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## Editorial

**Samita Sen, Shamil Jeppie, Carlos Degregori**

We embark on the third volume of the Sephis e-Magazine and a new phase in the Sephis Programme too. We are hoping to launch soon a website devoted to the e-Magazine, which will then acquire a new scope and dimension. In the meanwhile, we move into our third volume— with more of the same. We hope, dear reader, this mélange of our usual features will please, provoke and entertain.

Entertainment seems increasingly to dominate a world preoccupied with war and terrorism. In the last issue we reported a series of controversies in West Asia. In the last four months, we have war in Lebanon and bombings in several regions of South and South-east Asia including a whole series of blasts in Mumbai. In Iraq, of course, we continue to celebrate liberation with an increasing spiral of death and destruction.

Entertainment then. Soccer is our special feature in this issue given that the World Cup dominated our daily lives in the South as well as in Europe for the bulk of the period this issue was in production. Boria Majumdar and Michael Ralph write about the impact of Globalisation on sports, soccer in particular with case studies. *Sporting Colonies of Global Capital: The Impact of Globalisation on Soccer in the Developing World* is accompanied by a Quiz on the World Cup. Those who have suffered disorientation and sleep deprivation watching at all odd hours of the day and night are encouraged to cheat (we are kind enough to provide the answers).

We continue our feature on historiography— travelling this time to Peru. Michiel Baud reviews the *Homenaje a Jorge Basadre*, a recent collection of essays. In a masterly sweep, he traces the shifts and turns in Peruvian historiography from Jorge Basadre, the 'father' of modern Peruvian history writing to the present day.

On the note of homage, we also use this issue to remember two of the most extraordinary personalities in the cultural fields of South Asia, whose creativity often spanned borders. Ustad Bismillah Khan's mastery of the Shehnai made him possibly the most listened to musician of South Asia, as his music adorned all sorts of social events. Shamsur Rahman, who passed away at about the same time, was the poet of Bangladesh's freedom struggle, and it is as such that we remember him. Along with this, we also have a letter written by possibly the greatest poet in Rahman's language, Bengali, Rabindranath Tagore. With this letter, Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre perpetrated by the British Raj. By placing Rahman's obituary and Tagore's letter side-by-side, we wish to bring out the resonance in the voices of these two poets, who wrote in the same language, but for different nations and opposed different, yet same imperialisms.

Our articles are extremely varied in this issue with virtually no thematic similarity. Alexsander Lemos de Almeida Gebara discusses Richard Francis Burton's writings on Africa. Burton is now known best for his prolific career as a translator, especially for the translation, at the end of 1860s, of the Indian classic *Kama Sutra* and the collection of Arab stories known to children all over the world, *A thousand and one nights*. He began his 'colonial' career in India in 1842 and moved to Africa in 1853. He was in Mecca, Somalia, and had accomplished an epic expedition in search of the Nile sources. He was an active member of scientific societies like the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), the London Ethnological Society (LSE) and the Anthropological Society of London (ASL). As such, he was a major participant in the 'colonial discourse' as we are now wont to call it. In this paper, Gebara deals with his representations of West Africa between 1861 and 1865, a period in which the author acted as British consul to the Bight of Biafra, and produced a series of reports for the Foreign Office, six volumes of travel books, and some papers in scientific journals, specially for Royal Geographical Society and Anthropological Society of London.

In a completely different vein, Charity Angya discusses the *Feminisation of Poverty in Nigeria*. There has been much discussion about these issues in different parts of the South in the last two decades. These concerns have been fuelled by globalisation and the fear that there will not be enough 'trickle down' of the benefits of development to reach the poorer women of the South. Angya draws on recent international literature and the concept of *empowerment* to discuss the possibility of addressing issues of poverty alleviation alongside changing the highly gendered equations of power in the household and in the labour market. Her discussion resonates with feminist concerns in every South country.

Ishani Naskar writes on India's *Foreign Policy towards Asia*. India, she argues, despite being a developing country, has drawn the attention of the so-called big powers, due perhaps both to her geo-political significance as well as her perceived economic potential. The paper discusses India's ambitions to play a prominent role in Asian politics.

S. Shadmanova traces the background to the Establishment and *Organisation of Obstetrics in Turkestan* drawing on periodicals like, especially, *Turkestan Gazette*. Since the second half of the twentieth century, in the cities of Turkestan, mostly in Tashkent and other large cities, ambulance stations, clinics and training centres were established to address obstetric and paediatric cases. The nature, location and orientation of these services were matters of heated and prolonged debate. Shadmanova

examines these controversies in the context of the region's ethnic heterogeneity and its relationship with the dominant Russian state apparatus.

This issue contains as usual a sprinkling of reviews and notices of books from different parts of the South. There are three reports of international conferences, in Cahuito, Jakarta and Hyderabad. There are also two features— one focusing on different kinds of movements and conversations among South countries by Sucharita Ray and another reporting/discussing popular movements by Jishnu Dasgupta.

So, another eclectic offering. I plead, once again, for your responses— in blame or in praise. Only thus are we inspired to better ourselves.

One last word. Just before the e-Magazine 2.3 was posted, on 23 April, Rajnarayan Chandavarkar (1953-2006), Reader in the History and Politics of South Asia and Fellow, Trinity College, Cambridge (UK) died of a sudden heart attack at the Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital in Lebanon, New Hampshire, USA. He had been attending a conference at nearby Dartmouth College. He was just fifty-two years old. He lived and worked most of his adult life in Cambridge (UK). So why this last word in a "South" magazine? He was my Ph.D supervisor and friend and his untimely death was a shock to many of us. But that is not all. Raj kept his Indian passport despite all the difficulties of travel this entailed, remained deeply engaged in Indian society and politics and indeed in our academic efforts and endeavours. He remains one of the foremost scholars of urban and working class history writing on South Asia. His death has been an inestimable loss to the academic community in South Asia.

Raj's work was stubbornly 'old-fashioned'. Indeed, all his students— and there is more than a dozen of them around the world— suffered his scathing condemnation of our youthful flirtations with the gusts of 'the latest intellectual fashions'. His scholarship was masterly in its empirical richness and its clearheaded insights. The impact of his work on the field is yet to be assessed.

Immediately speaking, however, his work suggests some new directions for future scholarship. Perhaps its greatest contribution— one insufficiently recognised in discussions of his work— was the challenge he posed to universalising narratives of world capitalism. He also opened up new ways of understanding spaces, choices and strategies of urban working classes. He explored the relationships between wider theoretical (and political) preoccupations with, say, class, nationalist politics and everyday relations amongst so-called 'marginal' categories such as women, migrants and the urban poor. He emphasised the importance of the countryside and the urban neighbourhood in under-

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standings of class, thus challenging the earlier preeminence of the workplace as the primary site of working class formation. He drew our attention to the fluid nature of class and community identities in the context of mass

action, challenging functionalist conceptions of social structure and political agency.

We wish to dedicate our special issue (3.2: 1 January 2007) to the memory of Rajnarayan Chandavarkar.

The issue will address questions of labour across the global south and will, we hope, pick up and push some of the insights of his work on South Asia.

### Call for Contributions

#### Sephis e-magazine

#### Special Issue on Labour in the South In memory of Rajnarayan Chandavarkar

We invite essays on labour and the working classes on and from the South. We hope to cover a wide range of issues including migration, urban poverty, gender, child labour, class formation, labour politics and debates on 'free' labour, 'informal' labour and the impact of globalisation on labour conditions in the South.

Contributions may be in the form of articles (about 3000 words). We will also include Book reviews, Reports of contemporary trends or events, Reports of conferences or meetings (1000-1500 words). We particularly welcome historiographical essays that engage with some aspects of Rajnarayan Chandavarkar's works.

## Letters to the Editors

I find a very interesting study of Janaki Nair's book on Bangalore, specially for those of us, like the reviewer Ghosh, who may have never had the chance of visiting the IT city. Ghosh gives a brilliant analysis of the theoretical aspects of the study. However, in the interview taken, Nair could have dealt with, at greater length, the background of other places of historical interest, situated in the neighborhood, in south India. She may not have confined her views only on the 'princely' state of Mysore and Tipu Sultan. But I hope that her work will raise a large number of questions.

Coming to the comments on my piece in a previous issue, I can only say that it was my first impression report on Dhaka. I have travelled there many times and have tried to look at it as an insider. I have candidly written what I saw. If one comes down to realities and proper assessment, one cannot say that Bangladesh is devoid of fundamentalism or communalism. As a researcher, I had to narrate that I am working on the freedom movement. The constitution itself and newspaper reports are eloquent enough. I have written what I saw at a glance. Sorry if it has hurt a reader's sentiment and belief.

**Abanti Adhikari,  
Kolkata**

Thank you so much for the comments. As the interview was about her book on Bangalore, Nair concentrated on the context of her book. As for your response to Mr. Amin's letter, we hope, it will satisfy him. -eds.

I liked two pieces of the latest Sephis eMagazine. The questions on the UN Expansion are good and at the same time very important. Secondly, it is a pleasure to read the views of Rajat Babu. Though I must confess that I don't agree with some of them. Over all, my view is that the issue is very nice both in terms of variety of contents and appearance.

**Manujendra Kundu,  
Kolkata**

Thank you so much. As you would understand, such an effort, as ours, must necessarily represent varied views. -eds.

Thank you very much for sending along this extraordinary e-magazine. I was much impressed by its overall high quality, and I appreciated Kashshaf Ghani's contributions on Jadunath Sarkar and "Islam today". I look forward to reading future issues.

**Richard Eaton  
University of Arizona**

Thanks for the appreciation. -eds.

## Opinions

### Expansion of the UN Security Council

Last time, we set you a few questions on an issue that is doing the rounds in the international media, diplomatic circles and the intelligentsia: The proposed expansion of the United Nations Security Council. We got responses that were varied in the opinions expressed but also in the format. While Claudio Costa Pinheiro of Latin America came up with a comprehensive essay on the issues involved, Mirzohid Rahimov of Uzbekistan and Kingshuk Chatterjee of India came up with specific responses to the particular queries. In complete contrast, from South Africa, opinions of various shades, have come to the fore. We know the names of Melissa Govener, Inka Bergman, Stephen Buchanan-Clarke, and Geoff Sasol, while many others have remained anonymous. We thank Merritt Buyer for his help in collecting the material. In keeping with the variety of the things we got, which reflects the variety of the opinions too, we have kept the disparate forms and present them separately in the way we have got them, instead of ironing out the differences.

### The Justice League and the Challenges of Contemporaneity

**Claudio Costa Pinheiro**  
**Rio de Janeiro Federal University,**  
**Brazil.**

Since the beginning of the sixties an amazing series of different TV cartoons were broadcast in North-America, emphasising mostly the struggle and the menaces suffered by the free world. It was then the pinnacle of the Cold War era and the conflicts involving a bi-polarised world. People in the US and the whole Latin America (I guess it might have been the same in parts of Asia and Africa) were watching— "The Justice League of America" (later known as the "Justice League"), "The Super Friends" or "The Brave and the Bold"— not to mention the roots of it— "Justice Society of America" (1938-1951), "All-Star Western", the "All-Star Squadron", "Infinity" and many others.

Altogether, those Leagues were indeed formed by superheroes, settled at the "Hall of Justice", and challenged to maintain peace and fight against injustice to keep the world free. During this time there were strong debates among writers and fans regarding these Leagues membership. Eventually Batman got old, Miss America came to replace the Wonder Woman and Power Girl (Superman's sexy cousin) was incorporated, while some fellows retired or died. Substitutions had mostly happened meanwhile, especially aiming at the audience, the popularity of this or that superhero and a wider representation of the world's superhuman diversity (in terms of gender and ethnic differences).

United Nations created soon after the Second World War in 1945 and the Security Council in 1946, widely reflected that geopolitical arena, including five permanent members, who were the victorious powers, each of which having veto powers above UN interventions— and six (later ten) other elected as temporary members. Still this division reflected much of the post World War and Cold War scenario, with elected memberships representing Africa (3 members), Asia (2), Latin America and Caribbean (2), Western Europe (2) and Eastern Europe (1). Notwithstanding several claims to reshape this structure, this is the Council's configuration till today.

Since the 1940s, however, the balance of power in the world has dramatically changed in many aspects, something that is forcing a re-evaluation of the Council's composition, aims and forms of participation. Some of the countries that are economically and politically more influential today were not the same at that time and power in many of its expressions were not concentrated in the hands of nation states anymore. What formula could be the adopted to re-strike a balance among contemporary global powers? Should traditional members be left out of the permanent seats? Should the permanent seats be totally abolished for a universal criterion?

Actually, it sounds tempting to completely abolish all the permanent seats of the Security Council; but is Capitan America ready for that? If the group known as G-4 (which includes India, Brazil, Germany and Japan) is actively crying and lobbying for its permanent integration to the Council, the resistance is likewise proportionally strong. Between 1946 and 2006 each of the countries have been having significant participations at the UN Security Council— Germany has occupied the temporary seat 8 times, while India did it 12 times and Brazil and Japan on 18 occasions each— so as in many of the UN diplomatic and military interventions. Brazil, for example, has been extremely active both in local (South and Latin American) and international scenario. It has been one of the great enthusiasts of the Mercosul (the politico-economical Southern South America alliance), lead a strong resistance against the ALCA economical treatise between Latin American and US, deciding to suspend the patent of the Aids medicaments'. It has been victorious in many prosecutions against US and Canada at the WTO and has since nineteenth century played an important role in mediating military conflicts in Peru, Ecuador, Indonesia, East Timor, Haiti etc.

Brazil's participation at the UN Security Council is an old claim and has strong support from the US and Russia, however without the *veto power*. Looking from a distance, this Brazilian local leadership would certainly help it demand a permanent seat at the Council. However, looking it closer, this scenario does not seem to prevail in Latin (even more in the South) America as for Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela do not seem to support the Brazilian pretensions toward its consolidation as a local power. Obviously, there is a competition for resources and visibility at this developing countries' arena and above all, why should these countries agree with the reinforcement of Brazil's local power and authority, strengthening and formalising a regional unsteadiness?

The same happens if we consider India's situation, where the instability that regionally associates questions of power, religion and national states would virtually forbid her participation at the Council. As well as Japan's state of affairs, where strong US support, has not been capable to help counter oppositions from China and Korea.

Ultimately, would the admission of developing countries in the UN Security Council dramatically change the face of the world? Or could it work as a tool to reinforce local differences, regional conflicts and support the present status quo respecting a sophisticated equilibrium of forces? It is, for instance, curious enough to see that Germany is eager to sum efforts with Brazil (at this G-4) on claiming for a permanent seat at the Council, and on the other hand that it has just obstructed Brazilian pretensions on strengthening the participation of developing countries at the G-8 group— a fairly effective one in political and economic terms.

All in all, it might be the time to reflect upon a rather prior and more dramatic issue, regarding the contemporary world and the usefulness and real representation of the UN Security Council in itself. At least since the US-UK interventions in Iraq in 2003— which happened in spite of UN technical reports' testifying that Iraq did not possess any weapons of mass destruction, and France, Russia and China's vetoes, and the strong reprobation from the international public-opinion— there is a severe crisis regarding the worldwide credibility of the United Nations.

Admittedly, we are all pretty much aware that there have been massive transformations at the world scenario since the

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events on "September 11", 2001. Unfortunately, many of these came about surreptitiously and we didn't pay much attention into them— like all the debates carried out at the US Congress regarding the contempt of individual rights; the adoption of "terrorism" as a universal topological category and indeed a massive destruction weapon that can justify military attacks from hegemonic nation states and the virtual extermination of groups and/or other countries, or the intense debate for licensing private military companies (PMCs, mercenaries, as my uncle would say) as UN peacemakers troops (strongly supported by US and UK).

By contrast, it is important to point out that UN (and the Security Council) is still dealing with the Nation-State as its paradigm, both for membership and intervention. Although many of the contemporary conflicts does involve the idea of struggling against or debating with groups other than Nation-States. "It was a different time", my old uncle would say, "Yesterday we knew who was the enemy and who was there to be hated." By now it is much more complicated. As a matter of fact, the existence of de-territorialised groups, NGOs (including, for example, political parties and paramilitary organisations) or gigantic economical corporations is a concrete and not a novelty. This is a quite fascinating issue to be discussed, considering that double-bind vision of the UN still working with a concept of the world as Nation-States based, even though this is in many aspects a trespassed concept (unless if we consider the Nation-State as a much wider concept like the North-American scholar Charles Tilly did). We might be presently living in a kind of "X-men" world configuration— constituted of non-superheroes, facing an extremely unstable state of affairs regarding ethnic conflicts and betrayals and confronting enemies organised in NGOs-like cells, rather than nation-states— instead of a "Justice League" one— where in a 1940's comics Batman and Superman run after Adolph Hitler and Tojo to recover the kidnapped Santa Claus.

Evidently, it is difficult to predict, but if we consider the UN as a whole, the futuristic perspectives are not the best. However, looking at its arms— UNHCR, UNESCO, IAEA, UNICEF etc— or to its joint-ventured actions with different non-governmental groups, there might be answers. All in all, an interesting alternative would be to have the UN expending less money in military interventions and more in preventive ones, like a more equanimous distribution of global richness, or in small range actions towards encouraging ethnic and religious diversity and tolerance (internally in the hegemonic countries, to begin with). It would sound really amazing to see UN spending more money in preventive actions, but again, this silly question is always coming into my mind— would Superman and Capitan Britain (that seventies' comics British superhero) be ready to renounce the profits from their military industry on invading countries and their inventive skills on subsequently rebuilding it?

### Response from:

**Mirzohid Rahimov**

**Senior Research Fellow,**

**Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan.**

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?

Yes, I think it is important to reflect the balance of power. And all UN Security Consuls should respect mutual decisions. Probably, France and UK should stay at SC.

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?

India should play a more efficient role in the regional issues in Central, South and East Asia. Both countries have a chance to be members of the UN SC.

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?

I don't think so.

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?

New nations-states are part of the reality of our world. And expansion of the UN Security Council is required in the present international situation and make contributions to a balanced decision-making process.

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?

Maybe, but it would take a very long time.

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?

This is really problematic. All Great Powers should think not only of their own national interest but of global interest too. In the case of some Great Power losing interest in the UN all other UN programmes and agencies will have problems.

### Response from:

**Kingshuk Chatterjee,**

**Fellow,**

**Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of International Studies**

**(Currently, Fullbright Scholar, American Naval Institute)**

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?

If the present system of Permanent Members in the Security Council is to at all remain, then it should indeed reflect the present power structure. But, I don't think it would as, practically speaking, it is quite unrealistic that the gutsy decision of leaving out these powers will be taken. These powers are ones that have had their day, and no longer enjoy the status they did as imperial powers after the process of decolonisation. But, I do not see them being eliminated.

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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?

Brazil has played a stellar role in the economic regeneration of South America. Through it, these countries are combating, more effectively than previously, the 'screw-driver industrialisation' that forms such a vital part of neo-imperialism in these parts. As such, in my view, Brazil has a much greater claim to the seat.

Conversely, India has often been seen as a bully in the subcontinent. Apart from her well-publicised confrontations with Pakistan, her involvement in the internal politics of the Maldives and Sri Lanka has drawn a lot of flak. Her relationship with Bangladesh has also often been less than cordial. Also, because of the Indo-Pak relations being as complex as they are, the regional cooperation agencies like SAARC have often been nothing more than the arena to score diplomatic brownie points. Recently, while the 'Look East' policy is opening up new arenas of diplomatic cooperation, this has seen the abandonment of some arenas of foreign policy like support to democratic forces and for self-determination that had earlier earned India a lot of respect in previous decades.

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?

Indeed so, or at least, it should be so. The current South African regime should be the last one expected to take such a stand, given how much the leaders of the present depended on international opinion, or at least clamoured for international support in their struggle against Apartheid. But it is a sad commentary on them that it has become merely an assertion of Africanist politics, which combines with associating with many internal forces that they denounced in those long decades of persecution.

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?

Both of these, in my view, are largely true. This expansion would only serve to include some new forces within the fold of the 'haves' of international politics, without any real change in the structure. At the same time, through the use of the veto, these newly inducted powers will be able to serve their particular interests, making it almost impossible for 'tough' decisions to be taken, something the UN does rarely enough already.

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?

Exactly. But then again, it would be foolish idealism if one expects something as revolutionary as that would actually be carried out by the diplomatic mandarins and that the 'Great Powers' would accept such a curtailment of their hold in the interest of democracy.

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?

If we do work within such an impossibly hypothetical situation of the Permanent Membership being abolished, this might indeed happen. We must remember that though the League was the brainchild of President Wilson, the Congress never allowed the US to join, as they did not want 'unnecessary' involvement. If the Great Powers see that they would have obligations without the tools to control the institution, then this would definitely be a distinct possibility. And that would be the pitfall of democracy, as much of the really constructive aspects of the UN's work, as carried out through these arms, would then be impaired greatly, by lack of funds, if nothing else.

### The South African *mélange*

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?*

√ I believe that it should rather be about expansion than a complete revision of the UNSC. So keep those countries involved and add to them others to make it more representative!

√ Certainly not! What good reason would there be for leaving France and UK out? They are still world powers and part of the G8. Of course there is no good reason why Germany, Japan, and African states have been left of the Security Council.

√ If so, would the title "United Nations" really be fitting or would the body effectively be an extension of American influence?

√ The expansion reflects a trend of emerging international powers that are not based in the traditional "West". I don't believe France and the UK should be left out since they still exert influence on many of their colonies as well as other nations.

√ I think there is no need to exempt France and the UK out of the new Security Council as they are big powers. They have great influence in the world.

√ Yes, I believe countries such as France and the UK should be left out and perhaps more "less powerful" countries who lack representation be included as the decisions of the security council affect them as much as any other country.

√ Stronger nations have a bigger voice, so by including more nations and not throwing out the less powerful, the UN will have greater authority because it has more members and more countries that obey it. No, don't leave anyone out. Let every nation that has interest be involved, that way the UN will have more power.

√ I don't think anyone (Israel-Palestine, Iraq) takes the UN seriously. I don't think expansion of the UN Security Council will affect the balance of power. I don't think France or the UK should be left out, both of them contribute effectively.

√ It would show the continual shift in global economic and political power of certain countries. I think that the UK

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should stay in the Security Council but perhaps other European Union countries like Sweden should be included as well based on the value of their currency in terms of Euros.

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?*

√ No seat within the UNSC (revised) should just be given in terms of these issues...Criteria must be drawn in a way to make it representative of the major world interests (and issues).

√ Yes, Brazil has a stronger claim because of MERCOSUR. I do not have an opinion on India's candidacy but do not believe her nuclear policy should be held against her— so long as it remains limited and the other powers continue (begin?) their nuclear disarmament.

√ Perhaps Brazil's claims are strengthened but I do not believe India should be disqualified, there are many nations with nuclear weapons on the Security Council and leaving India out would alienate them.

√ I don't think that it should be disqualified.

√ No, I do not believe India should be disqualified as they are in the need of economic upliftment and the people of India should not suffer for the mistakes of its leaders.

√ Yes, Brazil, like China, has followed its own economic policies and if they are successful then yes, Brazil should get merits for that. I don't think that India's failure and nuclear policy should count against her, she follows the principles of capitalism and democracy, and this will count in her favour.

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?*

√ Not really! More needs to be taken into account before one reaches such a conclusion!

√ Yes. I do not think that SA has gained any brownie points for choosing not to interfere in Zimbabwe. Some may also point out the fact that SA insisted on UNSC authorisation for any mission in the DRC, but went into Lesotho without such authorisation— it seems somewhat hypocritical. Still, this is no good reason for SA not being included— after all, is this not the way that other council members have behaved?

√ Yes (and rightfully so) if human rights, freedom of speech, and democracy are being sacrificed/compromised.

√ No, I believe the international community respects our history and why we base many of our international decisions on it.

√ Perhaps, yet national sovereignty is important in ensuring a country is not taken advantage of, which often results in human rights abuses.

√ SA is to Africa what the USA is to the world. As the leader of Africa it represents all facets of the continent; extreme poverty, economic growth and new democracies. Leaving her out will be taking away the soul of Africa. She must be included, although SA is an ant compared to the super giants of this world. However, human rights should be protected despite the politics of this world.

√ Yes, I suppose it is. If you look at the Zimbabwe issue, SA has not done anything productive or successful, then arguments for why SA should be included are weak. However, that being said, the UN as a whole has done little or nothing about Zimbabwe anyway.

√ I don't think South Africa should be excluded from the UN Security Council just because it chooses to remain a sovereign state within the African continent. The fact that South Africa is trying to exclude international economic issues in Zimbabwe for example and trying to solve its own socio-economic problems should give it some international standing.

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?*

√ No! Expansion should also require a proposition to speed the process of decision making within the body.

√ It would reinforce the status quo only if these emerging powers choose to align themselves with the other big powers whose interests have been served in marginalising the third world. This is possible but in no way inevitable.

√ It would make decisions more difficult but representing more interest is also imperative. At the moment, such important decisions lie in the hands of too few powers (whose interests need to be broadened). However, an economic base may be a problem. Only including economic powerhouses is discriminating.

√ It is true that bringing the emerging powers in is the way of avoiding conflict of interests though the decision making will be more difficult as each country has got its own interest. Hence there will be a different view on other nations, whereby one will prefer to act in a different way.

√ No, it is important to have a more realistic, balanced, representation of the world today. The United Nations looks at global issues and it is important to have an equal balance of powerful and not so powerful countries and at least one from each continent.

√ No, the more nations included the more conflicting interests will be. It is important to have balance of power and realistic representations of the world today. Should remove countries with similar interests.

√ Yes, only the super power countries will reinforce their power and control the weak countries. They will use their power to dominate the UN Security Council.

## Opinions

√ I feel that by expanding the UN Security Council, those in more power would simply use it to favour their opinion or point of view. For example, how much say would Ethiopia have compared to that of the US? The United States could therefore use their power to dominate the Ethiopian vote, gaining more in numbers.

√ Yes, only those countries who are economically powerful have a chance of being represented. However this may not be an entirely negative thing, as those countries who have powerful economies are generally stable internally. It would be more difficult to make decisions and come to a consensus on any particular issue.

√ It will reinforce status quo. More countries involved will definitely mean more opinions and therefore conflict could arise and perhaps decisions would never be made and problems never resolved due to difference of opinion

√ I believe that it is true that an expansion of the UN Security Council would make forceful decision making more difficult by enhancing numbers. Yet, I do not agree with the 5 permanent members of the UNSC and believe that instead of expanding, current members should be elected based on their current economic and political situations.

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?*

√ No, I do not share this view. Not because permanent members should just be seen as "world police" but because an alternative is weaker considering that we may end up with a powerless body.

√ This sounds like a recipe for chaos. I think that without a Security Council nothing would ever be accomplished. If states had to all vote as equals it would be a war of all against all. I do recommend that the UNSC be held more accountable for its actions by the General Assembly.

√ Perhaps. Again this may make decision making very difficult.

√ I think the permanent members of the Security Council should remain in position as once they start voting some members will start manipulating the system in the race for power and wrong members who support war can be elected if they had the majority support.

√ No, we need solid, unchanging, fundamental members. It will be chaotic with new members' ideology changing so frequently.

√ Security Council membership should be universal and representative of all nations. Not necessarily abolish permanent membership, but maybe add rotating members to make it universal.

√ Yes, because if all countries are members of the Security Council, they operate under the same rules and no country will threaten one another. It will be the responsibilities of one country to keep order and security in its neighboring country.

√ This might end up in chaos as there are far too many opinions and points of view. There should however be an equal amount of members from the first, second, and third worlds.

√ No, if certain countries spend large amounts of their budgets on the UN, they should play a larger role and possibly have more influence. It would be unfair if unstable, poverty stricken countries who didn't contribute at all to the funding had more influence.

√ Yes, as this will be more democratic and people can choose who is involved in the Security Council.

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?*

Too early to say!

√ They would continue functioning. I think that by the nature of their work they can garner independent funding, especially— but not exclusively— from the "do-gooder" states like the Scandinavian countries, Canada.

√ They may lose interest and this would definitely be a problem for funding. However there needs to be more accountability for Great Powers.

√ They can lose interest in the sense that when the organisation becomes ungovernable no one can invest in anarchic situations.

√ They might but that would show a very fickle side of them and show their questionable reasons for being members in the first place. If they did lose interest, they would be "shooting themselves in the foot" and become very unpopular.

√ Yes, the great powers have no economic interest in third world countries, therefore they would possibly lose interest.

√ They will lose interest, only if they are forced to operate within UN laws like everyone else as they don't want to operate accordingly.

√ If the Great Powers had to lose considerable control and power they might indeed lose interest as they would not have the final say in the UN assembly. The Great Powers are those with large amounts of capital which usually back or fund these arms and organisations. Therefore these organisations would suffer considerably if the Great Powers had to lose power.

√ Many of the more powerful countries who have been permanent members of the Security Council may distance themselves from the UN if they feel their interests are not being represented properly. This would make the work of UN branches much more difficult and probably less effective as much of their funding would be reduced or cut off.

√ Perhaps the UN arms would not be able to carry out their work if they lost funding or backing from the Great Powers. The less developed countries could suffer greatly without the good work of the UN arms.



## Articles

## Different Elements on Richard Francis Burton's Discourse about Africa.



Aleksander Lemos  
de Almeida Gebara

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## Abstract

Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890) was a personage of multiple facets. After an unsuccessful academic experience in Oxford, he went to Sindh in India— nowadays Pakistan— as an officer in the East Indian Company's army in 1842, a moment of recrudescence of the politics of annexation in that region. He remained there until 1849. In the next decade, he became a renowned adventurer and travel writer in England. Between 1853 and 1859, Burton was in Mecca, Somalia, and had accomplished an epic expedition in search of the Nile sources. This African expedition was the first one of a series funded by the Royal Geographical Society with that aim.

In the beginning of the 1860s, after his marriage with Isabel Arundell, member of an English traditional Catholic family, he was appointed as British consul to the Bight of Biafra, where he began a bureaucratic career that would last until the end of his life, in posts in Brazil, Damascus and Trieste.

However, he was not only an adventurer and a consul. He was also an active member of scientific societies like the Royal Geographical Society (RGS), the London Ethnological Society (LSE) and the Anthropological Society of London (ASL). As such, he was a major participant in the process of building scientific disciplines such as geography and anthropology, important spheres of knowledge production in the body of discourse about non-European regions during the nineteenth century.

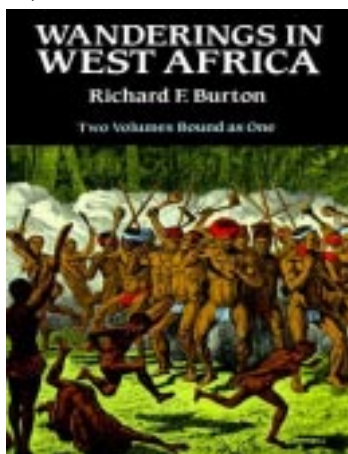
Finally, one cannot forget his prolific career as a translator. Specialising in the study of foreign languages, Burton dedicated a great part of his lifetime, specially after his period in Brazil, at the end of 1860s, to the translation of books like the Indian classic "*Kama Sutra*", the "*Os Lusíadas*" from the Portuguese writer Luis de Camões, and the most famous of his work in this area, the collection of Arab stories "*A thousand nights and a night*".

It is possible to analyse Burton's texts as productions connected to what we usually call colonial discourse. However, Burton dedicated himself— throughout his travel writings and his translations— to the representation of non-European regions, populations and cultures, in a time before the accelerated process of imperialist and colonial expansion of the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

This paper deals more specifically with his representations of West Africa between 1861 and 1865, a period in which the author acted as British consul to the Bight of Biafra, and produced a series of reports for the Foreign Office, six volumes of travel books, and some papers in scientific journals, specially for Royal Geographical Society and Anthropological Society of London. This paper makes an analysis of the discourse produced by Burton about West Africa, comparing his many texts, which can be understood as part of a "colonial discourse" about the region that was being constructed in those times. As such, it is necessary to present some of the perspectives from which his enunciations will be evaluated.

First, it must be clear that it is not possible to separate "representation" and "culture" from the historical process— social, economical and political— to which these representations are connected. According to Edward Said, the idea is that we must

"rub the nose of culture in the mud of politics", showing that there are no possibilities for any literary production to be free from an ideological position of its author. It is still clearer when the issues are so deeply related to imperial matters, such as the "Orient" and India, and I add here, to a certain extent, Africa.<sup>1</sup>



One of the major problems to be avoided is to approach the analysis of culture as derived only from an economic sphere, made by a Marxist orthodoxy that cannot be acceptable anymore. Another one is to incur an "essentially textualist account of culture", according to Benita Parry. This is an interpretation that disconnects the colonial process from capitalist expansion, and shows it as

an exclusively cultural event. Also according to Parry, this was one of the problems of the so-called post-colonial studies. When they "textually essentialise" culture, these works allow one to see the colonial process as a dialogue, that removes the intrinsic violence of the process.<sup>2</sup>

We cannot loose focus on the violence of colonialism and imperialism. It is important to notice, however, that the contact does not respond only to a metropolitan logic, or to pre-established projects applied with no resistance. The resistance always existed and cannot be discounted. To give space to resistance does not mean to make both sides of the equation equal, but to show that imperial actions, as much as discourses, are fruits not only of Eurocentric emanations, but also the experience of contact, even if resistance has contributed to an even greater violence on the part of imperial or colonial powers.

However, to take into account all the discourse of European representations about Africa is not an easy task or a very productive one, given the singularities of authors and events. One must incur the risk of generalisations and of getting away from the historical materiality. If we try to map an individual case, maybe we can show through it some elements that supposedly had an influence in the process of constituting a discursive

<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Pantheon, New York, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Benita Parry, *Post colonial studies, a materialist critique*, Routledge, London, 2004.

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representation of Africa (or at least of a specific region), including those connected to the actual contact experience. This is the idea behind the study of Burton's representations of Africa: To notice the relational dynamics of knowledge production- and of the political, social and economical reality in the history of contact between Europe and Africa- avoiding, thus any danger of subsuming the Africans in a European history of imperialist expansion.

It is in this sense that I read the agenda presented by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman. They are trying to observe how the "subaltern" may have participated in the building of the "colonial discourse". According to these authors, "rather than being that other onto which the coloniser projects a previously constituted subjectivity and knowledge, native presences, locations, and political resistance need to be further theorized as having a determining or primary role in colonial discourses, and in the domestic versions of these discourses".<sup>3</sup> It is evident, but necessary to reaffirm here, that to make an analysis of the native "presence" in the determination of the colonial discourse does not deny in any way the brutal violence that was a consequence of European expansion.

In the case of Burton, it is necessary to reflect about the conditions in which he was acting in West Africa, and thus, try to establish, within the limits of historical discipline, the material and discursive place from where he made his enunciations. In this regard, one needs to think about certain issues: The characteristics of the British consular position at West Africa in that period, the spaces of circulations of his texts in England, and his experience with resistance by Africans during his time in West Africa.

### The British Consul

The position of the British consul in the "peripheral" regions does not appear to have been one of the most desirable offices in the English empire during the nineteenth century. A study

of the theme by the British historian D.C. Platt was meaningfully entitled "The Cinderella Service".<sup>4</sup> In this book, Platt suggests that the consular position was a second class one within government. The working conditions, especially in the distant regions, were degrading, the income laughable, and the functions far from ennobling, usually limited to taking notes of British trading and people in the region under the consul's charge.

On the other hand, according to Sibil Jack, the importance of British consular activities in the configuration of imperial politics cannot be despised. In "Imperial Pawns, the Role of the British Consul", Jack argues that these men were the arms of the British empire in distant regions and that they had the power to intervene in various ways in the definition of England's course of action in their consular jurisdiction. At the same time, they had certain freedom of action, due to the great distances and difficulties of communication with the central government in England.<sup>5</sup> This way, the pattern of actions of these consuls "was to exceed their instructions and report fait accompli, which was then usually approved".<sup>6</sup>

In the specific case of Burton, his expectations about the role of the British consul seem a little exaggerated. When he accepted Russell's appointment to Bight of Biafra, he wrote to his friend, Lord Houghton (Richard Molkton Milnes): "(N)eedless to say that I gratefully accepted it. The dog that was contented with governmental crumbs shall now be allowed by a retribution destiny to pound with his molars the governmental loaf."<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, he constantly demanded a British gunboat under his command, so that he could exercise a function of direct repression of the natives who opposed British commercial interests. During the first months after his arrival on the West African coast, his proposals were extremely aggressive. In his consular reports to

the Foreign Office (FO) there were constant plans for direct interventions and repression as a way of imposing a commercial dynamic more favorable to England.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently his expectations were not so out of place. In fact, the first British consul at the region, John Beecroft, had been appointed in 1849, and had a deeply aggressive attitude. For example, he helped to plan and execute the substitution of the regents of Lagos in 1851, Bonny town in 1854, and the bombing of coastal cities that refused to abolish the slave trade.<sup>9</sup> However, the consular position lost power within local imperial bureaucratic structure, especially after the installation of a British governor at Lagos city (formally annexed by England as a colony in 1861).<sup>10</sup>

### The Scientist (or Spheres of Circulation of Burton's Texts)

Although Burton did not have access to the tools he thought necessary to act in a more influential manner on the African Coast, he enjoyed the characteristic "freedom" of the consular position in distant spots to satisfy his aspirations as an explorer. His expectations were already clear in one of the first dispatches he sent to the FO, in which he asked for instruments such as "mountains barometers, thermometers", and others, traditionally used in geographic exploration travels.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, less than two weeks after he arrived at Fernando Po, Burton left his post without previous permission from the FO for a trip to Abeokuta, and then left again, almost immediately, on an exploration of the Cameroon Mountains. Burton's travels without FO's express authorisation were initially well accepted by government. The FO considered the report about the Cameroon Mountains as "a valuable addition... to our geographical knowledge of the African Coast", and reimbursed the consul for all his expenses during the enterprise.<sup>12</sup> However, with Burton's increasing frustration with the working conditions at the consulship, he left his post with

<sup>3</sup> Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, "Introduction" in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> D. C. M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service*, Longman Group Ltd, London, 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Sibil Jack, "Imperial Pawns: The Role of the British Consul", in Derick M. Schreuder, (ed.), *Imperialisms*, Highland Press, Canberra, 1991.

<sup>6</sup> W. McIntyre, *The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865-75, a Study of British Colonial Policy in West Africa, Malaya and the South Pacific in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli*, Macmillan, London, 1967, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Houghton Papers, Trinity College, Cambridge, Burton to Milnes, 20/03/1861. The governmental loaf would not look that big in the next years. He constantly complained that his incomes were not enough to cover his own expenses, and waited more than 3 years to be reimbursed for the expenses with the refurbishment of the consular residence at Fernando Po.

<sup>8</sup> Requests for the gunboat appears at Public Record Office (PRO) F O 84/1147, 04/10/1861; PRO, F. O. 84/1176, 14/01/62. Burton also suggested that he himself should supervise the necessary arrangements in the gunboats, showing an expectative of the consular powers far beyond the actual one.

<sup>9</sup> For a study of the actuation of Beecroft and other "men on the spot" see, within others: Ehrensaf, Philip. The Political Economy of Informal Empire in Pre-Colonial Nigeria, 1807-1874. Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. 16, n 3, 1972, pp 451-490, McIntyre, W. D. Commander Glover and the Colony of Lagos, 1861-73. In: The Journal of African History, vol. 4, n 1, 1963, pp 57-79 e Newbury, C. W., The western Slave coast and its Rulers, European trade and administration among the Yoruba and Adja speaking peoples of South western Nigeria Southern Dahomey and Togo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Russell had to deal with non interventionists expectations from the free trade radicals at British parliament, and was not likely to trust very much in Burtons judgments. In a note in Burton's dispatch asking for the gunboat Russell manifested "real doubts in the discretion of Capt. Burton. I believe it [ . . . ] may got us into serious trouble. " PRO, F. O. 84/1147, 14/11/1861.

<sup>11</sup> PRO, F. O. 2/40, 08/10/61.

<sup>12</sup> PRO, F. O. 84/ 1176, 22/02/62.

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ever growing frequency, and government acceptance was strained.<sup>13</sup>

During Burton's travels, nevertheless, he took a great amount of notes that provided the material for numerous scientific society publications, specially at the RGS and ASL. These societies were debating fora for discussions about British politics in Africa, and we will see how its members considered their studies particularly important for an Imperial country such as England.

In the case of geography, the relation between the RGS and the British empire, present in its intentions since the creation of the society,<sup>14</sup> was stressed by Robert Stafford who suggested the great importance of the British colonial possessions to the configuration of geographical science. According to Stafford, "during all the nineteenth century, England has sustained a program of scientific exploration directly connected to her commercial and imperial interests".<sup>15</sup>

Deeply connected with the empire, then, geography developed in England as a way of legitimising knowledge about Africa that kept the African in a position of impotency and dependency. Clive Barnett argues about the configuration of an "Africanist" discourse—by analogy with Said's "orientalism"—whose ideological function was to produce discursively an African incapable of generating knowledge, i.e., as a passive subject facing European action.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of this characteristic, inside the Geographical Society there were different conceptions about the African man, although they all responded to the same logic of inferiority. In the images produced by the missionary, like David Livingstone for example, the African man was more humanised allowing an optimistic perception regarding the possibilities of "civilizing" the "black Africans". This was opposed to the more pessimistic and racialist attitudes, presented by Francis Galton, and his anthropometry. It seems clear, nevertheless, that the RGS

preferred to publish the descriptions and considerations of the more humanist of British explorers. It can be seen when one observes the comment made about Burton's letter from Abeokuta, in which the African emerges represented as lazy and utterly savage. The editor of the *Proceedings of RGS* writes: "Captain Burton's **characteristic** letter will be found printed at length at p. 64. It is therefore unnecessary to do more **jeer** than shortly allude to it. He visited Abeokuta, and his remarks show... a less favorable view than is usual, of the civilized progress to which the inhabitants have actually attained".<sup>17</sup>



Thus, in the case of geography, Burton's status was already diminishing since the end of his expedition to the Nile. To command the second travel, the RGS chose John Hanning Speke who was his companion in the first expedition. On the other hand, in the case of anthropology, Burton had a much more central role. He participated actively in the schism from the old Ethnological Society, and presided over the meeting of the establishment of the ASL and contributed regularly with texts to the *Anthropological Review* during all the 1860s.

John Burrow noted that, to the "anthropologicals", especially in the 1860s, the discipline should be a source for political economy.<sup>18</sup> In fact, this also seems to have been the conception of Edward Henry Stanley,

latter FO secretary. In the farewell dinner to Burton before he left for Brazil, in 1865, Stanley stated that the English prince should be an Anthropology student, "considering the probability that in a distant day he came to rule an Empire that includes in itself all kinds of races and classes of men".<sup>19</sup>

Theoretically, the ASL represented a great change in the trends of British anthropology. In general terms one can say that it represented an opposition to ethnology as conceived by the London Ethnological Society (LSE), whose main propagator in the first half of the nineteenth century was James Pritchard. A monogenic and evolutionist conception to explain the differences in the human "races" predominated at the LSE. The explanation for the difference was historical, and the methodology to explain these differences was based in comparative philology. At the same time, the "anthropologicals" got closer to polygenic explanations, suggesting that the "race" was a static entity, which did not change over time. They based their assumptions respecting the differences and hierarchies between the "races" on comparative anatomy.

### The Resistance

In the beginning of 1862, Burton made two visits to Bimbia River to ask for the restitution of some cattle stolen from the English mission there. In the first one, he was on board a whaler and the local chief, nicknamed "Dick Merchant", refused to receive the consul. More than that, according to Burton, when they disembarked to try to negotiate, "his people armed themselves... and compelled us to embark."<sup>20</sup>

Burton returned to the locality after one week, this time on board a British cruiser from the African Squadron. The consul's narrative this second time is very different. He found the chief "sitting under the usual palaver tree", he knelt before the consul and "showed the utmost contrition". To put an end to the episode, the commander of the Cruiser "indulged them (the

<sup>13</sup> In 1864, for example, Burton asked for reimbursement of his expenses with a trip to Congo River, supposedly motivated by health problems. The F. O. comment regarding this tour was very clear, suggesting that "...as long as there is a River unexplored or a mountain unascended within cap Burton's reach, his health will always be unpaired until he has accomplished both one and other..." and to complete: "Capt Burton ought to be warned, that if he undertake expeditions without the previous sanction of the Secty (sic) of State he will have to defray the expenses out of his own pocket" PRO, FO 84/1221, 02/09/64.

<sup>14</sup> In the pamphlet released during the foundation of the Society, there already was this expressed intention: "A society was needed whose sole objects should be the promotion and diffusion of that most important and entertaining branch of Knowledge—Geography. . . . (T)hat its advantages are of the first importance to mankind in general, and paramount to the welfare of a maritime nation like Great Britain, with its numerous and extensive foreign possessions" Reproduced in Hough Robert Mill, *The Record of the Royal Geographical Society, 1830-1939*, The Royal Geographical Society, London, 1930, p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Robert Stafford, "Scientific Exploration and Empire" in *The Oxford History of British Empire*, vol 3, Andrew Porter (Ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1989, p. 296.

<sup>16</sup> Clive Barnett, "Impure and Worldly Geography: the Africanist Discourse of the Royal Geographical Society", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, vol. 23, n 2 1998, pp. 239-251.

<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings of the RGS*, 1861, vol. 4, p. 49. About the dissonant voices within RGS see Felix Driver, *Geography Militant*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 2001.

<sup>18</sup> J. W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society, a Study in Victorian Social Theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968, p. 128. The society secretary, Dunbar Heath also affirmed that: "It is. . . the Anthropologist by whatever name he now goes, who must be consulted for the future help and guidance in the government of alien races", "Anniversary Address Delivered Before the Anthropological Society" in, *Journal of Anthropological Society*, vol. VI, 1868, p lxxxiv.

<sup>19</sup> *Anthropological Review*, vol. 3, 1865, p. 169.

<sup>20</sup> PRO, FO, 84/1776.

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natives) with a discharge of howitzer and rockets", which made Burton believe that peace would reign at that place for some months at least.<sup>21</sup> In the same year, another episode of resistance appears on Burton's dispatches. According to him, a British merchant establishment had been attacked and robbed by local natives from Benin River. Many people were wounded, and a certain Dr. Henry, the owner of the factory, was obliged to flee.<sup>22</sup>

This time, despite the fact that the consul was on board a British cruiser, the local chiefs refused to attend his calls to discuss the event. Burton's solution to the issue was to place a commercial blockade of the river for two weeks. The case ended without any other punishment of the Africans. Burton's deep irritation with the occurrence became evident in a text published anonymously in *Frazers Magazine of Town and Country* in 1863, where the author refers to the native chief's refusal to attend his call. According to Burton "...in good old times would have formed a *casus belli*; in these highly civilized days, however, the unpugnacious consul merely reproached him for his distrustfulness, and hinted at the possibility of further measures being taken...". The sarcastic irony in this phrase turns clearer with the characterisation of England in the following lines of his text: "the England of 1860... **non interfering, anti belligerent, duty shirking**, and therefore thoroughly dissatisfied, grumbling about the expenditure of a first rate with the influence of a third rate power, and irritated at having to maintain so long the ignoble position of defense".<sup>23</sup>

It would be possible, but unnecessary, to multiply examples of native resistance to the commercial dynamics imposed by England during the nineteenth century. What is important to note is that this resistance occurred in various forms: Direct struggle; block-

ing navigation up the rivers to the interiors, even by British cruisers; thefts; robberies; riots; murders; and fleeing, amongst others.

Burton's idea of British action when faced with African "insubordination" at the coast seems very clear from the passages mentioned above. England should not avoid direct interventions; they would bomb the coastal cities if necessary; arrest the guilty natives; and make England's commercial demands respected on the West African coast and near interior. His report about the visit to Dahomey attests to this opinion. Many suggestions in favor of a British invasion of the African State are present in his dispatches.<sup>24</sup> It is important to notice here that the FO changed the rules in this period. The texts had to be placed before parliament and when so doing, the FO edited out Burton's suggestions for an armed intervention at Dahomey. The non-interventionist discourse was predominant in that period.<sup>25</sup>

### Final Considerations

Comparing Burton's original dispatches to the FO with the texts altered by the government while presenting the consul's reports to the Parliament, one can note clearly a tendency to remove the more aggressively interventionist suggestions from the manuscripts. It is possible, then, to agree with the established historiography that affirms the ideological predominance of liberal thought in British politics in the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>26</sup>

In the case of Burton, the difference was not only between official reports and those edited by the FO to be presented to the Parliament. His travel books and texts on scientific journals also do not show the same interventionist aggression of his dispatches. Despite that, all these sources present the African in very negative ways, assuming their inferiority and interpreting their status through their racial characteristics. However, it is important to note that

this was a time of change for Burton. In the earlier decades, his representations of some of the inhabitants of India, and mainly the Bedouins of the Arab Peninsula, were almost Prichardian, i.e. monogenic, based on recovering history through comparative philology.<sup>27</sup> In a clear opposition with these earlier representations, there are the texts about Africa and the Africans, using virulent language, in which the Negroes are described as gorilla-like. In the context of Africa, the savage is no longer noble, totally incapable of civilisation.<sup>28</sup>

Many factors can be enumerated to understand this change in representations, for example, the absence of a previous textual knowledge of Africa, such as Burton had about Arabia and even India. Another factor would be the relations between the British action and African resistance.<sup>29</sup> Burton experienced African resistance without having the tools to exercise an active and direct repression in the way he wished. This might have exasperated the consul, with his aristocratic desire for a rigid social stratification.<sup>30</sup>

In his travel writings or papers to scientific societies, it was not possible for Burton to reproduce his interventionist opinions expressed in the FO dispatches. Thus, he found another strategy to persuade public opinion of his own conviction of the desirability of direct intervention. This strategy reveals itself in the representation of the population as degenerate, presented in his travel books and most of all in his articles to the ASL. It does not mean that he adopted in its fullness the polygenic tone of the Anthropological Society, but even if he does not say it, he imagines the "negro's place in nature" as a slave, an as such, under European masters. To Burton, then, if the Europeans including the readers, wished the best for Africa, they must play their natural role as masters.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, Burton's descendent status

<sup>21</sup> PRO, FO, 84/1776.

<sup>22</sup> PRO, FO, 84/1776.

<sup>23</sup> "Wanderings in West Africa", *Fraser's Magazine of Town and Country*, 1863, vol. 57, p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> PRO, FO, 23/03/64.

<sup>25</sup> Parliamentary Papers, 1865, vol 56, pp. 20 - 34.

<sup>26</sup> These considerations are present, among others, in Phillip Curtin, *The Image of Africa. British Ideas and Action, 1780-1850*, MacMillan & Co. London, 1965. Susan H. Farnsworth, *The Evolution of British Imperial Policy During the Mid Nineteenth Century, a Study of the Peelite Contribution, 1846-1874*, Garland Publishing, London, 1992.

<sup>27</sup> There is no space to analyze Burton's populational descriptions in depth here. I made it in my master's degree dissertation that can be found at <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8138/tde-29012002-121439/> however, it is written in Portuguese.

<sup>28</sup> One example of this language is present in Richard Francis Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, Dover Publications, New York, 1991, vol. 1, p. 207.

<sup>29</sup> Obviously, there were resistance in India, but Burton was there in a moment of a very aggressive policy from England, and before the Sepoy Mutiny- and finally, the population in India described inside the model of the "noble savage" did not represented a menace to the British Empire. R. F. Burton, *Goa and the Blue Mountains, or six months of sick leave*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi and Madras, 1991.

<sup>30</sup> According to Brantlinger, Burton was a marginal aristocrat, and his racialist vision of the African as a natural working class, subjugated by the European, echoes a nostalgia of the aristocratic domination over the British working class. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness. British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1988, p. 170.

<sup>31</sup> This opinion is expressed for example in a paper published as a chapter of his book about Dahomey, entitled "On the negroes place in nature". R. F. Burton notes the so called "amazonas" the grand customs, the yearly customs the human sacrifices, the present state of the slave trade and the Negro's place in nature. Burton, *A mission to Gelele, King of Dahome* 2 vols., Tinsley Brothers, London, 1864. The chapter was actually a comment on the homonymous James Hunt article, presented to the British Association for Advancement of Science.

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inside the RGS corresponds exactly to his ascension in the ALS. This last society worked as a forum where he could expose his ideas. For example, it openly supported the Confederate South in the secession war in its publications and was composed mainly of politically conservative members.

In this way, Burton's purpose reveals an idea of a subordinated commercial relation between England and Africa. By facing the resistance

imposed by the natives to these dynamics it was necessary to built arguments to legitimise direct interference. In the case of Burton, this legitimacy came through the way he described the population.

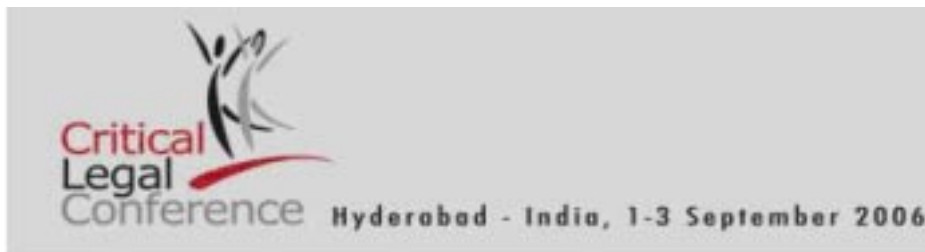
It is possible, then, to point to a "place" from where Burton elaborated his enunciations, in which one can find his interpretations. His texts reflect, in greater or lesser degree, many facets that play upon his discourse about

Africa. It means that he is at the same time, the nostalgic, conservative, marginal aristocrat who wished for a more rigidly stratified society; the unsatisfied representative of the British imperial bureaucracy in West Africa; and the rising anthropologist. It is impossible not to notice the constitutive role of his own experience of African resistance in shaping his discourse.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> I would like to acknowledge Radica Mahese for her accurate reading and valuable suggestions to the text of this article.

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## Articles

### Feminisation of Poverty in Nigeria: Strategies for Women's Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation



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#### Abstract

The paper explores the definition of poverty, causes of poverty among women, unequal gender relations and ways in which poverty can be alleviated among Nigerian women. The paper raises issues regarding women's rights to survival, development, protection and participation in all spheres of decision-making. The feminisation of poverty is key to women's continued deprivation. The paper concludes that to alleviate women's poverty their strategic needs have to be considered and effective policies put in place to empower women.

#### Introduction

Nigeria's continued descent into poverty has been blamed on poor management, and maintenance, corruption, culture and greed. The poor continue to live in a vicious cycle of unending poverty. We can define poverty within the Nigerian situation "in the narrow sense of household income poverty"<sup>1</sup>, even though poverty is a multi-faceted condition. Nigerian women continue to suffer from lack of adequate skills and are, therefore, unable to realise the opportunities available to them. Lack of formal education among women and low literacy levels continue to be a major disadvantage. Some of the figures showing the gender disparity in literacy levels have been referred to in a number of studies in Children and Women's Rights, UNICEF, 2001 and Gender and Sustainable Development Report, 2001.

Another vital issue that continues to contribute to women's disadvantage is the interplay of socio-cultural, religious and economic factors. Women face a number of discriminations that result in low self-esteem and inability to function effectively within the society.

I begin with the issue of education and literacy because education is key to various indices of development, e.g., fertility levels. "Studies have shown that formal education has a relative impact on fertility levels".<sup>2</sup> In a very practical sense, when women stay longer in school, they have less time for reproduction. Of course, high fertility levels are associated with poverty in myriad ways. In many of

our urban and semi-urban areas, the linkages between poverty and high fertility manifests in overcrowding, rampant diseases and fewer resources for physical, mental and social well-being.



Equally, poverty in itself is a barrier to education. Many parents are unable to train their children through formal schooling and the girl child suffers most from this neglect. Since the collapse of the oil boom in the early 1980s, poverty has spread increasingly, "a serious intensification of poverty in the period between 1992 and 1996 with large increases in the proportion of both moderate and core poor"<sup>3</sup> has been witnessed in the years 2001 to 2006. There is worsening evidence of poverty in Nigeria. With increasing number of people living below the poverty line, schooling becomes a luxury that can hardly be indulged in.<sup>4</sup>

Feminisation of casual labour and growing poverty tends to push women towards whatever work they can find to make an income. For many women, ideological and practical barriers serve as a challenge to their engagement in wage labour.

The Nigerian labour market is

male-dominated. Women have been consigned to reproductive tasks, which are not recognised by mainstream economists and political decision makers. Yet, as is now widely recognised, women's work is integral to the health of the nation and the well being of the society. This is as true in Nigeria as in other societies.

Okot P' Bitek's poem depicts the roles that the African woman plays:

Woman of Africa  
Sweeper  
Smearing floors and walls  
With cow dung and black soil  
Cook, ayah, the baby on your back  
Washer of dishes  
Planting, weeding, harvesting  
Storekeeper, builder  
Runner of errands.  
Woman of Africa  
What are you not?

The myriad roles that the Nigerian women play are obscured by society's view of reproductive labour as 'natural', part of the biological characteristics of women. This creates further disadvantage for women forced into waged work. For many poor women who spend long hours working away from home, one of their greatest anxieties is their inability to fulfill their roles as mothers and caregivers. *It is often the poorest, most marginalized women, migrating in search of labour, who have the least support from extended family network, consequently their children became part of the informal economy themselves.*<sup>5</sup>

According to Mitter<sup>6</sup> the new patterns and structures emerging in

<sup>1</sup> *Children's and Women's Rights in Nigeria: A Wake-Up Call Situation Assessment and Analysis*, UNICEF Nigeria and National Planning Commission, Abuja, 2001, p. 19

<sup>2</sup> *Gender and Sustainable Development*, 1, United Nations Population Fund, National Population Commission, Nigeria, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> *Children's and Women's Rights*, p. 165

<sup>4</sup> *Gender and Sustainable Development*, Vol. 1.

<sup>5</sup> J.C. Mosse, "Mothers and housewives? Gender, reproductive and productive work" in *Half the world, half a chance*, Verso, London and New York, 1993, pp. 275-279.

<sup>6</sup> Swasti Mitter, "On organizing women in casualised work. A global overview", in Sheila Rowbotham and Swasti Mitter (eds.), *Dignity and Daily Bread: New forms of economic organizing among poor women in the Third World and the First*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp. 14-52.

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the economy from the 1980s have intensified pressures on working women. Though women are becoming a significant force in the labour market, they remain vulnerable both as unskilled cheap labour and are marginalised from existing forms of trade unionism. Current structures of work do not allow for mobilisation through existing unions because workers are in small units and multinationals with the help of government (who need investment) prevent organisation. For immigrants to the first world, the situation is even more dismal. Often this undocumented workforce forms an underclass that provides the cheapest labour. It is difficult to estimate their numbers because the employers operate on the fringes of the economy to avoid unemployment insurance, minimum wage rates and regulations that relate to child labour.<sup>7</sup>



In Nigeria today, it is acknowledged that poverty has been on the increase. It manifests itself in multi-dimensional ways. Many Nigerians dwelling in urban and semi urban areas live in rapidly growing urban slums in clearly unsanitary and unhygienic conditions. The poor cannot access public services and infrastructure. They are largely illiterate and ignorant and experience poor health as a result of unhealthy living conditions and low levels of household income and food security. They live very insecure lives, are voiceless and face social exclusion. The above factors are part of the reality that many poor Nigerians face. These factors tend to be mutually reinforcing, trapping the poor in a vicious cycle. One of the effects of poverty can be seen in the inability to cope with families, especially children. Hence a large number of children on our streets are engaged in begging.<sup>8</sup>

As stated earlier, there exist correlations between poverty and

educational level. In a household survey, it was discovered that 52 percent of households headed by a person with secondary education were below the poverty line while 73 percent of household heads had never gone to school.

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced to help the economy improve thereby arresting the worsening poverty trend. Research shows that though the economy may have improved in terms of growth, the poverty situation has worsened. This is clear evidence that only encouraging growth cannot tackle the growing poverty.

Our government in line with Millennium Development Goals set by the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000 has adopted the goal of reducing by half the proportion of those living in poverty by the year 2015. A National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) was launched in 2001. Its impact is yet to be properly assessed. But if we talk about poverty, women form the core of the poor. They lack assets and have little access to credit. They are often saddled with the burden of handling the domestic economy and often have to provide food in the face of scarcity.

In a climate of privatisation and growing liberalisation of markets, how do poor women fare? It is quite obvious that though the levels of literacy among women have somewhat improved, large numbers of Nigerian women in the rural areas remain largely illiterate and ignorant of the opportunities available to them.

### Causes of Poverty

The major causes of poverty in Nigeria have been described as rooted in chronic public mismanagement, decay of public institutions and lost development opportunities. Other vital issues include consumer styles, the challenge of HIV and AIDS and ethnic and sectional bias. I add to this a lack of enabling environment for the poor to invest and a poor investment culture, structural imbalances within the political and economic system and lack of political will.

One of the factors that affects women and worsens their situation is the discrimination they face on the basis of gender. This discrimination can be found in the socially constituted relations of women and men, which influences the social meanings ascribed to what it means to be either

man or woman.

### Definition of Poverty

Poverty has been defined in different ways. According to Michael Lipton<sup>9</sup> there is an emerging consensus on how poverty can be analysed and ways in which it can be reduced.

The definition of poverty can be seen as private consumption that falls below what is termed absolute Private Consumption Poverty (PCP). PCP is measured by calculating the proportion of those who fall below the line which is based on estimated minimum dietary intake or money required for purchasing this. Another factor relates to low levels of capabilities (such as literacy and life expectancy), which are major components of poverty, but measured separately. The fourth related issue has to do with the fact that lack of consumption is more readily measured than lack of income. According to economist Amartya Sen, income shortfalls are an important attribute of poverty.<sup>10</sup>



A classic definition of poverty, according to a World Bank report<sup>11</sup> sees it as "the ability to attain a minimal standard of living which is measured in terms of basic needs or the income needed to satisfy them. Poverty is perceived differently within differing social contexts".

In an absolute sense, the poor are materially deprived to the extent that their survival is at stake. In relation to other social groups where the situation is less constraining, some assessments carried out indicate that poverty at the individual level is characterised by the following.<sup>12</sup>

#### 1. Lack of secure incomes:

For many women, their source of livelihood lies in casual labour, which is located within the informal economy. This work is not considered as wage labour within the formal sector and therefore is not calculated as part of the GNP. Moreover, many reproductive tasks do not bring in any wage. Women therefore lack job security in a

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.15.

<sup>8</sup> *Children's and Women's Rights in Nigeria*.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Lipton, *World Development Journal*, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> G. Sen and C. Crown, "Alternative Visions, Strategies and Methods", in *Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions: Third Women's Perspectives*, DAWN, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1985.

<sup>11</sup> World Bank (1990) Cited in Julian May, "An elusive consensus: Definitions, measurements and analyses of poverty" in Alejandro Grinspun (ed.), *Choices for the Poor: Lessons from national poverty strategies*, UNDP, New York, March 2001.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 25.

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number of ways.

### **2. Lack of or poor quality basic necessities like food, clothing etc:**

With declining standards of living, women face even greater poverty. Because of their low literacy levels, instability of the markets and continuing inflation, they are unable to eat good food or even prepare three square meals. Rather, they often have to go without food in order for their children to eat. Clothing and other necessities have become a luxury that many women cannot afford.

### **3. Lack of household Assets:**

Within the home, women only have access but not ownership of the infrastructure and other possessions. A survey reveals that many women own only their clothes and some kitchen utensils.

### **4. Lack of production assets:**

Very few women own land or other vital productive assets. Some women have access but not ownership.

### **5. Inability to maintain good health and well being:**

Many women succumb easily to disease because of the unsanitary living conditions in which they live and their inability to change their situation. Even when they are sick, many women will continue to work until they drop. Women are also the last people to go to hospital because of lack of finances and the hope that the sickness will pass. They are unable to take good care of themselves.

### **6. Dependency and helplessness:**

Many women are dependent on their husbands because they fear to cope with their many problems on their own. This is also due to social conditioning from birth.

### **7. Disability:**

Disabilities arising from health problems or war can cause poverty within the household. It is important to note that urban and rural women may experience different kinds of poverty. Urban women, for instance, have specific problems that include dependence on money and commercial exchange for sustenance, high costs of living, vulnerability to market forces, lack of support mechanisms and exposure to crime and insecurity. Kabeer asserts that the stark suffering of the past provides a fresh and urgent reminder that development must be about the well-being and creativity of

all members of the society.<sup>13</sup>

### **Alleviating Women's Poverty**

Many Nigerian women live and work in a disabling environment in which they cannot fully participate and in which gender equality is an unattainable dream. Critically, Nigerian women face multiple forms of public and private violence. For women to advance in social, political or economic life, their continued exposure to and fear of male aggression needs to change.

Violence against women is so prevalent, persistent and widespread that neither victims nor perpetrators question it. This pattern needs to change to ensure that women lead meaningful lives free of threat and exposure to violence. Kabeer quotes Gandhi as having stated that there are enough resources in the world to meet the basic needs of all, but not enough to satisfy the greed of few.<sup>14</sup> Poor governance and the continued exploitation of the poor at the hands of a few who wield economic and political power create a most disabling environment. Nigeria is well endowed with natural resources that should be enough to ensure the well being of its people. But the greed of a few has been a stumbling block to satisfying the needs of many.

In addressing issues of women's poverty, a gender approach will yield better results. Isolating women by targeting them for certain special intervention can only work when the roles and responsibilities of both men and women are taken into account. Any intervention that does not look at access and control over resources, benefits, and impacts for different groups may not achieve the fullest participation of women and men. In exploring differences between men and women's interests, even within the same household, and how these interests are expressed, there is a need to look into the convention and hierarchies which determine men's and women's position in the family, community and society at large, whereby women are usually dominated by men.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, there is a need to understand differences among women and men based on age, wealth, ethnic background and other factors.

There have been a number of projects targeted at developing women

as in the Better Life for Rural Women Programme and a number of other interventions aimed at improving the lot of poor women. Many of these initiatives have failed to yield the desired results due to a number of problems associated with programme design, implementation and evaluation.

The root causes of women's poverty, in my view, are structural and must be addressed from the base. We need to identify women's strategic interests/needs rather than targeting just their basic/practical needs. The latter have been targeted by different approaches to poverty alleviation like the welfare approach, anti-poverty, efficiency and equity. A number of these approaches have been tried in a number of development interventions and projects but have not produced discernible results. It is the empowerment approach, which addresses women's strategic interests/needs that is more likely to succeed. What are these interests/needs? In very simple terms, this refers to the key factors that help change the position of women within the society. Strategic interests will involve equal opportunities to education, decision-making, alleviating the burden of domestic labour and childcare, adoption of measures against violence etc. Addressing strategic gender interests will challenge women's subordination to men and empower women.<sup>16</sup>

What I am advocating is change that will create an enabling environment for Nigerian women to realise their goals and dreams. A number of projects initiated for women suffer because they are scattered, small and peripheral to the main thrust of planning processes, programmes or projects.<sup>17</sup> What G. Sen and C. Crown say about the situation of women is so apt that I will quote them extensively. Improving women's opportunities requires long-term systematic strategies aimed at challenging prevailing structures and building accountability of government to people for their decisions. Short-term, ameliorative approaches to improve women's employment opportunities are ineffective unless they are combined with long-term strategies to re establish people's- especially women's- control over the economic decisions that shape their lives.

<sup>13</sup> N. Kabeer, "Triple roles, gender roles, social relations: the political subtext of Gender Training Frameworks" in *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*, Verso, London/New York, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Editorial in "Women and the Family", *Gender and Development*, Vol. 4, No. 2, June 1996, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Moser, "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs", *World Development*, 17, 11, pp. 1799-1825, 1989.



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A key factor in planning within the economic sphere should be that the poor are the central focus of planning. According to Sen and Crown, recognising not just poor women's work, but its centrality to development should ensure that poor women are made central to planning and implementation. This is possible only where we are liberated from colonial and neo-colonial domination and achieve self-reliance at least in such vital sectors as food and energy sources, health care and water provision and education. This will mean moving away from foreign strategies to basic needs. Other strategies already proposed include government exercising greater control over the activities of multinationals in order to reduce the pressure on the economy and redress the dead end jobs they create; land reforms that will ensure equity; women's role in food production and marketing made more central; diversification of agricultural base to ensure balance between export and food/subsistence crops.

One of the critical recommendations, which I must reiterate, is that of putting in place policies that mobilise women's experience and skills. Towards this end governments are advised to ease restrictions and pressures on women petty traders and vendors, while making credits increasingly available to the self-employed women in this group.<sup>18</sup>

There is a need to raise awareness

about women's subordination through popular culture, the media, and formal and informal education. Government functionaries must learn gender mainstreaming in order to ensure that government policies are effectively implemented in order to benefit women as well as men. There is need for sensitisation on gender issues to create understanding about the importance of women's contribution to development and further enhance women's liberation from harmful practices that hinder development and create misunderstandings about women's liberation and its relevance to the progress of society.

For change to occur in a significant manner there is a need for empowerment of individual women and women's organisations. These can be done through mobilising resources, skills training, leadership formation and democratic processes. Poor women must be empowered through organisations to take control over their lives.

### Conclusion

For women's poverty to be alleviated the task must be a collaborative one involving government, donor agencies, civil society and every organisation involved in development. There must be a commitment to eradicate poverty that goes beyond paying lip service. Political will must be backed by action on the part of every implementing agency. Nigeria is a signatory to CEDAW but its various provisions have

not been included in domestic legislation. Women's poverty is the greatest challenge to realisation of the Millennium Development Goals on poverty and if it is not tackled effectively, realisation of these goals will remain a mirage. Nigerian women must become free to realise the benefits and opportunities, which they have hitherto missed. It is time to address their needs, not as a palliative measure but to empower them to control resources and contribute at the highest level of nation building. I end this paper with these words of comfort to the daughters of Nigeria:

O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted,

Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and all thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.<sup>19</sup>

These words ring in my mind as I end this paper with the hope that a new dawn is emerging for the Nigerian woman steeped in poverty, discrimination and a future that had for long seemed bleak.

*Globalization knows no bounds ...*  
neither does our union  
solidarity.

<sup>17</sup> Sen and Crown, "Alternative Visions, Strategies and Methods".

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Holy Bible, Isaiah 54:11.

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## Articles

### India's Foreign Policy towards Asia: Need for a Makeover



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She is about to submit her PhD dissertation on "Track Two Processes in ASEAN Security Cooperation".

#### Abstract

There is no end to the speculations revolving around India's role in international politics. Despite being considered a developing nation, India has managed to draw the attention of all the important powers. Her geographical position is extremely crucial, her economy is a happening one and she is the largest democracy of the world. All these components make her a potentially big player in international politics. There is no denying that India ought to play a significant role in international politics, but it is also important that India must play a prominent role in Asia. It is the intention of this paper to explore India's scope as a leader of Asian politics. Her role as a global player will depend on her pivotal role in Asian politics.

#### Introduction

Every foreign policy is a culmination of the geographical considerations, history and politics of the country. India has a rich tradition of political legacies, much of which finds reflection in the current history and contemporary politics of the country. While history provides an insight into the 'how and why' of Indian foreign policy, her size and geographical position have always had an impact on her foreign policy formulation. In fact, India's location in South Asia gives her that extra leverage needed to acquire importance in the regional and in turn global politics. India's importance during the Cold War was largely assigned to its geographical position in South Asia. Her geo-strategic significance along with her growing economic profile puts her at the centre of international attention after the end of the Cold War.

#### India in Asian Politics during the Cold War

During the Cold War, marked by balance of power, South Asia experienced a bitter rivalry between India and Pakistan. The tension and animosity between these two countries was further enhanced by the intervention of the two super powers, USA and the USSR. India's dominant position in South Asia is undeniable; however, the presence of China made the picture far more complex. China represented Asian communist leadership, making every attempt to counter other ideological powers in Asia. India, on the other hand, represented a viewpoint known as Non Alignment that wished

to keep equal distance from competing ideologies and power centres. This policy of expediency developed into an ideology with India as its symbol. Many Asian countries adopted the principles of Non Alignment. Therefore, India had her own rationale in claiming leadership in Asia.

India's urge to provide leadership to Asia must be understood in the light of two important facts. In the first place, India provided an ideal example of a successful, third world, anti-colonial nationalism, which did not need to follow the means of revolt and revolution as espoused by Communism. This approach towards colonialism proved to be a viable alternative to the peasant revolution in China. India, therefore, had already proved her point by 1947 while the Chinese Communists were still struggling. Second, India's success in attaining freedom from the British had given her a place of respect and also provided her with the confidence to stay away from the capitalist camp that carried the vestiges of colonialism. Therefore, she set up a remarkable example of maintaining distance from the capitalist camp, yet not taking up the communist agenda.

Indian foreign policy in the post independence period was based on highly idealistic perceptions, which drew inspiration from the non-violent struggle for independence. There was almost an unuttered conviction amongst the Indian leadership, especially Nehru, that India's idealism would give her a prominent place in Asia. Much of this perspective also

came from the socio-economic background of the then national leaders. Indian national leadership reflected the affluent, western educated section of the society. Socially they were influenced by the Brahminical order and a conviction about their leadership. The best example of a combination of both these positions would be none other than Nehru himself. It is therefore not a surprise that he envisioned Indian leadership in Asia and even in the world.

India's aspiration for Asian leadership was unrealistic. First, India as a newly independent state was not in a position economically, politically or strategically to stand apart from Cold War politics. Second, the way in which she viewed China as a natural ally, yet subordinate to India's leadership, was proof of her unrealistic understanding of regional politics. Chinese communist leadership aspired to not only international recognition but also to its own domain of influence in Asia—particularly South, Southeast and parts of Central Asia. Chinese leadership made every attempt to prove themselves worthy of leadership in international fora like the famous 1955 Bandung Conference where Zhou En Lai succeeded in hogging much of the limelight after being introduced by Nehru. So much so that observations assert that, "For, India and China are essential rivals in the allegiance to free Asia. Anything that diminishes Indian leadership tends to strengthen the Chinese magnetism".<sup>1</sup> In addition, the conference saw the birth of Afro-Asia People's Solidarity Forum

<sup>1</sup> Prakash Nanda, *Rediscovering Asia. Evolution of India's Look-East Policy*, Lancer Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2003, p. 155.

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(AAPSO), which was sponsored by China as an alternative communist forum for the third world. India obviously remained outside it, emphasising the importance of her Non Aligned Movement (NAM).

Nehru conceived NAM as a unique concept that set apart India's foreign policy from other third world countries. Unfortunately NAM, for a considerable period of the Cold War, lacked both insight and far-sight, in the realistic consideration of politics. To begin with, NAM, for all practical purposes, was unable to convince many third world countries to avoid military alliances. Some countries were openly in favour of military pacts for collective security, thereby undermining Nehru's noble vision of maintaining objective distance from the super powers.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, most of the third world countries were not able to avoid the influence of realistic power politics including India herself. Notwithstanding her great idealistic outlook, India felt uneasy over the Tibet issue. Nonetheless, the 1954 India-China Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between Tibet Region of China and India was seen as a trade-off wherein India tried to ensure that in return of India's recognition of China's position in Tibet, China would not exert her claim over several areas around the border. The issue became more critical with Dalai Lama being provided political asylum in India in 1959; China took this not only as an intervention in their domestic affairs but also as an attempt to instigate anti-Chinese activities by India.

It was not before the 1970s that the Indian leadership began to turn realistic. Sino-Indian War was one rude awakening and the growing closeness between USA and China after Nixon's visit to China forced the Indian leadership to re-evaluate their position. During the 1960s and the early 1970s, as China-Pakistan relations improved and China-Soviet relations worsened, China backed Pakistan in its 1965 war with India. Between 1967 and 1971, an all-weather road was built across territory claimed by India, linking China's Xingjiang Uygur Autonomous Region with Pakistan. India could do no more than protest. At the same time the Indo-Pakistan War in 1971, where Indian troops assisted the freedom fighters of East Pakistan, made it more

urgent that India acquire support against Pakistan. Pakistan was drawing military support from USA and moral support from China. India was persuaded to sign a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with USSR in 1971. There was thus a contradiction between India's idealistic posture in foreign policy and the necessity to adjust to the realistic challenges emanating from the Cold War.



### India in Asian Politics in the Post-Cold War Period

In the post-Cold War period, the idealistic approach was abandoned. Realism has now taken over. For one, we look at the entire region of South Asia as India's region. Barry Buzan sees the South Asian security complex based upon India and Pakistan, where, "two large states whose insecurities are so deeply intertwined that their national securities, particularly in terms of political and military security, cannot be separated."<sup>3</sup> The regional complex that India sees as its own also includes China; other states included are Bangladesh, the two Himalayan Kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan, two island states of Sri Lanka and Maldives. Some more states are being considered as part of the South Asian region— Myanmar, Afghanistan and Tajikistan. (Tajikistan is separated from Pakistan occupied Kashmir by a thin strip of Afghan land).

Keeping in mind the geo-strategic aspects of Asia and the politics involved therein, this region is India's core or immediate strategic neighbourhood. To see this neighbourhood as the core implies that India's immediate political and strategic concerns are directly related to this region. The secondary semi-strategic neighbourhood, which is of consequence to foreign policy formulation, constitutes West Asia, Central Asia and East Asia. This neighbourhood is seen as semi-strategic because in order of strategic priority, the region does not

directly and immediately affect Indian security. However the region is of consequence to India so long as India aspires to become an Asian leader.

### India's Immediate Strategic Neighbourhood

The major challenges come from the immediate strategic neighbourhood. The reasons are not difficult to trace.

1. In the subcontinent India's neighbours are not comfortable with her predominance.
2. The presence of China makes the situation complex with China asserting its own interests. There are overlapping spheres of influence.
3. India of late has begun to give attention to other neighbouring states, realising their significance to her security and the overall balance in South Asia. These states are Myanmar and Afghanistan.

I. India's immediate neighbourhood has been the biggest challenge to her security and her overall position in South Asian politics. To begin with, there is an obvious socio-political, economic and historical continuity and therefore commonality. The Brahminical psychology is reflected in the way India sees herself at the top of the South Asian order and the other states as lower castes in the hierarchy.<sup>4</sup> It is no surprise that the states consigned to the lower rungs of the South Asian order would consider Indian attitude as hegemonic. Many of their apprehensions have been substantiated by India's attitude and actions towards some of her neighbours, which include the Indo-Pakistan wars and her assistance in the freedom struggle of Bangladesh, India's decision to intervene in Sri Lankan ethnic crisis by sending Indian forces from 1987 to 1990, her role in undoing the coup in Maldives in 1988, her intervention against Nepal becoming a 'Zone of Peace', and most importantly, her profile as a nuclear weapon state.

The Indian leadership was suspicious of outsiders conspiring with her immediate neighbours and sceptical of any regional arrangement until the 1980s. In the 1990s, the waning of the Soviet power, the changing calculations of the United States and the formidable Chinese presence around

<sup>2</sup> Countries which advocated membership in military pacts include: Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Thailand, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. Some of them actually became members of super power sponsored military alliances.

<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: The National Security Problem in International Relations*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill. 1983 p.106.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed idea on this perspective, see Anirudha Gupta, "A Brahmanic Framework of Power in South Asia?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, 7 April 1990.

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India's region, convinced Indian politicians and foreign policy experts of the futility of their Brahminical elite attitude and to move towards a more open and cooperative relationship with immediate neighbours. Pakistan of course remained an exception. SAARC was the region's organisation but India's interest in other alternatives such as the BIMSTEC reflects her desire to avoid Pakistan's company in any core regional arrangement. Moreover, economic liberalisation is forcing India and her South Asian neighbours to provide support to each other. Needless to say, India's economic profile will give her a leading role in South Asia in the age of globalisation.

II With regard to China, India is no longer idealistic. But it has to be more realistic. First, India should stop trying to be a mentor to China, for that will not help ensure India Asian leadership. Second, India must act in tune with her security concerns.

India's relations with China are affected by three problems. First, Chinese attitude towards India: China does not view India as having extreme strategic or political importance, but India's geographical position makes it difficult for China to ignore India completely. Second, China thinks it wise to maintain good relations with other South Asian countries especially India's adversaries so as to maintain a continuous, moderate pressure on India. Under such circumstances, India's desire for regional leadership is challenged. Third, it is important to understand the degree of congruence of their strategic goals, which brings to light the disputes relating to borders and territories.

China does not feel uncomfortable or too threatened by India's profile as a rising power. China finds India a complex society, with economic drawbacks and, according to Chinese standards, an undisciplined state. However one other reality that China cannot ignore is India's status as a credible nuclear power in Asia. After the 1998 Pokhran II nuclear tests, China has been the most vehement critic of India's actions and was particularly critical of the fact that India justified her actions using China as the pretext. Further, Sino-US relations at that point of time improved as China sought support from the USA.

India's nuclear tests figured in the talks between Clinton and Jiang Zemin during the former's visit to China.<sup>5</sup>



**Afghan President, His Excellency Hamid Karzai's visit to India in April 2006.**

China did not retaliate with another bout of nuclearisation. Instead all China did was to increase support to India's adversaries in her South Asian neighbourhood. China has been supporting Pakistan, transferring 'nuclear sensitive' materials to that country. For instance, in February 1996, it was disclosed by the Washington Times that the State owned China National Nuclear Corporation transferred to the A.Q.Khan Research Laboratory in Kahuta, Pakistan, 5000 ring magnets, which can be used in gas centrifuges to enrich uranium. This shipment after June 1994 was worth \$70,000. The Kahuta facility is not under IAEA safeguards.<sup>6</sup> China certainly does not wish to see India become a powerful nuclear power and attract US attention in the latter's favour. China's worst nightmare would be if India becomes a partner in USA's controversial NMD programme! Perhaps China should rethink its dismissive attitude and consider paying some attention to India, lest US finds a suitable partner in India.

III We missed the bus in cultivating relations with those neighbours who have now become extremely important to our security concerns. India shares a long border with Myanmar in the east. India, enamoured with NAM, chose to ignore China's activities in her eastern neighbourhood. Much of her credibility as a reliable neighbour was lost after the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict. First, China's attitude towards India, in spite all of the latter's effort at providing leadership, proved that realism is more important than the NAM. Second, India, after her defeat in the Sino-Indian conflict, lost stature. Myanmar also moved out of the NAM

in the 1970s. Moreover, Indo-Myanmar differences grew over situations in Cambodia and Afghanistan. The Cold War influenced relations between the two countries. Under pressure from China, Myanmar began to distance itself from India and the Soviet Union. Subsequently, China and Pakistan came closer to that country, thus ensuring that the tension and differences between India and Myanmar grew even more. That Myanmar's confidence in India had begun to weaken was observed by a prominent Indian foreign policy analyst: "An Indian policy which had established that India's interest in Burma was largely benign in nature, had assured for itself a marginalised position in Burma's policy decisions."<sup>7</sup>

Myanmar's military regime and the total eradication of democracy only increased the distance between the two countries. China's interest in Myanmar is not without a cause; China's calculations are strategic. Close to the key shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia, (that would provide maritime outlet to the Western provinces of China), Myanmar could help China to extend its military reach into a region of vital importance to Asian economies. India has been particularly concerned about Chinese support for the upgrading of Myanmar's naval facilities. These include at least four electronic listening posts along the Bay of Bengal and in the Andaman Sea: Man-aung, Hainggyi, Zadetkyi island and the strategically important Coco Islands just north of India's Andaman Islands.<sup>8</sup>

In response to this situation, India in the 1990s started to support ASEAN's attempt at 'constructive engagement' with Myanmar. However, India's dilemma between an idealistic position (supporting the democratic movement in Myanmar) and the ground realities (retrieving Myanmar from Chinese influence) has become evident. Aung San Suu Kyi received an award from India in 1995 thus annoying the Myanmar's junta. However, India has been making every attempt to acquire the confidence of Myanmar. Initiatives are being taken at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. Particularly, efforts were made by the hawkish NDA government in late 1990s. It was concerned with the

<sup>5</sup> To know more on China's reaction to the Pokhran II blasts, see Dr. S.Chandrasekharan, "SINO INDIAN RELATIONS III: More on Indian Nukes and China", *South Asia Analysis Group Papers*, May 19, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Shirley A. Kan, "Chinese Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Current Policy Issues", *CRS Issue Brief*, No. 92056, June 1, 1998.

<sup>7</sup> P.M.S. Malik, "Indo-Myanmar Relations", in Lalit Mansingh et. al. (Ed), *Indian Foreign Policy: Agenda for the 21st Century*, Vol. 2. Konark Publications and Indian Foreign Service Institute, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 283-284, cited in Stephen Cohen, *Emerging Power India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 253.

<sup>8</sup> For more, see "China's Ambitions in Myanmar: India Steps up Countermoves", *International Institute for Strategic Studies Strategic Comments*, London, vol. 6, July 2000, <http://www.iiss.org/publications/strategic-comments/past-issues/volume-6—2000/volume-6—issue-6/chinas-ambitions-in-myanmar>.

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Bajpai (Ed), *India's Security: The Politico-Strategic Environment*, Lancer International, New Delhi, 1983 p. 5.

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growing ties between China and Myanmar. High level visits between India and Myanmar yielded fruitful results. For instance, consequent to the visit of Gen Maung Aye to India in January 2000 and his offer of military co-operation to tackle cross-border insurgencies, India is believed to have started supplying non-lethal military aid to Myanmar including boots and combat gear for soldiers. India has also leased helicopters. On the other hand, during the visit of an Indian trade delegation to Myanmar, copper exploration, construction of a natural gas pipeline and a hydro-electric project on Chindwin River have been discussed and planned. The Indian Government has also taken up the building up of the Imphal-Tamu-Kalemayo road. Moreover, the two countries have promised each other support in international fora. Apart from the ASEAN Regional Forum, the formation of BIMSTEC has also provided India scope for dialogue with Myanmar. Since India's northeast is extremely significant for India's stability, the challenge is to develop the entire region. The truth is that it cannot be achieved until India acquires a better position than China in Myanmar's books.

To India, Afghanistan is of relevance because it served as a reliable partner in applying pressure on Pakistan. Pakistan's concerns in Afghanistan arise from its self-perception as the superior power equipped with veto power and having a prerogative to use it in Afghanistan. This perception is derived from the Pushtun ethnic link between the two countries. Pakistan's rivalry with India in Afghanistan is also noticeable right since the Soviet intervention in 1979. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan put India in a tight spot. For her it was one partner occupying the territory of another. Nonetheless national interest took priority; the importance of Soviet ties could not be denied and therefore India was of the opinion that ties had to be, "maintained despite doubts and differences arising out of Soviet policies in Afghanistan."<sup>9</sup> India's reluctant support towards Soviet occupation automatically placed her against the anti-Soviet camp that included US, China and Pakistan. India's opposition to the Mujahidin was pitted against Pakistan's position as the frontline ally of the US recruiting Mujahidin and supplying arms to fight the Soviet sponsored regime.

Since 1996, India-Pakistan rivalry intensified after the fall of Najibullah

and the ensuing chaos that paved the way for the Taliban. During the entire Taliban rule, India was nearly excluded from Afghanistan. During the Taliban regime, India along with Iran supported the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, led by Ahmad Shah Massoud. Pakistan supported the Taliban side until 9/11/2001. It was the extreme pressure of the US 'to be with or to be against' terrorism that forced Pakistan to reluctantly join the war against terrorism.



**Prime Minister Vajpayee (L): Moving closer to Asean in 2002**

It is therefore not surprising that Pakistan is not quite satisfied with the post-Taliban government of Hamid Karzai. Much of the goodwill that Pakistan tries to maintain with Afghanistan is because of the growing relations between India and Afghanistan. India plans to help build a road link between Chabahar port in Iran and Delaram in Afghanistan to be used as a trade route, bypassing Pakistan altogether and Pakistan views this as a conspiracy- an attempt to encircle Pakistan. There may be truth in Pakistan's apprehensions as high level exchanges continue between both the countries. Hamid Karzai has made three visits since he became President in 2001. Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh visited Afghanistan in 2005, which marked the beginning of a symbolic and strategic relationship between the two countries. Karzai is very keen to serve as the land bridge for India to Central Asia, particularly Iran; in any case, India needs Afghanistan for the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan pipeline. Afghanistan is the base for India's new Southwest Asian Policy, it also stretches to Central and West Asia; Afghanistan is viewed as India's near-west and a potential ally against Pakistan.

### **India's Secondary Semi-Strategic Neighbourhood**

India's relation with the countries comprising the secondary semi-strategic neighbourhood will only help further India's profile as a leading state of Asia. India's efforts in the Middle East have not earned her many dividends since there seems to be a

basic difference in outlook between the secular and Islamic domains. However, the only place India has shown some interest is the Arab-Israel conflict. Perhaps she finds some similarity with her own experience of the 'two-nation theory' and the creation of Pakistan. Moreover, India is home to millions of Muslims and the governments until the 1990s could not make the political mistake of hurting their sentiments. However, with the rise of Islamic extremism in the 1990s, Indian governments have felt it necessary to establish a relationship with Israel. In the 1990s Indo-Israel relations improved. Nonetheless, developments in the Middle East have a direct bearing on the politics of South Asia. The most important reason behind this is the close relation Islamic states maintain with each other.<sup>10</sup>

The newly formed Commonwealth of Independent States constitutes the strategically important and resource-rich region of Central Asia. Pakistan also has its designs on this region for the same reasons. In fact J. N. Dixit sees this as the 'new region' stretching from Pakistan to Turkey and Kazakhstan to Iran and the Gulf.<sup>11</sup> India ought to show interest towards this region because it is exposed to Islamic extremism. India must make her move before Pakistan decides to use this region as a new ground for anti-Indian activities with the help of Islamic extremists. Russia still has connections with this region, and India must combine with Russia to keep away Pakistan, Islamic influence and the Chinese. In the post 9/11 period the US also has taken interest in this part of Asia. There is a remote possibility that India, US and China could cooperate to counter Islamic extremism in Central Asia. However, a different balance of power is being attempted through the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). India is an observer state of the SCO, and China has said that India, being an important player in the region, is welcome to play an active role in the SCO.

East Asia became an important neighbour with Narasimha Rao's government officially instituting the "Look East Policy". India has acquired 'dialogue partner' status within ASEAN in 1995. She is also a member of the ARF. India's outlook towards East Asia especially Southeast Asia is tempered by her historical experiences, political and strategic considerations. The primary consideration is to quell

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Cohen has written on how the OIC's decisions and outlook towards India has affected the Kashmir problem. Moreover Pakistan has gained support and leverage in Middle East by virtue of being a nuclear Islamic power. Much to India's discomfort, the arms race acquires an Islamic hue. For details, see Stephen Cohen, *Emerging Power India*, pp.246-248.

<sup>11</sup> J.N. Dixit, "India and Central Asia", in *Indian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 2, p.119, cited Cohen, *Emerging Power India*, 2001.

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increasing Chinese influence. China again considers this region as her sphere of influence. However, a deeply rooted and historical bitterness combined with China's aggressive policy as in the case of the South China Sea disputes, creates discomfort in South-east Asia. China's overwhelming presence in the region is not altogether endorsed. India ought to make use of this opportunity and build closer relations with Southeast Asian countries. The present government continues to take forward the efforts through socio-economic cooperation with the states in the region.

### Conclusion

India's future as a regional power depends on how she manages to deal

with the countries that comprise her *immediate strategic neighbourhood and secondary semi-strategic neighbourhood*. Though both have been categorised separately, they are mutually reinforcing. In contemporary times, Indian foreign policy need no longer depend on abstract idealistic considerations, but there are three basic issues to which India needs to pay attention. First, how will she relate her position in Asia with outside powers like the USA and perhaps Russia in future? Already India's relation with USA is creating ripples as well as frowns in the international community. Second, how India deals with China is of utmost importance. India ought to balance her own

interests with that of China, yet not loose scope of a positive relation that has begun to gain momentum. Third, India's capacity to manage her immediate neighbourhood is also vital; a 'carrot and stick' approach will be of help. These relationships have influenced India's domestic front and vice versa. In dealing with these three crucial issues, two positive points will work in India's favour- first, her upcoming economy and second, her resounding success as a democracy. These will go a long way in promoting India's regional leadership. Over and above, it is about time that India's foreign policy be based on a realistic estimation of international affairs.

### JUST PUBLISHED

Sobhanlal Datta Gupta,  
***Comintern and the Destiny of Communism in India: 1919-1943***

*Dialectics of real and a possible History*

Seribaan, Calcutta, 2006

xxi+329 pages, Hardcover, ISBN: 81-87492-17-1, 695.00 INR / US\$ 17.00

The book is the culmination of the author's research for more than a decade on one of the most debatable and sensitive issues concerning the history of the Left and Communist movement in India. The opening up of the Comintern archives in Moscow in the 1990s has now made it possible for the scholars to have the first glimpse of how the destiny of the Communist Parties of the world in the inter-war period was defined by politics inside the Comintern, which, in turn, was predominantly shaped by the struggle for power inside the Soviet Communist Party after Lenin's death. With the accessibility of the Comintern archives a massive literature has emerged in the West (primarily in Russian and German, besides English), leading to a reinterpretation of the understanding of the Comintern as a historiographical problem in the light of these new sources. The book, based on these materials (archival and non-archival), provides for the first time an entirely new analysis of the Comintern's impact on the shaping of Indian communism and argues about the alternative possibilities of the Left and Communist movement in India in the light of documents which were suppressed or unknown till now. This reinterpretation of the role of the Comintern (1919-1943), which masterminded the beginning and shaping of communism in India, will contribute to a refreshingly new understanding of the problems, complexities and crisis that communism in India has encountered in its long history.

Besides the Comintern archives, the book is based on materials from the archives of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), which include the papers of Rajani Palme Dutt, Harry Pollitt, Ben Bradley, the stenographic records of the Central Committee, Politbureau and the Party Congresses of the CPGB, all relating to the links between the CPGB, India and Comintern, papers from the Public Records Office, UK and the Private Papers of Horst Krueger in Berlin.

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## Articles

## Background of the Establishment and Organisation of Obstetrics in Turkestan



Sanobar Shadmanova

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## Abstract

After the Tsarist conquest of Central Asia in the nineteenth century, Bukhara (captured in 1868) and Khiva (1873) both became vassal states, while Kokand (1875), along with Tashkent (1865) and other important Uzbek cities were incorporated into the Governorate-General of Turkestan ("The Land of the Turks"), as the area was then known. Later, as a result of the Russian Revolution, Turkestan became an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1918 and Bukhara and Khiva both became People's Republics in 1920. In an effort to overcome the aspirations of both the Muslim Communists, intent on setting up an independent Turkic republic, and the pan-Islamic forces behind the so-called Basmachi revolts, Moscow subsequently divided up Central Asia into five Soviet Socialist Republics, one for each of the five dominant ethnic groups in the area.

In the present article the problems of obstetrics and setting-up of maternity hospitals in Turkestan have been studied. Attempts at establishing a school of midwives is tracked based on the materials found in the first newspaper of Turkestan, published on 1870. The doctors in Turkestan proposed several versions of this school.

Palienko suggested an organised training of women representing the local population in the Russian part of the city of Tashkent because in the Asian part of the city there was not even a suitable out-patient ward, especially there was nothing suitable for a maternity ward which should be responsible for the complicated cases, thus, it was a completely unsolved problem. Palienko considered that national midwives—*doya* help in the normal process of childbirth. And the maternity ward was intended for complicated cases when surgical intervention was necessary.

On the other hand, women-doctors Kor-de-Las and Mandelshtam considered it more correct to establish a maternity ward at a female ambulance station, i.e. in the Asian part of the city. They advocated its necessity by arguing that women from the local population would not go to such establishments in which male-doctors work.

The first newspaper in Turkestan, was introduced during the formation of the General-Governorship. This first official newspaper of the General-Governorship was referred to as "Turkestani Gazette" ("Turkestanskije Vedomosti"), issued on 28 April (10 May) 1870. Soon after, private newspapers in Russian began to appear. In the beginning of the twentieth century, newspapers in local languages, in particular, in the Uzbek language (in Arabian spelling) started to be issued. In these newspapers, social, economic, cultural and political life of Turkestan were widely covered including its ethnography, geography and statistics. Besides, they reflected the views of the contemporaries of that period. For these reasons they represent important sources of studying the history of Turkestan.

I deal with the problem of the history of periodicals in Turkestan and study it from the point of view of source studies. In the present article the problems of setting-up of obstetrics in Turkestan have been studied. Since the second half of the twentieth century, in the cities of Turkestan, mostly in Tashkent and other large cities, ambulance stations for women and their children began to be established. At ambulance stations maternity apartments have been created. With the purpose of attracting women

to these maternity hospitals, there was a need to train midwives (obstetricians) representing the local population.

#### First attempts to establish a school for midwives

In 1883, the Tashkent Charitable Society formed a commission that discussed the question of opening a school for midwives from the local people in Turkestan at the maternity department of the Charitable Society.<sup>1</sup>

The Turkestani District military-medical inspector in 1884 raised the problem of the expansion of a female outpatient clinic, for the consideration of a commission under the chairmanship of the regional physician doctor Okolov. Other members of the commission were: Doctor Bredov, city Doctor Batyrshin and women-doctors Gundijs, Poslavskaya and Mandelshtam.<sup>2</sup> This commission developed a project for establishing a maternity ward with a department for patients under the female outpatient clinic. In 1885, this project was submitted to the Turkestani General-Governor. The realisation of this approved project was postponed for the lack of funds. Then in 1886, the military-medical inspector, the Doctor of Medicine, I.P.Suvorov, again appealed for an expansion of hospital activities with charges being placed to the city account. Under the chairmanship of the former military governor-

general Lieutenant Grodekov, a new commission consisting of a regional doctor, Bredov, women doctors and the city head Putintsev, was formed. The commission suggested the establishment of a maternity ward with a school of midwives, transferring necessary charges to the account of the city treasury. The Duma, having approved it, designated its execution as premature once again because of lack of funds. In 1889, the military governor on presentation of the former chief of the city, Putintsev, again raised the question to establish at the female outpatient clinic a maternity ward with a school for midwives and beds for patients. However nothing happened.

#### A.P. Pankratjev's project

In 1891, the project for the organisation of obstetrics in the Asian part of the city of Tashkent was sent to the town council by A.P. Pankratjev, a member of the city Duma. The municipal Duma at its session on 18 December 1891 appointed a commission for consideration of this project. In his project, A. Pankratjev suggested to arrange a school of obstetrics for five Russian trainees at the maternity ward of the charitable society with 5 beds at each outpatient clinic, a hospital reception ward for sick women and children with 5 beds, and a school of midwives and medical attendants (women) for 20 pupils. A. Pankratjev

<sup>1</sup> D. Palienko, *O podgotovlenii povitukh iz tuzemok* (About training midwives from aboriginal women), *Turkestani Gazette*, 29 September, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> Mandelshtam, *Po povodu proekta doktora Palienko* (Concerning the doctor Palienko's project), *Turkestani Gazette*, 27 November, 1893.

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decided to spend not more than 5000 roubles for all this.

After submission of the project by the commission, the Duma decided to establish at the female out-patient clinic a hospital reception ward consisting of two departments, one for sick women and children and another for 'lying-in women' (women in childbirth), each with five beds, thus increasing the clinic staff with one woman doctor. They also advised the heads of a clinic to entrust management of the obstetrics to a woman doctor, appointed a clinic manager, and granted women doctors the right to their own decision-making and managing the clinic. At the same time, women doctors were to assist in home deliveries. The Duma ratified an annual sum of 5,880 roubles.



It was offered to name this hospital reception ward Alexandro Mariinsky in honour of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tsar's wedding. The report of the commission had been brought for consideration to the Duma on 27 May 1892.<sup>3</sup> The Duma approved the project and suggested that the town council should immediately apply to the military governor for the transformation of the Tashkent outpatient clinic for aboriginal women and children.

### Palienko's Project and discussion concerning this project

In 1893, in the Tashkent municipal Duma, Palienko, the chief of the maternity ward at the Tashkent Charitable Society presented a report on the organisation of obstetrics in the Asian part of Tashkent. This report was printed in the *Turkestani Gazette* on 25 August 1893,<sup>4</sup> and then was issued by a special brochure and sent to the members of the Duma. In it Doctor Palienko recommended the city authorities to open at the maternity ward he headed, a school for training midwives from women representing

the local population. This project of Doctor Palienko became the cause of much public discussion. After publication of the project in the *Turkestani Gazette*, women doctors Kor-de-Las<sup>5</sup> and Mandelshtam<sup>6</sup> published their articles criticising Palienko's project and advocated instead the project adopted by the Duma.

Palienko suggested organising a school of midwives for local women at the maternity ward of the Charitable Society. He claimed that the maternity ward of the Turkestani Charitable Society was quite suitable for this purpose, it had excellent premises with six rooms and adequate arrangements for hygiene, which was considered important since the women who were to be trained as midwives had to be trained in rules of strict cleanliness, to maintain hygiene during the postnatal period. Besides, there were a sufficient number of medical personnel and besides Palienko, there worked one regular midwife, three doctors and three midwives and non-resident medical officers. Most importantly, the number of 'lying-in women' had reached up to 200 in one year and represented plentiful materials for pedagogical activities.

Palienko suggested the selection of only four female persons wishing to be trained and placing them in the maternity ward with preference, nevertheless, to self-educated persons—doyas, already working in this field. Their duties should consist, first of all, performing what all that nurses of the ward did. Constant staying near 'lying-in women' and participating in all obstetrical and surgical operations would develop in them the necessary skills and their presence at child-bearing under the supervision of skilled persons would teach the trainees the needed obstetrical methods and techniques. By that period, Palienko had presented the following list of seventeen women:<sup>7</sup>

Gazisa Gusnutdinova, 35 years old;  
Zadilat Dada-Mukhametova, 36 years old;  
Latyfa Enikeeva, 27 years old;  
Kulchakhra Mukhamadievna, 40 years old;  
Narbibi Yuldasheva, 32 years old;  
Fatima Khadjieva, 35 years old;  
Turzhanbibi Gaddurazakova, 40 years old;  
Malika Yunus, 40 years old;  
Djirlyuk Oye, under 50 years old;

Khakima Nazheduin, about 50 years old;  
Korban Umarova, 18 years old;  
Lyazakat Matsharif, 45 years old;  
Mariam Valieva, 29 years old;  
Shakhar Bonu (Kokanbay's daughter), 35 years old;  
Sagadat Yuldash, 24 years old;  
Khodjabibi Mirzamat, 34 years old;  
Balabibi, 40 years old.

They were representatives of the local population, aged between 18 to 50 years, who expressed their readiness to study obstetrics in the maternity ward. Among them there was one doya and one woman-teacher.

From the list which was submitted by Doctor Palienko it was obvious that half of those expressed the desire to study obstetrics were Tatars and the rest was represented by women from the local population. And by the time when the question of opening the obstetrics schools arose, the city head, colonel Putintsev, submitted a list of thirty young girls and women representing the best families of the local population who expressed their wish to study obstetrics.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, Palienko suggested training the women representing the local population in the Russian part of the city of Tashkent because in the Asian part of the city there was not even a suitable outpatient ward. There was nothing suitable for a maternity ward, which could be helpful during complicated cases. This was an insoluble problem. Palienko considered that national midwives, doyas, provided for ordinary childbirth. The maternity ward was intended for complicated cases where surgical intervention was necessary.

Women doctors, Kor-de-Las and Mandelshtam,<sup>9</sup> considered it more correct to establish the maternity ward at a female ambulance station, i.e. in the Asian part of the city. Women of the local population would not go to an establishment in which male doctors worked. They thought that the future of obstetrics for the local population belonged to women doctors because only women doctors could win the trust of the women.

Mandelshtam claimed that local women had not applied to the maternity ward in the Russian part of Tashkent as this ward was managed by men and this maternity ward was located in the Russian part of the city which was alien to these women. The

<sup>3</sup> Mandelshtam, *Po povodu*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> D. Palienko, *Ob organizatsii rodovspomogatelnogo dela v aziatskoi chasti Tashkenta* (About the organisation of obstetrics in the Asian part of Tashkent), *Turkestani Gazette*, 25 August (6 September), 1893.

<sup>5</sup> Kor-de-Las, *Zametka po povodu statyi, Ob organizatsii povitukh iz tuzemok* (A note regarding the article "About the organisation of midwives from aboriginal women"), *Turkestani Gazette*, 13 (25) October, 1893.

<sup>6</sup> Mandelshtam, *Po povodu*.

<sup>7</sup> D. Palienko, *O podgotovlenii*, p.29.

<sup>8</sup> Mandelshtam, *Po povodu*.

<sup>9</sup> Mandelshtam, the woman-doctor, a member of the Commission of the Duma on the adopted project, worked since 1883 in the Asian part of the city at the ambulance station for women and children, first she helped 'lying-in women' alone, then since 1887 with a midwife Fatima (a 50 year old Tatar woman), and since 1890 with a midwife Blyumfeld.



## Articles

school for midwives should thus be opened in the same place, because the men would not allow their wives and daughters to be trained in the Russian part of the city in the maternity hospital, headed by a male doctor, and especially in case of residential courses as envisaged in Palienko's project.

It is necessary to note that before women doctors appeared, male doctors had made much progress in this field. Doctors Gimmer, Batyrshin, Yoganson and Palienko did brisk practice among local women. Palienko in his report mentioned that during his stay in Tashkent for more than ten years, he could not recollect any case where he had not been allowed to examine a female patient.

From 1883 to 1893, the ambulance station for women and children in the Asian part of Tashkent was visited by 78,073 women from the local population. Considering that in a year there were 250 working days, the daily number of visits were 31, and the number of women who visited a men's ambulance station increased up to 40 and quite often reached up to 60.<sup>10</sup>

Palienko considered that for opening a school of obstetrics for local women at the maternity ward of the

Charitable Society there would be enough material for training, as training midwives is only possible during the process of normal childbirth. And 'lying-in women' of the local population for normal childbirth applied to doyas, only in complicated cases did they apply to accoucheurs. Doctor Kor-de-Las was sure that after a lapse of time, all women would turn to the best and women of the local population would begin to get accustomed and come to the maternity wards even in case of normal childbirth. Palienko considered that this would not be a speedy process and so it was necessary first of all to train midwives from the local population so that they could take the place of the doyas. In Palienko's opinion, those administrative measures which were suggested by Kor-de-Las and others with regard to the doyas would not bring expected results. There was a necessity to train midwives, so that people felt the advantages of midwives over doyas.<sup>11</sup>

Palienko also mentioned that Muslim women visited men doctors, unlike Europeans, however, this was likely to be an exception rather than the rule. In the villages, the picture is likely to have been quite different. In the majority of cases doyas or close

relatives accouched the 'lying-in women and this was the practice until the 1960s. This fact is mentioned in the book of A. and M. Nalivkin who write that midwives specially engaged in it were available generally in cities.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Palienko's project was not well timed; it was too European though some of his suggestions may have worked even in that period. Doyas worked quite well in usual cases of labour without complications in normal deliveries, as he suggested, and in cases of complications and when operations were needed it was necessary to invite doctors. Of course, it did not have to be male doctors, once women doctors began practicing, as he suggested.

On pages of periodicals, especially in the *Turkestani Gazette*, the organisation of obstetrics in Turkestan was widely covered. There was dramatic disagreement among experts, especially among the men and women doctors as it was suggested doctors who had come to work in Turkestan from Russia contributed greatly to the health service. Irrespective of nationality and faith, they provided signal medical service to people including the local population of Turkestan.

<sup>10</sup> Palienko. *Moim opponentam* (To my opponents). *Turkestani Gazette*, 10 (22) November, 1893

<sup>11</sup> Palienko. *Moim opponentam* (To my opponents). *Turkestani Gazette*, 7 (19) November, 1893

<sup>12</sup> V.Nalivkin, M.Nalivkina. *Ocherk byta zhenschiny osedlogo tuzemnogo naseleniya Fergany* (A sketch of the way of life of the woman of the settled native population in Fergana), A printing house of Imperial University, Kazan, 1886, p. 170.

### LEONARDO ORTEGA

South Project/Monash University AIR  
EXHIBITION

South Project and Monash University artist in resident Leonardo Ortega will present *Indomite* at Runt Gallery, (Caulfield Campus) from **16 May-24 June 2006**.

While in Australia, Chilean artist Leonardo Ortega has endeavoured to explore the impact of western culture, both in its contemporary manifestation and colonial influence, on Aboriginal traditions and knowledge. This research project has lead Ortega to diverse locales throughout Australia. Over the course of eight weeks, Ortega has conducted interviews with prominent urban aboriginal figures including Mick Mundine and Aletha Penrith (Redfern), John Cow from the Tent Embassy (Canberra) and Robbie Thorpe from the Kings Domain Camp, Melbourne. In contrast to this urban perspective, Ortega spent the final weeks of his residence in Alice Springs working closely with staff from the Tangentyere Nursery, who shared with Ortega invaluable knowledge about the medicinal qualities of indigenous plant life from the Northern Territory. Installed along side video projections, as part of *Indomite*, these plant samples will flourish in a hydroponic system, continuing to exist as a source of healing despite the physical detachment from their native environment.

Ortega's installation and research is part of a larger artistic focus, which developed out of a prior documentary project completed in his home country of Chile in 2002. Ortega worked with the indigenous Pewenche people from the Bio Bio River Valley during a time in which they were faced with the destruction of their traditional lands due to the construction of a major, federally funded, dam. The subsequent installation, *The Model Ralco*, was shown at Galeria Metropolitana and established Ortega as an artist committed to presenting challenging and critical work that confronts socio-political issues for indigenous peoples within the confines of the gallery space.

Ortega lives and works in Santiago, Chile. He holds Bachelor of Media Arts, from Diego Portales University and a Bachelor of Visual Arts from the Catholic University of Chile.

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## Special Feature: Soccer

### Sporting Colonies of Global Capital: The Impact of Globalisation on Soccer in the Developing World\*



**Boria Majumdar**

Boria Majumdar, Distinguished Academic Visitor at Latrobe University, Melbourne. Director, Centre for Academic Excellence, Cricket Association of Bengal. Teaches two courses a year at Chicago University. Editorial Board, International Journal for History of Sport. Expert for various newspapers and telemedia- especially ESPN, Ten Sports and NDTV. Author of the official history of the Board of Cricket Control in India and co-author of the official history of the Indian Football Association.

We'd better stop now. This list is quite capable of exceeding the size of the article. Let us end this missive about Boria Majumdar with just two more comments. He is a man who is on record saying: "I am a cricket fanatic" and he cooks a really mean biriyani, or so rumour goes.

**Michael Ralph**

Michael Ralph is an anthropologist by profession who often uses the pretext of fieldwork to be on the sports field. He loves football and is currently writing a book on football in Africa. He teaches at Cornell.

#### What Is Globalisation?

Before attempting to analyse the impact of globalisation on third world sport, it is necessary to unwind the phenomenon or rather explain what exactly is meant by it. Is globalisation, an uncontrollable juggernaut in this twenty first century world, an outright evil or it is something not intrinsically dire for society? Trying to provide an answer to these questions for the purpose of this paper is more an attempt to synthesise multiple frameworks formulated by scholars to construct a rudimentary understanding of the phenomenon.

Fundamentally, as well known sociologist/anthropologist of sport Alan Klein puts it "globalization is an economic-cultural process that has enveloped the world. It is a yet-to-be-completed system that has changed the way in which governments, businesses, and individuals relate to one another. Most students of globalization agree that it has compressed time and space and made the world more interdependent than at any previous time. With the demise of the Soviet Union, and with a bewildering string of breakthroughs in information technology, free-market capitalism has become the global system; but globalization taxes any conventional sense of capitalism. Success in today's commerce and politics is built on speed, flexibility and knowledge."<sup>1</sup>

The New York Times correspondent Tom Friedman, an ardent votary of globalisation, promulgates a contradictory view. Friedman cites an African proverb that he feels captures the

very essence of the process. The proverb goes thus:

Every morning in Africa, a gazelle wakes up. It knows it must run faster than the fastest lion or it will be killed. Every morning a lion wakes up. It knows it must outrun the slowest gazelle or it will starve to death. It doesn't matter whether you are a lion or a gazelle. When the sun comes up, you better start running.<sup>2</sup>

What further illustrates Friedman's understanding is a photograph in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* that depicts an Orthodox Jew praying at Jerusalem's Wailing Wall. Bearded and in traditional garb of black hat and coat, he is deep in prayer. In his hand, however, he is holding a cell phone, which he has placed against the Wall so that his relative in France can also receive the special blessing associated with the site.

In the world of gazelles and lions and cell phones, to invoke Klein again, "Capital darts around the globe, brushing aside nations and political considerations, in search of the best economic return. Anything that can lower costs, increase productivity, integrate operations, and do so more quickly gains the attention of the 'players'. Manufacturing Nike's running shoes, Dell's computers, or Volkswagen's cars involves an internationally based set of facilities and staff up and running 24/7. Duplicating manufacturing sites; improving global communication between businesses, governments, and customers; and accelerating outsourcing (that is,

moving pieces of the overall production away from the company) have become ubiquitous with globalization. Thus call centers in India routinely handle American income tax returns and read X rays for American hospitals; but now cases are also appearing in which Indian banks are outsourcing to American companies."<sup>3</sup>

Interestingly, while the views of analysts and scholars of globalisation differ considerably, they converge around certain attributes and processes. To start with, most agree that globalisation refers to capitalism as a world system to an extent never heard off. There are, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, no longer any competing economic systems and ideologies the world over. In such a situation industrial nations are almost forced to seek new markets pitting multinational corporations against states, and blocs of states against each other.

The cultural connotation of globalisation, it can be argued, manifests itself best in the tension between global and local forces played out most effectively in the realm of sport. Here globalisation can very well be equated with "Westernisation." The English premier league, Spanish La Liga and Italian Serie A fan out to every corner of the globe, and every soccer playing country fall under their sphere of influence. As consumers of things "western" or "not theirs" people around the world inevitably wind up losing their own. It is here that sport can be seen as playing a significant role in this process.

\* All correspondence should be directed to [cristorian@yahoo.com](mailto:cristorian@yahoo.com)

<sup>1</sup> Alan Klein, *Growing the Game: Baseball and Globalization*, Yale University Press, Yale, July 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Klein, *Baseball and Globalization*.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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The best illustration of cultural globalisation appeared in an article written by Mitchell Stephens more than a decade ago: "[Mitzi] Goheen, an anthropology professor at Amherst, recalls a graduate student from Kenya who was relieved, upon arriving in the United States, to discover that he could get Kentucky Fried Chicken here, too."

In this case, as Klein argues, "the student finds solace in being able to eat "his food," Kenyan food...KFC. When a product has successfully entered a foreign market, it does so in part because it seems local, not foreign. When a Kenyan can appropriate the colonialist's own artefact as his own, then the cultural meaning of the artefact has changed. KFC as Kenyan and KFC as illustrative of Americanisation (read Westernization): a rich tension, one that blurs the distinction between local and foreign."<sup>4</sup>

Simple transposition of the English Premier League for KFC and we end up with the best illustration of the modern Indian soccer scenario. Tremendous passion for the game, albeit only foreign variants, which come to Indian homes, both urban and rural, courtesy modern satellite television. Similarly for Senegal, our other case study, globalisation necessitates that players have to move out to Europe to move up in society. And while on the one hand, soccer has helped Senegal establish a place in the world parliament of nations, on the other, the very soccer field was used as an instrument of coercion during President Bush's visit to the country in July 2003 lending credence to the saying that globalisation continues to be a romantic term with different meanings for different people—success for the powerful and eclipse for the powerless.

### Senegal— A powerless powerhouse

On 7 July 2003, U.S. military personnel arrived on the Gorée Island of Senegal around 4 A.M. accompanied by bomb-sniffing dogs. They were there to prevent any act that would have affected President Bush's visit to Senegal. Local residents were soon evacuated from their homes as soldiers conducted their investigations. As soon as they were finished, the island's entire population was hoarded onto Gorée's sandlot soccer field.<sup>5</sup> Once the field was packed to capacity, people were sealed in by a barricade, trapped on a barren field, beneath the Senegalese sun, without any shade. The satchels of water distributed

haphazardly provided little relief for the crowd during the eight hours some of them spent in that spot— from nearly 6 AM to 2 PM— though the visit, which lasted less than two hours, took place between 11 AM and 1 PM. All cellphone communication was disabled during this time.

"They cornered us like sheep," said a teenage soccer player visibly outraged at the treatment he had received from the U.S. soldiers. Others, with whom we spoke, articulated a stronger sentiment. From female market vendors and restaurant owners, we noticed, a single Wolof phrase recurs consistently in interview transcripts: *Da fa mélni Diaam mo gna watt* which, when translated into English means, "It was like slavery had returned."

The question that these expressions throw up is "What does it mean that a soccer field was the setting upon which African bodies faced the coercive presence of U.S. power on Senegalese soil?"

This is more relevant because in recent times Senegal has gained international fame as a soccer powerhouse, especially after its upset victory over France in the 2002 World Cup. The domain of sport has suddenly become a primary vehicle through which Senegal has worked to distinguish itself— even assert its potential— among the world of nations. This realm has attracted so much support that, in 2000, President Wade broke the Ministry of Youth and Sports into two separate Ministries, so each could receive adequate attention. There is a consensus among government officials that in the past, as one cabinet member put it, *Le sport a dominé le jeunesse...* [(Matters of) sport dominated youth (concerns)...] though, of course, in this instance 'sport' meant soccer. The main problem was that the Minister of Youth and Sports had been so busy marketing, funding, and promoting the national soccer team in competitions abroad, he had little time for domestic issues.

In the way soccer is tied to Senegal's international image, it is as if the government wants to suggest that, given the right resources and under the right conditions, it can perform as well politically and economically as the nation's footballers have performed athletically, with the resources given to them.

Casting a critical eye toward this ideology of sport, it can be argued that the way sport is implicated in Senegal's effort to recast itself as a

democratic nation— one increasingly removed geopolitically, from the Islamic world— and reposition itself as an ally of the United States, which connects it to an international political framework that does not assign the same privilege to the nation's relationship with France which has been, until now, Senegal's most powerful ally.

In this effort, sport emerges as a tool through which Senegal renegotiates its relationship with other nations including the U.S.

In fact, Senegal's 2002 world cup performance was the subject of a friendly conversation between Presidents Bush and Wade. As they met in June 2002 to discuss politics and, among other things, how exactly each country was planning to fight terrorism and promote democracy in the world, George W. Bush and Abdoulaye Wade "dreamed" about the possibility that, if both teams continued to excel in their respective divisions, the U.S. and Senegal would meet in the World Cup Championship.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, soccer was becoming increasingly significant for Senegalese subjects at the local level.

Thus it seems, even as Senegal was proving itself increasingly democratic by leading the African war against terror, it was pursuing another course of action partially aimed at improving its national image. This leads us back to the query posed earlier about why soccer became ensnared in horrified accounts of the Bush visit. Is it significant that Goréans experienced slavery again for the first time on the island's only soccer terrain? If so, what implications does this have for Senegal's tryst with globalisation?

### A two-edged sword

"While Africa pours talent into European football, it has yet to benefit from the economic and social development that could be generated by professionalizing this sport."<sup>7</sup>

When Senegal prepared to qualify for the 2002 World Cup the euphoria in the country was unprecedented. Sports enthusiasts praised the team for its talent, poise, and condition. The team marched straight through the qualifying matches and few were surprised. With each additional victory, national enthusiasm increased. Even former coach Claude Le Roy, now in France, spoke in glowing terms about the great squad he had left behind in Dakar. By his estimation, the team stood a great

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Interviewees in Dakar on the impact of the Bush visit on 7 July 2003.

<sup>6</sup> "Bush et Wade rêvent d'une finale Sénégal-USA", *Le Soleil* Wednesday 19 June 2002. The front page headline translates as "Bush and Wade dream of a Senegal-USA final match." The article heading itself, on the newspaper's interior, carries a similar sentiment, "Bush et Wade souhaitent USA-Sénégal," or "Bush and Wade wish for a USA-Senegal final."

<sup>7</sup> Isabelle Saussez, "Africa on the sidelines of world football", *The Courier ACP-EU*, July-August 2002.

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chance to win big at the previous World Cup, but an administrative error had prevented it from competing.<sup>8</sup> Now, it seems, they would perform to the best of their tremendous abilities on an international stage. That outsiders emphasised their support for the Senegalese side only intensified domestic pride for their achievements.

Little wonder, then, that when the team finally qualified for the World Cup an impromptu parade commenced as Senegalese people flooded downtown Dakar in celebration of this momentous achievement. For his part, President Wade cut short an official trip to France so he could party with the national team at home: "At this time, it's the most important thing that could happen to any country and I will join the team and the nation in celebrating by reducing the amount of time I was expected to stay in Paris." He offered, as well, his sentiments about the importance of this moment, "My deepest congratulations go to the courageous Lions who have *made history* for Senegal."<sup>9</sup> The President resurfaced in Senegal wearing the jersey of striker El-Hadji Diouf and joined the "madness" that characterised local celebrations, according to one spectator. A few days later, the President held a special ceremony and concert at the Presidential Palace, where each team member was presented a bonus of 10 million FCFA (then \$15,000).<sup>10</sup> Senegal's qualification was made sweeter by the fact that, at that moment, the team was officially ranked 14<sup>th</sup> in Africa and only 70<sup>th</sup> in the world. Yet, it was only one of four African teams admitted to World Cup competition that year. Immediately, Senegal received a flurry of invitations asking the team to compete in various matches, including one each against Japan and South Korea— co-hosts for 2002 World Cup action— and a match expected to be Brazilian soccer star Ronaldo's "welcome back" game after recovering from an injury.<sup>11</sup>

Entering World Cup competition was such a big deal for Senegalese soccer enthusiasts that star striker El-Hadji Diouf felt like "People in Senegal were as happy as if the team had already "won the World Cup."<sup>12</sup> By the time World Cup play actually began to approach the following year, the entire nation was fighting back nervous excitement. As Senegal prepared

quietly, political officials, fans, and journalists affirmed the importance of the victory for a nation only now earning a reputation as a major contender among the world's elite football teams. The drama was intensified by the fact that Senegal was slotted to battle its former colonial master, France. This athletic contest was saturated by its world-historical significance. As long-time supporter, Souleman Soldi Goliathe indicated, "Senegal-France is an historic match. Our matches against Denmark and Uruguay are important, but France is the one that really matters.... This is the European country that colonized us. And, God willing, we will beat them." The government, in its effort to galvanise support for the team, promoted the slogan that the *Lions de Teranga*— as the team is affectionately called— hail from "*Le Senegal qui gagne*" [The Senegal that wins]. Where the slogan came from is not altogether clear, but in the days, weeks, and months leading up to the match against France, the motto littered fliers, posters, and signs across the country. *Le Sénégal qui gagne*. Once emblazoned across the nation, the phrase stuck. *El-Hadji Diouf*, arguably the team's best but certainly its most controversial player, too, seemed profoundly to understand the political consequences of this postcolonial drama. As the team had swept through qualifying competitions on the strength of his eight goals, he found himself catapulted into the position to command the Senegalese forces for this important battle. "It's like being the leader of a country," he once said when asked to explain his feelings about this historic encounter.<sup>13</sup>

So when Senegal pulled off the 1-0 upset victory, few could contain their adulation. Pape Mbye, a 28 year-old supporter who found himself screaming his support for the team in an impromptu parade outside the Presidential Palace was not sure whether the event officially constituted a national holiday or not but, as far as he was concerned, "It might as well be, because everyone is out on the streets."<sup>14</sup> Once again, supporters crowded the innermost streets of Dakar. Gravitating, significantly, around Le Place de l'Indépendance and the Presidential Palace. Red, yellow, and green Senegalese flags, hats, scarves, t-shirts, and African-

style boubous, were the only acceptable attire to commemorate the occasion.

These circumstances nevertheless reveal a paradox. Many of the Senegalese players, in this modern global village of the twenty-first century, are arguably as European as they are African. At the very least, most of them have honed their skills overseas. And, to the extent that they spend most the year playing for European club teams— in France, Switzerland, and England— they are hardly ever in the country.<sup>15</sup> Yet they are its emissaries on important diplomatic missions, such as this one. This seeming contradiction actually exposes a more significant and widespread feature of Senegalese social life: Whether one is speaking of professional athletes, musicians, students, politicians, merchants, or professors, the persons occupying the highest ranks of power and wealth are those who spent some period of time "absent" from the nation. Socio-economic mobility, a resultant of globalisation, in this context, in other words, means moving out to move up.

Despite this, the power of the win was impossible to deny. And suddenly, *Le Sénégal qui gagne* referred not simply to a nation with the ability to win, but one that had proved it could and was destined to do so. Supporters delivered the chant when welcoming the national team back home. Abdoulaye Wade was careful to use it in speeches. It was a slogan that, when offered, immediately invoked the euphoria attached to this victory. The motto followed the national team through World Cup competition.

As might be expected, the team's success cast a favourable impression on the President, who was quick to associate himself with this turn of events. Immediately declaring a national holiday in honour of the team's victory, Wade appeared at the national parade in a vehicle with the top open so everyone could see him juggling a soccer ball to commemorate this important event.

Having been in office only two years at that point, Wade's presidency had coincided with Senegal's eruption onto the world scene as a soccer team of renown. Making public note of his undying emotional and financial support for the squad, especially after this victory, made him into a national

<sup>8</sup> "We had a great team ten years ago, but unfortunately the chairman of the federation forgot to register us for qualification..., so we missed out...The team today is even stronger and they will create a big surprise in Japan and Korea.... in terms of quality of players, they have all it takes to put up a good performance at the World Cup." See "Le Roy backs Lions to reach q-finals", *BBC Sport*, 24 July 2001.

<sup>9</sup> See "Senegal celebrates Cup heroics", *BBC Sport*, 21 July 2001. (Emphasis added).

<sup>10</sup> "Senegal back to heroes welcome", *BBC Sport*, 22 July 2001.

<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, however, Senegal could not make the match and was replaced by Nigerian club champion Enyimbe, "Invitations flood in for Senegal", *BBC Sport*, 11 August 2001.

<sup>12</sup> "Lions players rule in France", *BBC Sport*, 13 August 2001.

<sup>13</sup> "Senegal in fever over World Cup debut", *BBC Sport*, 14 May 2002.

<sup>14</sup> "Football fever hits Senegal", *BBC Sport*, 12 June 2002.

<sup>15</sup> "The whole of the Cameroonian squad plays abroad, along with 22 Senegalese, 21 Nigerians, 16 South Africans, and nine Tunisians." Isabelle Saussez, "Africa on the sidelines", *The Courier ACP-EU*, July-August 2002.

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hero of sorts even as it provoked criticism from his opposition who remained disgusted at what they considered to be vulgar opportunism. "Of course, our president is trying to capture this performance of the Senegalese boys, but I think it is very childish, painful I think [sic], because it is not the result of his football policy," said Amath Dansokho, leader of the Independence and Labor Party, part of Wade's opposition.<sup>16</sup>

Senegal would win again before tying a match and losing another to finally exit World Cup competition. But they had already "made history," affirming a place in the spotlight for themselves and their national leader.

What are we to make of the team's success and of its ability to cast a positive spin on Abdoulaye Wade's tenure at the nation's helm? Indeed, as a result of this athletic spectacle, many people ignored the concerns of rural agriculturists who'd seen their peanut returns diminish steadily from the moment independence was achieved in 1960, when Senegal was one of the world's leading producers of the crop.

However, the globalisation dream turned sour as soon as George W. Bush visited Dakar at the outset of his African tour. On this occasion, referred to earlier, people were prohibited from going to work so the roads would be completely clear when the Presidential cavalry passed through. In order that security could ensure safe passage, apparently, hundreds of baobabs were cut down. This infuriated Senegalese citizens of all ages, occupations, and classes. The baobab is a national symbol of strength and solidarity. These trees represent wisdom and are, above all else, timeless. What did it mean that they could be decimated so casually, for a few hours with the U.S. President?

The account of what transpired at Gorée, though, was more intense. According to locals the entire population of the island was locked inside the sandlot soccer field, barricaded to prevent escape. In the popular imagination, the makeshift barriers became concrete enclosures.

Some people insist that even Senegalese law enforcement officials were trapped in the soccer terrain. Others claim unarmed local police

were on hand to assist the American military, which brandished rifles. Either way, very few people were spared the humiliation of being hoarded onto the playing field, pinned against friends, neighbours, colleagues, and comrades. Fewer still missed the profound irony that all this was taking place a few feet from the historic *Maison des Esclaves* [Slave Houses or Slave Dungeons], responsible for the tourism that usually provides this island economy's primary revenue.

On this day though, it seems, it was the Senegalese people who paid the ultimate price.

### India: An unnatural sporting nation

A special issue of the ESPN magazine published from New York in December 2003 was promoted thus, "First came the pitchers. Then the outfielders. Now New Mets Shortstop Kazuo Matsui leads a third wave of Japanese exports to America. But the latest talent surge doesn't stop with Baseball or Japan. From Korean Golfers to Chinese Hoops Prodigies, Pacific Rim athletes are bringing their games to our games.

**Asia is Next.**<sup>17</sup> To this list add the spectacular performances of the Koreans and the Japanese in football and suddenly Asia looms large as a premier sporting continent. However, when we turn our attention to India, one of Asia's biggest countries, we are confronted with an ambience of 'backwardness', 'catching up' and 'gloom'.

This is because India, the most populous nation in the world, is a rather insignificant presence globally once we account for the export of software professionals to the Middle East and the West. This marginality is especially prominent in sports, forcing the magazine to start the article on Indian sport with the words, "None in a billion". In the Athens Olympics of 2004 India won a solitary silver medal.<sup>18</sup> The country continues to baffle with the panoply of anomalies it produces. Consider the fact that 44% of Indians still spend less than a dollar a day, seventy of a thousand Indian children die before their first birthday and another 25 die before they turn five.<sup>19</sup> In world politics, India remains a distant presence—her pleas against terrorist violence fall on deaf ears,

communal conflict continues to be a looming spectre and over a third of the population live on the streets. 'Brain drain' is one of the biggest threats that confront the nation.

It is this ambience of despair that forced the Indians to embrace technology and television, becoming, in the process, part of the global sporting village. Televised sport, for the Indian masses, becomes a vehicle for stimulating wants, mustering desires and triggering fantasies. This explains why Prasun Bhattacharyya, the hero in Moti Nandi's famous novel *Striker*, dreams of a Brazilian coming to offer him a contract to play for the Santos football club in Brazil. The novel starts with Prasun, an aspiring young footballer, describing a dream he has had the previous night. In his dream, he had seen a middle-aged foreigner, wearing white coat and trousers, stepping out of a limousine parked on the main road near his small town house. Residents of his locality had never seen a limousine before. Accordingly, a crowd had gathered to see the car and gauge the reason behind the coming of the foreigner. When it became known that he had come to see Prasun, most people were stunned, at the same time happy to hear a local name on the foreigner's lips. The Brazilian, when asked what he wanted, mentioned that he was the secretary of the Santos Football Club and announced his intention to sign Prasun to play for the club in the coming season. Upon hearing this, one of the residents rushed to inform Prasun's father about the offer and was very excited to mention that the foreigner represented the club for which Pele had played.<sup>20</sup> The way in which Pele is spoken about in this novel is proof enough of the iconic status Brazilian football enjoys in India, making Brazil the local favourite.<sup>21</sup>

Sport in India, like in more advanced Western nations, is now part of the integrated global leisure and entertainment industries. An analysis of the global football viewing Indian population brings into focus the upshot of this transformation. While global football has become mass entertainment, the local game continues to languish with India ranked at a lowly 120 in the FIFA rankings. Indian

<sup>16</sup> "Senegal's success...", *BBC Sport*, June 16 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Luke Cyphers, "Next", in *The ESPN Magazine*, Vol. 6, No 26, December 2003, p. 58 (emphasis added).

<sup>18</sup> Rajyavardhan Rathore won a silver in men's double trap shooting. Prior to this in 2000 at Sydney Karnam Malleswari had won a bronze in the 63-kilogram category in women's weightlifting, India's solitary medal in that games. In the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games also India had won a solitary bronze medal. Leander Paes had won the bronze in men's tennis in 1996.

<sup>19</sup> For details see; Sandipan Deb, "I Am Not Daft, It's The Game", in *Outlook*, February 15 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Moti Nandi, *Striker*, Ananda Publishers, Calcutta, 1973, pp.1-4.

<sup>21</sup> Sentiments expressed during an opinion poll conducted during the 2002 World Cup bears testimony to this argument: "On 21 June, when the Brazilian footballers kicked out their British counterparts from the world cup by two goals to one, they endeared themselves further to the football fanatics of Bengal. On that day, Kolkata turned into Brazil, with the yellow green flags along with the Ole Ole Samba dance on the streets to the beating of drums and bands, and the bursting of crackers. Age was no barrier. Bengalis did not forget to carry posters and effigies of Rivaldo and Ronaldinho."

"While the British fought their way to colonization, the Brazilians have won our hearts with ease by their display of excellence in world cup football. We can't accept Brazil's defeat in a world cup without feeling disappointed. We admire, if not envy, countries, which perform beyond expectation but we reserve our best wishes for Brazil. If this bias makes Bengal look like a colony of Brazil, we have no choice but to accept it...". For details see, *The Statesman*, July 1 2002.

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soccer fans, while claiming to be ardent viewers of European soccer, have altogether forgotten about Indian football. Native footballers in India still come from lower-middle class backgrounds who try their hand at the game because they have few other livelihood options. Financial crises continue to threaten the longevity of their careers, a situation aggravated by the dismal plight of most state football associations. Except a handful of leading footballers, others are seldom given due recognition and openings offered on the sports quota are never higher than the clerical grade. It is commonplace for noted footballers to suffer in poverty after retirement, to be rescued from such plight by welfare organisations and sports enthusiasts. It would be improper to hold the football associations wholly responsible for the gloomy reality surrounding Indian soccer. While the Indian spectator has been appropriated by the media and corporate brands like Coke and Pepsi, on most occasions, the spectator has no agency and remains what we can call a "passive consumer" of the global footballing spectacle, a spectacle created and nurtured by multi-national sponsors.

### Impact on Indian Soccer

World Cup 2002, which saw teams like Korea and Senegal make the headlines,<sup>22</sup> had raised much hope that India too could reach world standard in the near future. Fans in India, who were as much part of the world cup fever as their counterparts in any other country, believed that India had a distinct chance of emulating Korea in future. However, analysis proves that globalisation of soccer is a double-edged sword. Indian fans, with access to cable and satellite television under globalisation, eagerly await the start of the English Premier league, the Italian Serie A and the Spanish League. With the world's leading footballers playing in these leagues, the standard of football is a treat for the eyes. Under such circumstances, with unlimited access to watch the world's best in action, it is unnatural to expect that local fans would pay to cheer local outfits like Mohun Bagan and East Bengal. The Indian regional leagues, which start at almost the same time as the English Premiership,<sup>23</sup> are fast losing crowds. It is a common lament in India that after watching the world's best, local football is a pain for the

eyes. Accordingly, while the English Premier league has the highest TRP rating in some Indian cities, the number of spectators queuing up to watch erstwhile local favourites continue to dwindle. As V Krishnaswamy argues:

But before you start clapping or dreaming of a Senegal or Korea up there on the top of the heap in 2010 or 2014, look at the other side. Globalization does not necessarily mean the gap between the first world (European and Latin American teams) and the Third World (Asia largely and to some extent Africa) in football is going to become narrower. Within Asia, only a handful of teams— primarily South Korea, Japan and China— are likely to rise further. And in Africa it will still be the same four to six countries— Cameroon, Nigeria, Senegal or Algeria. Add to that South Africa and in times to come, may be Ghana or Sierra Leone. The globalization of world football may only mean more European and Latin American coaches in Asia and Africa and more talented Asian and African footballers in Europe— not even Latin America, which is itself struggling from the lack of funds. Just when it seems it is helping perk up standards, it turns its face and moves away. It does enrich the world, but leaves its own home in tatters. Not even for a fleeting moment should one believe that the rise of Senegal in the world cup... will raise the standard of football in that country. Just forget it. It has not happened, nor is it likely to happen. If anything, the domestic football scene in Senegal will be even more impoverished.<sup>24</sup>

With globalisation, Manchester United, AC Milan and Real Madrid are household names in India. Come August every year, and people queue up to watch Thierry Henry and company start their quest for the premiership title. This also explains why David Beckham is an icon in places like Singapore and Tokyo. To quote Krishnaswamy again: "These are places where spiky haired Beckham is better recognized by people than their svelte actresses and powerful Presidents, where fans buy \$50 Man U scarves and pay through their nose for Cable TV that telecasts the English league".<sup>25</sup>

What is alarming is that with the increased impact of globalisation, sponsorship figures for local leagues are undergoing a steady decline. While fans are ready to pay more to view cable channels like ESPN/Star Sports and Ten Sports,<sup>26</sup> channels that telecast European football leagues, local football hardly lures a multinational sponsor. Interestingly, failure on the part of the cable operators to telecast an important European football match often results in them getting beaten up and their offices ransacked.<sup>27</sup> No such ruckus follows a Mohun Bagan-East Bengal encounter, which have hardly been telecast live in recent years. Thus Krishnaswamy rightly asserts:

Globalization by definition is meant to reduce the gap between the haves and the have-nots, not just in terms of wealth but also in terms of talent. It is meant to be a two way osmotic process, but in football it is not so. The few moments of success by the Asian and African teams may bring pleasure to countless people in Asia and Africa, but once of the field, the cruel world of commerce drives home the harsh realities of life. Once the world cup is over, the Senegalese fans will go back to pushing themselves hard to make ends meet, and the footballers will fly back to France to re-join their respective clubs. (22 of the 23 Senegalese players play for French clubs) And what of those small boys on the streets of Dakar? They will continue to kick around with a rag ball and dream of playing outside Senegal. And what of the officials of Senegal— whose names we never know or care about? They will trump their chests at FIFA seminars... (about) how they raised the standard of football in their country. FIFA chief Sepp Blatter and his organization will, meanwhile, pat themselves for taking football to places where even food seldom reaches and we shall seldom hear about the Senegalese, Nigerian or Cameroonian leagues.<sup>28</sup>

With growing incursions from cable and satellite television, opportunities for local players are steadily dwindling. Local soccer administrators, watching international leagues, are keen to rope in foreign players to improve the standard of play. In doing so, they

22 While Korea reached the semi-finals for the first time in the history of the nation, Senegal, in its maiden appearance reached the quarterfinals.

23 Most Indian leagues kick off in earnest in July while the English Premiership kicks off in August.

24 V. Krishnaswamy, 'Football and globalization', *Frontline*, July 19 2002, pp. 10-11.

25 Ibid.

26 Rates for these channels have increased 4 times over the past two years. Knowing that viewers will pay more for these channels, proprietors are putting pressure on cable operators for increased pay. This has resulted in a series of major tussles between cable operators and the representatives of ESPN/Star Sports in recent years.

27 Such a failure on the day of the quarterfinal between Brazil and England on June 21 2002 led to a series of crowd unrest in Kolkata. Many cable operators were beaten up and roadblocks were erected in protest.

28 Krishnaswamy, 'Football and globalization'.

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often sign unworthy internationals, who, given their foreign nationality, are preferred over homegrown stars. Local striker Dipendu Biswas, hardly a regular anymore for leading local sides, has argued that while worthy foreigners are indeed welcome, they help in improving the standard of football, unworthy foreigners, and most recruits are such, often ruin the prospects of local stars.<sup>29</sup> Guided by the notion that all foreigners are better, local coaches are keen to play them ahead of homegrown footballers, a process that severely affects the development of local talent. Globalisation also affects the fortunes of local coaches. With the Indian market opening up to absorb international discards, local coaches often find themselves saddled with a foreign coach at the helm. These coaches, paid a far higher remuneration than their Indian counterparts, often fail miserably resulting in them being thrown out after a season's work. This explains the numerous changes at the helm of the Indian national team in recent years:

Since the mid-1990s, however, larger numbers of foreigners have been used and have come from Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Kenya in Africa as well as Jordan, Uzbekistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Thailand in Asia and from Brazil and South America. Few of these players have been outstanding successes. Many of them have been found sub-standard and are either sent back when they come for trials or grudgingly accommodated, since the clubs cannot afford better players.<sup>30</sup>

Opening up of the global football scene, product of the sort of cable and satellite television has also stifled the progress of football in India, a process that had started in the early 1990s. The early 1990s saw the start of the National Football League and the take over of numerous local clubs by leading corporate companies.<sup>31</sup> The UB group, a leading corporate concern

in India, took to sponsoring the East Bengal and Mohun Bagan Club in 1998-99, successfully taking over the third Calcutta giant, Mohammedan Sporting Club, in 1999-2000.<sup>32</sup> In its first year of involvement, the UB group paid a whopping 27.5 million each to the two Calcutta giants, East Bengal and Mohun Bagan.<sup>33</sup> However, by the start of the second year it had reduced its budget by 5 million rupees each. Further reductions followed in 2000-2001 and 2001-2002.<sup>34</sup> Other corporate concerns, which had spent heavily on soccer clubs, followed a similar pattern.<sup>35</sup>

As part of this renewed interest in local soccer, leading national football tournaments like the Federation Cup, Durand Cup, the Santosh Trophy and others had received corporate backing.<sup>36</sup> However, within a couple of seasons, by 2000-01, as mentioned by Mario Rodrigues, three main tournaments, the Federation Cup, the Santosh Trophy and the National Football League had no title sponsors.<sup>37</sup>

In trying to explain the budgetary reductions of the UB group, Rodrigues asserts:

Despite liberal funding, Mohun Bagan and East Bengal finished fourth and seventh respectively in the third NFL (1998-99). In the fourth season, East Bengal ended a lowly seventh while Mohun Bagan too had floundered initially until a belated addition of the quality foreign players, Stephen Abarowei, Jose Ramirez Barreto and the top scorer Igor Shvikiran, saw them put together a convincing winning run that gave them the title.<sup>38</sup>

However, with Mohun Bagan winning the National Football League title in 1999-2000, his argument that poor performance had initiated a budgetary reduction hardly seems convincing. Going by this logic, the Indian cricket team, which languished at a lowly eighth position in the world Test rankings in 1999-2000, should have seen all its sponsors queuing up

to withdraw. The story was the other way round. Sponsors were streaming in to sponsor the Indian team.<sup>39</sup> Rather, budgetary reductions in soccer, it may be argued, had much to do with the poor rate of returns. As explained by the spokesperson of the Phillips company after their withdrawal from the sponsorship of the National Football League:

The experience was not favorable. What was promised in terms of exposure in the media did not happen. The money spent was not commensurate with the outcome. So we felt that the long term strategic intent of Phillips would not be achieved.<sup>40</sup>

With continuing invasion from satellite channels, bringing live action to Indian homes from across the world, coverage of local football in the media is certain to drop off further in the coming years unless Indian football is successfully commercialised. Fans, it is natural, will be more eager to watch European teams than to cheer their favourite local outfits. The days of the sixties and seventies, when fans queued up all night to watch a Mohun Bagan-East Bengal encounter seem to be a memory of a distant past.<sup>41</sup> With a reduced number of spectators in local derby games, sponsors, guided by the objective of maximising profits, prefer television slots during live telecasts of European leagues to sponsorship of local football tournaments.

### Pecuniary Anomalies of AIFF

The air of despondency has been aggravated by some of the actions of the All India Football Federation at the helm. The apex body for football in the country, it may be suggested, has hardly lived up to its professed nomenclature in recent years. This is best evident from a close analysis of the High Court Case of September 2000 involving the All India Football Federation and the Indian Football Association. With no other option left to explore, the IFA, in September 2000, filed a petition in the Calcutta

<sup>29</sup> In a panel discussion organised by the Tara Bangla television channel, held at the Bengal Club, Kolkata, he was emphatic in condemning the new policy of recruiting foreign players suggesting that unworthy foreigners are spelling ruin for local players.

<sup>30</sup> Mario Rodrigues, 'The Corporates and the Game: football in India and the conflicts of the 1990s' in Paul Dimeo and James Mills (eds.), *Soccer in South Asia: Special Issue of Soccer and Society*, Frank Cass, London, 2001, pp. 110.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>39</sup> Sahara India spent a fortune in winning the rights to sponsor the Indian team. Other bidders included ITC, Hero Honda etc. Even when Zee has invested crores to sponsor Indian football, signs are that they will find it extremely difficult to recover that money. Despite trying to organise the games in the evenings, the crowds continued to stay away from NFL matches in 2005-6.

<sup>40</sup> Rodrigues, 'The Corporates and the Game', p. 117.

<sup>41</sup> It was natural for fans to queue up at night before the stadium in the hope of buying tickets in the morning, soon after the ticket counter opened. Tickets were sold out within minutes of the opening of counters.

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High Court praying that the respondents, the All India Football Federation, should be directed to provide details of its finances, improper management of which, the IFA argued, was affecting the future of football in the country. On hearing the IFA's plea, the Calcutta High Court on 25 September 2000 appointed Shyamal Mitra as Special Officer to deliberate on the Federation's finances. In his report<sup>42</sup>, Mitra categorically stated that 'in the absence of proper documentary evidence, receipts, confirmations, agreements etc.' he could not adequately verify many items. He also scathingly observed:

In the absence of details of gate sales and proceeds from a number of State Associations, accuracy of amounts... credited during the year

to the General Fund, Players Benevolent Fund and Incentive to Members Associations amounting to Rs. 203,741 and Rs. 407,483 respectively could not be ascertained.<sup>43</sup>

As for sponsorship, the Federation, according to the report, fared no better. In fact, the report noted with alarm: "Income from sponsorship as per statement sent by agents is more than the amount booked in the accounts by Rs. 500,000. No satisfactory explanation was provided for such difference." What is most surprising, evident from Mitra's cynical report, "(T)he Federation has not maintained a fixed asset register showing full particulars including quantitative details and situation of its fixed assets." "The existence of fixed

assets", therefore, "could not be verified in the absence of reports/working papers supporting physical verification of the assets in question."<sup>44</sup>

Mitra ended his report with a series of annexures, of which number 9 was under the heading, "Observations on the status of books of accounts and related records of the Federation".<sup>45</sup> In this annexure, he paid particular attention to details of cashbook, journal, general ledger, D vouchers and supporting matters and found a series of irregularities.<sup>46</sup>

Deliberating on the Special Officer's report, Chartered Accountants D.K. Basu and Company, appointed auditors of the AIFF by the High Court in March 2001 added a further list of anomalies to the already existing list of discrepancies. The most serious of

<sup>42</sup> 'Special Officers Report to the Honorable Calcutta High Court' (hereafter Special Report), IFA Archives, Calcutta.

<sup>43</sup> Special Report. A number of other anomalies as mentioned in the report are equally startling. To reproduce the report:

"Balance in Earmarked Funds is not represented by investments and there is a shortfall to the extent of Rs. 3,901,009.

Outstanding dues from member associations, other loans, advances and deposits include recoverables towards sponsorship fees from Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited, United Breweries Limited and Philips India Limited totaling to Rs. 6,500,000 which should have been charged off in the accounts.

Extent of recoverability of sponsorship income amounting to Rs. 3,000,000 outstanding from Britco Foods Company Limited could not be ascertained.

No claim has been lodged with the income tax authorities for tax deducted at source by the sponsors/others amounting to Rs. 1,995,942 of which 1,443,747 is on account of the year (2000), as a result of which the balance, in my opinion, is not recoverable by way of tax refund.

There is a shortfall in provision for tournament expenses and commission on sponsorship to the extent of Rs. 850,000 (of which Rs. 350,000 is on account of 1997-98) and Rs. 900,000 respectively."

<sup>44</sup> Special Report. The Special Officer went on to provide specific particulars in this case: "The Federation has been granted exemption from payment of income tax under Section 10(23) of the Income Tax Act, 1961, for the assessment years 1990-91 to 1994-95. I have been informed that applications have been made to the Income Tax authorities for extension of similar exemption in respect of subsequent years assessment for which the necessary approvals are awaited.... However, the said applications were not furnished for my inspection."

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> It is of relevance to reproduce this annexure here:

### Cash Book

In a number of cases incomplete entries were found, where no particulars and/or dates of transactions were mentioned.

There was no voucher reference for individual items of receipt and payment.

No daily or monthly balances have been drawn.

In some cases blank pages were found.

In most of the cases there were blank spaces in between entries.

In all the cases, casting was done in pencil.

### Journal

AIFF does not have any journal vouchers. It was found that a journal register was maintained containing the closing accrual entries.

However, there was no authentication/authorization in the journal register.

For the purpose of preparation of accounts, the closing entries and rectification entries were incorporated in a supplementary journal register as those could not be incorporated in the original Journal register already submitted to the Honorable High Court, without their consent.

There was no voucher reference for individual transactions and the entries were not supported with narration.

In most of the cases casting was done in pencil and in some cases it was not done at all.

### General Ledger

For the purpose of preparation of accounts, the effect of the above mentioned closing entries and rectification entries were incorporated in a supplementary General Ledger as those could not be incorporated in the original General Ledger already submitted to the Honorable High Court without their consent.

In some cases incomplete entries were found, where no particulars and/or dates of transactions were mentioned.

There was no voucher reference for individual transactions.

In most cases balances were not drawn and in some cases it was done in pencil.

In some cases blank pages were found.

In most of the cases there are blank spaces in between entries.

### Vouchers and Supporting

Vouchers did not have any serial number. Nor were they kept in any particular sequence.

Receipt vouchers were not maintained.

In many cases payment vouchers were not prepared.

In a number of cases vouchers were not backed with adequate supporting documents.

There was no authorization in most of the payment vouchers.



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these was probably related to banking transactions and exchanges. As the auditors' report declared:

A sum of Rs. 42,81,828 was transferred from Standard Chartered Bank, Gariahat Branch, time to time to the personal account of the Accountant of the federation in his personal name in August 1998. I have been given to understand that the said current account was opened in the name of the accountant of the federation for smooth functioning and to avoid impediments to payments to be made by the All India Football Federation. The relevant bills and vouchers for the expenses incurred on this account could not be verified by me. In my opinion, instead of opening the current account with Standard Chartered Bank in the name of the accountant, the current account should have been opened in the name of All India Football Federation duly authorizing the accountant to operate the said account, with the approval of the Executive Committee members.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, the report mentioned that, "considerable amounts have been transferred by withdrawal from the account of the federation with Standard Chartered Bank, Gariahat Branch by instruction on letter head to the concerned bank deviating from the usual system of using cheques on the concerned bank. During the period 25<sup>th</sup> January to 31<sup>st</sup> March 1999, the period of my audit, a sum of Rs. 50,00,000 has been withdrawn.... I am

of the opinion that such system of withdrawal be discontinued as far as possible and practicable.... (For Ledgers) casting (addition) is done in pencil, which was inked up on 19.7.01 before I certified the accounts."<sup>48</sup>

### The Future

As this section has attempted to demonstrate, hopes that India will emulate other Asian counterparts in the near future lie largely unfounded. At the root of such failure is the disastrous impact of globalisation on Indian soccer, intensified by a much politicised apex body at the helm. By transmitting action from round the globe to third world homes, television, it may be argued, is proving ruinous for the future development of local football. Spectators are fast losing interest, players are losing confidence and administrators are taking full toll of their unaccountability. There was once a situation, as Mario Rodrigues argues, when Brazilians would settle for much cheaper sums when compared to the local stars who quoted ridiculously high prices.<sup>49</sup> However, things have changed dramatically. Brazilian striker Jose Barreto, who played for Mohun Bagan for three consecutive seasons and then for Mahindra United, was the highest paid player on Indian soil for quite some time. Stephen Constantine, coach of the Indian national team for more than five years, received a whopping amount from the All India Football Federation, which, rumours are afloat is to the tune of 10 million rupees. Local outfits like Mohun Bagan and

East Bengal are increasingly relying on foreign stars and local players, who were preferred a couple of years earlier, are biting the dust. In such circumstances, chances are that during the world cups in 2010 and 2014, India will continue to remain a colony of the growing global capital with liberation from such yoke hardly visible.

### Concluding Remarks

The above trysts with 'Globalisation', to borrow Alan Klein's phrase, reflects the workings of a more democratic version of globalisation, one he calls "Tough Love Globalization". This form of globalisation, he contends, is inclusive of corporations and nations—encouraging the have-nots to enter into the matrix if they can—it stops short of institutionally seeking to distribute power and wealth. This is why Senegal can achieve success at World Cup 2002 but fails to resist coercion in 2003. Tough love is about merit, and though it opens the door to opportunity, it brooks no failure. This explains the Indian success in IT, which, however, isn't replicated in the realm of soccer. Tough-love globalisation thus merely allows entry to those that can take advantage of it, turning its back on all others. Perhaps Tina Rosenberg is correct when she argues, "No nation (read developing nation) has ever developed over the long term under the rules being imposed today on third world countries by the institutions controlling globalization."

Particulars regarding relevant account heads were not mentioned on the vouchers.

<sup>47</sup> For details see Special Report.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Rodrigues, 'The Corporates and the Game', p. 111.

## Quiz

### Questions:-

1. What was the first Asian team to reach the knockout stages of the World Cup?
2. Which Asian team was invited to become the first team to participate in the World Cup, but could not because it was unable to bear the financial burden.
3. Which African national team was nicknamed the 'Indomitable Lions' and why?
4. After Argentina's controversial victory over England, Maradona, the hero of the victory dubbed the win a revenge for a recent event. Which event was he referring to?
5. In which World Cup was there no final?
6. During a World Cup match played by this national team, a Prince of that country went into the ground to protest a refereeing decision. What was this country?
7. A Brazilian player announced his retirement after he lost his first World Cup match. Who was he?
8. In 1930, Uruguay hosted the first World Cup, causing a stir among the European nations. Why was Uruguay chosen for this honour?
9. What match did the highest number of people ever to see a sporting contest in the stadium witness?
10. The World Cup is traditionally won by a team from the region hosting the championship, if it is held in either of the two powerhouse areas. Thus, Latin American sides have always won when the Cup was played in their region, and Europe has failed to retain the Cup only once when it hosted the competition. When did this exception take place?

Answers on page 62

## Contemporary South

### Of Liberty and Other Demons\*



**Jishnu Dasgupta**

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.

One fine morning, the Defence Minister of India is shot to death by three youths, with three more involved in the planning. The Minister becomes a hero posthumously, and the killers, yet at large, are dubbed terrorists. In order to clear their name and to show that the Minister, being corrupt, deserved to die, the five male members of the team take over the All India Radio and explain their actions.

So, did it?

Soon after the film opened to rave reviews and packed halls, there was indeed a massive movement spear-headed by an organisation called Youth for Equality (YFE). Students of elite institutions, particularly of technical and management courses, and most of all, medical students, took to the streets in protest. They argued, with a great deal of suave command of

at an advantage. Why should anyone want positive discrimination to ensure a level playing field? It was perhaps only a sign of youthful exuberance that they sometimes called the lower castes dogs in their rallies. (A slogan at a Delhi rally went, "Desh ka kutta kaisa ho? SC ST jaisa ho.", that is, "How are the mangy dogs of the country like? Like the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.") More

Zimbabwe has witnessed the amazing transformation of a man once hailed internationally as a liberator to one increasingly seen as a murderer of democracy. President Mugabe's halo comes majorly from his role in the struggle against white-minority racist rule. The guerrilla war that he led saw him emerge as a revolutionary hero. In power since 1978, Mugabe has become increasingly dictatorial ever since the defeat of constitutional reforms proposed by him in 2002. He has been unable to digest the growing strength of the opposition in a land where he was once a universal hero.

He has vilified the opposition MDC as stooges of white and foreign interests, something that has become the justification of acute repression for many of them, and even the death of some of them. Even the two top leaders of the MDC, Morgan Tsvangirai and Welshman Ncube, have been incarcerated and put on trial for treason, which carries the death penalty.

At the same time, he has been refashioning himself. In the last Presidential elections (2002), for instance, instead of the conservative suits and safari suits of earlier days, he wore brightly coloured t-shirts with his own face emblazoned on them, a stark reminder of the way many of the African dictators of the past. Even Archbishop Desmond Tutu commented that Mugabe is becoming a caricature of those very dictators. A man once famous for fighting for a 'one man, one vote' policy has now taken to demanding utility bills as proof of resident status from voters, knowing full well that the poor and the unemployed (who are obviously more likely to be disgruntled) would find it difficult to procure the utility bills demanded.

The mobilisation of international opinion by MDC has been further hampered by the confiscation of passports of a number of luminaries of that party. In any case, France, keeping with her "long history of associating with African dictatorships" (according to MDC leader Moses Mzila Ndlovu) has been supportive of the regime. And in Zimbabwe, Mugabe's men have tried to promote a god-like status for him. Their attitude is typified by the statements of his long-term close associate Didymus Mutasa, who asserted that it was not Zimbabwean culture to change kings as long as they live, "and Mugabe is our king."

Commandos step in and gun them down. The media and the youth are enraged and the latter promise that the flame they have lit will not be allowed to go out.

That in short, is the last part of the recent Hindi film, *Rang De Basanti* ('Colour Me Saffron'). The film, a huge hit, portrayed the transformation of these five, enmeshed in merry-making or a 'false (communal) consciousness', to avenging martyrs, as sits well with the colour *Saffron*, the Hindu colour of sacrifice, adopted so seamlessly by both the Indian state and the Hindu Right BJP. Its famous promotional line went "A generation awakens".

English that by proposing to extend reservations to postgraduate courses, the government was disregarding merit and holding the country's future ransom to narrow electoral gains. There were strikes and even a case of self-immolation, a gory reminder of the protests against the Mandal Commission, when the previous phase of these reservations was carried out.

The media was left almost sobbing in gratefulness at their concern for the development of the country. Enhancing reservations, of course, would only keep alive the pernicious influence of castism. We all want equality, do we not? Particularly when some can start

importantly, what would India Inc. do if the cream of the country were debarred from getting into top management institutes and learning how to sell cold cream? It was only the most cynical and ungenerous who could suggest that the great vehemence of the protests was because of the fear of being deprived of such an opportunity to sell cream and lotions and so on just as these acts of selling was becoming more profitable than ever through the Second Generation of Reforms.

During a demonstration in Mumbai by medical students, the would-be doctors were beaten up by the police

\* I wish to acknowledge the patience of Anirban Saha and Atig Ghosh who had to bear my anguish when it poured out in speech before it did in the written word. Upal Chakrabarti helped me put together much of the information. Ashish Chakrabarti doesn't even know how his ideas filtered down to me. My thanks are due to both of them.

Along with this piece I have also tried to describe events in other Southern Countries, to give the readers a feel of democracy and all that in some of these.

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serving the same Home Minister, who had recently so 'gloriously' put the dance bars out of action to protect the innocent citizenry from sleaze. The media (this time for real) was up in arms. The NDTV (the channel shown in *Rang De Basanti*) even made the event the subject of its daily puppet show that lampoons politicians (along with all sorts of public people). In it, the puppet representing the Chief Minister told the doctors' representative that since the educated, like the doctors, were not likely to ever take up politics as a profession and threaten the politicians as a tribe, they will not and can not be heard. Outside the puppet show, the silence was so deafening that for weeks, there was hardly anything else the news media, either in televised or printed form, talked about. And then, there came the opinion polls. In the poll conducted by the same NDTV, there was

already have other advantages provided by class and caste in a deeply unequal society. As of now, they are the people who form the largest buyers in the market for the goods advertised in the media. And, as we all know, it is money from these advertisements that is the major chunk of the revenue of these business houses.

But is that all? That is so crudely materialistic and unfashionable that no one would buy it. Not even me. I also consume the same sensationalisation that the 'tabloidised' media sells. I know the importance of glamour in selling these stories. When there has been glamour, as when Aamir Khan (one of the killers in *Rang De Basanti* and a major star) associated himself with the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (NBA), they gave it 'great coverage'. It was also intriguing to watch how a story itself can generate

police brutality in front of the cameras. But was this any more fascist than the farmers being shot to death by the police in Rajasthan for the grave crime of demanding water that happened at the same time as the JU incident? Brutal and inhuman, did I hear anyone say? Did anyone cry for democracy? No tickertapes on TV screens for it and the item was given a peaceful, if not decent, burial in the inside pages.

This was death in your face. There was blood on the streets and there were bullets. And it was not a major news item, unlike when it is "Blood on the Dance Floor", or at least, on the bar, as was the case with the Jessica Lal murder. So it is little wonder that the slow death that the victims of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy more than two decades earlier has no resonance whatsoever left. But the sufferers are such foolish ignorant people, unchanged, it seems, since the days of

Possibly, the one bright spot for votaries of popular movements has been Nepal. The Himalayan state, which had been a constitutional monarchy, had been sliding into royal absolutism ever since the accession of King Gyanendra. That event itself was extremely controversial as it took place under a cloud of suspicion as the entire royal family, including King Virendra, were murdered, allegedly by the Crown Prince, who then killed himself, but the investigation results were contradictory and vague in many ways, and there was no popular faith in the official version.

Gyanendra himself was not a very popular man, which was further enhanced by the notoriety enjoyed by Paras, his son, and now the Crown Prince, a man alleged, among other things, to be guilty of manslaughter. However, the king soon sought to impose personal autocratic rule by suspending parliament under the allegation of failure to curb Maoist insurgency. Many political leaders, including two former Prime Ministers, Girija Prasad Koirala and Sher Bahadur Deuba (the latter had initially sided with the king) were incarcerated. But, as the emergency failed to subside and Maoists continued to gain ground, the discontent with the regime enhanced further, as its very *raison d'être* disappeared. The political parties, including the two major ones, the Nepali Congress and the Communist Party of Nepal, came together to form a Seven Party Alliance (SPA).

On 14 March, even the Maoists came together with the SPA, as the Maoist leader Prachhanda pledged his support for the pro-democracy movement. They also agreed to lift the blockade they had enforced in order to facilitate the coming together of pro-democracy activists for demonstrations planned in April. The SPA launched its movement on 6 April, and the streets of the capital, Kathmandu, were filled with demonstrators. The government soon launched its full might on the protesters, and there were cases of shooting, but the death of some of the protesters failed to curb their fervour. As a famous newspaper headline screamed, "Death of a Protester, Not of Protest."

Ultimately on 21 April, Gyanendra bowed before popular pressure, and handed over reins to the SPA, supported by the Maoists. Not only was the old parliament, that was dissolved, revived, it also functions as a constituent assembly. Even the abolition of monarchy altogether is a distinct possibility.

agreement with the media and the Youth for Equality that the government was indeed playing petty politics with an eye on the ballot box. But, NDTV's famous journalist Barkha Dutt couldn't hide her surprise that nearly two-thirds of those polled supported reservations, even in its present form.

But, it is not as if there was no silence. As a student of history, I am not sure we can recover silenced histories. But I am told that at the least, I can attempt a history of the silencing. The voices we couldn't hear in the cacophony of rationality and the developmentalist rhetoric of the Youth for Equality and of the media were the voices, it seems, of the majority. Why then, are they not heard? Why do they not find an equal space under the free skies of a post-liberalisation media? The question is an old one and answered by far more erudite people than me. No one, I am sure, would like to hear from me what they have already talked of. But let me apply them to our present context. The people, who opposed the reservations, are the people who don't need it, who

another. First, Aamir's association with the movement spawned front-page stories. Then you could gleefully analyse the 'real' motives behind the actor's actions in the editorial pages. And finally, it again made it back to the front pages when the BJP, which runs the Gujarat government, against which the movement has been fighting for as long as anyone can remember, tried to stop the release of Aamir's next film, *Fanaa*, in the state. The media could once again cast itself in the role of a knight in shining armour riding out to the defence of an endangered dame-o-cracy (It is often missed out that while the knight might rescue the damsel, it is always the lady or the 'dame' that he wants sexually).

It did so too a year or so back when the students of Jadavpur University in West Bengal were beaten up by the police during a hunger strike. The police action was dubbed inhuman and fascist (rightly so, in my humble opinion). Dame-o-cracy was, indeed in danger, and even a human face could be put to it in the form of a female student being given a dose of

Huxley, that they do not recognise this. They actually have the nerve to march from Bhopal to Delhi, a distance that is so much greater than that covered by Gandhi during his famous Dandi March.

That spectacle was immortalised by the movie cameras of the age, and its likeness still forms part of a very successful phone company ad. But no one made the Bhopal-Delhi march a spectacle let alone an ad. Even when they reached Delhi, they were placed in the darkness (literally so) of Jantar-Mantar, where the state provides a space for protests, a space far away from the gaze of the capital's denizens.

But Jantar-Mantar was not out of the gaze, or rather, the glare, of the media at that time. The NBA demonstration already referred to was right opposite the marchers'. The flashes of the cameras couldn't stop as the celebrated author Arundhati Roy held a press conference, flanked by the real heroine of the movement, Medha Patkar. But, that could only make the darkness unlit by the flashbulbs on

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their side all the more dark for those heroes and heroines who had marched all this way.

In the early 1970s, an actor regarded as a wash-out made a brilliant come-back with two of the greatest roles ever on silver screen. He was Marlon Brando and the films: 'The Godfather' and 'Last Tango in Paris'. But when he got an Academy Award for the first role, Brando disdainfully refused it by sending an American Indian girl to the Oscars to voice his and her protest against the US Government's violation of the rights of the Indians. It nearly earned the girl a beating up by the redoubtable John Wayne (who perhaps confused the Awards ceremony with one of his 'Cowboy Westerns', where he could happily shoot Indians) as she read out Brando's rejection note and did earn the actor the enmity of the Hollywood establishment. It did not make Washington give Indians back the land that was theirs. It did not give Indian guns victory over US artillery.

Aamir's laudable gesture, it must be said, did less to give the NBA the spotlight than Brando's action had done for the American Indian movement. Because, the NBA, with Arundhuti Roy and Medha Patkar leading it, were already receiving major coverage much before Aamir joined it. But it did cause the cameras

to zoom in that much more. But while the cameras were doing so and a young activist was making his and the NBA's case before it, a friend of mine saw an old man, from a village drowned by the Sardar Sarovar Project that both of them were protesting against, angrily ask the speaker to shut up and let him sleep. He told my friend that he knew the battle had been lost. What does an old man know? Nothing, it seems, as the courts stayed further raising of the height of the dam before compensation issues were sorted out. But then, there is also the small matter of the Gujarat CM, the man accused of being responsible for the Gujarat genocide of 2002, going on a fast and finally the judiciary vacating the stay.

In the world of today, of the two 'Great Dictators' of the 1990s, (or at least, the bugbears of the United States) Saddam Hussein is in jail and Fidel Castro has handed over power because of health. Democracy (I am confused about the spelling by now) is safe now in the hands of the great U.S. of A. and its various mimics. Of course, liberty doesn't come cheap. People are ordered to surrender their (democratic) rights to protect their freedom, or at least the freedom of actions of their governments. But the governments have been magnanimous enough to allow some spaces to exist. But that small space has to be re-

served for such occasions as when the protests come from the ruling class (as old great-great...granddad Karl taught us to say). And the heroic fighters in the media pander to their wishes to take up such glorious causes. The school of our everyday experience and its textbook, the newspaper, tells us (and I am about to plagiarise Pete Seeger) that "our government must be strong, it is always right and never wrong." So, we no longer hear of state terror. We know now, that terror is 'done' by terrorists. Noone bothers with silly niceties (as those foolish journalists of my childhood) with saying "alleged" terrorists were killed in an encounter.

Let me come back to what I started with. The five male youths are dead. (The female, of course, can never be involved in the actions.) One of the 'awakened generation' says that the use of commandos marks the death of democracy and the journalist on the spot rails against the "innocent students" being clubbed with terrorists. What naivete! It was all done to protect democracy. And the state has called them terrorists. And since the state has said so, it must be true. And as Messrs. George W. Bush and Tony Blair, Manmohan Singh and Pervez Musharraf have informed us repeatedly, with painstaking effort, terrorists **must** die.

In the Mexican province of Oaxaca, the corrupt regime of Governor Ulises Ruiz has sparked off a massive pro-democracy movement, which, despite its peaceful nature, has been called an insurgency to indicate its intensity. It begun with a teachers' strike to demand wage hike for the teachers and greater facilities for students, such as free lunches, books and uniforms for Oaxaca's mostly poor and rural student body in this province which has the largest Indian population in Mexico and is also one of the poorest. Along with these, were also added long-standing grievances about Ruiz's administration. Since his election in July 2004, the province has seen 36 political assassinations, and dozens have been illegally detained and/or disappeared.

Soon, the strikers' camp was swelled by large number of people from various works of life making common cause with them. On 14 June, the police launched a brutal attack, which sent dozens to the hospital. The police brutality alienated many people, given the growing discontent with Ruiz's undemocratic practices, including the shooting, by government goons, of mediapersons opposed to him like people of the newspaper Noticias and Radio Universidad. On 28 June, there was a massive protest march, as many other organisations came together to form the Asamblea Popular del Pueblo de Oaxaca (Oaxacan Peoples' Assembly, or APPO). Matters were further worsened by the use of teargas in the heart of the city during a demonstration on 14 July, and local residents felt besieged as a helicopter was used to fire teargas shells indiscriminately. The state police's refusal to take part in the brutal repressions did not reduce the violence though, as the government of Ruiz has resorted to using hired gunmen. Following the death of José Jiménez Colmenares, during a demonstration, there was a further, more massive demonstration three days later, protesting this and the cases of disappearances of political activists.

On 1 August, womens organisations captured the government radio station. Though hired gunmen of Ruiz's government managed to evict them on 21 August, severely injuring a teacher, the APPO-led movement then 'borrowed' twelve private radio stations and opened the microphones to all who wanted to be heard. But for two stations that were unabashedly for Ruiz, the others were returned to their owners on the very same day.

In the recently held national elections, the APPO and other organisations including trade unions asked people to vote against PRI, the party to which Ruiz belongs. This contributed to their massive defeat to the left-of-centre Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). What happens to the state politics and what the fate of Ruiz will be, is still a thing of the future.

## Across the South: Explorations



Sucharita Ray

Sucharita Ray is a sophomore at Princeton University. Her academic interests are wide and wandering and encompass everything from Ecology and Evolutionary Biology to Medieval English literature and Romance languages– an attribute which makes it extremely difficult for her to decide exactly what she wants to major in! Her non-academic interests are equally varied and include environmental activism, Kathak– an Indian classical dance form, Arthurian legend and word games.

A Diplomatic Mission Gone Awry: Establishing Trade Links between China and Central Asia<sup>1</sup>

The Western Han period that stretched from 207 BC to 9 AD was best marked by the reign of Emperor Wu Ti, the "Martial Emperor" (140-87 BC). The sixth emperor of the Han ascended to the throne in 140 BC. His reign, which lasted till 87 BC, more than fifty years, was one of the most illustrious in Chinese history, characterised not only by military conquests and territorial expansion, but also by domestic reforms. Wu Ti's vast and powerful empire expanded till it extended from North Korea in the east right up to Central Asia in the west.

China's most powerful foreign foes at the time were the Xiongnu, a Turkish-speaking nomadic tribe who, at the apogee of their success in the second century BC, exerted their authority over a region that stretched from Eastern Mongolia to the Aral Sea. From time to time their cavalry rode south to raid China, causing much distress to the people in the borderlands. Even the Great Wall proved inadequate in dealing with the menace. And so, when Wu Ti took over the empire, his primary goals were to boost defense and trade. He turned to the Yueh-Chih for help. The Yueh-Chih had once inhabited Dunhuang in the Gansu area before suffering defeat at the hands of the Xiongnu, and eviction to the Amu Dar'ya River, west of the Pamir Knot. Wu Ti recognised the advantage to be gained by an alliance with these dispossessed people against a common enemy but needed a man of great strength and character to undertake the arduous journey to the Yueh-Chih to convince them of the wisdom of his plans.

In 138 BC, Zhang Qian or Chang Ch'ien, the commander of the guards at the imperial palace gates, volunteered to lead the one hundred men who were undertaking the hazardous trip. On his way, he and his band were captured by the Xiongnu in Hexi in the Gansu Province and held captive there for over ten years. Despite gentle treatment at the hands of the Xiongnu, among whose number he took a wife,

he could not forsake his original mission and finally managed to escape. He ploughed on westward, following the "northern route", along the southern Tien Shan Mountains, passing over Kashger and over the Pamirs. Finally, on his arrival at Kokand, Fergana in Turkistan, he befriended the king.



Zhang Qian travels west. Mogao Caves 618-712 AD  
[http://www.sacred-destinations.com/china/images/mogao-caves-Zhang\\_Qian-travel-to-west-618-712AD-wcpd-med.jpg](http://www.sacred-destinations.com/china/images/mogao-caves-Zhang_Qian-travel-to-west-618-712AD-wcpd-med.jpg)

In Kokand, Zhang Qian learnt from his friends that the Yueh-Chih had immigrated to the shores of the Amu Dar'ya River, a fact unknown to him this far. He resumed his westward journey, but by the time he reached his destination, the Yueh-Chih had abandoned their wild, nomadic life to become settled and pacific people who no longer thirsted for reclamation of their former lands or for revenge on the Xiongnu. Zhang Qian lived among the Yueh-Chih for more than a year before heading back eastwards. He was captured once again by the Xiongnu in Tarim Basin, living among them for another year, before managing to escape with his wife and son to Xian, the capital of the Han dynasty, in the chaos that followed the death of the Xiongnu king in 126 BC. His travels had lasted thirteen years and he was accompanied, in the return journey, by one sole man out of the original hundred that he had taken with him.

Although Zhang Qian's mission was an unmitigated failure, he brought back a treasure trove of reliable

information on the history, geography, and cultural conditions of Central Asia, Persia and Arabia. Based on his accounts, Wu Ti sent Zhang Qian to Central Asia once again in 119 BC, this time to seek the support of the Wu-sun, another nomadic tribe, who lived by the Ili River in the Xinjiang region by offering gifts. Thus Zhang Qian left with more than three hundred men, each of whom had two horses. They also took cattle and sheep with them and made arrangements to offer gold, silk and other gifts in abundance. Zhang Qian was successful in arranging a marriage alliance with Wu-sun but couldn't get them to agree to take revenge on the Xiongnu openly. Zhang Qian then successively sent envoys to other kingdoms including Parthia and India, which were welcomed in both countries. At the same time, the kingdoms sent their own envoys to Han. From that moment in history, the diplomatic missions were dispatched as regularly as commercial ones. The traffic on the Silk Road grew and flourished better than it ever had in the past.



The Extent of Zhang Qian's Travels.  
<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/b/bd/ZhangQianTravel.jpg/349px-ZhangQianTravel.jpg>

Another interesting consequence of Zhang Qian's travels was the introduction and breeding of the horses of Fergana in the Imperial Court in China. While staying in Kokand, he had been particularly impressed by the fine horses of the region, which sweated blood and were rumoured to be the offspring of supernatural horses. From him, Wu Ti learned that great steeds measuring sixteen hands

<sup>1</sup> This piece has been heavily influenced by a biographical account of Zhang Qian's travels, *Han Emperor Wu Ti's Interest in Central Asia and Chang Chien's Expeditions* accessed at <http://www.silk-road.com/artl/wuti.shtml>. The website is compiled and maintained by Prof. Daniel Waugh (The University of Washington) and Adela Lee (The Silkroad Foundation).

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in length, named 'Celestial Horses' were being reared in Fergana. Since his military campaigns demanded huge numbers of war-horses, Wu Ti was bent on bringing these Celestial Horses to his court.

Wu Ti's initial attempt to buy the Celestial Horses for gold coins was rejected by the king of Fergana and the Han envoy sent for the negotiation was murdered and stripped. When the Emperor heard the news, he was furious and decided to take them by force. A prolonged, bloody conflict ensued, at the end of which Wu Ti's men succeeded in reaching the capital of Fergana and besieging it. They returned to China with the famed Fergana steeds, including the pick of the celestial horses and 3000 ordinary

stallions and mares.

The success of the mission marked the commencement of the breeding of 'Celestial Horses' in China. The incredible steeds soon became status symbols for rich men and officials, marking their presence in the realm of art as well. In October 1969, the excavations of the tomb of a general of the second century AD, discovered near Wu-wei in Gansu yielded a quantity of spectacular bronze horses. These statuettes are now considered to be among the pinnacles of Han art.

Thus, in spite of the fact that his diplomatic missions were a failure, Zhang Qian's travels had far more important results than the ones he had originally intended to achieve. He played a vital role in opening up the

eastern trade routes of the Silk Road, an event of great and good consequence to all people and countries concerned. For China, it signified the beginning of much trade with Central Asia, involving imports of horses, cattle, and furs and hides and exports of silk among other commodities. Cucumber, walnut, sesame, alfalfa and pomegranate were subsequently introduced to China during the Han period as well as grapes from which the Chinese learnt to make wine. Thus, one man's single-minded campaign against the ferocious Xiongnu opened up a whole world of trade for the Chinese with people thousands of miles away.

### From Sari to Sarong<sup>2</sup>

Singapore's Asian Civilisations Museum. The exhibition linked fabrics from many societies across the Indonesian archipelago with the considerable volume of Indian textile traded to Indonesia over a period of several hundred years. The spectacular exhibits originating from both India and Indonesia weave a fascinating yarn of the commercial and cultural exchange between the two countries.

Dating from as early as the fourteenth century, the Indian textiles on display show an immense variety of designs. The ruling elite of the South East Asian kingdom placed an extraordinarily high premium on the fabulous Indian cloth— the spectacular gold shot cottons and silks and the delicate muslins and they revered some of the Indic motifs occurring in these fabrics— motifs which Indonesia incorporated into its own weaving. One may attribute the remarkable influence of Indian themes on South East Asian culture in general and Indonesian weaving in particular to the history of the "Greater India" Hindu kingdoms in the region— Khamboja, Champa, Annam, Srivijaya and Madajahit, which spanned South East Asia from Malaysia to the Phillipines between the second and fifteenth centuries A.D. These kingdoms had a flourishing and lucrative trade with India. It was inevitable therefore, for the exchange of religious myths and beliefs to take place alongside these burgeoning commercial relations and although Islam and Buddhism eventually emerged as the dominant religious forces in the region, Hindu civilisation and myth also had a considerable impact on the area. Quite apart from the inclusion of Sanskrit words in the indigenous languages and the peculiar adaptation of Hindu epics such as the Ramayana in the region, the very motifs on the old Indonesian textiles

that remain, tell the story. They have incorporated Indic symbols such as the *Garuda* or eagle, the *Naga* or snake, the lotus, the elephant and the *mandala* patterns among other themes and adapted the meaning of these motifs to their own purposes as well. Another recurring image woven into the cloth is that of the ship— the familiar and yet enigmatic emblem of travel and trade. In fact, the country's textiles are wholly representative of the amazing exchange of techniques, materials, themes and tropes that resulted from the trade between India and Indonesia.



Gujarat, India Traded to Indonesia  
Ceremonial cloth and sacred heirloom  
[patola] 18th century handspun silk,  
metallic thread, natural dyes; double ikat  
[http://www.nga.gov.au/SariToSarong/  
index.cfm](http://www.nga.gov.au/SariToSarong/index.cfm)



Toraja people Sulawesi, Indonesia  
Sacred heirloom textile [ma'a or mawa;  
mbesa] early 20th century  
cotton, natural dyes; painting, block  
printing  
374.0 x 89.0cm

In 2004, the National Museum of Australia curated one of the most ambitious and impressive exhibitions of Indonesian textiles ever— an exhibition which was, throughout the year, taken to and displayed in various museums around the world including



Paminggir people Lampung, south Sumatra,  
Indonesia  
Ceremonial textile [tampan] 19th century  
cotton, natural dyes; supplementary weft  
weave  
70.0 x 65.0cm  
Collection National Gallery of Australia

Some of the textiles on display have been carbon dated back to the fourteenth century, making them over 600 years old. It is staggering to even conceive of delicate fabric surviving that long in remote Indonesian villages, particularly when one thinks of the circumstances under which it has done so; having successfully withstood the ravages of time, war and equatorial climate. It is testament to the veneration with which textile was treated, and to the care taken to

<sup>2</sup> I would like to acknowledge the influence of Robyn Maxwell's piece *Sari to Sarong: 500 years of Indian and Indonesian textile exchange* accessed at <http://www.nga.gov.au/SariToSarong/>

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preserve it that we are able to see it on display today. Where did such reverence come from? The answer may be found in the use of fabric in sacred rituals in the region.



Coromandel coast, India Traded to Lampung, Indonesia  
Ceremonial textile 17th–18th century  
cotton, dyes; mordant painting  
340.0 x 240.0cm  
Loan from the collection of Robert J. Holmgren and Anita Spertus, New York

Fine textiles, both local and imported, were items of wealth and influence in Indonesia. Their ownership signified prestige and power and aristocratic families hankered after their ownership. Ceremonial cloth constituted holy regalia and family heirlooms and their deterioration or damage was treated as a malefic sign,

particularly in the case of the Toraja people of the Sulawesi region. Textiles played a vital role in many Toraja rituals, both of life and death. Locally produced textiles, mostly in the *ikat* pattern adapted from the fabrics of Western India served as shrouds for the dead and were also used to wrap the grave architecture, in the belief that this would ward off evil. In contrast, the textiles associated with the rites of life such as birth and marriage were the sacred *mawa*, the heirloom treasures stored in the roofs of the great clan homes, the most sacred parts of the houses. Most of these *mawa* were centuries old, imported and spectacularly woven and worked Indian cloths. In one of the most stunning displays of the importance of these textile heirlooms and their more masculine counterparts in the form of family swords and knives, the Toraja built huge stairways or bates—bamboo ladders to which hundreds of rolls of Indian textiles were attached, alternating with the ancient swords and daggers. This structure towered above the rituals and ceremonies of life, a symbolic invitation to the ancestors to descend, join and bless the participants in celebrations of living and vitality.

It is this reverence of textiles inherited by the Indonesian people from their ancestors along with the fantastic and irreplaceable heirlooms themselves that explain the great skills

of textile preservation that they have developed. Textiles are often stored in chests made of aromatic sandalwood. Bales of cloth are folded away, interlaced with jasmine petals that smell sweet and keep away insects, in woven baskets. The baskets are hung from the rafters by thin twine encircled with rodent-repellents. Regular rituals to air and honour the textiles are part of the ceremonial cycle in many cultures. And while a textile treasure in tatters is taken as a perturbing sign of impending calamity, there is a widespread belief in the capacity of the sacred textiles to regenerate themselves, so that when opened the following year their fine condition will be a portent of good luck and happy futures. The desire to preserve important designs against the ravages of nature and to emulate the finest family heirlooms has long been a strong motivation for the creation and preservation of Indonesian textiles in the image of the inherited sacred Indian fabrics.

Regardless of whether the awe inspiring ability of the Toraja people to care for their cloth, or the strange magical powers of the fabric to regenerate itself has contributed to the survival of these exquisite pieces, the fact that we are able to view them in undiminished splendour in times and lands far removed from those of their origins is a miracle of no insignificant magnitude.

### Rhythms of the Homeland and the Heart: East Indians and their Music in the Caribbean<sup>3</sup>

In 1996, Sharlene Boodram's song "Calcutta Woman" hit the American and European markets, soaring its way up the charts and becoming an instant hit with dancers and disc jockeys the world over, thus firmly establishing Chutney music as a musical form in its own right and making it the cynosure of much attention. The lilting melodies and persistent beats of Chutney songs, which are indigenous to the Southern Caribbean, make them immensely popular with those who frequent discotheques and dance parties. However, both the history and the market of Chutney run deeper and wider than that.



Newly arrived Indian indentured labourers in Trinidad c. 1903  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Newly\\_arrived\\_coolies\\_in\\_Trinidad.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Newly_arrived_coolies_in_Trinidad.jpg)

Chutney music is a musical form originating in Trinidad and Tobago, Surinam and Guyana in the Southern Caribbean that derives its elements from Soca, a Caribbean musical genre that is itself a blend of calypso and American rhythm and blues, characterised by tuneful melodies and insistent percussion. Chutney musicians write their lyrics in Hindi, Bhojpuri or English and lay it to rhythm with beats from Bollywood music and Soca. They are especially popular with both East Indian communities in the Southern Caribbean and diasporic West Indians in Canada, the US and the Netherlands.



Sundar Popo  
<http://www.cott.org.tt/news/yearbook/2000/photos/sundar.jpg>

Chutney music was born from the arrival of East Indian indentured labourers in the Caribbean. These workers had been imported by the British from their homelands as a substitute for the now emancipated slave population which had till then been used to work the sugar plantations in the region. Most of the labourers were originally from the Indian states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal and Tamil Nadu. Many of these Indian immigrants settled in the British colonies of British Guiana (now Guyana), Jamaica and Trinidad and the Dutch colony of Guiana (now Surinam) and decided to stay on and build lives for themselves in the Caribbean. Homesick and isolated to an unusually high degree from the rest of the Caribbean population, they clung to memories of their native shores by creating small pockets of the culture they had left behind. At the bedrock of this diasporic Indian culture was Indian music itself. In its original form, this East Indian music was mostly religious in nature and made liberal use of Indian instruments such as the harmonium, the sitar, the dholak, the tabla and the dhantal. The use of the Tassa drum, with its pounding rhythms was incorporated soon afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> I would like to acknowledge the considerable influence of the paper *From Caroni Gyal to Calcutta Woman: A History of East Indian Chutney Music in the Caribbean*, by Rajendra Saywick, accessed at <http://saxakali.com/caribbean/Hemchandra1.htm>.

## Across the South

Devotional songs gradually evolved into folk music or *tan* singing, most commonly performed at weddings and other celebrations and thus, its popularity in the region burgeoned. This variety of religious folk Indo-Caribbean music was particularly important in those prenuptial ceremonies and events that involved only women who prepared the young bride-to-be to settle into her new role in what can almost be called the Indian equivalent of a bachelorette party, replete with laughter, good humour and high spirits, much like the nature of the music itself.

Despite the informal recognition that East Indian music had achieved in the South Caribbean, there were no recordings of it and it was relegated solely to religious and social celebrations among the Indian community till the 1950s. In 1958, Ramdeo Chaitoe of Surinam made his debut with an album of East Indian devotional songs, thus setting the precedent for Chutney, though several more years elapsed before the genre finally proved that it was there to stay. This happened in 1970 with the release of Sundar Popo's hit, *Nana and Nani*, a comical song which described the lives of an old man and woman, quite possibly the artist's own grandparents. Sung in a mixture of Hindi and Trinidadian Creole and making heavy use of the Indian *dholak* and the Western guitar, the song blazed its

way to the Number One position on the Trinidadian and Guyanese charts, catapulting Popo, a native of Barrackpore, Trinidad, to fame and earning him the title of "King of Chutney", the name given to this new Indo-Caribbean musical form. Popo also opened the floodgates for a change in Chutney's message and the songs recorded both by him and other artists of his ilk became a lot more politically and socially charged in their message, often addressing important Indo-Caribbean themes such as political repression, personal relationships and the problems of the diaspora. The relevance of the lyrics struck a chord with the people of East Indian descent living in the area and contributed greatly to Chutney's popularity.

Chutney was particularly well appreciated in Trinidad, which has a large and well-integrated Indian population and higher levels of racial tolerance than some of its neighbours in the Southern Caribbean. The presence of an Indian television and music industry furthered the dissemination of Chutney through media such as television and radio programmes. However, the musical genre went through a distinct slump and had greatly dwindled by the 1980s, suffering from a severe lack of new performers and songs. But Chutney managed to reinvent itself, adopting features from the West Indian Soca

and itself transforming into a new brand of music known as Indian Soca. The incorporation of calypso instruments such as the steel pan synthesiser and the guitar in the music, and of Creole words in the lyrics made Chutney much more accessible and popular among the Southern Caribbean population than it had ever been before.

By the mid 1990s, Chutney and Indian Soca had made inroads into the American and European markets as well, greatly aided by the fact that the West Indian diaspora in places like New York and Toronto was steadily increasing. Although Chutney was a little daunting at first, its exciting and fast paced tempo soon endeared it to dance lovers and American disc jockeys who contributed greatly to its further popularisation. It was also sampled by artists from India, such as Lil Jay, who featured it on remixed albums of Hindi film music. Today, Chutney has travelled all the way from its humble beginnings in the cane fields of the Caribbean to the global arena. Despite its international success, it remains for the East Indian population in the Southern Caribbean, an umbilical cord to traditions of a much-removed native land— traditions that have been greatly enhanced and enriched by their experiences in a land of their ancestors' adoption.

### New Asia Centre Book Publication

**Amarjit Kaur and Ian Metcalfe (editors)**  
***Mobility, Labour Migration and Border Controls in Asia***  
 Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2006, 335 pp.  
 ISBN 1 4039 8745 9  
 Price \$208

One of the biggest challenges facing the Asia-Pacific region in the twenty-first century is the large-scale cross-border movement of people. Key issues include international labour migration, irregular migration flows provoked by political instability and other migrant flows. This book explores the following themes: Sovereignty, security issues and border-management strategies of major states, in the face of intensified transnational economic and social processes and the expanding global governance regime. It also examines policy responses to migrants and migration processes at the border and across borders.

For full details see the Asia Centre Web Site: <http://www.une.edu.au/asiacenter/mobility.html>

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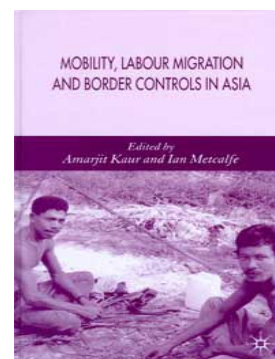
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Malaysia & Singapore Society Web Site: <http://www.une.edu.au/malaysiasoc/>

Ian Metcalfe's Web Pages: <http://www-personal.une.edu.au/%7eimetcal2/index.html>





## Across the South

### Brief Report on the "Cahuita Symposium: Slavery, Culture, and Religion", Cahuita, Costa Rica\*



**Eugenia Ibarra**

Eugenia Ibarra, an anthropologist and historian, teaches at the Universidad de Costa Rica in Central America and is presently doing research with the support of a SEPHIS grant on "Afro-indigenous and other indigenous groups on the Mosquito Shore, Central America: Ethnic contradictions in the midst of an Atlantic world conflict, 1633-1786".

The Cahuita Symposium on Slavery, Culture and Religion was held in Cahuita, located on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica, from 11 to 15 February, 2006. It was sponsored by the Harriet Tubman Resource Centre on the African Diaspora of York University, Canada the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad de Costa Rica, and the UNESCO "Slave Route" Project, Secteur de la Culture.

A diverse group of scholars, representing Canada, the United States of America, Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Vincent and Great Britain met to earnestly discuss around the theme of culture and religion, with a focus on the visual and documentary representations of culture and religion and the materials in the reconstruction of the social history of slavery. The papers crossed geographical boundaries discussing the Caribbean North, South and Central America, and the wider Atlantic and Indian Ocean Worlds, and beyond. For example, the South Atlantic and the Anglo-Atlantic are recognised as coherent systems, which culturally and religiously engaged Atlantic Africa and indeed southwestern Africa. The extension of the Indian Ocean slavery and into Islamic world is part of this complex history. The thematic scope of the symposium encompassed the cultural manifestations of slavery in all these geographical regions, and explored and compared the symbolism of the Sahara Desert and the Indian Ocean. The symposium's participants discussed issues informed by knowledge of Islam, Christianity, the *orisa*, and the dead.

#### The model of the symposium

The symposium followed the model developed by Professor Gwyn Campbell of McGill University, who was a participant. Papers were not formally presented, but were available to all registered participants in advance. Assuming that all

participants read all the papers before the symposium, Gad Heuman (Warwick University), Joseph Miller (University of Virginia), David Trotman (York University), and Kris Lane (College of William and Mary) commented on the papers and led a general discussion around themes of slavery, culture, and religion. Twenty-seven papers were submitted, examining historical topics, ranging from the seventeenth through early twentieth century.



#### Themes of general discussion

This symposium was opened with the writings of Quince Duncan, a distinguished Costa Rican author who has written extensively on slavery. Duncan read excerpts from his recent literary works. Manuel Monestel, a Costa Rican musician, who has done profound research on calypso music in Costa Rica, its instruments, rhythms and lyrics, gave an important talk on African rhythms, and showed that instruments linked to calypso, as well as the rhythm are still played in Cahuita. Monestel and his calypso group performed several musical selections for the audience.

Although the discussion was general on the following days, there were several themes that came up frequently in each session, some theoretical and methodological, others, more specific on various problems. The main themes discussed were the following:

- The theoretical-methodological need to work with the "voices" of

the enslaved accurately, that is, the importance of considering their study within a context and not alone

- The role rumours played in the Caribbean history
- Identity and identities
- The importance of experience, what did people really experience
- Agency
- Explanatory logic versus explanation
- The past in the present
- Enslavement today
- Centres and peripheries
- Culture
- Culture and ethnicity
- Cultural change
- Inter-disciplinary approaches to research
- Time, space and perspective
- Formation of zambo groups
- Concept of diaspora vs. "scatteration"
- Creolisation and transculturation
- Gender, sex, and reproduction
- Child slavery
- Christianity and slavery
- Power and cultural diversity
- Slavery and survival of intellectual knowledge
- Religion
- Religion and choice
- Ritual
- Public and private spheres
- Enslavement
- Resistance
- Liberation and freedom

Work sessions were strictly coordinated and the discussions were profound and rich. I found the Cahuita Symposium rewarding. It allowed participants to know and discuss what themes and problems are being raised in academia, by whom and from where. Thus, joining the general discussion was not difficult, as one has had the time to read, agree or disagree, and, most important, to learn. Also, reading the papers before the meeting gave the participants the possibility to see the whereabouts of international debates with respect to the distinct themes on slavery.

\* I would like to thank Nadine Hunt, from York University, for her contributions to this report.

## Across the South

Lastly, the paths to actual knowledge about slavery still need to be followed. The conclusions reached only pinpointed that research on the

religious and cultural aspects of slavery, among others, have yet a long way to go. The Cahuita Symposium has demonstrated the

importance of the joint and shared work of scholars of different nationalities, from diverse institutions, worldwide.



### Latest Publications

Saratchandra Chattopadhyay created two of his most memorable characters based on his childhood friend Rajendranath Majumdar of Bhagalpur, Bihar. One, "Indranath", from the novel *Srikanta* is well known among non-Bengalis; the other one, "Lalu", is immortalised in his collection of short stories for children in *Chheleblar Golpo (Stories from my childhood)*. Somdatta Mandal translates three such stories, all bearing the title Lalu.

Check out:

[http://www.parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/stories/saratchandra\\_lalu1.html](http://www.parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/stories/saratchandra_lalu1.html)

The translation section, as well as other sections can all be easily accessed from the Parabaas mainpage at <http://www.parabaas.com>

We have also brought out another set of poems of Mohammad Rafiq, translated into English by Prasenjit Gupta and illustrated by Nilanjana Basu:

[http://parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/poems/rafiq\\_set2.html](http://parabaas.com/translation/database/translations/poems/rafiq_set2.html)

"this sunshine doesn't know, it knows nothing at all  
doesn't know how to touch, doesn't know how to smell  
how polite and extremely helpless  
it falls, unconcerned, across the entire field..."

You may have read an article "*Fanny Parkes-er Journal*" in Parabaas-34

(<http://www.parabaas.com/PB34/LEKHA/bMeenakshiDatta34.html>). We are glad to announce that this has been included in her full-length book *Saheb, Begum, Banik, Harem*, recently published by Pratibhas.

Many of you have already ordered your Sharodiyas (*Anandamela* and *Anandabazar Patrika* have been released and are being mailed as we speak). You can still place your order at our Sharodiya order page:

<http://www.parabaas.com/bookstore/sharodiya.html>

Of course, you can read all our articles and visit different sections easily from our mainpage:

<http://www.parabaas.com>

## Across the South

### Pluralism in Approach, Pluralism in Participation Fifteenth International Congress on Legal Pluralism Jakarta, June-July 2006

*Rukmini Sen*

Rukmini Sen is a Lecturer in Sociology of Law and Disability and Law at The West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences, Kolkata. She is pursuing her doctoral research, at the final stages, from the University of Calcutta on 'Gendered Construction on Culture of Silence'. She is actively involved with a number of women's rights and disability rights organisations in Kolkata. Email [rukminisen18@yahoo.co.in](mailto:rukminisen18@yahoo.co.in)

The fifteenth International Congress on Legal Pluralism was organised by The Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism, Fakultas Hukum, (Faculty of Law), University of Indonesia, The Centre for Women and Gender Studies, University of Indonesia and HUMA (Association for Community— and Ecologically Based Law Reform), and the Center for Irrigation, Land and Water Resources and Development Studies (PSI-SDALP UNAND), Andalas University, Padang, West Sumatra, between 29 June and 2 July 2006 at Depok, Jakarta (Indonesia). The theme of the conference was "Law, Power and Culture: Transnational, National and Local Processes in the Context of Legal Pluralism".

The conference was divided into six symposiums under the following heads:

- Theoretical and Methodological Issues— having papers problematising the tension between 'value-neutral' approaches to law with normatively oriented or politically activist approach.
- Law, Governance and Market in a Transnational World— trying to understand the dynamics of economic globalisation and how the process is juxtaposed between hierarchy and opportunity, universalism and pluralism.
- Rights, Culture and Plural Laws— this

panel looked at how state policies of modernisation, development and nation-building affect the relationship between plural groups and the state.

- Gendered Perspectives on Law (Making Gender Visible in Law: Challenges for Legal Pluralism)— the social and the legal construction of gender, how women challenge legal constructs that undermine gender justice, questioning formal equality guaranteed by 'gender-neutral' states and strategies for women to gain access to resources and property.
- Natural Resources, Property Theories and Legal Pluralism: Southeast Asia in Comparison— papers focused on the advantages and disadvantages of decentralisation of natural resource management to the community level and also the complex interplay between public (government agency) and private (fisher organisations) law in local fisheries management.
- Social Security and Social Insecurity, Disasters, Aid and Rights— addressed the tensions resulting from conflicts of development policies with local customary laws or religious laws and the difficulties of ensuring human rights.

The plenary sessions on the first and the last day had papers like Human Rights: The Route to Judgment or A Diversion by Gordon Woodman, A Legal Ethnography of Miao, Tujia and Han Life Stories in West Hunan, China

by Yu Xiao, Asian Values and the War on Terror: A Re-emergence of the Challenge for International Human Rights, Imagining a Fair Trial: Feminist Legal Spaces as a Strategy in Deconstructing the Dominant Legal System in Semarang (Donny Danardono) and Law's Perception of Sexuality: Morality vs. Objectivity by Rukmini Sen.

The conference reflected pluralism in participation, having representations from Switzerland, Malaysia, Vietnam, Germany, Netherlands, Thailand, Philippines, China, Japan, India, Nepal, Canada and UK. There was lot of time for discussion and deliberation among the participants both in the parallel sessions and in the panels. Tremendous diversity in the legal system in South and South East Asian countries made one realise the significance of discussing the social and cultural context to the study of any law. Legal pluralism as a theory and as a method seeks to challenge the positivistic hegemonic method in legal analysis and having participants from anthropology, sociology, developmental policy, gender studies, law and practitioners as NGO workers or dispute mediators. The four day conference definitely established the importance of an alternative legal methodological paradigm.

## Across the South

### Report on the Conference on "Democracy and Caste in India", Ciefl, 10-12 August 2006



**Samata Biswas**

She graduated from Presidency College, Calcutta and is now doing her MPhil in 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 in popular culture. She also has an active participatory interest in politics.

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

The Centre for Cultural Studies, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) and The Dalit Intellectual Collective (DIC), Mumbai, organised a three day national seminar on "Democracy and Caste in India" at CIEFL, Hyderabad, on 10-12 August 2006. Introductory remarks by K. Satyanarayana, CIEFL and Gopal Guru, Convenor, DIC charted out the reasons behind the organisation of such a conference and the areas that the conference sought to address. The aim of the conference was to debate some of the "...theoretical issues [that] emerged in the context of Dalit and other oppressed caste struggles in the domains such as University, Law, Culture, Media, Public sphere, Cinema and so on." It was felt that the electoral domain was one of the domains of democracy that had been paid sufficient attention, and therefore the central concern of the conference was the question, "Is there a new way of thinking about democracy and caste?"

Democracy, understood by and large to be limited to its governmental form, with the citizen posited as its sole mediating figure, takes attention away from the shaping of a democratic society through everyday struggles of the people. The seminar attempted to look at the ways in which democracy was being forged in the "...actual arguments and contestations, events, encounters, and engagements ...in the university, over feminism, in relation to the policy and practice of reservations, in political formations, in legal challenges to legality itself, in everyday confrontations about the structure of everyday life, in arguments about food, about feelings and emotions, about illness and death."

After the inaugural session of introductory notes and welcome addresses, the first session of the seminar, chaired by Ram Bapat, saw papers by Surinder Jodhka (JNU, New Delhi) and Sanal Mohan (MG University, Kerala). Surinder Jodhka's paper entitled "Caste and Democracy: Assertion and Identity among the Dalits of Rural Punjab", drew inferences of three case studies of caste related conflicts and Dalit assertions in contemporary rural Punjab and tried to show that historically politicisation of caste identities varies significantly across different caste groups. Sanal Mohan's

paper tried to analyse the missionary perceptions and the intricate relationship between and the slave castes in Travancore, two years before the legal abolition of slavery, drawing on a document produced from an encounter between a Christian Missionary and members of the slave castes.



The next session, with Syed Syed (AMU) in the chair, comprised of a paper entitled "India's Successful Democracy: A 20<sup>th</sup> Century Meditation of Social Domination" by Gopal Guru (JNU, New Delhi) and a paper by G. Aloysius (HCU, Hyderabad), "Democracy and Caste: Cognitive Divergences and their Hegemonic Implications", which sought to trace the "...emergence of a perceptual dichotomy between the multifaceted move of peoples with vested interests in the abatement of caste in the public sphere... and the increasingly assertive Indian academia..." The presentations attempted to highlight the "...hegemonic trajectory of the academic definitions, delineations and determination of notions of caste, caste etc. vis-à-vis the thrust of peoples' movements."

Peter De Souza (CSDS, New Delhi) presented a paper called "Who represents?" while the final paper of the first day was by Partha Chatterjee (CSSSC) entitled "Can Indian Democracy Annihilate Caste?" In this he examined how far has Indian democracy, as it has evolved since the writing of *Ambedkar's The Annihilation of Caste* in 1936, has moved towards the objective of destroying caste.

The second day of the seminar started off with a paper from K. Balagoopal (Hyderabad) entitled "Caste and Law" and Rajeev Bhargava (DU) on "Caste, Democracy and Secularism: A Theoretical Framework".

The next paper was a collective

project by Madhava Prasad, Susie Tharu, Rekha Pappu and K. Satyanarayana (Hyderabad), "Caste and Democracy: Reservations and the Return to Politics." In this paper they argued that the debate on caste has now become reduced almost entirely to the issue of reservations and that the debate on reservations itself has an overwhelming policy orientation. "This had led to the neglect of struggles underway in contemporary India at various levels against the structural constraints and violence of the caste order, struggles of which the field of electoral politics is an integral part rather than an isolated instance. Based on a critical reading of the recent controversy over reservations for OBCs in institutions of higher education, we propose a political analysis of reservations, which draws attention to a transition in parliamentary politics towards a more open conflict of group interests. This development must lead to a reopening of what were considered settled questions such as that of the subject of Indian democracy."

P. Muthaiah's paper on "Democracy and the Dalit Movement: The case of Dandora" stressed on the need to recognise the differences among sub-castes and engage with it in a serious fashion, and not dismiss it as a divisionary factor that weakens the anti-caste movement.



**Madhava Prasad**

The following session was a panel discussion on Democracy and Caste and the day ended with a public meeting at the Press Club, Basheerbagh, Hyderabad. The speakers in the meeting were K. Satyanarayana, P. Sivakami (author of *The Grip of Change*), Gopal Guru, and

## Across the South

it was chaired by Susie Tharu.

The third and concluding day opened with a paper by P. Thirumal (HCU), "New Media: The Pedagogy of the (Post-Nehruvian) Contemporary." It took issues with NGOs that seek to map the pan-national Dalit community as a local autonomous community. His paper proposed to argue with the criticism that "...the Dalit community is a self-imagined community. While the administrative identity/category engenders reification of a sort that is associated with being subjects of any modern State, it is profitless to argue that the identity in question in the post-colonial Indian context has found it as being non-negotiable in democratic content and form."

The student panel on "University

and Caste", comprising of students from HCU, OU and CIEFL, sought to look at the operations of caste in universities configured as a democratic space.

Kancha Ilaiah elaborated on the importance of access to English language as an important tool in movements, and critiqued the romanticisation of the mother tongue. Valerian Rodrigues (JNU) presented the final paper of the conference, entitled "How to study Untouchability: The Lotharian Committee Report", and commented on the lack of scholarly attention to the report, that contended against the mainstream version of nationalism. Questions that the paper raises about untouchability and civil society are significant for the present

day engagements with the same.



Rajeev Bhargava

### Some Recent Publications

Baytoram Ramharack,  
*Against the Grain: Balram Singh Rai and the Politics of Guyana*  
(With an Introduction by Clem Seecharan)  
2005. xv + 452 pp. ISBN 976-9504-91-2 6 x 9 inches. Paperback.  
TT\$200. or US\$40. (includes handling, registration and postage)

Ryhaan Shah  
*A Silent Life* [a novel]  
Peepal Tree Press, 2005.  
186 pp. ISBN 1-84523-002-7 5½ x 8 inches. Paperback.  
TT\$120. or US\$30. (includes handling, registration and postage)

D.H. Singh  
*Pandits and Politics: The socio-political factors leading to the formation of the Divine Life of Society, between 1956 and 1962*  
With a Foreword by Ashram B. Maharaj  
Indian Review Press, 2004.  
xv + 67 pp. ISBN 976-8194-43-0 5½ x 8¼ inches. Paperback.  
TT\$45. or US\$15. (includes handling, registration and postage)

Ron Ramdin  
*Rama's Voyage* [a novel]  
2004.  
280 pp. ISBN 976-95049-4-7 5 x 7¾ inches. Paperback.  
TT\$100. or US\$30. (includes handling, registration and postage)

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<http://www.geocities.com/chakrapub/index.html>

## Across the South

### Bismillah Khan: The Passing of a Legend

Bismillah Khan's death, at the age of 90, marked the end of a long journey for one of our greatest musical legends. The *shehnai* lost its master and we, the greatest exponent of it. He freed the instrument of its mundane services in weddings and festivities, and bestowed it with an element of honour and dignity that forever will remain etched in the hearts of all music lovers. Thus it is not surprising that the *shehnai* became synonymous with Bismillah Khan in the course of his long and illustrious career.

Khan Sahab (as he was revered) hailed from a family of traditional Muslim musicians in the Shahabad district of what is now part of the eastern state of Bihar. His father, Paigambar Khan, his grandfather, Rasool Baksh Khan and his great grandfather, Hussain Baksh were court musicians in the princely state of Dumraon. Khan received his musical training from his uncle Ali Baksh 'Vilayati', a *shehnai* player affiliated with Varanasi's Vishwanath temple, to whom he was apprenticed in his childhood. He started off with classical music and moved on to use classical ragas on his *shehnai*. After that he incorporated *chota khayal* and *bada khayal* and later begun doing *jugalbandis*.

The uncle and nephew duo performed regularly both at temples and at music conferences in the 1930s, where Khan played as an accompanist for his uncle. He was soon noticed by aficionados, both for his extraordinary talent and his humorous charm, and he firmly established himself in 1937 with a remarkable concert at the Calcutta All-India Music Conference.

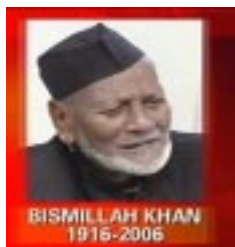
Since then there was no looking back. The maestro had many a times held audiences in rapt attention. But perhaps his greatest moment of glory was when he played the *shehnai* on All India Radio to celebrate the hour of India's independence on August 15 1947. Three years later, in an equally stunning act he mesmerised the country with a powerful and deeply emotional performance of the raga *Kafi* at the Red Fort on the eve of India's first Republic Day. His performances, broadcast by Doordarshan, the national television network, became an almost integral part of Independence Day celebrations in the Indian capital, closely following the Prime Minister's speech.

Bismillah Khan performed in many places all over India but his mortal fear of air travel kept him away, for some time at least, from the international scene. He was persuaded to appear at the Edinburgh Festival and the Commonwealth Arts Festival in 1966, on the condition that he and his party would be allowed to visit Mecca and Medina for Hajj en route at state expense. He played at Edinburgh that year and the following year received an invitation from the USA. Having completely overcome his distaste of aeroplanes by this time, he accepted. Since then, he played in Afghanistan, Europe, Iran, Iraq, Canada, West Africa, the former USSR and Japan.

Despite his fame and the reverence in which he was held, he led a simple, unostentatious life in the manner of a Sufi. Khan Sahib never owned a car, and his favourite mode of transport around his hometown of Varanasi was in a cycle-rickshaw. A devout Shi'a, he never began his morning practice without first having read his *namaaz*. He was, at the same time, a devotee of Saraswati, the Hindu goddess of learning. He often referred to music as his religion.

For more than seventy years, Khan captivated his listeners with the virtuoso range of his gentle musical genius. He was also hailed by many of his fellow countrymen as an icon of the secular spirit of India for his open mindedness and tolerance on issues of religious affiliation. The Indian republic awarded him the Padmashri, Padmabhusan and Padmavibhusan awards. In 2001, he became the third classical musician to be awarded the Bharat Ratna (Jewel of India), the country's highest civilian honour. As the nation mourned the loss of one of its greatest sons with flags at half-mast his words continued to ring in the ears of his admirers, "Even if the world ends, the music will still survive". These words are a true testament to the high esteem in which he held music. Truly, a legend has passed with his demise.

**Sucharita Ray and Kashshaf Ghani**



## Across the South

### Obituary of Shamsur Rahman

I live in Kolkata, the capital of West Bengal. I have no access, thus, to historical monuments of Bangladesh. I also belong to a generation born well after 1971, the hour of Bangladesh's independence, and thus have no 'recollection' of it. Yet, that event forms a basic part of my received memory. It was Shamsur Rahman who, more than anyone else, shaped this memory.

Shamsur was a poet of the Bangladeshi freedom struggle. In fact, he has been called its voice. And to so many of us, he has indeed been so. He brought to life an era that is forever enmeshed in the Bengali middle-class consciousness, even when (as with me) there have been no stakes involved. And yet, I did not know how to not respond to a poet who was writing,

*"Dau dau kore pure jachchhe oi Nayabazaar  
Aamader choudike aagun,  
Gulir ispaati shilabrishti obiraam|  
Tumi bolechhile,  
'Aamake baanchao|'  
Osohaay aami ta-o bolte paarini|"*

(Nayabazaar is being burnt down and fire and the metallic hail of bullets surround us. You said "Save me!" I wasn't even given that chance.)

I was brought up in an era when the 'national freedom struggles' were not to be all wiped under the carpet labelled terrorism. In an age preceding the globalisation of (the US) state (department's) definitions, each country supported its own pet projects of freedom. Freedom, a word which meant to Shamsur a fiery procession, decorated with flags, shouting slogans, a farmers smile at seeing his crops and a red poster shining bright as a star.

*"Swadhinota tumi*

*Pataka-shobhito slogan-mukhar jhaanjhaalo michhil  
Swadhinata tumi phosoler maathe krishaker haashi|  
...Bondhur haate taarar moton jwoljole ek poster|"*

It is not as if I am unaware of the androcentricism of the poet's imagery in much of this very poem. Nor of the failure of so much that he dreamt of, or that I am insensitive to the problems of struggles based on nationality itself. Yet, he appeals to me. He appeals to me in his desolate hedonism,

*"...swajoner laash  
Kobore naamiye chotpot  
Dhok dhok mod gilte paari khoob dhowaate addai,  
Priyotmo bondhu  
Atmahatya korechhe shuneo nidaarun  
Manashik nipaata khoraai*

*Aboidho sangam kore ghaame neye uthte paari sohoj obhyaashe|"*

(Hurriedly burying a close relative, I can easily gulp down booze in a smoke-filled chat, and even after I hear my closest friend has committed suicide, in desperate mental emptiness, my body still sweats in the consummation of an illicit passion as it is used to do.)

He appeals to me also in his moments of soft romanticism,

*"Jokhon tumi dupure ghume bhaasho,  
Tomaar buke othiti projapoti;  
Thomke thaake bhoje sorbonaasho  
Shanti paai|"*

(When you float in your afternoon sleep, a butterfly rests on your breasts; in fear even disaster pauses, and I have peace.)

He appeals to me in his terrible, melancholy, pride,

*"Ekhono daariye aachhi, e aamar ek dhoroner ohonkaar|"*

(That I am still standing, is a matter of some sort of pride for me.)

Shamsur Rahman appeals to me in his confession of impotence in face of bondage,

*"Shamsur Rahman bole aachhe ek jon, nijer kaachhei*

*Bondi saarakkhon|"*

(There is someone called Shamsur Rahman, who is permanently imprisoned by himself.)

But above all, Shamsur Rahman appeals to me in his desperate yearning for freedom,

*"Tomaake paawar jonye, he swadhinota,  
Tomaake paawar jonye  
Aar kotokaal bhaaste hobe roktogangai?...  
Notun nishaan uriye, damama baajiye digbidik  
Ei Baanglai*

*Tomaakei aaste hobe, he swadhinota|"*

(O freedom, to get you, to get you, how many times more will we have to bathe in rivers of blood?... But in the end, flying new colours, with the roll of drums, to this Bengal [Bangla], it is you who will have to come, o freedom.)

It is a dream for freedom, some might argue, unfairly to the poet, I have given a context in my mind other than the freedom of Bengal or Bangladesh alone. But I believe I have not really been unfair. Just as I believe or disbelieve some other things. It was the latter when I read obituaries to Shamsur Rahman titled "Death of the Voice of Freedom"! And that is why, I wait to say what a favourite composer of mine has already done in another context,

*"Tomaakei daakbo Shamsur Rahman"*

(I will call you Shamsur Rahman.)



## Across the South

### Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, repudiating his Knighthood in protest for Jalianwallahbag mass killing.

(The letter was published in The Statesman, 3 June 1919)

At the end of the First World War, the Indian political leadership thought that because of their cooperation in the War effort, the goal of Home Rule was at hand. At the very least, that the impositions on the democratic space would be withdrawn. Instead, the oppressive system was very largely maintained and, in some cases, enhanced through the draconian Rowlatt Acts. Against these Black Acts, the Indian National Congress launched the agitation that was to be the first of Gandhi's famous all-India Satyagraha Movements. Shaken by the impact of this movement, particularly the General Strikes of 30 March and 6 April 1919, the British government clamped down with all its might on a non-violent movement. The Punjab saw the worst of these atrocities, which culminated in the Jallianwallah Bagh Massacre, an event that remains a burning sore in the Indian Nationalist memory. On the occasion of Baisakhi, a large number of people had gathered in the pilgrimage centre of Amritsar and many of them turned up at Jallianwallah Bagh to attend a meeting held to protest the British atrocities, particularly the arrest of the two most prominent leaders of the city. General Dyer, the military officer in command of the city blocked the only entrance out of the walled arena and machine-gunned the crowd, after his attempt to get an armoured car in failed. The official reports talked of 400 dead, while the Congress's own enquiry commission spoke of thrice the number.

The event, for many Indians, marked the end of the 'perfidious or providential Albion' debate. Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest literary figure of the land then, was one of those who raised their voices in protest against this nefarious act. However, the letter, reproduced here, by which he renounced his knighthood, was not all well received. Gandhi himself wrote, "The Punjab horrors have produced a burning letter from the poet. I personally think it is premature. But he cannot be blamed for it."

But the anguish of this Nobel laureate, who even after this event, continued to contend that there were good Englishmen as there were bad Englishmen, still represented best the inchoate voice of so many of his countrymen.

Your Excellency,

The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions, recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings by our brothers in Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence, reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers, which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings, without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in stifling every cry of pain of judgment from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and that the passion of vengeance is building the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government, which could so easily afford to be magnanimous, as befitting its physical strength and normal tradition, the very least that I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in the incongruous context of humiliation, and I for my part, wish to stand, shorn, of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who, for their so called insignificance, are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings. And these are the reasons which have compelled me to ask Your Excellency, with due reference and regret, to relieve me of my title of knighthood, which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

Yours faithfully,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

6, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane,  
Calcutta.  
30 May 1919





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## Partitioned Memories



Tista Das

Tista did her graduation and Masters from Presidency College, Calcutta and Calcutta University respectively. She is currently pursuing her PhD at the Centre for Peace Studies of the same university.

Someone who seems to love to dress oddly, Tista is also fond of music of various sorts and of cooking. She is normally to be found in the Park Street area in the evenings, particularly during weekends.

**Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, *Tyranny of Partition: Hindus in Bangladesh and Muslims in India*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 251, Rs. 540, ISBN 81212-0890-4.**

Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff's book is about mental borders. This says a lot about the book. The specific context is India and her partitions, and the focus is on the lot of 'deprived recipients'. Therefore, to grasp the essence of the book, one must recognise the presence of 'cognitive maps' and the effects of emotions. This involves a sort of unlearning which makes the book interesting. One must put partition rhetoric above partition to analyse the force of narratives. There are, of course, many aspects of the history of partition. One constitutes laws, constitutions and physical borders, where the history of emotions precedes the event of partition. The other constitutes the use of rhetoric and the history of rooting and uprooting where emotions are part of the 'process' of partition. Sinha-Kerkhoff is primarily concerned with the latter. She is concerned not only with the birth of a nation, but also with the process of its legitimisation, where the use of narratives comes handy. Very importantly, she analyses partition memory not only as it is, but also as it is made, which she calls, the strategies of remembrance and forgetting, and an analysis of silences too.

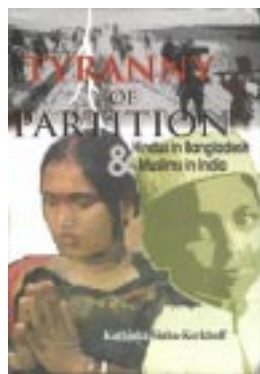
What Sinha-Kerkhoff does, is break away from the linear narrative where the partition of India in 1947 becomes the Partition with a capital 'P'. She does so because it was not the Partition for all. This is the point that she elaborates through 251 pages.

She calls her book *Tyranny Of Partition: Hindus in Bangladesh and Muslims in India* but she does not perceive partitions with the strongest emphasis on the aspect of tyranny. Her project is to trace how communities living in partitioned times identify themselves and identify others, and how others perceive them. She traces the indigenosity or foreignness of the communities.

Sinha-Kerkhoff looks at three

partitions— the first of 1947, then, when Bangladesh is born, and third, when Jharkhand is born. She poses regional versions of partition stories against state supported partition historiography, which makes the categories of majority and minority seem somewhat simplistic. By the end of the book, this point is well presented through the attitudes of the Muslims in Jharkhand, who feel distanced from the Muslims of Bihar, and closer to the Hinduised *adivasis*, even though statist narratives would have us perceive Muslims as a homogeneous minority in a partitioned country. The Muslims in Jharkhand are mentally rooted to their soil and the link with *adivasis* is based upon this common platform. This rooting is economic and cultural where the Muslims of Bihar are outsiders. This reminds one of *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*<sup>1</sup>, where Myron Weiner argues—

*Indians do not ordinarily identify themselves by the place from which they come, but by the ethnic group to which they belong.*



The analysis of Hindus in Bangladesh, a typical minority in state rhetoric, brings out the strategy of uprooting. The birth of Bangladesh had meant liberation for these Hindus but the new state brought disillusionment when these Hindus were alien-

ated not only from the new nation but also from the history of the liberation struggle. State rhetoric associated them with the Hindus of India, while placing themselves firmly on the soil of their motherland.

Having said already that Sinha-Kerkhoff's book is about mental borders, one must add that it is also about challenging mental borders. It is about the crisscross of mental and geographical borders. It is about the use of partition rhetoric by the state to re-impose partition and justify it and to prove, that partition was, after all, inevitable. Therefore, minorities have to accept the idea of the new nation to prove their loyalty, their rootedness.

What makes the book interesting is the acceptance of the fact that state narrative is hegemonic. The analysis begins from this point and journeys through mental maps to trace the challenges posed against this hegemony. It is this clarity of the project that gives the book a certain compactness so that there is a sense of an argument gradually shaping up. A climactic point is reached when the author puts forward a remedy, as it were, to free oneself from such hegemonic state rhetoric. She presents her agenda clearly—

*...the minds of the majorities as well as minorities, in both countries have to be 'de-partitioned' or to use another word, 'de-colonized'.*

The translation of the slogan 'Le ke rahenge Pakistan. Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad' as 'Take Pakistan and stay in it. Long lives Jinnah!' seems out of place in such an organised work as 'Le ke rahenge Pakistan' should mean 'We will take Pakistan'. 'Stay in it' is perhaps reading a little more than existed and giving in to state sponsored rhetoric where, once the event of partition occurs, its inevitability is stressed and the idea of staying put within well defined bounds is legitimised.

<sup>1</sup> Weiner, Myron, *Sons of the Soil Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*, OUP, Delhi, 1978.

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## New Visions on the Social and Political History of Peru



Michiel Baud

Michiel Baud is Director of CEDLA (from April 2000) and Professor in Latin American Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He graduated in Contemporary History at the University of Groningen in 1982 and received his Ph.D. cum laude in Social Sciences at Utrecht University in 1991. From 1995 to 2000 he was Professor of Latin American Studies at the University of Leiden. He is at present co-Chairperson of the Sephis programme.

Jorge Basadre (1903-1980) is, without any doubt, the father of modern Peruvian historiography. He wrote a number of fundamental books, the most important of which are arguably *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo del Perú* (1929), *Perú: problema y posibilidad* (1931) and the eleven volumes of *Historia de la República del Perú*. Born in the provincial environment of Tacna, he came to Lima when he was nine years old. In 1919 he entered San Marcos University. Following the university reforms of that same year, he began to work with a group of students who were voluntarily cataloguing archival materials in the archives of the National Library. In the process, he developed a historian's mind, and was rapidly integrated into the intellectual circles of Lima. He was the Director of the National Library from 1943 and Minister of Education in 1945 and from 1956-58. This article attempts to ascertain his influence on twentieth century Peruvian historiography and also to discuss some examples of present-day history writing and their significance for historical debates in Peru.

#### Jorge Basadre between history and politics

Basadre's continuing importance as a historian is rooted in his erudition and profound knowledge of Peruvian reality. His intellectual inspiration was demonstrative of a great intellectual independence. The attention he gave to the preservation and analysis of historical documents is symbolic of the transformation of history writing from a general pastime to a professional occupation. But above all he was important because in the first half of the twentieth century he had already incorporated in his analysis of Peruvian political history what we call today the 'subaltern classes'. In this way, he opened new windows for the interpretation of Peruvian history and already anticipated the new social history that would become so important in the 1970s and '80s. In 2003 an international congress was organised in celebration of Jorge Basadre's birth centenary. The contributions to this congress have now been published in a book that, as the title conveys, is a *Homenaje a Jorge Basadre*. Despite the inevitable hagiographic tone and

the uneven quality of the essays, the book is a worthy starting point for understanding the problems and possibilities of Peruvian historiography.

In the first place, *Homenaje a Jorge Basadre* demonstrates the variety of occupations and debates in which Basadre was involved. At the same time it provides an eloquent insight into the position of intellectuals and their work in a Latin American country such as Peru. The interesting contribution of Alfonso Quiroz connects Basadre's not very successful involvement in politics during his terms as education minister with his merciless analysis of corruption as an endemic problem in Peruvian politics. In this position he confronted in daily reality what he had been describing with such analytical rigour in his historical work. Looking back he observed: 'The essential problem lay in the fact that people who live in the world of thinking look at things in ways that are in stark contrast to the terrible prosaic political reality'.<sup>1</sup> As most intellectuals found out sooner or later, this is not an easy task! Basadre remained first and foremost an intellectual who tried to understand rather than change history. There is no doubt that his opinions had political consequences, and that as a good Latin American intellectual he ventured into the realm of politics, even more, of course, in his ministerial functions. The image that emerges from this book, however, is of an eminent intellectual who reinstated both a regional and a social dimension into Peruvian history, and in doing so provided it with a profoundly democratic element.

A number of authors draw attention to Basadre's provincial background to explain his unorthodox and in many respects innovative vision on Peruvian society, and especially on the nature of the Peruvian nation-state. Vincent Peloso sees this background as the prime explanation of Basadre's regional perspective, that, long before Benedict Anderson, he considered the Peruvian nation-state as a project of constant construction and reconstruction. In this same context, Frederica Barclay presents an interesting comparative analysis of Basadre's views on the Amazon region and the southern provinces of the country. In

his *Historia de la República* Basadre asked himself why the Amazon provinces had stayed within the realm of the Peruvian state in spite of the federalist rebellion in the 1890s, the havoc created by the Guerra de Pacífico, and the difficult means of communication. As Barclay suggests, the people of Tacna and Arica remained loyal to the Peruvian nation-state because they felt that they belonged to something called Peru, to what Basadre calls '*la patria invisible*', the invisible fatherland.

Only in the latter part of his professional life did Basadre manage to integrate the ethnic question and, more specifically, the position of the indigenous population in his historical analysis. Where he had emphasised the crucial importance of the *mestizo* in his earlier work, in his writings of the 1950s the role and cultural heritage of the Indians became a recurrent theme. Augusto Ruiz Zevallos even claims that he was more radical in his beliefs with regard to the Indian population than, for example, José María Arguedas, the famous pro-Indian Peruvian writer, who continued to see the Indian population as an obstacle to national unity. In line with his ideas on the Peruvian national identity, Basadre included the indigenous population in his analysis, but he left no place for separatism or ethnic chauvinism. 'We struggle with all our force against the internal colonialism, but we do not wish to stimulate new forms of micro-nationalism'.<sup>2</sup>

Manuel Burga drew attention to another element of Basadre's work in his 1993 essay '*Para qué aprender historia en el Perú*' ('Why learn history in Peru?'). Basadre's *Historia de la República* was, in his view, the last attempt to cover the entire Peruvian history, 'the last great attempt to construct a national history' (p. 59). This essay has now been republished with a number of more recent articles in an interesting but not always sufficiently edited book, *La historia y los historiadores en el Perú*. Burga basically looks at the profession of history writing after Basadre by considering the different intellectual and political projects proposed by historians. Doing so provides the

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Pablo Macera, *Conversaciones con Basadre*, 1979, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Ruiz Zevallos, in Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, Mónica Ricketts Sánchez-Moreno (eds.), *Homenaje a Jorge Basadre. El hombre, su obra y su tiempo*, Instituto Riva-Agüero, Lima, 2005, p. 204.

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reader with a concise but sharp intellectual history of twentieth-century Peru.

In his noteworthy essay, Burga presents a well-argued and passionate plea for a professional Peruvian historiography. In the process he also implicitly presents a provocative agenda for future historians. After Basadre's pioneering work, new forms of history writing emerged. The first wave of Andean ethnohistory that began with the pre-Columbian civilisations switched rapidly to consider the structures and cultural logic of present-day Indian society. Secondly, the agrarian history that developed everywhere in the world in the 1960s received an additional impetus in Peru because of the military government of general Velasco. The government's far-reaching agrarian reforms and the expropriation of large land-holdings gave historians the opportunity to rescue and research an abundance of agrarian, *hacienda* archives. A third wave of history writing, strongly influenced by Marxism and associated with the name of Alberto Flores Galindo, gave attention to the subaltern classes. However, within the Peruvian context, it also focussed on the heritage of the Indian cultures in Peru, and especially, on what became known as the 'Andean utopia' (*la utopía andina*).

Within these three waves of history writing, different historical discourses can be distinguished which reflect the complex reality of twentieth-century Peru. Many historical tendencies share, in Burga's view, a vision of Peruvian history as a 'lost good' (*bien perdido*) and of missed opportunities reflecting in one way or another the 'failed state' of contemporary Peru. Another continuing element in twentieth-century Peruvian historiography is the role and place of the indigenous population. From the early *indigenista* visions, which were strongly influenced by anthropological thinking, to the recent more *indianista* vision that attempt to re-vindicate indigenous claims, the place of the Indians in the Peruvian nation state has been a recurrent topic. Using the ideas of Flores Galindo, Burga suggests that only by focusing on a popular, indigenous proto-nationalism will it be possible to bring back the 'national' in Peruvian historiography. In a somewhat apocalyptic analysis, Burga sees such a historiographical development as an important and perhaps the only way to counter the danger of a demagogic Indianist nationalism and so to avoid the disintegration of Peru as a nation. It is surprising that there is no reference here to Nelson Manrique's now-famous book on *Las guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile*

(1981) which, according to Cecilia Méndez<sup>3</sup> has been a 'true milestone' in Peruvian historiography, provoking one of the few significant debates about the 'national question' in contemporary Peruvian historiography.

The other contributions in the book present a number of reflections on the reality of history writing in Peru based on the personal experience of Burga himself. They are sometimes insightful and amusing, sometimes repetitive and somewhat disjointed. All in all they give an interesting overview of the topics and debates in twentieth-century historiography and the relationships between its practitioners. They show that Burga and many of his colleagues remained firmly within the tradition of Latin American history writing. Influenced by discussions in French historiography, they resorted to the consistent use of historical sources, in this way modernising history writing in Peru. But they did not keep aloof of the pressing problems of Peruvian society and continued to look for large-scale visions and all-encompassing societal proposals.



Alfonso Quinoz

### New ideas on Peruvian history

Almost as a reaction to this essayistic tradition, from the 1970s onwards a new kind of history writing emerged in Peru that was more strictly professional and did not pursue direct political or social objectives. In a way, the historians of this school took up the challenge of historical materialism and the new social history emerging elsewhere. Seeking to write a new subaltern history, they began using new sources and insights that allowed them to understand the social and political structures underpinning Peruvian history. Historians like Luis Miguel Glave, Nelson Manrique, Christiane Hünefeld, José Luis Rénique, Carlos Aguirre and Carlos Contreras, to mention a few, introduced a new social history. Although they were strongly influenced by the existing Peruvian historiography, they tried to combine their suggestions with a clear adherence to historical materialism and a critical viewpoint towards the Peruvian state. To find arguments to substantiate their ideas, these

historians went back to the historian's skilful work in the archives. They tried to understand the history of the masses and their role in Peru's political and social transformation. In the process and because of the availability of sources, they often returned to analyses on a regional level. In the same period, professional contacts with foreign, mostly American and French, scholars allowed a more intensive contact with the international academic arena. This led, among other things, to an increasing number of younger scholars acquiring PhD's from foreign universities. Stronger links, especially with the Anglo-Saxon academic world, is starting to change Peruvian historiography. It has introduced new themes, ideas and methodologies into the historical debate and at the same time, has educated a group of younger historians who have lived for at least a part of their professional life outside Peru.

A number of essays by this new generation of Peruvian historians have now been brought together in the collection *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia. Estudios de historia peruana, siglos xvi-xx* edited by Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo. In their short introduction the editors clearly pose themselves as a generation of young historians who wish to present a new way of looking at Peruvian history. Making use of the ideas and insights they have encountered abroad, they aim to present a different perspective on Peruvian history which, in their view, has been polarised between conservative *hispanista* and critical, subaltern viewpoints. They want to go, as the subtitle says, 'beyond domination and resistance.' Their point of departure is that the professionalised history of the 1980s and '90s has been unable to shed its ideological feathers and has tended to reduce Peruvian history 'to a history of domination by the elites or international powers and their commercial representatives'.<sup>4</sup> Instead, the historians contributing to this book aim at an analytical framework that 'privileges the analysis of the encounter between domination and resistance'.<sup>5</sup> There is a clamour for a more eclectic kind of history that is prepared to use different theoretical and ideological points of departure and innovative sources.

The resulting book is interesting for different reasons, but does not completely fulfil all its ambitions. Its strength lies in a number of well-researched and provocative articles that have succeeded in shaping new visions of Peruvian history. It is impossible to mention all the contributions here, but I was especially impressed by the articles written by

<sup>3</sup> Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic. The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2005, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Paulo Drinot and Leo Garofalo (eds.), *Más allá de la dominación y la resistencia. Estudios de historia peruana, siglos xvi-xx*, IEP, Lima, 2005, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 12.

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Rachel Sarah O'Toole and Leo Garofalo. These articles clearly demonstrate the strength of the new pragmatic history writing that is promised in the introduction. In her fascinating '*Castas y representación en Trujillo colonial*', O'Toole looks at ethnic representations in the northern city of Trujillo. Making creative use of judicial documents, she shows how historical subjects tended to play with ethnic categories in colonial society. On different occasions they tended to perform and present themselves differently. When it suited their interests, *mestizos* performed as Indians and vice versa. In the same vein, mulattos started to identify themselves as a social class when they expected rewards from their recognition by the colonial state. Colonial legislation created its own structures of behaviour and representation. O'Toole stresses that it was not so much a matter of social mobility in which changing identity opened new avenues of mobility, but much more a manipulation of the system. Ethnic performance was a continuing and ever-changing negotiation among colonial subjects in the context of changing legislation and state ruling.

Garofalo also looks at the social and ethnic interaction in colonial Peru in his '*La sociabilidad plebeya en las pulperías y tabernas de Lima y Cuzco, 1600-1690*'. Closely connected thematically to O'Toole's article, he shows how the rigid differences between classes and ethnic groups, suggested by official documents, were a myth. As spaces of multiple social interactions the public drinking places provided a diverse, complex and dynamic picture of colonial society.

It could be that the distance to the colonial period might allow for more provocative interpretations, but the contributions on the nineteenth century are nevertheless less innovative and appear to be more mainstream. They provide interesting views on regionalism, the civilisational projects of the state and the agency of the subalterns, but apart from being firmly grounded in documentary research, they are only loosely connected and do not provide a radical historiographical change. What this collection has managed to do, however, is identify a number of new topics and viewpoints. Implicitly, it takes distance from the exclusive and sometimes somewhat obsessive attention to the relationship between the state and the indigenous population that has characterised much of the more recent historiography. It draws attention to the intermediate groups, the *mestizos*, the poor, labouring whites, the protestant missionaries, and the public employees who tried to find their way in the

interface between political projects and daily reality. In the light of this diversity, it is surprising that only one of the contributions, a short article by the Norwegian historian Tanja Christiansen, looks explicitly at the position of women. Women were all but absent in Basadre's work. Although this is no longer the case in modern historiography, it appears that they have not yet captured a specific place in mainstream historiography.

Most contributions focus on small cases and draw modest conclusions. This may be a result of the Anglo-Saxon emphasis on the historian as a professional, but it may also be a consequence of the stage in which most of the authors find themselves. Whatever the explanation, it is a clear rupture with the broad generalisations and daring interpretations of traditional Peruvian historiography. On the one hand, the professional attitude to history is refreshing because it is based on solid documentary research and distances itself from the rhetoric, often unsubstantiated, of traditional historiography. On the other hand, it may be asked to what extent this collection has succeeded in presenting the new perspective on Peruvian history as suggested by the editors. The theoretical and empirical consequences of the research presented in this book need further work. Fortunately, these young historians have plenty of time to convince us of the value of their position.



Federico Barreto

### Towards a new Peruvian historiography: Two examples

The promises of the new professional history writing are clearly present in two recent monographs. The first is *The Plebeian Republic. The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820-1850* by the young Peruvian scholar Cecilia Méndez. She analyses the monarchist movement in Huanta at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of the themes treated above are present in her painstaking study that presents a return to a classic theme of national Peruvian history. At the same time it is a repudiation of the nationalist biases in its analysis. It is no coincidence that Méndez articulates the aim of her book in almost the same words as the editors of the book presented

above. She writes that the aim of the book is 'less to trace a history of 'resistance' than of relationships— asymmetrical, more or less violent, convenient or inevitable— between the emerging republican state and a rural society of the south-central Peruvian Andes'.<sup>6</sup> Méndez uses the relatively short-lived rebellion in which Indian peasants, *mestizo* intermediaries and a number of local *hacendados* resisted the imposition of republican rule to present a nuanced and sophisticated analysis of regional society within the context of large-scale and sometimes dramatic political changes. Méndez returns to what we may consider classical political history, but she blends it with the insights of the new social history that has drawn attention to popular history. In this way, the book considers classical themes such as the military operations of the War of Independence and the animosity between Simón Bolívar and the Peruvian elites, but, at the same time, analyses Indian leaders who favour a return of the Spanish monarchy and regional processes of social and economic transformation.

The rebellion under the direction of the Indian leader Antonio Huachaca that took place in 1827 was in itself not so important had it not been for its symbolic significance in this period of political turmoil. It demonstrated that the indigenous rural population could act as a historical agent in this kind of liminal threshold. It also questioned the separation between the *castas* and demonstrated that inter-ethnic alliances were forged everywhere in the republican and the monarchist camps. The rebellion was certainly not an exclusively indigenous rebellion; Indians in higher and lower areas of the mountains and with different occupations were divided among themselves. On the other hand, local and regional elites who saw their interests threatened by the Bolivarian laws allied themselves with the movement and tried to maintain at least a part of their independence. In addition, there was a confused ideological struggle over what it meant to be in favour of the monarchy. Méndez argues convincingly that the rebellion was not a backward looking movement, but a movement in which ideas about the future and modern objectives were often couched in monarchist rhetoric. It is also interesting to note that after the failure of the rebellion the leaders, Spaniards, Criollos and Indians were not harshly punished; many of the leaders re-emerged later in official positions. This supports the suggestion by Méndez that these struggles were just as much about politics and economic measures as they were about peasant resistance.

<sup>6</sup> Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic*, p. 12.

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The rebellion and its constituency demonstrated that the struggle over the Peruvian state and its authority not only took place in the large cities but in the rural context of the sierra as well. It may be considered symbolic that Cécilia Méndez focuses on the period of the wars of independence that also so fascinated Jorge Basadre. With her study, it would appear that Peruvian historiography has come a full circle. The political topics that fascinated the first generations of historians and which were replaced by other themes in recent decades have again been placed in the spotlight.

The second book that beautifully demonstrates the possibilities of a new social history is José Luis Rénique's *La batalla por Puno*. This book is the result of a life-long work on the history of the southern highlands of Peru. While in his influential *Los sueños de la sierra* (1991) Rénique wrote on the region around the old Inca-capital Cusco and its self-conscious urban elite, he now focuses on the long-term history of the neighbouring Puno province. This province always occupied a more marginal position within the Peruvian state, but at the same time, the region can be seen as a mirror sharply reflecting the main political developments within the country. In the nineteenth century, it was under the firm control of regional landowners and political strongmen, called *gamonales* in the local vernacular. Around the turn of the century a new access to the world-market and economic modernisation of the national economy changed the context of the region's development. Modernising politicians started their attempts to incorporate what was considered a backward indigenous population into the modern nation-state. Urban *indigenistas* professed a new faith in the vitality and creativity of indigenous society and vehemently opposed the archaic domination of the regional elites. In the process they allied themselves with indigenous leaders (often called *mensajeros*: messengers) who were delegated by their people to defend the interests of their communities. Rénique beautifully describes how modernising politicians, *indigenistas* and indigenous leaders came together in the early twentieth century in an alliance that was eventually doomed to fail. The disillusion among the highland peasantry which was the result of this process, led to a plethora of agrarian activism and social conflict, which reached its culmination in the 1950s. The agrarian movement achieved some successes,

but was in general brutally repressed. The plight of the peasantry was exacerbated in the 1980s when it was crushed between the indiscriminate violence of the Maoist guerrillas of Shining Path and the Peruvian military.

Rénique's book describes this history of a poor, marginalised region where, especially after the demise of the wool economy, a weak and vindictive elite was faced with a dense and indigenous rural population, which at times could take advantage of unexpected support from politicians and intellectuals from far-away Lima. It is also the story of how the Peruvian nation-state tried to come to grips with an indigenous population, which she labelled in simple categories but never really managed to understand. In the end it convincingly demonstrates how political actors, from Liberal politicians and *indigenistas* to development organisations, military or revolutionaries, continuously constructed and reconstructed representations of Indianness basically to serve their own ends. Through their ignorance they constantly threatened to destroy the society they pretended to protect. As Rénique writes: "The 'struggle for Puno' is the confrontation between national projects that hoped to find an important base for action in the highlands (*el altiplano*)".<sup>7</sup> The irony was, that the peasant population which was historically firmly linked to the outside world, maintained its own perspective and, so doing, changed Peruvian history. "The rural population calculated the risks and possibilities and took from outsiders what they needed without renouncing, in the end, its own road, its own strategies. Its supposed liberators would also be transformed in this process".

For more general readers the book may seem too detailed. Also Rénique does not entirely solve the problem historians encounter when they write history 'until the present'. Although he succeeds admirably in maintaining a historical distance to the events, he witnessed himself and from the acts of people he most probably knew, the nature and density of his analysis necessarily changes when it approaches the present-day. However, the power of Rénique's book is its *longue durée* perspective spanning more than a century of intensive social and economic convulsion and conflict. It is a fascinating account of one highland region, but in the process the book engages with all the essential issues of Peruvian modern history. It eloquently conveys in every page and with a great wealth of information the

urgent necessity of historical knowledge for understanding contemporary social and political processes.



Vincent Peloso

### Towards a new social and political history

The books of Méndez and Rénique demonstrate how 'traditional' themes of Peruvian historiography are today approached with completely new questions and methodologies. Supported by similar tendencies in international historiography and the work of some US historians especially, Peruvian historians seem to be moving towards a new mix of political and social history in which old themes are analysed in a new light. Three innovations may be underscored here.

Firstly, the new political history again focuses on processes of nation-building and economic and social modernity but it now includes, and often even prioritises the influence and agency of subaltern classes. The state and its political and societal projects are thus investigated in close relationship to subaltern agency. But not only that, these historians see state activity and processes of political change as a result of constant and historical negotiation between different sectors of society. They explicitly include the poor, indigenous population, but at the same time try to understand the changing role of the state and its employees and their relation with local power-holders and intermediate, often regional, social and economic groups.

Secondly, the new generation of historians has given new importance to regional history. In the process of rephrasing political history, the history of the state has become fragmented and multidirectional. As a consequence, regional and even local perspectives have acquired new importance. The work of the new generation of historians reviewed here, especially Rénique's book, demonstrates the importance of a vision 'from the periphery' to understand the workings of the Peruvian state.

Thirdly, it is clear that the new political history aims at understanding political processes, without placing it within preconceived ideological frame-

<sup>7</sup> José Luis Rénique, *La batalla por Puno. Conflicto agrario y nación en los Andes peruanos, 1866-1995*, IEP/Sur/CEPES, Lima, 2004, p. 265.

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works. Basadre's description of himself and his colleagues in the prologue of his *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo*, as having 'a rebellious, often belligerent attitude' was also true for later generations of historians who were strongly influenced by Marxist ideas. They considered the position of intellectuals as being invested with a clear moral responsibility and were intent on having a clear impact on political debates in their country. In contrast, the new generations, often educated abroad, tend to consider their work in more professional terms. They are socially and politically engaged, as is clear from Rénique's

active political career and also, for example, from Cecilia Méndez's introduction in which she links her work to the ill-famed assassination of eight journalists in 1983 in the region of her research and the subsequent discussion on the nature of indigenous society. However, they tend to privilege the analytical task of historians over their possible political involvement and try, even when they describe their own lifetimes, to maintain a historical perspective which allows for the visions of all historical actors.

These new insights may have led to a kind of history that has lost some of its urgency and direct societal rel-

evance, but they have also shaped a historical discipline that increasingly allows us to understand Peruvian history in all its complexity and contradictions. In the end, both the essayistic, political and the more professional, empirical kinds of history writing need to come together to forge a historical vision that will underscore the particularities of the historical development in Peru, but not exclude comparative perspectives. In this way, this new history writing may help to find solutions for the pressing problems of contemporary Peruvian society.

### Red Earth

#### **Metroerspective: Visual Representations of Metrosexuality**

**Curated by** Himanshu Verma

**Featuring** Anant Joshi, Anu Agarwal, Birendra Pani, Catherine Schmid Maybach, Delip Sharma, Dustin Larson & Kiran Subbaiah, George Martin PJ, Hemant Khandelwal, Julius Macwan, Kayti Didriksen, Manil Gupta, Merlyn Mollykutty, Mukul Goyal, Narendra Kumar Ahmad, Nayanaa Kanodia, Pushkar Thakur, Rashid Rana, Ravi Kumar Kashi, Rehaan Engineer, Saaz Aggarwal, Sanjeev Sonpimpare, Shibu Arakkal, Stefan Weitzel, Sudarshan Shetty, Sujay Mukherjee, Sumant Jaykrishnan, Uday Mondal, Vivek Sahni

#### **Design**

The exhibition presented a selection from the larger exhibition, earlier shown in October 2005 in Bombay at "Met-Fest: Masculinities in the City", India's first festival on men and masculinities, presented by Red Earth. It also featured works by C.F John, Chintan Upadhyaya & Amit Kekre, Coos de Graaf, Jehangir Jani, Justin Ponmany, Manisha Gera Baswani, Mithu Sen, Nikhil Chopra, Riyaz Komu, Sushil Mangaonkar, & T.M Azis.

The exhibition was held on 17-21 May 2006 at Galerie Romain Rolland; Alliance Francaise de Delhi.

## Reviews

## A Home of One's Own: Debates on Popular Housing in Brazil



Paulo Fontes

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Rosana Rita Folz, *Mobiliário na Habitação Popular. Discussões de Alternativas para melhoria de habitabilidade (Furniture in the Popular Housing: Debates on Alternatives for a Better Habitat Conditions)*, RiMa Press, São Carlos, 2003.

Telma de Barros Correia, *A Construção do Habitat Moderno no Brasil: 1870-1950 (The Construction of the Modern Habitat in Brazil: 1870-1950)*, RiMa Press, São Carlos, 2004.

During the twentieth century one of the most rapid and intense processes of urbanisation in the world took place in Brazil. The policy of industrialisation by the national-developmental governments after World War II stimulated urban migration and the growth of cities. These policies were reinforced by the Military regime after the 1964 coup and were particularly intensified during the so-called "Brazilian Economic Miracle" in the early 1970s. As a result, between 1950 and 1980, around thirty million people left the rural countryside and came to the cities.

Socially unequal, politically authoritarian and profoundly restrictive, this process of urbanisation and massive migration had a brutal impact on city life. Lacking any urban planning, cities like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Recife, among others, grew tremendously. Furthermore, in a way that many analysts already called an "urban social apartheid", this urbanisation process expelled most of the working-class people and the poor in general to live in the outskirts and in the slums and the shantytowns- the infamous Brazilian *favelas*.

In the late 1970s when a new wave of popular mobilisation and social movements shook the military dictatorship, demands and organisations of

the urban dwellers came to the forefront of the public arena. Since then, urban studies have become a major topic for many scholars in different academic areas.

Many of these studies have focused in particular on popular housing, as it is called in Brazil. The process of urban segregation, the urban reforms from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, the theories of the hygienists, government authorities, medical and juridical discourses towards working-class and poor dwellers, were different themes analysed by urban theorists, architects, sociologists and social historians. Complementary to these studies, scholars also turned to the varied responses that the diverse subaltern groups articulated to resist these forms of discipline and ways of life established from above. Here, topics such as mechanisms of mutual cooperation in poor neighborhoods, the collective forms of house constructions and social movements based on the demands of urban dwellers attracted the attention of academics. More recently, the relationship between urban segregation, popular housing and criminality has gained particular interest among scholars.<sup>1</sup>

In their books, architects Telma de Barros Correia and Rosana Rita Folz,

from the University of São Paulo (Engineering School in the São Carlos campus), followed this academic tradition on popular housing studies. However, both authors have tried to advance the investigation of the popular house itself, a much neglected topic in the Brazilian academia so far. Concerned with the formation of cities, the neighborhoods and the urban space in general, the earlier studies had not considered domestic space as an area of interest. By focusing part of their analyses on the interior space of the home, Correia and Folz have started to fill this gap and tried to bring in a new dimension in urban studies.

In *A Construção do Habitat Moderno no Brasil: 1870-1950*, Telma de Barros Correia addresses the importance, and adaptation to the Brazilian reality, of ideas on popular housing that was originally developed in Western Europe. By revisiting and discussing the key debates regarding this subject from the last decades of the nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, the author analysed the evolution of urban housing in Brazil as well as the profound changes that occurred in the use and meaning of housing.

In the 1870s, the issue of housing in large Brazilian urban centres began

<sup>1</sup> The literature on these topics is vast and diverse. For examples of important works published in English, see the collection edited by the sociologist Lucio Kowarick, *Social Struggles and the City: The Case of Sao Paulo*, New York Monthly Review, 1993; the article of the social historian Sidney Chalhoub, "The Politics of Disease Control: Yellow Fever and Race in 19th Century Rio de Janeiro", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 25, 1993 and the anthropologist Teresa Caldeira's book *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000.

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to concern sections of the Brazilian elite, who grew increasingly uncomfortable with the living conditions of the masses. For them, popular dwellings, by not conforming to the hygienic codes established by sanitary medicine, were a risk to the health of their inhabitants and the rest of the society. As such, houses of workers and that of the poor in general, were considered a threat to health, morality and production. "It was seen as a place inappropriate to health and virtue, a dirty and uncomfortable place, ...with an immoral and promiscuous environment that corrupted its residents" (p. 1).

Hardly welcoming, the home of the poor would not ensure the permanence of its residents, who were seen as drawn to other environments, such as bars and bordellos. By not permitting the complete dedication of the poor to labour, the home was considered partly responsible for the precarious economic situation experienced by workers.

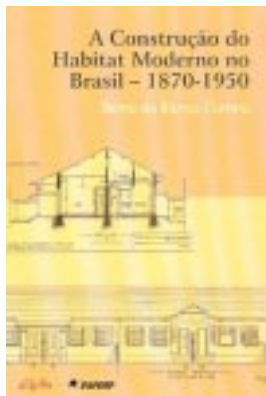
At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, engineers, sanitary health workers and doctors produced a series of inspections, reports and analyses on the state of housing in Brazilian cities, then undergoing rapid growth. Public and religious institutions and industrialists, among others, participated in the elaboration of directives and proposals for housing reform. These initiatives were based on notions of comfort, hygiene, and economy and sought to transform the residence into a "healthy" locale, permitting privacy, the strengthening of family ties, an increase in productivity at the workplace and a restructuring of activities performed at home and the amount of time dedicated to them. Essentially, the poor family's home was ideally to be a small space, but one that was well lit, airy and not crowded.

Correia discusses this new way of viewing the home, which would be tied into infrastructure and urban equipment networks, such as schools and crèches, which were to take on certain roles hitherto carried out at home. The new model also regarded the residence as restricted to the nuclear family, for fundamentally residential use, for relaxation, and adapted to the new rationality emphasising cleanliness, comfort, and adequate spatial division, that residents must adapt to.

Clearly inspired by initiatives underway in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, this model attempted to make the home orderly, hygienic and comfortable, where the concept of controlling time was fundamental. It separated time dedicated to work from the domestic life and sought to free female labour for out of home employment through increased hygiene and proper maintenance.

In the context of rapid urbanisation, how the city was conceived was also under transformation. On the one hand, many saw the poorly lit and overpopulated urban conglom-

erations as dangerous, degrading in behaviour and threatening health and safety. As in England, in Brazil there was a movement to glorify contact with rural inhabitants, who were seen as healthier. On the other hand, the author points out that there also coexisted another idea of the city with its roots in the eighteenth century Enlightenment, which considered the city a centre of civilisation, production and knowledge.



In the late nineteenth century, a vision of the city and its problems was formed based on the "environment theory". According to this theory, "the combat of disease and anti-social behaviour" (p. 23) implied a modification of the environment, in particular that of the home. Changes at home, following concepts of hygiene and discipline, could correct the individual, creating healthier individuals apt and able to work. Inspired by the writings of Michel Foucault, Telma Correia shows how this process had repercussions in the home, which became a functional and specialised space with defined places for determined activities.

These changes in Brazilian housing were due to redefinitions of the physical plant: internal areas as well as lateral and frontal recessions, and gardens were created, permitting the building of windows and separating the house from the neighbourhood and the street. The introduction of new materials, new construction techniques, and furniture, and the linkage of homes to recently constructed public water and sewage networks were also fundamental to this process. It sought to take into account domestic well-being and to define the home as a fixed spatial reference for the family, providing comfort to the individual and developing a sense of place.

Considered by the elites as a fundamental element of social organisation, the home acquired a diversity of functions and concepts. Correia analyses the appearance, development and contradictions of various notions of dwelling elaborated during this period. First of all, the idea of the residence as a *sanitary space* that sought to guarantee health and privacy, responsible for disciplining the domestic environment. The home also began to be understood as a *domestic sanctuary*, a space to strengthen family life, where affection was

exchanged; also hierarchies, forms of protection and control were established.

It is within this overall scenario that the idea of the *modern habitat* was articulated, which aligned notions of home as a sanitary space and place of rest and family life. At the same time, the notion of the home as property became widespread, as an indicator of the position of the homeowner in a class society and, as such, a symbol of power and status. In the midst of the uncertainties surrounding the workplace, the dream of "a home of one's own" revealed itself to be an important element in the search for stability by the popular classes. In Brazil, particularly during the Getulio Vargas' dictatorship (1937-1945), the idea of the worker homeowner gained ample space in the media, at a time when housing policy privileged the purchase of housing by workers.

The author also addresses the concept of the home as a *kit of the private man*, an expression used by Walter Benjamin. The residence is seen as a space where the resident seeks to affirm his or her individuality and to express their personal taste through objects acquired over time. The ascension of individualism in the nineteenth century reinforced the meaning of the home as a temple of private life and locale for the expression of individuality, including expressing one's personality through the objects chosen to decorate the home.

Similar to the French case analysed by Benjamin, in Brazil, the interior of the bourgeois dwelling passed through a similar process of ostentatious luxury at the end of the nineteenth century. During this period there was a tendency for the kitchen and the sitting room to expand, as areas that concentrate those activities related to consumption. On the other hand, the service areas tended to diminish and private areas and areas of representation multiplied, with the creation of the hall, rooms for different activities, offices and terraces.

However, according to Telma Correia, modernist architecture marked the beginning of a movement contrary to the tendency to fill a home with personal touches, with a relative decline in crowded interiors. Very influential in Brazil, modernist architecture sought to cheapen construction costs through production in series and emphasised a new aesthetic that included dwellings with minimal dimensions.

It is well known that various modernist architects admired the "simplicity" of the popular home, seen as carefree and authentic, in contrast to the "ostentation" of the bourgeois dwelling. Unfortunately, Correia does not go into detail regarding divergences and convergences between the dominant economic sectors in Brazil and the modernist architects of the 1920s and 30s, as well as the role of the Brazilian state in this process.

Discussing the rationalisation of



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popular housing in the decades between the 1930s and 50s, the architect, in her final chapter, calls attention to the significant role of an organisation that contributed to the reform of housing in Brazil in the period addressed, the Institute for Rational Organisation of Labour, or *Instituto de Organização Racional do Trabalho* (IDORT). IDORT supported "scientific" methods of organisation for the construction of housing. With the support of the state, IDORT aimed to increase industrial productivity. Through the rationalisation of work and promotion of worker and management cooperation, the entity supported and participated in the Taylorisation of Brazilian housing.

Although focusing attention on the workplace, IDORT also addressed worker housing. It concerned itself with "the 'rationalization' of the home, guided by principles of economising resources and time, cooperation, and segmenting chores" (p. 82). Taylorist influences are also revealed in the conception of the dwelling formulated by certain architects that, as the author shows, were concerned with transferring the rationality of the Taylorised factory to domestic life.

Through an interdisciplinary analysis, Telma Correia navigates complex discussions on architecture, urbanism, history and sociology. There is a rich use of sources, including housing inspection reports, acts and minutes from engineering and medical conferences, specialised publications and others. However, it might have been useful to include an analysis of photographs and blueprints, which were used only as illustrations to the book.



In addition, the author's exclusive focus on the dominant discourse results in a lack of an analysis of dissenting voices. Workers' publications are not studied, as well as the discussion of the ideas and debates on housing amongst the organised working class. To what extent, for example, did they oppose or agree with the sanitary and disciplinary emphasis on popular housing?

In fact, by emphasising dominant discourses, the book tends to neglect the role played by workers and the poor in this process. There are few examples of the reaction of popular sectors to these transformations, and the effective actions taken for the construction of the "modern habitat". Consequently, possible conflicts and tensions are not sufficiently developed, in particular those during key moments such as forced removals, riots and revolts (such as the Vaccine Revolt at the beginning of the twentieth century).

Finally, a more detailed analysis of the possible internal differences amongst the popular classes regarding housing perhaps would have been

interesting. By not addressing such distinctions, the author's vision of housing is at times homogenous. She does not consider how gender, ethnic origin and race, for example, could have affected the discourse and the attitudes of the elite and the State regarding popular housing.

By expertly and sensibly detailing the various dominant discourses and concepts of worker housing between the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, Telma Correia brings an important contribution to the analysis of this subject in Brazil. By researching both public and private investments, at the time of rapid urban growth, she demonstrates the breadth and complexity of the effort to address the housing question, which involved labour, education, public health, social networks, recreational efforts, and others.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the issue of adequate dwelling for workers and the poor in general is still highly relevant in Brazil. By addressing the origins of the dominant concepts of popular housing in Brazil, Telma de Barros Correia provides useful insights for better understanding current problems such as the housing shortage, favelisation, and the growing number of street dwellers. For all those interested in popular housing history and the development of proposals to address social exclusion, *A Construção do Habitat Moderno no Brasil: 1870 -1950* is a highly valuable book.

## Reviews

## The Road through My Daughter's Grave: Development, Governments, Peoples



Aniruddha Gupta

Aniruddha, currently a PhD student at Chicago University, has graduated from Presidency College and did his Masters at ISI, Delhi. His research interest is mainly behavioural economics.

Ani, as he is known, is virtually a teetotaler who is dragged to bars by his friends. He is an ace debator who has several titles to his credit. A died-in-the-wool liberal, he has also a great interest in computers, particularly blogging and in singing odd jingles that not even the ad-makers themselves care to remember.

When I found two smart volumes published by the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) delivered to me together with a request for a review, I was more than a bit apprehensive. Not only because a brief glance at the blurbs revealed that these were rather weighty academic books, but because of the thrust of the work chronicled by them. Southeast Asia is a region that, while often treated as a single unit, consists of some very different countries, and not just demographically—Muslim Indonesia, Christian Philippines and Buddhist Thailand are all part of the monolithic entity called Southeast Asia. The region has seen, and suffered at, the hands of followers of almost all schools of economic thought—the excesses of the Maoist Khmer Rouge ravaged Cambodia, while unbridled capitalism plunged thousands of Indonesians into bankruptcy overnight. Given that the books deal with economic development, I wondered how these books would attempt to provide an overall view of this subject in the context of the region.

The first of the two books is *Commonplaces and Comparisons: Remaking Eco-political Spaces in Southeast Asia*, edited by Peter Cuasay and Chayan Vaddhanaphuti. As the title suggests, the principal focus area of this book is the management of common property resources by various Southeast Asian governments.

The distribution of resources, particularly land, in countries like Indonesia and the Philippines is of particular interest because of the development policies followed by the governments in the region. The impact of World Bank-mandated policy on governments is being debated to this day, and this region, given its less than stellar performance in the field of economic development seems to be ideal to hold up as an example of short-sighted economic policies which have damaged both the environment and the unique social structures of the region. Given that the World Bank's liberal policies entirely neglected environmental concerns during the period in question, it is not surprising that these countries achieved rapid economic growth, but ended up excessively depleting their natural resources. Some of them have

realised the folly of the earlier approach and taken steps to rectify the damage, and these efforts must be lauded.

At the same time, when one is dealing with matters relating to land redistribution, it would be foolish to attack the principles of Coasian bargaining that form the bedrock for most World Bank sponsored distribution schemes—namely that the chief responsibility of the government is to ensure that property rights are well-defined. So, while reading the book, I tried to see whether the contributors had dealt with the issue holistically.



The book is divided into four sections, and the tone of each section is different. The first part is titled Governance as Moral Narrative, and includes contributions by Antonio P. Contreras, Henry Chan and Peter Cuasay. Even within this section, the essays differ a great deal. While Chan's *The Crisis of the Commons: Three Case Studies in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand* is a well-researched and objective look at the clash between the rights of indigenous people and the state machinery over the use of forest resources, the other two tend to spiral into demagoguery. Contreras' *The transformation of Politics and the Politics of Transformation* attempts to look at the conflict between civil society and the state through a theoretical framework. Heavy with jargon, it makes for a very difficult read. Particularly annoying is Contreras' repeated use of clever literary devices. That said, the subject that he deals with is an interesting one. The problem is that the author is clearly on the side of civil society against the state (an interesting term—does it suggest that the State is inherently uncivil?). He laments the bureaucratisation of civil society, and warns them against becoming that which they are fighting. In his conclu-

sion, he holds out hope by pointing out that the younger members of the bureaucracy are themselves being influenced by anti-State forces. While one appreciates the role that these movements played in removing corrupt and inefficient governments, to portray them as participants in a never-ending conflict is, in my opinion, a trifle extreme.

Cuasay's *Indigenizing Law or Legalizing Governmentality? The Philippine Indigenous Peoples Rights Act and Postcolonial Hybridity* seems at first glance to fall into the same trap, but thankfully, it makes its point more cogently. The author accurately points out how the attempts by the Americans to expand peoples' rights over land, while maintaining government hegemony at the same time, bordered on the ridiculous, and also points to a growing trend among governments to shift their areas of operation while seeming to devolve power. However, this work suffers again because of the author's prominent bias. While attacking the government's half-hearted schemes, he does not provide a feasible alternative strategy. In fact, he seems more concerned with proving the undesirability of government as a whole. While this view may appeal to anarchists, it seems terribly out of place in a book on development economics. One could hardly expect large-scale development policies to be implemented in the absence of a government.

Sandwiched between these two essays, Chan's work is refreshing. While he too, criticises the governments of the three countries he surveys for turning a blind eye to the cultural rights of indigenous peoples, he recognises the political reality that all these societies must face. He also constructs a theoretical framework within which he analyses the situation in each country, but succeeds in not oversimplifying matters. He also points out how co-operation between the government and local bodies has been successful in some cases. In his conclusion, he makes a telling comment— "...regardless of the status of people's right over land... the influences of the modern market economy could not be avoided."

The second part— *Entitlement— from Territory to Identity* covers the tricky issue of resource entitlement.

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The first essay in this section is *Thailand's Land Titling Program: Securing Land for the Poor?*, by Rebecca Leonard and Kingkorn Narintarakul Na Ayutthaya is an excellent one. The duo look at the World Bank sponsored land-titling programme carried out in Thailand and critically examine its efficacy. Using data collected from some of the poorest regions of Thailand, they show that the scheme was an unmitigated disaster (though they do not use that term). What is more, they identify the principal problems faced by the scheme—the lack of information and asymmetry of power. In this way, they do not repudiate Coasian policy in its entirety, but rightly take the Bank and the government to task for failing to ensure that the basic conditions, under which such policy could be successful, were met. This work is all the more important because it deals with a problem that cannot be ignored in any democracy with a degree of inequality—the appropriation of land from the truly needy by the well connected.

The second essay titled *The Commons at War: Fuzzy Property Rights and Ethnicized Entitlements in Sri Lanka* by Benedikt Korf looks at a country that is strictly not part of Southeast Asia, and therefore its inclusion in this book is surprising. However, the reason for the inclusion becomes quickly evident. By looking at a nation in the grip of a long-running civil war, the editors address another significant obstacle to the defining of property rights. Looking at five different villages in a region that is at the boundary between the warring factions, the author shows how the conflict has thrown up a gamut of possible consequences. Bargaining power between various communities changes based on which side has the upper hand in the civil war, and this leads to every manner of roadblocks to negotiation. A very interesting paper, it not only justifies its inclusion, but also contains a number of ideas for future theoretical papers.

The third essay is perhaps the weakest of the three, but is a competent essay in its own right. Titled *Changes in Indigenous Common Property Regimes and Development Policies in the Northern Philippines* by June Prill-Brett, it is a dry but detailed historical narrative of property regimes in the Philippines, from the pre-colonial period to the period as a Spanish and then American colony. The unintended consequences of land management policies carried out first by colonial powers and then by its own government are also noted.

The third section of the book is titled *Reform— Hope and Caution*. Two of the three essays included in this section are very different from all the others in the book in that they are entirely empirical in nature. They are— *Effective Land Tenure Reform: Insights from Selected Philippine Agrarian Reform Communities* by Ugo Pica Ciamarra and *Does Devolution*

*Really Influence Local Forest Institutions* by Tran Ngoc Thanh. The third, *Resource Management Initiative of an Indigenous Village in Northeast Cambodia Leads to Changes in the National Land Policy* by Gordon Patterson and Anne Thomas, looks at a village in the Ratnakiri region of Cambodia in which a community-based approach to land holding has been successfully implemented. The essay documents the plan, contrasting it with traditional methods of land management. Again, the authors make it a point to note that the success of the communal land management programme is likely to draw speculators to the area, something that is truly unavoidable, and shows how the community is already taking steps to guard against exploitation of their natural resources.

The other two essays use data collected from selected regions of the Philippines and Vietnam respectively to showcase successful land management policies, which involved both the government and local communities. The CARP in the Philippines sent representatives of the government to explain their plans to the local people and formed teams of local people to oversee the process. The data showed that there was an unambiguous increase in the welfare of the people in the region, both absolutely and with respect to the rest of the country. The FLA program in Dak Lak province of Vietnam devolved power to local villagers, and was a moderate success. The study also showed that the interaction between the government and villagers led to a drastic change in the power structure of the village, with government representatives gaining at the cost of traditional headmen. This is not entirely undesirable, but is a consequence that needs to be viewed with caution.

The last section is titled *Flow— Mobilities Around Water* and contains only two essays. The first, *Hydropower Development of the Lower Mekong River Basin: Pak Mun Dam, Northeast Thailand* by Maarit Virtanen describes the protests surrounding the building of a large dam on the Mun River. In a situation that we are all too familiar with, the dam would cause the submersion of a number of villages along the river, and the government took steps to rehabilitate the villagers. However, with information on the government's plan not readily available, the villagers began protesting against the dam, at first by themselves, and later with the help of NGOs. The government in turn blamed the NGOs for inciting the villagers and in fact, for inhibiting the rehabilitation process. As could be expected both sides have stuck to their respective stances—the villagers claiming that they were being unduly oppressed, while the government stressed that the dam was necessary for development. The stance taken by both sides seems to suggest that there is no easy way out of this conflict. The

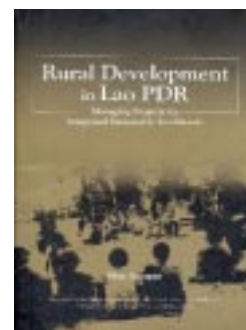
essay faithfully chronicles the conflict, presenting arguments on both sides, though the author subtly makes his own opinion known when he chooses to use reported speech when talking about the government's response to protests. The incoherent and ungrammatical interview speeches by government officials ends up showing them in rather poor light at the end of the debate.

The last essay in the book is also the longest. *Making Space for Fisheries Access and Community Management in Stung Treng, Cambodia* by Try Thuon and Tek Vannara should perhaps have been left out of the volume altogether, because the scope of its research is too broad to share space with so many other essays. The authors look at a classic case of a tragedy of the commons, where over fishing has depleted fish stocks. The problem is acerbated by the presence of both licensed and unlicensed fisherman in the region.

The one country that is surprisingly kept out of the discussion in the book is Laos, or— to use the official name—the Lao PDR. It seems this was a conscious decision, since the other book deals with that country entirely—in fact with a single village in the Lao PDR.

The title of the second book is *Rural Development in Lao PDR: Managing Projects for Integrated Sustainable Livelihood*, and the author is Lilao Boupaou. The author, who is in fact a native of the village, looks at how four development projects carried out in his home have had an adverse impact on the local community, even though they were the supposed beneficiaries of the projects.

In my opinion, the book is an excellent work, showing with startling clarity how well-intentioned government policy can end up having unintended consequences in the most unusual ways. In his introduction, the author captures the dichotomy of the situation quite beautifully when he quotes a local woman who says "the road is very valuable and I am happy that the government has so generously provided assistance to our community. But it would be so much better if my daughter's grave had not been destroyed."



The author uses the example of the road building project, and three others— a campaign to promote dry season cropping, a tomato hybrid seed production project and a water supply

## Reviews

project— to demonstrate how factors that the government ignores, or considers inconsequential are actually extremely significant for the local population. The tomato seed production exercise failed spectacularly because the project staff members were offensive— a fact that led the villagers to try to produce tomato seeds on their own, without training or expertise. Naturally they failed to produce even close to the targeted amount. The water supply project ended up creating a reservoir of stagnant water that became the breeding ground for mosquitoes. The double cropping plans were probably the most poorly implemented. While encouraging villagers to grow crops like soybeans, the authorities neglected to create a market for the product. As a result, villagers with no access to easy storage were left with

huge stocks of decaying produce.

The author has clearly put a great deal of thought into the structure of the book— something that the people he talks about have not. The first chapters present a theoretical framework of development, describing linkages in rural development and comparing the top-down and the bottom-up approach to development planning. Having laid the groundwork for his argument, the author approaches the village in question. A brief history of the village is followed by a listing of all development projects carried out there, and their impacts on various aspects of village life. Then the author begins his criticism of the project management. He cogently describes the factors that the authorities failed to take into consideration and also the inappropriate management structure of project staff. He

also shows how the stages of planning process was not in concordance with any recognised approach to development planning. Finally, he suggests some feasible options for sustainable development programmes in the future.

Throughout all this, the author backs up his research with snippets from conversations with the local people, and first-hand data on the project. Perhaps his intimate knowledge of the local culture and customs helped in this regard. Whatever the reason, the book is eminently readable, and manages to make its point firmly yet quietly. Though the focus is on a single village in Laos, the problems of top-down development policies are true in many other contexts too. For this reason, the book is an excellent primer on sustainable development.

**Following this review is a feature on the Institute about whose publications you just read**

### **Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.**

The center was established in 1998 to bring together social science and natural science knowledge for a better understanding of sustainable development in upper mainland Southeast Asia. Among its many activities, the center offers a two years' Masters' course in Sustainable Development aimed at students and researchers as well as NGO workers from the whole region. It has built a formidable network within the region in social science research, especially ethnic and gender studies.

Information about research and publication is available on its website <http://rcsd.soc.cmu.ac.th>. There is great interest in local knowledge, especially among the different ethnic groups. This is part of a larger framework for investigating the linkages between global and local processes, the interaction between states and communities and the dynamic interplay between widening markets and national cultures.



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### **RCSD Publications**

RCSD Monograph Series

Anan Ganjanapan, *Local Control of Land and Forest: Cultural Dimension of Natural Resource Management in Northern Thailand*

Price: 375 Baht (inside Thailand) | US\$ 20 (outside of Thailand— includes postage)

This book is a collection of essays, organised into seven chapters, showing Dr. Anan's early theoretical interest in land tenure and the complexities of the conflicts and contradictions between the lowland farmers and the capitalist class, and his late interest in the issues of customary rights and forest resource management. Dr. Anan uses the concept of culture as thread connecting the issues of local control of land and forest, conflict between local people and the state with regard to forest and land management, as well as the practice of community forest in Northern Thailand. He also demonstrates how the "study from below" can help us to understand the dynamic interpenetration between state and local communities in the

## Reviews

context of resource management and the process of commercialisation and development.

Pinkaew Laungaramsri, *Redefining Nature: Karen Ecological Knowledge and Challenge in Modern Conservation Paradigm*  
Price: 475 Baht (inside Thailand) I US\$ 25 (outside of Thailand— includes postage)

This book is an ethnography that offers a critical analysis of the development of the dominant nature conservation ideology in Thailand and the response by the Karen people and their ecological knowledge. Focusing on the centralisation of 'nature' and peripheralisation of ethnic hill people, the author examines the way in which certain discourses and rhetoric regarding 'hill tribes contra nature' have been made prominent and persistent within not only the state perceptions but also throughout the conflicts between ethnic hill people and other social groups such as lowland communities and nature conservationists. Central to the book is the study of the way in which the Karen, a 'hill tribe', marginalised by their engagement in the discourse of nature conservation, creatively respond to their marginality. Counter-discourses through re-invented forms of local knowledge and appropriation of foreign knowledge are examined in detail within the Karen challenge to the modern conservation paradigm.

Yos Santasombat, *Biodiversity, Local Knowledge and Sustainable Development*  
Price: 525 Baht (inside Thailand) I US\$ 28 (outside of Thailand— includes postage)

This book is a product of seven years of field research in northern Thailand. The primary argument is that the basis of knowledge through which the Thai state and its various agencies and officials have come to know and wield power over local ethnic minority is a fantasy. Presumptions about non-Thai minorities, anecdotes, and ethnocentric bias resulting in construed misconceptions labeling people as "untamed" hill-billies slashing and burning the forest while producing opium and running drugs. These fantasies serve to legitimise the power of the state and its various agencies in order to exclude local peoples from their rights and access to natural resources.

### Collection of Papers from Politics of the Commons Conference, July 2003, Chiang Mai, Thailand

The "Politics of the Commons" regional conference held in July 2003, discussed "territorialization" and dealt with the social dynamics of development processes, people's movements and environmental laws. The purpose of this edited volume is to render this concern for dynamics in regional context by selecting comparisons that stimulate new thinking about "commonplaces" of theory.

Peter Cuasay and Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, *Commonplaces and Comparisons: Dynamics in Regional Eco-politics of Asia*  
Louis Lebel, Xu Jianchu, Antonio Contreras, *Institutional Dynamics and Stasis: How crises alter the way common pool resources are perceived, used and governed*

Peter Vandergeest and Chusak Wittayapak, *Devolution, Privatization, or Regulatory Intensification? The Promises and Pitfalls of Decentralization in Asia*

Working paper No. 1

Tran Thi Ut, *Land and Water Resource Management on Coastal Areas: Socio-economic impact of government intervention, Bac Lieu province, Mekong delta, Vietnam.*

Working paper No. 2

Wang Jieru, *Social Change in the Economic Transformation of Livelihoods: Voices from the Upland Mountain Community in Southwestern China.*

Working paper No. 3

Daovorn Thongphanh, *Land and Forestland Allocation Policy: Impacts on Land Use Practices in Hatkhai and Yan-Khoua villages, Thaphabath District, Bolikhamxay, Lao PDR.*

Working paper No.4

Mak Sithirith, *Cooperation in the Mekong River Basin: A Reflection of Cambodia's Experiences in the Development of the Mekong Region.*

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## Quiz Answers

1. North Korea shocked the footballing world to reach the Quarterfinal in 1966, and seemed poised to win that match, but was thwarted by the genius of Eusebio of Portugal.
2. In 1950, India was invited on the strength of her participation in the Olympics. But the footballing authorities of that country couldn't afford the boots, thus denying India the only chance she ever had of participating.
3. Cameroon was given the nickname because of her performance in 1982, when, despite a first round exit, Cameroon went home unbeaten. In 1990, Cameroon also became the first African team to reach the knockout stages of the World Cup.
4. He was referring to the recent reverses Argentina had suffered in its war with the UK, commonly known as the Falklands War.
5. The 1950 edition was decided by a group league competition between the four top teams. As it happened, the two teams at the top of the table, Uruguay and Brazil faced-off in the last match, making it a virtual final. Which Brazil just needed to draw, but lost.
6. In the 1982 match between Kuwait and France, a Kuwaiti Prince, who also controlled the football association of that country, invaded the pitch as play came to a stop when the Kuwaitis protested a refereeing decision. Football-watchers still remember the bemused look of the French great, Michelle Platini, at this turn of events.
7. Garrincha, still regarded by many Brazilians to be the greatest ever to play the game, announced after Brazil's loss to Portugal in 1966 meant the end of their dream to lift three consecutive titles.
8. Before the World Cup was initiated by Jules Rimet, the Olympic football title was considered the most prestigious. As holders of that title Uruguay was regarded as the pre-eminent football power in the world and claimed this honour as her prize.
9. The Brazil-Uruguay match of 1950, mentioned above, was played at the Maracan Stadium, the largest in the world. It was witnessed by about 200,000 people, the largest crowd ever in a football match.
10. In 1958, the star-studded Brazilian line-up of Garrincha, Didi, Vava, Zagallo and, of course, Pele beat the hosts Sweden in the final 5-2 to become the first, and till date, only team to lift the title in the 'enemy' continent.

**DOCUMENTARY FILM FESTIVAL ON:  
GLOBALISATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION  
Organised by LOKAYAT on 22-23 JULY.**

The world's worst-ever industrial disaster took place in Bhopal in 1984. While over 20,000 people have died so far due to the gas leak, even now, 22 years later, DOW-CARBIDE- the corporation responsible for the tragedy- still continues to evade its liabilities.

In a sense, we are all living in Bhopal. Because India's policymakers, in their rush to rapidly globalise and industrialise the economy, have now abandoned whatever little concern they had for the environment, and are creating conditions for the occurrence of a thousand more Bhopals all over the country! In January last year, a group of us came together and launched a campaign to highlight the issue of 'Globalisation, Human Rights Violations and Environment Destruction' amongst the people of Pune. We named the campaign NO MORE BHOPALS.

In continuation of this campaign, Lokayat organised a two-day film festival of documentary films on GLOBALISATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION.

Preceding the films, a public meeting was held on Friday, 21 July, at 6 pm at Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal hall to get together secular groups to condemn the Mumbai bomb blasts

NAME OF FILMS:

**On 22 July (Saturday):**

1. **One Night in Bhopal** (60 mins): A documentary by the BBC, gives an extraordinary insight into the world's worst industrial disaster.
2. **The Many Faces of Madness** (19 mins): The film brings people face to face with contemporary ecological destruction in India.
3. **A Second Hand Life** (26 mins): On the electronic waste business and its impact on environment and human health leading to environmental crisis in India.
4. **Buddha Weeps in Jadugoda** (55 mins): On uranium mining in Jadugoda and how the lives of the people in the area have been turned into a veritable hell.

**On 23 July ( Sunday):**

5. **Global Warning!** (20 mins): Focuses on the dangers of climate change.
6. **Chaliyar-** the final battle (35 mins): On the longest drawn out environmental struggle in India. The film documents the death and destruction of the river Chaliyar- Kerala's second largest river due to industrial pollution.
7. **Whose Water** (26 mins): A fairy tale true story about Rajasthan where 1000 villages have been revolutionised by bringing back water into their life. Inspired by Tarun Bharat Sangh, people came together to revive their traditional water harvesting system, transforming their lives.
8. **Battle's Poison Cloud** (53 mins): A disturbing documentary which exposes the legacy of Agent Orange in Vietnam, some three decades after the conflict ended.
9. **Evergreen Island** ( 45 mins): On the struggle of the people of Central Bougainville to close down one of the world's largest copper mines that was destroying their land.

The screenings of these films were followed by a discussion.

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**Announcement**

**PhD Scholarship**  
Australian Research Council

**The AusAid South Asia Conference**  
Canberra  
25-26 September 2006

**Call for Entries**  
Short story competition  
Theme: Caribbean Folklore Figures

**Call for Papers**  
World Institute for Development Economics  
Research (UNU-WIDER)  
Workshop on Gender and Food Security

**Call for Applications**  
Majlis Culture Fellowship 2006

**APFRN Events and Activities**

**Indian Arrival Day commemorative magazine 2006**  
Trinidad and Tobago, Caribbean  
Theme- Caribbean Indian actors in cinematic movies

**SOUTH PROJECT GATHERING**  
Santiago, Chile

**Zubaan Books Newsletter**

**Call for Articles**  
Europe & Balkans International Network  
Journal of Southeastern Europe  
Publisher: Charles Schlacks, USA

## Announcement

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### PhD Scholarship

Australian Research Council

Gender Relations Centre, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific invites applications for a PhD to be conducted as part of a project on "Changing approaches to gender and development in rural China," One stipendiary scholarship is offered for 2007-2009 funded by the Australian Research Council.

The chief investigator on the project, Dr Tamara Jacka, will also act as supervisor for the PhD candidate. Dr Jacka is an expert on gender relations and the situation of women in contemporary China, and is an experienced PhD supervisor, recently nominated for the ANU Vice Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Supervision.

The successful applicant will be based at the Gender Relations Centre, the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University. The ANU is a leading centre of expertise in China studies and rich collections of relevant research materials are located in the ANU Library and the National Library of Australia.

### Project Summary

In contemporary rural China women face severe gender discrimination and disadvantage. This project examines the ways the Chinese women's movement addresses these issues. Since the mid 1990s the Chinese women's movement has been strongly influenced by international feminist and development discourses. This project examines the effects of these discourses on women's groups' activities in rural areas. It aims to contribute to improvements in theory and practice aimed at overcoming women's subordination in China and elsewhere, and to advances in debates over the political significance of international feminist and development discourses in post-socialist contexts.

### Proposal

It is expected that the PhD candidate will address the broad themes of the project, but will conduct original research, which will complement the work of the Chief Investigator. Proposals should address the situation of women and the relationship between gender and development in rural China and/or issues relating to the contemporary Chinese women's movement.

### Eligibility

Applicants should have a social science background, preferably in gender studies, development studies, anthropology, and/or Asian studies; hold (or be about to receive) a 1<sup>st</sup> class Honours degree or a Master's degree with a significant research component; and have well-developed Chinese language skills. The scholarship is open to Australian citizens or permanent residents and New Zealand citizens.

### Stipend and other benefits

\$19,231 pa (2006 rate, indexed), tax free; travel to Canberra from within Australia; and reimbursement of some removal expenses. Some funding will also be provided for fieldwork in China.

### Duration

Three years; full-time.

### Enquiries

Prospective candidates are urged to contact Dr Tamara Jacka before submitting an application.

Dr. Tamara Jacka

Email: [tamara.jacka@anu.edu.au](mailto:tamara.jacka@anu.edu.au)

Tel: 61-2-6125 3185.

### Applications

Applicants should download and complete an ANU PhD scholarship application form from this website:<http://www.anu.edu.au/sas/forms/sas25local.pdf>.

Please state clearly at question 17 that you are applying for this scholarship.

Applications and referees' reports should be posted to:

Student Records

The Australian National University

Pauline Griffin Building (11)

Canberra ACT 0200

Australia.

### Closing date for applications

31 October 2006.

Professor Louise Edwards

Professor China Studies

Convener, ARC Asia Pacific Futures Research Network

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## Announcement

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### The AusAid South Asia Conference

Canberra

25-26 September 2006

The AusAid South Asia Conference, convened by Professor Ken McPherson, will be held in Canberra on September 25-26 2006 and will draw together academics and partners from government agencies on the topic of South Asia's engagement with South East Asia. The draft programme and registration form is available on the network's website.

[http://www.sueztoosuva.org.au/south\\_asia/sa\\_research\\_facility.php](http://www.sueztoosuva.org.au/south_asia/sa_research_facility.php)

The speakers list includes an impressive array of experts from around the globe and promises to be an important event in forging new points of departure for both AusAid and Australian specialists on South and SE Asia.

Your participation at this conference is most solicited!

A special thanks to Ken McPherson and Tracy Lee at LaTrobe for devoting so much time and thought in constructing such an exciting program.

Professor Louise Edwards

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**Malaysia & Singapore Society Web Site:** <http://www.une.edu.au/malaysiasoc/>

**Ian Metcalfe's Web Pages:** <http://www-personal.une.edu.au/%7eimetcal2/index.html>

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### Call for Entries

Short story competition

Theme: Caribbean Folklore Figures

#### Short story competition on Caribbean Folklore Figures

Interested individuals are invited to submit short stories for a competition on Caribbean South Asian/East Indian spirits. These figures include *Saphin* [Snake woman], *Raakas* [Demonic baby], *Dee Baba* [Protector of the land], *Chu-rile* [ghost of pregnant suicide woman] and *Jinn* [fire spirit]. The competition is open to anyone in any part of the world, and there is no fee for participation. The prize-money for first place is TT \$1,000., second place is \$600 and third place is \$400. All winners will be given certificates and will be published in a book with illustrations on Caribbean Indian Folklore. Authors can submit any number of entries but only one entry can be submitted on a theme.

The contest began 1 August and ends on 22 September 2006.

#### Terms and Conditions

- i. Contestants must do some field research and then write imaginative stories based on personal encounters with these folklore figures.
- ii. Authors must include the name of the folklore figure in the subject line of their story.
- iii. The style and language must be suitable for a mixed audience.
- iv. Entries must be entirely the original work of the author.
- v. The competition is open to manuscripts of not more than 3,000 words and must be in Standard English.
- vi. Stories must be typed in double-space.
- vii. Contest entries will be judged by a panel on the basis of research, creativity, authenticity interest and style.
- viii. Decisions of this panel will be final.
- ix. Prize winners will be notified once judging is complete.
- x. World-wide copyright of each entry remains with the author, but Chakra Publishing House must have the irrevocable royalty-free license to reproduce, publish, adapt and perform all or part of your entry in any form or media.

Entry implies acceptance of all the terms and conditions stated above.

Chakra Publishing House does not accept any responsibility for late, lost or misdirected mail. Entries will not be acknowledged or returned, and only winners will be notified.

Contributors can e-mail their submissions to [dmahabir@gmail.com](mailto:dmahabir@gmail.com) or post them to

Dr Kumar Mahabir

Chairman, Chakra Publishing House (CPH)

10 Swami Avenue,

Don Miguel Road

San Juan,

Trinidad and Tobago

## Announcement

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### Call for Papers

World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER)  
Workshop on Gender and Food Security

The World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER) is organising a workshop on "**Gender and Food Security**" in Kolkata, India, on 12-13 December 2006. The Workshop shall be hosted by the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. We would like to invite papers on the following broad themes:

- (1) The relation between socio-economic status of women in a particular society and intra-household food security in that society.
- (2) The relation between women's status and child health.
- (3) Existence of gender discrimination in labor markets and its impact on household poverty.
- (4) Property rights of women and the implication for poverty.
- (5) Land rights of women and the implication for agricultural productivity and food security.
- (6) Education of women and nutrition standards.
- (7) Women's access to micro-credit and public works programme and the impact on poverty.

Please submit an abstract and author CV(s) by 15 October 2006 simultaneously to basudeb@wider.unu.edu and saibal@cssscal.org. Complete drafts will be due on 15 November 2006. UNU-WIDER will consider funding for travel and accommodation on request.

Prof. Basudeb Guha-Khasnobis (UNU-WIDER, Helsinki)

Dr. Saibal Kar (Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta)

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### Call for Applications

Majlis Culture Fellowship 2006

Majlis, a public trust, is a center for multi-cultural initiatives based in Mumbai. The centre intends to develop a support system for multi-disciplinary cultural exchange and for individuals seeking to work outside the parameter of institutional/market frameworks. Under this programme, Majlis announces five fellowships for a period of maximum one year. This term marks the fifth cycle for this programme. We invite proposals from individuals in the field of cultural practices. Experienced practitioners of one discipline may apply for a collaborative project or for a project in another discipline. Proposals from applicants without past experience in a particular discipline will also be considered. There will be special emphasis on projects which require collaborative initiatives.

#### Fellowships

The programme will offer **five fellowships** of not exceeding Rs. 15,000/- each per month for a maximum of 12 months and a contingency grant (amount to be decided by the committee after selection procedure is completed) for the basic / administrative expenses. However, the contingency grant will not be available for acquiring any capital equipment. In case of production oriented projects which are expensive, like film making or multi-media production, the programme will not be able to cover the production or infrastructural expenses.

#### The Proposal Format

1. The proposal should preferably be in English. Proposals in other Indian languages will also be considered.
2. The first page of the proposal should carry a summary of the project in English not exceeding 500 words and the applicant's name, address, contact telephone and fax no and e-mail address. The name of the applicant should not be mentioned anywhere else in the proposal.
3. The proposal should be posted to Majlis. Proposals sent by fax or e-mail will not be considered.
4. As far as possible the proposal should not exceed 4000 words.
5. The proposal should contain:
  - a. The overall rationale of the project. The needs, issues or opportunities that the project plans to address.
  - b. Details of the area/field of work the applicant plans to cover under this fellowship.
  - c. Work plan, methodology and the tentative schedule envisaged.
  - d. The names of any other group, agency or individuals who are likely to get involved in the project.
  - e. A brief note on the applicant's qualifications, experience, interest, and present occupation including a description of other professional commitments during the period of the fellowship. Details of the work done earlier and funds received, if any, in the same field.
  - f. Work samples such as published works, paper cuttings, photographs, video and audio tapes etc., if any. Majlis will not hold responsibility of returning the work samples to the applicants.

The proposals will be evaluated by a committee of resource people comprised of senior practicing artists and art scholars. The decision of the committee will be final. The short listed candidates may need to appear for an interview with the selection committee. The travel expenses for the same will be borne by Majlis.

A mid-term report will have to be submitted to Majlis within one month from the middle of the project period. The second half of the fellowship will be resumed only after evaluating the mid-term report. The fellows will be required to submit a detailed final report within two months of completion of the fellowship period. The last instalment of the fellow-

## Announcement

ship will be released only after receiving and evaluating the final report.

On completion of the fellowship, Majlis will organise a public programme and the fellows will be required to personally present their works to fellow artists and culture scholars. The travel and accommodation expenses for the same will be borne by Majlis.

Each fellow will be associated with one member of the resource committee. The resource person will be in regular contact with the fellow during the fellowship period and in case of site specific works will visit the location of the work. The final public presentation programme will comprise of presentation by the fellows and the associated resource persons' responses to that.

### Other Information

\* Any Indian citizen residing in India may apply.

\* The period of the fellowship will not exceed 12 months. An appropriate phase of a long term project can be considered for funding.

\* Applicants should declare that the proposal submitted to Majlis is not funded by any other organisation.

\* Expenses under contingency grant will be reimbursed every three months after submission of accounts, with original bills and vouchers.

\* The monthly fellowship will be paid by a/c payee cheques. The income tax formalities should be carried out by the recipient. Majlis does not bear any legal or financial responsibility in this regard.

\* The contribution of Majlis should be acknowledged in the outcome of the project (production brochure/catalogue, film credit, publication, acknowledgement etc.). However, Majlis will hold no copyright on the outcome of any project.

\* No private communication regarding the selection will be entertained.

### Schedule

The application for fellowship should reach Majlis office by 20 September 2006

Communication regarding the fellowship will be sent to selected fellows by 20 October 2006

The fellowship will start from 1st December 2006

### All communication should be made to:

Madhusree Dutta

Majlis

A-2, Bldg 4, Golden Valley

Kalina-Kurla Road

Kalina

Mumbai 400098

Ph. 22-56017723

majlis@vsnl.com www.majlisbombay.org

This fellowship programme is made possible with a grant from HIVOS.

### Fellowship awarded in last four terms

#### 1999-2000

#### ***Theatre laboratory and production of 'Death of Two Women'***

Sabitri Heisnam

#### ***Study and documentation of the wedding songs of Mirasaans in Punjab***

Shikha Jingan

#### ***The regional lineages and linear interactions in the evolution of Indian theatre and film music from 1902-1950***

Narendra Shrimali

#### ***Travelogue of a shooting crew's journey through India***

Shai Heredia & Shaina Anand

#### ***Changing Narrative Strategies: Hindi Commercial Cinema***

Rashmi Doraiswamy

#### 2001-2002

#### ***Video activism in the tribal land of Jharkhand***

Meghnath and Biju Toppo, Ranchi

#### ***Reviving and preparing production manual of Kudiyattam play 'Naganandam'***

Narayanan A.V. Kerala

#### ***A novel in Marathi on the 1983 textile industry strike in Bombay***

Jayant Rajaram Pawar

#### ***Study on the post-partition Sindhi community***

Nandita Bhavnani,

#### ***Series of short duration films using 'found' Super 8 film footage***

Ayisha Abraham

#### 2002-2003

#### ***Research and film on the Indian Postal system***

Surabhi Sharma

#### ***Study of Roadside shrines in Mumbai***

Vidya Kamat

#### ***Developing art works using recipe books***

N. Pushpamala

#### ***Documentation of physical culture with backdrop of 7-side football mania (film)***

Vipin Vijay

#### ***Plays on the lives of Kamladevi Chattopadhyaya and Dr. Kusuma Soraba***

Vaidehi

#### 2004-2005

#### ***Compilation and translation of oral tales from the communities in the North Eastern states***

Renee Colvom Lulam

#### ***Intervention in public spaces through art installations***

Tushar Joag

#### ***Documentary film on women boxers in Mumbai and Delhi***

Pankaj Rishi Kumar

#### ***Research on use of lights in community lives and its practical application in theatre (Bisarjan by***

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### **Rabindranath Tagore)**

Goutam Majumdar

**Research and documentation on the writings of resistance: Kashmiri narratives since 1990s.**

Abir Bazaz

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### **APFRN Events and Activities**

#### Third Round Grant Results

The subcommittee met and allocated a further set of funds to projects around the country. Successful applications included workshops and symposiums on Civil Society and New Media, Food Safety and Health, Islamic Education in Indonesia, Public Broadcasting and Ethnographic writing. Details of these projects is available on [http://www.sueztosuva.org.au/grant\\_apps.php](http://www.sueztosuva.org.au/grant_apps.php).

#### Fourth Round Grant Applications now open: Closing Date 10 October

The final round of grant applications is now being called for this year. Projects relating to the 2007 signature theme (Health and/or Mobility in Asia Pacific Populations) are invited as well as those relating to the 2006 theme on communication and the media.

The application form is available on the website at: [http://sueztosuva.org.au/grant\\_apps.php](http://sueztosuva.org.au/grant_apps.php)

#### Forthcoming Events

There are a number of new events advertised on the webpage <http://sueztosuva.org.au/e2005/>

These include:

Youth, Media and Culture in the Asia Pacific Region symposium

(November, Monash)

Media: policies, cultures and futures in the Asia Pacific Region

(November, Curtin)

Internet Domains between China and India (November, Melbourne)

Understanding the Internet in the Asia-Pacific (September, Wollongong)

South Asia: Integrating and Looking East (September, Canberra)

Islamic Culture(s), nation-building and the Media (September, Monash)

### **EOI for Signature Events 2007 and 2008**

These have been called with deadlines of 30 September and 30 October respectively.

More details of the EOIs are available on the link: [http://sueztosuva.org.au/grant\\_apps.php](http://sueztosuva.org.au/grant_apps.php)

Best wishes,

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

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<http://listserv.uts.edu.au/mailman/listinfo/arc-apfrn>

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Malaysia & Singapore Society Web Site: <http://www.une.edu.au/malaysiasoc/>

Ian Metcalfe's Web Pages: <http://www-personal.une.edu.au/%7eimetcal2/index.html>

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## Announcement

### Indian Arrival Day commemorative magazine 2006

Trinidad and Tobago, Caribbean

Theme- Caribbean Indian actors in cinematic movies

**Indo-Caribbean Cultural Council (ICC)** is proud to announce the publication of its latest magazine commemorating Indian Heritage Month (May 2005) in Trinidad and Tobago (Caribbean). The theme of the magazine, which marks the arrival of East Indians/South Asians from India to Trinidad during indentureship (1845-1917) is Caribbean Indian actors in cinematic movies

On 30 May 1845, the *Fatel Rozak* docked in the Port of Spain harbour in Trinidad and Tobago with 225 adult passengers onboard. The passengers were immigrants from India who had come to the British colony to work in the sugarcane plantations after the abolition of African slavery. In many ways, they brought India to the Caribbean. They continued with their traditions of Hinduism and Islam, and eventually transformed Trinidad into a colourful cosmopolitan society. Descendants of these Indian immigrants, who now comprise about half of the multi-ethnic society of the island (1.3 million), commemorate the arrival of their ancestors to these shores annually.

The magazine presents still pictures from cinematic movies in which Indian actors and actresses have starred. It highlights Indians in movies made in the Caribbean, England and Hollywood from 1964 to the present time. The magazine begins with the young Basdeo Panday in three British-produced movies: *Nine Hours to Rama* (1963), *Man in the Middle* (1964), and *The Brigand of Kandahar* (1965). It also captures shots of Ralph Maraj in *The Right and the Wrong* (1970), *The Caribbean Fox* (1970) and *Bim* (1974). It features Errol Sitahal in three Hollywood films: *A Little Princess* (1995), *Harold & Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004) and *Tommy Boy* (1995). And it takes snapshots of a host of other performers, most of whom have appeared in *The Mystic Masseur* (2001). It is important to celebrate these individuals because they have struggled against tremendous odds as ethnic minorities to achieve visibility and stardom on the silver screen.

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Errol Sitahal's career as an actor

May-June 2006

11 x 8 ½ inches. Glossy pages and cover.

ISSN 1683-4143

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West Indies

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E-mail: mahab@tstt.net.tt, dmahabir@gmail.com

Of related interest is the website on books on East Indians/South Asians in the Caribbean.

<http://www.geocities.com/chakrapub/index.html>

Please visit the UPDATED website for magazine articles on East Indians/South Asians in the Caribbean

[http://www.geocities.com/icc\\_tt](http://www.geocities.com/icc_tt)

### SOUTH PROJECT GATHERING

Santiago, Chile

The South Project heads to South America for the third annual Gathering in October of this year and for the first time the gathering will also feature a significant artistic programme featuring artists from Australia, New Zealand and Latin America. The Symposia programme will be updated regularly on line and registrations to attend to gathering are now being accepted. Santiago, Chile will play host to the gathering as with Wellington in 2005 a consortium of venues is supporting the South Project to ensure that the gathering is an engaging and successful event.

#### **Crossing Horizons: Context and Community in the South.**

3-7 October 2006

3 October 2006

Official Launch and opening of Make the Common Precious

Make the Common Precious is an exhibition of 'poor craft' featuring contemporary craft non-indigenous makers across Australia. 'Poor craft' is a movement for the revitalisation materials found in the public domain. It evokes the odes of Pablo Neruda and movements theatre.

Indigenous purification: Rogativa Mapuche

VENUE: Centro Cultural Estación Mapocho (CEM)

**Day One**, Wednesday 4 October

VENUE: Centro Cultural Estación Mapocho (CEM)

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, for others home has been a form of exile in itself. What or where defines the condition of place and what now for cultural expression?

Keynote lecture by KHWEZI GULE, Co-curator of CAPE 2006, South Africa

Chair: Arturo Navarro, Director CEM (Chile)

**FORMAT:** Two symposia sessions featuring speakers from across the south including

Marcelo Brodsky, artist, Argentina

Anthony Birch, writer, Australia

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Christina Barton, writer, curator and art historian, New Zealand  
 Fransico Brugnoli, artist and Director, MAC, Chile  
 Jesus Macarena Avila, artist and co-founder of Artist Run Space, POLVO, USA

**Day Two**, Thursday 5 October

VENUE: Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (MAC)

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 interaction with active audience to be an important framework for challenging public perception of art. What are the alternative forms and contexts of creative practice that enable art to make a difference in the broader society?

Keynote lecture by PAT HOFFIE, artist and Deputy Director, Research & Postgraduate Studies, Queensland College of Art, Australia

**FORMAT:** Roundtable discussions, labs symposia sessions featuring the following speakers among others.

Mai Abu ElDahab, Co-curator Manifesta 06, Egypt  
 Jon Bywater, writer and lecturer, University of Auckland, New Zealand  
 Galeria Metropolitana, independent Art Space, Chile  
 Hoffman House, independent Art Space, Santiago, Chile  
 Trama, artist collective, Argentina  
 David Cross, artist, writer and lecturer, Massey University, New Zealand

**Day three**, Friday 6 October

VENUE: Universidad de Chile and CCEM

This day will consider ways in which artists can operate autonomously or collaboratively away from the epicentres. This is an opportunity to touch on the nature of South-South discourse, points of connectivity and alternative networks, such as the developing relationship between first nation people in New Zealand and North America. Can inter-culturalism provide alternative forms of recognition for a changing community in the South?

Keynote lecture— TICIO ESCOBAR, Director, de Museo del Barro, Paraguay

**FORMAT:** Symposia session, workshop and plenary lecture. Speakers include:

Manos Nathan, artist, Te Roroa, Nga Puhī, Ngati Whatua, Nueva Zelanda  
 Ian Wedde, writer, poet and curator, Nueva Zelanda  
 Elicura Chihuailaf, writer, poet and orator, Chile  
 Jeremy Wafer, artist and lecturer at University of Witswatersrand  
 Carlos Capelán, artist and professor, Vestland's Art Academy, Bergen, Uruguay / Norway

**Day four**, Saturday 7 October (Satellite session)

VENUE: Universidad de ARCIS, Valparaiso

**FORMAT:** Roundtable discussion

**Towards a 'world craft'**

Across the south, designers and artists are beginning to collaborate with traditional makers. Acting as a counterbalance to the homogenisation of urban life, the results of these collaborations are becoming visible in contemporary society. But is there the potential for a loss of authorship in the commercialisation of cultural tradition? The roundtable is an opportunity to share new paradigms for these collaborations. Are we heading towards a 'world craft' or can Pablo Neruda's tribute to the everyday assist in supporting a 'poor craft' as is reflected in Make the Common Precious?

**Contributors amongst others:**

Mark McDean (AUS)  
 Diogo Souto Maior (BRAZIL)  
 Rosanne Bartley (AUS)  
 Laura Novik (BRAZIL)  
 Kevin Murray (AUS)  
 Damian Wright (AUS).

It will also feature an exhibition curated by: Zara Stanhope (Australia) and Danae Mossman (New Zealand). Artists include: Tom Nicholson, Ash Keating, Brook Andrew, Selina Ou and Andrew McQualter (Australia), Dane Mitchell, Maddie Leach, David Clegg, Lonnie Hutchinson, Daniel Malone and Fiona Jack (New Zealand).

**INAUGURATION**

WEDNESDAY EVENING, 4 OCTOBER at MUSEO DE ARTE CONTEMPORANEO, (MAC), [www.mac.uchile.cl](http://www.mac.uchile.cl)

THURSDAY EVENING, 5 OCTOBER at GALERÍA METROPOLITANA, [www.galmet.org](http://www.galmet.org)

**VENUE:** CENTRO CULTURAL ESTACION MAPOCHO

Work by nineteen artists, including Roseanne Bartley, Damien Wright and Honor Freeman

**OPENING:** TUESDAY EVENING, 3 OCTOBER, CCEM

CENTRO CULTURAL ESTACION MAPOCHO- Plaza de la Cultura s/n, ex Estación Mapocho, Santiago.

[www.estacionmapocho.cl](http://www.estacionmapocho.cl)

**Bolivarian Dream**- video art from Latin America, presented by Hoffmann's House (Chile)

Simultaneous venues: Universidad de Arcis Valparaiso, Centro Cultural Palacio la Moneda

Santiago opening celebration: 7 October 2006.

- **Dust** - short film by Ivan Sehn, presented by Tony Birch (Australia)  
venue: CCEM: 3 October 2006
- **May I have your word?** - installation by Elida Tessler (Brazil)  
venue: CCEM: 3-6 October 2006
- **City Tours Santiago** - roaming performance by Kaleb Bennet (New Zealand)  
City Tours offers passengers a journey in a customised tour vehicle on routes throughout the central city. Site specific audio material is generated as a live composition throughout the tours, engaging with themes of travel, fear, and location in a rapidly changing global network.  
Date to be confirmed.
- **Memoria en Construcción** - book presentation by Marcelo Brodsky (Argentina)  
Venue: CCEM: 3 October 2006.

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Registration includes attendance to the four day symposium, performances, entry to the launch of the Gathering, and exhibition openings. Please note, it does not include the cost of travel from Santiago to Valparaíso for the satellite session on Day four.

<b>Full - \$20AUD</b>	<b>Tarifa normal \$8,000 PSC</b>	<b>Student - \$10AUD</b>	<b>Tarifa estudiante - \$4,500 PSC</b>
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\* registration bursaries will be available upon application.  
register online >>

Or / download registration form from South Project website and post or fax registration and payment to:  
South Project, 31 Flinders Lane, Melbourne, VIC 3000, Australia.  
Fax: + 61 3 9650 5688



South Project @ Craft Victoria

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Magdalena Moreno, Manager, mmoreno@craftvic.asn.au

Nicola Harvey, Project Officer, nharvey@craftvic.asn.au

### Zubaan Books Newsletter

It has been nearly two months since the last Zubaan newsletter. Far too long! There is plenty Zubaan news to share. In the May newsletter we had mentioned that we would be launching a Zubaan-Penguin title, *A Life Less Ordinary*. It is an autobiography of a domestic worker— Baby Halder. The book has been translated into English by Urvashi Butalia. We launched it on 11 May 2006 at the Words of Women series that Zubaan organises in collaboration with the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi. The book was released by Nandita Das. It was followed by a screening of a short documentary on Baby Halder made by Anu Menon. The event was very well attended. In fact, latecomers were unable to enter the hall. The book has been well received. There have been plenty of interviews with Baby and reviews in national and international media. The French edition of this book will be released at the Frankfurt Book Fair, October 2006.

As many of you may be aware, India is the country of focus at the Frankfurt Book Fair, 3-8 October 2006. This is the second time that India will be the Guest of Honour at FBF. Zubaan will be present at Hall 5.0-D927. For Rights enquiries and appointments please contact Preeti Gill, Rights Director, Zubaan.

In May 2006, Zubaan revived the Indian chapter of Women in Publishing. This is an informal collective of women professionals from all aspects of the Indian publishing industry. We had a wonderful inaugural session with our first guest speaker— Liz Calder, Publishing Director, Bloomsbury. WIP organized it in collaboration with the British Council, India. We had a phenomenal turnout. At least sixty members of WIP were able to attend the session with Liz Calder and Louis Baum on 22 May 2006. Among the speakers were Ritu Menon, (Women Unlimited); Urvashi Butalia (Zubaan); Indira Chandrashekhara (Tulika Books); Omita Goyal (Routledge India); Sunita Paul (Pauls Press); V. K. Karthika (Penguin Books India); Sunanda Ghosh (Sage) and Paro Anand, children's writer. We hope to continue these monthly meetings!

Before we conclude this newsletter, we would like to mention two publications that have come to our notice. The first one is Sabeena Gadihoke's *Camera Chronicles of Homai Vyarawalla* which is on India's first woman photographer. It has been published by Mapin Publishers. The second book has been published CREA (Creating Resources for Empowerment in Action). It is *The Little Book of Tips and Tricks: A Guide for South Asian Immigrant Women*, CREA's New York office has partnered with other South Asian organisations in the U.S.A. to spread awareness among immigrant Indian women about their rights and the resources available to them. For more details, please contact [crea@vsnl.net](mailto:crea@vsnl.net).

We enjoy getting your emails and letters, but may we please request you to write to only the following email ids: [contact@zubaanbooks.com](mailto:contact@zubaanbooks.com) or [zubaanwbooks@vsnl.net](mailto:zubaanwbooks@vsnl.net). Please do NOT use the reply mode to the Zubaan newsletter email id.

For any other enquiries, please feel free to contact us.

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With best wishes,

JAYA BHATTACHARJI  
For ZUBAAN





## Announcement

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### Call for Articles

Europe & Balkans International Network  
Journal of Southeastern Europe  
Publisher: Charles Schlacks, USA

Eastern Europe has disappeared, first, in the reemergence of the distinction between Central and Balkan Europe, and second, in the integration of the former to the European Union. Eastern Europe is dead, long live Southeastern Europe. Transitivity is out of fashion. What comes next? The Journal does not aim at constructing a new single paradigm but to be a pioneer in contextualisation and conceptualisation of Southeast European developments.

Three pillars build its theoretical universe:

- Pluridisciplinarity— political science, history, sociology, law, anthropology, cultural studies;
- Interdisciplinarity— issues like nationalism, ethnicity, human rights do not belong to any particular discipline and need the contribution of several of them;
- Comparative approach often replaces verification in social sciences and gives a theoretical background for “measuring” the uniqueness or commonness of the phenomena.

The journal has interest in both:

- Results of theoretical research;
- Informed policy debate, implications of research for policy innovation, analysis of the outcome of previous initiatives.

The journal is published by Charles Schlacks in California. It has already issued 30 volumes and has been mainly distributed in the USA. The publisher offered the Europe & Balkans network to take on the leadership of the Journal. Our ambition is to develop it as a peer reviewed journal with high scientific visibility in both the USA and Europe.

The journal has been published annually. From 2007 it will become biannual.

The content is structured in five parts:

- *Editor's* essay focusing on the a different aspect and encouraging the reader to explore the region within the parameters set by the editorial leadership;
- *Articles* of 20-25 pages (36,000-45,000 signs) on variety of topics. Every article is accompanied by a summary;
- *Scholarly interview in depth of a political personality*, critically evaluated by another scholar;
- *Book reviews*:

*Major review essay*— two separate reviews of the same book and an author's reply;

*Books received*— short presentations of books in non-English and non-western language publications;

- *News*— information for the intellectual life in the region: innovative initiatives, new institutes, important international conferences, etc.

The structure includes also two types of information:

*Notes on contributors*;

*Notes for contributors*.

“Southeastern Europe” is a refereed journal. Every article is evaluated by two referees.

For further information, visit [www.eurobalk.net](http://www.eurobalk.net)

Contact person: Dessislava Krasteva  
[dessislava.krasteva@poloforli.unibo.it](mailto:dessislava.krasteva@poloforli.unibo.it)

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