the female body and urge to have sexual intercourse, and the bitterness which rises out of lacking the experience of either, are described sincerely. His love for Nisha, jealousy of Zafar which carries him to the edge of poisoning him, and his hiding his suspicion of Elli's betrayal of the rest for his own selfish benefit are described openly. However, Animal's character involves contradictions. Even though, at the beginning of the novel, he declares that he doesn't want to be a human being (walking on two feet), he desperately longs for it. He has the capability to manipulate events in his favour. Thus, his reliability is under suspicion. After Nisha rejects his marriage proposal, his unreliability is



revealed: “So I’m gone, running out of that house, into the street and into this night. Behind me I can hear, or maybe I imagine, Nisha calling ‘Animal I’m sorry come back.’ But I can’t go back, not ever [...]” (Sinha, 2007, p. 333). His imagination and reality obviously intermingle here, and the truth of his words is questionable.

Both novels are narrated by subjective voices, Munira and Animal, who are victims of the neo-imperialist system. The novels indicate an attempt to give voice to the subaltern people and a step towards raising their voice in the public sphere. On the one hand, Sinha tries to create a narration as close to reality as possible by referring to a recorder and the notes of the tapes; on the other, Ngugi creates a riddle between Munira’s subjective notes and the objective third person narrative. Ngugi is against the distorted interpretation of African history; thus, the subjectivity of Munira’s notes is a metaphor for the subjective interpretation of history.

### **“The Pitfalls of National Consciousness”**

*Petals of Blood* narrates the period after Kenya independence in 1963. It reflects both the hopes and disillusionment of the people of Ilmorog which in a wider perspective indicate the unfulfilled hopes of the nation in the emerging neo-colonial period. Thus, Ngugi brilliantly intersects the lives of the different generations which represent different ideologies and periods in Kenyan history. The main characters of the novel - Munira, Karega, Abdualla and Wanja - are all connected with their interlinked past, which is interwoven with the country’s political history.

Kenya, like most African colonies, suffered from white domination. Fifty percent of its arable land was captured by European settlers and the landless natives were obliged to work on the lands of European producers (Furedi, 1989, pp. 9-10). In some cases, Africans living on European land paid rent in cash or had to give up part of their produce (Furedi, 1989, p. 11). European colonists were mostly settled in the so-called White Highlands of the Rift Valley and in Nairobi (Furedi, 1989, p. 4). The uneven distribution of wealth resulted in inconsistent development between the cities, where Europeans had settled, and the rural areas, where African people were in the majority.

The development of a colony does not necessarily mean development for the whole nation. On the contrary, colonialism searches for natural resources that can be extracted and exported to the mother country to supply its factories (Fanon, 1978, p. 129). Therefore, some sectors and areas are developed while the others are

ignored. Fanon asserts that after independence, the nationals who live in those prosperous areas take advantage of it by refusing to share its wealth with the whole nation. As Fanon asserts, “*To them, nationalisation quite simply means the transfer into native hands of those unfair advantages which are a legacy of the colonial period*” (1978, p. 124). After independence, this leads them to a catastrophic end that replicates colonial rule.

In *Petals of Blood*, the crash of the airplane and death of Abdulla’s donkey are symbolic. They represent the beginning of a new period for Ilmorog. The crowds of people from the villages close by gather in Ilmorog to see the plane, and thus begin Wanja and Abdulla’s investment in making money out of the crowds. They are the only local people to success in business, while most of the others sell their land to the outsiders who can afford to buy it and become slave-workers on the lands they once roamed freely (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 320).

Fanon argues that the bourgeois dictatorship of under-developed countries draws its strength from the existence of a leader who defends the interests of the bourgeoisie and the ex-colonial companies (1978, p. 134). As the leader is on the side of the exploiters, the economic channels of the state run along neo-colonial lines (Fanon, 1978, p. 135). The national, undeveloped bourgeoisie becomes dependent on foreign loans and gifts to balance its budget (Fanon, 1978, p. 135). Therefore, the economy and the capital of the country are exposed to exploitation once more.

In *Petals of Blood*, Nideri wa Riera is an archetype of the new politician. He is the minister representing Ilmorog in the parliament. He is an advocate of reforming Parliament until he gets a directorship in a foreign-owned company. Consequently, his political stance is changed: “*Africa needs capital and investment for real growth-not socialist slogans*” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 209). Riera, as a leader, defends the rights of the African bourgeoisie and the ex-colonialists. “KCO” is the idea that will serve the interests of the wealthy locals and their partners to create economic giants like those in Europe and he foresees a development plan for Ilmorog under the Ilmorog Branch of KCO. Kimeria, Chui and Mzigo represent the African bourgeoisie that gain wealth and power after the independence of Kenya. Riera’s existence as a minister, someone who supports neo-imperialism, enables the new bourgeoisie — which is in a minority — to accumulate wealth and strength.

Chui embodies the transformation of an African rebel to a fervent supporter of the neo-colonialist system. In his youth, Chui is expelled from Siriana — a university with a good reputation — because of his rebellion against the European-biased education system. In the years following independence, he makes a fortune by being one of the privileged African bourgeois and transforms himself into a fervent supporter of European colonists and their civilization. Strikingly, Chui's heroic stature as an advocate of African culture disappears.

The transformation in Chui's political stance supports Fanon's observation that after independence, African unity turns into regionalism (1978, p. 129). The new rising African bourgeoisie, in their "*wistful narcissism*", expect to replace their colonial predecessors by obtaining all the advantages they had (Fanon, 1978, p. 122). In order to improve its economy, the under-developed bourgeoisie depends on foreign currency and investment. Therefore, they become the supporter of the former European colonists: African unity disappears, and regionalism appears in its place. After independence, the means of production and unequal distribution of wealth turn into the hands of the privileged few; thus, the struggle against the new administration continues at a regional level. The journey of the people of Ilmorog to the city signifies a resistance to the unequal distribution of wealth, which draws them more into the centre of the neo-colonial problem.

As a consequence of neo-imperialism, the undeveloped lands open up for investment. As Fanon analyzes, "*the national middle class will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe*" (1978, p. 125). *Petals of Blood* indicates that only the middle-level managerial positions are in the hands of Africans, and the top-level managerial positions are held by Europeans (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 342-43). After independence, multinational corporations invest in the third world countries. Some of those are exemplified in the novel by the Czech Canadian International shoe making factory (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 104), the London Rhodesia Company (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 337), and the British McMillan sugar company (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 343).

Similarly, the shopping and business centres in the New Ilmorog are dominated mainly by multinational corporations in cooperation with the national bourgeoisie. One of them is a tourist (Utamadinu) village owned by Nderi wa Riera and a West German concern, named as "*Ilmorog African Diamond Cultural and Educational Tours*" (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 333). Tourism becomes a national religion,

worshipped by the national bourgeoisie, and it corrupts the nation for the sake of the tourists. Riera's tourist village becomes a centre for the illegal ivory trade and prostitution (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 397).

Theng'eta Breweries is another important concern in *The New Ilmorog*. It starts on the premises owned by Mzigo and then grows into a huge factory owned by an Anglo-American International combine with African directors and shareholders (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 334). Mzigo, Chui and Kimeria are among those leading personalities. In the capitalist development of Ilmorog, the local businesses cannot compete with the larger scale concerns. Even though Wanja and Abdulla are the producers of Theng'eta, by the manipulation of the licensing laws, they lose their business to an International Liquor Manufacturer whose Kenyan branch is directed by Mzigo, Chui and Kimeria.

The motto of nationalist parties is 'independence'. However, they are not able to accumulate capital under the colonial regime, and they are unaware of the economic system of the country (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 122). Therefore, they cannot establish new factories to contribute to the economic growth of the country after independence. This results in the dependence of the national economy on foreign investment. In *Petals of Blood*, Riera, Mzigo, Chui and Kimeria represent the national middle class which replaces the colonial. Nonetheless, because of their financial predicament, they are forced to depend on foreign investment. This leads to the continuation of colonial class difference and unequal distribution of wealth. Accumulation of capital by dispossession is the only way of gaining wealth for the national middle class; thus, the opening up of new lands to investment also creates landless poor.

Ngugi's *Petals of Blood* is a remarkable critique of accumulation by dispossession during the development process of Ilmorog, a tiny village populated by peasants, to a modern city. Harvey explains accumulation by dispossession as follows: In the existence of "capital surplus", accumulation by dispossession releases a set of assets (including labour power) at very low cost. Overaccumulated capital gets hold of those assets and turns them into profitable use (Harvey, 2003, p. 149). This means taking possession of a land by creating a landless proletariat and then releasing the land into the privatized mainstream of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003, p. 149). The development plan that Nderi explains openly gives hints that he is bringing accumulated capital to Ilmorog to possess the low-cost land and labour. The land of the shopping centre would be bought from

the owners with “*adequate compensation*”, a tourist centre and a game park would be set up, and loans would be given to the herdsmen and ordinary farmers to improve their land (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 317).

Nderi’s plan is quite capitalistic and aims at attracting the assets of wealthy African bourgeoisie and foreign investments to the area. This shows the opening up of non-capitalistic territories to trade and investment. The people of Ilmorog, who get loans from the African Economic Bank, pay for imported fertilizers and they are unable to make the land yield enough with their old methods without machinery and adequate advice. Therefore, most of the people cannot pay back the loans and their lands are sold on behalf of the bank. Rosa Luxemburg argues that in the course of accumulation, the right of ownership changes into appropriation of other’s property; commodity exchange turns into exploitation (Harvey, 2003, p. 137). In the novel, the capital for the capitalist system is acquired by the appropriation of the lands of the peasants by means of bank loans that they could not pay back. However, the exchange of the land for the loans turns into exploitation when most of the natives are deprived of their land and forced to farm on barren lands outside the city or become labourers on the lands they used to own.

Wanja’s body is the allegory of the land exploited by the neo-colonialist powers. After the colonists came “*no virgin soil*” was left (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 11). Wanja loses her virginity and fertility after her relationship with Kimeria. In order to survive in the capitalist system, she throws her baby into a latrine and becomes a prostitute. This is similar to the farmers who get loans to cultivate their lands and at the end fail to pay them back. Thus, to survive, they give up their land and become slaves on the lands they once owned. Just as Wanja’s body becomes barren after her intercourse with Kimeria, the lands of Ilmorog are made barren by colonialist activity that destroyed the forest which brought rain. In the capitalist system, Wanja’s power and existence depend on her exploitation by the wealthy neo-colonialists. Similarly, the land has to be taken into the capitalist system and invested in the capitalists in order to produce more wealth. However, as long as the capitalist system exists the land will only fill the pockets of the wealthy few and will be barren for the rest of the nation. Wanja’s resuming of her fertility after the murder of Kimeria, Chui and Mzigo is not in vain.

Abdulla is a former Mau Mau militant who fought against British colonialism for the independence of Kenya. His comrades and family are murdered by British colonists, and he is crippled after the struggle. As Fanon asserts, after

independence militants disappear into the crowd and take the mere title of citizen: By leading the bourgeoisie to power, they fulfil their mission and leave the stage for the bourgeoisie to carry out their mission for the welfare of the nation (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 138). Abdulla represents the militants that Fanon describes and suffers from the incapability of the bourgeoisie to carry out any mission apart from following their colonist predecessors. In the neo-colonialist system, he is deprived of his land and business by African capitalists is reduced to selling oranges to passers-by and lives in poverty.

Rosa Luxemburg argues that capital accumulation has a dual character: "accumulation is a purely economic process with its most important phase a transaction between the capitalist and wage labourer" (qtd. in Harvey, 2003, p. 137). The creation of the landless poor supplies the capitalist system with labour force. The establishment of factories gives birth to the working class and the class stratification of the developing Ilmorog mainly divides into two: the national bourgeoisie and the working class. Harvey argues that capitalistic system requires creating its own "other" in order to accumulate (2003, p. 141). Therefore, the workers are thrown out of the capitalist system to stabilize it. It is a system in which the workers receive much less than they produce; this enables the capitalist to reinvest with the accumulating capital. This increases the gap between the capitalist and the workers, and in the long run becomes the source of tension and struggle against the system.

Harvey argues that, according to capitalistic logic, "non-capitalistic territories should be forced open not only to trade but also to permit capital to invest in profitable ventures using cheaper labour power, raw materials, low-cost land and the like" (2003, p. 139). Territories should be continuously opened-up to involvement in the capitalist system. The lands of the global periphery become exposed to capitalist investments. In *Animal's People*, the imaginary city of Khafpur (which is an under-developed city in India) is the victim of the capitalist investments of an American chemical company called the Kampani. One night an excessive gas explosion from the factory kills thousands of people and leaves many others to face serious health problems. Indra Sinha rewrites the history of the Bhopal gas tragedy which occurred in 1984, from the perspective of one of the worst victims of the tragedy. It is a remarkable novel that indicates the destruction of under-developed populations by capitalist investment. Delhi Science Forum's Report on the Bhopal

Gas Tragedy (Jan., 1985) strikingly shows how multinational corporations are not taking the necessary safety measures:

multinational corporations operating in third world countries pay scant attention even to technological imperatives for ensuring human safety, in contrast to the measures they adopt under the vigilant eyes of the people of Europe and the USA. The Bhopal accident starkly exemplifies the inherent tragedy of the logic of pursuing maximum profits at minimum costs [...]. (1985, p. 33)

The opening-up of the under-developed non-capitalistic territories to capital investment do not necessarily bring development and a better standard of living to the local people. The local people transform into a working-class population and their labour and production assures the maintenance of the new imperialist system which increases the wealth of national bourgeoisies and the foreign entrepreneurs. In the third world countries, away from strict governmental obligations and controls on safety measures, capitalist powers can ignore necessary precautions for the safety of workers and the local people in the interest of maximum profits, even at the expense of their lives. The Bhopal gas tragedy was one of the most tragic results of this cynical negligence. In *Animal's People*, the statement of an old woman, Gargi, about the industrial accident to one of the Kampani's lawyers gives insight into the tragedy:

Mr Lawyer, I lived in the shadow of your factory, you told us you were making medicine for the fields. You were making poisons to kill insects, but you killed us instead. I would like to ask, was there ever much difference, to you? (2007, p. 306)

The economic measures of the company to make more profit end the lives of thousands of people and result in a variety of severe health problems from lung cancer to blindness. As Timothy Brennan argues, specific regions of the third world have roles as sites of primitive accumulation (2005, p. 113). He explains as follows:

Companies, for instance, use these often politically defenceless zones for toxic dumping; its vast stretches of rain forest are relied on for the "scrubbing" of polluted air; consumers in poorer countries are routinely marked as subjects for trials involving potentially dangerous products, just as others are rendered experimental subjects for medical procedures. (2005, p. 114)

After independence, even though the colonial administration is replaced by a national one, the economic insufficiency of the undeveloped bourgeoisie weakens its political power. Being economically dependent on foreign investment, and being under-developed, the local administration could not strictly apply regulatory rules and restrictions to the foreign investor. Therefore, as Brennan argues, these “politically defenceless zones” become the centre of toxic dumping. After the explosion, the effects of the toxic chemicals last at least for twenty years and contaminate the water and soil of the town. A black mother who refuses to feed her child with her milk strikingly claims that even her milk is poisoned: “Our wells are full of poison. It’s in the soil, water, in our blood, its in our milk. Everything here is poisoned. If you stay here long enough, you will be too” (2007, pp. 107-108).

*Animal’s People* strikingly shows the destructive effects on the local people of multinational companies’ investment in the Third World countries. The majority of the people in Khafpur are impoverished by the effects of the tragedy: they lost their jobs as workers; their health deteriorated, and they have become unable to work; the soil and the water they are using are contaminated by lethal chemicals and cause further health problems. Thus, caste system in India which divides the nation into four main categories- Brahmana(priestly), Rajanya (warrior-ruler), Vaishya (merchant), Shudra (servant) and the rest as Untouchables- is invisible in *Animal’s People* (Sills, 1968, p. 339). As majority of the people are poor and victims of the explosion, the class difference appears as a tension between the poor and the rich capitalists. The poor local people have been subaltern first under the rule of the colonizers and following the independence under the hegemony of dominating capitalist class in India. The politicians are in cooperation with the foreign investors. Being economically dependent on foreign investment, they are under the control and domination of the same foreign power. The national ruling class are guards of the neo-imperialist system. Therefore, the subaltern cannot raise his voice, and the struggle against the system turns out to be in vain.

### **Guards of the New-Imperialism**

As Fanon argues in poor and under-developed countries, where the greatest wealth is surrounded by the greatest poverty, the army and the police — advised by foreign experts — constitute the pillars of the regime (1978, p. 139). The first changes in Ilmorog were the building of a church and a police post even before there were any criminals. As inspector Godfrey explains, the duty of a policeman is to maintain “*stability, law and order*” upon which depends the successful growth of



all the industries and foreign investments (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 397). It is outside his duty to question the moral purity of the capitalist system (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 397). In this respect, Karega -with his trade unionism- threatens the very structure of capitalism. Therefore, he and his followers are worse than murderers (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 396). The policemen are the guards of the capitalist system and they work to stabilize the nation to enable it function properly for the privileged few. Even though the inspector knows that Utamaduni Cultural Tourist Centre at Ilmorog - which is in the partnership of Nderi and European investors- is a centre trading in ivory and women, he does not have the right to inspect this crime, which would concern several members of the wealthy bourgeoisie.

As the police are the guards of the capitalist system and defend the rights of the capitalists, the people who threaten the system are easily eliminated. Even though the lawyer is not in politics at the time of the Ilmorogians' journey to the city, since he helps Karega, Munira and Abdulla to get out of jail, Nderi regards him as "the Enemy" who should be eliminated. The lawyer is described as a person of wealth; unlike the capitalists, he tries to defend the rights of the poor. As Wanja explains, it is planned that "*All those who are against KCO must be eliminated*" (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 387). The unsolved assassination of the lawyer, if it does not prove the cooperation of the police and the capitalists, shows the inability of that police to act when it will threaten the safety of the capitalist powers.

Religion is another corrupt institution in the society. The church is in alliance with the capitalist powers and KCO is going to have a Church Branch. The Church has a crucial role in the suppression of the proletariat in order to maintain the capitalist system. Reverend Jerrod Brown, the most respected man in the Anglican hierarchy, refuses to help the poor people and a sick child, while he lives in wealth. Only after the delegation is accepted by Riera, the M.P. of Ilmorog, does the church take action. The development plan of Ilmorog opens it up to capitalist investment and KCO is the main plan — under the disguise of development — for exploiting the area by the new-imperialist powers. After the development plan is decided, the church is one of the first buildings to be built in Ilmorog. Religion is a mask that is used by the capitalists to disguise their wealth and to justify their ownership in front of the public. Firstly, Reverend Jerrod Brown, the head of the Anglican Church, is the embodiment of the church's hypocrisy: he, who should supposedly distil himself from material worldly gains, owns a business in The New Ilmorog. Secondly, Munira's father, who is a devoted Christian, uses all means of the

capitalist system to increase his wealth. Thus, he defines KCO as “a cultural organization to bring unity and harmony between the rich and the poor” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 114). Christianity is the only way to stabilize the people and prevent them from struggling against the system. The establishment of the Church in the area is an attempt to take the proletariat, who will be created as a natural result of the capitalist development, under control. It is the way to suppress the anger of the people towards the capitalist system. As the church explains, “*They (workers) were to avoid the strife and struggles of this world. This world was a distorted image of the other world. Distorted by Satan*” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 363). ‘Satan’ is equivalent to the capitalist economy, for the proletariat. Instead of struggling against it, they are expected to accept its betrayal and look forward to spiritual salvation!

Munira’s acceptance of religion as the only salvation results from loss of hope of changing this world. If even the lawyer who was working for the welfare of the poor can be brutally murdered, there is no hope of justice and happiness in this world. In *Animal’s People*, Ma Franci, who is a nun, believes that revelation will begin in Khaufpur where people suffer so much. For her, the other world is the only way of ending poverty and wretchedness of the victims of the capitalist system. Similar to Munira, Ma’s belief in religion raises out of her inability to change the world.

In contrast, Karega believes that the Church is “a weapon against the workers!” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 363). His mother, Mariamu, believed that God would put everything right one day and died as a landless worker “without God putting anything right” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 407). Karega indicates the hypocrisy of the Church and believes that if there is a salvation, it should be on earth: Workers should struggle to gain their rights. Like Karega, Zafar, in *Animal’s People*, shows distrust in religion. According to him, “*The idea of Heaven was invented by the rich and powerful to keep the poor from rebelling*” (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 207). Both characters see hypocrisy of religion, which suppresses the people in favour of the capitalist powers.

### **Anti-Capitalist Movements**

At the heart of Ngugi’s thesis is his argument that “*Kenya’s working people, the workers and peasants are marginalised, if not totally ignored, in the countries narrative history*” (Ogude, 1999, p. 8). In his novel, he gives voice to the workers and peasants and narrates the history of Kenya from their perspective. His character portrayal is remarkable as each character indicates a different problem in

the national history. Karega is the representative of working-class people. He raises the problems between capital and the labourers who are alienated from the system and the means of production. The employees are exploited by the trade union leaders who are the businessmen: *“you cannot serve the interests of capital and of labour at the same time”* says Karega (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 342). The priorities of capital are at the expense of the rights of labour. The agricultural plantation workers are employed like slaves: the whole family works for an insufficient income to live under hard living conditions in a hut. The workers on the field are often beaten by their European or African overseers (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 344). Capitalism is described as a *“monster demanding more and more sweat and giving only very little of that which it had demanded”* (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 343). The Kenyan people first lost their lands and then diminished to mere workers without a home in their own country. As Karega describes *“a worker has no particular home...He belongs everywhere and nowhere [...] I carry my only property-my labour power my hands-everywhere with me”* (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 345). This is the only way of survival for a worker under the capitalist system. David Harvey argues that the greatest problem in the capitalist system is the contradiction between labour and capital in terms of production:

The classic view of the Marxist/socialist left was that the proletariat, defined as waged workers deprived of access to or ownership of the means of production, was the key agent of historical change. The central contradiction was between capital and labour in and around the point of production. (2003, p. 169)

The proletariat, who are the producers in the capitalist system, become slaves of what they have produced. They do not have access to the means of production or their ownership. In *Petals of Blood*, the workers built the New Road and New Ilmorog, they become the creator of the new system by being deprived of capital which is *“itself stolen from other workers”* (Thiong’o, 2002, p. 362). Their labour is exploited by the owners of the capital, and they become the slaves of what they have produced.

Trade unions appeared as a resistance to the exploitation of the workers. Harvey argues that *“the primary instrument of working-class organization were trade unions and political parties whose aim was to produce state power in order either to regulate or to supplant capitalist class domination”* (2003, p. 169). The trade-unions were the most striking working-class organizations that enabled the workers to resist and try to change the capitalist domination. Being organized as a union, the

workers find the chance to raise their voice, go on strike, demand higher salaries and better working conditions. Throughout the novel, Karega is in struggle with the capitalist system and towards the end legalizes his struggle by becoming the Secretary-General of the Theng'eta Breweries Worker's Union. "*The movement of Ilmorog Workers*", established by the workers to fight against the organized capitalist robbery, is Karega's hope for a better future at the end of the novel (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 408).

In *Animal's People*, the quest of the victims for justice at the court is their way of raising their voices to end their subalternity. The inability of the court to act against the capitalist employees of the Kampani reflects the weakness of the laws against the capitalist powers. All the governmental institutions - court, police, and church - are bound to be in harmony with the capitalist system; moreover, to guard its safety. The Kampani is a company owned by American and Indian shareholders. Even though it is managed by Indian employees, the main decisions are taken by the American owners. Americans deny the jurisdiction of the court and without their attendance no decision can be given. Therefore, the acceptance of Zafar's petition as an attempt to bring the American owners to the court is a courageous step. The demand of the victims of the gas tragedy is explained by Animal as follows: "*The Khaufpuris were demanding that the Kampani must pay proper compensation to those whose loved ones it killed, whose health it ruined, plus it should clean the factory and compensate the people who had been drinking its poisons*" (Sinha, 2007, p. 33). The case and the acceptance of the petition represent a resistance to and attack on the capitalist system. However, the petition results in the transfer of the judge to another court and the hearing is postponed giving more time to the American lawyers and the ministers to manipulate the laws in favour of the Kampani. This is as a result of a deal from which the two parties- ministers and the Kampani -would gain, but definitely at the expense of the poor victims. The end of the novel signifies the ineffectiveness of the court to judge the capitalist powers although they caused the death of thousands of people.

Zafar's dream is a remarkable parody of justice. The crow, which grants him three wishes, makes fun of him after his first wish: "*Simple natural justice should prevail*" (Sinha, 2007, p. 227). The crow identifies it as an impossible wish as justice is neither simple nor natural. Within the context of the novel, the laws that bring justice are open to manipulation. Under the jurisdiction of powers that control the capital and the administration, the law can be altered for the benefit of the powerful

few, ignoring the rights of the suffering thousands. The equal distribution of wealth or justice to the poor is also impossible. The Kampani is a perfect example of capitalist power which is controlled from a Western centre and seeks low-cost land and labour in third world countries. It has such a wide network of connection and cooperation with “*generals and judges, senators, presidents and prime ministers, oil sheikhs, newspaper owners*” (Sinha, 2007, p. 229) that it is impossible to dismiss its power. Kampani is only the visible part of the iceberg, only a symbol in the whole capitalist world. Therefore, asking for justice in the capitalist system is equivalent to wishing for the impossible to become possible.

In both novels, Ilmorogians and Khauphuris are impoverished by the capitalist system. The former are impoverished by the drought as a result of colonialist activities that destroyed the forest, and suffer from the accumulation by dispossession as their lands are opened up to capitalist investment. The latter are impoverished by the multinationalist company which invested in India to dump its toxic chemicals while taking the advantage of low-cost land and labour. Both peoples live in scarcity of food and poverty. Their power therefore comes from having nothing to lose. Those people live at the periphery, and they are subaltern. Their struggle is to raise their voices either in the city to the officials or to obtain their demands by means of the court to end their subalternity. In *Animal's People*, Zafar explains the power of the poor as follows: “*Having nothing means to have nothing to lose. So you see, armed with the power of nothing we are invincible, we are bound to win*” (Sinha, 2007, p. 54). Similarly, in *Petals of Blood*, Karega believes that the workers, as the unprivileged working class, should demand their rights by strikes and negotiations to obtain better working standards and living conditions.

### **Conclusion**

David Harvey asserts that “[i]mperialism of the capitalist sort arises out of a dialectical relation between territorial and capitalistic logics of power. The two logics are distinctive and in no way reducible to each other, but they are tightly intervoven” (2003, p. 183). Harvey’s emphasis on territoriality and capitalistic logics of power resonates with Fredric Jameson’s definition of capitalism as a singular economic system across the world where he emphasizes that “*all the paths of capitalist development are unique and unrepeatabe*” (2002, p. 182). In other words, each territory’s (or each country’s) accession to capitalism is uniquely determined by that regions cultural, historical, and social specificities; yet, in the twentieth century,

capitalism as a world economic system, engulfs all the regions that seem to be left out of that economic system.

Harvey argues that “[w]hen political control shifts within the territorial logic, flows of capital must likewise shift to accommodate. States regulate their affairs according to their own distinctive rules and traditions and so produce distinctive styles of governance” (2003, p. 183). According to Frantz Fanon, however, in the former colonies

[i]ndependence does not bring a change of direction” (1978, p. 100).

In postcolonial era the “national bourgeoisie discovers its historical mission as intermediary. As we have seen, its vocation is not to transform the nation but prosaically serve as a conveyor belt for capitalism, forced to camouflage itself behind the mask of neo-colonialism. (1978, p. 100-101)

After independence, the colonialists are replaced by a national bourgeoisie who, without capital and economic power, become dependent on foreign investment. In both novels, the unprivileged poor are the victims of the neo-imperialist system which attracts multinational corporations to take advantage of low-cost land and cheap labour. In *Petals of Blood*, the people of Ilmorog firstly suffer from the uneven distribution of wealth by being at the periphery: they live detached from the prosperity of the city and are doomed to live in poverty and scarcity of food. Secondly, they are impoverished by the newly established neo-imperialist system by losing their land and becoming workers for low incomes. In *Animal’s People*, Khafpuris suffer from the dumping of toxic chemicals by multinationalist corporations in third world countries. As a result of the explosion, thousands of people die, and the survivors suffer from serious health problems. Therefore, the hope of the nation for better standards of living after independence is unfulfilled. Both novels strikingly indicate that national independence is incomplete without economic and social justice.

Both Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s *Petals of Blood* and Indra Sinha’s *Animal’s People* are mirrors reflecting the trajectories of neo-imperialism from the point of view of the victims suffering from the system. Ngugi explores the subjectivity of African history as reflected by Westerners by the dual narration of his novel, from a subjective and a relatively objective but complementary narrative voice. Neither the previous colonial domination nor the national bourgeoisie which replaces them represents the victims of the system. The narration of the novel from the perspective of Munira, who refuses the familial capitalist wealth by escaping to live in Ilmorog, successfully

reflects the contradictory concerns of the capitalists and the victims. In *Animal's People*, Sinha gives voice to the subaltern victims of the system by the first-person narrative of Animal, one of the worst victims of the system. Sinha emphasizes the reality of his story by indicating each chapter as a tape recording and using a sharp, slangy, and witty language for Animal. Both novels give voice to the subaltern victims of the society, and they are milestones in freeing of the unprivileged classes from the bondage of the dominating national and foreign powers.

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### Summary

David Harvey asserts that Karl Marx's concept of primitive accumulation is no more appertaining especially in the neo-liberal era as considering any land that is left out of the world capitalist system is becoming more and more impossible (2003, p. 144). Therefore, he coins a new term, "accumulation by dispossession", and claims that under the rubric of neo-liberal economic policies, Marx's primitive accumulation would require new adaptations (2003, p. 145). According to Harvey, accumulation by dispossession functions as follows: "In the existence of 'capital surplus', accumulation by dispossession releases a set of assets (including labour power) at very low cost. Overaccumulated capital gets hold of those assets and turns them into profitable use" (Harvey, 2003, p. 149). This means taking possession of a land by creating a landless proletariat and then releasing the land into the privatized mainstream of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003, p. 149). Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petals of Blood* is a remarkable critique of accumulation by dispossession during the development process of Ilmorog, a tiny village populated by peasants, to a modern city. The development plan that Nderi explains openly gives hints that he is bringing accumulated capital to Ilmorog to possess the low-cost land and labour. The land of the shopping centre would be bought from the owners with "adequate compensation", a tourist centre and a game park would be set up, and loans would be given to the herdsmen and ordinary farmers to improve their land (Thiong'o, 2002, p. 317).

Nderi's plan is quite capitalistic and aims at attracting the assets of wealthy African bourgeoisie and foreign investments to the area. This shows the opening up of non-capitalistic territories to trade and investment. The people of Ilmorog, who get loans from the African Economic Bank, pay for imported fertilizers and they are unable to make the land yield enough with their old methods without machinery and adequate advice. Therefore, most of the people cannot pay back the loans and their lands are sold on behalf of the bank. Rosa Luxemburg argues that in the course of accumulation, the right of ownership changes into appropriation of other's property; commodity exchange turns into exploitation (Harvey, 2003, p. 137). In the novel, the capital for the capitalist system is acquired by the appropriation of the lands of the peasants by means of bank loans that they could not pay back. However, the exchange of the land for the loans turns into exploitation when most of the natives are deprived of their land and forced to farm on barren lands outside the city or become labourers on the lands they used to own.

Harvey argues that "[w]hen political control shifts within the territorial logic, flows of capital must likewise shift to accommodate. States regulate their affairs according to their own distinctive rules and traditions and so produce distinctive styles of governance" (2003, p. 183). According to Frantz Fanon, however, in the former colonies "[i]ndependence does not bring a change of direction" (1978, p. 100). In postcolonial era the "national bourgeoisie discovers its historical mission as intermediary. As we have seen, its vocation is not to transform the nation but prosaically serve as a conveyor belt for capitalism, forced to camouflage itself behind the mask of neocolonialism" (1978, p. 100-101).

After independence, the colonialists are replaced by a national bourgeoisie who, without capital and economic power, become dependent on foreign investment. In both novels, the unprivileged poor are the victims of the neo-imperialist system which attracts multinational corporations to take advantage of low-cost land and cheap labour. In *Petals of Blood*, the people of Ilmorog firstly suffer from the uneven distribution of wealth by being at the periphery: they live detached from the prosperity of the city and are doomed to live in poverty and scarcity of food. Secondly, they are impoverished by the newly established neo-imperialist system by losing their land and becoming workers for low incomes. In *Animal's People*, Khafpuris suffer from the dumping of toxic chemicals by multinationalist corporations in third world countries. As a result of the explosion, thousands of people die,



and the survivors suffer from serious health problems. Therefore, the hope of the nation for better standards of living after independence is unfulfilled. Both novels strikingly indicate that national independence is incomplete without economic and social justice.

Both Ngugi wa Thiong'o's *Petals of Blood* and Indra Sinha's *Animal's People* are mirrors reflecting the trajectories of neo-imperialism from the point of view of the victims suffering from the system. Ngugi explores the subjectivity of African history as reflected by Westerners by the dual narration of his novel, from a subjective and a relatively objective but complementary narrative voice. Neither the previous colonial domination nor the national bourgeoisie which replaces them represents the victims of the system. The narration of the novel from the perspective of Munira, who refuses the familial capitalist wealth by escaping to live in Ilmorog, successfully reflects the contradictory concerns of the capitalists and the victims. In *Animal's People*, Sinha gives voice to the subaltern victims of the system by the first-person narrative of Animal, one of the worst victims of the system. Sinha emphasizes the reality of his story by indicating each chapter as a tape recording and using a sharp, slangy, and witty language for Animal. Both novels give voice to the subaltern victims of the society, and they are milestones in freeing of the unprivileged classes from the bondage of the dominating national and foreign powers.