



CONTENTS

Editorial

- 02 Samita Sen, Shamil Jeppie, Carlos Degregori

02 Letters to the Editors

Opinions

- 03 UN Expansion

Articles

- 04 Hlonipha Mokoena, *The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: Introducing Magema Magwaza Fuze*
- 10 Iman Mitra, *The Economics of Sex in Indian Conventional Cinema: In Context of Changing Times and Metaphors*
- 14 Abolade Adenji, *Planning for Failure and Exploitation: Colonial Planning and Implementation under the 1945 Colonial Development Act and the Ten-Year Plan in Nigeria*
- 19 Marcos Fernández Labbé, *Vice in Woman: Social Representations on Female Alcoholism in Chile, 1870-1930*

Symposia South

- 21 Kumar Mahabir, *Indian Pharmaceutical Drugs in the Caribbean*
- 22 Projit Bihari Mukherjee, *Karat Vs Ramdev: Of a Storm in a Vial (1)*
- 23 Jishnu Dasgupta, *Karat Vs Ramdev: Of a Storm in a Vial (2)*

Contemporary South

- 25 Edsel L Beja, Jr., *An Hour of War: A Tradeoff Analysis*
- 26 Feruza Shamukaramova, *History of Reconstruction of Mirzo Ulugbek Observatory*
- 29 Kashshaf Ghani, *Islam Today*

Across the South

- 31 Kingshuk Chatterjee and Alejandra Galindo, *Two Reports on Workshop on "Social Change and Identity in Muslim Societies"*
- 33 Lakshmi Subhranian, *Conference on "Regionality, Identity and History Writing"*
- 34 Mario Rufer, *Memory, Oblivion and Remembrance of Violence in the South*
- 37 Dalea Bean, *Dakar Workshop*

Encounters

- 39 Kashshaf Ghani, *Dipesh Chakrabarty Speaks on "Knowledge Production And The History Of Friendship- Jadunath Sarkar's And Govind Sakharam Sardesai's Correspondence"*
- 40 Jishnu Dasgupta, Riddhi Sankar Ray and Kashshaf Ghani, *Interview, Professor Rajat Kanta Ray*
- 44 Janaki Nair talks to Kashshaf Ghani about *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*

Reviews

- 45 Atig Ghosh, 'Bangalore Hacked' Janaki Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005
- 47 Amit Dey, 'A Woman of Substance' Lubna Kazim (edited and compiled), *The Memoirs of Begum Khurshid Mirza*, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2005
- 48 Samata Biswas, 'Fragmentary or Fragmented: Representing Women and their (a)Political Lives' Mythill sivaraman, *Fragments of a like: A family Archive*, Zubaan: An Imprint of Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2006

49 Announcements

59 Our Team

Editorial

Samita Sen, Shamil Jeppie, Carlos Degregori

This is the third- and the last- issue of the second volume of the Sephis e-Magazine. We have had, including this issue, five general issues and a special one on media and culture. In this issue, like our general issues, we have presented a number of themes drawn from various regions of the South. The opening months of the year has seen some critical events in West Asia, especially, some of which have been reported by Kashshaf Ghani in an article called *Islam Today*. Most of our journalistic endeavours remain focused on South Asia, though we are making renewed efforts to include news from other regions, within Asia, as well as from Africa and Latin America.

The editorial committee was requested to cover issues of historiography in local contexts of the South more widely. We make a start with some discussions on Indian historiography. Professor Jadunath Sarkar is widely acknowledged as one of the first modern professional historians of India. His writings and his career have challenged straightforward characterisations of the colonial and the nationalist. Professor Dipesh Chakrabarty, widely known for his seminal intervention in discussions about histories and history-writing in the South with his thesis on 'provincialising Europe', has in a recent work examined some of the correspondence between Sarkar and another well-known contemporary historian, G. S. Sardesai. He gives us a sense of the possibilities at a moment in the making of modern history-writing in colonial India. Chakrabarty presented this paper at various seminars in Calcutta in December 2005 and January 2006. We have reported his presentation at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences (Calcutta). In an earlier presentation at the Presidency College, he had provoked a lively discussion in which Professor Rajat K. Ray (one of the best known teachers of History in the city and a somewhat maverick historian in his own generation) made a critical contribution. To our report of the presentation by Dipesh Chakrabarty is added an interview with Rajat K. Ray. The interview was conducted informally by three of his more recent students, Jishnu Dasgupta, Riddhi Sankar Ray and Kashshaf Ghani- all three are or have been associated with the production of this magazine. This rather unusual 'encounter' fits neither the format of a report nor of an interview. We have thus kept it as a feature across our usual categories. We do realise that the discipline of categories and predictability is an important element of comfort for a magazine readership and yet we at times transgress our own rules. This flexibility in re-ordering and border-crossing is usually informed by a specific intellectual agenda and the result of prolonged discussions within the editorial team. We would be interested in our readers' responses in this regard.

In this issue we have done this twice. Professor Janaki Nair, associated with the Sephis in a number of capacities in recent years, received a prize for her recent book on Bangalore. Unusually, the book sold out before we could grab a copy for review. We had to request the publisher to find a copy for us. This review is combined with a short interview of Janaki Nair, about the background of the book.

Apart from these unusual features, we have our usual *articles*. In this volume, they range from planning for development in Nigeria, the politics of prohibition and gender in Chile in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One article explores the problems associated with the introduction of writing in a colonial context and, more specifically, in the context of extensive missionary activity, as exemplified by Magma Magwaza Fuze (c. 1840 - 1922). As intermediaries between traditional and colonial society, the literate became often the de facto 'native informants' of the colonial political system. A fourth article takes an idiosyncratic look at sexual politics in Indian's celebrated mainstream film industry, the Bollywood.

In the *Symposia South* section, we are covering some political questions around traditional medicine, in the context of a recent controversy in India. Many of these issues have arisen across the South and we hope to explore some of them in subsequent numbers. In the *Contemporary South* section, Beja, a frequent contributor to this magazine, has given us an analysis of the economic of war, and Feruza Shamukaramova has traced the reconstruction of the Mirzo Ulugbek Observatory. *Across the South* presents reports a wide range of conferences and workshops in Madras (India), Dhaka, Beirut and Dakar. The *reviews* section, apart from Janaki Nair's book on Bangalore, features two biographical works, on the lives of Subbalakshmi and Begum Khurshid Mirza.

Apart from the usual features, we are listing a few questions on the proposed expansion of the United Nations. We hope to receive responses from readers, which we will feature in our next issue.

Letters to the Editors

This is the first time I am looking at your e-zine and I think it's nicely put together. The photo-essay on Durga Puja had some good pictures (the one of the blue paint was my personal favourite), but I thought it could have adopted a more critical stance, that would have made it an object for Cultural Studies. As it is, there is nothing much to differentiate it from a regular 'Durga Puja in Bengal' tourist-booklet, except some of the comments that go with the pictures, which get one to think about some things in connection with the festival, with tradition etc.

Dasgupta's piece on cinema was interesting too, particularly the second half, because he seemed to be mostly reporting in the first. I wish he had said more about Benegal and his interaction with that whole scene of IIMC and Benegal's cinema. It would have been interesting to lay it out more; because there's only that much space the author ends up sounding like some sort of a Leftist moralist in places, rather than somebody who's reflecting on Benegal's politics, what it does, its place in today's India, and the author's own place in that whole set-up. Anyhow, hope to see more of this e-zine

Shefali Jha
Hyderabad, India

Thank you for your considered comments. So far as the photo-essay is considered, the photographs were chosen with a view to both the 'exceptional' as well as the 'representative'. Our motive was, we have to admit, to do a more critical version of a 'tourist booklet' rather than 'cultural studies' properly so-called. We were aiming at providing a flavour of the scale and range and the scale of the festival to a wider audience, particularly outside India for many of whom this could be a first encounter.

About the report and the IIMC ambience, the author feels the same as you do. He was asked to report the lecture by Shyam Benegal and felt that he had already exceeded his brief by commenting at the length he did on the campus and the politics. We are often restricted especially in our reporting by the need to keep them brief. We try to maintain a balance in case too many and too long reports become tedious. However, we are experimenting with longer reports in this and subsequent issues and would like your response. -Ed.

The last issue was difficult to download as it was too time consuming given its digital size. This was a problem that was there in the first few issues too. This issue has again seen the reemergence of the problem. Given that your e-magazine aims to reach people mainly from the global South many of whom don't have the luxury of broadband connections at home, this is a problem you should seriously look at.

Manuel Sanchez
Ecuador

We are fully aware of and alive to the problem. That is why we had striven to limit the size. However, as you are aware, the last was a special issue. Given the theme, media and culture, and the number of contributions that focused on the visual, we had to carry more images than usual. We were also trying hard not to compromise on the quality of the images, given their explanatory significance in many of the essays. This issue is much lighter and you should not have problems downloading. But do keep us posted on such technical matters. -Ed.

The piece written by Abanti Adhikari showed very poor understanding of a lot of the problems and issues about the 'majority community' in Bangladesh. Both in what she wrote and the undertones present therein, the piece can be accused of essentialisation, if one wishes to be polite, or of a communal (in the South Asian sense) understanding.

I am shocked that your e-magazine carried it.

Iqbal Amin
Teota, Bangladesh

Your comments came in a bit too late for us to send it to the author for a response as the e-magazine was already in production. We will send it to the author and hope to carry a response next time. -Ed.

Opinion

UN Expansion

Recently, the proposed expansion of the United Nations has created quite a storm, both in the diplomatic and governmental circles, as well as in the press and the chattering classes. Here are some of the issues that we feel, also need to be addressed and we would like to hear from you on them.

Please do write in to us how you feel about any of them, or as many as you want.

1. How do you think the proposed expansion of the UN Security Council would reflect the changing balance of power in the world? Do you think that in order to reflect the changed balance more effectively, certain powers like France and the U.K. should be left out of the 'new' Security Council?
 2. Do you think that Brazil's claims are strengthened by the fact that through MERCOSUR, it has played a great role in bringing some amount of economic freedom in South America? Do you think India's failure to play a similar role in regional issues and her nuclear policy should 'disqualify' her from the seat?
 3. Do you think that South Africa's reputation as a stickler for national sovereignty, particularly in the case of African nation-states, sometimes even at the cost of human rights, is militating against her inclusion?
 4. Is it true (in your opinion) that an expansion of the UN Security Council would only reinforce status quo as it would bring into its fold the emerging power nations and also by making forceful decision-making more difficult by enhancing numbers and thereby increasing the number of interests represented?
 5. Do you think that in order to build a more democratic global order, the whole notion of Permanent Members to the Security Council should be abolished and the elective principle made universal?
 6. Would the Great Powers lose interest in the UN as the US did with the League of Nations? What effect would it have on the work of UN arms like the UNHCR, UNESCO, IAEA, UNICEF etc. that carry out (according to many) the more respectable aspects of UN work?
-

An International Seminar on '**Islamic Issues in Southeast Asia**' was held on 24-25 November 2005 at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Organised by the English language MA Course in Southeast Asian Studies of Chulalongkorn University.

The Seminar was divided into two parts. The first, conducted in English dealt with Southeast Asia a whole. The second conducted in the Thai language dealt exclusively with 'Islamic Issues in Thailand'.

Papers that were much discussed in the morning of the first session included:

'Islam and the State in Indonesia.' By Mr. Abdul Mukti, Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Youth.

'Islam and the State in Malaysia.' By Dr. Norani Othman, IKMAS Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

'Islam and the State in the Philippines.' By Dr. Noel Morada, Chair, Political Science Dept., University of the Philippines, Diliman.

The afternoon Session included paper by two students of the MA Southeast Asian Studies Course of Chulalongkorn University.

'Comparison of Islamic Unrests in Thailand and the Philippines: with a Reference to the Present Situation in the Southern Provinces of Thailand.' By Mr. Makoto Shiokawa.

'Communities in Fear: a Case Study of Yala in Thailand's Troubled South.' By Ms. Miki Ebara.

Articles

The Making of a Kholwa Intellectual: Introducing Magema Magwaza Fuze



Hlonipha Mokoena

Hlonipha Mokoena has recently completed her Ph.D. in Political Studies. Her thesis title was 'The Making of a *Kholwa* Intellectual: A Discursive Biography of Magema Magwaza Fuze'. She is currently a Humanities Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. Although she has no hobbies she would like to declare, her bookshelves are groaning under the weight of cookbooks that she buys but never uses.

Abstract

Magema Magwaza Fuze (c. 1840–1922) exemplifies the problems associated with the introduction of writing in a colonial context and, more specifically, in the context of extensive missionary activity. The relative 'success' of this missionary endeavour resulted not only in the small but growing number of converts to Christianity, but perhaps more momentously with the emergence of a small but critical mass of individuals who were literate and therefore no longer confined to an oral culture. As the products of mission education, they collectively shared an identity of being both Christian and educated. They were *amakholwa* (plural noun for 'believers'). As intermediaries between traditional and colonial society, the *kholwa* became the *de facto* 'native informants' of the colonial political system. They were often consulted by colonial administrators on matters affecting the 'natives'. Magema Magwaza Fuze was such a 'native informant' turned *kholwa intellectual*: He was a Christian convert, literate, a printer by profession and an assistant to the controversial John William Colenso, the Bishop of Natal. In the early twentieth century, he was a columnist for the Zulu-English newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal*. In particular he was the author of *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona*. The basic aim of this paper is to introduce Magema Magwaza Fuze as a *kholwa* writer.

Introduction

My objective here is to show how Magema Magwaza Fuze¹ (c. 1840 – 1922) became a writer. This process of 'becoming' a writer and an intellectual was not straightforward nor can it be understood in biographical terms alone. Rather, the process was facilitated by missionary education and colonial subjugation: For Magema Fuze even just learning to read and write involved leaving his home and family and was intimately tied up with a process of 'conversion' to Christianity. As an author and as an individual Magema Fuze represents the colonial experience in its acutest form: In 1856 he left his home in Natal at the age of about twelve, and enrolled at Colenso's *Ekukhanyeni* school; in 1859 he became the first in his family to be baptised as a convert to Christianity, he was the first in his family to learn to write, he served as an assistant and printer for the 'infamous' Bishop of Natal.² It is this colonial education that equipped him with a technical knowledge of books and perhaps also

fostered an independent intellectual stance. In his last years he wrote a book which on the surface was an indictment of colonialism and a rallying call for 'the black people' to unite. *Abantu Abamnyama* cannot be read literally; despite its title it does not offer a conventional historical account of 'the black people and whence they came' nor does it provide an authentic transcription of local oral traditions. The book raises more profound questions, especially about what the writing of such a work by an author of Fuze's background might represent. If we accept that the book is neither a 'history' of the black people nor a recounting of traditional oral narratives then the obvious question to ask is how should we characterise and locate Fuze's *Abantu Abamnyama*. For our purposes the significance of Fuze's book, as both a contingent and an inaugural work, is precisely that it cannot be placed within established categories, disciplines and traditions. It both represents a decisive break with earlier (oral) traditions while it also marks a serious attempt to initiate

a new kind of (literate) discursive community. Making use of the intellectual skills provided by an *Ekukhanyeni* education, it sought to apply these in the service of fashioning a 'black identity' and explicating an African vocabulary and discourse of emancipation and modernity.

As a book written by a first-time author and a *kholwa*, *Abantu Abamnyama* cannot be interpreted or understood independently of broader questions about the making of intellectual traditions in South Africa. At the most basic level *Abantu Abamnyama* represents a tradition of black intellectual thought that could have been. As literati produced by mission schools and educated for acculturation, Magema Fuze and his *kholwa*³ contemporaries were at the vanguard of the intellectual, social and political transformations of indigenous communities in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century southern Africa. From this position of intellectual advantage these *amakholwa* intellectuals could have been a foundation for an indigenous or native intelligentsia. Their literary

¹ At different times in his life Magema Fuze used different surnames and signed his name differently: He sometimes wrote as 'Magema Magwaza' at other times as 'Magema M. Fuze' and when he wrote for *Ilanga lase Natal* he signed his articles as 'M. M. Fuze'. In the notice about his death, published in *Ilanga*, his son Sol. M. Ngcobo called him 'u Magema ka Magwaza ubaba wakwa Ngcobo' 'Magema Magwaza the father of the Ngcobo family' while also mentioning that 'Owaziwa kakulu ngokuti uFuze' 'He is well-known as Fuze', Sol. M. Ngcobo, "Umbiko," *Ilanga lase Natal*, 17 November 1922, p. 5. This suggests that Magema Fuze could have at other times used the surname 'Ngcobo'; his own account of his genealogy suggests that the clan names 'Fuze' and 'Ngcobo' could be used interchangeably. M. M. Fuze, *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona*, City Printing Works, Pietermaritzburg, 1922, p. iii. In compiling the bibliography I have used the surname 'Fuze', but have indicated in brackets when the surname Magwaza was used. I have also used the initials 'M. M.' when he used them and 'Magema M.' when he signed himself in this way.

² John William Colenso arrived in Natal, for an exploratory visit, in 1854. His initial experiences were recorded in his *Ten Weeks in Natal. A Journal of a first tour of visitation among the colonists and Zulu Kafirs of Natal*. He returned, with a mission party, in 1855. The mission station which he established just outside of Pietermaritzburg was called 'Ekukhanyeni', 'place of light' and his own residence was called 'Bishopstowe'. See Jeff Guy, *The Heretic: A Study of the Life of John William Colenso, 1814-1883*, Raven Press & University of Natal Press, Johannesburg & Pietermaritzburg, 1983, pp. 46-53. He acquired the Zulu name 'uSobantu' which means 'father of the people'. See Ruth Edgecombe, ed., *Bringing Forth Light: Five Tracts on Bishop Colenso's Zulu Mission*, University of Natal Press & Killie Campbell Africana Library, Pietermaritzburg & Durban, 1982, p. xv, Guy, *The Heretic*, p. 48.

³ The term '*kholwa*' will be used frequently to designate the nineteenth-century products of mission education and their collective attitudes, beliefs, and identity. It is sufficient, for now, to explain that the term derives from the Zulu word '*kholwa*' meaning 'to believe'; *ikholwa* is thus 'a believer' (plural *amakholwa*). Rather than systematically use the grammatically correct *ikholwa* and *amakholwa*, I have chosen to use both the terms *kholwa* and *amakholwa* as shorthand to describe both individual converts and their collective identities and ideals. Since contemporary Zulu-speakers often also speak of *ukholo* when they talk about Christianity, it should be noted that the Zulu root word '*kholwa*' does not imply religious belief and is used in everyday language to speak about all sorts of beliefs.

Articles

efforts as recorded in missionary journals and colonial newspapers, both black and white owned, demonstrate a willingness and enthusiasm to assume this role. At the height of their intellectual dialogues and exchanges, Fuze and his contemporaries visualised themselves as participating in a novel community in which each was an equal and could freely engage with one's peers and readers on the pages of newspapers or in letters sent and received.

This vision was however not realised; the emergent intellectual tradition was stifled in its infancy. Fuze's book, even more than the works of Sol Plaatje or the Jabavus (John Tengo and D.D.T.), proved stillborn and was soon largely forgotten. The premature demise of this nascent intellectual tradition may at one level be explained by contextual political developments. The unification of South Africa in 1910 and the creation of a white state effectively dispersed and marginalised this emerging discursive community of *kholwa* literati. At another and deeper level, though, we are confronted with the basic critical dilemma in the development of black intellectual thought, namely, how could traditions of social and political criticism and theorising develop in a colonial context, in which the vanguard intelligentsia was itself 'colonised' and therefore without the independent means to sustain or protect their position? This critical dilemma is the starting point for the present discussion.

In the study of *kholwa* intellectuals, biographies have functioned as an obvious entry point. Brian Willan's biography of Sol Plaatje, Catherine Higg's biography of D.D.T. Jabavu and Tim Couzen's biography of H.I.E. Dhlomo are notable examples.⁴ In a sense this essay is also a biographical introduction to the work of Fuze, only with a difference: Rather than a conventional study of his life and times the aim here is to provide a preliminary account of Fuze as a member of a discursive community. What this means is that while we do not neglect or ignore Magema Fuze as a historical figure, his work will be introduced as a starting point for an exploration of a range of related political, intellectual and theoretical issues within South Africa's intellectual history. Fuze's life

story represents a first-generation experience of the transition from an oral culture to the modern world of literacy. As such it is more than just the story of a life; it is as much the story of profound shifts in the discursive conditions and aspirations of local intellectual life. Fuze was a member of that pioneer elite, including the likes of Tiyo Soga, Sol Plaatje, John Tengo Jababu and John Dube, who first moved on from being 'native informants' for colonial administrators, missionaries and ethnographers to becoming authors and *kholwa* intellectuals in their own right. As a member of this literate community, he wrote extensively for newspapers including the Zulu-English newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal*. His book, *Abantu Abamnyama*, was one of the earliest South African attempts to construct the imagined community of an 'African nation'. In both representing and also articulating some of the major intellectual and political transitions of his time— from an oral culture to modern literacy, from being a 'native informant' to becoming a *kholwa* intellectual, and from a customary ethnic identity to membership of the 'nation' as a discursive community— Fuze's life and thoughts thus provide ample material for a concrete case study of key themes in the making and unmaking of indigenous South African intellectual traditions.



A Preliminary Overview of Fuze's Writings

Since the main objective is to understand Fuze as a writer we can now turn to his writing. The difficulty has been

in compiling this corpus of work; his writings are fragmented and scattered, and come from different stages of his personal and intellectual life. The earliest texts are from his youth and provide a contemporary testimony of his early induction to literacy. The earliest available piece of writing by the young Magema is an essay he wrote describing the daily routine at *Ekukhanyeni*; it is preserved like that of the other *Ekukhanyeni* boys in the Grey Manuscript Collection.⁵ The young Magema soon applied his skills as a compositor and composed a versified transcription of everyday dialogue titled '*Amazwi Abantu*'/'The People's Words (Voices)' which Colenso sent to Wilhelm Bleek, the philologist. This lengthy printed record of people's conversations, fictitious or real, is an important example of the impact of literacy on the mind of the young Fuze. Both the short essay and '*Amazwi Abantu*' seem to have been written before Colenso's trip to Zululand and the publication in 1860 of *Three Native Accounts*. This travel narrative is the first instance in which Fuze appears in a published text as a writer and was part of other converts' 1859 narratives about Colenso's visit to the Zulu king Mpande. In his original introduction to the narratives, which were published simultaneously in *isiZulu* and English, Colenso marketed the book as 'well adapted for any who are beginning to study the language [Zulu]'. As late as the 1930s, *Three Native Accounts* was considered to be 'one of the four best examples of the purest Zulu'.⁶ His narrative of his subsequent travels to Zululand in 1877⁷ was published in *MacMillan's Magazine* as 'A Visit to King Ketswayo'. What is noteworthy is that the account published in the magazine is vastly different from the one in *Abantu Abamnyama*; the account in *MacMillan's Magazine* contains detailed accounts of conversations he had with the Zulu king. This detail is largely absent in the book.

As a characterisation of the earlier years before his *Ilanga lase Natal* period, Fuze could be described as an active letter writer and petitioner. Fuze's contribution in the 1890s to the newspaper *Inkanyiso YaseNatali*⁸ included letters to the editor, which he wrote in response to the letters and

⁴ See Tim Couzens, *The New African: A Study of the Life and Work of H. I. E. Dhlomo*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1985; Catherine Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D.D.T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885-1959*, Ohio University Press, Athens, 1997; Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: A Biography*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1984.

⁵ Magema (Skelemu) Fuze, "Two Accounts of the Church of England Mission Station *Ekukhanyeni* near Pietermaritzburg, Written by Two Kafir Boys", in *Grey Manuscript Collection*, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town, 1857, p. 3.

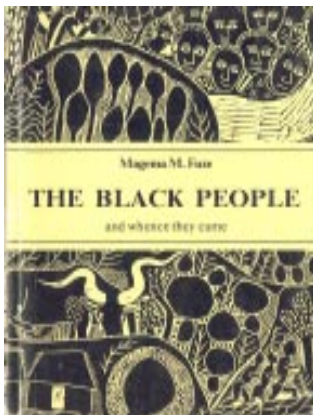
⁶ Guy, *The Heretic*, p. 65, Alain Ricard, *The Languages and Literatures of Africa, The Sands of Babel*, trans. Naomi Morgan, Africa World Press & David Philip, James Currey, Trenton, Oxford & Cape Town, 2004 pp. 111-112.

⁷ There is some uncertainty as to when Fuze actually made this trip, that is, was it 1877 or 1878? In his introduction to the article Colenso signed and dated it 'Oct. 29, 1877', at the end of the article the same date is included but in *The Black People and Whence They Came*, Fuze wrote that he had set off for the journey on the 15th of July 1878. Magema M Fuze, *The Black People and Whence They Came: A Zulu View*, University of Natal Press & Killie Campbell Africana Library, Pietermaritzburg & Durban, 1979, p. 108. To deal with this uncertainty, references to the trip will state 1877 as the year in which it took place, and 1878 as the year in which the article was published.

⁸ On *Inkanyiso YaseNatali* see Vukile Khumalo, "Epistolary Networks and the Politics of Cultural Production in KwaZulu-Natal, 1860-1910", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 2004, pp. 272, 277-279.

Articles

comments of other readers. Some of the issues that were contested on the pages of *Inkanyiso* included the question of whether Natal's Zulu men should continue to wear *izicoco*, the traditional head-rings, which were a symbolic and physical marker of the status of manhood. In 1901 Magema Fuze collaborated with another former *Ekukhanyeni* student, Mubi Nondenisa, for a series of articles about John W. Colenso, 'u*Sobantu*', and the *Ekukhanyeni* institution. It is in these examples of Fuze's participation in the writing and reading networks of other *amakholwa* that one discerns the basic features of the audience to which *Abantu Abamnyama* was addressed. It is also important to know that in terms of his development as a writer, Fuze had kept an abbreviated and incomplete diary of his journey to St. Helena,⁹ and that while he was on the island he continued the Bishopstowe practice of writing letters to friends and acquaintances, and also letters of protest; he even communicated extensively with Alice Werner, the linguist and friend of Harriette Colenso, the bishop's daughter. Werner is also important to our understanding of how Fuze's book *Abantu Abamnyama* was read because she offered in 1931 her own assessment of the book's value.



In the years after his Bishopstowe career (from 1915 onwards) Fuze wrote serialised articles for the newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* and these serials included, 'Abantu Nemikuba Yabo Bengaka Biko Abelungu'/'The Black People and their Customs before the Coming of the Whites' and 'Sapumapi Tina? Ukuhlazulula Uhlanga'/'Where Do We Come From? A Clarification of Origins'. Other articles by Fuze that appeared in the newspaper include, 'Isipeto Sika Zulu'/'The End of the Zulu People' in 1916; 'Ukuhlasele KwaBelungu KwaZulu'/'The Attack of Zululand by the White People' in 1919 and from 1916 -1922 'Umuntu Kafi Apele'/'When a person dies, that is not the end of him'.¹⁰ What characterises these articles, and letters to the editor is that they more often than not elicited robust and contrary views from his readers. The impression created by this dialogue and exchange of ideas and queries between Fuze and the readers of these serials is that the readers of *Ilanga lase Natal* regarded the newspaper as a public forum in which they could each be apportioned space to express their views, however unpopular or idiosyncratic. Although no single example of this dialogue can sufficiently capture the liveliness of this interaction it is enough at this point to state that the *Ilanga lase Natal* phase of Fuze's writing consists of a medley of articles and opinions on Zulu history, Zulu customs, Church politics, and sometimes details of Fuze's personal life (as when his daughter was murdered by her husband). This suggests that this collection of texts forms part of Fuze's contribution to both the establishment of the newspaper as a forum for *kholwa* opinion and also to the discourses of history and identity of early Zulu intellectuals. These *kholwa* commentators constituted themselves as a 'community of discourse'. Newspapers such as

Ilanga lase Natal are therefore a crucial source if one is to better understand the general debates among literate Zulu speakers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although it is impossible to critically study the content of the newspaper in detail, it is sufficient to observe that as an organ of the intellectual and cultural aspirations of the *kholwa* elite, the newspaper served the function not only of disseminating ideas of mutual benefit, but it also created an audience for the kind of African and Zulu history Fuze wanted his contemporaries to read and write.¹¹

Some comments on the book *Abantu Abamnyama* are necessary. In the book Fuze revealed his fundamental and continuing indebtedness to missionary scholarship by quoting extensively from Colenso's *Izindaba Zas' eNatal [Natal Affairs]*. The implication is therefore that to understand Fuze's 'history' of the Zulu people one also has to understand the influence of Colenso's *oeuvre*, mission, and involvement in Zulu affairs. If Fuze's later writings testify to the emergence of an independent authorial role in relation to a new discursive community of literate Zulu speakers then his underlying embeddedness in colonial scholarship and missionary education remain profound and manifold. Ironically, it is this creative dialectic which structures his development as a writer.¹² The fact that Magema Fuze extensively announced on the pages of *Ilanga* that he was writing a book, through both his constant requests for funding and his updates on the progress he had made, probably raised the expectations of his readers. They would however have found the final product disappointing. In comparison to the articles in *Ilanga*, *Abantu Abamnyama* was an anti-climax. It simply lacks the depth and detail found in his serialised articles.

⁹ After the 1889 treason trial of the young Zulu king, Dinuzulu, he was sentenced, together with his uncles, to exile on the island of St. Helena. In 1896 Fuze travelled to St. Helena to take up the position of tutor to the royal family. For a description of the Zulu entourage's residence on St. Helena, and its consequences, see Jackie Loos, 'The Zulu Exiles on St Helena, 1890-1897', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, 53, no. 1/2, 1998.

¹⁰ Although La Hausse provides translations for the titles of Fuze's *Ilanga lase Natal* serials, I have altered some when I thought necessary. Also, some serials like the 'Umuntu Kafi Apele' were published over several years, and La Hausse only mentions the 1918 series. See Paul La Hausse, *Restless Identities: Signatures of Nationalism, Zulu Ethnicity and History in the Lives of Petros Lamula, (c.1881-1948) and Lymon Maling, (1889-c.1936)*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, 2000, p. 22.

¹¹ The role played by *Ilanga lase Natal* in the emergence of a *kholwa* historical consciousness is summarised by La Hausse thus:

If, as some have argued, the *kholwa* 'left [their] pre-colonial Zulu roots behind relatively quickly', then there are already signs that by the turn of the century they were stumbling towards some form of *rapprochement* with that past. Possibly the most illuminating evidence of this can be found in *Ilanga*, the newspaper founded in 1903 by Natal Native Congress leader, landowner and educationist John Dube. In the early issues of *Ilanga*, beside articles on church history, reports on the elaborate gift giving associated with African Wesleyan weddings, and diaries of local mission communities, one can also find reports, for example, of Cetshwayo studying Zulu history whilst in England, the popularisation of the idea of Shaka as a 'Black Napoleon'... These tentative turn-of-the-century reflections on ethnic history and identity were not only the result of a deepening sense of pessimism about the future but also reflected a sagacious grasp of the politics of the history.

La Hausse, *Restless Identities*, pp. 11-12.

¹² The other set of nineteenth-century texts that can be read in conjunction with Fuze's *Abantu Abamnyama* consists of travel and ethnographic writing which described and defined Zulu society for European audiences. One reason for noting these texts is that several of their authors were also implicated in the course of nineteenth-century Zulu politics and therefore that as authors they were both 'informants' and 'participants' in the 'discovery' of Zulu culture and peoples. Examples of such texts include, Nathaniel Isaacs', *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* (1836); Reverend A. Gardiner's, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country* (1836); and Reverend Francis Owen's, *The Diary of the Rev. Francis Owen* (1838). The other reason for mentioning this picaresque and travel writing is that some authors were also instrumental in introducing literacy to Zulu kings and subjects. Francis Owen was, for example, Dingane's scribe and tutor and his interactions with the king reveal the duplicity of literacy and the literate, since the presence of Owen enabled Dingane to interact with for example the trekker Piet Retief and yet the same literacy could not prevent his misunderstood decision to massacre Retief and his party.

Articles

So for example, whereas in *Ilanga*, Fuze wrote a genealogy and history of the AmaHlubi and published it over a couple of weeks; in *Abantu Abamnyama* the AmaHlubi and their chief Langalibalele receive only a few cursory remarks. Such omissions make *Abantu Abamnyama* a qualitatively different text to the *Ilanga* serials. It is however possible that the manuscript for *Abantu Abamnyama* was completed before his *Ilanga* period; Harry Lugg, the book's translator, states that he met Fuze in 1902 and that by that time he had 'written or partially written his book, and was a frequent visitor to our Native Affairs Department seeking financial aid for its publication'.¹³ This incongruous relationship between the book and the newspaper articles and the fact that Fuze speculated on the origins of 'the black people' in the north of Africa could be the main reason why the book and author have been largely marginalised, or at most footnoted by scholars of Zulu history, literature and culture. However, other factors contributed to this marginal legacy and status of Fuze and his book. One of these factors was the cost of the book; La Hausse quotes a price of 5s. The other was that although the book may have been of interest to the scholar or historian, it was probably not considered suitable for inclusion in the school syllabus. As La Hausse demonstrates in his discussion of the career of Petros Lamula and his book *UZulukaMalandela*, Natal's education officials could choose to ignore a book and not prescribe it as a school textbook even when it was popular with Zulu literates.¹⁴ This meant that a few specialists and collectors of Zulu literature probably read the book, but that it did not really attract popular appeal. Petros Lamula had himself seen the book in someone else's office and wrote to Harriette Colenso, in 1923 requesting a copy of Fuze's *Abantu Abamnyama*.¹⁵ But these explanations only account for why the book was not popular at the time. What is less explicable is why the book was not 'discovered' by African nationalists and acknowledged as an early expression of the nationalist spirit. The most convincing explanation is that from the 1920s onwards the nationalist and Congress move-

ments became anglicised, in that English became the preferred language of political engagement. As an *isiZulu* text, Fuze's book did not match this emerging political vocabulary. This is especially significant in the case of Natal where African nationalism competed with and was accommodated alongside an emerging Zulu ethnic nationalism.¹⁶

As a translated text, *The Black People* is not an exact copy of *Abantu Abamnyama*. This disparity between the original and the translated text affects the manner in which the two texts can be read. *Abantu Abamnyama* was written for literate Zulu speakers and it is now near impossible to recover the ways in which they read and understood the book. *The Black People* on the other hand has been glossed and annotated and has therefore had more legible readers and readings than the original. The importance of this distinction is that in the process of translation and editing certain changes were made to the original text and these changes present both practical and theoretical problems. While editing *The Black People*, A.T. Cope divided the book into three sections, namely, 'history', 'ethnography' and 'Zulu history'. In his editor's preface Cope justifies taking these liberties on the grounds that the 'book falls naturally into three sections'.¹⁷ Cope's attitude to the book reflects the general problem of translation since he imposed on Fuze's text a taxonomy grounded on his own interpretation, or misinterpretation, of the book rather than on what Fuze said about the book. This supposed 'naturalness' of the three labels used by Cope creates the impression that Fuze would have identified with these scholarly 'disciplines'. As they stand, these labels may suggest that Fuze was imitating categories used by colonial scholars who had previously produced work on Zulu culture, history and politics. Contrary to Cope's assumptions, Fuze did not locate the book within this tradition of colonial scholarship or imply that he was responding to this literature point for point. To his readers in *Ilanga*, Fuze depicted the book and the process of writing as an act of correcting what had already been written. In requesting that twelve men,¹⁸ each paying £3, should contribute to a fund that would publish

amabhuku/books (in the plural), he ends the notice by stating:

*Ngicela ukuba amadoda anjalo aqamuke masinyane, ukuze nami ngipangise ukuloba, ngoba pela nako loko osekucindezelwe kugcwele iziposiso, kufanele kulungiswe ngokunye.*¹⁹

I am asking that these .men should appear soon, so that I can also speed up the writing, this is because what has already been published is full of mistakes, which should be corrected by others.

When the final product was published, it consisted of a sequence of *izahluko*/ chapters which were not arranged either topically or chronologically but ranged over numerous subjects. Some of the headings that Fuze used in the original include '*Abantu abamnyama, ukuvela kwabo*'/'The black people, their origins', '*Amalinganiso*'/'Comparisons'—Cope retained many of these original headings, but he rearranged some in order to fit them into his three parts. The most notable feature of the original text is Fuze's choice of titles for his prefaces; he chose words associated with wedding ceremonies as the imagery with which to introduce the book. On the '*Isisusa*', to which Cope gave the title 'Prologue', Fuze began by stating, '*Njengokuba s'azi sonke ukuti "isisusa simnandi ngokupindwa"*'/'We all know that 'the wedding dance is nice when repeated'.²⁰ The other words '*Inkondhlo*' and '*Amangebeza*' also belong to the vocabulary of wedding celebrations. These terms obviously resonate with Zulu traditional life but Draper also suggests that Fuze could have used them to refer to both 'the parables of Jesus and the Wedding Banquet' and to the 'awakening of nationalist hopes' since the wedding could function as a 'symbol of national revival as the will of God worked out in history'.²¹ It is these subtle puns and allusions that are lost when the text is divided into the three parts it was not originally in. Yet, this misidentification of the 'intention' of the author is itself useful because it complicates our understanding of colonial scholarship, by which I mean the relationship between the intellectual and scholarly contribution of missionaries to the study of Zulu culture, customs and language

¹³ H. C. Lugg, "Translator's Preface", in *The Black People*, p. xviii.

¹⁴ La Hausse, *Restless Identities*, p. 106.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ A. T. Cope, "Editor's Preface," in *The Black People*, p. x.

¹⁸ In a response to Louisa Mvemve of 116 Alexander Road, King Williams Town, Magema Fuze makes it clear that when he calls for *amadoda* (men), '*angikulumu ngamadoda awavata amabhulukwe awanesilevu odwa...*' M. M. Fuze, "Ku Mhleli Welanga", *Ilanga lase Natal*, 22 August, Vol. XVII, No. 34, 1919, p. 3. Trans. 'I am not talking about men who wear trousers and have beards only...' Unfortunately the quality of the microfilm, from which the letter was copied, is so poor that the rest of the letter is virtually illegible.

¹⁹ M. M. Fuze, "Isicelo", *Ilanga lase Natal*, 23 May, Vol. XVII, No. 21, 1919, p. 4.

²⁰ Fuze, *Abantu Abamnyama*, p. iii. See also C.M. Doke et al., eds., *English-Zulu; Zulu-English Dictionary*, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1958, 1999, p. 771.

²¹ Jonathan A. Draper, "Magema Fuze and the Insertion of the Subjugated Historical Subject into the Discourse of Hegemony", *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol. 5, 1998, p. 22.

Articles

and the contribution of 'native informants' to this system of knowledge. In view of Magma Fuze and *Abantu Abamnyama's* interpretations and descriptions of Zulu customs and history, the question is not just about whether there was a continuity or discontinuity between the methods and objectives of the missionary scholar and those of the 'native informant'. Rather the book reveals how colonial scholarship prefigured, in incomplete and ambiguous ways, the 'corrections' offered and continuously offered by native informants-turned-*kholwa* intellectuals.

Identifying the intertextual relationship between the *kholwa* intellectual's work and the preceding colonial scholarship is only a first step in interpreting *The Black People and Whence They Came*. The second move is to re-read, reinterpret and re-orient the book as a product of historically contingent discourses. This second objective is the more substantial of the two since it involves plunging into the uncharted waters of critically exploring a 'bilingual' text in the hope of offering a novel view of what the book may have meant to the author and to his readers. This critical examination of *Abantu Abamnyama* and *The Black People* is however complicated by the fact that the two works are essentially separate and could even be defined as two different discourses.

From the fact that Magma Fuze's serialised articles in *Ilanga* often provoked his readers to challenge his theories and dispute with him the finer points of his speculations about African history, one can surmise that there was indeed a lively conversation between Fuze and his readers and that, in the absence of contemporary reviews of the book *Abantu Abamnyama*, the letters serve as a barometer of his readers' attitudes to his intellectual project. Typically, this conversation between Fuze and his readers was punctuated by either scathing criticism of his articles or praise as exemplified in the following request from I.N. Nyembezi:

... *Udaba lwako lokuhlazulula uHlanga lumtoti luyatokozisa. Luyisiqalo sezindaba zonke ezipambili ezizovuselela uHlanga lubhale, sibe nezincwadi zolimi*

*Iwesintu. Akwaba uzokwenza incwadi ezogcina indaba yezizwe zakiti, nezikole zezingane zoyitenga, izingane zazi imikuba yesizwe sazo zingaphenduki amaBholomane nje. AbeSutu sebenezincwadi eziningi zolimi lwakubo.*²²

...This matter of yours of clarifying our ancestry [kinship] is sweet and pleasing. It is the beginning of all excellent stories that will awaken [revive] our kin²³ to write, so that we may have books in our 'indigenous'²⁴ [folk] languages. You will perhaps create a book that will preserve [store] the story of our nations, so that the children's schools could buy it, and the children know the customs of their nation and not become half-castes²⁵. The Sotho people now have many books in their language.

Nyembezi's enthusiasm for books and the writing of the 'story' of the nation in indigenous languages confirms what we already know about the general characteristics of the educated African readers of *Ilanga lase Natal*. His response dovetails with the title of Fuze's series of articles, namely, '*Abantu Nemikuba Yabo/Ukuhlazululwa Kwohlanga*'/'The People [Black people] and their customs/A Clarification of Ancestry'. In his repeated use of 'Abantu'/'The People /Black people' one can already discern Fuze's preoccupation with the 'origins' of South Africa's 'black people' and their migrations from other parts of the African continent. However, Fuze's writing was not so programmatic; the titles of these articles often changed from week to week and surprisingly, the content of these suggestively titled articles was not about the 'African' people generally, but about the recent history of the Zulu people and the demise of the Zulu kingdom. This suggests that there is in fact no direct or obvious relationship between these articles and the book *Abantu Abamnyama*. The telling proof of this is that in the book, Fuze only mentions his 1877 trip to the Zulu kingdom to see Cetshwayo and not his 1859 trip, which he made as a young man in the company of Colenso and his *Ekukhanyeni* contingent. The relevance of Nyembezi's request is therefore not in the fact that as early as 1916 Fuze was being encour-

aged to write a book, but in Nyembezi's and other readers' hope that the undertaking would preserve indigenous custom, acting as a bulwark against the degeneration of black people into 'half-castes'. Although the use of the term 'half-caste' suggests a racist concern with purity and an aversion to 'miscegenation', it is also possible to read in Nyembezi's statement a desire to preserve, through writing, the cultural integrity of African peoples. This is evident in his comparative statement that the Sotho people have their own literature, and that in this regard they are far ahead of their Zulu-speaking counterparts. Nyembezi is therefore focussed on the modern activities of writing and producing books rather than the preservation of some traditional and atavistic racial identity. Nyembezi's measure of comparing the literary productions of Sotho-speakers with those of Zulu-speakers is shared by Alice Werner whose 1931 article 'Some Native Writers in South Africa' is one of the few contemporary reviews of Fuze's book that exist. Her article is also an example of an assessment of *Abantu Abamnyama* that is based on the original Zulu text.²⁶ Like Nyembezi, Werner compares the literatures of the various language groups and rates them accordingly; she also identifies Sotho-speakers as leaders in literary output²⁷:

The present generation...has witnessed a remarkable outburst of literary activity among genuine natives. The best known of these, so far, hail from Basutoland, but there is a growing number of books in Xosa [sic], of which less has been heard in this country, and in Natal several promising writers are coming forward.

Nyembezi's praise of Fuze's work therefore seems prescient when read in light of Werner's description of the strides made by 'native writers'. Moreover, this reinforces the argument that those black colonial intellectuals who identified with the modernising effects of writing were painfully aware of the urgency of the task of recording indigenous history and custom. On the book itself, Werner, like Nyembezi, depicted it as a worthy beginning to the establishment of an indigenous literature in the

²² I.N. Nyembezi, "Impendulo Kumnu. Fuze Ngu I.N. Nyembezi", *Ilanga lase Natal*, 31 March, Vol. XIV, No. 669, 1916, p. 3.

²³ Although Nyembezi uses the word 'uHlanga' twice in these sentences, each instance seems to mean something different. In the first sentence his use implies ancestry and genealogy and in this second sentence, he uses the term to refer to his contemporaries. This is why I have translated the term as 'ancestry' in the first instance and 'kin' in the second.

²⁴ The term 'indigenous', for lack of a more appropriate English equivalent, is used advisedly to convey the meaning of the Zulu phrase 'Iwesintu'.

²⁵ My translation of '*amaBholomane*' is based on the Doke et al dictionary. The etymology of the word seems to be a transliteration of the English 'brown man' and Doke et.al give the following definition of '-bolomane': 'Cape half-caste, Coloured man, Eurafrikan', they however also add that 'to-day this is a disrespectful term'. Doke et al., eds. *English - Zulu Zulu - English Dictionary*, p. 43.

²⁶ Werner provides her own translation of the title of the book as, '*Abantu Abamnyama, lapa avela [sic] kona*' ('The Black People, where they came from'). Alice Werner, "Some Native Writers in South Africa", *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 30, no. 118, 1931, p. 36.

²⁷ Werner clearly distinguishes what she calls 'native literature' from missionary texts by stating that: 'Basutoland has, for one reason or another, led the van in the production of native literature, as distinguished from missionary translations.' Werner, "Some Native Writers in South Africa", p. 36.

²⁸ Werner, "Some Native Writers in South Africa", p. 36.

Articles

Zulu language. She also gave Fuze the benefit of the doubt by describing *Abantu Abamnyama* as a 'curiously mixed production', she added:

...(A)long with valuable first-hand accounts of Zulu customs and of incidents which had come within the writer's own knowledge— e.g. the events of 1888, with the trial and subsequent exile of the Zulu chiefs— we find speculations as to the ultimate origin of the South African peoples from the Lost Ten Tribes. In fairness, however, it must be said that the latter occupy comparatively little space.²⁸

Taken together, both Nyembezi and Werner's comments suggest that Fuze's decision to write his book was partly a response to the urgency of 'keeping up' with the other language groups, and also that Fuze's desire to conserve, for future generations, the customs and traditions of 'the black people' was not an idiosyncratic

impulse but a common preoccupation of the African literati. Thus, although there are not many contemporary reviews and criticisms of the book, it is fair to conclude that, at least from the perspective of his *Ilanga lase Natal* readers, Fuze's book had laid the foundations for a Zulu language historical literature and to some measure compensated for the absence of Zulu-speaking 'native writers'.

Readings

Colenso, John W., *Izindatyana Zabantu Kanye Nezindaba Zas' natal, Church of England Missions*, May & Davis, Emgungundhlovu [Pietermaritzburg], 1859.

Colenso, John W., *Three Native Accounts of the Visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umpande, King of the Zulus; with Explanatory Notes and a Literal Translation, and a Glossary of All the Zulu Words Employed in the Same: Designed for the Use of*

Students of the Zulu Language, Third ed., Vause, Slatter & Co., Pietermaritzburg, 1901.

Fuze (Magwaza) Magema, "A Visit to King Ketshwayo", *MacMillan's Magazine*, 37 (1878), pp. 421-432.

Fuze, Magema, "Amazwi Abantu", in *Grey Manuscript Collection [G10 C31]*, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town, 1859.

Khumalo, Vukile, "The Class of 1856 and the Politics of Cultural Production(s) in the Emergence of Ekukhanyeni 1855-1910", in Jonathan A. Draper (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration*, Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg, 2003.

Wuthnow, Robert, *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989.

Celebrating 35 years of Bangladesh's Independence

*Jatodin Rabe Ganga-Jamuna Padma-Meghana Bahaman
Tatodin Rabe Kirti Tomar Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.*

Nirendranath Chakraborty

Commemorating thirty-five years of Bangladesh's independence, *Mukto Mona* has brought out, in collaboration with *German Radio Bangla*, an audio file on the declaration of independence in MP3 format. You can download it from:

http://www.mukto-mona.com/Special_Event_/26_march/swadhinotar_ghoshona-cvt.mp3

Kindly Send your feedback on this and on the articles we have kept in our website (www.mukto-mona.com) to celebrate thirty-sixth Independence Day of Bangladesh.

Avijit Roy

On behalf of Mukto-Mona

<http://www.mukto-mona.com/>

Articles

The Economics of Sex in Indian Conventional Cinema: In Context of Changing Times and Metaphors

Iman Kr. Mitra

He is what in his native Calcutta is known as an archetypal *College Street Intellectual*. He has an abiding interest in politics, both in theory and in practice, particularly of the Marxist variety. He combines this with reading and discussing myriad branches of theories, often of 'post' varieties. Within this, he has a particular affinity for Cultural Studies and is reputed to think of Film Studies as his personal fief. Iman is afflicted with partial blindness and is never able to see the "ard" in Godard and the "Father" in 'Godfather'. Iman also studies Economics.

Abstract

Bollywood, as the Bombay-based film industry is known, has been the 'mainstream' of Indian/Hindi cinema. As such, it has carried out the role of a major carrier of ideological projects of the society it springs from and which serves as its market. Sexual normativeness has been one important element in this process. This article analyses these norms in the changed context within which Bollywood finds itself in the globalising India/world.

Recently a huge fuss is being made about conventional films (made in Bombay/Mumbai) that are predominantly vocal about SEX. These films talk, sing and fight over the BODY of a WOMAN. And they claim to redefine and re-establish the issue of female sexuality in the realm of Indian conventional cinema. Now women are enjoying sexual freedom. They can have sex with anybody, even with a complete stranger. No moral obligation compels her to be LOYAL to her husband. Old theories fail to register these nuances. Hence, we look for a new theory. But we would like to confess that every theory is a general theory and generalisation assumes a devouring attitude towards fractions and fringes. It worships totality and does not acknowledge breaks and interruptions that accommodate exceptions. In the domain of this article we will strive to present a general theory that may or may not encompass all aspects of the contextual changes taking place in the area of specificity of these films. But before doing that we will see how conventional cinema works as an instrument for PRODUCTION-ORIENTED-STRUCTURALISATION of the SOCIETY.

In CONVENTIONAL CINEMA the body of a woman is seen as a commodity: A mere piece of LAND which is cultivated in order to bring some OUTPUT for the socio-political system concerned. The process of cultivation should follow a set of historically evolved impersonal RULES, which ascribe the notion of a SOCIAL ACTIVITY to it. A social activity is different from and preferred to an INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY, which expresses unwillingness to follow these rules. Production-less sex is an individual activity because it tends to subvert the historically evolved impersonal concept of production value of sex. Childless couples and homosexuals are always looked down upon, as they cannot generate HUMAN CAPITAL for a society that firmly propagates the idea of PRODUCTION-ORIENTED-STRUCTURALISATION. Conventional cinema, however, idealises this proposition through a process of

approaching the conclusion that seeks its politico-ideological authenticity in the SUGGESTED INEVITABILITY of the CONVENTIONS it follows.

The RECENT trend of SEX-MOVIES is no exception. These films do emphasise the notion of inevitability of socially evolved rules and customs. The film (all films contain more or less the same story) features a HUSBAND, a WIFE and a STRANGER. The husband is inattentive, so the wife turns UNFAITHFUL. The stranger makes an entry. An affair starts brewing between the stranger and the wife. And then one day the husband comes to realisation that something is rotten in the state of Denmark. He sniffs the matter out. Then the climax: The stranger lets the cat out of its closet. He declares his intentions to the husband. He is a crook and demands money for sparing his wife. The wife overhears the conversation, comes to her senses and dumps the stranger off. The PURIFICATION of the WIFE takes place through a process of REPENTANCE. The repentant wife is reaccepted with honour by the husband and they happily live ever after.



Recently this story line has often been picked up by the MAINSTREAM MOVIEMAKERS of our country. Dozens of movies have been made on this theme. Most of them have turned out to be huge successes and have brought wide smiles back to the anxious faces of their producers. Theorists and media-personalities have observed the whole business with a certain wicked curiosity. They have engaged themselves in discussions, arguments and polemics. A hullabaloo has been created in every corner of the society. Articles and newspaper reports have been published about,

against or in favour of this recent trend. Thousands of pages have already been spent on this very topic. But what is so RECENT about this TREND?

Conventional movies dealing with this subject had been made and remade in our country: The female protagonist falling for a man other than her husband. And the return of the prodigal wife always reaffirmed the politico-ideological authenticity of the husband's ownership over the BODY of his wife. But the movies that have recently intervened in the specific area of BODYCENTRICISM in Indian conventional cinema have undeniably out-sexed their predecessors. The recent films use SEX as a newly discovered mode of communication motivated by a number of contextual consequences where as the earlier movies attributed certain implicit topicality to the notion of SEX. And that makes a difference.

How this implicitness took its shape is a study of a professional film historian. We would rather like to concentrate in making an alternative theory, which intends to offer an alternative analysis of recent trends, conventions and politics of sex. Primarily, we will interrogate the moments of implicit topicality present in earlier movies; and then, we will proceed with our argument regarding sex as a new mode of communication motivated by contextual consequences in movies of recent times. In this way we will make our theory of NEOBODYCENTRICISM in Indian conventional cinema.

What we see in earlier movies dealing with the husband-wife-stranger trigonometry is sex attributed with some moments of implicit topicality. Sex plays the role of an intrinsically motivated catalyst that instigates the characters to interrogate the relationships that bind them together in the cinematic text. In these films we see two men and one woman trapped in a web of unwanted but inevitable sequences and consequences. They are asked to make choices. Does the woman have any advantage in the game of making choices? You may say yes. Two is always better than one. In economic literature this argument is followed by a strict precondition that the

Articles

commodity is a GOOD commodity. The more is the better— this axiom of preference ordering is not applicable in context of a bad commodity (pollution, for instance). The pattern of reasoning in mainstream economics prevents the bad commodity to enter the metaphysically perfect universe of free choices and preferences. Here we stumble over two very important questions. Q#1: Is SEX a BAD COMMODITY? Q#2: Can the WOMAN make a FREE CHOICE?

First question first.... Earlier we have deduced a conception regarding the role of sex in PRODUCTION-ORIENTED-STRUCTURALISATION of the society. Once again we recall how sex is considered an ESSENTIAL machinery to produce human capital. In this connection we would like to define two specific categories of sex: 1. GOOD SEX and 2. BAD SEX. The category of sex that brings output for the system is good sex. The OTHER category, which does not, is bad. Therefore, homosexuality is BAD. Hence, we clearly see the answer to our first question. Sex can be both good and bad. However, conventional cinema always speaks in favour of good sex being the ideal sex.

Our second question deserves more attention. In mainstream economic literature the idea of choice is linked with the concept of constraints. Constraints (specifically budget constraint) bar the consumer from making a free choice. In our case the woman faces a different type of constraint. The concept of arranged marriage narrows down her choice. The choice not made by the woman herself. On her behalf her family decides whom to have sex with. So the woman is endowed with only a shadow choice. And we have our answer.

In earlier movies the stranger is a lover with good intentions. Actually it is he who sends the wife back to her husband. On the other side of the pitch stands the husband with an equally big and generous heart. He takes his wife to the stranger/lover and offers him to have a bite. The men make their choices without much hesitation. At first they look perplexed, shaken by the disasters of life. But they survive all the agonies and ambiguities, and make a choice. On the other hand the woman looks indecisive. Her escapism gives birth to difficulties. It clearly seems that she is incapable of making a proper choice. This provides an excuse for the system to exterminate her right to choose. In the beginning her father chooses her husband, then her husband chooses her lover, and then her lover again chooses her husband. She does not even exist in the game of making choices.

In these earlier movies we encounter a SILENCE regarding SEX. People do not prefer TALKING about it. Instead they talk about LOVE. And love is conceptualised as an INNOCENT/MYSTIFIED/SUBJECTIVE offshoot of sex. These films do keep faith in the objective effectiveness of the mechanism, which enables the system to nurture its idea of expansion

through production. But at the same time they also like to contribute to the process of sexual repression by not being explicit about it. They introduce metaphors, symbols and signs that give birth to a new form of conventional cinema, which strategically attribute a notion of implicit topicality to SEX. These movies talk about sex, but in an inaudible voice. Repression is necessary for sustenance of the hegemonic conception of sex as the machinery for production of human capital.



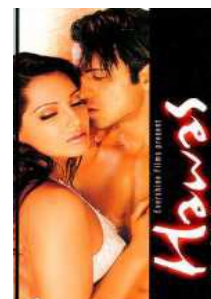
In most of the Hindi conventional films dealing with this theme both the husband and the lover seem to be engaged in an interesting quest: The quest for the body of a woman. Conventional cinema can be interpreted as a linear process of approaching an inevitable conclusion. The conclusion marks the end of the quest. One of them gets hold of a woman's body. Now the nature of the quest is metaphorically described in a song taken from a phenomenally successful movie called Sangam (Dir: Raj Kapoor): "Tere man ki Ganga aur mere man ki Yamuna ka bol Radha bol sangam hoga ki nahin?" (Please tell me RADHA whether a join between the two rivers of our souls is possible or not). A man is enquiring of his chance in the game of getting hold of a body. The 'join of two rivers' is clearly a metaphor of sex. The term 'body' or anything related to that (for example: Lips or breasts) never features in the songs that are sung by the male and female protagonists of Hindi conventional cinema. Occasionally the villain or the vamp (usually a cabaret dancer, hence a fallen creature) shows the audacity to mouth those filthy words. Otherwise we live in a bodiless world. And ultimately, suppressing the massive sexual urge under a huge compilation of metaphors, signs and symbols, the super-macho HERO of Hindi conventional cinema succeeds to ask that quintessential question to his HEROINE: When will we have sex?

This tendency of METAPHORISATION points out the presence of moments of IMPLICITNESS in the context of SEX being a TOPIC in Indian conventional cinema. SANGAM was made during the mid-sixties. We can cite millions of examples of this implicit topicality from movies made before and after Sangam. One classic example of this implicitness is present in another song taken from Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam (Dir: Sanjay Leela Bansali): "Ankhon Ki Gustakhinyan

Maaf Ho" (Please forgive the mischief done by my eyes). Here the hero once again tries not to disclose his final objective and poses as a harmless voyeur who only keeps on staring at his woman. He is even aware of the mischievousness of that certain way of looking at her but pretends not to be engaged in any dirty business (read: SEX). He looks at a body and does not acknowledge it as a BODY. This attitude announces the presence of implicit topicality. Both Sangam and Hum Dil... dealt with the same subject, and the treatment too remained the same. The whole idea of extra marital sexual relationship is addressed through a mechanism of repression. A meticulous silence is maintained: A silence regarding SEX.

Now let us have an idea of the changes brought about by the recent films, which have rejuvenated the theme of extramarital affairs in Hindi conventional cinema. Jism, Murder and Hawas are those movies, which claim to redefine the idea of sex in BOLLYWOOD. Instead of accentuating the implicitness of sex they introduce it as a new mode of communication motivated by contextual consequences.

They are said to call spade a spade; body a BODY. A song from Murder may elucidate: "Bhige honth tere, pyasa man mera" (Your wet lips make my mind thirsty). This song invariably talks about the BODY without using a single metaphor in place of it. Different parts of the body of a woman is critically viewed and commented over. And at the end the hero sings: "Tujhe subah tak main karoo pyar" (I wish to [make] love [to] you till tomorrow morning). This song is used in the background of an explicit sex- sequence. The sequence seems to be motivated by contextual consequences. The female protagonist feels (sexually) neglected by her husband and chances to meet one of her old sweethearts. Then they have sex. In this way sex becomes a context. Sequences and consequences that help the narrative to approach an inevitable end are no longer silent regarding sex. Indian conventional cinema is undoubtedly entering a new era.



It can be argued that a particular fraction of Indian conventional cinema has previously shown admirable courage to highlight issues related to sex. The X-rated movies in India (popularly known as A-marked films) have attempted to address the issues

Articles

from the point of view of contextual topicality. Sex has always been a topic in these movies. Movies like *Sangam* and *Hum Dil...* have talked about sex in an inaudible voice whereas movies called *Modern Kamasutra* and *Jawani Ke Aag or Suhaag Raat* almost hysterically shout about it from the very first shot. And quite interestingly these films have never been part of the mainstream Indian cinema. Though they vehemently campaign for the same politics of sex that is preached and practised by the movies like *Sangam* and *Hum Dil...*, they are excluded from the mainstream through a multidimensional repressive mechanism which operates at three different planes of censorship, distributional policies and moral obligations. First, the famous conservatism of the Indian censor board compels them to lower their voice. Second, the people in charge of distributing (arranging release of) these films show acute unwillingness to release them in reputed theatres. These movies are generally released in very few particular theatres, which specialise in showing X-rated films. And third, a large section of the audience, in spite of having a great desire for watching non-metaphorical sex on screen, avoids watching these movies in public due to *moral* obligations. (These people regularly buy or rent X-rated movies for private viewing.) Hence, the sex-movies in India are marginalised and excluded from the official discourse of Indian conventional cinema by a three-fold-mechanism of repressive conservatism.



Murder

The official discourse of Indian conventional cinema devaluates the conception of body through this repressive mechanism. Though the body plays the most central role in STRUCTURALISATION of the society, it has never been given its due importance on screen. The so-called sex movies tended to evaluate the body by being explicit about it. Then the three-fold-mechanism of repressive conservatism came into being. And recently few movies have attempted to re-evaluate the body. The official repressive mechanisms have hardly shown any reaction! They are being shown in reputed theatres, seen by a large number of people in public and even the most conservative censor board of India is showing exceptional tolerance to them. It clearly seems that these movies are included into and appreciated by the mainstream. But, does the mainstream at all exist nowadays?

The answer is both yes and no.

The mainstream is dead. Long live the mainstream. Indian conventional cinema has always shown its reluctance to acknowledge the X-rated movies as a part of the mainstream and therefore has given birth to fractions in the system. This FRACTIONALISM has created the space for segregation and abolition of the mainstream. The nature of the audience has been changing too and another form of segregation is observed to take place: Segregation of the audience. Everybody does not watch the same movie now. Blockbuster movies are out. Short-budget films are in. And the mainstream is having a difficult time.

The possibility of doing away with the mainstream was implicit in its conception of commonality among tastes and preferences of all the probable viewers. The conventional filmmakers of India have always tried to deduce some universal formula, which will get everybody assembled in the theatre for sure. They have looked for elements of commonality and succeeded to an extent. But the scenario has changed now. The concept of universality of tastes has become nearly obsolete. The impetus for this change has been provided by the economic policies undertaken by the government of India in the last decade of twentieth century. The philosophical content of neo-liberal economic reforms seeks its theoretical authenticity in the domains of competitive market and freedom of choice. Expansion of the choice-set (by foreign investment) will lead to a degree of multiplicity of choices. And variation in the choice-set theoretically overrates the power of the consumer (in this case the viewer). Hence, the assumption of commonality fails to hold. Everybody is looking for something different. The more different is the better. This can be defined as an auxiliary of that famous axiom of neo-classical economic literature: The more is the better. But does it produce a point of departure from the old theories of consumer's behavior? The answer is no. In old theories the homogeneity of the commodity under consideration is assumed as a precondition for the existence of a competitive market structure. In this particular case we may observe a possibility of a market that can accommodate elements of heterogeneity. But we have to clarify that a slight mistake has been made in the argument by assuming that there exists only one market. Actually there exist several sub-markets under the disguise of one. The universal market of mainstream conventional cinema is fractured into these sub-markets and the age-old simplifying assumption of homogeneity still holds to the point of unquestionable accuracy. The market is heterogeneous, not the commodity. Therefore, the magnitude of difference in the commodity bundle facilitates a higher degree of heterogeneity in the market itself. Movies are being made

on different topics, on different peoples. And every different category has its own target audience, its own market. These films are released in multiplexes where under the same roof different theatres show different movies. In this way the concepts as niche audience and niche movies come into being. The segregation of the universal market contributes to the death of the mainstream.

Here one can easily detect the reasons for the emergence of NEOBODYCENTRIC movies in the realm of Indian conventional cinema. This particular genre of conventional cinema has always been marginalised and excluded from the mainstream. Now, since the mainstream itself ceases to exist, the particularity of this genre has facilitated its own sub-market where the repressive regulations of the mainstream do not interfere with the supposed free play of the economic agents involved in economic activities such as production and consumption. The genre has improvised its own distribution system, values and ethical connotations, and of course its own public. All movies, therefore, contain the same story, the same structure and the same politics as they belong to the same sub-market.

But, is not there any difference between the earlier sex movies and recent ones? Earlier we have shown how the issue of extra marital relationship is experiencing a paradigm shift in Indian conventional cinema. Now we will have a discussion on the transition the recent sex movies are going through during the POST-LIBERALISATION period in India. The new movies claim to be aesthetically urbane. They address the same concepts of body and politics of sex in a more sophisticated manner. We have seen that the major break from the earlier movies that deal with husband-wife-stranger trigonometry comes in the form of a non-metaphorical treatment of the whole business. But it can also be argued that they are less non-metaphorical in comparison to the earlier sex movies. They tend to sophisticate the issues of sex and politics through a unique process of using more metaphors than earlier sex movies and less than earlier conventional movies which had the concept of extra-marital relationship as a theme. In this way the new movies serve as a hyphen between the movies of two different genres. Love being a metaphor of sex is frantically sought after by the protagonists of these movies. Earlier sex movies on the contrary never touch upon this issue. They seem quite happy with the body and the body only.

Another important aspect of this 'sophistication' phenomenon is the emergence of the concept of urbanism as an inevitable backdrop of most of the actions and reactions in the film. The protagonists of these movies live in big cities and represent a very

Articles

particular section of the society. The husband belongs to the corporate, the stranger (being a fashion photographer in most of the cases) belongs to the world of adventure and thrill and the wife belongs to the cosiest corner of the house. Therefore, the urban elite of India has started featuring in Indian conventional cinema like the rural *KISSANS* (farmers) used to do during the Sixties. It has always been observed that the economic policies undertaken by the Indian government during different plans have taken important roles to determine the socio-cultural-political backdrop of movies, which bear the notions of conventional cinema in India. The decade of the Sixties, for example, was the decade of Green Revolution. The image of a half-naked Indian farmer with a plough on his shoulder standing next to a couple of bullocks became the most indigenous icon of Indian conventional cinema. It is quite evident that the conception of LAND as a metaphor of woman's BODY in Indian cinema came into being then. The last decade of the last century has been the decade of PRIVATISATION, LIBERALISATION and CITY-CENTRIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. Hence, the shabby image of the rural Indian farmer has to dissolve into a glossy one of an ever-smiling urbane super-male clad in branded outfits, carrying the latest models of laptop and mobile phone in his two hands. The ploughs and the bullocks are being substituted by the laptops and mobile phones. Land is being appropriated by Capital. Old metaphors are being sidelined by new ones.

We have seen how the production-oriented mechanism of society dictates the conventions through which one can approach an inevitable conclusion in cinema. Land being a metaphor of a woman's body has been immensely instrumental in this connection. The image of the *KHET* (a plot of cultivated land) used to hit the screen during the Sixties with a deep impact. The hero and the heroine were seen running through vast green fields. They used to collide then, and thousands of professional dancers jumped into the scene to start dancing. Nowadays they sing and dance in cafeterias, shopping malls and discotheques. Earlier, the illiterate farmers used to do ROMANCE hiding in the depth of thickly textured mustard fields. Today they have SEX on the terrace of multi-storied buildings. Hence, the body of a woman can no longer be compared to land.

Once upon a time LAND was considered to be the most important factor of production since India was considered to be an agrarian economy. Now we see it fast approaching the goal of being acknowledged as an industrial super power. More industrialisation leads to more income. More income leads to more demand. More demand leads to more production. For sustenance of the

market, generation of effective demand is a primary requirement. A farmer is assumed to have no effective demand for a commodity like branded undergarment. So he is out of the context at the very beginning. The foreign investor who is involved in production of undergarments in his own country is not very eager to invest in the industry of irrigation machinery. His product (which is an 'urban commodity') would be sold in the city shopping malls only. But how will the market expand? Or how will the effective demand be generated? It will generate through expansion of the city. The ultimate objective of the producer of branded undergarments is to compel the farmer buy his product. If the farmer is transformed into a copycat of an urbane super-male, the problem of the foreign investor is solved. The farmer sees the hero dancing on the seashore of an unknown universe, his low waist jeans falling down to reveal the name of the brand of his underwear. He takes a decision, adjusts his other expenses, visits the city, creeps into the mall silently with a mixed emotion of shame and surprise, and becomes a slave. The city does not always expand geographically.

We are calling it development. Roads are being constructed as all roads lead to MARKET. We are celebrating because even a farmer is wearing branded underwear. We love our city and wish every inch of it to be free of dirt, pollution and ugliness. The new generation of Indian conventional cinema is all about us, the urban sophisticated super-males and females of India.

It is interesting to observe how cinema itself works as an instrument of the expansion we have talked about. The city gives birth to the cinema and the cinema produces the city. As we have earlier shown Indian cinema was and still is influenced and guided by the economic policies undertaken by Indian government at different times. The CITY again is an offshoot of economic reforms that are reshaping and redefining the conceptions of freedom of choice, social welfare and development. Hence, a juxtaposition of ideas and images results in changes in the city and the cinema. Changes also take place in context of metaphorical representation of the woman's body.

During the Sixties land was considered to be representing the body. It yielded output, which was expected from the body too. Today the concept of production is being reconsidered. The expansion of the city can also generate output. Construction of infrastructure for industrialisation contributes to the domestic product. Hence, the importance of land as the most necessary factor of production lessens to a great extent. Land is only appropriated by the investors to build factories and cities. The city is fast becoming a synthetic space where all

productive activities concentrate and interact with each other. The interaction both includes and excludes the margin. Slums are being evicted for building infrastructure, whereas the farmer is buying branded undergarments. In this context the city being a hub of all productive activities represents the body of a woman.

In *Murder* and other movies the husband does not pay much attention to the requirements of his wife. Offended, she goes to the stranger who can fulfil her desires but has a foul intention of exploiting her and her husband illegitimately. At this point the wife and the husband both realise their faults and reaccept each other. On the other hand the authority of the city tends to neglect the issues regarding its maintenance and development. Therefore, the city is possessed by strangers. They stink, look ugly and contaminate it. Then one day the authority comes to its senses and starts taking actions. Slums are evicted. Strangers are driven out from the city. Paradise is regained.

It is evident that a certain comparison can be made between these two phenomena. The city represents the woman. The authority of the city represents the husband, and the illegitimate citizens represent the illegitimate lover. The chief issue of the tussle between the legitimate and the illegitimate is who has the right to produce. The state empowers the legitimate, and the illegitimate is violently excluded from the system. The lover dies at the last scene. The slums are evicted.

So we see the old definitions of production and consumption passing through paradigm shifts. New brands of commodities are being introduced. Newer disaggregated markets are coming into being and certain consumerist consciousness is providing the guideline for the formation of ideologies that determine the politics of aesthetics of Indian conventional cinema. But does that mean the production-oriented conception of the society (as shown in Indian conventional cinema) has ceased to exist?

The answer is NO. The body of the woman (or the city) is still shown to be UTILISED as a site of production. The husband is the producer who cannot tolerate obstructions in the production process created by the stranger. Therefore, we can conclude that even if the societal STRUCTURE passes through several changes portrayed and determined through several metaphorical expressions in popular cinema, the STRUCTURALITY remains the same. One can see the semantics of conventional cinema experiencing shifts, differences and contradictions, but the politics still refuses to be refuted. The mainstream does not die an easy death. Or it dies but the spectre returns again and again, and HAUNTS....

Articles

Planning for Failure and Exploitation: Colonial Planning and Implementation under the 1945 Colonial Development Act and the Ten-Year Plan in Nigeria*



Abolade Adeniji

Dr. Abolade Adeniji, a Fulbright scholar, is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of History and International Studies of the Lagos State University Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria. He has published in reputed journals in Europe, North America, Asia and Africa. His latest work, which is an edited book, is titled *Transformations in International Relations Since 1945* (2005).

Abstract

The 1945 Colonial Development Act and the Ten-Year Plan were ostensibly designed to aid British colonies in their quest for development. This paper argues that although under the Act and the Plan, external assistance was to come from Britain, concrete evidence is available to show that more money was being siphoned off from Nigeria through various ingenious means. Moreover, requests from colonial Nigeria for more assistance were dismissed despite the vast reserves of Nigeria in Britain, in addition to other forms of capital flight.

Introduction

The origin of British economic assistance to her colonies can be traced to a House of Commons debate on 22 August 1895 when Lord J. Chamberlain, the influential British Colonial Secretary attempted to set out a framework of colonial economic policy. In his words:

"I regard many of our colonies as being in the condition of under-developed estates and estates which can never be developed without imperial assistance.... By the judicious investment of British money, those states, which belong to the British crown, may be developed for the benefit of the population and for the benefit of the greater population, which is outside".¹

Chamberlain was honest enough to admit that some colonies had not witnessed progress over a hundred years. British rule, he averred "has done absolutely nothing and if we left them today, we should have left them in the same condition as that in which we found them".² His solution was to aid the "development of a colony as a state enterprise in a way beneficial to it and to Britain".

The colonial economic framework enunciated by Chamberlain was later embellished by Sir (later Lord) Frederick Lugard, Nigeria's first Governor-General (1914-1919), in the celebrated *Dual*

Mandate.³ Britain, according to him, should promote the development of its subjects in an arrangement beneficial to both.⁴

First came the 1929 Colonial Development Act and the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare (C.D. & W.) Act. These Acts were ostensibly designed to aid the development of British colonies by improving trade relations between the colonies and Britain. The unstated aim of the Acts was to find a solution to the unemployment problem in Britain.⁵

Under the 1929 Act, Nigeria received a miserly £330,000 over a ten-year period as development aid. During World War II the country was manipulated into providing approximately £4.5 million to aid imperial Britain's war efforts. Expectedly, the £300,000 provided barely fulfilled the massive developmental needs of Nigeria. The 1940 Act did not fare better. Contrary to imperial propaganda, which proclaimed the development of its colonies as the main goal, the 1940 C.D. & W. Act was in reality an action instituted to calm down agitators and stem the worsening crisis of colonial rule.

The thrust of this paper is to scrutinise the 1945 Act and the Ten-Year Plan and to examine the ingenious means through which the colonial authorities exploited the

Nigerian State and people. It will be shown that some of the negative features of post-colonial Planning in Nigeria had their origin in the legacy bequeathed by the British imperial authorities.

The 1945 Colonial Development Act and the Ten-Year Plan

The 1945 Colonial Development Act and the subsequent Ten-Year Plan were formulated against the background of three factors, the impact of the Second World War, a colonial economic ideology and guidelines from the colonial office.⁶ The colonial office had made it clear that the objectives of Planning must be well defined to avoid problems for Britain. Economic development, it stressed, must be "dependent on opportunities of sale of produce externally".⁷ Each colony should move at a pace dictated by internal funds, despite the availability of British funds. British assistance apart, the colony must aim at "only those economic and social services which it can afford from its own resources..."⁸ since it would be quite impossible for Britain to assume the burden of raising colonial standards of living or subsidise the greater part of the colonial empire even on a limited scale.

Like similar Acts earlier, the 1945

* I am grateful to Prof. Kunle Lawal for making available to me Prof. Toyin Falola's original manuscript titled *Prelude to the 'Take-Off': Development Planning in Colonial Nigeria 1940-60*. The work has been of tremendous assistance for the completion of this research.

¹ *House of Common Debates*, 4th Series, Volume 36, Cols. 641-2 cited in Toyin Falola, *Prelude to the 'Take-Off'*.

² Abolade Adeniji, " 'Tokenism' As Imperial Policy: An Assessment of British Aid to Nigeria, 1929-1939", *Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, Vols. 3 and 4, December 2003, p. 1 and passim.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *House of Commons Debate*, May 21, 1940, Col. 45. The point was re-echoed in 1940 when the Governor of Nigeria made a similar point that relief of unemployment influenced the British government, especially in the first two years of the Act. See Bernard Bourdillon, *Economic Development of Nigeria*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1948, p. 2.

⁵ *Colonial Development Act, 1929*.

⁶ Falola, "Prelude to the 'Take-Off' ", p. 140.

⁷ See Paper on Colonial Affairs, No. 3, "The Planning of Social and Economic Development in the Colonial Empire", HMSO, April 1944, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Articles

C.D. & W. Act was influenced by the underlying philosophy that Britain needs to profit continuously from its colonies in order to recover from the economic disasters caused by the Second World War.⁹ The strategy was to help the colonies, but at the same time benefit from them. Britain was indebted to the United States and needed tropical products—minerals, cocoa, coffee etc. from its colonies in order to sell them for scarce dollars. The post-war calculations, therefore, meant an investment in the colonies so as to obtain raw materials, and to retain political control, at least, until sufficient profits were made. A social welfare programme aimed at a healthy population that would produce more for export. Part of the funds obtained from export was to pay for the new development projects.

Another major factor that shaped the 1945 Act and the Ten-Year Plan was the role played by the colonial office in providing the guidelines. The Act of 1945 authorised an expenditure of £120 million on all colonies, over a period of ten years from 1946 to 1956. This was a 'forward' capital grant to be spent over a decade unlike the previous grants, which had been on a year-to-year basis. The long-term element was most distinctive. The fund could be drawn anytime within the decade, subject to an annual maximum of £17.5 million of which a maximum of £1 million could be spent on research. No limit on yearly expenditure was a major modification of the 1940 Act.¹⁰ The colonies could use other funds such as surplus balances, public loans and future revenue surpluses, to supplement development grants.

The motive behind the £120 million expenditure by the colonial office was explained as economic. The colonial office stated that dependence on revenues from agriculture was risky, since prices fluctuated. Thus colonial revenue provided "an unreliable basis for a policy of steady development".¹¹ This hindered the economic improvement of the colonies. The resources supplied were limited in spite of the promise that 'any purpose' likely to enhance development would be financed. Nigerians were exhorted to forget the limited gifts from Britain and seek instead internal means of developing themselves, although the country would obtain its share of the

C.D. & W. fund. Like all foreign aids however, the C.D. & W. fund was 'tied' with guidelines: It must be spent on projects justified and approved by the Colonial Office. By insisting on the amount to be allocated to each of the sectors, the Colonial Office was establishing strong political control and directing the pattern of economic development.

In November 1945, the Colonial Office instructed the colonies to submit their plans. Lagos was excited at the prospect of external aid, hoping that it would help break the vicious cycle of poverty by providing "the necessary cushion required to use the breaking process".¹² Buoyed by the same optimism, the Nigerian government came with a proposal that was published as the Ten-Year Plan. Under the Plan, the colonial government contemplated an expenditure of £55 million. A sum of £2 million was held back to meet the cost of unforeseen projects. The funds were drawn from three sources: C.D. & W. fund (£23 million), loans to be raised by the Nigerian government (£16.2 million), and the Nigerian Government Revenue, which provided a balance of £15.8 million. The balance by the Nigerian government was to be contributed by all the tiers of administration from their normal annual budget.

In concrete terms, agriculture was at the centre of the Ten-Year Plan. The goal of the Plan was to expand agricultural services by setting up experimental and demonstration stations, and to improve the livestock industry. The strategy was to set up new centres to pass on to the farmers the benefit of modern agricultural knowledge, research and investigation.¹³ The promotion of exports, at the expense of food crops, ignored the basic problems of food supply, which the country confronted in the 1940s.

Located all over the country were many small projects for experimental farms, drainage and irrigation, poultry, liming and fertiliser demonstrations, palm investigations, cattle multiplication farms, farm schools, soil conservation, and the Bermuda-Cross River-Calabar resettlement scheme. Every region of the country had at least one such project. But most of the experiments with livestock in the Western Provinces petered out because the majority of the farmers preferred conventional farming. In the North, land was cleared for rice cultivation and experiments were

conducted at Badeggi, with encouraging results.¹⁴ The proposed irrigation project did not take off until 1950, because there was no competent irrigation engineer and equipment. Manufacturing experiments were conducted to determine the best form of Phosphatic fertilisers for farmers' use. On the whole, the Northern Provinces by 1950 pursued a policy of mixed farming and animal husbandry to enable the farmer with an ox and a plough to cultivate more acres of land. As with other ideas, however, it took some time to become popular.¹⁵

In the Eastern part of the country, rice production was expanded at Okpoha and Abakaliki. At Abakaliki, the government farm experimented with ploughing and bought new tractors, barrows, and levellers. The government farm received money to build new staff quarters, offices and workshops, marking a new beginning. Its tangible impact was to come much later.¹⁶ In the riverine swamps of the Cross River, small-scale experiments were conducted on rice, maize, vegetables and cocoa. In 1948, the Governor-in-Council approved a major experiment to resettle farmers from the overpopulated land at Ejagbam, in the Oban hills of Calabar Provinces. The settlers were expected to take care of the oil palms, live in the houses built for them, and follow instructions in hygiene. In 1949, the Agriculture Department declared the experiment a success and began to think of opening up new land for forest utilisation, oil palm production, and farming.¹⁷

The Act and the Plan had only few programmes to stimulate local industries. As the government itself declared in 1945, there was no Plan to industrialise, since "a great deal of its (the country's) future must rest in agricultural development in its widest senses and the improvement of village industries".¹⁸ This was another way of emphasising the colonial objective that the country existed for the production of raw materials. Such a policy neither initiated agricultural expansion nor provided an alternative work outlet to those who did not want to farm.

The expansion of infrastructure was mostly confined to roads, which helped to connect administrative centres and ensured the transportation of raw materials to the ports. Progress on roads included the construction of feeder roads in many parts of the country and

⁹ Regarding the Impact of the War on the British Economy, See F.V. Meyer, *Britain: Colonies in World Trade*, London, 1948.

¹⁰ Falola, "Prelude to the Take-Off", p. 141.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Legislative Council Debates*, March 1940.

¹³ See *Statement of Agricultural Policy*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1946; *Forest Administration Plan in Nigeria, 1946-56*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1957.

¹⁴ *Annual Report on the General Progress, 1949 - 1950*.

¹⁵ *Annual Report on the General Progress, 1950*.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Oyo Prof. 1/4504/4 General Progress.

¹⁸ NAI Oyo Prof. 1/4504/4 General Progress.

Articles

the tarring of trunks A and B roads to link major cities so that each province would have better access to its neighbours.¹⁹

Among social services, water supply and electricity became a national priority. Two separate funds were allocated for water: One for urban areas with population of over 5,000 and the other for small rural areas.²⁰ Water supply, especially in rural areas, reduced the need to travel to streams and decreased the risk of infection from water borne diseases like guinea worm.

The Plan provided for the supply of electricity in many towns and the expansion of existing facilities. An acute shortage of expatriate engineers, artisans, plant and equipment retarded the progress. In the North, a proposed dam was identified for the Shiroro Gorge hydroelectric installation.²¹ In the Eastern Provinces, power generation increased, and new equipment was installed in Port Harcourt and Calabar.

The improvement of towns and villages went hand in hand with social services. Extensive sanitation campaigns in the North sought to improve hygiene and environmental cleanliness. Layouts were created for new areas such as in Ibadan, while markets were built in some places like Idere and Eruwa. The Gaskiya

Corporation, a Northern Region Publishing House, was founded. By 1950 the corporation was publishing four successful newspapers: One in English and three in local languages. The Plan rightly noted that many communities were interested in education, which was generally divided into two schemes: General and technical. A small fund of £9,000 was set aside to support two advisors for the Protestant and Roman Catholic Schools. The Northern provinces received an additional sum of £500,000 in 1948 to establish more schools. The introduction of more literacy plans became widely popular with local authorities in many Northern towns.²² For most areas, "the schools proved to be the only tangible achievement which people were able to ascribe to in progress of the Development Plan".²³

Health, the cornerstone of social services, had five components: Leprosy control, malaria services, medical and health services, pathological research and physiological research.²⁴ Progress on the first three was slow. Four of the six proposed leprosy settlements were completed at River Orji, Uzuakoli, Ossiomo and Isoba. A direct result of this was that by 1950, 33,000 cases were being treated in the various leprosy settlements.

The Plan provided for improved hospital facilities, mass treatment of epidemic and endemic diseases by operating mobile units and setting up rural health centres. Three medical units were established, two in the North and one in the South, which trained a limited number of personnel, vaccinated hundreds of people against smallpox and treated many cases of yaws, scabies and trypanosomiasis.²⁵ Each province was to have a midwife and a nurse, a small maternity ward (4 beds) and an ambulance service. A leprosy control unit site was chosen for a proposed Provincial Leper Home and segregation village in the Plateau Province.

In the North, medical fields were opened in the provinces of Benue Plateau, Sokoto and Bornu. New health centres, maternity and child welfare centres and dispensaries were opened in all the provinces while the registration of birth and death was introduced in Katsina.²⁶ In the East, additional female wards were added to the government hospital in Abakaliki. New hospitals were constructed at Onitsha and Omigbo in the Orlu division. In spite of all these, the majority of the population continued to rely on indigenous medicine due to the scarcity of medical personnel and public health facilities.

TABLE 1
A TEN-YEAR PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE
FOR NIGERIA 1946 – 1956

PROJECTS	FUNDS ALLOCATED (In £ million)	PERCENT ALLOCATION
Primary Production	6.976	6.5
Water Supply		
(a) Rural	8.004	7.5
(b) Urban	9.120	7.6
Transport and Communication	22.788	21.4
Electricity	3.088	2.9
Health	13.276	12.4
Education	10.654	10.0
Commerce and Industry	522	0.5
Building Programmes for Development	18.068	17.0
Social Welfare including Village Reconstruction	1.432	1.3
Local Development Schemes	4.000	3.8
Others	9.726	9.1
	106.654	100.00

Source: Dupe Olatunbosun, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1975, p. 51.

¹⁹ Details on the various roads can be found in *Annual Reports on Development* in the National Archives in Kaduna, Enugu and Ibadan.

²⁰ National Archives, Kaduna, (henceforth NAK) SNP 17/4/6025, Major Development Schemes, 1943-53; NAI Oyo Prof. 1/3980 Vol. II, NAK, Zar Prof. 1/53B. Development Scheme D 437 Rural Water Supply 1948.

²¹ Falola, "Prelude to the 'Take-Off'".

²² Prof. Ondo, 1/3/D.2, NAI CSO 26/41955, Advisory Committee on Economic Development Schemes.

²³ Adeniji, "A Study of Some Aspects...", p. 165.

²⁴ For a study of the Development of Health Services, See R.A. Schram, *Brief History of Public Health in Nigeria*, MD Thesis, Cambridge, 1967.

²⁵ NAI Abe Prof. 2/16163/24, *Quarterly Report on General Progress of Development and Welfare Schemes in Nigeria*.

²⁶ Falola, "Prelude to the Taken-Off", p. 214.

Articles

The 1945 C.D. & W. Act and the Ten-Year Plan: A Critique

This is not an exhaustive discussion of the projects covered by the 1945 C.D. & W. Act and the Ten-Year Plan, but an evaluation of some of the schemes. Some projects, such as water supply, electricity and schools received enthusiastic response. But according to a critic "the general unseriousness of the 1945 Plan is immediately evidenced in its time span— ten years".²⁷ This was an initial effort by a country that had virtually no development plan. In addition, the emphasis was on transportation, which received the largest share in order to facilitate the extraction and export of agricultural products as well as promote the systematic penetration of the hinterland by British merchant firms and other business interests. Even though the majority of the Nigerians lived in rural areas, in 1945, the Plan allocated more money to the urban centres in terms of water supply, as the above table indicates. Commenting specifically on the Ten-Year Plan, Olatunbosun notes:

"...It was actually not a Plan but a collection of projects, which the colonial government felt, would help it achieve its twin objectives in Nigeria, mainly to provide markets and raw materials for industries in the 'mother country'. The colonial administration did not increase investment funds for rural sector because the export demand requirements were being met. All they had to do was to set up extension services for commodities with special problems...."²⁸

The Plan was not aimed at developing Nigeria either economically or otherwise, nor of establishing popular and democratic institutions or contributing towards involving the majority of the people in the planning of their lives and society. In the words of another critic, "its conceptualisation and implementation were highly static, discriminatory, elitist and undisciplined".²⁹ The projects had no linkages with one another and rather than improving the living standards of the people, the Plan on the whole, had

the opposite effect. Expressing its reservation on the Ten-Year Plan in 1948, a select committee of the British House of Commons noted: "... (I) f the Ten-Year Plan were carried out overnight the improvement in the condition of the mass of Nigerians would be barely perceptible...".³⁰

The Ten-Year Plan not only attempted to establish a financial dependence on Britain but also encouraged the Colonial Governor to raise huge internal and external loans. Osoba, one of the most notable critics of the Plan, has sharply criticised the idea introduced into decision-making circles from 1946 onwards "an exercise in spending large sums of money on a number of separate and unrelated projects". He asserts further:

"...Colonial Planning was highly undisciplined, uncoordinated and largely irrelevant to the priority requirements of the country. Though designed for strict accountability, some unplanned expenditures were incurred, some development expenditures were not Planned, while some expenditures were neither developmental nor Planned...".³¹

One remarkable feature of the 1940s was the introduction of centralised marketing of cash crops. Under this scheme, otherwise known as the Marketing Boards, the price paid to the producer was less than that earned in the world markets and the balance was paid into a stabilisation fund ostensibly to reduce the amount of money in circulation and to create a reserve. It was supposedly designed to stem the tide of inflation. The amount in the cocoa stabilisation fund reached £5.75 million and £7 million in successive years.³² The Produce and Marketing Boards were charged with the task of buying and selling the principal export crops (cocoa, groundnuts, oil palm produce and cotton), stabilise producer prices, promote economic development and encourage research.³³ The Boards sponsored pioneer mills in the south to increase the amount of oil extracted from palm fruit and improve the quality of oil

produced in order to maintain Nigeria's position as the world's leading producer of palm oil and kernel. The Boards also provided funds for propaganda to improve production methods of oil, awarded money to cooperative societies and individuals, sponsored research on quality and better production of cash crops, financed road construction etc.³⁴ Such was the magnitude of the activities of the boards that a 1950 report commenting on its activities noted that their "Combined contribution... in the field of purely economic development probably exceed(ed) the provisions of the Ten-Year Plan".³⁵

Thus in spite of the pretensions of the 1945 C.D. & W. Acts, resources from within by far exceeded those from abroad in financing economic and social development in the country.³⁶

The peasants were exploited by the Marketing Boards, which withheld part of their prices. Not only were the boards forbidden by law from improving the non-export crop sector of the economy, they were also compelled to buy their products from licensed agents who served as a second layer of exploiters.³⁷ Commenting specifically in the role of the Marketing Boards, Garvin Williams argued that they

"have never been used to protect farmers, who have had to bear the full brunt of fluctuations in world prices and the additional cost of government marketing and deductions, usually between 25 and 70% of price realized on the world market".³⁸

Olatunbosun also observes:

"...The marketing boards became an effective mechanism for taxing the rural sector to finance "development" in order to increase capital formation. For instance, in Nigeria in 1946, the boards paid only N33.5 for a ton of palm oil and sold it for N190 at a gross profit of 388 percent. Groundnuts which received only N30 per ton when bought by the boards were later sold in Britain at N220 per ton at a gross profit of about 633%. Over 70% of the surpluses accumulated were reinvested in urban centres while little attention was given to

²⁷ J. Ihonvbere and Toyin Falola, "The Illusion of Economic Development" in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Nigeria and Britain, Exploitation or Development?*, Zed Books Ltd., London and New Jersey.

²⁸ Dupe Olatunbosun, *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1975, p. 52.

²⁹ Falola, "Prelude to the 'Take-Off'", p. 215.

³⁰ Cited in W.F. Stopler, *Planning Without Facts: Lessons in Resources Allocation From Nigeria's Development*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, p. 37.

³¹ Bade Onimode, "Planning for Underdevelopment in Nigeria", in Okwudiba Nnoli (ed.), *Path to Nigerian Development*, Codesria, Dakar, 1981, p. 139.

³² J.K. Galbraith, *Economic Development in Perspective*, London, 1967, p. 37.

³³ See a typical ordinance in NAI com. Col. 1/3339, Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Ordinance; Gen Prof. 1/2653, Nigerian Groundnut Marketing Ordinance.

³⁴ *Annual Report on the General Progress*, 1950.

³⁵ *Annual Report on the General Progress of Development and Welfare Scheme*, Government Printer, Lagos, 1951.

³⁶ See Adeniji, "A Study of Some Aspects..."

³⁷ For details, see Dupe Olatunbosun, "Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority", and "Commodity Marketing Boards and Agricultural Development" in *Proceedings of a National Agricultural Seminar*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1975; S.O. Olayide "Effects of Marketing Boards on Income and Output of Primary Producers" in Dupe Olatunbosun, and HMA Onitiri (eds.), *The Marketing board system: Proceedings of an International Conference*, Ibadan University Press, Ibadan, 1973.

³⁸ Garvin Williams, "Taking the Part of Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania" in P.C.W. Gutwind and Immanuel Wallerstein, (eds.), *African Social Studies—A Radical Reader*, New York Monthly Review Press, 1977, p. 133.

Articles

the rural sector. Rather than stabilize the prices, the boards destabilized the prices and deviated completely from the declared purpose of their existence. Furthermore, export duties and produce sales tax were levied on the boards' sales by the colonial administrators...".³⁹

One negative outcome of the Plan from the very early years was that towns, villages and regions, some of which had hitherto lived harmoniously together, began to compete bitterly with one another for scarce resources.⁴⁰ The Ten-Year Plan contributed to intensifying inter- and intra-regional competition for development funds. For example, in 1947, the West wanted more money for road constructions. It accused other regions of obtaining a larger share of development funds. The West had a higher number of Development Officers. The North and East in turn demanded more money for social welfare only enjoyed by the West. The East could not understand why the West had more agricultural projects, and thus complained. Even within the same region, inter-town competition for projects intensified. Within the West, the Oyo Province wanted to be on the list with the others in the provision of water supply. The main palm-oil belt in the East complained that the Benin Province (which produced less palm oil) had been unduly favoured in the establishment of the palm oil research station.

Ijaw, through an organisation known as the Central and Western Ijaw Divisional League, expressed their anger on several occasions for being ignored in the Plan and for being divided into various local administrative units that marginalised them. In the Asaba Division, the location of the first general hospital became a source of bitter dispute between the people of Asaba and Ogwashi-Uku, as each sought to persuade the government to locate it in their area.⁴¹ In Ishara, an Ijebu town, the chiefs wrote a lengthy petition to the Resident demanding a greater share from the development

fund. The people of Ogbia in the Enugu Province complained because they were excluded altogether from the Plan.⁴² Ethnic associations sprang up everywhere to demand more on behalf of their towns.⁴³

Beyond all these, the Ten-Year Plan failed to meet its budget commitments. In 1947, the secretary to the Central Development Board informed its members that actual expenditures fell short of the estimated goals by £3,157,307, and it was unlikely to spend the envisaged expenditure of £41,887,026 for the 1948-49 year.⁴⁴ The expenditure should have been £12 million by March 1949, but this fell short by nearly three and three-quarter million pounds, the same magnitude reported in the previous year.⁴⁵ Owing to the inflationary spiral since the Plan was devised, development fell short of its target by a greater margin than was envisaged. With a marginal loss of £1 million per annum, the Plan was clearly doomed to failure.

Almost everywhere, the general complaint was that Plan implementation did not proceed on schedule. The reasons included the need to obtain approval from the colonial office in decision-making, the scarcity of resources and the overwhelming reliance on imported materials. Besides, there was also the issue of competing demands for time and money. The distractions occasioned by political reforms and changes of the period sometimes demanded more attention. Thus in the 1950s, the need to respond to the exigencies became more urgent than the implementation of the Plan.

The severe limitations that inhere in relying on external assistance as contained in the C.D. & W. Fund of 1945 were revealed in the course of Plan implementation. No matter how sincere colonial officers pretended to be, they could not change the orientation set out by the colonial office. They functioned as part of the British Empire, not able to respond to distinct territorial imperatives. They could not initiate or develop multilateral rela-

tions, unless approved by the colonial office. The colonial office in the words of Falola, "behaved like the proverbial piper as it provided the guidelines for spending even though it provided only part of the fund".⁴⁶ The colonial office also imposed a slow bureaucratic arrangement for the approval of developmental schemes and budgets. Indeed, it has been asserted that the bulk of development funding was spent on "bolstering the bureaucracy."⁴⁷

A number of other features of the colonial economy served as obstacles. The Nigerian currency, with its fate and convertibility tied to the sterling, lacked any independent value of its own. There were restrictions even on how to spend foreign exchange.⁴⁸ In spite of the reservations expressed by many Nigerians, the colonial government continued to maintain its commitment to the Ten-Year Plan beyond the 1940s. As the majority of the population continued to clamour for change, the intelligentsia intensified its assault on the Plan. It was therefore only a matter of time before the colonial state found itself making concessions to a restless population. By 1951, the Ten-Year Plan underwent a mid-term review.

Conclusion

I have shown that although under the 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act and the Ten-Year Plan, external assistance was to come from Britain to help in developing Nigeria, more money was instead being siphoned off from the country through other means. As already indicated, proceeds from the Marketing Board balances were lodged in British banks as foreign reserve. Yet by 1947, Arthur Creech Jones, the Colonial Secretary could declare that: "For the moment, the condition of our country makes request for larger grants difficult in the extreme".⁴⁹ This dismissal of the request of colonies for more assistance can only be described as uncharitable, especially since it failed to consider the vast capital reserves of the colonies in Britain in addition to other forms of capital flight.

⁴¹ NAI CSO 26/419-55, *Advisory Committee on Economic Development and Social Welfare in Nigeria*; West African Pilot, 23rd November 1949.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ NAI Oyo Prof. 1/3980/1 Central Development Board.

⁴⁵ *Annual Report on General Progress*, 1950.

⁴⁶ Falola, *Prelude to the Take-Off*, p.140.

⁴⁷ NAI Oyo Prof. J/3980 Vol. Economic Development and Social Welfare.

⁴⁸ See for Instance, NAK, Zar Prof. 4172, Department of Commerce and Industries, Monthly Bulletin and Circulars, 1946-56; Zar Prof. 1974/S.4, Collar Production Development, 1949-50 Zar Prof. 1974/S.6 Cotton Development Financial Procedure, 1949-53.

⁴⁹ Falola, *Prelude to the Take-off*, p. 141.

Articles

Vice in Woman: Social Representations of Female Alcoholism in Chile, 1870-1930



Marcos Fernández Labbé

Marcos Fernández Labbé was born in 1973 in Santiago, Chile. He has obtained a Ph.D in History. His research concentrates on gender and social history, especially the investigation of the historical construction of masculinity. At present he is professor at the University Alberto Hurtado and the Catholic University of Chile.

Abstract

In Chile, at the turn of the nineteenth century, society's view on excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages was greatly prejudiced and especially aggressive when the consumer was a woman. The temperance movements and social critics of the time considered it to be an intolerable perversion. At the same time, women were seen as a powerful barrier that could lessen vice in men. Women had to provide within the home the means and entertainments, which would keep their men away from the negative influence of the tavern. She had to fulfill the commands and duties of men at home. She was considered the key to men's redemption and conversion into the ways of life of a "proper" working class, centred on orderly work, the hope of setting aside savings and the sober atmosphere of a worker's home. Society saw the female in a double aspect: On one hand as the vicious harpy, child murderer and prostitute, who abandoned her family, her honour and dignity for alcohol, thus becoming the origin of temptations and venereal diseases; and on the other, she was seen as the kind and diligent matron, mother and wife— a real fortress against the excessive consumption of alcohol.

The case of women alcoholics was used by critics of the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages as proof of the dissociative and destructive power of alcohol, which could lead astray and pervert even the most basic and natural instincts, such as women's maternal love and domestic concern. For doctors and the abstemious, the alcoholic woman was no longer a woman. In a rhetorical exercise of masculinisation, women who consumed alcohol were seen as lowering their status to that of the poorest social groups— the delinquents and good for nothings, and those who at all hours filled the tavern. These women were defeminised; deemed as sunk in vice, and were no longer seen as women. They became a new gender, neither man nor woman. Such a woman was believed to be transformed into the worst of men for having broken the ties that joined her to those members of her sex who lived an existence that fulfilled the ideals established for them by the masculine society.

One author, in describing women in the prisons of Valparaíso, provides a good example of the extremes reached by some prohibitionists in their aversion to women. The following quotation clearly shows how a comparison between drunken woman and the "decent" woman was extended to a characterisation of the *real* nature of the woman as indeed the perversion of the alcoholic woman.

"And not only are they men those

who enter the police prisons, the women called to be in this world exemplary mothers, vestals of modesty and priestesses of virtue (sad to say!) constitute a third of this dissolute fraternity! There are women, most of them drunk who, rebelling against the laws of decorum makes cynical ostentation of their sexual organs, thus giving a barbaric spectacle in which a woman is mistaken for a beast! With no thought for the innocence of tender creatures or for the disgusting spectacle that she is offering, woman, that cursed worm, as she is called by a sage, draws towards herself the attention of the multitude with screams and contortions which puts us in mind of a nymphomaniac in solitary fits. And it should not be thought that such a woman is a prostitute: she possesses more or less virtue like any of her sex: it is drunkenness that, by renting the veil of modesty, shows us the woman *as she is*. It is this same drunkenness, which, stripping a woman of her superimposed virtues, presents her in all her weakness!"¹

As a counter image a social representation was formed. This endowed the woman with the capacity and the responsibility to stem the advance of vices and to redeem drinkers from their habits of excess. The same publication, from which the preceding quotation is taken, published, some months later, an article describing the

woman as "the strongest force in the home and in society. As a wife, mother, daughter and sister, she has been endowed with an unlimited potential for good or evil of the human race. It is her duty to mould the ideas and customs of men. She can place habits of temperance in his head and heart. She can banish from her kingdom the most relentless enemy of its peace and happiness."²

The intention of this type of representation was to emphasise the need to strengthen woman's role as an active promoter of hygiene and temperance. In 1899 an author wrote: "...[I]f hygiene were taught in schools, specially to those destined to motherhood, who hold the human destiny in their hands, we would be able to calmly await the arrival of the habits of cleanliness which we so need."³ And continuing with the idea, but this time considering women responsible for leading men towards morally good conduct, he wrote: "...[W]hen young, convincing their brothers and friends, when married, educating their sons in abstemiousness, when old, giving a good example and advice to their grandchildren that they may also learn to abstain from alcoholic beverages."⁴ Following this same logic, women, they argued, could use sexual and marital blackmail on their alcoholic suitors or partners, so as to prevent the reproduction of a race full of hereditary defects. The champions of temperance of 1920 expected patriotic women to act with their own weapons,

¹ Eliseo Núñez G. La embriaguez, sus consecuencias y su curación [The Drunkenness, consequences and healing], Valparaíso, Imprenta Arrayán, 1890, pp. 15-16. The same quote was printing in temperance newspaper La Cinta Azul [Blue Tie], n° 21, February, 1893. Some years later, another anti-alcoholic publication described to drunken woman as "...shameless, ragged, immoral, repellent and stinking... permanent executioner of its own children..." El Consejo de Temperancia [The Temperance Council] , n° 4, 15 de noviembre de 1900.

² La Cinta Azul [Blue Tie], n° 23, junio de 1893.

³ Manuel Victoriano Cifuentes, Breves consideraciones sobre el alcoholismo y la penalidad de la embriaguez [Brief Considerations about alcoholism and the punishment of the drunkenness]. Santiago de Chile, imprenta y encuadernación del Comercio, 1899. pp. 24-25.

⁴ El Pendón [The Banner], n° 2, junio de 1902.

Articles

not with the intellect but with the flesh, or, more precisely by conditioning sexual access to their bodies:

"By this, we do not mean that woman should take a passive stance in this campaign. No! But her activity should not take the shape of deep dissertations or public campaigns, which would only diminish her feminine virtues which should be her best weapon. A woman who loves her race, a patriotic woman who loves her country, cannot, should not, marry a man sunk in the vice of alcohol. She should renounce, if necessary to her happiness, her love; because by doing this she defends her country, by not bringing forth useless and contaminated sons, which would only continue propagating this vice. If the unredeemable vicious and alcoholic man were excluded like a pariah from the company of women; if every

woman, by solemn vow bound herself to never marry an alcoholic; if the alcoholic man were allowed to extinguish himself and die with his vice, without descendants or traces, of how many of these useless and contaminated citizens would the country be freed of?"⁵

In conclusion, feminine alcoholism in Chile was considered a practically inevitable consequence of the times, or of the miserable state in which many women were forced to live, either because of mistreatment by their husbands and poverty of their homes, or by practising prostitution as a way of earning their living. Despite these explanations of the motives that could lead women to drink, social legitimacy was never conceded to the alcoholic women. She was always depicted as a monster and part of a perverted minority. Female alcoholism was never considered in relation to

wider social habits, even when it occurred among women of the lower classes. On the contrary, these women were assigned an active role to fight against alcoholism. Woman, once arrogated a primary role in the battle against this vice, were delegitimised as a consumer of alcoholic beverages. Starting from the first decades of the twentieth century, the inebriated woman was perceived as a threat to the new ideals of femininity the society was seeking to establish. While women did continue to drink, the image of the redemptive wife was to have a powerful influence and a strong hold on societal imagination. Thus the image of the housewife dedicated to rescuing her husband from the clutches of the tavern would be forced, over the years, to share a place with the woman who was no longer censured by society for indulging in her liking for anisette, beer or vermouth.

⁵ Vida Nueva [New Life], n° 49, junio de 1929.

Midnight University Thailand

An attempt by academics to bridge the knowledge gap with an alternative school of thought

Associate Professor Somkiat Tangnamo is "dean" at the Midnight University.

Open access and non-conformism are central tenets. Established nine years ago by a group of academics, who refer to themselves "leftists", including Professor Nidhi Eoseewong, one of Thailand's leading historians and intellectuals.

From an initial group of four academics, the university has grown to include 15 staff from Chiang Mai University and 15 external staff, consisting of independent academics living outside the area.

Unlike regular universities, the Midnight University has no written job descriptions for its staff because all contributions are based on a voluntary basis. Its approach to study is also different.

Focus is on a problem-oriented approach, which begins by looking at a problem from many different angles, rather than teaching a subject-based approach as in universities.

The Midnight University usually meets on weekends and holidays for three hours at a time. Prior to these meetings, leaflets are distributed and announcements are made on the university's website at www.midnightuniv.org. From here, interested people can sign up for classes.

Although Midnight University holds most of its classes in Chiang Mai, its supporting circle has expanded to cover a wide range of non-profit groups and academic institutions around the country.

These groups contribute in the form of documents or guest lecturers on topics ranging from politics, religions, and history to freedom, ethics, and free trade.

Sources of funding have also diversified. While it used to be funded by donations from its founders, the university now receives some financial support from its members and its network of supporters.

Most of the funds are used to organise classes and run the university's website, which plays a key role in reaching out to people who live outside Chiang Mai and overseas.

The website, launched in 2002, features more than 650 articles, written by its staff members and 32 contributing writers.

The Midnight University is now moving toward its tenth year of operation, although many people may still not have heard of it. With the current political situation drawing more and more people into discussions about social issues, that is not likely to be case or must longer.

For more information about the Midnight University, as well as articles and details of classes, visit www.midnightuniv.org. Alternatviely, email midnightuniv@yahoo.com or midnight2545@yahoo.com.

Symposia South

Indian Pharmaceutical Drugs In The Caribbean



Kumar Mahabir

Dr. Kumar Mahabir received his B.A. and M.Phil. degrees in English from The University of the West Indies (UWI), St Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago. He did his Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of Florida. As a doctoral student, he won a Florida Caribbean Institute Award, an A. Curtis Wilgus Fellowship, and an Organization of American States (OAS) Fellowship. In 2005, he was awarded a travel and research grant by the Ministry of Tourism in India. In the same year, he was awarded a similar grant by the South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development (SEPHIS) in the Netherlands to give a lecture at the University of Cape Town in South Africa.

He is the author of six books including two national best-sellers *Caribbean East Indian Recipes and Medicinal and Edible Plants used by East Indians of Trinidad and Tobago*. He has also published several articles in scholarly journals including the *New West Indian Guide*, *Caribbean Studies*, *Florida Journal of Anthropology*, and the *Toronto South Asian Review*. He is the President of the Association of Caribbean Anthropologists (ACA).

Dr Mahabir lectures at COSTAATT (Community College) and UWI. He is also the CEO of the company, Chakra Publishing House.

For several years, he has been involved in research on Indian Culture in the Caribbean. He has worked on Indians in Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and South Africa.

The market for pharmaceuticals in Trinidad and Tobago is estimated at US\$50 million per year. This enormous figure is perhaps one of the factors behind the India-CARICOM Economic Forum held in Trinidad from 5-15 August 2005. The Forum featured a meeting between the Trade Ministers of India and their counterparts in the Caribbean, on health care and other issues.

Bilateral trade between India and Trinidad crossed US\$48 million for the first time during the year 2004. Products imported from India included Basmati rice, readymade garments, engineering goods, plastics, accessories and pharmaceuticals. Pharmaceuticals imported from India was estimated to be US\$4-5 million, occupying 8-10 per cent of the market share. India's increasing supply of quality medicines at affordable rates, together with a cutting-edge technology in medical research is pushing healthcare exports to new heights.

Simlo (Simvastatin) is one of the products imported from India. Manufactured by Ipca Laboratories Ltd., Simlo commands 90 percent of the market share. The tablet purports to lower excessive cholesterol and significantly reduces the progression of coronary artery disease. The Government purchases Simlo for the Chronic Disease Assistance Programme (CDAP). CDAP was set up by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago to give low-income groups free pharmaceutical drugs that are desperately needed but are expensive.

The local distributor for Ipca is TrinPharm, which must be credited for introducing high-quality, low-cost drugs into the Trinidad market. Some of the products imported by TrinPharm have established themselves as the most

effective and highly recommended medicines for particular illnesses. In addition to Simlo, TrinPharm's medicine chest includes Glycinorm-80 diabetic treatment, Lisoril-10 heart-attack therapy, and a wide range of Rapiclav brand remedies. The Rapiclav brand includes treatment for respiratory tract infections, skin tissue infections, and urinary tract infections. Rapiclav has gained twelve percent of the market share in Trinidad within one year of its introduction.

Ipca is one of the leading pharmaceutical companies to export to Trinidad. The company manufactures tablets, capsules, vials and ampoules. Its wide product range includes antimalarials, antihelmintics, antibiotics, analgesics, antidiabetics, cardiac care products, and cough and cold therapy products. Ipca commands the antimalarials segment in the domestic market, and it is one of the basic manufacturers in the world of Atenolol (antihypertensive), Chloroquine (antimalarial), Furosemide (diuretic) and Pyrantel Salts (anthelmintics). Ipca's overseas market cover 75 countries including Australia, Canada, Ethiopia, Italy, Russia, Sri Lanka, UK and the USA. Exports to these countries consist mainly of formulations, active pharmaceutical ingredients (APIs) and drug intermediates.

India is becoming recognised as one of the leading countries in the world in the field of medical research and pharmaceutical drug manufacture. Indeed, its health industry is the most robust in the eastern hemisphere. The country's extraordinarily large number of researchers and doctors has indeed contributed to this growth. India's pharmaceutical industry has made its mark by developing new molecules, which earn royalties both in home and

abroad.

The Indian pharmaceutical industry now exports drugs to China, Japan, Malaysia, Australia, Israel, Egypt, Spain, France, England and the United States. A new trend has been the acquisition of pharmaceutical companies in developed countries such as England and Australia. A report by Grant Thornton, one of the largest accounting firms in the world, revealed that Indian companies were adopting an acquisition-led growth strategy with the objective of getting a strong foothold in overseas and domestic markets. Ipca has incorporated a wholly owned subsidiary company in Brazil to tap the vast and growing pharmaceutical market in that country and its neighbours in South America.

The value of overseas acquisitions by Indian companies doubled from US \$4.5 billion in 2003 to US \$9.3 billion in 2004. Perhaps the latest acquisition has been Basell by a consortium led by the Chatterjee group.

Ipca's Caribbean and Central American representative, Shiva Persad, was in Trinidad. His visit was arranged to coincide with, and complement that of India-born US-based cardiologist Dr. Ravi Shankar. The cardiologist stated that Indian pharmaceutical companies were improving the quality and quantity of their products by acquiring US and UK-based pharmaceutical corporations. Dr. Shankar added that this strategic move for the first time allowed Indian Medicare companies to access foreign technology and acquire patents to expand their range of products and services. These corporate acquisitions also offer prospects for the manufacture of new medicines to combat HIV/AIDS.

Symposia South

Karat Vs Ramdev: Of a Storm in a Vial (1)



Projit Bihari Mukharji

Projit B. Mukharji works on the history of traditional medicine in the Indian subcontinent in the colonial period. He is currently in SOAS, London, pursuing his Ph. D.

His interests include politics, sports, particularly cricket, and also the subcontinental and other diasporic cultures and their construction in present day England.

A student of Presidency College, Calcutta, and of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, he is said to be scholar masquerading as a hunk or vice versa.

The Ramdev drama was enacted in several different but related theatres. There was the political theatre in which a labour dispute was transformed into a tussle between East and West. There was the media *mahotsav* where a certain leading Bengali daily published an entire popular Sunday supplement on interviews of Bengalis at Ramdev's Ashram and elsewhere, while yet another TV channel commented how "science could place similarly minded political parties on different sides of the battlefield" [referring no doubt to the left's alliance partners having deserted them]. Finally there was the evening *adda* at which people, from personal experience, debated mostly about the ills of modern hospital medicine and how they had been benefited at various times by yoga or *totka* or any other so-called non-scientific medicine.

In all these debates the issues debated are slightly different, but each bring up related issues. Let us take the cultural authority of 'science' as a label as our point of entry. The TV Channel commentator thought it to be unchallenged and perverted *only* for politics. While at the *adda* people, while accepting 'science's' authority, tried to add other sources of cultural authority by saying- "science still can't explain everything you know..." or redefine the scope of 'science' to say

"you know I once read of a survey in an American university which proves yoga is scientific..."

Science's unquestioned cultural authority in Bengal can be dated from the late nineteenth-century and most of these discursive strategies to negotiate it have also been around since around the same time. From the very beginning its source of authority was over-determined by the authority of the West. At the beginning of the twentieth century worthies like Mahendralal Sarkar, P.C. Ray and J.C. Bose tried to disengage the West and Science, but their efforts in retrospect seem more like a complementary cultural activity rather than a serious challenge to science's cultural hegemony. What the tokenism of 'Hindu Science' did though, then and now, is hide the elite and exclusive nature of science practice behind a veil of cultural markers and essences.

Between 1916 and 1931 four different colleges were started in Calcutta to teach Ayurved and each of these had different syllabi, since none agreed on how science ought to be defined and negotiated. Some claimed Vedic Knowledge was 'scientific' and the west ought to learn, some others said Ayurved should 'become scientific' by incorporating elements of Anatomy and Physiology, while yet others wanted no truck with Ayurved and

spoke of 'Shuddho Ayurved'. Though after 1981 these colleges do have common syllabi, it was more due to the increasing political muscle of the post-colonial state than because the debates were settled. Flicks like the recent Hindi film *Rudraksh* show the extent and the expense to which people will go to redefine the relationship between science, the West and the Self. Yet additionally what is of crucial import in the Ramdev case is the growth of a new market in 'alternative' health regimes and products. This niche market which has grown in the West from the late 1960s, if not earlier, with its new discourse against science as artifice, championing a new discourse of the 'herbal' or 'organic' has now entered Indian market in a significant way. Also significantly the growth of mega-companies like Dabur and Hamdard have been at the expense of local enterprises such as Sadhana Aushadhalaya and Dhaka Aushadhalaya. Mimicking the mega-business of the allopathic pharmaceutical business they fetishise the difference between East and West into culturally consumable tokens, which hide the economic complicity. As the economic effects of globalised markets takes its tolls, fetishised difference is increasingly being used to cover the cultural homogeneity and economic rapacity.

UNEAC Research Fellowships

The Asia Centre has established a UNEAC Research Fellowship scheme aimed at attracting to the Centre sabbatical and other visiting scholars working on Asia. Under this scheme, potential visiting scholars are invited to apply for up to A\$3,000 support per Fellowship. Fellowships would normally be offered to scholars visiting for 3 months or more and would not include any contribution to international airfares. For those visitors wishing to stay for a shorter period pro-rata Fellowship support may be considered. There will be several Fellowships awarded in 2006. Interested Scholars are invited to apply at any time for a UNEAC Research Fellowship, which will be awarded on a competitive basis.

Information on the Fellowships can be found at: <http://www.une.edu.au/asiacenter/ResFell.html>

For further information please contact:

Prof. Howard Brasted
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Tel: (61-2) 6773 2081
Fax: (61-2) 6773 3520
Email: hbrasted@une.edu.au

Symposia South

Karat Vs Ramdev: Of a Storm in a Vial (2)



Jishnu Dasgupta

He is currently teaching history in Behala College as a part-timer. He is working on the politics of Bihar, for his doctoral thesis.

Jishnu had been actively involved in student politics since his high school days. His interests have now widened to a variety of public engagements. He is an organiser par excellence and a true Calcuttan in his passion for protest marches and street demonstrations. When he has some time, he reads, particularly the novel *The Godfather*, and wanders through the lanes and bylanes of old Calcutta.

In recent months, there was a huge controversy over the allegation of adulteration of Ayurvedic drugs brought by a leading Leftist politician, Brinda Karat. The allegations, particularly against Baba Ramdev and his organisation, threw up several issues. While it is almost impossible at this point to give a definitive answer regarding the veracity of the allegations and counter-allegations, lost as they are in an all-too-partisan debate, the terms of the debate and what they leave out are, in my view, more important than the particulars of the case.

Karat is a member of the politburo of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the female face of her party. In this battle, she came up against a religious figure, who had numerous followers, including some of the most influential people of the country. Chief Ministers of four states of the Indian Union, as well as at least two former CMs, were counted among the 'faithful'. Many others, including filmstars and industrialists are reputed to be the Baba's followers. Naturally, when Karat made her allegations public, she stirred a veritable hornet's nest. She declared that part of the battle was against this network of influence, particularly in the small state of Uttaranchal, where the Baba was based.

This, and the deference shown to Ramdev by the state government, which is controlled by the Congress Party, throws light on the problems of secular politics in India today. The Congress heads a ragtag and bobtail coalition at the centre that has come together ostensibly to protect secularism from the attacks of the Hindu right. The CPI(M) (currently headed by Prakash Karat, Brinda's husband) supports the government on that very ground. But the actions of vote-savvy politicians are often determined by their perception of the sway of religious divines on the electorate. Thus, a minister of the Uttaranchal government came out singing paeans of

Ramdev, repeated the Baba's counter-allegation of adulteration of the samples sent by Karat for testing and demanded an inquiry. Mulayam Singh Yadav, the powerful C.M. of U.P., one of the strongest 'secular' leaders of the Hindi Heartland and an ally of the CPI(M) for a long time, also came out in Ramdev's support. Another champion of the 'secular cause', Union Railway Minister Laloo Prasad, also declared, that as long as it served the people's interest, he didn't care whether the drugs contained human bones or "bones of demons".

On the part of the Hindu Right, there was a vicious attack, as Karat's allegations were portrayed as yet another attack on religious sensibilities by "retrograde Marxists", as Ram Madhav of the RSS called it, on Hindu religion and the quintessential "Bharatiya culture". Events like the Chinese War (1962), coupled with the party's association with the Chinese Communist Party, were raked up to argue that Marxists were always disloyal to India. Even the Congress, despite the solidarity shown by the Uttaranchal government towards the Baba and similar statements by Congress spokesperson Ambika Soni, was not spared. It was accused of being part of a global secularist-Marxist-Islamist-'Christist' alliance. As improbable as it might sound to the uninitiated, there have been a lot of takers for this theory by which the Hindu right has sought to portray all its enemies, imagined or real, to be united in one huge conspiracy against Hinduism.

But while this demonising of their opponents is along familiar and even expected lines, there are certain other aspects in the terms in which the attack of the Hindutva brigade are framed that deserve attention. The terms used to describe Karat, in one pro-Hindutva website after the other, were not just villifying, but swear words were also used freely for the purpose. And like (almost) all swear words, the ones used here had obvi-

ous gendered and sexual mores. For instance, in the site hinduunity.org, she is repeatedly referred to as a whore and a bitch in postings by members. (For details, see the following url: <http://p081.ezboard.com/hinduunityhinduismhottopics,showMessageRange?topicID=28367.topic&start=41&stop=47>)

What made the issue crucial for the 'defendants' was definitely the financial aspect of the controversy. Ayurveda is now a multi-million dollar industry, in which Ramdev and his concern have a pretty large share. The cheap prices of Ayurveda medicines are due, to a large extent, to the fact that herbal medicine productions enjoy large-scale tax exemptions. This is crucial in understanding the controversy: If Karat's charge of the medicine being mixed with bones be found true, Ramdev's enterprise would no longer enjoy these tax benefits.

Even more interesting was the use of 'leftist' strategies on part of the right. It was the CPI(M) that was now suddenly accused of elitism. It was alleged that Karat, with her Doon School and Miranda House education,¹ lacked any understanding of 'Indian' culture. Marxism was posed as a foreign ideology and therefore, by definition, antithetical to the Indian ethos.

More importantly, in a curious inversion, the Marxists were accused of being hand-in-glove with Multi National Corporations. Ramdev has a proven record in opposing international soft drinks. Now, he claimed that by denigrating his medicines, Karat was strengthening the hands of MNCs engaged in the production of medicine. He even said that he had proof that the night before Karat held a press conference making these allegations, she met with representatives of these corporations. The BJP (the electoral-political arm of Hindutva) had fought the last General Elections on the plank of 'India Shining'. At a time of still unmitigated problems regarding basic issues like

¹ Both are markedly elite institutions. I must confess my total ignorance of whether these 'accusations' about Karat's background are true. It does not, however, make any difference to the argument, as what I am dealing with, is the perception.

Symposia South

electricity, roads and water (popularly known in Indian political jargon as BSP) and at a time when farmers were committing suicide in large numbers due to economic hardships, this campaign led to its (rightful) vilification as a party that stood only for the (economic) elites. But now, Hindutva seemed to have found its answer by accusing its bete noire of practising the same anti-poor policies.

Ramdev's response was thus based on two prongs of vilification— of identifying the enemies as representatives of MNC interests and by painting them as anti-India. Ramdev was projected as the defender of the poor and the indigenous. The 'liberalisation' projects of the CPI(M)-led government of West Bengal were held up as examples of the Communists being, in reality, tools of capitalists. It was argued that Ayurveda provided Indians with an indigenous as well as cheap form of treatment. An attack on Ayurveda could now be construed as depriving the poor of access to treatment and forcing people to consume drugs manufactured by MNCs.

The compromises of the CPI(M) with capital do not fall within the purview of this short piece. But this cannot lead us to any uncomplicated acceptance of Hindutva's position of indigenist and non-elite positions. It is important to problematise such assertions.

The benefits (or claims thereof) of non-elite indigenous medical systems spring largely from popular control of these systems. But the way Ayurveda is positioned now, particularly in the hands of the likes of Ramdev, Ravi Shankar, Anandamayee and others, is very different from any 'traditional' set-up. Theirs are essentially modern organisations, marked by the use of allopathic doctors treating patients in Ramdev's own ashram in Kankhal. Moreover, only the rich devotees can

come in direct contact with the Baba. For ordinary people, the televised sermons are as close as they get to this young star of the new breed of Indian Tele-evangelists. In fact, for many of the more traditional but lesser-known practitioners of Yoga, Ramdev is much sneered at as an imperfect practitioner and a rich man's godman. At the same time, it is this very prominence that has laid him open to the gaze of his opponents; the many rural quacks and practitioners of spurious medicine happily practice their trade in obscurity.

But the crucial issue is not this. Ayurveda, in the hands of these practitioners, who are so often seen on television and cater to this international market, can hardly be called traditional, either in its market or the methods by which this market is tapped. They do not fit the traditional, even idyllic picture of local, rural practitioners meeting the needs of the community. Rather, they are intrinsically linked to the globalisation process. They use satellite television and the Internet to acquire, maintain, cater to and compete for markets of their products, markets that are more often than not international. While the greater reach of these media has spawned a multi-million dollar industry, a point needs to be made here. The number of people brought within the reach of Ayurveda may have increased, but while there is indeed a spatial expansion, that does not mean it has become more popular. The control over the means of production in this industry is definitely not popular. This greatly hampers any claims of popular benefits from the practices of these new gurus of Ayurveda.

In fact, the whole debate seems a bit puerile to me, except in helping understand certain related themes. The support Ramdev drew from Mulayam Singh Yadav and even the

arch-secularist railway minister Laloo Yadav, for instance, has been explained in terms of their sharing the same OBC and Yadav identities with the Baba. The support he received from Subhash Chakraborty, a powerful minister and CPI(M) leader from West Bengal, also shows how 'Left' leaders are no more immune to the pulls of votebank politics around identity groups than their other 'secular' brethren or, for that matter, the Hindu Right. The examples of the 'Left's' betrayal on the communal issue are, in any case, too numerous to be listed here.

The legal issues involved and the possibilities of victory and defeat hold little interest for me, except, as I have stated earlier, as an interesting entrypoint into other things. On one side is a leader of a 'Marxist' party under whose leadership the Bengal government has banned union activities in the IT sector and declared it an Essential Service to attract investment and invited various MNCs themselves to the state. On the other hand is an assortment of divines who are vying for control over the pharmaceutical market with international manufacturers and themselves, to the exclusion of local practitioners, and are very much part (and beneficiaries) of the process of globalisation. After all, what does it matter who wins among Multi National Companies producing drugs and Indian Sadhus and Sadhis trying to expand and get hold over a niche market for themselves and their Ashrams? The initial issue— that of reports of abominable working conditions for the workers who produce these drugs— has also been lost in this quagmire.

And, as for the people for whom apparently all these are purportedly fighting, their stake is even less than mine— I who at least got the material to write an article.²

² My thanks are due to Paromita Dasgupta and Bodhisatva Kar for their help in putting this together.

Indian and Pacific Crossings: Perspectives on Globalization and History

Edith Cowan University and the Western Australian Museum, Fremantle, 12-15 December 2006.

Conference particulars, can be found here
<http://www.ecu.edu.au/ses/iccs/conference2006/home.html>

Or mail i.pcrossings@ecu.edu.au or to m.dupuy@ecu.edu.au.

Mark Dupuy
 Post Doctoral Scholar
 Edith Cowan University
 School of International, Cultural, and Community Studies
 2 Bradford St
 Mount Lawley WA 6050
 Australia

Building 17, Office 106
 PH: 61 08 9370-6681
 FAX: 61 08 9370-6593
m.dupuy@ecu.edu.au

Contemporary South

An Hour of War: A Tradeoff Analysis



Edsel L. Beja, Jr.

Edsel is Professor of Economics at Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines. His research covers topics in capital, trade and labour flows; debt management; environment-development linkages; and gender. He is currently at the United Nations Development Programme, Asia and Pacific Regional Center in Colombo, Sri Lanka, where he works on poverty-reduction and pro-poor policy reforms. Edsel holds a doctorate in economics from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Email: edsel.beja@gmail.com

"War, war, is stupid and people are stupid, and love means nothing in some strange quarters..."

There is war going on in the Philippines, in the southwest part of the island of Mindanao. I am from the northern part of that beautiful island. The War in Mindanao, as it is called, is at least 30 years old. This conflict has in fact a longer history, going back to the period of Spanish colonisation of the archipelago. Its roots are deep and too complicated to discuss in this short article, so I will leave them out for now. Instead let me talk about two things, first, what is the cost of an hour of war (say, in just firing the guns)? Second, how is the cost compared in terms of securing the living expenses of a family of six, which is the average family size in the Philippines? In other words, I would like to focus on the tradeoff analysis of war.

In order to carry out the analysis, I will make use of some assumptions. To begin, suppose that there is only one soldier and that he has one rifle. The standard issue is the M16 ArmaLite. Moreover, assume that the soldier has a field support team, and they have one cannon. The standard issue is the 105 mm Howitzer. The information obtained by the Mindanao Bureau of the Philippine Daily Inquirer, the leading newspaper in the country, is as follows: An M16 can fire 475 rounds per minute or 28,000 rounds an hour; the Howitzer can fire 2 shells per minute or 120 shells an hour. In addition, an M16 bullet costs about 14 Philippine pesos (PhP), which is close to US 0.30 cents (following an exchange rate of PhP 50 to a US dollar); for the Howitzer, a shell costs PhP 7,300, about US\$ 146. Thus 28,000 M16 rounds cost PhP 392,000 pesos, or US\$ 7,840; 120 Howitzer shells cost PhP 876,000 or US\$ 17,520.

Some strange quarters say: "Let's go to war!"

But before we proceed any further,

let's ask: What is the total cost of firing an M16 and the Howitzer for an hour? Obviously, one hour is an arbitrary choice. It is about the same amount of time spent watching an episode of a favourite telenovela or TV programme, etc. One hour is just an easy reference unit. So using the information above, we computed a total cost of PhP 1.26 Million, or US\$ 25,200.

Well, the Philippine Army does not send a lone soldier. The Army sends platoons. Other than the M16 and Howitzer, bombs are used, too (which costs about PhP 100,000 a piece), along with Huey helicopters, tanks, and so on. Now, do the math....

Given such staggering costs, consider this: What if, instead of firing the guns, the same amount, PhP 1.26 Million, is used to supply gas for stoves to prepare food, fire engines to transport people, and so on? I now use estimates from the Ibon Databank Foundation, a leading think-tank and research institute in the Philippines, on the daily basic cost of living for a family of six in Manila. Ibon Foundation estimates a daily cost of PhP 500 or US\$ 10. In Mindanao the average basic cost of living is lower, but I will just use PhP 500 to make the calculations easier.

I obtained the following results. PhP 1.26 Million can meet the basic cost of living of a family for 2,520 days! I think this figure translates to 6 years and 10 months. [What if this family is given the full amount outright and considers putting a portion into some investment? It turns out to be a larger amount if interest earnings are included.] Alternatively an hour of ceasefire can secure the basic needs of 2,520 families for a day. How about a month of ceasefire? Remember this cost is just for a soldier and his field support team.

"Send the platoon!" some strange quarters insist on saying.

In a place where the average incidence of poor families is 50 per cent (the highest in the island is 66 per cent), approximately 1.64 Million families; where the incidence of children below five years old who are underweight, deficient in Vitamin A, iron, and iodine, is 31-33 per cent, PhP 1.26 Million, or US\$ 25,200, will certainly go a long way in terms of meeting basic needs, having healthy children, and so on. Should we start firing guns?

But wait! Like any confrontation, there are two sides to war. Thus I also have to estimate the cost of firing the weapons of the "enemy." To simplify things I will assume that war is a fair game, so each side has one soldier and the same weapons and so, each side will have similar costs. Accordingly the total cost of an hour of war is PhP 2.52 Million, or US\$ 50,400. This amount can secure a family's basic cost of living for 5,040 days, around 13 years and 8 months! Or 5,040 families for a day! Consider a ceasefire for a day, and a month....

"Bring back the platoon!"

"War, war, is stupid and people are stupid, and I heard them banging on hearts and fingers. War! War! War!"

Sources of Data:

ESN- Nutrition Country Profiles Philippines, <http://www.da.gov.ph/NNC/main.html>

Ibon Databank Foundation, <http://www.ibon.org>

National Statistics Coordination Board, <http://www.nscb.gov.ph>

Philippine Daily Inquirer Mindanao Bureau, "Economics of War: 1 Kilo of Rice=1 Bullet," The Philippine Daily Inquirer, 10 and 11 May 2000.

History of Reconstruction of Mirzo Ulugbek's Observatory

F. Shamukaramova

Shamukaramova Feruza Shakirovna was born on 29 April 1972 in the city of Chinaz of Tashkent district (Uzbekistan). She is Uzbek. In 1991 she entered Tashkent Teaching University named after Nizamiy & graduated from it with straight 'A's in 1996. In 1997 she took her postgraduate course. After graduating she began to work at the Institute of History of the Uzbekistan Republic Academy of Science. The theme of her thesis is "Mirzo Ulugbek's life & creation in historical period of twentieth century". She works under Professor Alimova Dilorom Agzamovna.

The twentieth century in the history of Central Asia is commemorated by scientific discoveries having a world-wide significance. One such discovery was the finding of the remains of the Samarkand observatory erected by the outstanding scientist-astronomer and statesman of the Middle Ages, Amir Temur's grandson Mirzo Ulugbek (1394-1449).

The search for his observatory was launched at the end of the nineteenth century. Different hypotheses concerning its location have been offered. Due to the perusal of one *waqf* document dating back to the seventeenth century, where the word "*tal-i-rasad*" (i.e. observatory) was mentioned, Russian archaeologist V.L. Vyatkin¹ managed to locate the site of this observatory. The excavations that were carried out under his guidance in 1908-1909 had significant scientific importance. The interest in the life and scientific heritage of Ulug Bek began in Europe in the seventeenth century through the study of his main work *Zizhi Jadidi Guragonii (New Guragan Tables)*².

Throughout the twentieth century the excavations at the site of Ulug Bek's observatory were conducted five times in 1908-1909, 1914, 1941, 1948, 1967. Each subsequent stage of archaeological research brought to light new data. The data obtained caused wide discussions among

experts and architects,³ and various variants of reconstructing the observatory were offered.

In 1912 V.L. Vyatkin published a comprehensive report on the first excavations with the detailed description of the district where the observatory had been located. He gave the dimensions of a hill, graphic figures, the plan of a site, the picture of a transverse incision of a trench. The rest of the main tools of the observatory are still preserved. These are the rarest and the oldest of all the tools used by the astronomers of the Middle Ages that are known to archaeologists.

So already after the first excavation the question of the external shape and the interior arrangement of the observatory became an object of research among experts in different disciplines. The astronomer V.N. Milovanov had put forward the first suggestions for reconstructing the observatory,⁴ Being an expert in this field of science he, on the basis of archaeological data obtained in 1908-1909 considered that the round wall found is the remains of the horizontal circle, which defined an azimuth of stars. Besides, he tried to determine the utility of the green glazed bowls found in plenty and filled with some liquid. In his opinion, there was "a grandiose sundial" in the observatory. On what finds Milovanov grounded such conclusions is not clear. All his

hypotheses during the subsequent excavations on the observatory site failed.

However, V.N. Milovanov never ceased to hope that consecutive excavations would confirm his assumptions. He wrote "I should confess, that I am very poorly satisfied with the scope of the excavations made... All this proves the big significance of Samarkand astronomers' works and high interest in ultimate digging out a remarkable monument induces me to utter a passionate request that excavations, stopped for the lack of means, should renew".⁵

To find answers to the questions regarding the architectural design of an observatory in 1914 the V.V. Bartold Russian Committee on Middle and Central Asia initiated means to restart excavations. However, excavations under V.L. Vyatkin's guidance did not yield expected results. In V.V. Bartold's words, from V.L. Vyatkin's private letter, he knew that "the subsequent works did not promote finding-out of the arrangement of an observatory".⁶

V.V. Bartold in his famous monograph devoted to Ulugbek wrote "About the arrangement of the Ulugbek's observatory the remains of which were discovered by V.L. Vyatkin in 1908, the sources (Abd-ar-Razzak and Babur, being partly also the commentators of Ulugbek's works)

¹Vyatkin V. L. Otchet o raskopkakh observatorii Mirzo Ulugbeka v 1908 i 1909 godakh. (Report on excavation of Mirzo Ulugbek's observatory in 1908 and 1909), Printing house of Emperor's Academy of sciences, St-Petersburg, 1912.

² Scheglov V. P. Rasprostranenie "Zidj Ulugbeka" v evropeiskoi pechati (Spread of "Zidj Ulugbek" in the European publications. / From a history of a science of Ulugbek's epoch. Ö. : Fan, 1979. p. p. 143-151.

³ Masson M. E. Observatoriya Ulugbeka (Ulugbek's observatory). Ö. , 1941. p. 48; Nilsen V. A. Arkhitekturny oblik observatorii Ulugbeka v Samarkande (Architectural design of Ulugbek's observatory in Samarkand. // Works of Institute of History and Archeology AS UzSSR. Ö. : Publishing house AN UzSSR. Ö. V. 1953. p. p. 101-128; Dzhahalalov G. D. K voprosu o sostavlenii planetnykh tablets Samarkandskoi observatorii (To the issue on drawing up of planetary tables of the Samarkand observatory). // Historical-astronomical research. Issue I. M. : Nauka, 1955. p. p. 101-118; Burjakov J. F. , Gulyamov Ya. G. K planirovke observatorii Ulugbeka po materialam raskopok 1967g. (On the lay-out of observatorii Ulugbeka as to materials of excavation of 1967 // Social studies in Uzbekistan. 1968. ¹ 2. p. p. 69-71; Bulatov M. S. Mirza Ulugbek: Svet skvoz stoletiya (Mirza Ulugbek: Light through centuries). // Zvezda Vostoka (Star of the East). 1982. ¹ 1. p. p. 169-188; The same author. Observatoriya Ulugbeka (Ulugbek's observatory). // Architecture of the USSR. 1985. ¹ 1. p. p. . 91-93; The same author Observatoriya Ulugbeka v Samarkande (Ulugbek's observatory in Samarkand). // Historical-astronomical research. Issue XVIII. M. : Nauka, 1986. p. p. 199-216; The same author. "Suzdi Fakhri" - glavny instrument observatorii Ulugbeka ("Suzdi Fakhri" is the main tool of Ulugbek's observatory). // Social studies in Uzbekistan. 1995. ¹ 5-8. p. p. 93-96; Pugachenkova G. A. Arkhitektura Observatorii Ulugbeka (Architecture of Ulugbek's observatory). // Art of architects of Uzbekistan. Issue. IV. Ö. : Fan, 1969. p. p. 107-131; Notkin I. I. Vremua kollazhei (Time of collages). // Maskan. Ö. , 1993. ¹ 1-2. p. p. 13-15.

⁴ Milovanov V. N. Astronomicheskie poznaniya Samarkandskikh astronomov (Astronomical knowledge of Samarkand astronomers). // Proceedings of sessions and announcements of members of Turkestani society of amateurs of archeology. Year. XVII (1912-1913). Issue. 1. Ö. , 1913. p. p. 42-52.

⁵ Milovanov V. N. Astronomicheskie poznaniya Samarkandskikh astronomov (Astronomical knowledge of Samarkand astronomers). // Proceedings of sessions and announcements of members of Turkestani society of amateurs of archeology. Year. XVII (1912-1913). Issue. 1. Ö. , 1913. p. 53.

⁶ Bartold V. V. Ulugbek and his time (Ulugbek and his time). Col. works V. II. x. 2. p. 137. (Citation from the letter is given in a footnote 23).

Contemporary South

whole building was a three-storey one. Abd-ar-Razzak talks about the depiction of nine heavens, nine heavenly spheres with degrees, minutes, seconds and the tenth shares of seconds, heavens of rotation, seven planets, motionless stars, a globe with division into climates, with mountains, seas, deserts, etc.". Having studied the written sources, the author concluded, "that the question is about murals, instead of separate globes and maps".

During the 1920s-30s, there were no new publications devoted to Mirzo Ulugbek's heritage and his observatory. But the brochure of archaeologist M.E. Masson issued in 1941,⁷ based on the research of medieval written sources, gave a new impetus to the study of these issues. And to some extent due to this publication excavation on the observatory site resumed in the same year. The author of the brochure completely supported V.L. Vyatkin and V.N. Milovanov's assumptions concerning the arrangement of the observatory as a horizontal circle, the function of clay bowls and a sundial. In particular, he wrote, "it is doubtless, there was a large sundial established in Ulugbek's observatory. Possibly, that it was the prototype (of a sundial) surviving in ancient observatories of India...".

Based on the results of the two excavations and on the historical notes by Zakhriddin Babur, M.E. Masson concluded: "The observatory, in the construction of which, undoubtedly, the best art and architectural forces of the capital were involved, differed from other large public constructions of that time not only by its extraordinary forms, but also somewhat different proportions of a colour combination in external decorative furnishing... it could help inspire involuntary respect to itself on the part of contemporaries, which was reflected in an epithet applied to it 'imorati ali' (a noble or high building)".⁸

Between 1940s-80s scholars offered a number of reconstruction projects for the observatory.⁹ All scientific polemic had concentrated, first of all, around the definition of the

main astronomical tool in the observatory. Having compared the results of the 1941 excavation with the data of hand-written sources, the astronomer G.Z. Dzhalalov concluded that the major tool in the observatory was not the "quadrant" as it was supposed earlier, but the "Fakhri sextant"¹⁰ invented as early as the tenth century and known in the medieval East. His statement was supported by T.N. Kary-Niyazov, the scientist-mathematician, and author of the famous monograph "Astronomical School of Ulugbek".¹¹ But not everyone agreed with it.



In 1944 at T.N. Kary-Niyazov's request an architect B.N. Zasytkin, studied the materials gained from previous archaeological excavations and proposed the first project for the reconstruction of the observatory as described in T.N. Kary-Niyazov's monograph. According to this project, the observatory had a round interior base with two buildings, in the form of a cross, having subsidiary rooms on each side and small astronomical tools placed on the roof. Nevertheless, after obtaining the results of archaeological works in 1948, B.N. Zasytkin suggested that the second project should be a building in the form of a cylinder with three storeys, where the main astronomical tool should be placed. The plan was in close similarity with the architectural traditions of Ulugbek's time and the data in written sources.¹²

V.A. Shishkin, the head of excavation on the observatory site in 1948 was of the opinion, "Recognizing quite sufficient validity of B.N. Zasytkin's reconstruction plan in the whole, not contradicting to any of the facts, we should object, however, to some

particulars of this reconstruction."¹³ These particulars were: 1) An arbitrary change of the plan of a "crosswise" hall in the northern part of a building; 2) Availability of numerous window apertures that complicated their design; 3) Availability of doors with windows above them on all three floors outside the building.

The authors of all subsequent projects supported the proposed cylindrical shape of a building, but differed in details. These projects suggested in different years by V.A. Nilsen and G.A. Pugachenkova, represented the scientific-architectural reconstruction projects based on concrete data. However, according to V.A. Shishkin, V.A. Nilsen,¹⁴ who directly participated in the excavation in 1948 and personally made measurements of an observatory, had kept the main principles of B.N. Zasytkin's project, but with some corrections and a full display of the ground floor layout.

G.A. Pugachenkova's variant of reconstruction was based on an analogy of the Indian observatories of the eighteenth century, which, as the author stated, had been constructed under the influence of the Samarkand observatory.¹⁵ The experts' opinions concerning the similarity of the observatories constructed in Delhi and Jaipur by Sawai Jai Singh varied. In particular, T.N. Kary-Niyazov (who visited these observatories in 1960), V.A. Shishkin, G.P. Matvievskaia adhered to another point of view.¹⁶ G.A. Pugachenkova's project represented a combination of astronomical tools in which all the constructive scheme and general architectural plans were entirely coordinated with a functional task. "As to external decoration of the construction,... it, certainly, entirely followed the principles of architecture of Ulugbek's epoch."¹⁷ That decision failed to provide the final answer.

G.D. Dzhalalov did not approve any of the variants of reconstruction. He had rejected the theory about the existence of a cylindrical building with dark, damp rooms, suitable neither for work, nor for residing.¹⁸

⁷ Masson M. E. *Observatoriya Ulugbeka (Ulugbek's observatory)*. Ò. , 1941. p. 48

⁸ Masson M. E. *Observatoriya Ulugbeka (Ulugbek's observatory)*. Ò. , 1941. p. 25

⁹ Matvievskaia G. P. , Sokolovskaya Z. K. *Ulugbek*. M. : Nauka, 1997. p. 97.

¹⁰ Dzhalalov G. ZH. *Sextant kak glavny instrument Observatoriyi Ulugbeka (Sextant as the main tool of Ulugbek's observatory)*. // *Astronomical magazine*. V. XXIV. Issue. 4. I. , 1947. p. p. 249-253.

¹¹ Kary-Niyazov T. N. *Observatoriya Ulugbeka v svete novykh dannyx (Ulugbek's observatory. in view of the new data)*. // *Works of scientific session of AS UzSSR*. Ò. , 1947.

¹² Babur Zakhriddin Mukhammad. *Babur-name*. Translated by M. A. Salje. Ò. , 1996

¹³ Shishkin V. A. *Observatoriya Ulugbeka i yeyo issledovanie (Ulugbek's observatory and its studying)*. // *Works of Institute of History and Archeology*, V V. Ò Publishing House, AN UzSSR, 1953, p. 99.

¹⁴ *Arkhitekturny oblik observatorii Ulugbeka v Samarkande (Architectural design of Ulugbek's observatory in Samarkand)*. // *Institute of History and Archeology, Publishing house of AN UzSSR, Ò. V. Tashkent, 1953. p. 101-128.*

¹⁵ Pugachenkova G. A. *Architektura Observatorii Ulugbeka (Architecture of Ulugbek's observatory)*. /*Art of architects of Uzbekistan*. Issue. IV. Ò. : Fan, 1969. p. 129.

¹⁶ Kary-Niyazov T. N. *Astronomicheskaya shkola Ulugbeka (Ulugbek's astronomical school)*. Col. works. V. 6. Tashkent, 1967. p. 137. Shishkin V. A. *Observatoriya Ulugbeka i yeyo issledovanie (Ulugbek's observatory and its studying)*. // *Works of Institute of History and Archeology*. v. V. Ò. : Publishing house of AN UzSSR, 1953. p. 3. Matvievskaia G. P. , Sokolovskaya Z. K. *Ulugbek*. M. : Nauka, 1997. p. 97.

¹⁷ Pugachenkova G. A. *Architektura Observatorii Ulugbeka (Architecture of Ulugbek's observatory)*. /*Art of architects of Uzbekistan*. Issue. IV. Ò. : Fan, 1969. p. 129.

Comtemporary South

In 1981, the architect M.S. Bulatov essentially corrected B.N. Zasytkin and V.A. Nilsen's proposals, and tried to rethink the archaeological research data of the monument taking advantage of the primary sources not used previously but surveyed the functional features of the construction, i.e. the sextant.¹⁹ According to M.S. Bulatov, the observatory was a building of cylindrical shape with an azimuthal circle on a flat roof and a sundial with the main astronomical tool inside. His reasons were, "the observatory implies not only astronomical tools, but also a scientific institution with a library".

As a consequence of the projects of

B.N. Zasytkin, V.A. Nilsen, G.A. Pugachenkova, M.S. Bulatov, the Archaeo-Astronomic Commission of Experts of the AS of the USSR and its Astronomical Council in 1985 recognized M.S. Bulatov's project to have been close to the truth.²⁰ Due to the precise formulation of architectural designing developed on the basis of employing all the known materials, including primary sources, and their critical judgment.

Judging from the literature the question on whether "to preserve or restore" the observatory was discussed with the scientific community as everybody understood that the

reconstruction and restoration of the medieval astronomical observatory of Ulugbek had a significant historical and cultural importance. "It will be a monument to progressive scientists, daringly penetrating depthward the universe who left the indelible trace in the prehistory of space exploration of the universe". M.S. Bulatov was deeply convinced that summarising all submitted projects for reconstruction of the former shape of the Samarkand observatory, constructed by the world famous scientist Mirzo Ulugbek, would actualise its restoration. We still hope that the project will sometime be realised.

¹⁸ Bulatov M. S. Mirza Ulugbek: Svet skvoz stoletiya (Mirza Ulugbek: Light through centuries). // Zvezda Vostoka (Star of the East). 1982. ¹ 1. p. p. 169-188

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 184.

²⁰ Bulatov M. S. "Suzdi Fakhri" – glavny instrument Observatorii Ulugbeka ("Suzdi Fakhri" is the main tool of Ulugbek's observatory). // Social studies in Uzbekistan. 1995. ¹ 5-8. p. p. 93-96

DEVELOPING AUSTRALIA'S CAPACITY IN SOUTH ASIA (DACSA) SCHOLARSHIPS

Sponsored by AUSAID and the Australian Research Council's ASIA PACIFIC FUTURES RESEARCH NETWORK, administered by LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

There are up to six scholarships to write a PhD at an Australian university on a developmental topic related to South Asia (i.e., Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka). Specified fields of research are:

- provision of basic services (e.g, education, girls' education, health care, water and sanitation)
- good government (e.g., institution-building, local government, anti-corruption)
- achievement of sustainable growth
- HIV/AIDS
- security and conflict as they affect development
- natural disasters and their mitigation
- social exclusion and disadvantage
- long-term higher-education scholarships as a way of providing developmental aid

Tracy Lee
Project Officer
School of Social Sciences
La Trobe University
Victoria 3086
Australia
t.lee@latrobe.edu.au

Professor Louise Edwards
Institute for International Studies
Convenor ARC Asia Pacific Futures Research Network
Professor China Studies

University of Technology Sydney
PO Box 123, Broadway
NSW 2007
Australia

Tel: 61-2-9514-7489
Fax: 61-2-9514-1578
Email: louise.edwards@uts.edu.au

Comtemporary South

Islam Today



Kashshaf Ghani

Kashshaf has completed his M.A. in History from Calcutta University last year. He is currently engaged in a project to write the one hundred and fifty years' history of the University. His own research interests are in the field of medieval Islam and its career in India. Kashshaf spends a significant proportion of his week in Arabic and Persian lessons. He is unusual among historians in his interest in technology. He is quite a wizard with software and hardware and a prize asset in the e-Magazine team.

Recently a seminar on "Between Tradition and Modernity: Aspects of Islam in South Asia" was organised at the Department of History, University of Calcutta. Most of the presentations dealt with varying aspects of Islam in South Asia, more specifically India. As expected, any discussion on a world religion that has evolved over centuries tends to spill over the territorial limits of a single continent. Issues came up concerning the present and the possible future of this religion in the light of the recent developments around the globe.

A daylong seminar on 'Between Tradition and Modernity: Aspects of Islam in South Asia' was organised at the Department of History, University of Calcutta on 22 February 2006. The speakers included Prof. S. Irfan Habib, Dr. Azad Farooqui, Kingshuk Chatterjee, and Dr. Raziuddin Aquil. The issues covered a wide range dealing with the possibility of Islamic science (by Prof. S. Irfan Habib) to the exploration of the self through the work of Dr. Allama Iqbal and Ali Shariati (by Kingshuk Chatterjee) along with the changing dimensions of Islamic mysticism (Sufism) in the twenty-first century (by Dr. Raziuddin Aquil).

The most recent and sensitive headlines have been on the 'Cartoons' portraying the Prophet of Islam. Pictorial representations of God or Prophets as their messengers have for long been an integral part of many religious beliefs. Seeing is Believing- as many would say! But in many instances we see what we want to see and what we believe it to be.

At the centre of all religious activities is belief in ones faith. Incidentally, the followers of Islam believe in what they haven't seen, or perhaps will never be able to. It is this belief in the formless Almighty and His Prophet that drives millions of Muslims to bow their heads five times a day before their Lord. This to many may seem absurd. How can you follow a messiah who

cannot be pictorially represented? Who, perhaps, none have seen other than his contemporaries. Nevertheless, any pictorial portrayal of God or his Prophet is offensive to the faithful. Thus it is not surprising that the publication by the Danish newspapers not just of pictures- but of cartoons caricaturing the Prophet- have hurt the community where it is most susceptible. It has touched a raw nerve.

A Danish newspaper named Jyllands-Posten published 12 cartoons of Prophet Muhammad on 30 September 2005, which were republished in January and February 2006 in various European newspapers. These caricatures depicted the Prophet in various situations. Although some were quite gentle the deliberately provocative ones, portraying the Prophet as a terrorist carrying a bomb on his head, enraged the entire Muslim world and resulted in violent outbursts in many Islamic countries as well as in Britain and France.

There have also been death threats against the artists. On 19 February 2006, Yaqoob Qureshi, Minister of Minority Welfare in Uttar Pradesh (India) made an offer of the equivalent of 10 million US dollars for the person who beheads one of the cartoonists who depicted Prophet Mohammed.

I have seen books on Islam having illustrations of the Prophet, though in a veiled form along with the angel Gabriel. But the larger issue is not the cartoons nor just illustrations, but the target to which they are aimed. Is all this only to offend the sentiments of a community or to test the strength of their faith? Islam and Christianity are two of the greatest religions of the world, both in terms of followers and the vastness of their spread. And it is this claim to greatness that has led them to intense competition and conflict right from the days of the

Crusades.

In the twentieth century this confrontation acquired a new dimensions for reasons other than religion. Apart from the Palestine issue, US intervention in the affairs of Islamic states in the Middle East gave rise to some serious tensions, exacerbated by a sudden rise in militancy in the name of Islam. Things came to a head with the 9/11 disaster. In the post-9/11 world Islam became synonymous with terrorism. Militants wreak death and destruction in the name of Islam, but the blame is not limited to the perpetrators, or even to the political contestations that provoke such acts. The religion is blamed. In this haste to vilify the religion one ignores the line that separates the ideals of a faith from the deeds of its followers.

In the aftermath of the Varanasi blasts in India, Muslim clerics urged terrorist organisations to practice restraint and spread brotherhood rather than propagate hatred. On 14 March 2006 Muslim clerics issued 'fatwas' against targeting places of worship in the name of Allah or naming terrorist organisations after Allah or Prophet Muhammad. A militant group calling itself Lashkar-e-Qahar had claimed responsibility for the Varanasi blasts. Qahar is one of the many different names used for addressing the Prophet.

This atmosphere of confrontation has aroused a deeper interest in the dynamics of this religion. What is it that makes the followers of Islam place their faith above everything else? What drives them to embrace death so willingly in the name of religion? These are some of the questions to which the West is desperately seeking an answer. It is a conflict between a great political force and an equally strong religious belief. And the reactions are as widespread in religious terms (the cartoons for instance) as they are in cases of political oppression (the world wide protests during the Afghan crisis). In such a situation when the waters of the

Comtemporary South

Tigris and the Euphrates are yet to douse the fire in the Mesopotamian valley, the Iran issue could once more witness the two civilisations flashing swords at each other. Perhaps the greatest irony of the entire situation is that those who claim to be the flag bearers of modern day civilisation are the first to violate the Right to Existence of other, older and richer, civilisations. In such an ambience of escalating tensions while the West is not yet ready to stop interfering in the Islamic states, the latter are never reluctant to retaliate.

Iran and the United States are at loggerheads over the former's nuclear ambitions. The United States feels that Iran wants to build a nuclear bomb and is determined to thwart any such attempt. It has urged Tehran to stop all nuclear building activities. Britain and France have been trying to persuade Iran to suspend its Uranium enrichment programme. Iran insists that its intentions are strictly non-aggressive.

What one can desire for the present is some amount of breathing space, which could divert this confrontation and allow some room for peace, if possible. This again is impossible without some mutual respect and trust. But, for the present, peace does not seem to be the order of the day. Each claims supremacy over the other. In this battle of titans, is one world enough?

Images of Memory

This exhibition, with **photographs, documents, letters and testimonies** that compose a journey through the events of our recent history: the social and political mobilization of the nineteen seventies, the coup d'état of the 24 March 1976, the state violence during the dictatorship, the resistance from society and the search for truth and justice following the return to democracy, the exhibition proposes itself as a space to reflect on the incidence this past has on our present.



More than 12,000 people have visited the exhibition, inaugurated on the 16 March in the Main Hall of the San Martín Theatre in the City of Buenos Aires.

Sixty young volunteers have been trained to guide schools and the general public. **The school's response has been massive**, and accompanied by their teachers, until the 4 April a total of **2,386 students from 37 different public and private schools** from the City of Buenos Aires have visited the exhibition, as well as other nearby educational establishments.



The exhibition "**images for memory**" constitutes a first experience for Memoria Abierta to make available to the general public the vast amount of information and testimonial materials that provoke a reflection and analysis of our recent history.

We are gathering new lessons and reflections and challenges from the comments from the visitors that we hope to synthesize at the end of this stage. In the time being we will like to share some of the ascertainments which in our perspective contribute without doubt, to the enrichment of our political culture: the exhibition generates multiple dialogues between those who visit it; there has been a large presence of fathers with their sons and during the visits a transmission and learning between generations is taking place; finally it is notable mentioning the presence of youth.



Across the South

Two Reports on Workshop on "Social Change and Identity in Muslim Societies"

Kingshuk Chatterjee

Kingshuk Chatterjee is currently pursuing his research at MAKAIAS, Calcutta. He is working on the Intellectual Origins of Islamic Revolution of Iran, 1979 for his Ph.D. from the Department of History, Calcutta University.

An avid Al Pacino (read Michael Coreleone) fan, he is a feared and formidable rival to cross academically. Chatterjee also has been accused of being an apologist for Islamic Fundamentalism and of Zionism, an unimaginable combination seemingly. He delights in conversations and loves barbs, even when they are on him.

SEPHIS, in collaboration with ISIM, organised a training Workshop on "Identity and Social Change in Muslim Societies" at the Orient Institut, Beirut (7-14 December 2005). Convened by Asef Bayat and Shamill Jeppe, the workshop drew in young scholars from around the world working on Muslim societies.

The workshop aimed at familiarising the participants with some of the issues dominating current research on Muslim societies, and basic methodological approaches that are being (or can be) deployed in such research. The workshop pivoted principally around the location of individuals vis-à-vis the matrices of civil society and the state. In both respects, the issue of gender relations featured quite prominently in course of the discussions at the workshop.

Shamill Jeppe, Asef Bayat and Dick Douwes were the principal resource persons at the workshop for discussions on research methodology, which revolved around the notion of identity in the present discourse on area studies. The thrust of such discussions were to underline the significance of historical contexts in which the notions of identity and the dynamics of social change evolve. In this respect, the twin discourses of 'modernity' and 'orientalism' were treated in some depth, and situated almost as sub-discourses within the larger discourse of 'power'. A caveat was issued, however, against the temptations of essentialisation that characterise a considerable part of the discourse of power, lest the wide-ranging diversities that have occasioned the emergence of the discipline of 'area studies' be subsumed within the broader discourse of power. This came out best in discussions on the broader question of 'pluralism' in modern states, focussing on the manner in which the category of minorities have tended to be constructed, and how the state of Lebanon handled the issue since its creation in the twentieth century.

Papers presented at the workshop could be classified into two- those that handled the nature of Muslim identities 'as a whole', and those that dealt with women in Muslim societies.

Comparison of experiences of Muslim societies from across the globe, suggested the clearly political character of construction of identities within the parameters of the modern state. Case studies indicated the convergence of political compulsions and reworking of the Islamic identities prompted by several factors- viz. use of Islamic discourse as a legitimating tool for purposes of political reform (Cameroon, Saudi Arabia, Turkey) or resistance (Iran, Malaysia); use of Islamic organisational networks either to complement (Nigeria) or supplement (Indonesia, South Africa) the state apparatus, etc. There was a general consensus that, leaving aside only the broadest confessional implications, the identity of a Muslim in the modern world was a product almost entirely of its local societal, political, cultural and economic dynamics, and that it was almost entirely transmutable across time.

The other set of papers challenged the very notion of any Muslim identity 'as a whole' (within however localised a

Alejandra Galindo

She teaches at the Universidad de Monterrey in Mexico. Her research interest is the condition of women of Saudi Arabia.

A workshop on, "Social Change and Identity in Muslim Societies" was held in Beirut, Lebanon between 7 and 14 December 2005. Organised by SEPHIS and ISIM and hosted by the Orient Institut, Beirut, the workshop examined the importance of social change intertwined with shifting identity in different societies, where Islam frames the new social arrangements. Chaired by Shamill Jeppe, Asaf Bayat and Dick Douwes, the workshop's sessions gave the opportunity to both reflect on, and debate the core themes. An assessment of the importance of how Islam and modernisation are approached, was followed by a discussion on the methodology of comparative research, and on studies looking at Muslim minorities.

The workshop was complemented by a series of walking tours through Beirut, Tripoli and Byblos guided by experts in urban architecture at the Oriental Institute. The aim was to highlight the old and new elements that are currently trying to reshape Lebanese identity. Local guest speakers explained the social and political dynamics forming contemporary Lebanese society.

There were twelve papers presented at the workshop. Four dealt with gender, and evaluated the politics and social

practices in the light of key events. Two of these papers focused on Iranian society. Fatemah Sadeghi analysed how Iranian women are dealing with the government's policies of veiling. In particular, she focused on how young girls are using the veil to re-appropriate the public spheres as individuals, rather than openly challenge the system as an organised social group. Shen Yiming discussed the challenges educated women in Iran face, and noted the gap between the large number of women graduating from university, and their

expectations of life. A third paper, presented by Alejandra Galindo assessed how Saudi Arabian women are constructing a national identity in the face of challenges imposed by the post-9/11 context internationally, and the re-emergence of radical oppositionist groups nationally. In the fourth paper, Shabeena Yasimin studied the changes in Assam society with the empowerment of Muslim women in the villages caused by the Indian government's decentralisation policies, which resulted in different groups trying to capture the spaces that the state's absence (voluntary or not) has left.

Where the state has carried out a process of liberalisation, new spaces are opened for new forms of identity that can challenge the state's claim of a coherent national identity. Ibrahim Mouicha presented an example from Cameroun. The Bamoun kingdom was an ethnic unity around the Tijaniya order since late nineteenth century. However, with the introduction of the multiparty system in Cameroon during the 1990s, a power struggle started between the descendants of the former King of Bamoun, Sultan Seidou Njimoluh, resulting in the community losing its unity. The return of young ulama trained in Sudan and the Gulf countries bringing with them *Wahabi* reforms further divided the community.

Ozlam Tur presented how groups in Turkey that were previously on the periphery are participating in the debate on identity. With the process of economic liberalisation, public spaces, ethnic and social groups that had previously been silenced by the state, have started to participate in



Across the South

space), by breaking most of such identities down in terms of their gender attributes. Focus on the position of women in widely divergent societies (India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania) revealed a widely prevalent (although not necessarily Islamic) tendency to subsume the identity of women underneath the shibboleth of a heavily patriarchal construct of the Muslim 'self'. Most of the papers of this category pertained to how women, in order to assert their own existence, negotiated with those who wield power (societal and political) in contemporary Muslim societies. Strategies of negotiation that were highlighted ranged between deriving benefits of confessional conformism (Sri Lanka, Iran, Saudi Arabia) and tacit resistance by interrogating the limits of traditionally acceptable behaviour in the realms of society (Iran, Tanzania) or polity (India). Admittedly the fortunes of such negotiating strategies have been far from uniform, not least because they are in different stages of progression. Far more importantly, something like a consensus evolved in the workshop to suggest that hitherto differential outcomes were not the result of different strategies, but rather that divergent strategies of negotiation were owing to the divergences of the social, cultural and institutional setting of the polities within which the negotiations were being worked out— no uniformly applicable panacea was suggested.

Participants in the workshop were, further, familiarised with some of the dynamics operating in modern Lebanon, especially with reference to the situation evolving after the decade long civil war that came to an end in the 1990s. Interactions with local journalists and social activists helped the participants to understand the complex 'history' of a country that came into being in the twentieth century and only then began to 'remember' its past(s)— a process that, among other material considerations, serves to keep Lebanon dangerously poised between civil war and peace. Resource persons from the hosts, the Orient Institut, took the participants on guided tours— Ralph Bodenstern around the city of Beirut and Stefan Weber in Tripoli and Byblos— which told the history of Lebanon through the prism of urban architecture. This was a particularly instructive way of getting across Lebanon's character as a cultural mosaic, because Tripoli (Tarboulos in Arabic) is a city (going back to the Umayyad rule, seventh century) overwhelmingly Muslim in its social composition; Byblos is overwhelmingly Christian (dating back to the Roman times); and despite the persuasively thorough architectural reordering of Beirut in the past decade, the scars of the civil war are quite obvious in the sectarian character of the various localities of the city.



the debate about Turkish identity, and the role Islam plays. If the other papers have concentrated on non-governmental actors, Salma Maoulidi presented the case of Zanzibar, where the state is struggling with different social actors on the issue of sexuality. 'Deviant' sexual behaviour, such as homosexuality, is regarded as a contamination from the West brought in through tourism. The state's regulations are harsh regarding homosexuality, and also affect women as they are targeted as needing to show modesty in Islamic terms.

Two papers focused on how the interpretation of Islam, either by the state or social groups, is fundamental to give meaning to the changes experienced by society, and can also be used by government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to promote community welfare. The paper presented by Alef Theria showed how the Indonesian government has been promoting an interpretation of Islam to protect the environment. Sulaiman Khalid presented the work that native and Muslim NGOs in northern Nigeria are doing with local communities, and the effect on the communities' welfare.

The issue of how Muslim minorities negotiate and resist national identity was the subject of three papers. The state's role in determining identity and citizenship in Malaysia was the topic of Hew Wai's paper in which he analysed how the state follows a policy of 'naming' as a way to control access to the state's resources. Hew Wai looked at the Muslim Chinese minority and how they have been able to hold onto their identity vis-à-vis the non-Muslim Malay Chinese and the Malay Muslim identity. In the case of Sri Lanka, Farzana Haniffa showed how the Muslim minority is asserting itself in Colombo by studying a Muslim women's organisation, and also how their identity is impacted by the country's other religions. Zahraa McDonald evaluated the case of the Muslim minority in Johannesburg, South Africa by assessing the role played by Tabligaat Jamaat in the reconstruction of Muslim identity in the post-apartheid society.

Within Islamic contemporary thought, the role of the community or the individual in facing modernisation is subject to debate. The paper presented by Kingshuk Chatterjee located this debate in the thinking of Ali Shariati, and his depiction of the individual's role as "enlightened thinkers" (*raushanfikran*) in order to promote Islamic awaking.

In conclusion, the workshop was a very enriching experience that allowed the participants to exchange views and debate the different elements embedded in the construction and maintenance of the identity in Muslim societies. As far as we know, this was the first workshop dealing exclusively with Muslim societies, and we certainly hope that it is the start of many to come, providing the opportunity to discuss the problems that Muslim groups and societies are facing.

Brazilian artist Elida Tessler has been awarded the 2006 RMIT/ South residency. Tessler was recently based in Melbourne for ten weeks working towards an exhibition that marked the culmination of her residency there. Tessler has exhibited widely in her home country, and also in France, where she gained her Doctorate degree from the University of Paris in 1993. Tessler teaches in the Art Institute at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul.

Across the South

Seminar on "Regionality, Identity and History Writing"



Lakshmi Subhramanian

She has written several pieces in the e-magazine to date. Lakshmi Subhramanian is the Coordinator, Sephis Resource Centre, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

The Roja Muthiah Research Library Trust supported by the Ford Foundation, New Delhi organised a two-day seminar (8-9 December, 2005) in Chennai on "Regionality, Identity and History Writing". The idea behind the seminar was largely to document recent shifts in the methodology of history writing, to go beyond the conventional archive and explore a range of vernacular sources in the context of community identities. Given the special status that the RMRL enjoys in the research terrain of South India, it was only befitting that this trust should have taken the initiative to organise a seminar on Regionality and History Writing with an emphasis on vernacular sources.

A word on the RMRL will not be out of context here. The RMRL grew out of a private collection of Roja Muthiah Chettiar (1926-92), an extraordinary bibliophile who collected virtually anything that was available in print and in Tamil. This passion produced over time an enormous collection of over 100,000 items consisting of books, journals, music sheets and handbills. The collection was brought to the attention of the University of Chicago which made arrangements for its preservation and public use and the result was the founding of the RMRL in 1994. Subsequent private collections have been added to the library that has emerged as one of the most impressive resources for the cultural and social history of South India, especially Tamilnadu.

The conference had a fair representation of senior and younger scholars working on the larger region of south India. The keynote address was delivered by Dr. Sudarshan Seneviratne, Professor of Archaeology, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. The address underscored the dynamics of region, identity and historical constructions. How political appropriation of history and cultural practices

have produced over time inflected readings of the past ranging from orientalist constructions to national celebration.

The keynote address was followed by a number of papers dealing with the problematic of defining a region in macro and micro terms. Kerala figured prominently as a regional example— the historical and historiographical elements constitutive in the making of Kerala was an important and recurrent concern. K.T. Rammohan's paper on the other hand, looked at a small region— the rice bowl of Kuttanad in southern Kerala and its ethnography in the context of a global system and its operations in the twentieth century.



A sizeable number of papers dealt with Tamilnadu— S. Anwar spoke on the Tamil Muslims and located their identity within a languagescape. A part of his methodology lay in looking at architecture and making a case for a distinct Tamil Muslim identity which was rooted more in language and topography than in religion. There was also a specific study of the Palar valley and the dynamics of ethnicity and the constriction of identity among its Muslim inhabitants.

A key issue that connected the seminar papers in the afternoon and the following day was the issue of identity politics in twentieth century Tamilnadu. Professor Arasu spoke at length about the articulation of a

rationalist ideology predating the Dravidian movement using much of the Tamil language material that has been acquired by the RMRL. R. Vijaya Shankar's paper on identity politics in Tamilnadu sought to locate the tensions within Tamil identity politics in an increasingly globalised environment and to explain why a separatist movement so stoutly and resolutely fought out in the early twentieth century, lost its radical edge and joined mainstream politics. Lakshmi Subhramanian focused on the development of a regional cultural identity built around the consumption and definition of a classical music canon and how that had its resonance in the emerging Diaspora of the late twentieth century. The issue of gender was taken up by V. Geetha whose paper looked at a corpus of women's writings that participated in the contemporary debates on historical progress, along with ways of looking at the past and the possibilities that the future held out.

Most of the papers in the seminar tended to focus on Kerala and Tamilnadu with the notable exception of Atalur Murali whose paper looked at the cultural construction of linguistic identities in Andhra from the twelfth century. This adopted a *longue duree* approach, and combined epigraphic and textual sources to locate pre-modern identity and social formations and contrasting these with modern identity politics.

The conference was well attended and the discussion stimulating. It demonstrated the eccentric location of the discipline of history and history writing in the contemporary context of Tamilnadu and at the same time brought to notice the critical shifts in historiography that regional history has undergone in the last three decades.

Across the South

Memory, Oblivion and Remembrance of Violence in the South



Mario Rufer

Born in Cordoba, Argentina in 1976, Mario Rufer studied history at the National University of Cordoba, and became interested to work on Africa early. In 2002 he did his Master's from the Center for Asian and African Studies, El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico under a fellowship from the SYLFF Program-Tokio Foundation. He is now a PhD candidate with a thesis about public pasts, nation and memory in a comparative sense between South Africa and Argentina.

These words by Andreas Huyssen express a paradox and also an advertence. We are impressed by a culture of "recuperation", but at the same time we have to create an epistemological sensibility of suspicion. Our historical fever doesn't mean a necessary use of memory, nor always a healthy recurrence to remembrance in social terms. Memory and amnesia, the last great intellectual legacy by Paul Ricoeur must be thought together. Not as the contrary poles of historical consciousness but as mutually social and individual processes. However, if memory and amnesia are "processes", how are they produced, put out of work, enacted?



Between 20-23 January 2006, the SEPHIS Program and the University of Dhaka, Bangladesh, sponsored a workshop entitled "Memory and Amnesia in the South: How Societies Process Traumatic Memories of Violence and Conflict", where I was invited to participate. There, three researchers from Africa (Cameroon and South Africa); three from Latin America (Argentina and Guatemala), and several from Asia (Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Indonesia) met with other researchers worldwide and some of the members of the SEPHIS Steering Committee to think and discuss about the topic. The chosen place, Bangladesh, was a great platform to do that. A modern

postcolonial space, the capital, Dhaka is the vital and precise sign of the intersected topics we wanted to reflect on. From 1972 Bangladesh is a modern nation state separated from Pakistan as the result of an armed and violent conflict resulting in thousands of deaths. Based on a clear politics of de-colonisation it was a unique conflict aimed at the defense of its cultural identity through the preservation of the major language: Bengali. This was one of the several issues we discussed in the workshop.

The main items invited us to reflect on one point. The twentieth century—as nobody would doubt—was the bloodiest of all. Several violent conflicts could be located to reflect on the truth. The two World Wars, the pervasive presence of the Holocaust, and other planned genocides. But this workshop had a particular focus that Prof. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya (from Jawaharlal Nehru University, India) reminded all of the discussants. *What is the specificity in speaking about trauma, violence, memory and amnesia in the south, from the south?* Here, geopolitics of knowledge is something else than a concept to be conjured up to write about new academic dispositions. We were speaking about a framework of analysis. We wanted to share something in common while speaking about the histories of violence and processes of constructing, keeping, selecting and representing memory from a kind of "global south". Of course, some historical processes keep knocking our historical sensitivities; processes of colonisation, decolonisation, and construction of modern nation-states from the ruins of diverse kinds of imperialism. However, this was not enough to justify our ends. Latin America has a deeply different process of colonisation/independence than

"The difficulty of the current conjuncture is to think memory and amnesia together rather than simply to oppose them. That fever is not a consuming historical fever... which can be cured by productive forgetting. It is rather a mnemonic fever that is caused by the virus of amnesia that at times threatens to consume memory itself".

Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories*¹

those of Asia or Africa— not only temporally speaking but also in terms of historical processes. The question was not resolved (of course it wasn't to be) during the workshop. But it has been kept as an advertence, as a subtle implicit remark. Testimonies of perpetrators of genocide in Guatemala, apartheid violence and mourning in South African literature, testimonies of *desaparecidos* during the last military dictatorship in Argentina, the creation of museums of memory in Buenos Aires and Robben Island; testimonies of Rwandan refugees in South Africa, the role of civil society versus state in Bangladesh genocide in 1971, were some of the main topics of discussion in Dhaka. What was the surplus we could get by analysing this processes in a southern location by researchers from the south?



First of all, we must consider the southern recognition of "alternative sources" in the writing of history. The terms of testimony, for example, were pushed beyond the classic analyses of individual representation or subjective mourning. Of course these dimensions were present. For example in the South African or Argentinean case it is necessary to link testimony with local places of enunciation. Post-dictatorial reality in Argentina, marked by economic crisis of a global model imposed by de-territorialised capitals, a reality inaugurated during the military dictatorship, implied a different content to testimony, analysed

¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight memories. Marking time in a culture of amnesia*, Routledge, New York and London, 1995, p. 7.

Across the South

from a very specific historical and political situation. The same reflection is applicable to South Africa. The frontiers of race and identity pushed memory beyond "reconciliation" in terms of the resolution or at least the visibility of crimes in front of a 'new' national audience. Memory in that case amplifies the concept of justice and healing, remembering that at least in the "global South", healing of a nation and the renaissance of modern democracy must be linked with social justice and equity in terms of race and gender. If we consider Bangladesh and India, we have to add religion as one of the most striking dimensions. In these cases, testimonies (out of documentaries or papers during the workshop) are clearly geopolitically situated voices.



Literatures, documentaries, biographies, commemoration festivals, demonstrations, web pages, museums and of course interviews were some of the most important sources of research presented by different discussants during the workshop. Here the creative impulse to make a wider "archive" of conflictive processes and traumatic memories of loss and psychic, physical or symbolic violence was accompanied by a subtle analysis of the "use" of the sources by people, and the locus of production of these sources. In this sense, testimonies cannot be used in the same manner if they are provided by a perpetrator of murder ordered by the state in Guatemala, or by the neighbours of a concentration camp in Argentina. In this sense, an ethnographic sensibility is necessary to decode the "archives".² This was clearly pointed out in the papers discussing the Bangladesh-Pakistan war and the Guatemalan case, for example. But widening the archive about the reconstruction of traumatic periods or events in the South, although a capital need, is not the main problem. It is a tool to get to the core- the social processes of "healing" and the intellectual/political processes of constructing *new histories*. In that sense, South African

intellectuals (Meg Samuelson from Stellenbosch University and Sean Field from the University of Cape Town) inquired about the meanings of "healing" when we analyse subaltern production of fictional narratives, or a documentary. Those "archives" can produce deeper conceptions of the reparation to the social body or the reconstruction of national identity after a long history of decomposition imposed by forced politics and an oppressor state. In the second perspective, testimonies of women about the genocide in Bangladesh can reveal, through an alternative narrative in terms of gender, a different conception of the genocide as a planned extermination or murders.³ This can generate a new narrative of historical operation. Women not only remember different things (in terms of the subjective production of discourse and sense about loss and mourning⁴) but also their memory-work entails another elaboration of the historical event. Subjects of loss, scenes of mourning and platforms of memory must be rethought.

Probably for those reasons one of the important discussions was on the need to overlap psychoanalytic perspectives— in terms of trauma, recovery, remembering and healing— with social processes and experiences.⁵ Of course, the so evocated tension between individual and collective memory was always present during the discussions but what I want to say here is that the different analytical perspectives (marked by the diverse academic affiliations of the researchers, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, scholars of literature) helped to understand that interdisciplinary location is a necessary tool to better understanding the diverse variables that are implicated in the remembrance of a violent historical process. Issues of re-presentation (not only historical narration but also public memories), of commemoration (in individual sense of mourning, in the collective sense of public performance), of needs to heal (in the political sense of reparation of social body) recreate the identity policies.

However, a kind of spectre was floating around the climate of the workshop. The question had to be posed: What about the sign of forgetting? First of all, the discussions in those terms were about two dimensions: Forgetting is a necessary aspect of individual psyche, subjective

dimension of temporal experience. Remembering everything is, as the famous story *Funes el memorioso* written by Borges, states, at the counter face of memory, and is *unhistorical*, and by definition, madness. But forgetting is not necessarily the counter-event of memory in terms of subjective experience. Forgetting can be also the phenomenological and individual result of *engineered politics* of amnesia, as Professor Bhattacharya reminded us. In this case, amnesia as an impeded memory is a polyvalent concept that has to do with physical, psychological, moral, intellectual or political impositions.



From left to right: Florencia Levin, Mario Rufer, Manolo Vela Castañeda,

What are the necessary aspects to get a good memory, *happy memory* in Ricoeur's terms?⁶ We confronted two problems in the workshop— first, that remembering is not always a positive action to look towards the future in specific social bodies. Of course, this statement is not new, probably stated first by Nietzsche in his reflections against historicism: We cannot lose the creative force of the present. Past must be "used" and "critically" used. But in the middle of the postmodern scene in the last twenty years, criticisms of the cultures of "fastness", of the "instant", were losing the other pole of the process: Postmodern times are also times of "museification", of "collectionists", of "cultures archaeologising themselves". The past is quickly thrown in front of us. Again, too much memory doesn't exempt us from amnesia. And amnesia, as I mentioned earlier, must be imposed (or at least can be an attempt to impose it) in several forms— by political impositions of amnesty, or by too many diverse, fragmentary and contradictory artifacts of memory. Then, the problem arises again. In terms of violent conflict, reconciliation is necessary to pursue social life. But what kinds of processes of memory are entailed in reconciliation? Reconciliation by justice is not the same as reconciliation by amnesty. Amnesty

² In the widest sense of the term. Cf. Paul Ricoeur, *La historia, la memoria, el olvido*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires, 2004 [2000], pp. 215-230.

³ Cf. Elizabeth Jelin, *Los trabajos de la memoria*, Siglo XXI Editores, Buenos Aires, 2002.

⁴ Among others, see Laura Brown, "Not outside the range: one feminist perspective on psychic trauma", in Cathy Caruth (ed.), *Trauma: explorations in memory*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1994.

⁵ Dominick La Capra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 2001.

⁶ Ricoeur, *La historia, la memoria, el olvido*, pp. 633-640.

Across the South

does not give place to face the problems of victims as historical injured subjects. First of all, amnesty— at least total amnesty as the indults to military officials in Argentina— also represents a clash between the state and civil society, in political, moral and philosophical terms. Even those cases in which, as discussions from Cameroon and South Africa demonstrated, amnesty was possibly not without but *through* memory (as the TRC in South Africa represents) the social process of reconciliation and healing are far more complex.



This photo was taken during the public session: From left to right: Michiel Baud, Mario Rufer, Florencia Levin

Probably one can find some pathways to reflect on in the suggestion made by Professor Mikel Baum towards looking the work of generations. Both terms— memory and generation— allude to time, social time of generation, deep time of memory. New generations— in almost all cases— (Bangladesh, South Africa, Argentina, India, and Pakistan) are showing a memory-work based in

substantial terms of discussion. Of course, this is not a warranty of our hope to a “happy memory” or a “good memory”, but at least remembers to us that generational change can provide new debates in terms of memory, identity, or social experience of the past; even more in some cases in which transmission of memory was impeded/interrupted by violence perpetrated *against* a specific generation.

One of the topics referred to and discussed during the workshop was the problem of potential ossification of memory. The fact of creating commemoration rituals, public politics of memory (official or subaltern ones), monuments, memorials or even artistic devices rescuing memories of violence and trauma don't make sure a conscious, politically strong memory-work. Even “master narratives” of memory (As TRC reports in South Africa or the “Nunca Más”— *Never Again*— in Argentina) can impose a version; a narrative disposition that many times becomes history, *the* history of violence and conflicts. It is necessary to come back, reconstruct and make reposition the meanings of events and the significance of the past. Artifacts of memory— whatever they are— are remade *into* time, mediated and articulated by the cultural gap between past and memory, event and representation.⁷ Generations are the social subjects implied on that, but again, that is not enough. Generational interchange must be accompa-

nied by political, social, moral and epistemological vigilance.

Finally, one of the most interesting conclusions we can sum up is that in these times of global impositions of expectancies (which is translated also in attempts to global impositions of enacting and living time) it is clear that memory is traversed by unequal conditions of experience. In that sense, an appropriate framework to discuss it— as it was at the workshop in Dhaka— permitted us to encourage a sensibility to think the categories of memory work— remembering violence— experiencing trauma also in terms of what we *lack* to better understand the social processes of mourning-reconciliation— or even the denial of forgiving: Ethnographic understanding of demands of political and social justice; and subtler analyses about experiences of democracy (and the functioning of “transition” to democracy as a political rhetoric in some places as Rwanda or Cameroon). Probably the workshop opened more questions than the ones we could solve: This is encouraging if we are aware that we are proposing alternative understandings on memory-work from southern locations, which implies the deconstruction of categories, epistemological procedures and modes of thinking about past and violence, sometimes taken for granted. With the support of SEPHIS Program, the Dhaka Workshop opened the framework for us to follow.

⁷ Susannah Radstone, “Reconceiving binaries: the limits of memory”, *History Workshop Journal*, 59, 2005, pp. 134-135.

Poster Women

The Zubaan exhibition that is a visual mapping of the women's movement in India since the 1970s is pleased to announce the launch of its website. The url is: www.zubaanbooks.com/posterwomen It was on at the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi from 24 March - 5 April 2006. Later in the year, it will travel within India as well.

For Poster Women, we have had three teams of very talented designers. The exhibition and the merchandise has been designed by Eena Basur and Manleen Shant. The catalogue accompanying the exhibition has been designed by Siddhartha Chatterjee. The website has been designed by Abhay Adhikari.

Across the South

Report on the Extended Workshop on Social History "Gender Ethnicity and Culture" Dakar, 6-27 March 2006.



Dalea Bean

Dalea Bean is a 24 year old Ph.D. candidate in the department of History and Archaeology at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Her research topic is "Women, War and Social Change: The World Wars and Jamaican Women 1914- 1950". She tutors and is an Assistant Editor to the Social History Project in the department. She is a member of the Association of Caribbean Historians and was a recipient of the UWI Mona Post Graduate Award and the Walter Rodney Prize for African History in 2002 as well as the Inaugural Robert Marley Scholarship in 1999. Dalea enjoys singing, reading, traveling, listening to music and photography.

CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa) and SEPHIS (South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development) held their fourth Extended Workshop on Social History for young historians recently in Dakar, Senegal. Through this workshop, CODESRIA and SEPHIS intended to bring Ph.D. candidates from the global South together for three weeks of joint reflection and knowledge-building, to foster discussion on comparative experiences of Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean and assist the participants with their individual research areas.

To achieve these aims, Dr. Ndeye Sokhna Gueye who coordinated the workshop and CODESRIA, organised an intense three-week academic and social programme for its fourteen participants. The countries represented included Nigeria, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica. The convener of the workshop was Prof. Rudo Barbara Gaidzanwa (Department of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe), while resource persons included Dr. Samita Sen (University of Calcutta) and Prof. Rhoda Reddock (University of the West Indies, St Augustine, Trinidad). These overseas resource persons as well as Senegalese academics (such as Dr. Rokhaya Fall Sokhna and Prof. Babacar Diop) gave lectures on various topics in keeping with the theme of the workshop, offered useful advice to the laureates about their research proposals and were generally available to the students for consultation regarding their work.

The laureates took an active part in the workshop, as we were required to make two presentations. These included the research proposal for the Ph.D. thesis, and a book review. In addition, the candidates were encouraged by the convener to comment on each other's work and on the lectures, and this fostered interactive sessions where we felt free to voice opinions on a range of topics, albeit within the confines of the time allotted for such discussion. To ensure that this was maintained, a time keeper was assigned for each day from the laureates. This person was also in charge

of waking the participants in the morning, a responsibility which was taken seriously by most participants and drew interesting responses as the wakeup calls came earlier and earlier each day.

The staff at CODESRIA was incredibly helpful and contributed much to the overall success of the workshop and to the comfort of the laureates. We were exposed to a wealth of resources at the centre, including the use of the library, theses, books and pamphlets as well as photocopying, internet, computer and printing services. These facilities were appreciated by the students who used the resources to supplement their own reading lists. Many bought books that are unavailable at home, or copied portions that they found useful to their area of study. Particularly on afternoons that were free for individual work, many could be found working diligently on their proposals, book reviews and theses.



The overall success of the academic aspect of the programme was only surpassed by the social outings that were organised in order to give the participants a glance of Senegal. An excellent dinner was organised on the first day where CODESRIA staff members and the laureates were given a chance to meet and greet each other and the closing ceremony featured cocktails, dinner and dancing on the CODESRIA grounds. Trips were organised to St. Louis, Goree Island and the Pink Lake. These were enjoyable not only because of the break from the academic programme but because of the close bonds forged among the participants. The atmosphere was always one of laughter and friendly rapport among the laureates. These trips, along with those to

markets facilitated 'retail therapy' where participants bought myriad souvenirs and sharpened their skills in bargaining in English, French, and for the progressive few, in Wolof.

Almost with one consenting voice, the laureates agreed that this workshop left an indelible mark on their academic and social lives. The discussions deepened comparative insights and broadened the outlook of the students. Useful lectures on methodology and research procedures also assisted the candidates that were at the beginning or midway in their research. In addition to the structured lectures, the participants were usually eager to share their individual experiences, which gave the rest of the group insights into the various realities of the countries represented at the workshop. While it was agreed that the method used to discuss and present the book reviews is in need of some re-working to facilitate a better discussion of the works, the activity was also effective in assisting those who were unfamiliar with the tools of reading a book critically for scholarly review. In general the workshop was well organised and every attempt was made to accommodate the participants in a comfortable environment, both at CODESRIA and at the hotel, Auberge Marie Lucienne. We were even surprised to find that we had a guide and translator in residence at the hotel. Binta Ly made our time in Dakar very pleasant and assisted with various aspects of the trip including visits to the doctor, markets and exchange bureaus to name a few.

The learning experience therefore went above and beyond what the laureates expected. It promoted a better understanding of the types of historical and social research being undertaken in the Global South. An attempt was made on the part of the resource persons to conduct lectures that covered a wide geographical area, particularly those areas represented in the workshop, while focusing on broader methodological themes that could be of benefit to all the participants. The focus on peer exchange fostered the cohesion of the group which was evident in the workshop and continued unabated when the sessions

Across the South

ended. While there are some areas that can be improved including having a shorter schedule on the first day to facilitate those who arrived in Dakar just hours before the programme commenced, SEPHIS and CODESRIA should be commended for organising such a useful workshop which is generously funded, well-administered, and gave the participants an experience of a lifetime.



Comments from participants:

Akachi Cornelius Odoemene (Nigeria)

The workshop was interesting, exciting, productive and a very rewarding experience. Most importantly the contributions from fellow laureates and feedback from resource persons were appreciated. Thanks to CODESRIA

and SEPHIS for their worthy investment in the personal and professional development of young historians from the South.

Chidinma Obiageri Mbamalu (Nigeria)

This was a warm learning experience with insightful and illuminating sessions. It gave my young thesis a focus. Exciting and sweet colleagues and attentive resource persons made the time worthwhile. Friendly CODESRIA staff members and our special guide Binta made this a great experience.

Aunp Shekhar Chakraborty (India)

This was a great learning experience. Thanks to CODESRIA and SEPHIS for selecting me to participate. I hope I will be able to incorporate all that I have learned here in my thesis.

Alexsander Lemos De Almedia Gebara (Brazil)

An amazing experience! Meeting people from the most important area of the world, discussing the really important issues. A lot of hard work and a lot of fun, together with personal growth were the hallmarks of this great

workshop.

Nthabiseng Motsemme (South Africa)

The coming together of people from the South is an idea that needs to be further nurtured. It has been so rich to connect with others and realise that there are few exceptions in our cases and we have so much more common visions to work from. CODESRIA/SEPHIS Viva!

Tanvir Anjum (Pakistan)

It has been a wonderful learning experience, but the programme was a bit late in coming to the participants so there was little time to prepare for those persons not working directly within the theme of the workshop.



Recent Publications

PARABAAS

We are glad to release articles by Nabaneeta Dev Sen, Meenakshi Datta, and translations from Upendrakishore's Toontoonir Boi as a preview to our next issue, Parabaas-37.

Meenakshi Datta reminisces on Sandipon Chattopadhyay in "Banglabhashar Phorashi Lekhok":

<http://www.parabaas.com/PB37/LEKHA/bMeenakshiDatta37.html>

Nabaneeta Dev Sen's lively account of the sixties when the young (and not so young) together joined their hands in protest against the injustices in the society, in "Mukto-Baak, Mukto-Praan":

<http://www.parabaas.com/PB37/LEKHA/pNabaneeta37.html>

Also, in the translation section, two of the well-known tales from Upendrakishore Raychaudhuri's "Toontoonir Boi", translated by Indrani Chakraborty, both accessible at:

<http://www.parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/stories/toontooni1.html>

Some more news of interest to our readers:

"Tagore's Philosophy of Education — A Conference Dedicated to the Memory of Amita Sen" was held at the RK Mission Institute of Culture, Gol-park, Kolkata from March 29-30.

Participants will include Nabaneeta Dev Sen, Alokaranjan Dasgupta, William Radice, Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, Sukanta Chaudhuri, Ana Jelnikar, and many, many others.

<http://www.parabaas.com/bookstore/Conference.doc>

Newly Released Books by our Contributors:

"Buddhadeb Basur Chithi: Kanishtha Kanya Rumi-ke" (from which the section "Amar Smriti" has been excerpted in Parabaas) has been released by Vikalp.

"Bhromoner Nabaneeta" and "Dwiragomon", by Nabaneeta Dev Sen

"Mati o Mohor", the second book of poems by Ritabrata Mitra; published by Ananda.

"Jormer Chokh", by Tilottoma Majumdar, also from Ananda.

"Ei Prithibir Teen Kahini", by Ketaki Kushari Dyson, from Chhatim

Books (http://www.parabaas.com/bookstore/kkd_eptk.html)

We will soon release the Parabaas-37 with many many articles.

Please forward this to others who may be interested. Looking forward to your visit at <http://www.parabaas.com> and please give us your feedback, too!

Encounters

Dipesh Chakrabarty Speaks on Knowledge Production And The History Of Friendship- Jadunath Sarkar's And Govind Sakharam Sardesai's Correspondence

Reported by
Kashshaf Ghani



Research, either as a serious pursuit or just for the sake of it, is so integral to modern academics that at times one feels the need to go back to its origins in order to gauge its integrity. This can best be done through a close study of the pursuits of some of its greatest patrons. Prof. Dipesh Chakrabarty's seminar on "Knowledge Forms and the History of Friendship- Thoughts on the Jadunath Sarkar-G.S. Sardesai Correspondence" at the Centre for Studies in Social Studies, Calcutta on 24 February 2006 shed light not only on the impersonal intimacy between these two great nationalist historians but brought alive the early days of History as an academic discipline in colonial India when thinking about problems and methodologies of research was just beginning.



From the 1920s to the 1940s, when History was developing as an academic discipline in the Indian universities (the Department of History in the University of Calcutta was established in 1912), colonial attitude towards indigenous researchers was somewhat averse. The notion that in India there existed no historical school or historical sensitivity conditioned their actions. In such a context the letters exchanged between Jadunath Sarkar and Govind Sakharam Sardesai raised one important issue time and again— what is research in History and how should it be carried out?

Professor Chakrabarty argued that the friendship between Jadunath Sarkar and Govind Sakharam Sardesai was based on certain commonality in their research methods. Their primary concern was an identification and critical evaluation of source materials, ascertaining their verifiability and correcting them through comparison with sources in other

languages— English, French, Marathi and Portuguese. This aspect remained a source of dissention between the Bharatiya Itihas Sangsadhak Mandali in Poona and Jadunath Sarkar, who never accepted the former as researchers despite their claims. Jadunath Sarkar, an anti-provincialist, was strongly opposed to the Poona project of portraying Shivaji as icon of Maratha identity. To both Jadunath Sarkar and Govind Sakharam Sardesai, history was a cause for good of public life, not for self-aggrandisement.



G.S. Sardesai

Studying the correspondences between Jadunath Sarkar and Govind Sakharam Sardesai from 1909-1955 revealed, Dipesh Chakrabarty argued, a strong sense of jealousy and competition over control of sources. Both Sarkar and Sardesai attempted to access sources or visit sites of historical interest before the members of the Bharatiya Itihas Sangsadhak Mandali, even misleading them through false rumours. In one of his letters, Sarkar requested Sardesai— "Please keep our tour programme next winter strictly secret" from the 'Poona rascals' of course. In one instance, Sarkar expresses an 'unspeakable form of joy' when he succeeded in relating the site of a war with its exact location in a map. Such joys of historical discovery along with the quest for more is reflected time and again in the letters exchanged.

Both Sarkar and Sardesai had reached the end of their working careers when the intensity of the communications increased; and together with it, their concern about practicing the correct form of history writing. This naturally brought forth one important question. If, going by the colonial interpretation, India was yet to develop a historical consciousness— then who were they to write for? They needed their work to be read and

recognised. The Poona society furthered its own communitarian interests by upholding their communal identity through their works. The university teachers wrote for professionals who at that time were laying the basis of modern history, as we know it today. Sarkar and Sardesai were faced with an institutional vacuum. This vacuum ultimately resulted in the replacement of the institutional horizon by an ethical horizon— they wrote for an ideal. In the absence of an Indian constituency to recognise the professional historians, the Europeans filled the gap.

The isolation of Sarkar and Sardesai, Chakrabarty argued, was also due to their pathological aversion to the Indian History Congress, which they dubbed a 'tamasha', without any professional integrity. As early as 1929, Sardesai suggested to Sarkar a vacation course as an alternative to the Indian History Congress. The course had some takers but the IHC retained its primacy.



Jadunath Sarkar

Both Sarkar and Sardesai, though writing history for the public good, contradicted their own claims when it came to their approach to sources. Although all contemporary researchers used more or less the same sources, with varying degrees of verifiability, they were harshly critical of each other's approach to the discipline. According to Chakrabarty, all three contesting 'schools' of history of the time, addressed the colonial state. The state in this respect reflected a kind of heterogeneity by being receptive to all these prevalent arguments and ideas. Jadunath Sarkar's position needs to be located within the larger imperial structure, where the writing of history was based on verifiable sources as it was on the benefices of the colonial state.

Encounters

Interview Professor Rajat Kanta Ray



By Jishnu Dasgupta, Riddhi Sankar Ray and Kashshaf Ghani



Professor Rajat Kanta Ray

All three interviewers were Rajat K. Ray's students as undergraduates in Presidency College, Calcutta. Prof. Ray has upheld the tradition of teaching history in that college for close to three decades now. In the photograph below, 'Sir', as generations of students know him, asked to be photographed with the portraits of his 'ancestors'— ancestors, who, like him, studied and taught in this college. He has often said that his chair- placed before the direct gaze of these ancestors has served to remind him continually of his duties. He has kept the history department's nose above the flood of mediocrity that has submerged much of his beloved college. As his retirement grows imminent, and the flood comes anew through breaches created by political and bureaucratic apathy, many refer to him nostalgically as the Last Emperor.

Rajatbabu has influenced numerous young (and now not so young) historians. They belong to various genres, schools and traditions of history writing. That they do not, cannot and never will unquestioningly agree with their master, is a true tribute to his teaching, for it was he who exhorted us repeatedly, "Question everything." In this too, this exceedingly handsome and soft-spoken man with a biting sense of humour, has been a true heir to the traditions of the Department of History, Presidency College.

Q. How would you define a 'felt' community?

A felt community is any community, which feels it is a community: That is the simple explanation and it may in your eyes beg the question. Nevertheless it is the only possible and feasible definition. A felt community is a community, which feels itself to be one and to be distinct from other communities.

Q. Would you say that there has been always a felt community in the subcontinent?

There have always been felt communities in the subcontinent; whether there has been one overarching felt community is a question on which there is possibility of disagreement; there is no possibility of disagreement on the ordinary meaning of the term felt community.

Q. You have said that there is a common heart of Hindustan; is there 'a common heart' as opposed to several common hearts?

The term 'common heart' was used by J.M. Farquhar. He was a missionary working here in the twentieth century. He wrote several very important works one of which was Modern Religious Movements in India. I do not remember where he used the term 'common heart' of Hindustan, but it might be in some other book on the religious heritage of India. And in using the term he is surprisingly close to what Rabindranath Tagore was writing in Bengali at about the same time. There is a sense of a heartthrob and its beat can most clearly be heard in the notes proceeding from Kabir's weaving. The sounds which Kabir's contraption make as he goes on weaving, that is the beat which perhaps J. M. Farquhar heard as the heartbeat of India. It is very difficult for one person to produce such a note because the notes that are produced all the time in the subcontinent are so different. If you are trying to locate one such heartbeat, one such note, which belonged to everybody in

the subcontinent, it might be difficult to find. But in the medieval times I think Kabir comes nearest to expressing that thought. Now if you can locate just one such note then you know that the thing exists. Otherwise the note would not be played. So it does not matter that I can readily find only one person from medieval India, namely Kabir, and I cannot give you scores of names. But the fact that I do without hesitation name Kabir as articulating such a heartbeat will logically prove that such a heartbeat exists.

Q. The geographical space within which this heartbeat is felt is obviously not congruent with the territorial spaces of the three nation states that have emerged in this subcontinent, i.e. Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. Hasn't the history of this heartbeat also been different within these nation-states, for instance with the North-Eastern states of India?

The history of the tribes of the North East has a logic of its own. They have separate emotional histories. But in the case of the Indian culture I think it is possible to speak of one overarching identity. This does not mean that other identities do not exist. They do and they are clearly separate from each other. Their interaction in the course of time produced a common heartbeat, which is heard for the first time in the inscriptions of Asoka. This is dated. So from the inscriptions of Ashoka to the Bijak of Kabir one can in several points of history hear notes that encompass the subcontinent but which may not include the North East. It may sometimes include Afghanistan, and sometimes may not. It may sometimes include Kashmir, but not always. This note finds resonance in the Asokan inscriptions found in the Dravidian heartland. The fact that in this region, which clearly belongs to the deep south, it is possible to hear the note shows that this heartbeat is therefore felt in the regions that are now covered by the Dravidian languages. It does not just include the region where the Indo-Aryan languages are spoken.

Q. Would you say that the heartbeat has remained one through

the ages, from Asoka down to Kabir and the mass movements in the first part of the last century?

Not at all. It has a history. Therefore it must be changing all the time. But it will not be possible to write that history because it is so elusive. You can glimpse it fleetingly, at certain points. When you are talking of an emotion, a subconscious feeling, such a thing cannot have a recorded history. Nor can you narrate its evolution. You can only glimpse it. But it undoubtedly changes. The notes would be different after the addition of Islam to India. And there would be other changes. The transition from the Buddhist way of thinking to the Sanskrit way of thinking would also mark a line of departure. The notes, which you hear in Asoka's inscriptions are obviously those proceedings from the Sangha, though he pays respect to the Brahmans and the Sramanas. The dominant note at that time is Buddhist. It is only around the fifth century or a bit earlier that you start getting a dominant Sanskrit note. Now that note is familiar to us, particularly Hindus. We are not any longer familiar with the Buddhist notes. We have to decipher it from the records. But the Sanskrit notes are still very much in our consciousness. To that was added the Islamic notes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By that time there was not only Muslim power in India, but also a Muslim community.

Q. How would you see this in terms of other wider geographical spaces outside India?

If you are talking of overarching mental and cultural identity then I think there are at least three possible big areas where such overarching identities prevailed over long periods of time. One is obviously India. Second would be Europe. In many ways, Europe and India are comparable. In Europe, languages have developed as nation states. In India, these languages have not developed towards nation states. But we have three states based partly on religion, partly on civil society and partly on language as in the case of Bangladesh. But I think that Europe and India are in many ways similar.

If you look at the world from the

Encounters

point of view of Baghdad in Harun-al-Rashid's time, then the world contained certain large entities. In the first place, there is Dar-ul-Islam, which stretches practically from Spain to Sind and what was Soviet Turkistan and the region that is now Chinese Turkistan. Besides Dar-ul-Islam, which is the greatest entity as far as that age is concerned, there are certain other entities, which are clear in Muslim records. Moving East from West there would be Firangistan or Frankistan, then there would be Rum or the Byzantine Empire. Then there would be the entity they call Al-Hind. And further east there would be the entity called As-Sin or China. These are all large entities and they all have overarching unities despite the diversity of beliefs, languages, and cultures prevailing within these units. That is just one example of the world at one point. Europe, the Muslim world, the Indo-Islamic world and the Cenic world (China, Korea and Japan) share traits of culture, which distinguish them from other such cultures. But I am not sure that there is a common heart in the Cenic world. I think not. I would say that there is a common heart in Europe and Hindustan.

Q. What about the example in your book, that of Vietnam? Does that have a common heart and how would you differentiate it from what you said now?

Vietnam is clearly an ethnic felt community. There is no question about it. It speaks a language, it has a political loyalty focused on the Vietnamese king and it has a very early record of patriotism. By patriotism I mean love of Patrie. And that is expressed in hostility towards China. And later on it is expressed in resistance to French incursion. Still later it expressed itself in the struggle against the United States of America. But the felt community of the Vietnamese goes back to pre-Christian times because there are records of three sisters who took up arms for the defence of Vietnam against the Chinese. It may be a legend. But in this case legend is history. The legend expresses the emotion and the emotion is the history, not the existence of the three sisters. The fact that these three sisters are commemorated—remembered and their stories reproduced through generations—creates the bond, an emotional bond. That is another type of felt community. Not an overarching felt community. If you are looking at a comparable unit in the subcontinent then the Bengalis are a felt community from the fifteenth century and the Tamils from an earlier period.

Q. But these stories of a felt community, often expressed through confrontations, must have existed in other cultures even though they may not have become a felt community in our own time. Take the Rustam-Sohrab confrontation—what did it reflect of the Irani-Turani mental-

ity? Would the Turani community be an example of a felt community that has not survived? Would you say that the Iranian one has?

Iran clearly exists. But Turan has disappeared. I am doubtful whether there was ever in history any entity called Turan. Turan is only defined in relation to Iran. The fact that Iran had so long been under Arabian domination and then under Turkish domination has obviously left an influence in the Iranian consciousness. And the Shahnama where these two entities occur, Iran and Turan, is the product of, first, Arabian domination and then Turkish domination. Afrasiyab is a Turkish hero as opposed to the Iranian hero, Rustam. And Rustam's son Sohrab does not know his father in Turan's battle against Iran. Turan then is a manufactured thing. Iran is not a manufactured thing. It has existed from the time of Zarathushtra.

Q. Asoka onwards there has been an element of manufacturing historical literature even in states in the far south.

Yes. But the expansion of Asoka's empire in to the south is not important—in the inscriptions, he is saying that everywhere in Jambudwipa two classes are respected by everybody, the Brahmanas and the Sramanas. And there are countries where this is not so.

Q. But is he not making a claim that does not exist in reality at that moment? Even in Mauryan India there were exceptions?

There were always animist cults. There were any number of tribes who did not follow the Brahmanas and the Sramanas. But they too have contributed to the Indian culture. In fact what we call Brahmanism in the Puranic phase is clearly drawing on these cults. The figures of Shiva, Kali, Krishna are the three main cults that have survived. They are clearly aboriginal gods and goddesses. What we call the Brahmanical Sanskrit culture is in fact built with these borrowings.

Q. There has been a partial fulfilment of Asoka's agenda not only in his own time but also in subsequent centuries. Is it a steady process?

A felt community I think already existed. Asoka was merely an instrument in it. He did not create the unity. Rather the unity instrumented him. The cultural face already existed. The political face, which he created, was a very superficial one. It disappeared after his death. And Indian culture never depended on any political institutions. In this it differed radically from China. In China and in Vietnam identity depended on the institution of kingship. In India it did not.

Q. China and Vietnam also had clearer ethnic elements in their community that did not exist in India.

That is also true. India lacked both the ethnic and the political unity.

Q. How do you think that the felt community has been transmitted to our own time, particularly since the growth of a civil society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

There is now a class of English educated Indians who speak a common language, the language of rights. The language of rights is clearly based on an import from western political and social consciousness. We have internalised these concepts and we have mixed these borrowings with the cultural tradition going back to the Buddha. You see that curious mixture in the poems of Rabindranath Tagore. Obviously the memories of those times are present and they coexist with the new consciousness—a mixing of western and indigenous elements—so seamless that you cannot separate the two. A synthesis of East and West, it becomes a thing in itself. The civil society in India is a thing in itself. It is in that sense self-grown and not imported. Though obviously it is imported too. If you are looking at the beginnings of the civil society you can only go back to Rammohan Roy and not earlier. If you go back to Dara Shukoh's time you are obviously talking of a long cultural history and not of the history of civil society. The history of civil society in India goes back to 1815 when Rammohun Roy founds the first association in India for worshipping an abstract entity called Brahma.

Q. When Rabindranath is writing about people's rights in the line of Montesquieu and also about Buddha and the ancient past, would you consider the two as different selves?

There is no tension in Rabindranath between Montesquieu and Buddha, both exist. There were some initial tensions, quite obvious in Bankinchandra, but with Rabindranath, you begin to get an organic fusion of these different elements. You get the same fusion in Jawaharlal Nehru's Discovery of India.

Q. Rabindranath could speak in terms of East and West. Nehru would have been an unlikely person to say this. Intrinsically is there a difference between them?

Europe is Europe and India is India. They are different. This difference can be sensed in the timbre of the voice. And we too are aware of people who are not like us. So obviously the question you are posing has a difficulty in its start. The Europeans are different. Europe is Firangistan. They are Firangis. And we are we. We never have defined who we are. The Hindus did not have a name for themselves. The Muslims used the term 'Hindus' to mean Indians.

While there has been an element of symbiosis and interaction with the

Encounters

West too, even in Rabindranath, modern India has experienced particular tensions regarding the degree of acceptance of the western, which is particularly evident in this age of globalisation.

Q. We did accept and absorb Islam in the heart of India?

There was an extremely complicated clash. The history of that can be written because there are records. It has not yet been written because it is so sensitive a matter. If we write it then we play into the hands of the RSS, the Hindu right. One has to be careful.

Q. Is there a difference between colonialism in India and other varieties of colonialism? Does this have a lot to do with this felt community?

I think it does. D.A. Low has talked about it. He has cited Ho Chi Min. who said that had Mahatma Gandhi or De Valera been born in the French colonies he would have long gone to the heavens. British rule in India was a rule of law and there was a constitutional structure that evolved over time. In fact the history of the constitutional structure goes right back to the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The Rule of the Law is obviously a British artefact.

Q. Can we trace any relationship between the nature of British rule in India and the trajectory of colonial India and the older inherited traditions, the shared emotions we speak of in Mauryan times?

No. We had only a cultural entity, which was overarching. We did not have a tradition of civil society. Civil society in India is a new growth. It happened during British rule. It depended on two things: The rule of law and the growth of associations. The rule of law was established with the coming of the Supreme Court and in the Regulations of Cornwallis. The history of associations stretches back to the Atmiya Sabha of Rammohun Roy in 1815. Previously, there was an Indo-Persian culture and a tradition of cultural entertainment in mixed societies. There was Majlis and there was Mehfil. Men and women together performed dances and musical compositions. There were also political and social discussions. And there would have been some kind of public opinion. In India, there is a story of Emperor Aurangzeb banishing music and the crowd passes under the jharokha and the emperor asks 'Who are you taking down?' They reply 'Music, sire'. He replies 'Bury it deep so that it does not arise again'. That obviously is public opinion. But public opinion working through associations and taking advantage of the Rule of Law is a British creation. It has become part of our existence. It is no longer foreign to us. The elections in independent

India are taking care of that.

Q. Would you say then that the Indian democracy is largely a result of historical developments beginning from the nineteenth century?

I think the matter is a bit more complex. The British slowly took over a huge subcontinent of which large parts were governed by an extremely sophisticated bureaucracy— the Mughal system. The British introduced a doctrine— the Rule of Law. And from 1891 the British included an elective element, and thereby the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty. These institutions developed and by 1947, elections in independent India involved the entire population.

Q. To what should we attribute the vibrancy of the Indian democracy: These 'modern' institutions and associations or the beehive community of which the Indian society came to be composed?

The latter is important. The single biggest danger was the army. It is not possible for the army to rule India because of the beehive community, which goes right back to Asoka and beyond.

Q. But that beehive is common to both India and Pakistan.

Yes. What Pakistan lacked was a party. There was a vital difference between the Congress and the Muslim League. The Congress could mobilise a huge movement at any time and could switch it off. Then it could accept office and then ask its ministries to resign. If the Muslim League asked Sikandar Hayat Khan or Fazlul Haque to resign, neither would have. So no sooner did Jinnah die, than the Muslim League collapsed. In India the Congress provided a workable government till 1975 and by that time there were other parties which had evolved, like the Left and the BJP. The electoral system took hold because the Congress could mobilise it. A party to operate the electoral system was lacking in Pakistan. Since the party would not govern, the army did.

Q. Is it correct to say that there was a Bangladesh because Pakistan was trying to establish an identity that was not there in the subcontinent as a distinct identity?

Bangladesh was established because it was a different felt community from the Punjabis. The Punjabis and the Bengalis, when they are Muslims existing in Pakistan and Bangladesh are still part of a wider community. You must not equate the felt community with the nation. The felt community is a community of feelings, which has to be shared.

Q. In the colonial period, how would you situate institutional history vis-à-vis personal history?

In India, history emerged in the late

nineteenth century and was based on a western discipline. The first statement of a historical idea was by R.G. Bhandarkar. He talked of the critical, comparative and historical methods and pointed out that it was based on ratiocination. Edgar Alan Poe had talked of ratiocination in a detective story. Ratiocination is the application of reason to find out what could happen and what could not possibly happen. You apply your rational faculty in order to find out the limits of possibility. You cannot narrate an event that could not possibly have happened. Divine intervention is ruled out. I have not found a similar clear, succinct statement of the critical, comparative and historical method in the entire realm of historiography as that of Bhandarkar's, written in the 1880s or the 1890s. This was before Jadunath Sarkar. Gibbon was aware of this method but did not formulate it. R.G. Bhandarkar was compelled to formulate it because in the Indian context it had to be created anew.

Q. How would you view the post-1960s' questioning of the rationality and rationalisation of history?

A part of the process of ratiocination gave rise to the postmodern concept of history. What the postmodern trend pointed out was the fragility of evidence and in particular it pointed out that every source has a motive and the motive had to be identified to read the source correctly. If you do not keep the motive in mind you can be misled by your source. You have to be critical about your source. This I regard as the process of ratiocination. The postmodernists have helped us and I thank them for it. Beyond that there is no use for it.

If the contention is that no truth is possible and that is the postmodernist belief, then they are caught in a contradiction. As soon as you try and falsify a thing you are implicitly establishing the opposite of the false. The opposite of false is true. If you falsify then you establish a truth whatever it might be. That truth may be impossible to graft, and the postmodernists have made us aware how difficult it is to graft the truth. What they have not and cannot establish is infinite falsifiability. Falsifiability is a scientific method. Every proposition has to be examined and falsified until it has proved to be true. It cannot stop in the process of being falsified. That is a logical impossibility.

Q. How does a historian react to the challenge of the Hindu right?

The historian does not react to it as a historian because this stance has not produced any history. The historian is there acting as a citizen and nothing but a citizen. One cannot answer the RSS historians because they are not historians.

Q. How difficult is it to merge the two personas of the historian and the teacher?

Encounters

I can only speak about myself: All my ideas have come out of classroom teaching. Before I started teaching obviously I wrote a thesis and I owe a great deal to my supervisors. But classroom teaching was critical and I experienced it in two phases. As a student—and then there was a slight interruption when I was researching—and then I became a classroom teacher. As a classroom teacher, I developed the tendency to focus on the simple and the basic, the obvious. In research you begin to concentrate—and it is not always a healthy—on the not so obvious. You try to figure out the obscure. You cannot do that with a class of undergraduates. You have to give them the most important facts. And the most important facts are often not so obvious, we often get lost in a maze of complexity. Identifying the most important facts is often a very difficult task. The memory of Ashin Dasgupta helped me. I now realise that he chose deliberately the most important facts. Whether he was talking of 1848 in Germany or the making of the Peace Settlement in 1919, what he gave the class were the most important facts. And he also said the most obvious things, which are often not so obvious. When we undertake research, we focus on small areas. A huge amount of sources are available on a small surface of history. That does not always aid in looking at it steadily and looking at it whole. Only classroom teaching can give that.

Q. How would you read your own position as a historian?

I am a mainstream historian. The position is sometimes described as liberal historiography. I do not feel entirely happy with that description. A mainstream historian may have certain political beliefs, but the empha-

sis is on practising empirical history. The most important thing about being a mainstream historian is not to subscribe to any group. He tries to narrate the facts as it comes from the sources, after being critical about the sources. That is empiricism. And that is mainstream. In my case, as I have sometimes said in class, my attitude is rational, libertarian and humanist. I have steered clear of organised groups such as the Marxists or the Subalternists.

Q. Among Indian historians you are remarkable; you almost stand alone because of the variety of the subjects you have written about. Did you expect this at the beginning of your research career?

No, I did not. I had thought that I would be a modern historian and it is only in the course of teaching that a wider canvas became possible. An undergraduate teacher has to teach everything and I slowly became aware that there have been historians and teachers who have ranged over the whole of Indian history. In my time I have seen one such person— Irfan Habib, who has ranged over the whole of Indian history. There have been such persons earlier too. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, for instance. H.C. Raychaudhury had the same gift. In the south Nilakantha Shastri was one such person. In the earlier generation this compartmentalisation did not exist. In our times, Tapan Raychaudhury has ranged from late pre-colonial to early colonial and colonial. It is only with my experience as a classroom teacher, that my own research interests became so varied. My teacher Ashin Dasgupta once said of me that I would be another R.C. Majumdar. I realise now that this

comment was not only meant as an insult.

The difficulty with ranging over such a wide area of history is that you need to go into sources in very different languages. Irfan Habib knows Persian. I do not know Persian, but I have rudimentary knowledge of Sanskrit. Unless you have the rudimentary language skills it is difficult to range over history. You can only write histories based on secondary sources and this I particularly dislike.

Q. Would you say that this particularisation is the result of certain institutions specialising only in research and not in teaching?

I think that the research institutes focus on very narrow areas. This may be because they do not teach. And many of the leading research institutes are postmodernists in their approach. The Centre for Studies in Social Sciences in Calcutta, which is a leading research institute in India, is on the whole postmodernist in its approach. And the postmodernist approach is very uncomfortable with ancient and medieval history. It does not have the language skill and is only concerned with modernity. It is consumed with this love-hate preoccupation with modernity. Therefore they cannot interest themselves in Ancient and Medieval history, except in so far as it becomes a necessary as a contrast or as a foil to modernity. The Indian Council of Historical Research, though plodding and unimaginative, has consistently in its journals given space to ancient history and medieval history and not only focused on modern history. This reflects the true character of history since history must range over the entire range of time. You have to interest yourself in Ancient history to understand even modernity.

Some important publication of the Prof. Rajat Kanta Ray

- Rajat Kanta Ray and Ratnalekha Ray, 'The Dynamics of Continuum in Rural Bengal under the British Imperium', *IESHR*, 10, 2, 1973, pp. 103-128.
- 'The Crisis in Bengal Agriculture 1870-1927— The Dynamics of Immobility' in *IESHR*, 10, 3, 1973, pp. 244-279.
- Rajat Kanta Ray and Ratnalekha Ray, 'Zamindars and Jotedars: A Study in Rural Politics in Bengal', *MAS*, Vol. 9, 1, 1975, pp. 81-102.
- Industrialization in India: Growth and Conflict in the Private Corporate Sector 1914-1947*, OUP, 1979.
- 'Pedhis and Mills: The Historical Integration of Formal and Informal Sectors in the Economy of Ahmedabad', *IESHR*, 19:3 & 4, 1982.
- Social Conflict and Political Unrest in Bengal, 1875-1927*, OUP, 1984.
- 'The Bazaar: Indigenous Sector of the Indian Economy' in Dwijendra Tripathi (ed.), *Business Communities of India*, New Delhi, 1984.
- 'Moderates, Extremists and Revolutionaries: Bengal, 1900-1908' in Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert (eds.), *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*, Delhi, 1988.
- 'The Retreat of the Jotedars?' in *IESHR*, 25, 2, 1988.
- Rajat Kanta Ray, Basudeb Chattopadhyay and Hari S. Vasudevan (eds.), *Dissent and Consensus: Protest in Pre-Industrial Societies*, KP Bagchi, 1989.
- 'The raj, the Congress and the Bengal Gentry 1880-1905' in *Ibid*.
- Rajat Kanta Ray and Lakshmi Subramanian, 'Merchants and Politics: From the Great Mughals to the East India Company' in Dwijendra Tripathi (ed.), *Business and Politics in India: A historical perspective*, New Delhi, 1991.
- 'Asian capital in the age of European domination: the rise of the bazaar, 1800-1914' *MAS*, 29, 3, 1993.
- (Ed.) *Entrepreneurship and Industry in India*, OUP, 1994.
- Palashir Sharajantra o Sekaaler Samaj*, (in Bengali) Ananda Publishers, 1994, Winner of the Shiromani Award.
- (Ed.) *Mind, Body and Society: Life and Mentality in Colonial Bengal*, OUP, 1995.
- 'Indian Society and the Establishment of British Supremacy' in P.J. Marshall and Elaine Low, (Eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. II, The Eighteenth Century, OUP, 1998.
- Exploring Emotional History: Gender, Mentality and Literature in the Indian Awakening*, OUP, 2001.
- The Felt Community: Commonality and Mentality before the Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, OUP, 2003.

Encounters



Janaki Nair, Professor,
Centre for Studies of Social
Sciences, Calcutta

***The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century,*
Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Released: January 2005,
Reprinted: November 2005.**

**Received the New India Foundation Book Award, 2005-
2006 for work on post independence India.**

Janaki Nair Talks to Kashshaf Ghani About the Book

Two kinds of interest came together in writing this book. My earlier research in labour history had partly focused on Bangalore. There was already an interest in the organisation of workers and the different spaces they inhabited. Another sort of interest came from the paper I was writing on questions of language and language politics of Karnataka, mostly in Bangalore city. The way in which language had re-territorialised the city broadly informed this interest. I rearticulated these interests into a project that would look at contemporary Bangalore. The emphasis on contemporary Bangalore is deliberate. This metropolis has experienced the most concentrated growth: A good hundred to hundred and fifty years of development has been telescoped in thirty to forty years, whether in demographic, spatial or economic terms. This is the central focus of the book, although the book does have a chapter that looks at certain developments in the pre-independence period.

Bangalore is not a colonial city. Its history goes back to the fifteenth century. Prior to Tipu's reign, it had been a major commercial entrepot and a textile center. During Tipu's reign, it was a major center of armament manufacturing and textile production. In this book I have not focused on the pre-colonial or colonial history of the city.

Most of the book is devoted to the development of the city after Independence. The book is organised thematically and is not a standard chronological account. I looked at planning and law, as two major factors that shaped the city. And the third is the question

of public activities and what happens to public architecture and public space as a consequence of the development of democracy. Those are the main themes in the first part of the book. And the latter part of the book discusses some of the ways in which the city has been re-territorialised by caste and gender. The latter has a lot to do with certain kinds of identities and the ways in which they have been shaped—creating not so much a physical or material claim to the city but much more an ideological claim.

Any one looking for a very recent history will actually be disappointed. Many people assumed that I was going to focus on the rise of the IT industry and its impact on the city, but this aspect is very marginal in the book. While it is true that quite a lot of the city's growth and development has occurred since the 1980s, its important prehistory lies in the period of the public sector, an important and formative period in the city's development not just in terms of labour and economy but also in terms of spatial practices.

This book has come out at a time when there is a growing interest in the history of Bangalore. While I was working on this book, there was some eight to ten Ph.D.s on various aspects of the city, including governance, network, IT and gender.

This book has attracted attention I think for completely accidental reasons. It has something to do with the historical conjuncture in which it has come out. There is now a growing interest in the city and there is virtually nothing written. Mine is not a

conventional account of the city—I do not give an account of the different communities that compose the city. But there are not too many other books. One good account of certain trends in the city from the perspective of IT and information systems is by James Hyesman, a historian primarily of Tamilnadu, and is called *Network City*. That came out two years before my book and is an excellent ethnography of urban civic ritual in this period.

The fact that mine is called the *Promising Metropolis* and the fact that it talks in very broad terms about the development in the city has attracted attention. The interesting thing is that the attention has not been all scholarly. In fact I am yet to receive a scholarly review of the book. May be it is a bit too early for a scholarly review. But there has been a wider attention.

The book contains some pictures—this has been both positive and negative. At times people have focused entirely on the photographs and paid not much attention to the text. The photographs were collected for a project made possible by a SEPHIS grant. The idea was to have a visual element, which would not necessarily illustrate things that are there in the book, but help people construct some ways of viewing the city through the image. The photographs being in black and white there is good deal of nostalgia evoked: Everybody has their own idea of how the city was.

Reviews

Bangalore Hacked

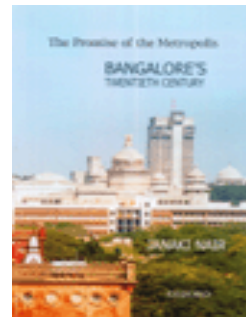


Atig Ghosh

He is currently in Calcutta, taking a break from his studies in Jawaharlal Nehru University, and studying in preparation for his Ph. D. Atig is known for his wide range of studies, particularly literature, psychoanalysis, politics, post-structuralism and philosophy. Some would say that this maverick and brilliant young scholar would do well to apply some of his studies in psychoanalysis to himself, but for the Freudian maxim about the ill effects of self-analysis.

He takes an active part in politics, of what is known as the Independent Left variety.

His stated theme of research is a study of suburbanity in Bengal.



Janaki Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, Released: January 2005, Rs. 795

Janaki Nair has written a book on Bangalore. Apprehensive of urban sociology I approached the book warily. And, all my apprehensions seemed to stand justified in the introduction. It makes for a clotted historiographical read: The inevitable complaints about the neglect of the city in sociology; and the overwhelming importance given to villages; and the need to assert the importance of urban studies. And the poly-syndetic chain of anguished outpourings could run on seamlessly. The commissioned reviewer must even then read on beyond the 'Introduction'. That's her job description.

Unenthusiastic, I moved on to the following chapters. But a surprise was in store: I had, I discovered, come across the most exciting work of what has come to be termed historical sociology. Nair's treatment of history is archaeological: Forsaking the twin notions of continuity and homogeneity, she refreshingly presents a perspective on history that reveals "something about the time to which people, events, or processes belonged, but much more about the particular time, namely the present in which they gain visibility" [p. 27]. What is engendered in the first two chapters following the 'Introduction' and beyond is a heterotopic vision, both in the sense that contestatory spaces jostle in her narrative for attention as well as in the collapse of linear temporality whereby the narrative erupts into shards of experiences which, in their present-rootedness, anamorphically mirrors 'the presence of the past'. This frames her central thesis: That of "defamiliarizing planning, public life and the law" [p. 299] and this she does with a flourish.

Thematically, the book borrows

from Henri Lefebvre's schema of the conceived city, the perceived city and practised space. The chapters more or less follow this pattern resulting, one may feel, into an unnecessarily tight compartmentalisation. Even in being aliquot parts, the chapters appear to stand up like silos, which, however, have the narratological advantage of allowing the reader to enter the text laterally, at any point of her preference.

Added to this is Nair's style— conversational, anecdotal, impressionistic. Such a style runs the risk of getting repetitive. In fact, the story of M. Chidanandamurthy visiting a theatre in the cantonment area and asking for the ticket in Kannada is repeated at least twice in the course of the book. For many perspicacious readers this may be repugnant loquacity. For me, it's a delight. I have never been to Bangalore. Yet, the city comes to life for me in such anecdotal rehearsals. It is not information that she is providing. It is a story that she is narrating. "The value of information does not survive the moment when it was new. It lives only at that moment; it has to surrender to it completely and explain itself without losing any time," says Walter Benjamin. "A story is different. It does not expend itself. It preserves and concentrates its strength and is capable of releasing it even after a long time."¹

Theoretically, an insistence on Lefebvre, the official ideologue of the PCF in the first half of the twentieth century, has its advantages too. A Foucauldian mood of subjectless horror pervades the middle chapters of this book on Bangalore, which discusses mostly the male-normative desires of urban planning and architecture. The mood is dissipated in the

three chapters preceding the conclusion. Here she plumbs the everyday practices of Bangalore. Nair declares: "It is sometimes the state that promotes, lays claim or yields to a particular strand of Karnataka or Indian history to call recalcitrant constituencies to order. At other times, public spaces in the city are the focus of groups interested in making new meaning within an urban context, and *many variously question* a semiotics that privileges the histories of colonial subjugation, national dominance, or regional cultural and political interests." [p. 272, emphasis added]. While not settling for an uncritical rejection of the Foucauldian thesis of consubstantiality of bio- and juridical power, Nair qualifies the same by allowing, *comme* Lacan, a transindividual notion of negativity.² *Caveat lector*. This does not mean that Nair is blind to the multimodal modes of subjectivisation. She charts a variegated and fractured terrain of subject-reckoning which throws up the multiple axes along which the book makes and breaks itself: Language, caste, class, gender and so on. The book explores fascinatingly the possibilities of resistant subjectivity and appropriative re-territorialisation of cityscapes. The trope of urban violence runs through these anecdotes of contestatory subjects-formation.

Ideally, these modes should be taken up individually and discussed. But this is no ideal situation. This has to be a space-constrained review. Hence, I will take up one mode, which I feel is the most engaging, and discuss briefly the woman. Janaki Nair's proclivity in analyses is to turn economic. When she talks of *passions of the tongue*, she uses Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the [p.

¹ Walter Benjamin, 'The Story-Teller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov' in Hannah Arendt (ed.) *Illuminations*, Schocken Books, New York, 1995, p. 89.

² For Foucault, see Michel Foucault, 'The History of Sexuality' (interview with Lucette Finas), in Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, and Kate Soper (Eds.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, Pantheon, New York, 1980. For a catachrestic appropriation of Lacan read Joan Copjec, *Read My Desire: Lacan against the Historicists*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1994.

Reviews

'linguistic market'. Yet, she is quick to admit her partiality and further explains that Kannada linguistic politics was morphed in contradistinction to the more muscular Tamil linguistic politics. Here, she came close to making, I felt, almost a psychoanalytic point. Then again, when the statue of Ambedkar was 'desecrated' in an academic institution, it was due to the fact that the students— high and low caste alike— had had to pay high capitation fees: A direct fall-out of privatisation of education. In any case, I found her economism rather refreshing in an age of overweening culturalism. However, it is in handling the gender question that she strikes the perfect balance and with panache. She inveighs against the gender neutrality of urban planning which invisibilises the female body and labour or, at least, visibilises them preferentially and interestedly. Further, she bulldozes traditional binaries between the private/public and even space/time as perfectly corresponding to female/male. Proceeding from Doreen Massey, Nair broaches an interesting thesis: "If temporality is a crucial element in the city space, then any attempt to map the gendered perspective of power in the city must code space according to times of day and stages in the woman's life cycle"

301]. From here on she substantiates her thesis with a fund of anecdotes and vignettes ripped out of the city. She moves with facility through the frontiers of class, caste and time, recounting the stories of the self-sacrifice of Lakshmamma, to the career of the lower class-caste Lakshmi Devamma to the feminist protests against the ABCL sponsored beauty pageant in Bangalore. It is a saga of the hitherto invisibilised woman claiming for herself visibility, often acute visibility, in work place as well as city space.

Delving into the nitty-gritty of everydayness, does not however blind Nair to the broader issues at stake: Capitalism, globalisation, privatisation, information technology et al. This is perhaps because of the tension in Nair between her indebtedness to Walter Benjamin on the one hand and to Richard Sennett on the other. The very first image that the mention of Bangalore conjures up in our mind is that of an IT city— the very seat of technology and globalisation in India, firmly on its way to become a global city. However, the tenor of Nair's work pooh-poohs such an identification. She is acutely conscious of the impact of global processes on public life and private: In fact, her entire work is shot through with the concern. But at the

same time she disrupts the hyperbole of interested, teleological representations that flattens out a far more chequered history. She broaches the question: "Is 'Singapore' Bangalore's destiny?" Pat comes her reply: "In its new metropolitan phase... the city has become the ground on which two contending forces stake their claim: on the one hand are the newly renovated citizens, who are amply aided by a technocratic vision of change offered by the leaders of the new economy. On the other hand are those, including citizens-in-making such as women, for whom democracy has come to have a different meaning in the urban setting. There may perhaps be no decisive victory for either of these forces in the short run given the heterogeneous composition of power in the city, although the well planned legally unambiguous and increasingly legible city will gain visibility in the decades to come." [p. 347.] She chuckles at the counterfactual question and takes a walk in the city. What results is an *Alltagsgeschichte* of Bangalore.

Let me snap off with a final observation. Hayden White, in a recent interview taken by Ewa Domańska, declared that sociology is dead.³ Hé ! Holà ! Prof. White. Read this book.

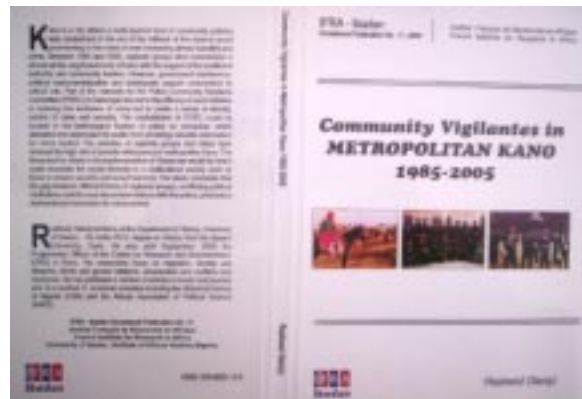
³ Hayden White, 'Interview with Ewa Domańska', in Ewa Domańska (ed.) *Encounters: Philosophy of History after Postmodernism*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville and London, 1998, p. 28.

NASS

NASS is currently celebrating the fifth anniversary day of e-NASS with all of you. When e-NASS (earlier *bilkentpols*) was established, it was just a small group newsletter informing the graduate students of the Department of Political Science at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. At the present writing, the number of e-NASS subscribers are 3026 people and the total of messages has reached to 3942 in five years period. The highest record of monthly messages was realised in March 2006 with 240 messages. This elevates the e-NASS to be a lively e-network in social sciences. Based on the experiences, as the moderator of the list, I am pleased to get feedbacks from the subscribers. I will use this unique opportunity to present my special thanks both for these feedbacks and contributing

Taking this into account, e-NASS will continue to welcome contributions in other languages of Latin script if they have an abstract in English. The e-NASS will also keep its generalist tradition to accept all kind of e-mails relevant to social sciences if they do not carry commercial intention. In order to keep e-NASS subscribers safe from viruses, hoax and spam e-mails, the list will persist its strict moderation.

Murat Cemrek,
PhD, e-NASS
Moderator



PhD Researcher Training Course in
Postcolonial sexualities: Politics and discourses
Organised by The Graduate School of International
Development Studies, Roskilde University, Denmark
In cooperation with
The Research Program: Sexuality, Gender and Society
in Africa, The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden
2 to 6 May 2006
Venue:
Roskilde University, Denmark
Contact: Inge Jensen: inge@ruc.dk

Reviews

A Woman of Substance



Amit Dey

He is a Reader in History, Calcutta University. He received his Ph.D. as a Commonwealth Scholar for his work on "The Image of the Prophet in Bengali Muslim Piety" from Royal Holloway College, University of London. The thesis has since been published. He is well versed in Persian, Urdu and Bengali and his area of interest is Islam in South Asia. His book *Sufism in India* and articles have been well received in academic circles. He has delivered invited talks in several universities of Europe and the USA. He likes to spread eco-friendly attitude, consciousness and spirit of tolerance.

Lubna Kazim (edited and compiled), *The Memoirs of Begum Khurshid Mirza, Zubaan, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 245, Rs. 450.*

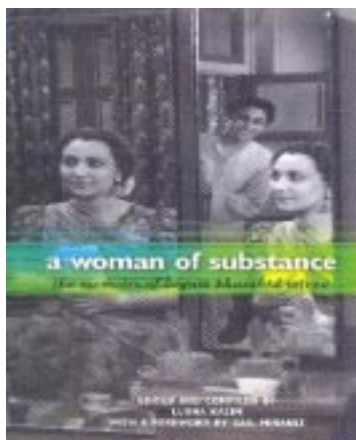
This is the memoir of a remarkable woman, Begum Khurshid Mirza, the daughter of Sheikh Abdullah and Wahid Jahan Begum, the founders of Aligarh Women's College. An intimate portrait of an upper class Muslim family in India and Pakistan from the early part of the twentieth century to the recent past, this narrative is much more than an account of Khurshid Mirza's personal life. It spans from 1857 to 1983 and provides an insight into the social conditions of Indian Muslims, the state of Muslim women's education, and the transition to Pakistan, while illuminating the rich and varied life of Khurshid Mirza as an actor, activist, radio and TV artiste, a writer, a devoted daughter, wife and mother.

The memoir has several interesting chapters and is meant for a wide circle of readers. However, students, scholars and serious thinkers, particularly those who are interested in South Asian Islam with reference to the discourse on gender, will find it immensely useful. Due to some unfortunate events, issues relating to women have been recently receiving unusual media attention in both India and Pakistan. Considering this it is a timely publication. A foreword by Gail Minault, a leading specialist on South Asian Islam, has increased the academic value of this volume.

The narrative reveals the difficulties Sheikh Abdullah and some of his associates faced while they tried to promote education among Muslim women during the first decade of the twentieth century and thereafter. Many influential Muslims, especially a section of the Ulama were so hostile to women's education that even a reformer like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had to observe restraint regarding this issue during the second half of the nineteenth century. Fortunately, men like Hali, the famous poet and Sir Syed's biographer, who finds frequent mention in this memoir, and Sheikh Abdulla, could overcome such constraints.

Chapter Four provides useful information about Begum Abdullah,

Abul Kalam Azad, the Begum of Bhopal, the Urdu journal *Khatun*, the all-India Mohammedan Education Conference, and the Aligarh Girls School, all of which had significant contributions to the struggle for women's education in Muslim society during the early twentieth century.



The progressive Abdullahs were also instrumental behind the Crafts Exhibition (1905) that was organised with the purpose of elevating the status of Muslim women. However, dissenters argued that after exhibiting their embroidery and home crafts, women would start exhibiting their faces. Other concerns were also voiced, for instance, some people asked whether women could be educated without discarding *purdah*. In spite of all this, the Abdullahs had the guts to look far beyond the *purdah*. Indeed, religion was a personal affair with this enterprising family.

After being groomed in an environment full of challenges, all of Sheikh Abdullah's daughters became pioneers in their chosen fields. One such daughter was Rasheed Jahan (1905-52) who left her mark as a doctor, writer and left activist entirely devoted to the cause of marginalised elements

of society, particularly women. Her husband Mahmud was a professor and khadi-clad nationalist. This couple did not opt for Pakistan. The religious extremists have much to learn from such families. Abdullah's daughters were very close to the progressive Urdu writer, Ismat Chughtai. In 1931-32, Rasheed Jahan became associated with the publication of a little book of stories called *Angaray* (Flames), which offended Muslim traditionalists and the book had to be banned. Such was the repercussion of this publication that one Muslim extremist went to the extent of casting aspersions on the character of Khurshid Mirza, the sister of Rasheed Jahan. Sheikh Abdullah had to file a defamation case against that offender.

Abdullah's daughters had to face many such challenges for their progressive outlook. Khurshid Mirza's dynamism, her pioneering spirit and unconventionality led her to leave the secluded world of Aligarh after an early marriage to a police officer and then pursue a career in films in Bombay. Her meteoric rise to stardom as Renuka Devi enabled her to work alongside many leading film personalities of the time. After Partition, she moved to Pakistan and contributed to many worthy causes, particularly for the benefit of women. The advent of Pakistan TV gave her a fresh opportunity to express her theatrical talents and she soon emerged as one of the leading television actors of Pakistan. She won many awards for her acting, including the Pride of Performance award in 1985.

The composite nature of South Asian culture has also been celebrated in this narrative, which is relevant in the present context. The inclusion of some rare photographs from the family albums of Begum Khurshid Mirza has increased the attraction of this memoir. The volume deserves wide publicity.

Reviews

Fragmentary or Fragmented: Representing Women and their (a)Political Lives



Samata Biswas

She graduated from Presidency College, Calcutta and is now doing her M.Phil. in the Central Institute for English and Foreign Languages. She is deeply interested in the representation of women's work, lesbianism, caste and many other issues, particularly as enmeshed in popular culture. She also has an active participatory interest in politics.

Her aversion to violence (on screen) and (self-professed) ignorance of films has not stopped her from presiding over a film club. She has also received some formal training in dance.

Mythili Sivaraman, *Fragments of a Life: A Family Archive*, Zubaan: An Imprint of Kali for Women, New Delhi, 2006. Pages 207. ISBN 81 89013 11 4.

Fragments of a Life: A Family Archive is the biography of Mythili Sivaraman's maternal grandmother Subbalakshmi. But this biography stands apart from other family memoirs simply by virtue of the paucity of sources that Mythili could draw on, namely a small journal, some correspondences, a few books that Subbalakshmi had bought, receipts of donations made to the freedom movement, catalogues of books that she had ordered, (all contained in a single blue tin trunk) and recollections of the members of the family.

Born to a Tamil Brahmin family in 1897, Subbalakshmi did not receive any formal education due to the untimely death of her father, but was brought up by her mother's natal family, where the failing eye sights of a grandfather allowed her to learn English and to become a voracious reader. Married at an early age to a salt inspector named PRG, Subbalakshmi was destined for a life spent mostly in remote villages, an absolute absence of conjugal companionship, and a lifetime of struggle with epileptic seizures, which was finally diagnosed and treated when she was seventy years old. Nevertheless, she was determined to get her only daughter Pankajam educated. Going against PRG's wishes, she moved to Madras to live with her brother so that Pankajam could be admitted to a school.

On her frequent visits to exhibitions, she struck up friendships with some members of the intelligentsia. She could not, as she desired, educate Pankajam at Shantiniketan, (the University set up by Rabindranath Tagore, whose writings influenced Subbalakshmi so much that in times of grief and disappointment she came up with lines from his songs and poems). In a recurrent dream, she saw herself as the messiah of female indentured labourers in South Africa.

Subbalakshmi's journal, as Mythili repeatedly mentions, does not only

record what she had to say; more often than not it records what she could not/did not want to say. The journal entries spanning six years of her life, never talked about the disappointments that she had to face, the failure of a marriage that had to be sustained over a life time, the gradual illness that could have been treated if only PRG was more receptive to the idea of western medicine, and countless more. Her story is one of silences, and Mythili does a remarkable job of drawing upon myriad other sources, and writes a compassionate account of a remarkable life, that could not write its own story. In doing so she has also made an important contribution to the writing of her-stories.



In this book, Mythili's project was to place the contents of Subbalakshmi's diary etc. "...in the socio-political contours of that period—the issues that had raged in her times and had stirred her deeply" (p. xv). But often during the course of this project she tends to get carried away and superimposes the concerns of her own times, and supposed feminist concerns onto Subbalakshmi's engagements. For her, the most important achievement of Subbalakshmi seems to have been the fact that she managed to carve out a specific political niche for herself, and Gita Hariharan who has written the foreword shares the sentiment. And this belief is displayed in the book by Mythili's efforts (and she does that repeatedly)

to gauge what would have been Subbalakshmi's reactions had she been aware of this, that or the other. This attitude is problematic in the book for two reasons. In her attempts to stress on Subbalakshmi's political and feminist awareness, Mythili uses both the terms uncritically and undermines Subbalakshmi's achievements in many a case simply because they might not have been "political" (to be understood in terms of struggle for state power). That the private is political never comes across in the way she deals with Subbalakshmi's life, and in her own words, what she often reads in them is a "...treasure trove of facts, feelings and failures" {emphasis mine} (p.xiii).

The other reason, which is also the most blatant shortcoming of the book, is made clear when one reads the afterword written by Uma Chakarvarti, "The Blue Tin Trunk." Chakarvarti had also gone through the materials in the trunk, and some of the journal entries that she talks about are descriptions of some flower or clouds, or the details of her gardening activities. Unlike the rest of the diary these entries are written in lucid and evocative prose, and are a joy to read. One however wonders as to why Mythili chose to ignore these entries and include instead a number of extremely insipid poems written by PRG, poems that are the worst part of *Fragments of a Life*. Perhaps these simple entries did not fall in line with the author's agenda. Mythili may have excluded the daily trivia and the myriad interests of this interesting life in order to retain the focus on the political/social/feminist consciousness of her grandmother.

Agreed that these are only the 'fragments' of an extraordinary life, but Mythili has taken it upon herself to fragment it even more and include only that material that is in accordance with the predetermined feminist agenda.

The book nevertheless is an interesting read, and is an important step in writing feminist history.

Announcement**Call for proposals**
MERC**Call for Proposals**

CODESRIA National Working Groups

Call for Applications

CODESRIA

Democratic Governance Institute

Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, Senegal

Theme: The Legislature in Africa's Democratic Transition

Call for Applications

CODESRIA and Institute on Health, Politics and Society in Africa

Theme: Traditional Forms of Health Provisioning in Africa

SANTIAGO GATHERING

Politics and Culture in Times of the South

Política y Cultura en Tiempos del Sur (working title)

4 to 6 October 2006

Third Biennial International Conference,

Gwalior,

October 13-15 2006

Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies

Call For Papers

Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva

Second Workshop of Young Scholars from the Global South (WYSGS-2)

Announcement

Call for proposals

MERC

The Middle East Research Competition (MERC) in the social sciences is pleased to announce a new round of research awards and invites proposals from qualified researchers. While open to all research ideas and topics, the programme especially encourages applications in the following areas:

- Public life: Public interest and the public sphere, including the development of public life in societies under study and enhancement of opportunities of public participation for all social groups with emphasis on women and youth.
- Development: Research on various aspects of development, both local and national, i.e., sustainable development.
- Knowledge and educational capacities: Research on educational capacities and socialisation, including citizenship, realities of academic institutions (universities and schools), use of IT, academic curricula, and role of various actors in field of education.
- Social issues, including research on gender, the family, old age, and childhood.
- Regional and international relations: This includes research on economic and diplomatic relations, post-conflict situations, the psychological and political impact of conflicts and the rehabilitation of victims of conflict.

Eligibility

Residents of Arab countries and Turkey are eligible to apply for the awards and to participate in the activities of the programme. Residents are persons of any nationality whose current and planned future place of professional practice is in the region. Temporary residence outside the region for purposes of advanced study does not preclude eligibility. Research proposals may include non-residents as co-investigators.

Research Awards

Research Awards are intended for scholars with previous successful research experience in any social science field. Ph.D. holders in the early stages of their professional careers are especially encouraged to apply. For exceptionally strong cases, research awards may also be made for Ph.D. dissertation research in the region by students from the region. In the case of projects involving team research, the principal investigator must have a Ph.D. degree.

Final Proposal

Proposals can be submitted in Arabic, French, or English. Only fully developed proposals are sent to the Committee. Final proposals should include all information and details necessary for the Scientific Committee to understand the research ideas and plans. Every proposal should be self-contained and not dependent on supporting documents unless they are enclosed (e.g., papers or articles of the principal investigator). A final proposal should not exceed 20 typed double-spaced pages in length. Additional pages are needed for an abstract, time-line, budget, and curriculum vitae of all proposed project members. No special forms are used to submit proposals. The following checklist is suggested in order to help the applicant prepare a complete proposal. Proposals should be written in Times New Roman, 12-point font. Electronic submissions are strongly encouraged.

I. The body of the proposal should discuss fully the following issues:

- a. The main objectives of the proposed research.
- b. The theoretical framework of the proposed research, with sufficient reference to the state of the art, and the possible contributions of the proposed research to the discipline.
- c. A literature review, including an evaluation of previous research on the subject and current gaps. The review of the literature should demonstrate the applicant's knowledge of international as well as regional research on the subject. It is particularly important to clearly identify the contribution of the proposed research to the current state of scholarship on the region. Quotations and bibliographic references should be fully documented.
- d. The methodology that will be used to investigate the objectives of the research, including methods for data collection and analysis. For field data collection, the researcher's prospects for obtaining necessary permits should be addressed. For secondary analysis, sources of information or data and their accessibility to the investigators should also be identified in the proposal.

II. In addition to the above, the proposal should address the following issues:

- e. Significance of the expected results and its public policy implications.
- f. Plans for write-up and dissemination of research results.
- g. Provisions made for the protection of human subjects, obtaining informed consent and the protection of confidentiality as well as an assessment of the impact of probable findings. These should be discussed in conformity with the ethical guidelines of each discipline.
- h. Utilisation of existing research facilities at the researcher's institution or other institutions.

III. The proposal must contain the following appendices:

Appendix 1. Time-Line:

A time-line for the research project, outlining the unfolding of the proposed research in reasonable detail. The research duration usually ranges between 12 to 18 months.

Appendix 2. Budget Request:

The budget should be reflective of the extent of fieldwork and number of researchers. Investigators and personnel should be listed by position or task, giving for each person the time commitment (percentage of time allocated to the project) and time-rates of compensation (how financial compensation is calculated for tasks performed). Budget items may include purchase of specifically identified research equipment, travel and transportation costs, stipends, technical assistance, stationery and other supplies. Awards are usually made in the range of US\$ 5,000 to US \$ 15,000. In the case of awards for team research or to institutions, there is an allowable maximum of US \$ 35,000. The budget should clearly indicate whether other sources of funding are already available or have been applied for and which items would be fully or partially covered by other sources.

3. A **curriculum vitae** with a list of publications for every investigator is required.

4. For a proposal from a graduate student for support of Ph.D. dissertation research in the region, at least one letter of evaluation and support of the student and the project by a dissertation supervisor is required.

Deadlines

Final and complete research proposals are due on June 7, 2006. Dates for the next round of awards, which will take place before the end of 2006, will be announced in due course. A response from the MERC Secretariat can be expected four weeks after the meeting of the Scientific Committee. Inquiries can be submitted at any time and MERC will be pleased to examine and comment on draft research proposals received not later than six weeks before the final deadline.

Announcement

MERC PROGRAM
CENTRE D' ETUDES ET DE RECHERCHES ECONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES
23 Rue d' Espagne
Tunis – Tunisie
Tel: 00216322994, Fax: 00216326770
Email: merc@ceres.rnrt.tn

Call for Proposals

CODESRIA National Working Groups

One of the most important vehicles by which CODESRIA has sought to mobilise national-level research capacities and to channel these into organised reflections has been the National Working Groups (NWGs) which it has encouraged African researchers to organise autonomously on priority themes of their choice. NWGs have been supported by the Council in nearly forty countries and have resulted in some of the most interesting studies on politics, economy and society in contemporary Africa. Within the framework of the CODESRIA 2005– 2007 programmatic cycle, it has been decided to retain this vehicle as an important instrument for promoting research into and publications about different national-level experiences pertinent to the pre-occupations of African scholars active in the Social Sciences and Humanities. For this purpose, the Council invites proposals for the constitution of NWGs under the 2006 competition for the grants that are available. An innovation which the Council has decided to introduce into the NWG programme is the encouragement of the anchorage of the projects which it supports within specific departments or faculties of African universities, as well as the allocation of resources for the dissemination of the results of the work of the NWG.

There is no fixed amount for the grants that are awarded for the constitution of NWGs, although for indicative purposes only, applicants may wish to note that in the past, awards of between US\$ 7,500 and US\$ 20,000 have been made by the Council. Also, no particular format is prescribed for the presentation of the budget of an NWG. However, it is recommended that the budget section of the proposals which are submitted should include allocations for: (i) a methodological workshop to launch the NWG; (ii) a mid-term review workshop to assess the progress of the work of the NWG; (iii) a final/ dissemination workshop at which the results of the work of the group will be presented; (iv) the allowance that will be needed for any fieldwork that will be undertaken by the members of the group; (v) the honoraria of the members of the group; and (vi) books which might be purchased by the group and which will be lodged in the departmental or faculty library of a designated African university. The size of an NWG will vary from country to country but on average, most of the groups sponsored by CODESRIA in the past have had an average of five to seven members. It is advantageous to ensure that a proposed NWG is multidisciplinary in composition, sensitive to gender issues, and accommodating of younger scholars.

Proposals, which could be on any topic relevant for an understanding of the economy, politics, culture and society in any African country, should:

- i) Indicate clearly the problematic that will be addressed;
- ii) Include a review of the relevant literature;
- iii) Indicate the methodology which would be employed in undertaking the study;
- iv) Spell out the composition of the working group;
- v) Define the time frame for inauguration and finalisation of the work that would be undertaken;
- vi) Specify strategies for anchoring the activities of the working group within a department or faculty of an African university;
- vii) Indicate a strategy for the dissemination of the results of the work of the group;
- viii) Include an outline budget for the realisation of the research project; and
- ix) Indicate the expected final outcome of the project.

Proposals for consideration for possible funding within the framework of this year's competition should be sent to CODESRIA by **15 September, 2006** at the latest. All proposals received will undergo an independent review process the outcome of which will be announced by **31 October, 2006**. All proposals should be addressed to:

CODESRIA National Working Groups Programme,
CODESRIA,
BP 3304, CP 18524
Dakar, Senegal.
Tel: +221-825 9822/23
Fax: +221-824 1289
E-Mail: NWG@codesria.sn
Website: www.codesria.org

Call for Applications

CODESRIA
 Democratic Governance Institute
 Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, Senegal
 Theme: The Legislature in Africa's Democratic Transition

The CODESRIA Democratic Governance Institute is an interdisciplinary forum, which brings together African scholars working on topics related to the broad theme of governance. The aim of the Institute is to promote research and debates on issues connected to the conduct of public affairs and the management of the general development process in Africa. The Institute was launched in 1992 and its sessions have been held every year since then in broad collaboration with the Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, Senegal. It serves the critical function of forging links among a younger generation of African intellectuals and meeting the scientific needs of these intellectuals in terms of access to recent documentation, participation in current debates, the retooling of their research capacities, and the updating of their conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches. Increasingly, the Institute appeals to the interests of African policy intellectuals and civil society activists, thereby permitting a judicious mix of researchers, activists, and policy makers to be achieved in the admission of participants. In general, a total of fifteen African researchers drawn from across the continent and the Diaspora, and a few non-African scholars participate in the Institute each year.

Announcement

Objectives:

The main objectives of the Governance Institute are to:

- Encourage the sharing of experiences among researchers, activists and policy makers from different disciplines, methodological and conceptual orientations, and geographical experiences on a common theme over an extended period of time;
- Promote and enhance a culture of democratic values that allows Africans effectively to identify and tackle the governance issues confronting their continent; and
- Foster the participation of scholars in discussions and debates about the processes of democratisation taking place in Africa.

Organisation:

The activities of all CODESRIA institutes centre on presentations made by resident researchers, visiting resource persons, and the participants whose applications for admission as laureates are successful. The sessions are led by a scientific director who, with the help of invited resource persons, ensures that the laureates are exposed to the range of research and policy issues generated by or arising from the theme of the Institute for which they are responsible. Open discussions drawing on books and articles relevant to the theme of a particular institute or a specific topic within the theme are also encouraged. Each of the laureates selected to participate in any of the Council's institutes is required to prepare a research paper to be presented during the course of the particular institute they attend. Laureates are expected to draw on the insights which they gain from the Institute in which they participate to produce a revised version of their research papers for consideration for publication by CODESRIA. For each institute, the CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) prepares a comprehensive bibliography on the theme of the year. Access is also facilitated to a number of documentation centres in and around Dakar.

The 2006 Session: The Legislature in Africa's Democratic Transition

The wave of popular pressures for political reform that spread across Africa in the period stretching from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s culminated in the restoration of electoral pluralism in most of the countries of the continent. This development went hand-in-hand with the adoption of constitutional frames that, nominally at least, guaranteed an important role in governance to the legislative arm of government. The particular form, content and scope which legislative power and mandate took differed from country to country, as did the structuring of its relations with the executive and judicial arms of government. However, in every African country, as democratic forms of politics were re-introduced on the back of the collapse of military and single party rule, there was a strong accent placed, formally at least, on the role of the legislature in the building and consolidation of democracy. Implicit in this was the position, broadly, shared, that the legislature is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the people. In this role, it was expected not only to make laws for the welfare of the generality of the populace but also to serve both as a democratically-empowered agency of restraint on the executive arm of government and a forum for the mobilisation of popular participation in the broad governmental process. Needless to say, the robustness with which it could carry out its functions was always going to be a function of its ability to maintain a degree of internal coherence, relative autonomy vis-à-vis the executive arm, and proximity to the pulse of the electorate. Also important is the extent to which the legislature is itself representative as an institution that captures the diversities of society.

Ordinarily, the important role assigned to the legislature in the renewed quest for democratic governance in Africa, and the high hopes of the populace in the office of the elected representative are issues which should be considered a routine part of democratic politics. However, in the context of Africa, they carried an added significance deriving from the fact that the legislative arm of government was perhaps the biggest loser from the decades of military and single party rule that pervaded Africa from the second half of the 1960s to the mid-1990s. All over the continent, as political authoritarianism took hold, the legislature was either proscribed outright or completely subordinated to the executive arm of government; legislative politics came to be severely underdeveloped in every sense. It is in part because of this underdevelopment that many (donor) initiatives were introduced in the period from the 1990s onwards to "build the capacity" of parliament in different parts of Africa. And without doubt, there were, indeed, technical capacities in need of being developed. But clearly, the issues arising from the weaknesses of the legislature are not simply or only technical in nature; in fact, they are mainly- and perhaps overwhelmingly political in nature. These problems have manifested themselves in a variety of ways, including through the struggles for relative autonomy from the executive, tensions arising from the tendency towards presidentialism in Africa's new democracies, the instability and fragmentation of political parties, the poor structuring of the relationship between elected legislators and party bosses, the easy vulnerability of electoral systems to various kinds of manipulation, the frequent resort by the executive to a "security" cover for riding roughshod over parliament, the under-funding of parliament and poor harnessing of the funds available for deepening the foundations of democratic politics, the erosion of the domestic policy environment by donor conditionality, etc. In many ways, the institutional experiences of the legislature in the contemporary quest for democratic renewal both mirrors and summarises the entire record of the politics of the democratic process itself.

Through the 2006 Governance Institute, the Council proposes to focus scholarly attention on parliament both as an institutional expression of and an arena in Africa's quest for democratic governance. Prospective participants will be encouraged to review existing debates on the role and place of the legislative arm of government in contemporary African politics, produce fresh empirical and analytic insights, engage in a comparative analysis of their findings and reflect on the challenges posed by their own work to inherited/dominant conceptual frames. The legislature as an arena of debate is a minefield of information on the different political trends, tendencies and struggles of the day in any country; laureates of the 2006 Governance institute will be encouraged to read the politics of democratisation in contemporary Africa as seen through the lenses of parliament. But they will also be challenged to identify the silences that may be in evidence in the legislative debates that occur.

The Director

For every session of its various institutes, CODESRIA appoints an external scholar with a proven track-record of quality work to provide intellectual leadership. Directors are senior scholars known for their expertise in the topic of the year and for the originality of their thinking on it. They are recruited on the basis of a proposal which they submit and which contains a detailed course outline covering methodological issues and approaches; the key concepts integral to an understanding of the object of a particular Institute and the specific theme that will be focused upon; a thorough review of the state of the literature designed to expose laureates to different theoretical and empirical currents; a presentation on various sub-themes, case-studies and comparative examples relevant to the theme of the particular Institute they are applying to lead; and possible policy questions that are worth keeping in mind during the entire research process. Candidates for the position of Director should also note that if their application is successful, they will be asked to:

Announcement

- Participate in the selection of laureates;
- Identify resource-persons to help lead discussions and debates;
- Design the course for the session, including the specification of sub-themes;
- Deliver a set of lectures and provide a critique of the papers presented by the resource persons and the laureates;
- Submit a written scientific report on the session.

In addition, the Director is expected to (co-)edit the revised versions of the papers presented by the resource persons with a view to submitting them for publication in one of CODESRIA's collections. The Director also assists CODESRIA in assessing the papers presented by laureates for publication as a special issue of Africa Development or as monographs.

Resource Persons

Lectures to be delivered at the Institute are intended to offer laureates an opportunity to advance their reflections on the theme of the programme and on their own research topics. Resource Persons are, therefore, senior scholars or scholars in their mid-career who have published extensively on the topic, and who have a significant contribution to make to the debates on it. They will be expected to produce lecture materials, which serve as think pieces that stimulate laureates to engage in discussion and debate around the lectures and the general body of literature available on the theme.

Once selected, resource persons must:

- Submit a copy of their lectures for reproduction and distribution to participants not later than one week before the lecture begins;
- Deliver their lectures, participate in debates and comment on the research proposals of the laureates;
- Review and submit the revised version of their research papers for consideration for publication by CODESRIA not later than two months following their presentation.

Laureates

Applicants should be African researchers who have completed their university and/or professional training, with a proven capacity to carry out research on the theme of the Institute. Intellectuals active in the policy process and/or in social movements/civic organisations are also encouraged to apply. The number of places offered by CODESRIA at each session of its institutes is limited to fifteen (15) fellowships. Non-African scholars who are able to raise funds for their participation may also apply for a limited number of places.

Applications

Applicants for the position of **Director** should submit:

- An application letter;
- A proposal, not more than 15 pages in length, indicating the course outline and showing in what ways the course would be original and responsive to the needs of prospective laureates, specifically focussing on the issues to be covered from the point of view of concepts and methodology, a critical review of the literature, and the range of issues arising from the theme of the Institute;
- A detailed and up-to-date curriculum vitae; and
- Three writing samples.

Applications for the position of **resource persons** should include:

- An application letter ;
- Two writing samples ;
- A curriculum vitae ; and
- A proposal, not more than five pages in length, outlining the issues to be covered in their proposed lecture.

Applications for **Laureates** should include:

- An application letter;
- A letter indicating institutional or organisational affiliation;
- A curriculum vitae ;
- A research proposal (two copies and not more than ten pages), including a descriptive analysis of the work the applicant intends to undertake, an outline of the theoretical interest of the topic chosen by the applicant, and the relationship of the topic to the problematic and concerns of the theme of the 2003 Institute; and
- Two reference letters from scholars and/or researchers known for their competence and expertise in the candidate's research area (geographic and disciplinary), including their names, addresses and telephone, e-mail, fax numbers.

An independent committee composed of outstanding African social scientists will select the candidates to be admitted to the institute.

The **deadline** for the submission of applications is set for **15 June 2006**. The Institute will be held in Dakar, Senegal in **August 2006**.

All applications or requests for further information should be addressed to:

CODESRIA Democratic Governance Institute

Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV

BP 3304, CP 18524,

Dakar, Senegal.

Tel.: (221) 825 98 21/22/23

Fax: (221) 824 12 89

E-Mail: governance.institute@codesria.sn

Website: www.codesria.org

Announcement

Call for Applications

CODESRIA and Institute on Health, Politics and Society in Africa

Theme: Traditional Forms of Health Provisioning in Africa

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) was established in 1973 as an initiative of African scholars for the promotion of multidisciplinary research that extends the frontiers of knowledge production in and about Africa, and also responds to the challenges of African development. Within the broad framework of the mandate defined for the Council in its Charter, various research and training programmes have been developed over the years for the purpose both of mobilising the African research community and responding to its needs. The Council also has a robust publications programme, which has earned it a reputation as one of the leading scholarly publishers in Africa. Its training programmes are particularly targeted at younger, mid-career scholars whose need for support in advancing their reflections on conceptual and methodological questions was at the origin of the initiation by the Council of a number of annual thematic institutes. At present, CODESRIA runs annual Governance, Gender, Humanities, and Child and Youth Studies institutes.

As part of on-going programme innovation and expansion, the Council in 2004 launched an institute on Health, Politics and Society in Africa in a bid to promote an enhanced interest in multidisciplinary health research among African scholars. The initiative flows from the current CODESRIA strategic plan, which has placed a considerable emphasis on the promotion of social science approaches to health studies in Africa and a structured dialogue between the Social Sciences and the Health/Biomedical Sciences. The initiative has also become imperative at a time when the African continent is faced with one of the most severe health crises in its history. Most symbolic of this crisis is the HIV/AIDS pandemic which has been ravaging the continent for sometime now even as such diseases as malaria continue to take a heavy toll while tuberculosis and polio, once under control, are enjoying a resurgence. The HIV/AIDS pandemic itself came to the fore in the context of a generalised weakening of the health structures and processes of African countries, as well as the decline in the average health and nutritional status of Africans, the latter speaking directly to the increased levels of personal and household impoverishment on the continent. At the root of the decline in the health status of Africans are such factors as the prolonged economic crises which African countries have faced in the period since the early 1980s, the inappropriate adjustment measures prescribed by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) for containing the crises but which exacerbated the problems that were already being experienced in the health sector, and the massive brain drain from the sector.

Objectives:

The main objectives of the Institute on Health, Politics and Society are to:

- Encourage the emergence and sustenance of a networked community of younger African scholars in the field of health research;
- Promote methodological and conceptual innovations in research on African health questions through the application of an enhanced social science approach;
- Encourage a structured dialogue between the Social Sciences and the Health/Biomedical Sciences as part of the quest for a holistic approach to understanding health, politics and society in Africa; and
- Promote the sharing of experiences among researchers, activists and policy makers drawn from different disciplines, methodological/conceptual orientations, and geographical experiences on a common theme over an extended period of time.

Organisation:

The activities of all CODESRIA institutes centre on presentations made by resident researchers, visiting resource persons, and the participants whose applications for admission as laureates are successful. The sessions are led by a scientific director who, with the help of invited resource persons, ensures that the laureates are exposed to the range of research and policy issues generated by or arising from the theme of the Institute for which they are responsible. Open discussions drawing on books and articles relevant to the theme of a particular institute or a specific topic within the theme are also encouraged. Each of the participants selected to participate in any of the Council's institutes as a laureate is required to prepare a research paper to be presented during the course of the particular institute they attend. Laureates are expected to draw on the insights which they gain from the Institute in which they participate to produce a revised version of their research papers for consideration for publication by CODESRIA. For each institute, the CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) prepares a comprehensive bibliography on the theme of the year. Access is also facilitated to a number of documentation centres in and around Dakar.

The 2006 Session: Traditional Forms of Health Provisioning in Africa

African countries attained independence in the 1960s on the basis of a broad social contract between the nationalists who inherited state power from the colonial authorities and the general populace whose support was instrumental to the success of the independence struggle. At the centre of the contract was a commitment by the nationalists to an across-the-board improvement in the lives and well-being of the populace in ways which also overcame the discriminatory restrictions that underpinned colonial social policy and opened new opportunities for social advancement. The health and educational sectors occupied a pride of place in the early investments which post-colonial governments made in the social sectors; overall, these sectors witnessed an all-round expansion in the period up to the end of the 1970s. As it pertains specifically to the health sector, the primary accent was placed on developing the infrastructure for the provision of "modern" medicine to the bulk of the populace. Indeed, public investments in the development of "traditional" medicine, the only form of medicine exclusively patronised by populace before the onset of colonialism, was almost non-existent as all attention went to the development and expansion of a modern medical sector that was structured along the dominant institutional approach introduced during the colonial period. Colonial medical policy was not only racially structured, it also had a decisively anti-traditional edge which was reinforced by missionary perceptions of the domain of traditional medicine as an arena of "animism", "barbarism" and "spiritual impurity". This bias against traditional medicine which assumed the form of a campaign in some cases was built into the public policy process and carried over into the post-colonial period. In the context of the accent, which was placed on the expansion of access to modern health services after independence, public investments in training for medical doctors and nurses went hand-in-hand with the construction of medical centres in the urban and rural areas for the practice of modern medicine. In many countries, the public health investments made built on similar (and, in some cases, earlier) investments by missionaries. Also, private providers were licensed as part of the accent that was placed on the expansion of the modern medical sector.

For much of the period from the 1960s to the end of the 1970s, popular access to the services offered by the modern health sector underwent an uninterrupted growth. But a question which remains unanswered is whether the prospect for the consolidation of the sector would have been strengthened if a conscious effort had been made to build on the pre-

Announcement

existing traditional system of health provisioning and the wealth of indigenous knowledge that had been accumulated on various diseases and their treatment. Whatever the case, as the economic crises of the 1980s began to take hold, exacerbated by the structural adjustment programmes that were introduced ostensibly to contain the crises, the social expenditure of the state suffered a sharp decline, with the health sector bearing the biggest brunt. The health infrastructure of most countries immediately began to undergo a rapid deterioration and decline which, in turn, fed into and reinforced the brain drain from the health sector as doctors, pharmacists and nurses sought greener pastures elsewhere. Both the austerity measures introduced by African governments in the early 1980s to manage their economic crises and the thrust of the adjustment programmes that were adopted under the weight of donor conditionality contained commitments to cost recovery and the introduction of user charges in the health sector; structural adjustment went a step further to incarnate marketisation as the directive principle of policy and practice. The introduction of user charges, cost recovery and other marketisation policies occurred at the same time as the real incomes of the working poor collapsed in the face of deep and repeated currency devaluations; major losses of employment took place as the public sector was first "downsized" and then "rightsized"; and a heavy inflationary spiral took hold which fuelled prices and ate into incomes. All of these added up to make the modern health sector less attractive and accessible than it once was for the generality of the populace, with implications for the health-seeking behaviour of the citizenry. Inability to afford the escalating cost of modern medicine, the absence of critical modern medical services occasioned by the collapse of the public health infrastructure, a shortage of drugs and qualified personnel in public hospitals, and a widespread decline in the quality of services increasingly made a resort to traditional forms of health provisioning an alternative for a significant proportion of the populace. Furthermore, in a season of major pandemics like HIV/AIDS which have fed into the overall environment of uncertainty felt by people in their daily lives, resort to traditional medicine was both a compulsion born out of need and an adaptive/coping mechanism.

With the modern public health system functioning at sub-optimal levels, the services offered at public health facilities increasingly exposed to an internal commercial logic which, for the average patient, meant payment for virtually every service rendered, the public health insurance system being virtually non-existent, and the culture of private health insurance highly underdeveloped, individuals and households were increasingly driven into seeking alternative modes of health provisioning that entailed a rediscovery of traditional medicine and a reinvention of traditional medical practices. There was also a growth in religiosity and faith-healing; not a few straddled the worlds of faith-healing and traditional medicine in their health-seeking behaviour. If, in the face of the growth of modern public health system in the 1960s and 1970s, traditional medicine only remained viable in rural Africa, the crises of the modern health system that began in the early 1980s has also led to its resurgence in the urban areas where the collapse of the modern health infrastructure has taken its biggest toll. Amidst the revival in traditional health systems, associations of traditional healers have also emerged to seek recognition by the state and a dialogue with the modern medical sector. Whilst the rules of entry into the burgeoning traditional medical sector are still not formally defined, the number of practitioners advertising their trade has grown tremendously. The bigger and more successful providers have made investments in production and packaging facilities that are designed to improve on hygiene and address concerns about dosage. In other words, traditional medicine has also been undergoing a self-conscious process of modernisation. This is particularly so among the traditional medicine practitioners who use herbal formulae and whose remedies target different sections of the populace according to a reading of patterns of social and spatial distribution of illness.

Participants in the 2006 session of the CODESRIA Institute on Health, Politics and Society will be encouraged to explore the various dimensions of the revival and reinvention of traditional forms of health provisioning in Africa. What changes in form, content and context have been witnessed in the practice of traditional medicine over the years? What is the exact scope of traditional medical practice in contemporary Africa? What is the current state of public policy in African countries on that form of medicine? What kinds of stigma continue to be associated with traditional medicine and what are the enduring roots of the various kinds of stigma that persist? What is the interface between traditional medicine and various kinds of ritual, religious and non-religious? How are we to understand the cosmology of traditional medicine in a way that might enable us gain an insight into the worlds of the patient and practitioner? How does policy towards traditional medicine in the contemporary period compare to the policy espoused by the colonial state? What is the current legal and social status of traditional medicine in different African countries? What kinds of investments have been made to upgrade the quality of traditional medical provision? What are the rules of entry, formal and/or informal, into traditional medical practice? Are there discernible changes in the system of apprenticeship for the training of successive generations of practitioners? What are the modes of transmission of knowledge accumulated in traditional medicine? What are the inter-connections between traditional medicine and indigenous knowledge systems, and what strategies are available for preserving and protecting such knowledge from expropriation by the private commercial agents? What segments of contemporary African societies are most served by the traditional health delivery system? What are the key factors— economic, social, political, spiritual and psychological explaining the efflorescence of traditional medicine in contemporary Africa? Which are the markets that are served by the traditional medical practitioners and how might they be classified? What forms of engagement do the traditional medical practitioners have with the state and associations of practitioners of modern medicine? The range and variety of research and policy issues associated with the on-going revival and expansion of traditional medicine is endless and various multidisciplinary entry points are required for the achievement of a balanced and holistic understanding. Prospective participants in the Institute are invited to address themselves to these different entry points and other related aspects of research on health system governance in Africa.

The Director

For every session of its various institutes, CODESRIA appoints an external scholar with a proven track-record of quality work to provide intellectual leadership. Directors are senior scholars known for their expertise in the topic of the year and for the originality of their thinking on it. They are recruited on the basis of a proposal which they submit and which contains a detailed course outline covering methodological issues and approaches; the key concepts integral to an understanding of the object of a particular Institute and the specific theme that will be focused upon; a thorough review of the state of the literature designed to expose laureates to different theoretical and empirical currents; a presentation on various sub-themes, case-studies and comparative examples relevant to the theme of the particular Institute they are applying to lead; and possible policy questions that are worth keeping in mind during the entire research process. Candidates for the position of Director should also note that if their application is successful, they will be asked to:

- Participate in the selection of laureates;
- Identify resource-persons to help lead discussions and debates;
- Design the course for the session, including the specification of sub-themes;
- Deliver a set of lectures and provide a critique of the papers presented by the resource persons and the laureates;
- Submit a written scientific report on the session.

Announcement

In addition, the Director is expected to (co-)edit the revised versions of the papers presented by the resource persons with a view to submitting them for publication in one of CODESRIA's collections. The Director also assists CODESRIA in assessing the papers presented by laureates for publication as a special issue of Africa Development or as monographs.

Resource Persons

Lectures to be delivered at the Institute are intended to offer laureates an opportunity to advance their reflections on the theme of the programme and on their own research topics. Resource Persons are, therefore, senior scholars or scholars in their mid-career who have published extensively on the topic, and who have a significant contribution to make to the debates on it. They will be expected to produce lecture materials which serve as think pieces that stimulate laureates to engage in discussion and debate around the lectures and the general body of literature available on the theme.

- One selected, resource persons must: Submit a copy of their lectures for reproduction and distribution to participants not later than one week before the lecture begins;
- Deliver their lectures, participate in debates and comment on the research proposals of the laureates;
- Review and submit the revised version of their research papers for consideration for publication by CODESRIA

Laureates

Applicants should be African researchers who have completed their university and /or professional training, with a proven capacity to carry out research on the theme of the Institute. Intellectuals active in the policy process and/or in social movements/civic organisations are also encouraged to apply. The number of places offered by CODESRIA at each session of its institutes is limited to fifteen fellowships. Non-African scholars who are able to raise funds for their participation may also apply for a limited number of places.

Applications

Applicants for the position of **Director** should submit:

- An application letter;
- A proposal, not more than fifteen pages in length, indicating the course outline and showing in what ways the course would be original and responsive to the needs of prospective laureates, specifically focussing on the issues to be covered from the point of view of concepts and methodology, a critical review of the literature, and the range of issues arising from the theme of the Institute;
- A detailed and up-to-date curriculum vitae; and
- Three writing samples.

Applications for the position of **resource persons** should include:

- An application letter ;
- Two writing samples ;
- A curriculum vitae ; and
- A proposal, not more than five pages in length, outlining the issues to be covered in their proposed lecture.

Applications for **Laureates** should include:

- An application letter;
- A letter indicating institutional or organisational affiliation;
- A curriculum vitae ;
- A research proposal (two copies and not more than ten pages), including a descriptive analysis of the work the applicant intends to undertake, an outline of the theoretical interest of the topic chosen by the applicant, and the relationship of the topic to the problematic and concerns of the theme of the 2003 Institute; and
- Two reference letters from scholars and/or researchers known for their competence and expertise in the candidate's research area (geographic and disciplinary), including their names, addresses and telephone, e-mail, fax numbers.

An independent committee composed of outstanding African social scientists will select the candidates to be admitted to the institute.

The **deadline** for the submission of applications is set for 31 May 2006. The Institute will be held in Dakar, Senegal in July 2006.

All applications or requests for further information should be addressed to:

CODESRIA Institute on Health, Politics and Society in Africa

Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV

BP 3304, CP 18524,

Dakar, Senegal

Tel.: (221) 825 98 21/22/23

Fax: (221) 824 12 89

E-Mail: Health.Institute@codesria.sn

Website: www.codesria.org

SANTIAGO GATHERING

Politics and Culture in Times of the South

Política y Cultura en Tiempos del Sur (working title)

4 to 6 October 2006

DAY ONE

The first day examines the shift that has occurred in the twenty-first century, as old battles have been won and new sites of struggle emerge. Generations in exile have returned home, but is home now itself a form of exile from a real sense of place? What now? Is economic growth now the main priority of the south?

DAY TWO

The second day explores ways of reconnecting the world, particularly through forms of artistic practice that operate outside the gallery structure. Many artists have found dialogue between active audience and aesthetics to be an important framework for public engagement. What are the alternative forms of creative practice that enable art to make a difference in the broader society?

DAY THREE

Announcement

The final day gathers alternatives together to consider ways that art can operate autonomously outside the market, independently of the rich prizes offered by the north. This is an opportunity to touch on the nature of south-south collaboration and to question the subsequent relationship of north and south. Where to? How can we provide alternative forms of recognition, and profile the cultural wealth in the south, regardless of the fame of Paris, London and New York?

Third Biennial International Conference,

Gwalior,

October 13-15 2006

Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies

The Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies is organising the Third Biennial Conference to be held in School of Studies in Political Science & Public Administration, Jiwaji University, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh, India

The Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies is a non-profit non-governmental registered organisation (under Act XXVI of 1961, Government of West Bengal, India) devoted to academic activities on Asian and Pacific regions. The Association promotes research, conference/seminar/lecture programmes and understanding of different Asian & Pacific regions in its cultural, social, political and economic scenario. The Association is a forum for scholars engaged in Asian & Pacific Studies to carry out social science oriented studies, which are to some extent inter-regional and inter-societal comparative studies.

This Third Biennial International Conference will be a meeting point of scholars working on Asian & Pacific studies. We expect participation of Asia Fellows (from South Asia, Southeast Asia & China) to this Conference & that way this Conference is going to develop a new network between Asia-Fellows & Indian scholars.

Academic Sections:

- (1) South Asia
- (2) Southeast Asia
- (3) East Asia & Pacific Region
- (4) West & Central Asia

Themes of the Conference

History & Historiography in Pre-Colonial / Colonial / Contemporary Perspective

Ethnicity, Minority, Migration & Human Rights

Religion and Culture

Globalisation vs. Indigenisation

International Relations and Organisations : Issues & Trends

Science, Technology, Medicine and Environment

Gender and Society

Local History : Central India- Tradition to Modernity

Keynote Speaker:

Professor **Dr. Wang Gungwu**, Director, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Sectional Presidents

SOUTH ASIA:

Professor **S.D. Muni**, Former Professor, School of International Relations, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and Adviser, Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA:

Professor **V. Suryanarayan**, Former Director & Professor, Centre for South & Southeast Asian Studies, University of Madras, Chennai, India.

WEST & CENTRAL ASIA:

Professor **Surendra Gopal**, Former Professor, Department of History, University of Patna, Patna, India.

EAST ASIA & PACIFIC REGION:

Professor **P.V. Rao**, Director, Centre for Indian Ocean Studies, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.

How to join the Conference?

A member of the Association as well as non members can join the Conference by paying the requisite registration fees. Members are to clear their dues till the financial year 2006-2007 & they are requested to pay it positively before **July 30, 2006**

All payments should be made by Money Order / Draft in favour of Indian Association for Asian & Pacific Studies. **PLEASE**

NOTE WE DO NOT ACCEPT OUTSTATION CHEQUES

Dates for Submission of Abstract and Paper:

Both abstract & full text papers are to be submitted by e-mail in word format only.

July 30, 2006 Closing date for receipt of abstracts (word limit 200 words)

August 15, 2006 Notification of acceptance via e-mail

September 30, 2006 Completed full text papers to be submitted by e-mail. (word limit 2000 words)

Papers should be presented in English language only.

Call For Papers

Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva

Second Workshop of Young Scholars from the Global South (WYSGS-2)

The Graduate Institute of International Studies is an internationally reputed advanced school of teaching and research in the field of international studies. A pioneering institution in the field, the Institute plays host to a diversified and vibrant body of students and faculty from all parts of the world. For more information about the Institute and its teaching and research programmes, go to www.hei.unige.ch.

Following the success of the first workshop held in October 2005, the Institute is pleased to announce the second workshop for outstanding young scholars from the Global South specializing in the study of international relations, broadly defined, mainly from the perspectives of history, political science, law, and economics. The aim of the workshop is to help incubate a network of young scholars from southern countries by providing them opportunities to interact and share experiences with fellow scholars from the south.

And develop collaborative frameworks and projects. Candidates will typically be nearing completion of their Ph.D.s at a southern university. Exceptionally, fresh Ph.D.s from southern universities working within the region, and students from

Announcement

the south nearing completion of their Ph.D.s on south-related topics at northern universities may be considered. Selection will be based on the quality of research. Quality being equal, selection may be guided by an interest in promoting thematic coherence at the workshop. Selected participants will be expected to present their research at the workshop. English will be the working language.

WYSGS-2 will be held from 30 October to 3 November 2006. All participants will be provided accommodation and receive a contribution towards living expenses. The Institute will also cover return excursion fares for participants enrolled at southern universities. Interested candidates satisfying the above criteria may e-mail a letter of self-introduction and motivation, attaching a detailed CV with contact details of two referees and a 2000-word summary of the Ph.D. project, to southworkshop@hei.unige.ch by 1 June 2006. Candidates without e-mail may send their applications in an envelope marked WYSGS-2 to

Ms. Denise Ducroz,
Graduate Institute of International Studies,
11A Avenue de la Paix, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland.

Women are encouraged to apply. Only short-listed candidates will be contacted.

Our Team

Editors:

Samita Sen
sensamita@yahoo.co.uk

Shamil Jeppie
sjeppie@humanities.uct.ac.za

Carlos Iván Degregori
cid@iep.org.pe

Editorial Assistants:

Jishnu Dasgupta
jishnudasgupta@gmail.com

Sraman Mukherjee
sramanmukherjee@gmail.com

Kashshaf Ghani
kashshaf@hotmail.com

Technical Assistants:

Pradipta Saha
tutunsaha78@yahoo.co.in

Sadik Bhimani
sadikbhimani@gmail.com

Administrative Assistant:

Joyanti Sen
sachetana@vsnl.com

Correspondents:

Claudio Costa Pinheiro,
Rio de Janeiro Federal University,
Brazil.
ccp@pobox.com

Mahbubar Rahman,
Professor, Department of History,
Rajshahi, Bangladesh.
sharmin@librabd.net

Li Anshan,
Professor, School of International Studies,
Peking University, China; and
Visiting Professor,
Menlo College and Center for African Studies,
Stanford University, USA.
anshanli@pku.edu.cn

Sarfraz Khan,
Area Study Centre,
University of Peshwar, Pakistan.
ascrc@psh.paknet.com.pk

Erwiza Erman,
Senior Researcher,
Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI),
Jakarta, Indonesia.
erwizae@yahoo.com

Isaie Dougnon,
Assistant Professor,
Department of Social Sciences,
University of Bamako, Mali.
isaiedougnon@yahoo.fr or pointsud@afribone.net.ml

Karamat Ali,
PILER, Pakistan.
karamatpiler@yahoo.com

Luciana Contarino Sparta,
Professor, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina.
llcontarinosparta@hotmail.com

Mirzohid Rahimov,
Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan.
mirzonur@yahoo.com

Marcus Fernandez Labbe
Universidad Albizto Huztodo
Paul Sicia Univesidad de Chile
markosfer@hotmail.com