CONTENTS

Editorial
02 Samita Sen, Shamil Jeppie, Carlos Degregori

Letters to the Editors
03

Opinions
04 Expansion of the UN Security Council
Claudio Pinheiro
Mirzohid Rahimov
Kingshuk Chatterjee
The South African Melange

Articles
09 Alexsander Lemos de Almeida Gebara, Different elements on Richard Francis Burton’s Discourse about Africa
14 Charity Angya, Feminisation of Poverty in Nigeria: Strategies for Women’s Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation
18 Ishani Naskar, India’s Foreign Policy towards Asia: Need for a Makeover
23 Sanobar Shadmanova, Background of the Establishment and Organisation of Obstetrics in Turkestan

Special Feature: Soccer
26 Boria Majumdar and Michael Ralph, Sporting Colonies of Global Capital: The Impact of Globalisation on Soccer in the Developing World
28 Jishnu Dasgupta, Quiz Questions

Contemporary South
34 Jishnu Dasgupta, Of Liberty and Other Demons

Across the South
37 Sucharita Ray, Across the South: Explorations
46 Sucharita Ray and Kashshaf Ghani, Bismillah Khan: The Passing of a Legend
47 Jishnu Dasgupta, Obituary of Shamsur Rahman
48 Rabindranath Tagore, Letter to Lord Chelmsford

Reviews
49 Tista Das, Partitioned Memories
Kathinka Sinha-Kerkhoff, Tyranny of Partition: Hindus in Bangladesh and Muslims in India
50 Michiel Baud, New Visions on the Social and Political History of Peru
55 Paulo Fontez and Denise Adell, A Home of One’s Own: Debates on Popular Housing in Brazil
56 Aniruddha Gupta, The Road through My Daughter’s Grave: Development, Governments, Peoples
60 Report on Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development, Chiang Mai University, Thailand

Quiz Answers
62

Announcements
63

Our Team
74

Contact us at sensamita@yahoo.co.uk
Editorial

Samita Sen, Shamir Jeppe, 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—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, terrorism and social decay. Last month, 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 West 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. Sport and 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. Michel Baud reviews the Homenaje a Jorge Basadre, a recent collection of essays in Spanish. Basadre resonates with feminist concerns in discussions of power in the household and in changing the highly gendered equations of West Africa between 1861 and 1874. A good example is 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 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, given its superpower status 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 Samarkand, female doctors, specialists of 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 world.

There are the 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 Archana 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 sudden heart attack at 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 PhD 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 insurmountable 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—ones insufficiently recognised in discussions of his work—was the challenge he posed to the 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) frameworks and local encounters, capitalist, 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-
Editorial

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.

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

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 menace 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" (1940-1941), "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 politic-economic 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 serious 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
Opinions

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 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 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.

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, Fulbright 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.
Opinions

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 combatting, 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 effect 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
Opinions

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.

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

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, 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, 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.

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, if they had the majority support.

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 a system is too large there is no accountability for Great Powers.

Yes, the great powers have no economic interest in third world countries, therefore they would possibly loose interest. Only those countries who are economically powerful have a chance of being represented. Therefore these organisations would suffer considerably if the Great Powers had to lose power.

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.

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.

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

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.
Different Elements on Richard Francis Burton’s Discourse about Africa.

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 recrudescent 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 begun 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 Lusiadas” 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.¹

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 begun 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, especially after his period in Brazil, at the end of 1860s, to the translation of books like the Indian classic “Kama Sutra”, the “Os Lusiadas” from the Portuguese writer Luís 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, specifically 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 avoid 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.²

We cannot lose 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 already 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


Alexsander Lemos de Almeida Gebara is finishing his PhD thesis entitled “The discourse of Sir Richard Francis Burton about Africa, an analysis of the construction of his representations” at University of São Paulo. He is studying the texts of Richard Francis Burton from 1999. One of his hobbies is listening to music, especially Jazz rock. He is currently a guest professor at University of Taubaté.
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 economic 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 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 his experience with resistance by circulations of his texts in England, and Africa in that period, the spaces of certain issues: The characteristics of this regard, one needs to think about the limits of historical discipline, the which he was acting in West Africa, of the colonial discourse does not deny the native “presence” in the determination of these discourses, and in the domestic versions of these discourses”. It is evident, but 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 which he wrote his apocrypha. In this regard, one needs to think about certain issues: The characteristics of the British consul 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”. 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 linked to the needs 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. This way, the pattern of actions of these consuls was to exceed their instructions and report fait accompli, which was then usually approved.

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 molar the governmental loaf.”

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.

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. 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).  

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 a naturalist. 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. 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. However, with Burton’s increasing frustration with the working conditions at the consulship, he left his post with...

---

7 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.
8 Requests for the gunboat appears at Public Record Office (PRO) F 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 expectation of the consular powers far beyond the actual one.
10 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 Burton’s 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 get us into serious trouble. ” PRO, F. O. 84/1147, 14/11/1861.
11 PRO, F. O. 2/40, 08/10/61.
12 PRO, F. O. 84/1176, 22/02/62.
ever growing frequency, and government acceptance was strained. 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 discussion of political issues 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 colonial ambitions was more evident than in its intentions since the creation of the society, 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 the nineteenth century, England has sustained a program of scientific exploration directly connected to her commercial and imperial interests”. 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.

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 racist 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 humane 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”.

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. 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”.

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 Burton, when they disembarked to try to negotiate, “his people armed themselves... and compelled us to re-embark.”

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
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...” 23. The consul merely reproached him for his distrustfulness, and hinted at the possibility of further measures being taken.” 24. 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 defence.” 25

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; blocking navigation up the rivers to the interiors, even by British traders; 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. 26 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. 27

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. 28

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. 29 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. 30

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. 31 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 rigid social stratification. 32

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 he is an anthropologist including the readers, wished the best for Africa, they must play their natural role as masters. 33

Thus, Burton’s descendant status
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 build 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.32

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

---

The Critical Legal Conference formed at the annual gathering of the European Conference in 1984 at the University of Kent, has become increasingly international, extending beyond Europe and now for the first time to South Asia. This year, the Conference is being hosted by Nalsar University of Law, Hyderabad from the 1-3 September 2006.

The theme of this year’s inter-disciplinary academic conference was: ‘The Law of the Law in an Age of Empire’. The CLC this year, has drawn participation from a rich range of academic disciplines– Law, Economics, Sociology, Biology, Social Work, Political Science, Media Studies, Disability Studies, Queer Studies, Gender Studies– and has attracted a wide and exciting range of papers from all over the world.

eSocialSciences also made possible your virtual ‘participation’ at CLC, 2006. eSS is also hosting a daily conference at its blog: http://www.esocialsciences.com/blog/index.asp

Do log on and catch a glimpse of all that happened at NALSAR, Hyderabad, India between 1-3 September 2006. [Please log on to eSS and copy paste the URLs given above.]

For other details, do log on to the conference website: http://www.clcnalsar.in

For queries on contributions to eSocialSciences or other information, please contact Padma Prakash
eSocialSciences
International Infotech Park, Tower 1, third floor, Vashi, Mumbai 400703, India. editor@esocialsciences.com or padmaprakash@esocialsciences.com
Feminisation of Poverty in Nigeria: Strategies for Women’s Empowerment and Poverty Alleviation

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”, 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". 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 moderation and core poor" 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.

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 waged 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.

Oko P. B’itek’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, ahay, the baby on your back
Washer of dishes
Planting, weeding, harvesting
Storekeeper, builder
Runner of errands.
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.

According to Mitter the new patterns and structures emerging in...
the economy from the 1980s have intensified pressures on working women. Although 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.7

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.8

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 Lipton9 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.10

A classic definition of poverty, according to a World Bank report11 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.12

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

---

7 Ibid., p.15.
8 Children's and Women's Rights in Nigeria.
12 Ibid., p. 25.
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.


14 Ibid.


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. 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. 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 submission to men and empower women.

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. 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.
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; 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.\(^\text{18}\)

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.\(^\text{19}\)

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.

---

18 Ibid.
19 Holy Bible, Isaiah 54:11.

---

**CALL FOR APPLICATIONS**

**CULTURAL STUDIES WORKSHOP 2007**

Contact Mr. Susanta Ghosh
Centre for Studies in Social Sciences,
Kolkata.
email: csw@cssascal.org

Collaboration: Sephis, Ford Foundation, Danida

For more information see www.cssascal.org
India’s Foreign Policy towards Asia: Need for a Makeover

Ishani Naskar

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 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.” In addition, the conference saw the birth of Afro-Asia People’s Solidarity Forum.

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.” 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.

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. It is no surprise then 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...
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 ignoantness without 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 assert her position for the time being, and 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 source of 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, the other reality that China cannot ignore is India’s status as a credible nuclear power in Asia. After the 1998 Pokhri nuclear tests, China has been the most vehement critic of India’s actions and was particularly critical of the fact that India justifies its activities in the pretext. Further, Sino-US relations at that point of time improved as China sought support from the USA.

India’s nuclear test reflected in the talks between Clinton and Jiang Zemin during the former’s visit to China.6

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.6 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 of 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 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.”

Myanmar’s military regime and the total eradication of democracy only increased the US desire for engagement 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.

In response to this situation, India in the 1990s started to support ASEAN’s attempt to 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

5 To know more on China’s reaction to the Pokhri II blasts, see Dr. S.Chandrasekharan, “SINO INDIAN RELATIONS III: More on Indian Nukes and China”, South Asia Analysis Group Papers, May 19, 1999.


Articles

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 critical 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 supplying 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.” 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. Pakistan saw 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 nearest and a potential ally against Pakistan.

India's Secondary Semi-Strategic Neighbourhood

India's relations 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.

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. 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

10 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 continues.

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 Southeast 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 masteredminded 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.


Sreejoni  
6/2H Naktala Road  
Kolkata 700047  
India  
Tel.: +91-33-2411-5988  
Fax: +91-33-2471-3250  
E-mail: bookshopping@sreejoni.com, sreebooks@eth.net  
For details click www.sreejoni.com
Background of the Establishment and Organisation of Obstetrics in Turkestan

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 midwifes- 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" ("Turkestanskie 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.1

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 Gundius, Poslavskaya and Mandelshtam.2 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.F.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 a priority 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

---

1 D. Palienko., O podgotovlenii povnutikh iz tuzemok (About training midwives from aboriginal women), Turkestani Gazette, 29 September, 1893.
2 Mandelshtam, Po povodu proekta doktora Palienko (Concerning the doctor Palienko’s project), Turkestani Gazette, 27 November, 1893.
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 obstetric 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 Marinsky 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. 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, 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 and Mandelshtam 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, informing 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:

- Gaziza Gusnutdinova, 35 years old;
- Zadilat Dada-Mukhametova, 36 years old;
- Latyfa Enikeeva, 27 years old;
- Kulchakha Mukhamadieva, 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;
- Shakhir 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.

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, 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
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 women who visited a men's ambulance station increased up to 40 and quite often reached up to 60.10

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.11

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 Å. and M. Nalivkin who write that midwives specially engaged in it were available generally in cities.12 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.

---

10 Palienko. Moim opponentam (To my opponents), Turkestani Gazette, 10 (22) November, 1893
11 Palienko. Moim opponentam (To my opponents), Turkestani Gazette, 7 (19) November, 1893
12 V. Nalivkin, M. Nalivkina. Ocherk byta zhenshchiny 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 Aleea 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 alongside 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.

---

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 Aleea 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 alongside 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.
**Special Feature: Soccer**

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

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 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 is it 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.”

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.

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.”

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.
The best illustration of cultural globalisation appeared in an article written by Mitchell Stephens more than a decade ago: "[Mitch] Groeheen, 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 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 Westernisation): a rich tension, one that blurs the distinction between local and foreign."

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 terror 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 an 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 boarded on a Gorée-bound ferry soccer field. 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 mëlin Diàam mo gna wat* 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. 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 Górans experienced slavery again for the first time on the island's only soccer terrain? If so, what implications does this have for Senegal's trust 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."

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

---

4 Ibid.
5 Interviewees in Dakar on the impact of the Bush visit on 7 July 2003.
6 *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."
chance to win big at the previous World Cup, but an administrative error had prevented it from competing.²
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 made only intensified domestic achievements.³
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.⁴ 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.”⁵
The President resurfaced in Senegal wearing the jersey of striker El-Hadj 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 CFA (then $15,000).⁶
Senegal’s qualification was made sweeter by the excitement. As Senegal prepared for entering World Cup competition in 1998, the entire nation was fighting back nervous approach the following year, the entire World Cup play actually began to resolve itself.⁷
Five “The whole of the Cameroonian squad plays abroad, along with 22 Senegalese, 21 Nigerians, 16 South Africans, and nine Tunisians.”⁸
¹²
¹³
Lawrence B. Longley, “Senegal in fever over World Cup debut”, BBC Sport, 14 May 2002.
¹⁴
²
“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.
³
⁴
⁵
Ultimately, however, Senegal could not make the match and was replaced by Nigerian club champion Enyimba, “Invitations flood in for Senegal”, BBC Sport, 11 August 2001.
⁶
“Lions players rule in France”, BBC Sport, 13 August 2001.
⁷
“Senegal in fever over World Cup debut”, BBC Sport, 14 May 2002.
⁸
⁹
¹⁰
Special Feature: Soccer

hero of sorts even as it provoked criticism from his opposition who remained disgruntled 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.16

Senegal would win again before tying in a match 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 infuriatedSenegalese 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 seeing 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 pitcher’s mound, 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, and athletes bringing their games to our games. Asia is Next.”27 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.18 The country continues to battle 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.19 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. Televised sport, for the Indian masses, becomes a vehicle for stimulating wants, mustering desires and triggering fantasies. This explains why Prasun Bhattoo, 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.20 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.21

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.

---

16 “Senegal’s success...”, BBC Sport, June 16 2002.
18 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 bronze medal. Leander Paes had won the bronze in men’s tennis in 1996.
19 For details see; Sandipan Deb, “I Am Not Daft, It’s the Game”, in *The Statesman*, July 1, 2002.
21 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 our British counterparts from the world cup by two goals to one, they endeared themselves further to the football fans 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 flags of Brazil and Ronaldo.20”
22 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.
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 to sportsmen are nowhere 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,22 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 international leagues, are keen to rope in big brands,23 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:

“...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— Cameroun, 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 away 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.”

With globalisation, many footballers in Europe— not even Latin America, which is itself struggling from the lack of funds,24 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 dump 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.28

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,25 channels that telecast European football leagues, local football hardly lures a multina- tional 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.26 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 dump 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.28

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 it’s maiden appearance reached the quarterfinals.
23 Most Indian leagues kick off in earnest in July while the English Premiership kicks off in August.
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’.
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.29 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 discsards, 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 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.30 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 severely affects the development of local talent. 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.41 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 High Court requesting the IFA to withdraw. The story was the other way round. Sponsors were streaming in to sponsor the Indian team. 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.

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. 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

29 In a panel discussion organised by the Tara Bangla television channel, held at the Bengal Club, Kolkata, he was emphatic in condemning the tendency of recruiting national players suggesting that unworthy foreigners are spoiling the run for local players.


32 Ibid., p. 108.

33 Ibid., p. 114.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 107.

37 Ibid., p. 115.

38 Ibid., p. 114.

39 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.


41 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.
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, 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. 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." 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". 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.

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...
these was probably relating 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, 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. 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 25th January to 31st 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.”

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. 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 globalisation.”

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

47 For details see Special Report.

46 Ibid.


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
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 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. 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 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.

During a demonstration in Mumbai
Contemporary South

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' representa-
tive that since the educated, like the doctors, were not likely to ever take up politics 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 con-
ducted 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 unfeehionable that noone would buy it. Not even me. I also consume the same sensationally produced and 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 the Bhopal Gas Tragedy 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 revealed very little and vaguely no official version of events.

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 who 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 Prachanda 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 stir the 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 no stranger with 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 of the majority, or rather, 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...
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 began 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, there 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 medipersons 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, women’s 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.
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/artI/wutI.shtml The website is compiled and maintained by Prof. Daniel Waugh (The University of Washington) and Adela Lee (The Silkroad Foundation).
Across the South

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. By the second century AD, excavations of the tomb of a general 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. 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. By the second century AD, excavations of the tomb of a general 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.

From Sari to Sarong

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 Philippines 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

Toraja people Sulawesi, Indonesia
Sacred heirloom textile [ma’a or mawa; mbesa] early 20th century cotton, natural dyes; painting, block printing 70.0 x 65.0cm
Collection National Gallery of Australia

Some of the textiles of 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
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.

Rhythms of the Homeland and the Heart: East Indians and their Music in the Caribbean

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.

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. The bales of cloth that had 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 dhanjal. The use of the Tassa drum, with its pounding rhythms was incorporated soon afterwards.

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 insistent percussion. Chutney music itself. In its original form, 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 dhanjal. The use of the Tassa drum, with its pounding rhythms was incorporated soon afterwards.

Across the South

Devotional songs gradually evolved into folk music or dham 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 Guyanan 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.
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.
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.
Across the South

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

Rukmini Sen

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.
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 (JNI, 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 20th Century Meditation of Social Domination” by Gopal Guru (JNU, New Delhi) and a paper by G. Alwis (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 (CSSS, 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. Balagopala (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 assessment 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. Muthiah’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.

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)
TT$200. or US$40. (includes handling, registration and postage)

Ryhaan Shah
A Silent Life [a novel]
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
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)

Chakra Publishing House
10 Swami Avenue, Don Miguel Road
San Juan, Trinidad and Tobago
West Indies

Tel: (868) 674-6008
Tel/fax: (868) 675-7707
Cellular (868) 756-4961
E-mail: mahab@tstt.net.tt, dmahabir@gmail.com
http://www.geocities.com/chakrapub/index.html
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
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 gitle paari khoob dhowaate addai,
Priyotmo bondhu
Atmahatyta korecheh shuneo nidaarun
Manashik nipaat korraai
Aboidho sangam kore ghaame neye uthte paari sohoj obyaashe!"
(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 prajapoti;
Thomke thaake bhoye sorbonaasha
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 saarakkho"
(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 baajjye digbidik
Ei Baangla
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.)

Jishnu Dasgupta
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. 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, Dwarakanath Tagore Lane,
Calcutta.
30 May 1919
Partitioned Memories


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 indigenousness 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 adavasis, 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 adavasis 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 India1, 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 alienated 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.

1 Weiner, Myron, Sons of the Soil Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India, OUP, Delhi, 1978.
New Visions on the Social and Political History of Peru

Michiel Baud

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 transformation of 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’. 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’. 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.
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 challenges the intellectual logics of present-day Indian society. Second, 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 new vision 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 historiographical perspectives can be distinguished which reflect the complexity 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 continuation in development 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 indigenista visions 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, indigenist 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 of counteracting 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, 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 represent 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 Peallire 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 smaller scale. At 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 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’. Instead, the historians contributing to this book aim at an analytical framework that privileges the analysis of the encounter between domination and resistance. There is a clamour for a more eclectic kind of history that is prepared to use different historical 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 wealth 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

---

3 Ibid. p. 12.
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 representation 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 opportunity but rather 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 periphery 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 challenge. 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’. Méndez sees the not overly 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 leagues and the 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 as well as mestizos and mixed 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 mestizo-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 hounded to death; 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.

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. Rénéque 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 and 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 revolutionary- ies, 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)”7. 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.


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-
Announcement

Reviews

Announcement

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 relevance, 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

Metrospetive: 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.
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-developmentalist 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.¹

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

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, compromised 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 vital, a dirt 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 hygienic codes established by sanitary medicine, 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 cleanliness, hygiene and economy and sought to transform the residence into a “healthy” locale, permitting privacy, responsible for disciplining the family, for fundamentally residential purposes. Correia analyses the appearance, diversity of functions and concepts. 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.

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 common city was a threat for our 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, 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 undertaken 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 family life 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-
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 homogeneous. 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.
The Road through My Daughter’s Grave: Development, Governments, Peoples

Aniruddha Gupta

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 been, 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 Vaddhanaputi. 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 second part—Entitlement—from Territory to Identity covers the tricky issue of resource entitlement.
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 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 problem plaguing 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 inequal—
ity—the appropriation of land from the people in the grip of a long—
running civil war, the editors address another single aspect 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 roadblocks to negotiation. A very interesting paper, it not only justifies its inclusion, but also suggests a number of ideas for future theoretical papers.

The second essay entitled 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 single aspect 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 roadblocks to negotiation. A very interesting paper, it not only justifies its inclusion, but also suggests a number of ideas for future theoretical papers.

The third essay is perhaps the weakest of the three, but is a com- petent 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 re-
gimes in the Philippines, from the pre—
colony period to the period as a Spanish and then American colony. The uninten-
gendences 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 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 Camarra 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 Battambang 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 may take it as a showcase of 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 some 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 govern-
ment and villagers led to a drastic change in the power structure of the village, with government representa-
tives gaining at the cost of traditional headmen. This is not entirely undesir-
able, 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 in 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 submergence 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 them-

selves, 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 cases—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 ungram-

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 Boupao. 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 govern-
ment policy can end up having unin-
tended consequences in the most unusual ways. In his introduction, the author captures the dichotomy of the situation quite brilliantly, as 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
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.

**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](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.

### Academic Staff

- **Anan Ganjanapan**, PhD (Anthropology)
- **Apinya Fuangfousakul**, PhD (Sociology)
- **Chayan Vaddhanaphuti**, PhD (International Education Development)
- **Chusak Wittayapak**, PhD (Geography)
- **Ekamol Saichan**, MA (Political Science)
- **Jamaree Chienthong**, PhD (Development Sociology)
- **Pinkaew Laungaramsri**, PhD (Anthropology)
- **Sanay Yarnasarn**, PhD (Geography)
- **Santita Ganjanapan**, PhD (Geography)
- **Yos Santasombat**, PhD (Anthropology)
- **Special Lecturers**
  - **Anchalee Singhanetra**, PhD (Geography)
  - **Kasian Techabhira**, PhD (Political Science)
- **Kwancheewan Buadaeng**, PhD (Anthropology)
- **Prek Gypmantasiri**, MSc (Agriculture)
- **Shalardchai Ramitanondh**, MA (Anthropology)
- **Srisuwon Kuankachorn**, BA (Economics)
- **Somsak Sukwong**, PhD (Forestry)
- **Uraiwan Tan-Kim-Yong**, PhD (Rural Sociology)

### 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) I 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.

Pinkaw 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

Working paper No. 2

Working paper No. 3
Daovorn Thongphanh, *Land and Forestland Allocation Policy: Impacts on Land Use Practices in Hatkhai and Yan-Khoua villages, Thaphabath District, Bolikhamsay, Lao PDR.*

Working paper No. 4

Address:
Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD)
Faculty of Social Sciences
Chiang Mai University
Chiang Mai 50200
Thailand
Telephone Number +66 (0)53 943595
+66 (0)53 943596
Fax +66 (0)53 893279
Email rcsd@soc.cmu.ac.th, rcsd@chiangmai.ac.th
Website http://rcsd.soc.cmu.ac.th
**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.


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.

**Contact address:**

Neeraj Jain / Alka Joshi
LOKAYAT
D-705, Springfields Society, Kothrud, Pune-411 038
Tel.: 94222 20311
E-mail: neerajjain_61@yahoo.co.in
### 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

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 1st 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
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
Institute for International Studies
University of Technology Sydney
PO Box 123, Broadway
NSW 2007
Australia
Tel: 61-2-9514-7489
Fax: 61-2-9514-1578
Email: louise.edwards@uts.edu.au

ARC-APFRN mailing list
ARC-APFRN@listserv.uts.edu.au

Dr Ian Metcalfe
Adjunct Professor
Deputy Director
Asia Centre
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Tel: 02-67733499
Fax: 02-67727136
Email: imetcal2@une.edu.au

Asia Centre Website: http://www.une.edu.au/asiacenter/
Announcement

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.


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
Professor China Studies
Convener, ARC Asia Pacific Futures Research Network
Institute for International Studies
University of Technology Sydney
PO Box 123, Broadway
NSW 2007
Australia
Tel: 61-2-9514-7489
Fax: 61-2-9514-1578
Email: louise.edwards@uts.edu.au

ARC-APFRN mailing list
ARC-APFRN@listserv.uts.edu.au

Dr Ian Metcalfe
Adjunct Professor
Deputy Director
Asia Centre
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Tel: 02-67733499
Fax: 02-67727136
Email: imetcal2@une.edu.au

Asia Centre Website: http://www.une.edu.au/asiacenter/
Ian Metcalfe’s Web Pages: http://www-personal.une.edu.au/%7eimetcal2/index.html

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-rite [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.

Entries will not be acknowledged or returned, and only winners will be notified.

Contributors can e-mail their submissions to 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
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.
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)

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. Majlis Culture Fellowship 2006

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 submitted in an envelope with the following heading: Majlis Culture Fellowship 2006. 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-
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. 22-26017723
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
Vaidhehi
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
**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.

**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

**Forthcoming Events**
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

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

ARC-APFRN mailing list
ARC-APFRN@listserv.uts.edu.au

Dr Ian Metcalfe
Adjunct Professor
Deputy Director
Asia Centre
University of New England
Armidale NSW 2351
Australia
Tel: 02-67733499
Fax: 02-67727136
Email: imetcal2@une.edu.au

Asia Centre Website: http://www.une.edu.au/asiacenter/
Indian Arrival Day commemorative magazine 2006
Trinidad and Tobago, Caribbean

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.


**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

- About Indian Arrival Day in Trinidad and Tobago
- Caribbean Indian actors in cinematic movies
  - Editorial by Dr. Kumar Mahabir
  - Greetings from the Prime Minister
    - By the Honourable Patrick Manning
  - *Nine Hours to Rama* [still picture selection]
  - Basdeo Panday as a laundryman
    - *Man in the Middle* [still picture selection]
  - Basdeo Panday as an Indian journalist
    - *Man in the Middle* [still picture selection]
  - Basdeo Panday’s career as an actor
    - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
    - Cast and Award
  - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
    - Ralph Maraj as the hero, Shyam
  - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
    - Angela Suekeran as Chandra
  - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
    - Filmmaker Harbance Kumar said It Happened!!
  - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
  - The song "O Mere Hamrahi" [O, I am for you]
  - *The Right and the Wrong* [still picture selection]
    - Anthony Maharaj talks about a re-make
  - *The Caribbean Fox* [still picture selection]
  - Kenneth Boodhu as Ramsingh, the astrologer
    - *The Caribbean Fox* [still picture selection]
    - Kenneth Boodhu’s career as an actor
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Cast, Credits and Award
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Ralph Maraj as the hero, Bheem
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Anna Seeratan as the heroine, Anna
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Kenneth Boodhu as a heckler
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Simon Bedasie as young Charlie
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Grace Maharaj as Babsie
  - *Bim* [still picture selection]
    - Background, Script and Censorship
  - *If Wishes Were Horses* [still picture selection]
    - Habeeb Khan as the comic star
  - *If Wishes Were Horses* [still picture selection]
    - Habeeb Khan’s career as an actor
  - *Tommy Boy* [still picture selection]
    - Errol Sitahal as a business executive
  - *A Little Princess* [still picture selection]
    - Credits and Cast
  - *A Little Princess* [still picture selection]
  - Plot Outline
  - *A Little Princess* [still picture selection]
    - Background Notes
  - *A Little Princess* [still picture selection]
    - Errol Sitahal as the Indian servant, Ram Dass
SEPHIS e-magazine 3, 1, September 2006

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 (CCEM)

Day One, Wednesday 4 October

VENUE: Centro Cultural Estación Mapocho (CCEM)

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 CCEM (Chile)

FORMAT: Two symposia sessions featuring speakers from across the south including

Marcelo Brodsky, artist, Argentina

Anthony Birch, writer, Australia
Announcement

Christina Barton, writer, curator and art historian, New Zealand
Francesco 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 Puhi, 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
THURSDAY EVENING, 5 OCTOBER at GALERÍA METROPOLITANA, 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

Bolivarian Dream- video art from Latin America, presented by Hoffmann’s House (Chile)
Simultaneous venues: Universidad de Arcis Valparaíso, 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.
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.

* 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

---

**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 Chandrashekhar (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.

We enjoy getting your emails and letters, but may we please request you to write to only the following email ids: contact@zubaanbooks.com or 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.

**Zubaan, An imprint of Kali for Women**

K-92, First Floor,
Hauz Khas Enclave,
New Delhi—110016, INDIA
Tel: +91-11-26521008, 26864497 and 26514772
E-mail: contact@zubaanbooks.com
Website: www.zubaanbooks.com

With best wishes,

JAYA BHATTACHARJI

For ZUBAAN
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. Transitology 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

Contact person: Dessislava Krasteva
dessislava.krasteva@polofoi.unibo.it
Our Team

Editors:
Samita Sen
sensamita@yahoo.co.uk
Shamil Jeppie
sjeppie@humanities.uct.ac.za
Carlos Iván Degregori
cid@iep.org.pe

Editorial Assistants:
Jishnu Dasgupta
jishnudasgupta@gmail.com
Kashshaf Ghani
kashshaf@hotmail.com
Sucharita Ray
sucharita_ray@yahoo.co.in

Technical Assistants:
Pradipta Saha
tutunsa78@yahoo.co.in
Sadik Bhimani
sadikbhimani@gmail.com

Administrative Assistant:
Joyanti Sen
sachetana@vsnl.com

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

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

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

Sarfraz Khan,
Area Study Centre,
University of Peshawar, Pakistan.
ascrca@psh.paknet.com.pk

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

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

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

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

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

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