

Editorial

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This third issue of the e-magazine is a month later than expected. Intentionally. We are now posting the magazine once in four rather than three months. This issue has other changes, especially in design and format. We have tried to implement many of the suggestions we received from readers regarding layout and, especially, footnotes. A major concern has been to reduce the digital size, to make it easier to download or handle via e-mail. Given that there have been so many contributions we wish to accommodate, we have tried to reduce the size by simplifying the format. Also, the technical production of the magazine has now been shifted to Kolkata (India).

We did not intend this issue to be focused on any single theme, but the three articles chosen for this issue cohere around questions of pluralism and internal conflict, providing some thematic compatibility. Robert Dover's article on the new constitution of Colombia and the "reservations", especially the rights of indigenous communities, sets the stage with a theoretical engagement with questions of the state and minorities. Soma Marik's paper on the emergence of Hindutva in India and the Gujarat riots of 2002, which she calls pogroms, focuses on how the state actively participated in a systematic attack by the majority Hindus on the Muslim minority. She is centrally concerned with the fascist character of Hindu fundamentalism and the constructions of gender that underpin hostile community identities. Omobolaji Ololade Olarinmoye, who wrote on his experience of the International Research Training Programme (Kolkata) for our inaugural issue, has written on the conflicts in Guinea-Bissau and the regional and international involvements, which complicate internal dissensions in south countries. All three papers raise urgent questions about the nature of state, democracy and multiple, competing identities within the widely varying contexts of south countries. The contribution by Edsel Beja on claims and his attempt at a "model" to study individual and collective claims fits into this broader thematic concern. His contribution is included in the section on Contemporary South.

Since the last issue the event that reverberated throughout the globe was, of course, the Tsunami. The peoples of the Indian Ocean basin

were at the receiving end of the natural catastrophe: from Indonesia through Thailand and India to Somalia. The various sub-regions of the large Indian Ocean world suffered in various degrees from the impact of the Tsunami. The Sephis network has friends in many of these areas and we have held meetings or supported colleagues in many of these areas. We have not had news that any of our friends were among the victims of the Tsunami. But we should here express our condolences to family members of all those who have suffered losses as a result of this event. The widespread impact of the event makes clear the interconnectedness of the region and the globe. It is this inter-connectedness that Sephis has tried to emphasise since its inception. We carry in this issue an article on the Tsunami by a geographer, Satyesh Chakraborty, with a long career of working across the South.

This issue carries a new feature, which we have named Symposia South. The aim is to generate discussions on theoretical and methodological concerns of students of social sciences, particularly in the writing of southern histories. Manuel Paz is our first contributor in this section, launching this segment with a discussion of James Scott's influential and much-debated thesis on 'everyday resistance'. We would welcome responses to Paz's discussion of Scott, as well as other contributions in a similar vein.

Another new feature of this issue is the section on Reporting from the Regions. Here we feature the two Sephis regional centers of Salvador (Brazil) and Dakar (Senegal). We hope further to develop this segment with reports of a variety of activities in various parts of south countries.

Across the South carries, as usual, discussions of workshops and conferences. A trifle India-centric in this issue. We apologise. We appeal to our readers to provide us with reports of meetings, seminars and conferences in other regions of the South. In this section, we have contributions from Lakshmi Subramanian, Paramita Brahmachari and Kamalika Mukherjee, all from the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Rajasri Mukhopadhyay has written on the workshop on alternative (visual) sources at Maputo and her experience as a participant. In the last issue, the academic convenor, Patricia Hayes,

had given us a comprehensive report of the proceedings of this workshop.

Due to space constraint, we have been unable to carry some of our earlier features. The first section carries interviews with Dilorom Alimova and Mirzohid Rahimov (Uzbekistan) while on a visit to Kolkata and Delhi (India). Reviews section has only a single entry: Li Anhsan, who contributed an article in the second issue, reviews a recent publication on migration.

Even though this is the third issue of our e-magazine, it seems like we have been around for a much longer time. We have received outstanding responses from old friends of Sephis across the South and from a range of readers new to the Sephis network. We can see interest in our magazine growing and consequently our network expanding. Through this additional Sephis venture we enable more extensive dialogue towards historicising the 'South'.

We are greatly appreciative of our contributors, some having already written in more than one issue in our three-issue lifetime. We have received a large number of contributions in the articles segment, so much so, that we have built up, already, a rather long wait-list. We hope to post some of these in the coming issues.

We will take this opportunity, this being the last issue of our first volume, to thank, specifically, some of those who have actively contributed to this magazine. First, the Sephis, members of the Steering Committee and the Secretariat (Amsterdam), whose constant help and support has been invaluable. Liquid Thought (Cape Town), Zulfiq and his team, who conceived the initial "look" and developed the format. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, which houses a regional center of Sephis, has been an active partner in this enterprise, especially Partha Chatterjee, for agreeing to be interviewed for the first issue, Abhijit Bhattacharya for crucial technical support in transferring production to Kolkata, and Lakshmi Subramanian, for writing in two of the issues and in other uncountable ways. Pradipta Saha for taking up the job of production and tolerating our eccentricities with calm good humour. We from the e-magazine team thank them all, and our readers, who have responded with such positive encouragement.

Next issue: September 2005.

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A Week in Kolkata



**Professor Dilorom Alimova, Director, and
Dr. Mirzohid Rahimov, Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of History at Academy of Social Sciences of Uzbekistan**



They arrived in Kolkata on 16 November 2004 for a week's visit on the eve of a general strike. But they were able to hold their maiden seminar and attend a wedding on the 17th. This was their second visit to India. The first time, Dilorom was in India as a tourist and travelled in Delhi, Agra and Jaipur. Mirzohid was here to take a computer course organised by Tata Infotech. He too visited Agra and Jaipur. This was their first research visit, and their first to eastern India. As part of the Sephis programme, this visit was aimed primarily at exploring centres of Central Asian studies in India and establishing contacts. They were keen to share their research with Indian colleagues and made presentations of their immediate research concerns in three major academic institutions in the city: Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, the University of Calcutta (Department of History) and the Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies.

Dilorom Agzamovna Alimova has been Director of the Institute of History, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, since 2002.

She was educated at Tashkent State University, College of History (1966-1971) and Institute of History at Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Ph.D. Program school (1974-1978). Her Ph.D was on "Historiography of Women's Question in Uzbekistan in 1917-1941" (Tashkent, 1980). She was also at the Institute of History at Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, Dr. Sciences Program school (1990-1991). She has a Doctor of Historical Sciences (Dr. Habil.) in "The Women's Question in Middle Asia in Soviet Historiography, 1920-1980" (Tashkent, 1991).

Her research interests include the history and historiography of women's issues, national movements and culture in Central Asia, and historical methodology.

In 2003, she was awarded the State Order "Mekhnat Shukhrati".

Dilorom's primary research interests lie in the history of Central Asia, particularly Uzbekistan and the history of national movements in these regions. She has published extensively on these subjects in Uzbek, Russian and English. She is interested also in social history, especially gender relations in Uzbekistan. She has contributed a chapter on the subject in a book

recently published from London. She is also co-author of a multi-volume history of Uzbekistan.

Mirzohid A. Rahimov has been senior researcher at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, Republic of Uzbekistan, from 2002. From September 2003, he is also Assistant Professor at the Tashkent State Pedagogical University and Head of the research group working on "Uzbekistan's relations with the international and regional organizations" of the Uzbekistan State Committee for Science and Technology.

Between February 2004 and May 2004, he was Visiting Scholar at the Center of International Trade and Security at University of Georgia, Athens, USA. He has also had visiting appointments at Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, USA and at the Faculty of International Relations and European Studies, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. He is member of the European Society of Central Asian Studies, Central Eurasian Studies Society and International Association of Central Asian Studies.

He graduated from Navoi State Pedagogical Institute, Navoi, Uzbekistan, with Honors in History in 1996 and obtained his Ph.D in 2001 from History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, Uzbekistan.

His research interests include post-Soviet Central Asian geopolitical transformation and the foreign policy of Uzbekistan.

Mirzohid's research is primarily in the discipline of international relations, including Uzbek foreign policy, contemporary politics and regional integration in Central Asia. He too has published extensively in Uzbek, Russian and English.

During this visit, Dilorom and Mirzohid stayed in Calcutta and Delhi a few days each. While in Calcutta they agreed to speak to a representative from the Sephis e-magazine, so that their lecture tour could be reported in these columns.

About the visit to Calcutta: They enjoyed it enormously. Though the visit was far too short to get a good sense of the city and the people, they were lucky to receive a wedding invitation on the first two days of their visit. And they enjoyed the kindness,

hospitality and spirituality of the people. They were surprised that weddings in India were not all that different from their own. They said it was a wonderful opportunity to meet 'ordinary' young people, which may have been difficult otherwise on such a short research visit. They made a lot of good friends in a very short time, evidence of shared interests and common concerns.

Asked about the awareness of India in Uzbekistan, they were both enthusiastic, particularly Dilorom. Her sister, Caodat, is a fan of Indian films and manages a programme on Indian films on Uzbek TV. She was envious of Dilorom's visit to India and would have loved to accompany her. Dilorom and Mirzohid both agreed that Indian films are the most popular in Uzbekistan, and that there has been a long cultural relationship between the two countries, especially from the 1960s. Indian literature is quite popular, and Rabindranath Tagore is the most extensively translated Indian author in the country. One of his novels was made into a much-acclaimed film called *Daughter of Ganga*. The Uzbek singer, Babamurad Hamdamov, was a good friend of Raj Kapoor, one of the pioneers of Indian filmmaking, and sang songs in Indian movies. Poets Gafur Gulyam and Zulfia also had close links with India, the latter having won the Jawaharlal Nehru Prize.

The Indian Cultural Centre in Uzbekistan facilitates cultural exchange between the two countries. Academic exchanges, however, have no institutional mechanism. Hardly any Indian publications are available in the country and the internet is not a satisfactory substitute for regular arrangements for translation and distribution of Indian academic publications. Their visit was an attempt to explore possibilities of such exchange to the mutual benefit of both communities of scholars.

Uzbek scholars enjoy close and regular contact with various western countries like USA, UK, Germany, the Netherlands, and Russia, of course. They believe, however, that academic exchanges between south countries are equally important, and have to be forged, and encouraged. In the case of India, there exist historical and cultural ties already on which to build such relationships. For Uzbek historians, Indian history is of particular interest, since they are in the early process of nation building and engaging with 'nationalist' influences on history

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writing. Indian historiography still bears the mark of an early 'nationalist' phase of history writing, some of it patronised and sponsored by the state. As we heard from Dilorom later, the Uzbek state too realises the importance of harnessing history (and historians) in the process of writing a nation into history, indeed even through history. More about that later. Dilorom was excited about the possibility of exploring and sharing with Indian scholars each other's archives. The point was picked up by Professor Nirban Basu, the Head of the Department of History (Calcutta University) in an informal exchange. He pointed out that exiled Indian 'revolutionaries' led by M. N. Roy established the Communist Party of India in 1920 in Tashkent. Dilorom responded that the Communist Party archives in Uzbekistan were one of the best organised and preserved and there was a good chance that there would be records of such an event.

Apart from archives and exchanges, they were interested in finding out more about the methodological issues and debates in Indian social sciences, the currents of opinions and ideas. Mutual interactions along these lines hold out possibilities of exciting new directions, away from the established Eurocentric discourses and the 'exceptionalism' that characterises southern engagements with such discourses.

Professor H.S. Vasudevan reporting from New Delhi:

The visit of Professor Alimova and Dr. Rahimov to New Delhi under the Sephis programme was rushed but useful. They arrived on 22 November late at night and left on 24 November, early in the morning. They stayed at the Jamia Millia Islamia and gave two lectures in Delhi (on 23 November). The first was at Jamia Millia, to a range of students. The main speaker was Alimova, who dealt with various aspects of Uzbekistan's culture, past and present. She presented students with information about traditions of history writing in Uzbekistan and left copies of information prepared by her Institute. Rahimov dealt with aspects of Uzbekistan's foreign policy at the Institute for Defence and Strategic Analysis and handled a range of questions skilfully and effectively.

Abstract of Dilorom Alimova's presentation at the Department of History, Calcutta University, 18 November 2004

There has been a long tradition of history writing in Uzbekistan. There has been also a long and rich tradition in collection and preservation of old manuscripts from ancient and medieval periods. Of course, one must keep in mind that places like Bukhara

had emerged as major centres of learning from early on. The Oriental Studies Institute in Tashkent continues to maintain a holding of manuscripts, facilitating the task of today's historians.

In the modern period, three major phases in Uzbek historiography can be identified.

In the nineteenth century, Uzbekistan came under colonial rule. This marked the beginning of academic scholarship, as we know it, and the emergence of the modern discipline of history. The Russian Orientalists, in particular, contributed greatly towards (re-)constructing the history of the region. After the Russian conquest, a number of scholars, conversant in a number of central Asian languages, undertook historical research. There was both a good and a bad aspect of this upsurge in historical research. On the one hand, these historians made substantial contributions to the historiography of the region, and to the study and preservation of manuscripts. On the other, it led to the transfer of their cultural heritage to another country, a painful legacy Uzbeks have to deal with. Many of their manuscripts and artifacts are now in Russian museums, and there is no hope of their recovery.

The next major landmark was the Soviet occupation. Under this regime, historical scholarship developed further, with a strong central Asian component, but within the strict ideological framework of official Marxist doctrines. This was especially true of the history of the colonial period. However, in this period, the greatest advancement was in the field of archaeological sciences.



The ideological leanings in academic research were evident in this period in the emphasis laid on Soviet Studies. In 1965, six out of twelve departments specialised in Soviet Studies. There were some changes in the Gorbachev era. New directions in social sciences did open up. However, this move remained constrained by the overwhelming importance of Soviet interests. Nevertheless, steps were taken in the right direction.

From the early 1990s, after Independence, Uzbek scholars began the task of forging new intellectual paths. With political independence, there were new opportunities for research and a new direction for historical sciences. New kinds of research were taken up. But with intellectual excitement came a new

set of problems, primarily financial. As the pie shrank, intellectuals were forced to leave the academic fold. Many left intellectuals abjured the world of scholarship to join corporate and business jobs. Some of the left scholars continued in the old ways of thinking. For many of the older generation of scholars, the demise of the Soviet regime was a tragedy and they felt that everything was collapsing around them. Such feelings were still around in the mid-1990s, but by then the balance had changed.



The turning point came, perhaps, in the mid-1990s, when the President of the country intervened. He called a meeting of leading historians and underlined the importance of history in a new nation facing the prospect of nation building. An old society, a new state, but one without history, had before it the formidable (and critical) task of constructing a history of the new nation, as well as scripting the nation into history. The meeting was a productive one, with historians providing valuable suggestions. The Government took much of it on board, offering a range of facilities. The state sponsored the Institute of History, attracting a young generation of scholars and researchers.

This passage between the state and historians underlines what historians across the world have noted repeatedly, the importance of history in the ideas and practices of modern nation-states. There have been repeated examples of states sponsoring the writing of history, rendering history a potent, dynamic and politically volatile field. (Of course, very evident in India, where history is an arena of bitter contestation among political parties, reflected in repeated change in school history syllabi with changes in government.) In Uzbekistan, political intervention proved productive. The new Institute of History produced some 50 monographs in 4-5 years and established academic links with universities in Europe and United States. The Institute is now able to have its own journal and has hosted some five or six international conferences in as many years. If there still remains a lack, it is in research-oriented centres, as there exist in India.

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Abstract of Mirzohid Rahimov's presentation at the Department of History, Calcutta University, 18 November 2004

Rahimov is a member of the Contemporary Studies department of the Institute of History at the Academy of Social Sciences, Uzbekistan.

He argued that historians working in the field of international relations have a special advantage, since they are able to see the evolution of policies and relationships in a way that political scientists cannot appreciate fully. His main research is on issues of Uzbekistan's security. The difficulty is that it had no separate diplomatic relations during the Soviet period, and as a new nation, Uzbekistan has to develop a new diplomatic policy. In the fourteen

years of its existence, the new nation has forged relationships with over a hundred countries. The country is extremely aware of the importance of being part of the international community, and establishing relations with individual nations as well as with international agencies. In recent years, Uzbekistan has had close contact with European countries, and has inaugurated joint programmes, especially in the field of education.

For scholars of Uzbek security, India presents an important case for study, since it has forged an independent foreign policy in the last fifty years or so.

Uzbekistan is centrally located in Central Asia, thus having a unique geo-political significance in the region. It is, however, a landlocked country. Access to an ocean is critical to the

country, the Indian Ocean being the closest. Uzbekistan is thus concerned about road and rail transportation to the Indian Ocean and it envisages possibilities of close economic, especially infrastructural, ties with India.

Another shared interest with India is in the field of fighting terrorism. Strategic alliance in this area is a matter of great interest to both sides.

Last but not least are environmental concerns. Areas in Uzbekistan were used for nuclear and biological weapons testing during the Soviet period, leaving a dangerous and imperilled ecological legacy, to deal with which the country is seeking international cooperation.

Dilorom Alimova: Academic Publications

She has more than 200 academic publications, including the following:

- 1 Studying Islam and the Soviet Model of "Militant" Atheism in Uzbekistan (on the materials of 1920s and 1930s), *International Journal of Central Asian Studies*, Seoul, 2003, Vol. 8-1, pp. 50-59.
- 2 **Óçááèèñòàí à 1917-1991 ää. Ýðìðèàíáíðñòàí èääé è èääíèíäèé** (Uzbekistan in 1917– 1991. Struggle of ideas and ideologies). *Òàðèáíð: Øàðè*, 2002 (à ñíàäòíðñòàá).
- 3 **Íàòèííàèýíí-íðíàðàññèàííà äàèæáíèä äæääèèáíà è äáí íàóàñòááííí-ííèèðè÷-àñèàý ñóóííñòó. Äçäèýäü äæääèèáíà íà äíñóääòñòááíííñòó.** (National-Progressive Movement of Jadids and its Social-Political Essence. Jadia Views on Statehood // *Í÷äðèè ïí èñòíðèè äíñóääòñòááíííñòè Óçááèèñòàíà* (Essays on the History of Uzbek Statehood), Tashkent, Shark, 2001.
- 4 **Íá èçó÷-áíèè èñòíðè÷-àñèíáí ñíçíáíèý ñòóááí÷-àñèíèé ííèíááæè íà ñíàðáíáíííí ýòáíà** (The study of historical consciousness of students at the modern stage) // *Ó'zbekiston tarihi*, 2001, ¹ 4, pp. 48-55.
- 5 **Äæääèèèèçí à Ñðááííáé Äçèè** (Djadidizm in Central Asia). *Òàðèáíð: «Óçááèèñòàí»*, 2000, 29 ñòð.
- 6 **Die Geschichte Turkestans.** // *INFO. BONN. 5 JAHRGANG.* May 2000, ¹ 8, pp. 20-25.
- 7 **Historian Vision of Khudgum** // *Central Asia Survey: ¹ 17 (1)*, March, 1998, London, pp. 147-155.
- 8 **The History of Jadid Movement in Turkistan in the Beginning of Twentieth Century** // *Central Asia and the Caucasus Review.* Teheran, 1998, ¹ 20.
- 9 **Æáíñèèèè äíðíñ à Øáíððàèýííé Äçèè: èñòíðèý èçó÷-áíèý è ñíàðáíáíííá íðíáèáíü (20-80-à äíáü).** (Woman Issue in Central Asia: History of Study and Present Problems (20-80s years). Tashkent: Academy of Science Press "Fan", 1991.
- 10 **Íàðáíáííá ñíñòíýíèä æáíñèíáí äíðíñà à Óçááèèñòàíà è çáàà÷è íàóàñòááíííá** (Present Shape of Woman Issue in Uzbekistan and Tasks of Social Science) in *Ñíðèàèèýíí-ýèíííè÷-àñèèä íðíáèáíü Óçááèèñòàíà à òñèíáèýò íàðàñòðíèèèè* (Social-Economic Problems of Uzbekistan in the Conditions of Perestroika). Tashkent: Academy of Science Press "Fan", 1990.

Mirzohid Rahimov: Academic publications (select list).

Monographs.

1. Uzbekiston Respublikasining Birlashgan Millatlar Tashkiloti bilan kup tomonlama hamkorligi // Mustakil Uzbekiston tarixining dastlabki sakhifalari, Toshkent, 2000, ¹³, pp. 185-198 (Collaboration of the Republic of Uzbekistan with the United Nations Organization).
2. Uzbekistonning tarixiy va madaniy merosini tiklanishi va bu borada xalkoro xamkorlic // Mustakil Uzbekiston tarakkotining goyiviye asoslari, Toshkent, 2001, pp. 165-185 (Reviving of historical and cultural heritage of Uzbekistan and international collaboration on it).

Articles.

1. Multilateral Cooperation in Central Asia // The Fifth International Association of Central Asian Studies Conference "XXth Century in the History of Central Asia", August 13-14, 2004, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, pp. 41-42.
2. Uzbeksko-Amerikanskíe otnosheniya do i posle 11 sentyabray 2001 // Uzbekiston Respublikasi jahon hamjamiyati tizimida. Respublika ilmiy-nazariy anjumaning ilmiy typlami, Tashkent, 2004, pp. 114-116 (Uzbek-US relations before and after 11 September 2001).
3. Razvitie mnogostoronnego sotrudnichestva Respubliki Uzbekistan i UNESCO // Obshestvennie nauki v Uzbekistane, Tashkent, 1999, ¹ 7-8, pp. 53-58 (The development of various forms of collaboration between the Uzbekistan Republic and UNESCO).
4. Uzbekistan i OON: sotrudnichestvo vo imya mira i progressa // Uzbekicton tarixi, Toshkent, 1999, ¹ 4, pp. 55-61 (Uzbekistan and the UN: collaboration for the benefit of peace and progress).
5. The International relations of the Republic of Uzbekistan // Tenth Annual Central Eurasian Studies Conference. Abstract of Papers 12 April 2003, Indiana University Bloomington, Indiana, USA, pp. 27-28.

Articles

Some notes on the nature of indigenous participation in the Colombian State: After the Constitutional Reforms of 1991¹

Robert VH Dover

He is currently an associate professor of anthropology in the Departamento de Antropología at the Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín, Colombia. He has conducted research primarily among indigenous communities in Colombia and Canada, and more recently with Afro-Colombian communities and armed groups in Medellín. Dover is currently coordinating two research groups at the Universidad de Antioquia, *Recursos estratégicos, regiones y dinámicas socioambientales*, and the *Observatorio de las relaciones estado/sociedad*. He is the author of a number of articles, and co-editor of *Andean cosmologies through time: persistence and emergence*, based on the symposium by the same name he organised at Indiana University. He is currently completing the translation to English of his book-length manuscript, *The indigenous renaissance in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*.

Abstract

Neither the new 1991 Colombian constitution nor subsequent legislation are capable of legislating the cultural and historical ambiguities of indigenous ethnicity (instead, they legislate against such ambiguities). Similarly, there has been no offering of an adequate forum for the expression of ethnic difference and cultural self. Referring specifically to the case of indigenous peoples, the opportunities for the expression of their social, cultural, and political selves outside of their cultural venue are limited and circumscribed. At the same time, the new ethnic rights and recognition that have been promulgated are conditioned by a new politics of inclusion whereby ethnic identity represents in large part acquiescence to state categories of identity.

*The state...is the vexed institution that is the ground of both our freedoms and our unfreedoms.*²

*The dominant paradigm has long exhausted all of its potentialities for emancipation, as is quite manifest in the voracity with which it transforms them into as many forms of social regulation.*³

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees issued the following electronic bulletin on 21 May 2004, reporting on the grim results of the incursion of the Bloque Contrainsurgencia Wayúu of the paramilitary organisation, AUC⁴, into the Bahía Portete region of north-eastern Colombia, ancestral territory as well as part of the legally-constituted reservation (hereafter *resguardo*⁵) Media y Alta Guajira for a number of the indigenous Wayúu clans:

MARACAIBO, Venezuela, May 21 (UNHCR)

Hundreds of indigenous Wayúu people have sought refuge in north-western Venezuela after fleeing brutal attacks by armed groups in Colombia.

The UN refugee agency has registered 306 Wayúu people in Venezuela's border state of Zulia after an assessment mission that ended on Friday. The majority of them are women and children, and numbers may be as high as 400 to 500, according to indigenous leaders. Many of the displaced have sought shelter in the homes of relatives and are reluctant to identify themselves because they fear attracting too much attention.

The Wayúu fled their native community of Bahía Portete in La Guajira, Colombia, following armed attacks and massacres by illegal armed groups in the last month [18 April]. In addition to those who crossed into Venezuela, another 500 were displaced within Colombia.⁶

¹This paper is based in part on research conducted in the context of two projects I co-directed and directed respectively: *Modelos de manejo de conflicto en los niveles comunitario y local: etnografías de casos de jurisprudencias alternativas*, financed through Colciencias (Project no. 1115-10-497-98), the Universidad de Antioquia, and the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, (1998-2002); and *El renacer indígena en la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta: nuevos conceptos de organización y autoridad tradicional con base en la apertura de la Constitución Política de 1991*, funded in two stages by the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia and the Universidad de Antioquia, CODI, (1998-2001). A longer version of this paper, entitled "The co-opted other or how the state has reinvented itself to define subaltern participation: the case of indigenous Colombia", was presented at the Sefhis Workshop, *Contested nationalisms and the new statism*, which took place in Penang, Malaysia, 2-4 September 2004.

²James C. Scott, *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998, p. 7.

³Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Toward a new common sense: law, science and politics in the paradigmatic transition*, Routledge, New York, 1995, p. x.

⁴The Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC) is the principal paramilitary organisation currently operating in Colombia. The central command of the AUC is comprised of 32 commandants of the different blocs and fronts that are dispersed throughout the country. The organisation began 25 years ago in the Magdalena Medio region before replicating itself in other regions. In the Guajira, the AUC is represented by the Bloque Contrainsurgencia Wayuu.

⁵Although slightly misleading, the term *reservation* is the closest English equivalent to the term, *resguardo*, used in Colombia to define state recognised and state delimited indigenous territories. The *resguardo* system is a colonial version following the *encomienda* established by the Spanish Crown that grouped indigenous peoples to facilitate their regulation and establish tribute populations. At the same time, the *resguardo* served as state (both colonial and republican) recognition of the collective right to specific territories and offered a degree of autonomy to the indigenous communities. This collective right to territory culminated in the Ley 89 of 1890, which recognised the unique character of indigenous communities as in the use of the term *usos y costumbres* ("practices and customs") to describe the self-regulation of internal affairs, as well as identified rights and prescribed obligations of these indigenous collectives vis-à-vis the state. The character of the *resguardo* has changed only in the degree to which indigenous peoples have taken it to be their "traditional" territory to exercise internal governance, and in the degree to which it has offered autonomy. In 1991, the *resguardo* and its status as an imprescriptible, inalienable, and inembargable territory received constitutional recognition, and the formation of *resguardos* has become, at least rhetorically, a policy priority. The *cabildo* is the actual governing body of the indigenous communities with title to *resguardo*. Implemented by the Spanish Crown in 1591 and modelled after peninsular *cabildos*, the indigenous *cabildos* and the *resguardos* over which they had jurisdiction were intended to reduce the control of the *encomiendas* and consolidate the power of the Spanish Crown over its indigenous and colonial charges. See Nina S. de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha, *Herederos del jaguar y la anaconda*, Carlos Valencia Editores, Bogotá, 1989; Joanne Rappaport, *The politics of memory: Native historical interpretations in the Colombian Andes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. Although traditional forms of indigenous authority were prohibited, the *cabildos* did provide a measure of autonomy and self-determination in the communities during the colonial and early republican periods. They are currently being created anew by the state as "the politico-administrative authority," the principal governing body of newly-created *resguardos* (more than 18,200,000 hectares since the 1960s). (See Christian Gros, *Colombia indígena: identidad cultural y cambio social*, CEREC, Bogotá, Serie Amerindia, 2, 1991, p. 314, 315), and by the indigenous communities themselves as symbols of indigenous self-governance and autonomy.

⁶UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 21 May 2004.

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After the indigenous community of Bahía Portete in the Alta Guajira denounced the massacre to the national and international community in early May 2004, the Fundación Hemera published an open letter in their electronic newsletter, *Actualidad Étnica*, directed to the Colombian president, Alvaro Uribe, where they questioned the coherency of the state in negotiating the terms for future peace dialogues with the paramilitary group⁷ while the latter was engaged in the atrocities just mentioned:

Last April 18th, while the Peace Commission was meeting with paramilitary leaders, mercenary groups who have been operating for more than a year in Bahía de Portete, in the Guajira peninsula within the Wayúu reservation in the Middle and Upper (Media y Alta) Guajira, viciously killed in plain daylight twelve children, elderly persons and women, all indigenous ancestral inhabitants from the region adjacent to the Bahía. This occurred after months of siege and aggressive intimidation of the Wayúu families and after some Wayúu from the Maicao area had already been killed. These mercenaries 'safeguard' the shipments of drugs and the more traditional contraband cargoes, liquor and cigarettes, and in the process accumulate economic resources for its paramilitary army, particularly through its control of gasoline contraband. This activity goes on openly. There is no attempt made to hide it, and all of the regional organizations, DIAN officials, army and police personnel and the municipal and departmental authorities are well aware of what is going on.

The authorities turn a blind eye to all this and do not take any action against them: it is a month since the massacre and there still has been no institutional response to these crimes....⁸

Even though there are two military bases only five hours away in Riohacha and Maicao, it took the government a month and a half after the massacre and massive displacement of Wayúu to send troops to Bahía Portete.⁹ In a 7 June television interview, a military officer only recently stationed in the Portete area stated, "We are here to exercise sovereignty in the region".

This late response of the state to the recent actions perpetrated by the paramilitaries, and the strictly military nature of the state's belated presence in the Bahía Portete area are strongly contrasted to the project of the recognition and representation of subaltern groups, the social and human rights protection of these groups, and the proposal for their autonomy and self-determination, all of which are enshrined in Colombia's constitutional reform of 1991 and subsequent legislation.¹⁰ In effect, it is an extreme but not unusual example of the political, juridical, and social ambiguity in which indigenous and other subaltern groups find themselves in spite of the new constitutional recognitions, and the rhetorical component of state discourse regarding subaltern rights.

What is most engaging in the example cited is the fact that the presence of the state in this particular region has been almost completely circumscribed by the security concerns of the multinational energy-related development interests and agendas. In fact, Fundación Hemera's open letter questions the nature of the commitment of the present government to the region, and to the constitutionally protected indigenous inhabitants:

It surprises us, Mr. President, that all this is happening in regions in which huge mega-projects are being developed. For example, the recent maritime oil and gas concessions Bloque Tairona which are located in the same waters as Portete and the north zone of Alta Guajira; and the expansion project for coal production, the product of which is sent out of the country via Puerto Bolívar, port for the El Cerrejón carboniferous complex; and the new Jepirachi wind-park which you inaugurated less than five months ago, built by Empresas Públicas de Medellín (EPM) just a few kilometers from Portete... We insist that the security put in place for the development of these projects also be a guarantee for the security of the ancestral inhabitants whose lands are accommodating these enterprises.¹¹

The focus of this discussion is not the political and legal issues related to the displacement of indigenous populations due to development projects,¹² although the discussions about being Indian in Colombia generated by development issues is part of the overall question of Colombian nationalism and the place of subaltern groups in this scheme, especially given that 25 per cent of the land mass is designated as indigenous *resguardos* (even though the indigenous population is less than 2 per cent), and therefore jurisdictionally under a special regimen, including many areas of potential resource extraction and sustainable development. Rather, the discussion suggests that the incorporation of the specifically indigenous *other* into the political mainstream and its proposal of participatory democracy, although apparently meeting the terms of subaltern inclusion included in the new Political Constitution (CP) of 1991, in fact creates an irreconcilable ambiguity between the definition of the collectivity and the rights of the

⁷In fact, the peace negotiations have only recently begun with the first major encounter held on 1 July 2004, in Santa Fé de Ralito. See reference 29.

⁸*Actualidad Étnica*, 122, 3 July 2004 (Originally published in Spanish in *Actualidad Étnica*, 118, 2 June 2004).

⁹It is important to note that the port of the El Cerrejón coal complex occupies the northwestern tip of the bay and the railroad, which carries the coal from the mine in the southern Guajira to the port, passes along the western border of the bay. The remaining southern and eastern part of Bahía Portete is indigenous *resguardo*. The fact that there was not a rapid military response is not for lack of accessibility to the region, as may be the argument with other parts of the Guajira.

¹⁰The articles in the CP of 1991 are: Recognition and protection of ethnic and cultural diversity: 7°, 8°, 68°, 72°, 94°; right to equality: 13°, 18°, 19°, 20°, 70°; autonomy: 2°, 96°, 246°; democratic participation: 40°, 67°, 79°, 171°, 176°, 329°, 357°, 360°; prior consultation: 93°, 330°, 339°. Subsequent legislation includes among other legislation: Right to participate in the regimen of transfer payments from the nation: Ley 60 de 1993; territorial rights: Ley 160 de 1994, Decreto 2164 de 1995; right to prior consultation and agreement: Ley 21 de 1991, Ley 99 de 1993, Decreto 1320 de 1998; binational and international frontier rights: Ley 191 de 1995; indigenous authorities: Decreto 1088 de 1993; cultural rights: Ley 397 de 1997.

¹¹*Actualidad Étnica*, 122, 3 July 2004.

¹²There exists an extensive bibliography regarding human rights violations caused by development projects in Colombia. See Alfonso Avellaneda Cusaria, *Petróleo, colonización y medio ambiente en Colombia: de la Tora a Cusiana*, Ecoe, Bogotá, 1998; CECOIN, ONIC, G. H. K. G., *Tierra profanada: grandes proyectos en territorios indígenas de Colombia*, Disloque, Bogotá, 1995; Pedro García Hierro, "Territorios indígenas: tocando a las puertas del derecho", *Revista de Indias*, 61, 223, 2001, pp. 620-47; Jaime Andrés Peralta Agudelo, "Etnicidad, territorio y autonomía. Para que la tierra de Dios no se la hurte el Diablo", *Utopía Siglo XXI*, 1, 4, 1999, pp. 139-60; José María Rojas, "Ocupación y recuperación de los territorios indígenas en Colombia", *Análisis Político*, 41, 2000, pp. 69-83; Mónica del Pilar Uribe Marín, "Oxy en territorio U'wa: una posible muerte anunciada", *Asuntos Indígenas*, 1, 1998, p. 56-61; Sergio Villena Filongo, "Globalización y multiculturalidad. Pueblos indígenas y medio ambiente en la Amazonia", *Perfiles Latinoamericanos*, 9, 17, 2000, pp. 95-122.

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individual against the collective. Although the utterance of the military official in Portete was more pompous than substantive, it does draw attention to a prevailing question that centres on the constitutional reform of 1991: What does the idea "to exercise sovereignty" mean in this and other indigenous contexts both prior to and as a consequence of the reform? How are subaltern groups included in the state's definition of sovereignty? And what are the conditions of their exclusion?

Legislating Ambiguity

In a talk presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Colombian legal scholar, Mauricio García Villegas,¹³ referring to Colombia prior to the constitutional reform of 1991, suggested that there was little communication between the civil society and the state. This lack of communication suggests that the traditional political institutions of the state do not and cannot represent the different societies that comprise Colombia. In the absence of effective political institutions that are able to mediate between state and society, the actors and institutions themselves must resort to legal mechanisms of resolution, inclusive of violence, which in Colombia is a jurisprudential option,¹⁴ so that these actors and the societies they represent are in turn represented politically in a state that purports to be multiethnic and pluricultural. García Villegas maintained that, "political problems have to take the form of legal problems in order to be visible".¹⁵ In other words, instead of the institutional and political representation of civil society, what is operative is a certain degree of political participation in symbolic terms, and a process of symbolic displacement whereby politico-legislative issues transform into legal ones. García Villegas proposed that the reform process resulting in the new CP of 1991, the manifestation of the civil society's inconformity regarding its exclusion is one example of political problems being resolved through legal reforms. This is particularly evident in the constitutional proposals that promote decentralisation, popular participation of the civil society in the overseeing of government, and the representation of

previously unrecognised constituencies such as ethnic groups— especially through limited territorial autonomies and territorially circumscribed rights.

If this difficulty of communication between the state and its societies has occurred in general, then the CP does indeed represent a significant legal reform insofar as several large constituencies, specifically indigenous peoples and Afro-Colombians, are in fact represented for the first time in Colombia's charter document. No less than twenty articles and two transitory dispositions of the CP recognise the special circumstances of these ethnic minorities, granting them such specific rights as the right to territory, to cultural autonomy and self-determination, to special representation in the political institutions of the state, to a projection of identity into the future, and in the case of indigenous peoples, to the official or local use of their language, and to their own judicial system. Legislation subsequent to the CP also reflects a new concern for the political representation of these groups, and a fulfillment, at least in letter, of the political mandate of a multiethnic and pluricultural state (article no. 7 of the CP). What is unique is the apparent concern for the *cultural* representation of these groups, as though the state is responding to subaltern groups in the same terms they present their issues; Gros mentions the irony of the symbolic capital the indigenous peoples have acquired in recent years,¹⁶ and Álvarez, Dagnino, and Escobar suggest that although all social movements "mobilize cultural forces", there is a certain symbolic representativity in what have been regarded as the "new" social movements, inclusive of indigenous peoples, "cultural politics are perhaps more evident in movements that make demands based on culture".¹⁷

There are two perspectives as to why ethnic minorities are so favourably represented and so amply accommodated in Colombia's constitutional reform. French anthropologist, Christian Gros suggests that there was a correspondence between growing indigenous demands for sociocultural and political autonomy, and a Latin American regional ten-

dency towards decentralising the state, and instituting mechanisms of participatory democracy, all of which were "destined to improve the operative efficiency and the legitimacy of the public apparatus"¹⁸ among an emerging diversity of constituencies. The state, in an effort to implement these new policies, is constrained to identify these new participants, and designate their interlocutors with whom the state can negotiate its local involvement.

As regards the emergence of ethnic groups, the problem is two-fold. On one hand, neither modern constitutionalism in general nor the CP of Colombia specifically are able to appreciate the idea of ethnicity and its dynamics, nor can it anticipate all instances of ethnic identity, and even less so if there are 86 indigenous groups with varying degrees of "Indianness", three Afro-Colombian ethnicities, as well as unrecognised groups, such as the Rom (or Gypsies), who are demanding recognition in the same constitutional terms. According to Adolfo Triana,¹⁹ if one looks at the constitutional articles of ethnic recognition, the only ethnicities that *are* recognised are: Indigenous peoples who are attached to a *resguardo*, that is rural, traditional, a product of the nineteenth and early twentieth century assimilation policies; and Anglo Afro-Colombians located on the Caribbean island of San Andrés, or Hispano Afro-Colombians who have an historical and sociocultural tie to the Pacific coast. The CP in and of itself is incapable of recognising that these represent ethnicities in constant flux existing in diverse and current conditions and confronting political and historical events that challenge their traditional constructions and demand a certain creativity and flexibility in their self-definition— in this sense, Gómez Valencia refers to the "invisibility of indigenous juridical cultures".²⁰

The state, no longer able to accommodate otherness by legislating its exclusion, paradoxically legislates its inclusion. Referring specifically to the apparent recognition of indigenous identity and autonomy, Gros suggests that the state, "produces and reproduces [indigenous identity and autonomy], instituting it and in this manner

¹³ Mauricio García Villegas, "Constitutional discourse in Colombia: too much hope for so little chance", American Anthropological Association annual meeting, Chicago, 20 November 1999.

¹⁴ Robert VH Dover and Gloria Isabel Ocampo, "Líneas de transgresión", *Boletín de Antropología*, 17, 34, 2003.

¹⁵ García Villegas, "Constitutional discourse".

¹⁶ Christian Gros, "Un ajuste con rostro indígena" in Jean-Michel Blanquer and Christian Gros (eds.) *Las dos Colombias*, Norma, Bogotá, 1996, p. 355.

¹⁷ Sonia E. Álvarez, Evalina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, "Introducción: lo cultural y lo político en los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos" in Arturo Escobar, Sonia E. Álvarez, and Evalina Dagnino (eds.) *Política cultural y cultura política: una nueva mirada sobre los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos*, Taurus, Buenos Aires, 2000, p. 24.

¹⁸ Christian Gros, *Políticas de la etnicidad: identidad, estado y modernidad*, ICANH, Bogotá, 2000, p. 104.

¹⁹ Adolfo Triana, "Grupos étnicos. Nueva constitución en Colombia" in Esther Sánchez (ed.) *Antropología jurídica: normas formales, costumbres legales en Colombia*, Sociedad Antropológica de Colombia, Bogotá, 1992.

²⁰ Herinaldy Gómez Valencia, "Crisis de la justicia y la jurisdicción indígena en Colombia", *Convergencia*, 18, 1999.

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legitimising an ethnic boundary that it is then obliged to protect".²¹ The legislation that followed upon the CP of 1991 would appear to corroborate this idea; guarantees of health, ethno-education, prior consultation regarding development and environmental policy on or near *resguardos*, territorial recognition and its potential expansion, a special indigenous jurisdiction and jurisprudence, among others are part of the substantial post-1991 legislation on ethnic protection. One problem here is that neither the constitution nor the subsequent legislation are able to legislate the cultural and historical ambiguities of ethnicity, and instead legislate against such ambiguities, creating an ethnic boundary where locally recognised identity differences between ethnicities are glossed over in comprehensive legislative moments. A related problem would be one of local state and para-state interpretations of this legislation where local interests and agendas contravene the original intentions.

There is a certain vagueness among scholars as to the relative benefits of this inclusion. Gros, although recognising that incorporating indigenous groups into the scheme of national society carries a certain risk of a prejudicial integration— what Susan Bibler-Coutin, exemplifies as "the difficulty of drawing on the law's potential for resistance without simultaneously invoking its capacity to oppress"²²— nevertheless, suggests that an "imperfect territorial autonomy" is better than the pre-constitutional reform context where there were no specific protections except for those generated through political whim.²³

For Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the very presence of the multicultural/pluriethnic directive of the 1991 constitution and the resultant normative fragmentation is both a product of and an indication of the end of *the* social contract in Colombia, "the founding metaphor of western modernity's social and

political rationality", whose "criteria of inclusion/exclusion offer the basis of the contractualization of the economic, political, social, and cultural interactions".²⁴ Dover and Ocampo,²⁵ however, argue that there had never been one social contract in spite of state efforts to the contrary. The consequences of the social contract are drastic for those who are already invisible, misrepresented, and disenfranchised for holding "knowledges, memories, symbolic universes and traditions distinct from those that were selected and converted into national ones"²⁶ and exacerbated by the very weakness of the Colombian state, the predominance of exclusion over inclusion; the characterisation of the state's intervention, including its absence and its perversion particularly in the delegation of competences to third parties; and the social reproduction of the state's legal boundaries of inclusion/exclusion.²⁷

Perhaps the key to understanding the legislating of inclusion of the *other* lies in James Scott's idea of the need of the state to make its social geography legible. According to Scott, "state simplifications, the basic givens of modern statecraft, were...rather like abridged maps. They did not successfully represent the actual activity of the society they depicted, nor were they intended to; they represented only that slice of it that interested the official observer. They were, moreover, not just maps. Rather, they were maps that, when allied with state power, would enable much of the reality they depicted to be remade."²⁸ Although Scott refers specifically to the legibility of social space, we can extrapolate the idea of legibility to include social groups reduced to manageable essentialisations. It is not only the case then that modern constitutionalism cannot anticipate the emergent nature of ethnic identity, but it is not in its best interest to do so, given the creative power of legislative mechanisms. Thus, delimiting the field and conditions of ethnic inclusion in participatory democracy— defining the ethnic constituencies it is now

obligated to protect— is in effect a state simplification of the potentially complex political and juridical relations between the *other* and the state, and, following Sousa Santos, the dominant society. If, as Scott suggests, "Illegibility, then, has been and remains a reliable source for political autonomy",²⁹ it becomes incumbent upon the state to identify and standardise legislatively what must be contained politically, facilitating at the same time notions of legitimacy³⁰ and interlocution. In this sense, "the CP represents the intent to reify the fragmentation that is expressed in discourses regarding politicized identities",³¹ and does so in terms that are instrumental for the state.

There are several points to be made here. One, the state has redefined its legal boundaries to include the *other*, and in so doing, re-characterised the criteria of its contractualisation. But, symbolic capital notwithstanding, this re-characterised criteria is not new, rather a territorialisation and eventual colonisation of different epistemologies, and the definition of the conditions of participation, such that constituencies previously excluded can approach the state— not in autochthonous terms, but in terms the state has invented for subaltern participation. Two, because the criteria of *effective* inclusion remains essentially the same, the historical legacies of this criteria continue to be operative, thus Triana's characterisation of the recognisable ethnicities in the CP of 1991. Similarly, Bernard Yack, in a discussion regarding the relationship of popular sovereignty and the expression of nationalism, warns,

"Resignation to the contingencies of history does not at all fit with the rhetoric of popular sovereignty. Yet, in effect, that is what many liberal democratic theorists seem to demand from peoples uncomfortable with the shape of their communities: that they should accept whatever potential injus-

²¹ Gros, "Políticas", p. 105.

²² Susan Bibler Coutin, "Enacting law through social practice: sanctuary as a form of resistance" in Mindie Lazarus-Black and Susan F. Hirsch (eds.) *Contested states: law, hegemony and resistance*, Routledge, London, 1994, p. 283.

²³ Gros, "Un ajuste", p. 345.

²⁴ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Colombia: el revés del contrato social de la modernidad" in Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Mauricio García Villegas (eds.) *El caleidoscopio de las justicias en Colombia*, Siglo del Hombre Editores, Bogotá, 2001, p. 13.

²⁵ Dover and Ocampo, "Lineas".

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁷ Sousa Santos, "Colombia", p. 44-5.

²⁸ Scott, *Seeing like a State*, p. 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³⁰ This has been particularly evident in the various negotiations the Colombian state has had with armed groups, specifically the guerrilla group, FARC, and more recently, the paramilitary AUC. The dialogues with the FARC began formally during the Pastrana administration on 7 January 1999. To this end, the government vacated a type of DMZ that covered an area of 42,000km², and included the municipalities of San Vicente del Caguán in Caquetá; Uribe, Mesetas, La Macarena and Vista Hermosa in Meta. After talks broke down between the FARC and the Pastrana government, the latter sent in the military to repossess the territory on 20 February 2002. The dialogue with the AUC just began on 1 July 2004 with the installation of the negotiating team in Santa Fé de Ralito; on 15 June, the government declared another DMZ for the next six months for the members of the AUC. This area is located in the rural area of Tierralta (Córdoba). The possibility of extending the zone has been proposed. In both cases, the ceding of large territories by the state to each group transformed their identity from illegal and terrorist groups with an illegal presence in Colombian territory into territorialized, political adversaries with whom the state can enter into *legitimate* negotiations related to the transformation of the state.

³¹ Dover and Ocampo, "Lineas", p. 40.

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tices history has served up to them with the boundaries of states so that we can all get on with the task of establishing liberal democratic forms of government."³²

Finally, one of the objectives of the CP, to institutionalise the democratic participation of the civil society, is impeded by two factors. The first refers to the circumstantiality of the state's behaviour; Sousa Santos refers to its chameleon-like nature. But given the state's varied presencibility and the nature of that presence, it is unlikely that there is one representation of the state, and instead, very local and political readings of the definitions of legibility. The second factor is related to the first insofar as the presencibility of the state is conditioned on its being one actor among many in terms of jurisdiction and authority. Dover and Ocampo suggest that there is a correspondence between,

"the fragmentation of the state (as a way of being) [and] the fragmentation of its jurisdiction which implies the existence of domains in the sense of jurisdictions with their own lexicon, significations, and methodology. This fragmentation is expressed in phenomena such as local caciques that assume the role of the state in certain domains, intervening in the complete exercise of the state's jurisdiction, but also in the state's renouncing some of its functions or its jurisdiction in certain domains or territories (the slums of Medellín where [the state] has surrendered its jurisdiction or in the Caguán, where the state maintained only an administrative presence). Jurisdiction, as we understand it, is exercised as much over real territories as over conceptual ones— ideologies regarding how *to be* a state or *to be represented* in the state."³³

In many cases, what passes for pluricultural or plurijudicial contexts (also constitutionally mandated) is simply the Colombian state's acceptance of what already exists, of jurisdictions already delegated, or domains already assumed by other para-state entities.

Accommodating Identities

Neither the state nor the para-states offer an unencumbered definition of indigenous identity given the range of responses from the massacre in Portete (and in many other parts of Colombia, particularly of indigenous leaders), to what Sousa Santos³⁴ calls *epistemocide*, to the legal recognition and subsequent disregard of their collective identity. Indigenous peoples have few *traditional* resources available to them to contest the state in autochthonous terms. In fact the relationship centre/periphery in the indigenous communities is becoming less relevant as leaders become integrated into the state, become more like state officials, and the opportunities for indigenous participation become more integrated into the structure of the state but without admitting as well their worldview. For James Tully, it is an enigma,

"The confrontation between the politics of recognition and modern constitutionalism faces an impasse. How can the proponents of recognition bring forth their claims in a public forum in which their cultures have been excluded or demeaned for centuries? They can accept the authoritative language and institutions, in which case their claims are rejected by conservatives or comprehended by progressives within the very languages and institutions whose sovereignty and impartiality they question. Or they can refuse to play the game, in which case they become marginal and reluctant conscripts or they take up arms."³⁵

What are available to indigenous peoples are the political and juridical resources of the state appropriated into minority discourse— legislation, the CP, the same political and juridical system offer leaders certain protectionist mechanisms to a relative autonomy— and a healthy scepticism and recognition of the CP as a useful tool,

"We, the indigenous communities, have a constitution that comes from antiquity when there was light for the first time [the Law of Origin]. This was given to each

community as our legitimate constitution. OK, we believe that the political constitution of Colombia is useful to us in the sense that it involves us because we are at the center of this territory [*resguardo*], and that it offers us protection for our ancient constitution and helps us to keep existing."³⁶

Useful too, are the accidental textual resources of their interlocutors, which offer an alternative lexicon, a different glimpse at their humanity, and a questioning of the assumptions we hold of the *other* and our right to define them.³⁷

But the advantages gained by constitutional recognition have to be measured against the changes that are being forced on communities both from within and from without. I have suggested elsewhere³⁸ that indigenous identity and its territoriality are really a type of political *commodatum* issued unilaterally by the state as a way of objectifying if not comprehending an exotic *other* on the basis of current historical and political objectives, and their concomitant discourses and, often, discordant practices. At the same time, indigenous and other social movements that attempted to influence the direction of the "reinvented" state, found themselves contributing to their own incarceration in the concepts and categories of identity in the language the state developed to accommodate difference. The new ethnic rights and recognition that have been promulgated are conditioned by a new politics of inclusion whereby ethnic identity represents in large part acquiescence to state categories of identity, and rights fetishism.³⁹

³²Bernard Yack, "Nationalism, popular sovereignty, and the liberal democratic state" in T. V. Paul, G. John Ikenberry, and John A. Hall (eds.) *The nation-state in question*, University of Princeton Press, Princeton, 2003, p. 45.

³³Dover and Ocampo, "Lineas", p. 42.

³⁴Sousa Santos, "Colombia", p. 18.

³⁵James Tully, *Strange multiplicity: constitutionalism in an age of diversity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 56.

³⁶Rubiel Zalabata, "Presentación" in *Ga'kunamu abunna zukutu koronbiazey neyka: ga'kunamu umún niwika'mukanukwéy nánuya agagu'na neyka (Constitución política de Colombia de 1991 en Ikun: selección de los apartes de mayor interés para las comunidades indígenas)* Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, 1994, p. 75.

³⁷Carlos Alberto Uribe, "Un relato de encuentros y desencuentros: la sociedad y el poder entre los hermanos mayores de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta" in María Lucía Sotomayor (ed.) *Modernidad, identidad y desarrollo: construcción de sociedad y recreación cultural en contextos de modernización*, ICAN, Bogotá, 1998.

³⁸In the original version of this paper, I have included one extended discussion regarding the nature of a political *commodatum* attached to indigenous and subaltern identity.

³⁹Robert VH Dover, "Fetichismo, derechos e identidad en el pensamiento político indígena" in María Lucía Sotomayor, (ed.) *Modernidad, identidad, y desarrollo: construcción de sociedad y recreación cultural en contextos de modernización*, ICAN, Bogotá, 1998.

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Civil War in Guinea-Bissau: June 1998-May 1999



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Abstract

That Africa is ravaged by conflicts is no longer news. While the conflicts in Somalia, Sierra-Leone, Rwanda, Burundi and the two Congos (Kinshasa and Brazzaville) have dominated the headlines in the recent past, others (though equally important) remain pretty unknown. This article examines one of these: The civil war in Guinea-Bissau, 1998-1999. It aims to assess, simultaneously, the deployment of France's new military policy in Africa, Programme RECAMP¹, the peacekeeping and peace-enforcement capacities of African states through the activities of ECOMOG² in Bissau and the impact of the clash of interests of Portugal and France on the internal affairs of Guinea-Bissau.

Introduction³

That Africa is ravaged by conflicts is no longer news. While the conflicts in Somalia, Sierra-Leone, Rwanda, Burundi and the two Congos (Kinshasa and Brazzaville) have dominated the headlines in the recent past, others (though equally important) remain pretty unknown. This article examines one of these: The civil war in Guinea-Bissau, 1998-1999.



The article is in three parts: The first sets the context of the conflict and examines the colonial history of the country and events leading to independence in 1974. The second part deals with the post-colonial state of Guinea-Bissau. The third focuses on the civil war and its resolution, the role of external actors such as Senegal in events leading to the conflict and its resolution.

Colonial History

Guinea-Bissau is bounded on the north by Senegal and on the south by the Republic of Guinea-Conakry, two states that continue to play key roles

in its affairs. The continental zone and the island of Bijagos together constitute Guinea-Bissau. The population, estimated at 1.08 million (1995 figures), is divided into Muslims and Animists, and the economy is based on cultivation of groundnuts and rearing of cattle.⁴

The main political and economic centre of the country is Bissau whose population receives 15,000 migrants, annually, from the rural areas. Its population is dominated by the youth, 52 per cent being below the age of 15 years. Outside of Bissau, there is little development, small towns having very little infrastructure. It has witnessed in recent years a considerable emigration, mainly of the youth, to Senegal and Guinea-Conakry.⁵

Settled at the end of the fifteenth century by the Portuguese, the country formed, from 1550, with Cape-Verde, a united territory and remained thus until the battle of Bolor in 1878 which established complete Portuguese control over Guinea-Bissau and encouraged its separation and independent administration. Portugal's claim to the territory was reinforced by the Berlin conference of the Great Powers.

Following Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's assumption of power in Portugal on 27 April 1928 and the creation of the institution and ideology of the "L`Estado Novo" or the "New State" in Portugal, the colonies of Portugal in Africa entered a period of brutal exploitation.

Under the New State, the natives were governed by the *Indignat*, which established in law and fact their

inferiority to the whites as *they were deemed not to possess the individual and social habits that legitimised claims to an exercise of rights protected by public law, as did citizens of Portugal*.⁶

Amilcar Cabral (1926-1973).
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Under the Indignat, African natives had no political rights: Could not vote nor be voted for, could not act as witnesses in law courts, could not emigrate or leave the territory, or change their residence locally without the permission of the local government official. To become a citizen, the African was required to possess a good knowledge of the Portuguese language and to practise a profession that provided adequate remuneration for his and his dependants' upkeep, an almost impossible situation given the high level of exploitation of the African colony and the consistent policy of denying Africans educational opportunities.

The only group of natives able to prosper under the harsh regime of the Indignat was the Assimilados, the Cape Verdians who were treated better than the African by the whites. The Assimilados, who acted as assistants to

¹ Renforcement des Capacités Africaine de Maintien de la Paix.

² Economic Community of West African States Peace Monitoring Group.

³ This paper was written during my stay as a SEPHIS IRTP scholar at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, India, from January to December 2004. I thank the director, fellows and staff for their support and encouragement. Thanks are due also to Dr. Lakshmi Subramanian, Regional Coordinator SEPHIS, Dr. Anjan Ghosh, Dr. Dwaipayan Bhattachaya, my Adviser, and Dr. Samita Sen. I also acknowledge the detailed and supportive comments of the paper's anonymous reviewer. I alone, needless to say, am responsible for all errors and interpretations.

⁴ George O. Oscar and Amilcar Cabral, *Un Precurseur de l' Independance Africaine*, Editions Indigo, Paris, 1998.

⁵ Centre Française du Commerce Exterieur, Cap-Vert, Gambie et Guinea-Bissau, 1997.

⁶ Oscar and Cabral, *Un Precurseur de*, p. 24.

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white public-office holders, were seen by the African as co-oppressors along with the whites. They were, however, treated as second-class citizens and were thus extremely resentful of their white overlords.⁷

The Assimilados, radicalised while studying in Portugal, led the armed revolt against the Portuguese oppressors and formed a major anti-colonial organisation, the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea-Bissau e Cabo Verde (P.A.I.G.C.). Led by the charismatic Amilcar Cabral, the anti-colonial struggle began with a strike launched on 3 August 1959, which was viciously suppressed by the colonial police and led to a rethinking of the strategy of revolution and the adoption of armed struggle.

The armed struggle was preceded by a phase of mobilisation by the P.A.I.G.C. which was in actual fact a bid for domination of the anti-colonial movement. This it secured by displacing the Front Da Luta Pela Independencia Nacional da Guinea-Bissau (FLINT). This division in the anti-colonial movement was to sap its vitality.

The armed struggle took off in 1963 within an atmosphere of great optimism. In 1960, the United Nations argued that according to article 73 of the UN charter, Portugal must respect the aspirations of self-determination in the non-autonomous territories they still possessed.

The UN's position was contested by the Portuguese state, arguing that by the law of 1951, its colonies had become overseas provinces of Portugal and so were an integral part of the state. The UN went on to formally declare Portugal's colonies as non-autonomous territories. In 1965, the Organization of African Unity recognised the P.A.I.G.C. as the sole representative of the anti-colonial movement in Guinea-Bissau and it obtained the status of observer at the UN. The same year, the Security Council of the UN adopted a resolution condemning Portuguese colonialism in Africa and demanding the cessation of state action against the anti-colonial movement and the withdrawal of Portuguese forces.

The final move in favour of the anti-colonial revolution came with the coup d'état of April 1974 in Portugal by the Mouvement des Forces Armees, and the promulgation in July 1974 of a law that recognised the right to self-determination of the overseas colonies and the annulment of article 1 of the 1933 Portuguese constitution which had integrated the empire into the state of Portugal.

One factor was to be of crucial importance for the future of Guinea-Bissau: The antagonism between Cape-

Verde and Balanta. On the eve of independence, disgruntled Balanta P.A.I.G.C. cadres, obviously instigated by the Portuguese secret service, assassinated Cabral. The Balanta claimed to be oppressed by the Cape Verdian, despite their key role in the struggle against the Portuguese. The hostility grew and finally led to the overthrow of the government of Luis Cabral in 1980 by the Balanta-Papel dominated army.

Internal Politics after Independence

Very early in the new regime led by Luis Cabral, ideological and ethnic problems between the party and its mass base in the rural areas arose. Poorly managed by the government, these problems led to tensions within the state and the mobilisation of the army by Bernardo Vieira against the Cabral government and its eventual deposition.⁸



President Vieira
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Under Nino Vieira, between 1980-84, Guinea-Bissau was governed by a Council of the Revolution made-up of civilians and military men, mainly Balanta and Papel, and dominated by Vieira who became the head of state and government and head of the Armed Forces. Facing serious economic difficulties and growing internal dissent from the citizens due to their increasing in-miseration, the government of Vieira abandoned Marxism in the middle of the 1980s.

Michel Cahen has seen in the adoption of capitalism by the Bissau elites a process of consolidation of their control over power and resources of the state. The reform adopted by the Vieira government was pragmatic as was their earlier choice of Marxism, which they had considered, at that time, the most viable tool for creating a strong state.⁹

Even though the government adopted liberal policies, it did not intend to scrap the one party system.

The process simply involved the transformation of the bureaucrats (party) into entrepreneurs or traders, speculators and compradors. The adoption of a tough fiscal retrenchment agenda through the Structural Adjustment Programme increased poverty levels, and provoked such protests against the government as that of 13-15 April, launched by the five principal trade unions which demanded a minimum salary corresponding to 50 kilograms of rice, the staple food of Guinea-Bissau.

To avoid a social implosion, Vieira quickly introduced political reforms, but they were hesitant ones. The P.A.I.G.C. at its extra-ordinary congress session of October 1991 acknowledged the inevitability of multipartism and democracy, and established the post of a Prime Minister to which Carlos Correia was elected in December 1991.

The congress, however, did not go the whole hog and establish internal democracy within the party or dialogue with nascent political forces outside the party. They did not define a clear political stance and, therefore, failed to restore the confidence of the party militants and sympathisers. The reformers led by Manuel dos Santos, the economy minister, rebelled against Vieira and were promptly expelled from the party.

The group thus expelled was to form the first independent political party in Guinea-Bissau after the scrapping of article 4 of the constitution in May 1991. The approval in February 1993 of a new constitution sanctioned multipartism. The new parties formed during this period were grouped into two broad blocs, those formed by groups originally independent of the P.A.I.G.C. and those emerging from the internal divisions within the P.A.I.G.C.

The first was made up of the FLING, which had been formed at the same time as the P.A.I.G.C. but had lost out in the competition to head the anti-colonial movement, and the RGB-Mouvemento Bafata, a group formed by the comrades of the lawyer and seminarian, Victorio Pa, who was executed for complicity in a coup d'état led by Paulo Correia in 1986.

The second group of opposition parties was composed of the Front Democratic formed by Aristide Menezes, Partido Unido Social Democrata of Victor Sande Maria, Le Parti de la Renovation Sociale of Koumba Yalla and the Parti pour la

⁷ Carlos Lopes, 'Etat et Rapport de Pouvoir en Guinea-Bissau', *Itinéraires*, Notes et Travaux, 22, 1982.

⁸ Joshua Forrest, 'Guinea-Bissau Since Independence: A Decade of Domestic Struggles', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25, 1, 1987, pp. 95-116. Jean Meillon, 'Etudes d'Un Parti Unique Africain: L' Evolution du P.A.I.G.C en Guinée-Bissau, Mémoire de Diplôme (Service Publique) I.E.P de Bordeaux, 1994-1995.

⁹ M. Cahen, 'Une Afrique Lusophone Libérale? La Fin des Premières Républiques', *Lusotopie*, Karthala, Paris, 1996.

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Renovation et la Developpement led by Joao Costa.

Two groups contested the elections, initially previewed for December 1992 but postponed due to delays in voters' registration (which under the law had to take place 45 days before the elections), which eventually took place in July 1994. On the one hand was the ruling party, the P.A.I.G.C. and, on the other, two blocs of opposition parties under the label of Democratic Front. The front was not a coalition and so could not present a single candidate to contest the presidential elections against Vieira.¹⁰

Due to the rabid distrust between the opposition groups and the ruling parties, the elections took place under United Nations' scrutiny with international observers led by M. dos Santos (Angola) directing the electoral process. The P.A.I.G.C. won an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly.¹¹ Prior to Vieira's victory, the splits that had occurred in the ruling party and within the ranks of the elite gave force to the opposition against his regime. Politicians became desperate about securing their political and economic futures.

Foreign Policy after Independence

The first ten years of post-independence foreign policy of the Guinea-Bissau government was characterised by privileged relations with those who supported the P.A.I.G.C. during the war of liberation— notably, the Socialist camp, the Scandinavian countries and the Non-Aligned movement. Its relations with France were very cool and developed quite late.

The tardive relations with France was due to the fact that the anti-colonial movement led by the P.A.I.G.C. received little support from the French or their principal ally in the region, Senegal. It was after the de jure recognition of Guinea-Bissau by Portugal that France instituted diplomatic relations with the country and since then its relations have been conditioned by the dictates of geopolitics.

Three categories of problems, somewhat interlinked, soured relations between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal: *Ideological, territorial, and Casamance*. On the ideological front, Leopold Senghor (the President of Senegal) as well as many others did not desire to see the P.A.I.G.C., a self-proclaimed Marxist group, come to power in Guinea-Bissau. However, P.A.I.G.C. did come to power and thereby turned the Guinea-Bissau-Senegal border into one of the Cold War frontiers. In response to Soviet presence

at Varela, in Guinea-Bissau, the Senegalese and their allies built a naval base at Elinkine in the Casamance.

The territorial problem arose from a dispute over the maritime frontier. The difficulty was aggravated by the discovery in the 1970s of an offshore oil deposit and rich fish stocks, the major part of which was to be found in the disputed zone. Each state saw in the exploitation of these resources the possibility of acquiring scarce and much needed foreign exchange to balance their budgets. The territorial problem led to a brief conflict between the two countries in May 1990 called the *War of Petrol* and raised within Guinea-Bissau, the smaller country, great hostility towards Senegal. Control over the disputed area became a national objective.¹²

The third problem is linked to the intense trans-border relations between Casamance and Guinea-Bissau. The people on either side of the border are from the same ethnic groups, the Soussous, the Peuls, the Mandingos, the Diola and the Felupes. Senegal suspected that the Casamance rebels were receiving support from the Guinea-Bissau government. This suspicion, in the light of the existing antagonistic relations between the two states, heightened the importance of the Casamance issue leading to an internal crisis in Guinea-Bissau.



Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal.
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From the beginning of the 1980s, the Casamance region of Senegal had been in revolt against the government. Led by the Mouvement des Forces Democratique de Casamance (MDFC), the rebels demanded an end to what they claimed was the internal colonialisation of their region by northern Muslims.¹³ The revolts in the region added to the Senegal government's unease about events across the Casamance border in Guinea-Bissau. Given that the first popular insurrection in the Banjul, the Gambia had been led by a Diola, KoKoi Samba, and the second by another, Yayah

Jameh, the Senegalese government felt threatened by the possibility of a claim for a greater Dioula region comprising Casamance, Guinea-Bissau and Gambia. These fears were to some extent confirmed when a section of the MFDC attempted such a *federation de Gabou*.

At home, facing serious opposition due to the increasing failure of the economy and his high-handedness, Vieira, in order to survive politically, had to turn to Senegal for assistance. Senegal seized the opportunity to finalise a series of advantageous defence and political accords with Guinea-Bissau.

One accord committed Guinea-Bissau to allow Senegal to exploit the resources within the disputed maritime zone. The defence accords authorised joint military actions by Senegal and Guinea-Bissau against insurgents in the border region and "gave right of pursuit" to Senegalese forces, to cross the border up to 7 kilometres into Guinea-Bissau. In 1989, Vieira arrested leaders of the MFDC and handed them over to Senegal. Also, under the defence accords a joint raid was undertaken against the MFDC in 1995 to secure the release of four French tourists kidnapped by the rebels.

Vieira signed away the sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau in return for Senegal's and France's support. This enabled the country to join the Franc zone (the monetary zone of the former French colonies, under French supervision), the first non-francophone country to do so. Guinea-Bissau, heavily indebted, was perhaps a burden rather than an advantage to the zone.

The populace did not favourably receive the actions of the President; more so as the maritime zone signed away by Vieira had been adjudged by the International Court of Justice in the Hague as belonging to Guinea-Bissau. The last straw that was to break the camel's back and plunge Guinea-Bissau into crisis was the over-bearing action of Senegal in accusing the Chief of Staff of the Guinea-Bissau army, Asumane Mane, of arms trafficking in support of the MFDC rebels.

The General, a close ally of Vieira, had played a key role in the coup d'etat of 1980 that brought Vieira to power. Nevertheless, the President suspended him and an enquiry was set up which promptly passed a verdict of guilt on the General. The General protested his innocence to the National Assembly, which in response set up its own multi-party panel of enquiry, a move that showed Vieira was deeply unpopular in

¹⁰ His principal adversary was Koumba Yalla. Vieira won the elections with 52 per cent votes, Yalla had 48 per cent.

¹¹ Assembly elections took place on 3 July and 7 August 1995. PAIGC won 62 seats, RGB-Bafata 19 and 8 other parties shared the remaining 19 seats.

¹² Ibid. For details on the maritime dispute and the role of the International Court, see Anne Gaudin, 'De la Contribution de la Guinée-Bissau à l'élaboration du Droit maritime: La Fixation par Arbitrage des Limites de la Guinée-Bissau', *Lusotopie*, Karthala, Paris, 1994.

¹³ Gérald Gaillard, 'Guinée-Bissau: Un Pas Dououreux vers la Démocratie', *Afrique Contemporaine*, July/September 1999.

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his own party. After all, his party had a majority in the assembly and should have been able to block the setting up of a new panel.

On 5 June 1998, the President, in an expression of his disdain for the National Assembly, officially sacked General Mane and replaced him with General Humberto Gomes, former president of the Supreme Military Court. The National Assembly returned a verdict of 'not guilty' on General Mane, and identified Vieira and his minister of defence as the real culprits.¹⁴ To avenge the dishonour, General Mane on 8 June 1998 led a coup d'état against his former ally, President Vieira, who was on his way to attend the Organisation of African Unity summit in Burkina Faso.

As the rebels rapidly overran the major military installation and demanded his resignation, Vieira, the embattled President, turned again to his allies, the governments of Senegal and Guinea-Conakry thus internationalising the conflict.

Guinea-Conakry, sent reinforcements in the form of helicopters and 400 soldiers, and Senegal deployed, under the terms of the defence accord, an expeditionary force of its soldiers in Bissau. Viewing the arrival of foreign troops as an invasion of their country, formerly undecided soldiers and the civilian opposition rallied behind the Mane revolt and against Vieira.

Resolution

The first attempt to mediate a cease-fire between the warring parties was undertaken by the foreign minister of the Gambia, which failed, as also did attempts by the National Assembly and the foreign ministers of Angola and Portugal. The first cease-fire was signed on 26 July 1998 sponsored by PALOPS¹⁵ at Praia, capital of Cape-Verde. New negotiations for a permanent cease-fire held in Abidjan, capital of Cote d'Ivoire, in mid-September 1998, failed when the rebels insisted first on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Guinea-Bissau, a condition which Senegal rejected as it demanded guarantees concerning the securing of the Guinea-Bissau frontier against MFDC rebels—guarantees it implied could only be given by Vieira.

The conflict took off again, north of Bissau on 9 October 1998 and by the 16th had spread to Bafata and Gabu, the second and third major towns of the country reaching Bissau by the 18th. The rebels pushed out the Senegalese forces from Bembadena and Falucunda and occupied it. Faced

with almost certain defeat, the until-then intransigent Vieira declared a unilateral cease-fire for forty-eight hours starting from 23 October.

On Sunday 1 November 1998, President Vieira and General Mane signed a second peace accord in Abuja during the twenty-first session of the Economic Community of West African States.¹⁶ The accord envisaged the deployment of ECOMOG¹⁷ troops in Bissau and other parts of the country to allow for the withdrawal of foreign troops and provide the security guarantees demanded by Senegal, and the formation of a Government of National Unity responsible for organising new elections.

In the new transitional government, the opponents of Vieira obtained the key ministries of Interior, Defence and Economy, and Francisco Fadul was appointed as Prime Minister. But things remained tense in Bissau as the terms were being broken by Vieira and his supporters, Senegal and France. According to the terms of the accord, there was to be a complete disarmament of all combatants by ECOMOG, but President Vieira remained protected by a private militia of 600 men. The French maintained a base on the island of Babaque and its warship continued to patrol the territorial waters of Guinea-Bissau.

The French had entered the scene in Guinea-Bissau through the Senegalese, strengthened their presence through logistical and financial support to ECOMOG troops and so justified their presence in Guinea-Bissau territory. As the Portuguese foreign ministry had pointed out, however, both the French and Senegalese operated like occupying forces. The passes required for free movement in the capital were controlled by the Senegalese forces, were written in French and bore the flag of Senegal. These signs pointed clearly to the partisan nature of the Franco-Senegalese intervention in Guinea-Bissau.¹⁸

Such flagrant display of partisanship on the part of the French and Senegalese forces in favour of Vieira led to the third phase of the crisis, which began on 31 January 1999 and produced hundreds of casualties. Before then, the report of the parliament's enquiry into the accusations made by Senegal and Vieira against Mane was released. The National Assembly passed a resolution calling for the resignation of President Vieira and his immediate prosecution.

ECOMOG forces arrived after the battle of 31 January and a cease-fire

was signed on 3 February 1999. Fighting recommenced between loyalists of President Vieira and the rebels on 6 May leading to the burning of the presidential palace and forcing the President to flee for refuge to the Portuguese embassy. The rebels, who believed he was being provided refuge in the imposing French cultural centre at the centre of Bissau, burnt it down. Throughout this period, ECOMOG proved incapable of restoring the peace. With the complete humiliation of Vieira, the rebels signalled through their spokesperson, Major Samora, the end of the civil war.

Conclusion

The Guinea-Bissau case is an example of the politics of post-colonial states in Africa and the complex interaction between internal and external factors that have characterised such politics. African politics cannot be reduced to banal explanations that highlight ethnic or religious factors. The context of the crisis and the intervention had been dominated by the security fears of Senegal centred on the possible creation of a Casamance-Bissau-Banjul power axis dominated by the Diola, capable of challenging and replacing Senegalese dominance within the sub-region.

Always sensitive to geo-political issues, this issue also influenced French actions during the conflict. While it is clear that one cannot in any way exonerate Mane of the accusations made against him by Senegal because as Army chief he could not claim ignorance of what went on at the sensitive Guinea-Bissau-Senegal-Casamance border, the question that demands an answer is why Senegal and its backer, France, having the capacity and the right under the signed defence accord, did not simply stop the flow of weapons. It is here that the interests of France and Senegal in General Mane become obvious. Mane was an outspoken critic of the accords and the accusations against him were an attempt by Senegal and France to remove a strong opponent.



¹⁴ François-Xavier Verschave, *Noir Silence: Qui Arrêtera La Franc Afrique*, Les Arènes, 2000. The report of the commission was submitted after the civil war broke out. Its consideration by the National Assembly led to an overwhelming vote in favour of the resignation and prosecution of Vieira.

¹⁵ Pays Africain de Langue Officielle Portugaise. Angola, Cap-Vert, Guinée-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao-t Tome e Principe make up the PALOPS.

¹⁶ Peace-agreement between the government of Guinea-Bissau and the Self-Proclaimed Military Junta (11.01.98). US Institute of Peace, Washington D.C. Peace Agreement Digital Collection, http://www.usip.org/library/pa/index/pa_guinea-bissau.html.

¹⁷ From Niger, Gambia, Benin and Togo.

¹⁸ In reply, the French had accused the Portuguese of colonial nostalgia. The Senegalese journals referred to General Mane as an ally of the MFDC rebels and Portugal as his patron.

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Vieira's signing of the political and defence accords with Senegal, encouraged by France, is an example of the unholy manner in which African leaders have been encouraged by foreign powers and agencies (Multinational Corporations and International Financial Corporations) to mortgage human lives, well being and resources of their country.

Vieira's appeal to Senegalese and

French forces is a confirmation of the fact that African leaders rule, not at the behest of their people, but at that of external powers and so can with impunity disregard the demands of their people, calling upon external support to override such demands.

Finally, the ineffectiveness of ECOMOG troops signals that African states are still not ready to manage conflicts on their own. They are not

even aware that they are manipulated by the French, the gendarmes of the continent, through the RECAMP. Programme RECAMP is simply an ingenuous way of maintaining French presence in Africa in a cheap, efficient and legitimate way, in line with the new context of world politics and the financial constraint facing the French state.¹⁹

¹⁹ O.O. Olarinmoye, RECAMP in Central African Republic (forthcoming).



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Guinea-Bissau/Senegal War, Civil War and the Casamance Question—Report from the United Nations

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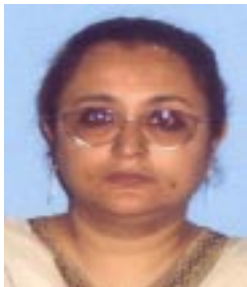
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Guinea-Bissau Palace Ablaze—BBC, May 7, 1999

Elections in Colombia, 10 March 2002

On 10 March 2002, little more than two weeks after the end of the peace process with the insurgent Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC), Colombians elected a new House of Representatives and Senate. Despite heightened apprehension among the electorate and the government about violent interference by the guerrilla and paramilitary organisations, the polls took place in an atmosphere of relative calm.

Hindutva, Fascism and the Politics of Gender



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Abstract

The article views the Gujarat riots as a state-aided, *Sangh Parivar* organised pogrom. It delves into theoretical analyses while drawing from the incidents that occurred in Gujarat in 2002. It highlights the central role of gender in the discourse of communalism and uses the Gujarat case to prove how women are both victims and agents of communal forces. The article proceeds further to discuss Hindutva's fascist lineage and its creation of the Muslim Other. Finally the piece aims at situating Gujarat within a fascist world-view and examining the consequences of the consolidation of Hindutva hegemony in Gujarat.

The Game Plan of Fascism

"It started at 9 am on February 28th. That's when the mobs arrived, shouting- *Mian Bhai nikalo* (Bring out the Muslims). Many of them were wearing *kesari chaddis* (saffron shorts). The mob included boys from the neighbouring buildings- Gopinath Society and Gangotri Society. I ran out of my house with the entire family- mother, father, sister, sister's daughter, my wife Zarina, my brother, my sister-in-law, and my niece... there were 11 of us. We all ran towards the Police *chowki* [local camp]. The Police said, 'Go towards Gopinath and Gangotri'. In the melee, I was separated from my wife. What happened to her, she told me later. She tried to escape the mobs by leaping over a wall. But found herself in a cul-de-sac. They gang-raped her, and cut one arm. She was found naked. She was kept in the civil hospital for many days."¹

This was narrated by a survivor of the pogrom in Ahmedabad during 28 February to 2 March 2002. The pogroms were orchestrated by the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh* (RSS) [lit. National Self Service Organisation], the *Viswa Hindu Parishad* (VHP) [World Hindu Council], and other Hindutva-fascist organisations. The ostensible cause was the attack at Godhra in February 2002 on a train returning from Ayodhya (site of the supposed Sri Ram Janmabhoomi, i.e., birthplace of the legendary Ramachandra), as a result of which a number of Hindutva volunteers were burnt inside a compartment. The extent of immediate violence, the circulation of thousands of leaflets, the singling out of property belonging to Muslims, the use of voters lists and sales tax records for identification of humans

and establishments respectively, all showed, however, that the whole thing had been planned for a long time. The victims who survived could only tell in small bits what they had faced. Their piecemeal accounts can be used to claim that this was only the work of small gangs of hoodlums or unrepresentative extremist fringes of a basically civilised liberal-right force. It is the argument of this essay, that viewing the perpetrators as gangs of lumpens who do not represent the real voice of the RSS is superficial and self-deluding. For months, what has been happening in Gujarat is a state-aided, *Sangh Parivar* [the RSS and its very large number of frontal organisations] organised public mass murder, attempting the annihilation of the Muslim community.



A Muslim man stranded on the first floor of his house and surrounded by Hindu rioters begs nearby policemen to rescue him in Ahmedabad. One of the most famous images of the Gujarat riots. Posted on The Tribune Online Edition. Located through Google Images.

The politics of communalism has always had gender at its centre.² The creation of a sense of community, the creation of the Other, are intimately connected to notions of gender and control over women. I propose to show that the construction of a Hindu

community and the development of communal hatred against Muslims incorporated and foregrounded from the beginning women and women's issues. Women's honour and chastity have to be preserved, as they are the repositories of the community's honour. At the same time, women themselves have to be "empowered", actually in such ways that do not threaten patriarchal control, yet fetch hundreds and thousands of women in common action against the "real enemy" (the Muslims). Conversely, it was eventually argued, especially by the more extremist elements that attack on Muslims needed to include attacks on Muslim women.

However, all this can only be fully understood if we examine the overall project of the forces who are calling themselves Hindu nationalists, and whom I am calling fascists. Let their explicit statements, for example from the site www.hinduforce.4t.com be the entry point to their views. They claim that Muslims have been shedding Hindu blood and oppressing Hindus for a millennium and a half (sic!), and therefore must be ruthlessly obliterated from India. It is asserted (never proved, or even attempted to be proved): "the biggest enemy of Hindu India is not just Pakistan but the very religion of Islam." Muslim women must be raped to avenge rape of Hindu women by Muslim men as a conscious policy. Democracy is said to have failed, and the RSS and like-minded organisations are hailed for calling for a Hindu theocracy. Hindus who talk of secularism and toleration are accused of being weak, of being closet Muslims, and the target expands to encompass Mahatma Gandhi. His murderer, Godse, is applauded for the deed.³

¹ Syeda Hameed, Ruth Manorama, Malini Ghose, Sheba George, Farah Naqvi, Mari Thekaekara, *How Has the Gujarat Massacre Affected Minority Women: the Survivors Speak*, from http://www.mnet.fr/aiindex/Women_s_reportGujrat02.html.

² For a detailed historical treatment see Soma Marik, 'State, Gender, Community: The Construction of Hostile Identities – Historical Roots of Contemporary Politics', *Jadavpur University Journal of History*, XIX, 2001-2, pp. 113-140.

³ www.hinduforce.4t.com

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All these, far from being the ravings of a lunatic fringe, are mainstream Hindutva discourse. The RSS founded in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar was further developed along fascist lines by Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, the second *Sarsanghchalak* [A pure fuhrerprinzip, the term identifying the supreme leader] whose *We, or Our Nationhood Defined*, presented the first detailed political manifesto of the *Sangh*. In this book, he wrote: "The foreign races in Hindusthan⁴ must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment — *not even citizen's rights.*"⁵



Residents walk past burnt and destroyed buildings in Ahmedabad. Posted on The Tribune Online Edition. Located through Google Images.

Today, the fascist lineage is often hidden from the public gaze. In the late 1940s, the RSS was totally unabashed, and one of its propagandists, the Christian convert to the RSS viewpoint, Anthony Elenjmittan, wrote the following: "The RSS from the very inception of the movement hoisted *Bhagva* flag [the banner of lord Shiva], *Dharma Chakra* [the Wheel of Religion] and *Satya Meva Jayte* [Truth shall prevail] as their symbols, and have grown around these patriotic ideals... If discipline, organised centralism and organic collective consciousness means fascism, then the RSS is not ashamed to be called fascist. The silly idea that fascism and totalitarianism are evils and parliamentarism and Anglo-Indian types of democracy are holy, should be got rid of from our minds"⁶

Golwalkar's attack on Gandhi in his book *Bunch of Thoughts* is explicit. "But here, we had leaders who were, as if, pledged to sap all manliness from their own people.... This leadership only came as a bitter climax of the despicable tribe of so many of our ancestors who *during the past twelve hundred years* sold their national honour and freedom to foreigners, and *joined hands with the inveterate enemies of our country* and our religion [read Muslims – S.M.].... No wonder nemesis overtook such a people in the form of such a self-destructive leadership."⁷ The "nemesis" was a nice way of praising the deed of Nathuram Godse.

Thus, one can trace the lineage of these ideas over half a century. But when characterising the RSS and its affiliates as fascist, we need to stress that much of leftist analysis of fascism, their claim that Hindu fascism is artificially created at the behest of imperialism, and that its hate-Muslims campaign is just a ploy to divert public gaze from its "real" agenda of pushing through neo-liberalism, is inadequate and instrumentalist. In this analysis, the Hindutva dimension and the fascist dimension remain distinct. I would argue the opposite. As with classical fascism, this movement really took off as an autonomous petty bourgeois movement, aiming at capturing power. In the long run, any such movement, in order to come to power, must compromise with big capital. In power, it must serve the capitalist mode of production and its conditions of reproduction. But this truism ignores the autonomy of the movement and the forms of hegemony. Central to fascism as a mass phenomenon is the construction of an enemy through appropriation of elements from past prejudices, combining them with new ones skilfully dressed up as old verities, and broadcasting the resultant compound through the most up-to-date media techniques. However irrational it might seem from a purely economic logic of capitalism, anti-Semitism, the *Krystallnacht*, and even the Final Solution, had to be agreed to by a bourgeoisie. The other side of the story was that while the Nazis politically expropriated the bourgeoisie and all their traditional retainers, in return, they did render yeoman service to the German bourgeoisie. The Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party and the German Trade Union Federation, allied with the Social Democrats, with a combined

membership of close to six millions, were smashed, to utter ruins. Between 1932 and 1937, the bosses' share of the GNP went up by close to eleven per cent. However, if we overlook the Nazi agenda, and concentrate only on the benefits conferred on the capitalist class without looking either at *how* they captured power and did their work, we would be imposing a dogmatic economic deterministic view on history.⁸ In the same way, instead of imagining the RSS as a creation of imperialism or local big capital, we need to see exactly how its discourse has been created, how this has extended its hold over the minds of so many Indians, and why the Gujarat pogrom was unique in the history of India.

Does the Indian bourgeoisie need fascism? Certainly, there is no imminent threat of a communist revolution. In that sense, we cannot compare India today with Italy in 1921-2 or Germany in the early 1930s. That is why, the capitalist class as a whole is not excessively enthusiastic. The Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) did voice cautious criticisms after Gujarat. But the instant and sharp reaction by the then Prime Minister, A. B. Vajpayee, against business people shows how strongly he and his mentors in the RSS were feeling. Hitler in 1931-33 was unfailingly courteous to the big bourgeoisie. Secondly, when there was a move to organise some sort of *official* objection by the CII, a large Gujarati bloc threatened to walk out of the CII.⁹ This underscores how amenable to the RSS the newly emerging Gujarati capitalist class including its Non-Resident Indian component is. The nature of land reforms in Gujarat meant that mainly the village heads or Patels benefited. This class, benefiting from the Green and the White Revolutions, started investing in industry. Gradually becoming delinked from traditional community culture, and having strong NRI moorings, this class was to find an alternative ethos of a terrible kind in the preaching of the RSS, the VHP and the *Bajrang Dal* (a thug outfit of the Saffron consortium almost comparable to the Sturm Abteilung, SA or the Nazi Brownshirts). At the same time, the threat posed by much more powerful U.S., European and Japanese capital is compelling Indian big capital to seek ways of destroying trade union-

⁴ *Hindustan* usually stands for India as a political and geographical entity. But in Golwalkarese and Savarkarese it becomes Hindu-*sthan*, the *sthan* being a Sanskrit derived word meaning place of, or land of, in this case the land of the Hindus.

⁵ Cited in Kunal Chattopadhyay (ed.) *The Genocidal Pogrom in Gujarat: Anatomy of Indian Fascism*, Baroda, 2002, p. 58.

⁶ Anthony Elenjmittan, *The Philosophy and Action of the RSS for the Hind Swaraj*, p. 197, cited in V.C.P. Chaudhury, *Secularism Versus Communalism*, Patna, 1977, p. 101.

⁷ M.S. Golwalkar, *Bunch of Thoughts*, Bangalore, 1996, pp. 146-7.

⁸ The kind of Marxist analysis of fascism that has been useful in my understanding its Indian variant can be found in Leon Trotsky, *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, New York 1971 and reprints, with an introduction by Ernest Mandel. For the holocaust and a debate within Marxism concerning its uniqueness, see Norman Geras, 'Marxists Before the Holocaust: Trotsky, Deutscher, Mandel' in Gilbert Achcar (ed.) *The Legacy of Ernest Mandel*, London, 1999.

⁹ Nasir Tyabji, 'Has the Bourgeoisie Truly Come of Age in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 4-10, 2002, pp. 1705-06.

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ism, driving down wages and eliminating job security. This, the RSS is willing to promise in exchange for power. But there does exist an alternative, a popular front, where in the name of "anti-fascism" or fighting "right reaction" there can be a government of the centre-left, propped up by so-called Marxists. So the fascist threat has to be understood by examining both aspects— class and race in Germany, class and community in India.

The Muslim as the Other: Gender and Hate-Campaigns in Hindutva

At this juncture we need to examine the creation of the Muslim Other and the solidification of a core constituency by the RSS. The British colonial state streamlined the diversities in India to create uniform community identities for uniform law administration. But in the process, the two identities thus created, Hindu and Muslim, came to be counterposed in an increasingly hostile manner. By the late nineteenth century, there emerged what has been called Hindu cultural nationalism. A number of early nationalists, in their search for definitions of Indianness, identified Indian with Hindu. Having accepted British rule in the public sphere, they decided that battle must be given on the terrain of the private. Thus, for example, many of them fought "valiantly" over the Age of Consent Bill while remaining silent during the Bengal partition.¹⁰ The most telling example of how Muslims displaced the British as the "real" enemy is in Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's novel, *Anandamath*. The novel's anti-British outlook was leached out of subsequent editions. Thus, in a number of places, references to 'Ingrej' [English person], 'gora' [white person] or 'British' were replaced with words like 'Musalman', 'Yavana' or 'nere' [Bengali Hindu epithet used against Muslims].¹¹

However there was a clear break between a Hinduism-tinged cultural nationalism and militant Hindu chauvinism. The rise of this militant Hindu chauvinism was caused by challenges to the upper caste and class power from peasants, from activists of the non-Brahmin movements, and other communities, especially the newly emerging non-Hindus. In the early twentieth century, angst about a further decline of hegemony was heightened by the

prospect that untouchables might secede from the fold of Hindu community. To restore Brahmin-landlord-elite hegemony, an ideology of reformed Hindu supremacist fundamentalism was constructed. It was at this point that the Hindu Mahasabha [the first organisation of political Hindutva, with V. D. Savarkar as its key leader], and then the RSS made their entrance. Creation of the Muslim as an enemy also meant creation of a common Hindu identity that would bring back into the "Hindu" fold, under *Savarna* [upper caste] hegemony, the dalits. Gender was central to the Hindutva ideologues' redefinition of the Hindu. Since the colonial rulers made gender a stick to beat the subjects, the Hindutva assertion likewise took up gender in a big way.



Mother and child
www.oscise.tripod.com/Namuna/gujaratriotsAP.jpg

Scholars like Indira Chowdhury and Charu Gupta have demonstrated the creation of an image of 'effete' Hindu manhood, and its reversal, i.e., the affirmation or reawakening of virility.¹² The Hindus, according to this imagery, were, though the majority in India always oppressed by the minority Muslims because of the former's 'effeminate' character. The success of the Moplah and the Khilafat movements and the colonial census data producing the fear of a dying Hindu race raised the spectre of a Muslim tide swamping over the Hindus. As the Hindu Mahasabha secretary Devratan Sharma once asked rhetorically, "What could be expected of the nation composed of such weaklings?"¹³ So women were called upon to restore the manhood of the Hindus by producing strong sons. Interestingly, the attempt to construct a full-bodied masculine Hindu man was not chiefly motivated by the

desire to fight British colonialism. The counter-position was between Hindus and Muslims. The dying Hindu stereotype conflated political impotence and supposed physical impotence. The Muslim women too, with their 'hyper fertility' and tendency to violence, came to occupy the position of the Other.¹⁴ From the 1920s, the creation of the Muslim Other involved attacks on Allah, the Prophet, and their sexual life and preferences, as an assertion that it is not merely this or that Muslim, but the essence of Islam, that represents sexual perversion and a threat to all Hindus.¹⁵ Women as the bearers of children were the boundaries of the Hindu "nation" or "race". There was the fear of the women of the other race/community producing more children. There was the aggressive male of the other race, daily raping and abducting "Our" women. Hindu owned newspapers from the 1920s started giving a lot of space to supposed abduction stories. Tracts with provocative titles like *Hindu Auraton ki Loot* [the Looting of Hindu Women], *Hindu Streeon ki Loot ke Karan* [The Causes of the Loot of Hindu Women], etc appeared. In 1923 Madan Mohan Malaviya, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a speech delivered at Benaras attempted to create a systematic narrative of abductions or victimisations of Hindu women. An article entitled 'Kidnapping' in *Patriot* (October 1924) said "hardly a day passes without our noticing a case or two of kidnapping of Hindu women and children by not only Muslim *badmashes* and *goondas* [lumpens/mafias], but also by men of standing and means..."¹⁶ Three consequences flowed from these stories of abductions and violations. First, women were asked to become active agents, not merely passive victims, to protect their chastity, and therewith the honour of the community. Second, Hindu virility was to be manifested by restricting women's mobility and by imposing controls on women's sexuality. Third, to defend the honour of women and community, the Hindu male was urged to become aggressive and to kill the enemy. This would ultimately take the form of open advocacy of rape and torture of Muslim women, along with so-called retributational violence on Muslim males.

¹⁰ See Marik, 'State, Gender, Community', pp. 114-7.

¹¹ On this and related issues, see Shivaji Bandyopadhyay, 'Punar' Bishaye Punarbibechna: Hindutver Saltamami [Rethinking the Re-: Stocktaking of Hindutva], Barasat, 1999, p. 6. However, Tanika Sarkar reminds us that this is an ambiguous text capable of nationalist as well as Hindutva interpretation. See Tanika Sarkar, 'Imagining Hindurashtra: The Hindus and the Muslims in Bankim Chandra's Writings' in David Ludden (ed.) *Making India Hindu*, Delhi, 1996, pp. 173-174, 184.

¹² Indira Chowdhury Sengupta, *The Frail Hero and the Virile History: Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal*, Delhi, 1998; Charu Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, Delhi, 2001.

¹³ Cited in P.K.Datta, 'Dying Hindus: Production of Hindu Communal Common Sense in the Early Twentieth Century Bengal', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 19 June 1993, p. 1315.

¹⁴ This is paralleled by sterilisation of Jewish women in Nazi Germany, and the fear of the too fertile Uzbek woman in Russia in the 1970s. For the latter I am indebted to Dr. Nandini Bhattacharya's unpublished Ph. D. thesis on *The Development of Soviet Identity and Regional Identity in Central Asia: With Special Reference to the Case of Tajikistan (1970-1990)*, Jadavpur University, 2002.

¹⁵ Sashi Joshi and Bhagwan Josh, *Struggle for Hegemony in India, 1920-47, II*, Delhi, 1994, p. 218, cite an Urdu *Arya Samajist* booklet: *Rangila Rasul* [The Debauched Prophet], which was a perverse detailing of the alleged sexual life of the Prophet. Charu Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community*, pp. 246-47 provides further material of the same sort, involving abusing Allah.

¹⁶ Gupta, *Sexuality*, pp. 247-256.

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Both faces of women were important— victims and agents. The victimhood of women reinforced the image of a fearful common enemy. Multiplication of stories of victimhood extended towards victimisation of the entire Hindu community. Hence the need for community aggression could be easily advocated. Thus emerged the self-image of a community eternally at war.

The other side was the creation of an image of 'sisters in arms'. Women were exhorted to get rid of their eternal weak, suffering, vulnerable victim image. They too were to be empowered for self-defence. During the Shuddhi and Sangathan campaigns in the 1920s,¹⁷ it was explained among other things that a woman's primary religious duty was to keep a sharp knife to protect her chastity and honour. This provided a safe form of empowerment for self-defence that did not provide real independence yet created a stronger sense of community and gave women a public space, not merely the identity of wife and mother. This did not mean that she would henceforth abandon her image as mother and wife. But the Hindu mother and wife were no longer to be trained only in domesticity. They would be, simultaneously, brave women capable of striking terror in the enemy, and shaming Hindu men. They would prompt husbands, brothers, and sons to action.¹⁸

The multifarious ways of constructing a *virangana* [warrior-woman] image of Hindu women in the early twentieth century culminated in the foundation of *Rashtra Sevika Samity* [Society of Women Serving the Nation], mainly at the initiative of Lakshmibai Kelkar. Originally a participant in the Gandhian movement, she felt the need to organise women independently, not only to dedicate themselves to the cause of the nation, but in self-defence against male sexual overtures. Interestingly, such early Hindu women's agential discourses did not always depict the Muslim as the sole aggressor.¹⁹ The component of self, as institutionalised in *atmaraksha* [self-defence], is identified with the womb rather than a comprehensive individual. A woman's body is a vulnerable site for the formation of hostile community identities, and thus the paramount importance of its defence. When the focus is on the male

voice, the stress on control over the woman is stronger. Extracts from *Stri Shiksha* [Women's Education], an Arya Samajist tract (1927) on women's education illustrate the control on women's mobility and sexuality as well as early communal mobilisation through social and economic boycotting: "... (4) Do not go to Muslim priests who read prayers in mosques. (5) At marriage and other times, do not do embroidery of the Muslim kind. (6) Do not get assessments and measurements done from the Muslims. (11) Never sit alone on a Muslim's vehicle. (12) Never have your children taught by Muslims. (13) Do not let your children sit with Muslims alone. (15) Do not buy or wear bangles from the Muslim bangle-sellers. (16) Do not buy household items from Muslim homes or shops. (24) Leave your home with a sharp dagger..."²⁰

These instructions were aimed at creating community exclusiveness through social and economic separation and at reinforcing the image of the Muslim as a person to be feared and hated. From these also emerged a rhetoric of "resistance".

Retributional violence, including violence on Muslim women, was advocated in a particularly frenzied tone by V. D. Savarkar in his *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*. The crucial elements of Savarkar's discourse of violence and vengeance are detailed below.²¹

1) Creation of an internal enemy— Buddhism in ancient India (a reaction to Dr. Ambedkar's movement, which led to the adoption of Buddhism by many dalits), but particularly Islam in medieval and modern India. Muslims were treated as eternal enemies and traitors. He writes, "our history is divided into two ages— ancient and modern.... The modern age begins with the eighth century and continues till the present.... In the past Greeks, Sakas, Hunas and other marauders have come and have spread across the Punjab plains. But their sole aim was the establishment of political mastery.... By contrast, the later new Islamic invasions had behind them the goal of destroying utterly the political essence of the Hindu Rashtra [State], and to establish Muslim dominion throughout Hindustan. ... They exerted all force to try to destroy the Hindu religion, the life force of the Hindu race."²² Race theory was the normal basis of his

creation of Others. The exception was concerning the Muslims. He therefore talks about the invasions of the Greeks, the Sakas, etc, but not about Turkish, Afghan or Mughal invasions. This was essential to validate the construction of *Islam* as the principal enemy to the Hindu nation.

2) The definition of a community was made purely political. It was treated as a political entity based on race and the joining of religious dogma, so as to mobilise the majority of Hindus while streamlining all differences, creating a monolithic entity.

3) The consistent projection of Muslim males as rapists who could be stopped only if Hindu men gave up their misplaced chivalry. Interestingly, Savarkar showed himself willing to quote any kind of "authority" to prove his point. Thus, in §442-3, he wrote that Ravana (mythical demon-king of the epic *Ramayana*), the King of the *Rakshashas* [Demons], had told his advisers, "Abducting the women of other religions and raping them was a religious duty of the *Rakshasa* society".²³ A strange example, for Ram-worshippers to give. It was Ram's wife Sita whom Ravana had abducted.

4) In his analysis of sexuality, woman is a medium whose role is to produce progress for the community and to be a symbol of honour. He asserted that Muslim women played a role in the molestation and rape of Hindu women but went unpunished due to a false sense of chivalry.²⁴ Thereby he exhorted the Hindu men to adopt a "tit for tat" policy.²⁵



A man comforts Muslim women, whose home was burned by rioters in the Nagoriwad area of Ahmedabad. www.sunnetwork.org/.../default.htm

¹⁷ These were Hindu movements to reclaim those who had converted from Hinduism to other religions.

¹⁸ See further on this Manisha Sethi, 'Avenging Angels and Nurturing Mothers: Women in Hindu Nationalism', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 April 2002, pp. 1545-1552.

¹⁹ Tanika Sarkar, 'The Woman as a Communal Subject: Rashtrasevika Samiti and Ramjanma Bhoomi Movement', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31 August 1991, p. 2061. See also Sethi, 'Avenging Angels and Nurturing Mothers', p. 1548.

²⁰ Gupta, *Sexuality*, pp. 278-79. Compare the hate leaflets circulated in Gujarat in February-March 2002.

²¹ Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *The Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History*, Delhi, 1971. At the time of writing this, I had only the Bengali translation *Bharater Itihaser Chhayti Swarnamoy Adhyay*, Kolkata 1402 Bengali Calendar (1995/6), translated by Sukumar Nandi and published by the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. All quotations are my retranslations.

²² Savarkar, *Bharater Itihaser...*, pp. 141-2.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

²⁵ Dhananjay Keer, *Veer Savarkar*, Bombay, 1966, p. 539.

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Situating Gujarat in the Fascist Worldview

Some commentators have reduced the Gujarat events to one riot in a century-long chain.²⁶ A distinguished Professor of History has claimed that for half a century both communities have been appeased, that this is not fascism, and fundamentalists have merely taken advantage of appeasement.²⁷ This is terribly wrong. Equating the two fundamentalisms is a retreat from political reality. Muslim communalists have been relatively marginal players placated chiefly at the cost of Muslim women (e.g., the Muslim Women's Protection of Rights in Divorce Act of 1986 brought after the Shah Bano case).²⁸ During the NDA²⁹ government at the Centre or the BJP government in Gujarat, by contrast, core RSS members have moved into the corridors of power.

There are other kinds of perceptions, with which I am in closer agreement. These are arguments about the transformative impact of Gujarat, about a totalitarian political force building up its cadres, about attempts at destruction of democracy, about popular social aspirations through the creation of an artificial identity and about a bid for absolute power.³⁰

There is no space here to analyse the molecular process of extending Hindutva hegemony in Gujarat over more than a decade. I will only consider some of its consequences. At the level of the state apparatus, there has been gross and blatant interference and a profound communalisation, as many independent reports stress.³¹ In the five years between 1997-2002, some 12,000 VHP cadres have been recruited into the Home Guards.³² Penetration of civil society has been even more insidious. Using the print media as well as the electronic, cadres of the *Sangh Parivar* have been whipping up anti-Minority hatred. The steady communalisation of civil society was followed by open calls for the annihilation of Muslims. And one

of the terrifying aspects was the mobilisation of Hindu women for violence and the way Muslim women were projected as targets of violence. In July 1998, the Gujarat government set up a Police Cell for Monitoring Inter-Religious Marriages. Haren Pandya, then the minister of state for home, justified it on the ground that such marriages were not made of free choice but were forced on Hindu women for ulterior motives.³³ Years of provocation, coupled with propaganda about Muslim lust, bore fruit in retaliation against Muslim women—rapes and atrocities, including burning to death, and in one case cutting open a womb and killing the child as well. Revenge by the community, protection of the honour of the community, were rhetoric that egged people, normally not associated in the upper caste mind with violence, on to spectacular brutalities. Projected as Hindu assertion, rather than crime, a vicarious overturning of normal boundaries followed. Dalits, adivasis and women could take part in the orgy of violence as equals with upper caste men. And finally, rape, mutilation and murder of the individual was revenge, not on the individual body, but on the 'historical body'. As Thomas Blom Hansen argues, when violence is perpetrated within the ideological registers of sexual power, martial prowess and physical strength of the pehlwan warrior icons, the bodies of both the enemy and the perpetrators are constructed as historical bodies. A rape is then not a rape but historical retribution.³⁴ This conforms to the worldview wherein women are breeders, and it is by slaughtering women and children that the enemy community can be exterminated.³⁵ The BJP spokesman V. K. Malhotra however claimed, later on, that there had been only two FIRs lodged by rape victims, so the story of mass rape was fabricated.³⁶

Lawyer Vasudha Dhagamwar, a member of the National Commission for Women team that went to Gujarat in mid 2002, tried justifying the NCW stand, talking about only three rape cases.³⁷ The NCW team's statement in Jaipur, that the "reports of sexual violence against women in Gujarat were highly exaggerated", prompted women's organisations to protest strongly.



A victim of the Gujarat riots. Posted on Action India website. www.action4india.org/manmade_calamity.htm

Anuradha Chenoy argues that Hindutva influenced women felt "empowered" by participation in the violence.³⁸ In recent times there have been organisations like the Durga Vahini, and role models like Uma Bharati and Saddhvi Rithambhara. Women have been inducted into the Hindu Right and pushed towards violence, including against Muslim women. This is a discourse, which seeks to deny to Muslim women citizenship, sexuality and even basic humanity. Hindu women supposedly prove their ability to resist and to punish the centuries-long aggressor. They adopt a controlled form of masculine norm. They are allowed to be violent; they are allowed to aid sexual violence as a *virangana*. The advocacy of violence by Savarkar is now finally realised in practice.

²⁶ Shreekant Sambrani, 'Gujarat's Burning Train: India's Inferno?', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6 April, 2002, pp. 1305-1310. In a curious argument towards the end, Mr. Sambrani says we should not be too harsh in our criticism of the Sangh parivar, or the pogromists, because the "harsher the criticism, the more intransigent is the attitude of those attacked. This siege mentality will ensure further polarisation..." (p. 1310). See also Steven I Wilkinson, 'Putting Gujarat in Perspective', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 April, 2002, pp. 1579-1583.

²⁷ Basudeb Chattopadhyay, 'Ramke Khusi Korte Hobe, Rahimkeo Khusi Kara Chai' [It is Necessary to Appease Ram, and Rahim too], *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 22 May 2002.

²⁸ For details and a number of viewpoints, see A. R. Desai (ed.) *Women's Liberation and Politics of Religious Personal Laws in India*, second enlarged edition, Bombay, 1990; see also Tanika Sarkar and Urvashi Butalia (eds.) *Women and the Hindu Right: A Collection of Essays*, New Delhi, 1995 and Zoya Hasan (ed.) *Forging identities: Gender, Communities and the State*, New Delhi, 1994.

²⁹ National Democratic Alliance, a coalition led by the Bharatiya Janata Party or BJP, which is the parliamentary party closely associated with the RSS, or in the widely used term, a member of the Sangh family or *parivar*.

³⁰ Subhoranjan Dasgupta, 'Nih-sandehe Dharavahik, Kintu Ekti Natun Adhyay O [Undoubtedly in a continuum, but also signifying a new chapter]', *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, 8 May 2002; Mahesh Rangarajan, 'The Polity: BJP Prepares for the Tomorrow', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 6 April 2002, pp. 1303-1304; Jan Bremen, 'Communal Upheaval as Resurgence of Social Darwinism', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20 April 2002, pp. 1485-90.

³¹ Chattopadhyay (ed.) *The Genocidal Pogrom*, pp. 151, 2.

³² *Genocide Gujarat 2002: Communalism Combat*, March-April 2002, pp. 111, 2, 119, 122.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³⁴ Thomas Blom Hansen, *The Saffron Wave*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 214.

³⁵ I have discussed this at length in my introductory article 'Hindutva Fascibader Lingabhittik Rajniti [The Gender politics of Hindutva-fascism]' in Soma Marik and Maitreyee Chatterjee (eds.) *Garbhaghathi Gujarat* [Gujarat, the Slayer of Wombs], Calcutta, 2002.

³⁶ *The Telegraph*, 30 April 2002.

³⁷ <http://www.onlinevolunteers.org/gujarat/reports>. The article originally appeared in *The Hindu* on 22 and 23 May.

³⁸ Anuradha Chenoy, 'The Politics of Gender in the Politics of Hate', discussion paper at a Seminar (organised by Sachetana), *Stick to Our Knitting? Women Writing in Parlous Times*, 18 May 2002, Calcutta.

Resistance Re-examined: An Overview of the Term and its Implications



Manuel Barcia Paz

He was born in Havana, Cuba, in 1972, and graduated in 1998 from the University of Havana (Major: History), where he also took a Masters degree in Interdisciplinary Studies. In 2002 he took an MA in Comparative History at the University of Essex, where he is about to submit his PhD thesis. He has published a book and several articles on slavery and the slave trade in the Caribbean. He has a forthcoming book with the University of Alabama Press on the slave rebellion of 1825 in Guamacaro, Cuba. He has attended conferences and workshops in various countries, among them Germany, England, Brazil, Ghana, and Senegal. He has received grants from a number of foundations, including a SEPHIS-CODESRIA scholarship to attend the first Social History Workshop held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000.

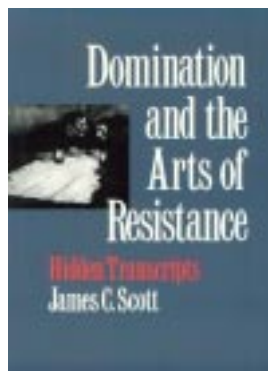
Long before I read James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript* I had heard its criticisms at a party in Havana. A friend and colleague said these exact words, which I remember pretty well: 'for Scott everything is resistance'.¹ Since I was myself beginning my undergraduate degree's fieldwork I began searching for the book. Some months later, because it is very difficult to find an American book in Cuba, my friend Lillian Guerra, then studying at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, gave me her own copy as a present. From that day on I have been deeply involved with Scott's work, which I must admit I find fascinating.

Discussions about resistance have been present among historians for centuries. Every rebellion, from the Wat Tyler's revolt in England up to the African slaves' uprisings in the Americas, has been commented upon and studied both by its contemporary witnesses and modern historians. And precisely here we have the first problem: Resistance is not a well-defined term. There are huge differences in the meaning of the term when we situate it in different historical scenarios and perspectives. Its meaning varies when we look at the Euro-American coalition that resisted the Nazi expansion during the Second World War, at the runaway slave who managed to escape into the forest in seventeenth-century colonial Brazil or at the 1989 Tianamen Square clash against the Communist regime in China.

Lots of works on this 'subject' fill libraries around the world; however, the 'subject' is not the same in each of them. During the twentieth century from Lenin and Gramsci to E. P. Thompson and Foucault, many politicians, philosophers and social scientists

have assessed the problem, given new tips for its understanding and set precedents for future studies.

It was James C. Scott who first attempted a comprehensive and coherent study of this term in two books published in 1985 and 1990.² Scott's great contribution, in my opinion, is that he succeeded in bounding the concept under a specific conceptual framework and in providing a new methodology to develop the study of resistance and domination as political and sociological concepts. As we will see in the following segments, he brought together, with an undoubted mastery, the various forms of behaviour of subordinate groups within a system. For Scott some terms already used to analyse these behaviours, such as negotiation and quiescence were all transformed into resistance. As a result we have today a whole school of studies around the so-called culture of resistance.³



This discussion is divided into three main segments. In the first one I will try to expose, as I see them, Scott's ideas around the relations of

domination and resistance emphasising on his definition of the Hidden Transcript. In the second I will briefly attempt to shed light on the historiographical discussion raised in the early 1990s around Scott's ideas, and in the third and last I will scrutinise what I consider to be the most unsatisfactory conclusions in his works.

Resistance, Hidden Transcript, and a Few Other Things

The starting point to comprehend the contributions of Scott is, as he has asserted, that the histories based on sources generated by the power-holders always concluded that "...subordinate groups endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination."⁴ Subordinate groups did produce a 'voice', of course less audible and more difficult to find in the field or in the archive, but a 'voice' that exists nevertheless. Scott, though not the first scholar to do so, called upon social scientists to pay heed to these voices, to great effect.⁵

According to Scott, subordinates are not passive spectators of the events happening in their lives. Rather, they develop different forms of responses to the relations of power in which they are living. In order to understand and explain these practices, Scott argues that there exists a public transcript, intrinsically related to the public realm and found under the virtual control of the dominant groups, and a hidden transcript practised by the subordinates— as well as by the dominants— located within the secure limits of their own private spheres. We

¹ I appreciate the helpful comments I received about this article from James C. Scott and Catherine Crawford.

² James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Yale, 1985; *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript*, Yale, 1990.

³ Gerald Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History*, Cambridge, 1986; John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, London, 1989; and Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (eds.) *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, Princeton, 1994. We can add to these works the whole Subaltern Studies school which appeared in India in the 1970s.

⁴ Scott, *Domination*, p. 4.

⁵ See Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, Baltimore, 1980 and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973.

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could perhaps say that it is in the approach to the definition of the *Hidden Transcript* as an element in the relations of domination and resistance, that the great methodological contribution of Scott lies.⁶

For Scott, in the public stage both dominant and subordinate groups are deeply signed by Bacon's 'idol of the theatre'.⁷ The public is the realm of the fictitious, the right place to offer credible performances to the other side. While dominant groups try to represent a trustworthy and impressive spectacle of power, the subordinate groups intend to show a convincing performance of participation and agreement. Everything must be rightly engaged in order that the whole engine works properly.

Thus, when both the dominant and the subordinate come back to their own domains, they stop using their masks and begin their talk in the safety of the kitchen, on the bank of the quiet river, or with a glass of expensive wine at a cocktail party. Among subordinates this fact acquires importance. It is here, in these autonomous spaces that plots germinate, discontents arise and non-conformity turns into anger. Therefore, those "...offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript"⁸ are, for him, the nucleus of resistance. And in spite of Scott's affirmations, using italics to define this clearly, he sees the *hidden transcript* "as a condition of practical resistance rather than a substitute for it".⁹ He however contradicted himself several times in the text, as we will see in the last segment.

Being aware of the importance of behaviour to understand the ways in which cultural forms find articulation,¹⁰ Scott asserts that several day-to-day patterns of behaviour, such as rumours, gossips, spirit possessions, aggressions through magic, anonymous letters and mass defiance, are all forms of disguised resistance. This is another controversial point in his argument that I will try to explore in depth in the last segment.

Against the naïve opinion of Richard Clutterbuck who dismissed his arguments by saying that there was little new in them,¹¹ it must be pointed out that indeed there are many new things in this book about domination, resistance and even about hegemony and the Marxist concept of 'false consciousness'.¹²

In resuming, Scott offered a new methodology to assess the relations of domination and resistance by conceptualising and sealing the new binary system of the *Public* and the *Hidden Transcripts*.

Critics and Lovers: An Appealing Theme

Probably few books have received so many reviews in academic journals as *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript*.¹³ There were scholars who celebrated Scott somewhat as a new Messiah of the Social Sciences as well as others who saw his work as pernicious and noxious.¹⁴ The main critique of his work was formulated and supported by various scholars and became the theme of a debate in the *Latin American Perspectives* during Spring 1993. According to these critics Scott gives pre-eminence to the forms of covert resistance ignoring the relevance and transcendence of the forms of overt resistance. This assertion has gone even further by arguing that in underestimating mass movements, leadership and political commitments Scott opened the doors to a new field, full of misinterpretations of reality. Where are the popular struggles? What happened to guerrillas, workers' strikes, maroons slaves, peasant revolts and so on?

Matthew Gutmann, his most acid faultfinder, accused him of misinterpreting almost everything he studied.¹⁵ Gutmann began by differentiating spontaneous and organised forms of rebellion. He tried to draw attention to the organised mass movements, which Scott

virtually ignored. According to Gutmann, Scott should not have overlooked these clear and dangerous forms of resistance, because by doing so he devalues the determination of these social actors to transform their societies.

He went further, to argue that Scott overlooked overt forms of resistance because his attention was directed singularly to the everyday routine of people. He thus missed the point. Gutmann raised a question later taken up by Harry Sanabria in the pages of the same journal. "If these acts of petty resistance [everyday acts, he meant] add up to so much, where are the historical successes?"¹⁶

At first sight, the question seems deeper than it actually is. Nobody, not even Marx or Lenin, has fully elucidated the real nature of social transformations. For Gutmann and Sanabria, historical successes seem to have a vague meaning, so vague that they were unable to explain it. What I perceive from this question is an old Marxist aphorism, that 'only a social [and perhaps a socialist] revolution can effectively transform society for the good'. The rest is not good enough. Unfortunately, if we take this reflection as a sacred truth, we might profane the hearts and minds of all the people who suffered but could not "rise" against their oppressors, as Scott himself argued, because they knew that their sacrifice could be "wasted or betrayed".¹⁷ Gutmann's approach is quixotic and full of good intentions, but does not help us understand the life of the majority of oppressed people over time. When he replied to Scott that not all sacrifices are wasted or betrayed, he forgot to mention how many lost lives are needed to consider this issue seriously. And he also forgot that risky and brave acts of overt resistance usually take place, as Michael Craton and Gail Saunders have rightly noted, "...where conditions were so intolerable that it seemed preferable to die in rebellion than to live in chains..."¹⁸

⁶ It is important to note that for Scott, relations of domination are nothing but relations of resistance. Scott, 1990, p. 45.

⁷ We refer here to one of the "four classes of idols which beset men's minds" according to Francis Bacon's theory of what not to do, which appeared in his *Novum Organum* in 1620. Bacon mentioned four idols, the idol of the tribe, the idol of the den, the idol of the market, and the idol of the theatre. About the latter he wrote "...there are idols which have crept into men's minds from the various dogmas of peculiar systems of philosophy, and also from the perverted rules of demonstration, and these we denominate idols of the theatre. For we regard all the systems of philosophy hitherto received or imagined, as so many plays brought out and performed, creating fictitious and theatrical worlds." Francis Bacon, 'Novum Organum' in Francis Bacon, *The Works*, 3, Philadelphia, 1854, pp. 347-348.

⁸ Scott, *Domination*, pp. 4-5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.191.

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, 'Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture' in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, p. 17.

¹¹ Richard Clutterbuck, 'book review', *Political Studies*, XXXIX, 1991, p. 655.

¹² Scott's critique of hegemony, and ideological hegemony, is addressed against the Gramscian influence, which sees only the public transcript offered by the concept of hegemony, missing the possible diverse and broad reactions of the subordinate groups and reinforcing in this way, the myth of their 'false consciousness' and quiescence. Scott, *Domination*, chapter 4.

¹³ I have found at least eighteen to which can be added other comments appearing in articles related to these topics.

¹⁴ For instance after a hard attack on his work Robert L. Paquette wrote "In bad hands, the arguments of James Scott could offer chaos as the alternative to the prevailing system of exploitation...". Robert L. Paquette, 'Social History Update: Slave Resistance and Social History', *Journal of Social History*, 24, 3, 1991, p. 684.

¹⁵ Matthew C. Gutmann, 'Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance', *Latin American Perspectives*, 20, 2, 1993, pp. 74-92.

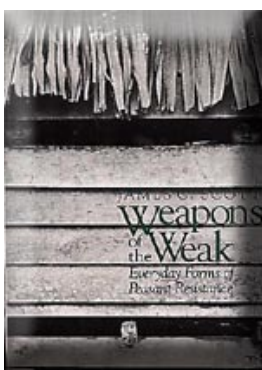
¹⁶ Gutmann, 'Rituals' p. 80; Harry Sanabria, 'Resistance and the Arts of Domination: Miners and the Bolivian State', *Latin American Perspectives*, 27, 1, 2000, pp. 56-58.

¹⁷ James C. Scott, 'Reply', *Latin American Perspectives*, 20, 2, 1993, p. 94.

¹⁸ Michael Craton and D. Gail Saunders, 'Seeking a Life of Their Own: Aspects of Slave Resistance in the Bahamas', *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 24, 1, 1990, p. 1.

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This critique is quite interesting because it comes from scholars with a deeply rooted Marxist tradition and who are identified with the popular movements against Capitalism and Imperialism. Day-to-day life appears to mean nothing to them. They seem to have forgotten how difficult is the quotidian life of those who, one day, decide to protest in an open form against their oppressors. They have ignored that before kicking the ball, we necessarily need to swing the foot.¹⁹ Scott in fact never suggested ignoring overt forms of resistance. Rather he tried to show us that among subordinate groups "...there is a politics of daily resistance in practice, speech, and thought that persist whether or not there are mass movements or rebellions and without which mass movements and rebellions cannot be understood."²⁰



A second and recurrent complaint about Scott's work is that he supposedly fails to mention the work of several people who wrote before him about domination and resistance. Some have even argued that he used others' ideas, such as Gluckman's concept of "rituals of rebellion" or Goffman's "backstage behaviors".²¹ Others mentioned his misinterpretations of Lenin and his ignorance of Mao Zedong, Tkachev and Trotsky and argued that there was nothing new "at all" in his work.²²

All these opinions are strongly

arguable. Scott was indeed aware of most of the preceding studies in his field. Lenin, Vaclav Havel, John Gaventa and even Max Gluckman and Erving Goffman appear in his work. He offered acute comments on most of them. His knowledge of the bibliography is vast and undeniable. Perhaps Mao Zedong's postulates about the people as a resource for all possible transformations in any society are the only notable absences in these pages.²³ But again, in such a comprehensive book, Mao's absence should not be considered a capital sin.

Many other points have been criticised but there is not enough space to focus on each one of them. Suffice to say, the new methodology about domination and resistance offered by Scott has become useful for scholars from vast and diverse fields of study and geographical regions.²⁴

Resistance from a Resistant Point of View

In the turbulent year of 1843 Don Carlos Gheresi, a Cuban resident planter and a militia officer of the Macuriges jurisdiction in Matanzas sugar lands wrote:

"...slaves watch their governors, the houses of these ones are usually far away from the slaves' huts, thus they make use of the hours of natural rest to fled away: they establish communication with other farms, choosing as a meeting place that farm in which the white employees are less vigilant: and from those assembles and communications are born all the disorders, thefts and everything else to be feared (...) they abandon their farms by the footpaths across the hills, cane fields and coffee dryings, therefore nothing can be avoided...."²⁵

This is definitely one of the clearest fragments ever written about the everyday behaviour of slaves in Cuba during the long nineteenth century. I began the third and last part of this article with this report for two reasons. First, African slavery in the Americas offers an opportunity to discuss resistance, and even Scott himself used it repeatedly to illustrate his reflections.²⁶ Second, since this is my own subject of study, it will provide me with a backdrop to develop the following comments.

Gheresi's letter is not the only document to draw attention to the 'everyday dangers' within the slave plantation system imposed in the New World from the onset of conquest until 1886. In his letter, Gheresi alerted his superiors about the disastrous consequences that such freedom of movement among the slaves could cause to the stability of the Island. And he was right. During 1843, two of the most important slave rebellions in the history of Cuba started in March and November respectively, not far from Gheresi's own residence. And before the year was over, a vast conspiracy was uncovered involving free blacks as well as hundreds of slaves.²⁷



¹⁹ As John Gaventa pointed out referring to the miners of Appalachian community, the fatalism that existed among them during a confrontation was not shared by their oppressors, "...an irrational phenomenon. It has been instilled historically through repeated experiences of defeat." John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Oxford, 1980, p. 254.

²⁰ James C. Scott, 'Reply', p. 94.

²¹ See Max Gluckman, *Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa*, Manchester, 1954 and Erving Goffman, 'The Nature of Deference and Demeanor', *American Anthropologist*, 58, June, 1956, p. 478.

²² Richard Clutterbuck and Phillip Corrigan supported this viewpoint among his critics. Clutterbuck, 'Book Review', p. 655 and Corrigan, 'Book Review', *Social Science Quarterly*, 56, 2, 1991, p. 624.

²³ See Mao Zedong, *Selected Military Papers of Mao Zedong*, Beijing, 1981.

²⁴ His contributions have been commented upon in journals and newspapers dedicated to specific themes (agriculture, peasantry, slavery, class, women) and regions (Asia, Europe, Latin America).

²⁵ Carlos Gheresi to the Captain General of the Island, 5 June 1843, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Gobierno Superior Civil, Bundle 942, File 33246.

²⁶ Quite a few of Scott's arguments are based on examples extracted from the history of African slavery in the Americas. He largely quoted historians, anthropologists and sociologists whose works have focused on this subject. Among them appeared Michael Craton, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Carolyn Fick, Eugene Genovese, Gerald W. Mullin, and Orlando Patterson.

²⁷ The key book to understand the so-called Conspiracy of La Escalera (or The Ladder) is Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba*, Middletown, Conn., 1987. Two other important works are David Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Cambridge, 1980, and Rodolfo Sarracino, *Inglaterra: sus dos caras en la lucha cubana por la abolición*, La Habana, 1989.

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In Gherzi's letter we are able to find what Scott called the *Hidden Transcript* of subordinate groups. These escapes, meetings, and talks were the elements of the massive conspiracy of 1844, and Gherzi, as well as others before him, were able to predict the forthcoming danger. He knew about the slaves' *hidden transcripts* and he himself practised a *hidden transcript* in his letter to the Captain General and Governor of the Island. However, he was still wearing his 'mask' and representing his role of merciful unwitting master in front of his 'pacific' slaves.

Everyday acts of covert resistance clearly appear in this document. Not surprisingly, in this case the hidden becomes public soon after. The aim of the mentioned meetings, or at least of some of them, was to overthrow the colonial slave system in the Island. There were numerous examples of this kind during the four centuries of slavery in the Americas. However, there were countless escapes, meetings, and talks never directly aimed to confront their oppressors. And we can go further by affirming that there were also countless escapes, meetings and talks absolutely far from being acts of resistance.

To shed light upon this issue I would like to clarify a few things about what I understand as Resistance. People living under political and economically difficult conditions are often the actors who turn the world upside down. They are continuously obliged to endure or to do undesired things. Therefore, it is not rare to find among them, as Scott argued, a hidden discourse of revenge and anger.

Scott considered many of the elements of the *hidden transcript* to be acts of resistance. From jokes to magic, from gossips to folk songs, these transcripts allow a means to resist in a safe way the official discourse imposed from above. I agree with Scott that all these attitudes can be understood as disguised resistance. However, it would not be right to presume that common people live their lives resisting and thinking that they are resisting. Thus, to say everything is resistance is to misunderstand the issue. The daily life of common people is much too complicated for such a formulation to apply. For

slaves as well as for farmers, factory workers and so on, there is something more complicated lying beneath the surface. Common people are oppressed economically, politically, socially and in some other forms. Most of the time they do not resist such forms of oppressive domination because they do not have the means to do it, even within the private space, and because they have more important problems to resolve.

During the Nazi occupation of Europe, movements of resistance appeared in every occupied country, and indeed people talked and blamed Hitler for killing their families, for taking away their children and for putting them in such an unbearable situation. In nineteenth century America, Brazil and Cuba, slaves used to run away to the mountains or rebelled, and indeed they talked and blamed their overseers and masters for punishing them, for separating them from their relatives and for making them work from dawn to dusk during the whole year in the cotton, cane and coffee plantations. Many other examples can be added to this list. Still all of them, European people, slaves, and others, before worrying about how to eliminate their source of oppression, had to think of ways of dealing with more quotidian problems. They had to figure out how to protect their families from the cold, find food to keep them healthy and alive, shut up their relatives' and friends' mouths when they began practising the real *hidden transcript*. These people needed to think first in terms of survival, and only then about means of resistance. Thus, not everything must be understood as a disguised form of resistance. And it is useful to remember that words sometimes have two or more meanings, and that the same joke could be an index of both resistance and relaxation. Resistance is, as I already pointed out, not a well-defined term. Even now, after Scott's work, the debate remains alive. There is yet another question, one of intention. For me 'intention' is the key word. Even when the act of resistance is thought to be safe and hidden, an intention to

contradict or inflect the official script must exist. Otherwise, words and acts are just coincidences. The 'toques de cazuela' during the general strike against the government of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, the anonymous execution of Heydrich in Prague during the Second World War, and the 'catch the wise' behaviour of Jamaican slaves are all forms of disguised resistance. Even when isolated, the simplest idea can be understood as Resistance, if it is aimed at resisting, because it is thought of as a form of contradiction to hegemonic rule. Anonymity, mutuality, and safety must be displayed together, always together, with the intention of resisting.

When people are oppressed but in a relatively better condition of life, they usually think of other things such as the supply of material necessities or better alimentation rather than of resisting. But of course, none of these affirmations mean that there is not an everyday *hidden transcript* addressed to resist and contradict the oppressors' discourse and policy. My focus is on this 'other side' so far ignored because the actors did not only not die fighting back heroically against their oppressors, but also did not resist in hidden forms their oppressive rules.

I would like to conclude by remarking that history is often seen from an idyllic or a biased point of view. Furthermore, historians, given their immediate personal backgrounds, are often far removed from their subjects of study. Romanticism and misinterpretations apart, common people's lives deserve to be respectfully studied. Fatuous attempts to uplift them to heroism may be as presumptuous as to dismiss them as passive witnesses of their times. People we are talking about have/had hopes and ambitions, necessities, beliefs, concerns, moments of happiness and sadness; in short, they have/had feelings. In understanding this, Scott contributed seminally to our understanding of popular behaviour. However, we still need to dig deeper into popular behaviour to understand the stretch as well as the limits of the concept of resistance.

Reporting from the Regions

The Emergence of a Sepsis Regional Resource Center in Brazil

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Lara Mancuso



In 2004 the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO) of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) became the seat of the third Sepsis Regional Resource Center. The choice was the consequence of years of flourishing partnership between Sepsis and CEAO and its scholars, that engendered a set of successful activities such as the *Factory of Ideas Programme*, Boubacar Barry, Elisée Soumoni and Partha Chatterjee lecture tours in Brazil, Livio Sansone and José Murilo de Carvalho tours through Africa, the Black Atlantic Workshop at Gorée, and the *Youth, Ethnicity and Nationalism Workshop* in Salvador, among others.

CEAO is a resource centre that serves mainly Latin America and the Caribbean, works closely with CODESRIA in order to strengthen relations with Lusophone Africa, and seeks to consolidate South-South linkages. At present the coordinator of Sepsis Regional Resource Center based at CEAO is historian Lara Mancuso.



The port

The Center is located in the city of Salvador, in the state of Bahia, in the northeast region of Brazil. It is a research, teaching, documentation and community centre, dedicated to Afro-Brazilian, ethnic and racial studies, as well as to the study of African and Asian languages and civilisations. It was created in 1959, when Brazil launched its diplomatic and cultural presence in the African nations that had just liberated themselves from colonial rule. CEAO's founder, Professor Agostinho da Silva, a Portuguese humanist exiled in Bahia, conceived the Center as a bridge between the academy and Afro-Brazilian community on the one hand, and between Brazil and African countries, on the other. This is still

one of CEAO's main guiding principles. It organises a set of training and networking interdisciplinary activities, encourages affirmative action policies for the Afro-descendent population, fosters South-South comparisons, and promotes South-South exchanges and joint projects. The current director of CEAO is anthropologist Jocélio Teles dos Santos.



Salvador higher city and lower city

CEAO is lately building an international reputation as an outstanding pole in the South for the study of diversity and tolerance, race relations and black culture, as well as a place able to promote an intellectual atmosphere favourable to such debates. These circumstances owe a lot to the setting itself. Salvador has almost three million people, eighty per cent is black or *mestizo*. It presents an extremely rich popular culture, largely inspired in Africa, and has an important social sciences tradition about Afro-Brazilian culture and religion, and about race relations in Brazil. CEAO is conveniently located in the heart of the historic district, better known as Pelourinho, benefiting from a unique location and architecture.

CEAO organises and sponsors conferences, workshops, book releases, and also grants free use of its building for community events. The Center runs several projects with CEAFFRO that aims at educating, training and offering capacity building activities to lower class black young people, as well as at collaborating with engaged black activists (www.ceafro.ufba.br). CEAO also runs the Afro-Brazilian Museum, created in 1982, whose collection comprises African objects related to daily life,

technology, religious beliefs and artwork, such as sculptures, masks, tapestries, fabrics and games. The collection was purchased in the 1970s by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and also benefited from donations from embassies of African countries in Brazil. The museum also displays Brazilian objects related to Afro-Brazilian religion in Bahia (www.ceao.ufba.br/mafro). Furthermore, CEAO has a library specialised in African, Afro-Brazilian and Asian studies. It houses books, journals, dissertations and a huge newspaper clipping collection since 1960, which is presently being digitally captured.

From 2005 onwards CEAO offers an interdisciplinary graduate course in ethno-racial studies and African studies. Such a programme is a unique project in Brazil, and responds to a growing demand for specialists in the field, since African History and Afro-Brazilian Culture have recently been included in primary, secondary and undergraduate Brazilian schools' curricula. The graduate programme intends to contribute to the empowerment of Brazilian black intelligentsia, to promote research on Africa and the African Diaspora, to encourage interaction among Brazilian and African students, junior and senior scholars, to foster comparative perspectives in the field of racial and ethnic studies, and ultimately to support South-South joint research projects. The Graduate Programme coordinator is anthropologist Livio Sansone.



Graça amid berimbaus in Pelourinho

CEAO also works extensively with the graduate programme in history of the UFBA. They publish twice a year, since 1965, the *Afro-Asia Journal*, which focuses on African and Asian culture and population, as well as on

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their descendents in Brazil and elsewhere. João José Reis, Renato da Silveira and Valdemir Zamparoni are the current editors. Thanks to Sepsis support, they can count on the translation of a couple of articles written by African and Asian scholars. Such efforts intend to encourage the exchange of ideas between South scholars, and to enhance academic and intellectual relations within Lusophone countries.

Sepsis also supports a wider *Translation and Publication Project* that plans to translate and publish in Brazil— in Portuguese— a set of books by African authors, as well as by authors from other regions of the South. The first publication came out in 2004: Partha Chatterjee, *Colonialismo, Modernidade e Política*, Salvador, Edufba, 2004. It was launched during Chatterjee's lecture tour in Brazil, and was well received not only by the public that attended the lectures, but also by the general readership. The publishing house has got requests from all over Latin America, Lusophone countries and even from Asia. The editorial committee of the Translation and Publication Project comprises José Murilo de Carvalho, Lilia Moritz-Schwarcz, Livio Sansone and Valdemir Zamparoni (coordinator).

One of CEAO's annual highlights is the *Factory of Ideas Programme*. Since 2001 the Center hosts once a year this international advanced course on comparative ethnic and racial studies, coordinated by Livio Sansone. The main goal is training graduate students (especially Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Latin) and engaging them in discussions with leading scholars from all over Brazil and abroad, in particular from countries in the South. The course also encourages national and regional networking for research on ethnicity, race relations and black culture across Brazil, Latin America and the Caribbean.



Houses in Pelourinho (photo by Marisa Vianna)

The Factory of Ideas course lasts three to four weeks, and the total number of students range from 30 to 40, 60 per cent coming from all over Brazil, and 40 per cent from abroad, mainly from other Latin American, Lusophone African and the Caribbean countries. Approximately 80 per cent of students are black and 60 per cent are women. Participants come from different fields: Anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, literature, economics, history, social psychology, medicine and fine arts. The Factory of

Ideas consists of classes, study groups, thematic seminars, and research proposal discussions. Applications for 2005 are now open (www.ceao.ufba.br/fabrica).

Besides the Factory of Ideas, CEAO offers other courses such as *Education and Diversity*, a training programme for primary and secondary school teachers, *Yoruba Language and Civilization*, currently taught by Felix Ayoh'Omidire, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife-Ife, Nigeria, and *Arabic Language and Civilization*, run by CEAO and the Islamic Center in Bahia, at present under the supervision of Sheik Abdul Ahmed Abdullah.

CEAO also hosts two Exchange Programs. Since 1970, there is a bilateral agreement with Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife-Ife, Nigeria, that allows CEAO to host Portuguese language undergraduate students who are taking a year-abroad programme at UFBA. CEAO also hosts groups of undergraduate students from American universities. They come to CEAO to study Portuguese language and Afro-Brazilian culture for one semester. The Council on International Exchange Programme, coordinated by anthropologist Jeferson Bacelar carries out the latter.

All in all, CEAO offers (more and better) opportunities for Bahia-based researchers, professors and students to interact with outstanding international scholars, and exchange ideas and experiences. In sum, they maximise CEAO's character and potential as a resource centre for ethnic and racial studies with a truly international comparative perspective.

Our team:

Jeferson Bacelar is professor of anthropology in the Federal University of Bahia, and is resident-director of the Council on International Educational Exchange at CEAO. He researches on ethnic and racial relations and on urban anthropology (bacelarj@ufba.br).

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Lara and coffee seller in Pelourinho

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Livio playing with children in Sao Francisco do Conde

Jocélio Teles dos Santos is associate professor in the Anthropology Department, UFBA, and since 2003 he has been the director of CEAO. He got his PhD degree from the Anthropology Department, University of Sao Paulo, and his present research project concerns the image of black people in newspapers from Bahia (jocelio@ufba.br).

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Reporting from the Regions

PROGRAMME CODESRIA/SEPHIS: EIGHT YEARS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN HISTORICISING DEVELOPMENT



Ndèye Sokhna Guèye

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It is a great pleasure for me to write about the collaboration, for the past eight years between CODESRIA and SEPHIS, even though I myself have been concerned with this project only for the past five years.

When I was recruited in 1999 as coordinator of the CODESRIA/SEPHIS programme, I was concerned with organising an extended workshop for young historians and lecture tours within Africa. My work consisted of the administrative and scientific coordination of these two activities. During the same year, I organised a lecture tour in the Universities of Dakar and Saint-Louis for Dr Livio Sansone, a researcher from Brazil. The rationale behind the lecture tour, a CODESRIA/SEPHIS activity that we began in 1997 with Partha Chatterjee's lecture tour in Africa, is to establish a constructive partnership between research institutes and universities of the South (Africa, South Asia, Latin and Central America, and the Caribbean). In creating this international academic dialogue, the goal is to stimulate a forum for researchers and academics of the South to discuss and share their visions and perspectives on selected themes. This activity provides institutes and universities the opportunity to invite a well-known scholar from another country in the South, with affiliations to a specific historical school or social scientific research approach, to give seminars and public conferences on selected themes.



The success of Dr Sansone's lecture tour led to the setting up of areas of discussion between him and universities in Senegal, Benin and South Africa. More specifically, it led to the holding of a conference in Gorée (Senegal) in November 2002, which focussed on the *"Transatlantic Construction of the Ideas of 'Race', Black Culture, Negritude and Antiracism: for a new dialogue among researchers in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean"*. Initiated

by Dr Sansone, this conference brought together about 55 researchers from Africa, the Caribbean, Europe, the United States, and especially from Latin America.

This meeting created the intellectual dynamic for exchanges between different traditions and research schools, and enabled CODESRIA to renew its links with the Latin American network. The success of this conference in Gorée and the lecture tour was sufficiently convincing for SEPHIS to ask CODESRIA to become the SEPHIS regional resource centre in Africa.

It is now six years since CODESRIA and SEPHIS continue to develop and manage this successful dialogue and cooperation among historians and history-oriented social scientists from Africa, Central/Latin America, South Asia and the Caribbean. The dialogue has been important in familiarising a widening circle of African scholars (especially those in the initial phases of their careers) with relevant ideas and debates in other regions in the South.

Central to this dialogue is the *Extended Workshop for Young Historians* which CODESRIA and SEPHIS jointly organise every one and half years in Dakar (Senegal). The Extended Workshop, which was launched in September 2000, was a pioneering initiative in the academic experience of Southern universities.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together about fifteen young students from across the South, who are preparing their theses, in a stimulating environment so that they can share their research experiences for a few weeks and have the opportunity to improve the theoretical and methodological quality of their work. The workshop deals with very practical and significant questions on how to write an article, how to plan a research project, and how to submit a research proposal for funding. The theme of the workshop is broadly defined as theoretical and methodological developments in *'social history'*. The workshop promotes a comparative focus that draws on the experiences of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

The convenor and resource persons, who change from one workshop to the next, are well known

scholars from different parts of the South. About half the participants are from Africa; the others are from Central Latin America, the Caribbean and South Asia.

The academic environment of the *Extended Workshop* is reinforced by the considerable experience of CODESRIA, as the host institute, in organising international training courses (ao. the Democratic Governance Institute, the Gender Institute, Child and Youth Institute and the Humanities Institute on African Film). The reputation of CODESRIA, particularly among African students, is associated with, among others, a commitment to challenge received notions within the social sciences and with a high level of productivity in the form of seminars, lectures and publications. The CODESRIA library is well equipped as far as journals on African History and literature on development is concerned.

The success of the last two *Extended Workshops* (2002 and 2004), as well as the favourable comments and evaluations made by those who participated in them, strengthened our belief that there is a real need for advanced training in historical research in the South. We are especially encouraged by the comments of PhD students from Africa who indicated unanimously that they had benefited a great deal from the programme. A key reason is that students of the continent have little exposure to international fora. They benefited a lot from students from Latin America and Asia who shared their experiences and ideas in powerfully enabling ways. Their great interest in Africa was important for South-South contact and for scholarly interaction.

In addition, the large number of applications that we received showed that running methodological workshops is an effective and efficient way of responding to the demand for training, especially for Africans who come from a less privileged scientific and academic environment.

This is why CODESRIA, in cooperation with SEPHIS, proposed three other interdisciplinary training workshops on *"Memories and History: using visual, oral and material sources for an alternative history"* to be held outside Senegal. The focus is on methodological issues in the use of

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alternative sources for historical knowledge production. The main goal of these methodological workshops is to contribute to the training of young researchers from the South who use *visual, oral and material sources*, with a view to exchanging experiences, theories and methodologies.

In fact over the past few decades, oral, visual, material culture and archaeological sources have emerged as powerful means of producing alternative histories of Southern countries. They have become necessary tools for the recording and keeping of the memoirs and experiences of people or individuals, whose histories would be otherwise lost or marginalised. Such sources allow historians to talk about events, describe feelings, attitudes and lifestyles that were overlooked by history, while offering a more detailed and global reading of our past.

By bringing for one week about fifteen researchers from Central and Latin America, Africa, South Asia and the Caribbean, this programme aims at promoting a discussion on the theoretical and methodological practices in visual and oral history, as well as in archaeology.

The aim is not only to reduce the hegemony of written and statistical sources, but also to supplement these through the gathering of knowledge, the methodological and theoretical building and analysis of data based on oral traditions, visual, archaeological and material evidence, and also, to show their relevance for the study of marginalised or oppressed groups, that are not referred to in texts.

This critical approach will also allow for a comparison and review of the mainstream paradigms and discourses that were worked out in these regions with different colonial and language traditions.

The first intensive training workshop, focused on *"visual sources"*, and was held in September 2004 in Maputo (Mozambique). A second workshop focused on *"Material Culture and Archaeological Sources"* will be organised in Morocco in June 2005. The third training workshop on *"oral sources"* will be held in June 2006.

The dynamism created through the three training workshops will certainly open up the debate on alternative sources and will help to develop training workshops on preservation of alternative historical sources. Indeed, the follow-up of the programme on production of alternative historical sources will be the organisation of three-day interdisciplinary seminars, within which there will be reflection-centred activities and suggestions about the preservation of these alternative historical sources and management of the Southern cultural heritage. Through this experiential approach, the researchers will be inspired to move beyond the routines of methods for preserving cultural heritage to attain stronger human development skills. At the end, participants would be expected to

have acquired/developed conceptual abilities that will allow them to carry out preservation of alternative sources and have a large appreciation of the range of issues addressed through cultural heritage management.

Other new perspectives for partnership are being explored that concern the setting up of a *Faculty Exchange Programme*. The object of this project, with which SEPHIS has associated us, is to facilitate exchanges between social science researchers in university departments of the South. The long-term objective is to strengthen and improve the quality of teaching in the continents of the South, by drawing a contrast between different ways of carrying out studies and research.

We also have in mind the setting up of *"a prize for the best historical thesis"* from a university in the South, to be awarded to young researchers, in order to make their work better known and to promote excellence in the universities of the South. We also intend to put forward to SEPHIS the idea of providing scholarships for post-doctoral study tours and for participating in international conferences, so as to give young historians some international experience.

Another priority of the programme is to increase the possibilities for publishing the works of researchers in the South. We envisage the publication in a single volume of the coming sub-regional lecture tours on *gender and democracy*.

In addition, the best articles selected from the interdisciplinary training workshops on visual, material culture, archaeological and oral sources could form the subject of a series of publications on alternative histories of the South.

We are involved in SEPHIS electronic publishing projects. This would enable reports of such activities in the CODESRIA/SEPHIS programme as courses and reviews of works put forward by the students at methodological workshops to be posted on the web. More generally, it will enable the scientific papers produced at the workshops to obtain a higher degree of visibility.



These new forms of cooperation and fresh perspectives, provided by this partnership, have brought changes to my own position and have added to my responsibilities. It is indeed this fresh dynamic in my working environment that I most welcome. It brings a more scientific dimension to my work, where the

administrative aspect is so important. It allows me to handle epistemological questions, themes and discussions, which were outside the field of my archaeological training. This is a considerable contribution to my methodological and theoretical capabilities in the historical field, while also providing me with a multidisciplinary approach and a fresh outlook for my handling of archaeological data.

I have to admit that I have strong feelings about this programme, which is one of the few projects that concerns the development of historical research in countries of the South and contributes to the training of young historians.

We have to accept that the discipline of history has become highly marginalised and is now passing through a real crisis in Africa. The originality of this project is to bring a more social and a more comparative angle to history, as well as linking it to development questions.

Encouraging researchers to study and to reflect on the most hidden aspects of society that have long been regarded either as taboo or else as not worth pursuing and therefore excluded from historical concerns— all this has been a cardinal focus in this partnership. Both CODESRIA and SEPHIS have benefited from this programme.

By encouraging a dynamic dialogue and cooperation between researchers and social science academics in Southern universities, this form of collaboration allows CODESRIA to open itself more to the international scientific community, especially in the South. It also enables contributions from African research to be recognised in the international scene. The Council can thus fulfil the mandate, given to it by the researchers at its tenth General Assembly (held in December 2002 in Kampala, Uganda), to promote and strengthen the intellectual capabilities of young historians.

Through CODESRIA, SEPHIS is able to develop more solid African research networks, while at the same time encouraging and contributing to the development of African studies in Latin America and South Asia. From the technical and administrative points of view, the Council provides a stimulating environment and organisational experience for the benefit of the programme.

However, further efforts still need to be made to strengthen the institutional bases for social science research in countries poorly represented in the field of historical research. In the coming years, there will be a need to further dynamise comparative reflection, given the serious effects of the higher education crises on the African continent's capacities for comparative research.

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Further efforts are also needed to break down the linguistic, geographical, generational and gender barriers between researchers. This objective could be reached by further developing South-South networks, and by bringing in especially those from North Africa and the Caribbean, Francophones, Lusophones and the Arabphones.

The decentralisation of activity

venues in these geographically and linguistically isolated areas, a development of translation of publications into Portuguese, Arabic and French, and the digitalisation of the results of activities will provide a basis for further strategies to use in the programme. Both CODESRIA and SEPHIS are aware of this, and our efforts are directed towards developing and encouraging every

kind of vision in countries of the South to express itself. I am convinced that by encouraging cooperation between SEPHIS and CODESRIA, we shall be able to rediscover and restore those voices in the countries of the South that have been marginalised or even completely forgotten.

International Women's Day, 8 March

On 8 March 1857, women textile workers in New York City (USA) marched in demand of better working conditions and equal rights for women. In 1909, women commemorated the 1857 demonstration with a rally on 8 March on the Lower East Side demanding: End to sweatshop conditions; equal pay; right to vote; crèches; and a stronger needle trades union. Inspired by this strike, Clara Zetkin proposed to the Second International that 8 March be declared International Women's Day. In 1910, the Socialist International, meeting in Copenhagen, established an International Women's Day, to assist in achieving universal suffrage for women. On 19 March 1911, one million women and men attended rallies in Europe.

As part of the peace movement brewing on the eve of World War I, Russian women observed their first International Women's Day on the last Sunday in February 1913. On 23 February 1917 (8 March in the Gregorian calendar), Russian women went to strike for "bread and peace". The rest is history: Four days later the Czar was forced to abdicate and the provisional Government granted women the right to vote.

Since those early years, International Women's Day has assumed a new global dimension for women in developed and developing countries alike, especially since the 1970s, the United Nation's Decade of the Woman.

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Beyond Exceptionalism? Recent Trends in the Writing of South Indian History

Report on a conference held in Chennai (India), 9-11 December 2004.



Lakshmi Subramanian

After teaching history at Viswa Bharati (Santiniketan) and the University of Calcutta for twenty years, she is now a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Professor Subramanian is best known for her work on trade and mercantile communities in the Indian Ocean world in the early modern period; her PhD thesis on this subject was published as *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion*. Her current research is about culture and modernity in southern India, with an emphasis on the nature of nationalist influence on cultural forms. She is at present the Co-ordinator of a Regional Centre of Sephis and is also a frequent contributor to this magazine. Her many interests include music, cinema, food and literature.

The Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, in collaboration with the Madras Institute of Development Studies, organised a conference in Chennai from 9 to 11 December 2004. The original idea behind the conference was to take stock of the more recent trends in South Indian Studies, with an emphasis on the work of younger scholars in regional and local institutions. The intention was reinforced by the well known fact that south India as a unit of study has commanded a robust historiography that has more often than not stressed the exceptionalism of the region; and one which has been generated outside the region, even the country. One of the principal concerns of the workshop, therefore, was to identify the direction of research on south India that have been produced in somewhat unexpected institutional locations in the region, and the shifts in conceptual understanding that have since emerged. Predictably, some sub-regions within south India were better represented than others; histories of social reform movements, identity politics and vernacular representations of identity formations around language in Kerala constituted the bulk of the papers. The rest dealt with discrete themes ranging from cultural politics and performance in twentieth century Tamil Nadu to separatist demands in Coorg and to the state of research on the economic history of south India. The Conference had a concluding panel that elaborated on the idea of south India, bringing together larger and overarching formulations that have in recent years given greater focus and clarity to the notion of south India as a cultural and political unit in the larger history of India.

The keynote address was by Janaki Nair who suggested possible ways of addressing the history of south India in the modern period bypassing, if not jettisoning, the 'exceptionalism model'. These alternative ways, she argued, could be deduced from the work that was already in circulation and one which went beyond looking at merely 'lacks' constituting historical perspectives. Such as the fact that south India did not command an agrarian history like northern India or Hindustan, or that the relative distancing of the peninsula from direct Islamic rule meant a

refracted reception of Islam and that the specificities of the colonial experience in south India lent a different aspect to the region's profile. Nair suggested that in one important sense, the tension between advocacy of exceptionalism and denying it altogether has continued to animate some of the recent sites and subjects of historical investigation. Among the issues thrown up in these works, there has been, for instance, a nuanced working out of the construction of the self in colonial India in the context of social reform and its reworking of both gender relations as well as contestatory caste identities. The discussion that followed introduced further questions. For example, the issue of a distinct presidency culture was raised. Was it possible to talk about a distinct culture articulated around the Madras Presidency? What was the nature (and levels) of negotiations between the princely states in the region and areas directly administered by the British? Other questions centred on the issue of language and its relation with identity politics and how this has had a long lasting impact on the agenda of historical research in Tamil Nadu leading to the polarisation of two different kinds of historical production.

The first session and part of the second on methodology had three paper presentations by Sanal Mohan, S. Raju Warriar and K. Ganesh. While Sanal Mohan concentrated on the issue of problematising the writing of dalit histories foregrounding his own work on slavery and emancipation politics among the Dalits in Kerala, Raju Warriar and K. Ganesh interrogated conventional wisdom in dealing with south India as a distinct unit in Indian history. Sanal argued that from the vantage point of equality discourse that accompanied missionary intervention and social reform initiatives by lower classes in Kerala, it was possible to go beyond the familiar preoccupations with slavery as a form of labour control and to focus instead on the experiential dimensions of the phenomenon. The slave experience continually invoked, it was argued, was constitutive of the emerging lower-caste self and its dialogic engagement with modernity. To access this dimension, it is necessary to deal with secondary memory and its relationship with history and the historian's craft and to access the social imaginary of lower caste/dalit

communities through literary references and new family forms. Raju's presentation focused on the ways in which south India had been assembled as a historiographical unit and how the creation of omissions and lacks created a series of splits even within the larger unit of south India. K. N. Ganesh offered a critique of ethno-histories, which have tended to use anthropological evidence very selectively, and to treat historical process as a symbolic and ceremonial denial of either specificity or materiality. The session generated a lively discussion that touched on alternative ways of looking at the history and the social geography of south India, on the utility of recent interventions regarding individuality in south India and the new modes of looking at the past and its retrieval in the aftermath of colonial education and transformation.

The second paper by Lakshmi Subramanian in the second session on Cultural Politics dealt with issues of cultural consumption in Tamil Nadu in the context of Tamil language devotion and identity politics. The paper emphasised the relative absence of research undertaken so far on the social history of performance and located the Tamil music movement within the general context of changing patronage and sensibilities associated with the reception of music in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Madras. The Tamil Isai Movement, it was argued, was unable to reclaim the site of classical music partly because it failed to develop an alternative conceptual framework for the retrieval of Tamil music. Also Tamil music did not carry the same affective potential for its advocates as refined classical music did for its Brahmin protagonists. The discussions that followed emphasised the need for research in the area of social history and to historicise the layers of musical tradition in the pre-colonial period. Especially animated were the discussions on the need to do a similar history of performance traditions in Kerala in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The morning session in the second day saw two papers on Kerala and one on an overview of recent works on gender and caste in south India. Taking her cue from more recent interventions in the field of

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early modern print culture and literary practices in South India, G.Arunima discussed two inter-related themes: The emergent print media and its uses and the problems of language. Print media made available two very different kinds of prose writing, religious texts and literary journals, which in turn helped both in the construction of a self, as well as in the articulation of claims to language and identity based on it, by different sections of people. She took up for a preliminary discussion three mid-nineteenth century texts, all in modern prose style, defining community boundaries. What marked these texts written by advocates of three religions was their ability to reach out to a large audience. In the process, they created a shared space of readership and introduced certain conventions that became seminal to the standardisation of language, which thereafter could become community wealth in a larger sense of the term. The discussion that followed renewed the debate on territoriality in the context of Kerala— the conflation between the mytho-sacral space of Keralam, Parasuramaksetram and the space of Malayalam, the notion of community wealth and the need to problematise the links between language and imagined communities.

The paper that followed was by S. Anandhi and was in the nature of a review of two recent works on caste and gender in south India. Discussing Vijaisri's book *Recasting the Devadasi: Patterns of Scared Prostitution in Colonial South India* (Delhi, 2004) on the outcaste prostitutes in Karnataka and G. Arunima's monograph *There Comes Papa: Colonialism and the Transformation of Matriliney in Kerala, Malabar c. 1850-1940* (New Delhi, 2003) on matriliney in Malabar, Anandhi argued that gender studies in

India could profit by focusing on masculinity. The third paper in the morning session was by Praveena Kodoth who addressed issues of gender and dowry in north Kerala. Backed by extensive fieldwork, Praveena identified a transition in marriage practices from fluidity, simplicity and bride price to excessive display and the indissoluble marriage. These shifts have resulted in glaring gender inequities.

The second session saw three presentations, one by K. Devika on the AikyaKerala movement, one on Coorg separatist politics in Karantaka by Vijaya Poonacha Thambanda, and finally one on the state of economic history research on south India by Raman Mahadevan. Devika drew a useful contrast between Kerala and the other states in the south as far as articulation of identity issues were concerned. Attempting to explain what she saw as an obsession with development centrism as constitutive of contemporary Kerala's self-image, Devika referred to two modes of imaginings in the mid-twentieth century, namely, the communist vision of an ideal socialist national community and secondly, the anxieties regarding the disenfranchisement of less powerful peoples within the independent Indian nation. She also demonstrated how, in the context of changing circumstances that made outward migration so compelling for Malayalis, the prospects of exceptionalism were slight, expressed either in terms of linguistic chauvinism or in terms of state sponsored legal and economic modernisation. The paper generated a lot of discussion, particularly about the imagination of the Malayali diapsora and how they perceived the relations between language, territoriality and identity. A contrasting case was provided by

Vijay Poonacha's paper on Coorg. Raman Mahadevan, who pointed to the virtual eclipse of economic history as a discipline and within that the under-representation of south India's economic experience in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, made the final presentation. The presentation provoked a serious consideration of the need to re-frame and redraw the frontiers of conventional economic history.

A panel discussion on the idea of south India was organised on the third and final day of the conference. R. Chamapakalakshmi chaired the panel and the panelists were Kesavan Veluthat, Surendra Rao and Gautam Bhadra. Broadly speaking, three main formulations were put forward. One, the persistence of the idea of southern exceptionalism either by omission or commission; two, the need to remain grounded in historical understanding of the unit south India, whose social, political and cultural configurations changed over time, sometimes coming together in a broad regional unity and at others dissolving into discrete identities; and third, to read historiography imaginatively.

The conference, from the point of view of presentations as well as discussions was an important exercise in stock taking even if all the papers did not attempt a synthesis of recent trends in history writing. What the conference did highlight were the new trends in historical scholarship especially in the fields of caste, gender and identity in south India, with Kerala being the most visible case study. It also suggested, even if only implicitly, the nature and importance of institutional location in the generation of new research questions and historical scholarship.

The Revolt of 1857, India

Called the Sepoy Mutiny or the First War of Independence. It began at Barrackpore on 29 March 1857. Mangal Pande, a young soldier of the 34th Native Infantry, shot at his sergeant major on the parade ground. When the British adjutant rode over, Pande shot the horse and severely wounded the officer with a sword. He was later arrested and hanged. This event sparked off a number of revolts across northern India, considered the first major resistance to British colonisation.

Vernacular Languages, Multiple Histories?



Paramita Brahmachari

She is working on her PhD on "Bollywood" and the public sphere as an ICSSR doctoral fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, and is jointly affiliated to Jadavpur University, from where she graduated in Comparative Literature and did an MA in Film Studies. She did film reviews, features, copy-editing and illustrating as a student and is interested in films, popular culture, visual arts and mostly loud music. This seminar was her first brush with History as a discipline.

The seminar on 'History in the Vernacular' held on 28, 29 and 30 December 2004 marked the formal inauguration of the Jadunath Sarkar Resource Centre for Historical Research, which has been conceived as a repository for vernacular language materials. Partha Chatterjee, in his inaugural address, differentiated the often-overlapping categories of the regional language/s, the vernacular and the mother tongue, while emphasising the nuances of creative or emotive charge and the cultural inter-textuality that the mother tongue seems to grant vernacular historians.



Gautam Bhadra, presenting the first paper of the seminar, further expanded on this argument by drawing on the work of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and his contemporary concerns about professionalism, methodology and authenticity in history writing. He argued for the categories of archival, historical and universal truth. In this context he stressed the notions of personal ethics and subjectivity and elaborated upon Sarkar's views on the use of footnotes, as well as the problems of gleaning material from genres of local history, myth, *janashruti*, contemporary Bengali theatre and recorded proceedings of law-courts.

Kumkum Chatterjee discussed the methodological debates between nineteenth century Bengali historians over the *Kulagrantha* (or caste based genealogies) of Bengal. The deployment of emotion or inspiration as the principal function of history, she argued, was symptomatic of a romantic regional nationalism and its celebration of "native traditions" unsullied by the imposition of an 'external' rational-positivist paradigm of history. While the genealogies (in verse form, and often in fragmented or understandably extrapolated manuscripts) were considered suspect on the count of veracity of evidence, they became markers of local prac-

tices and perceptions about the organisation of castes and significantly shifted the locus of historiography to the quotidian, making it a matter of public concern rather than an exclusive preserve of academia, firmly grounded within the colonial modernist institutions and contemporary elite print-culture.

A.R. Venkatachalapathy profiled the career of Nilakantha Sastri, who was among the first recognised professional historians of south India and who almost entirely wrote in English and justified on several occasions his choice of English as the only appropriate medium. The Tamil poet, Subramania Bharati, publicly criticised Sastri for his slavish advocacy of English. Chalapathy pointed out that in south India a number of 'non-professional' historians wrote in the vernacular and their historical sense was not in any way less authentic. The discussant for this paper, Lakshmi Subramanian, suggested that the debate between professional and amateur historians had to be located within the context of Tamil separatism and that there was, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a new concern with historical methodology.

Indrani Chatterjee talked about some recurrent Mizo/Lushai narratives of "bodily seizures" of women, "gestur[ing] towards events [they] could not directly describe". She identified the moment of rupture in the abduction of Mary Winchester, a white planter's six year old daughter begotten of a female labourer, an act which once identified with an ontological "Lushai barbarism" enabled the British imperialists to sanction military aggression. The Mizo Christian "trans-memoriation" of this event reinterpreted it as the genesis of Lushai progress mediated through Christianity and literacy while "claim[ing] Mary's hybridity for the space itself". Traffic between thematic semblances urge us to decipher these texts, not as hermetically sealed archival documents, but as "invitations to contemplation", where meaning and identity must be re-aligned in the context of each retelling.

Bodhisattva Kar's paper unravelled the strange and persistent currencies

of the xenotopia of Kamrup-Kamakhya and its voluptuous and sexually insatiable women, capable of turning men into sheep, in vernacular imaginaires themselves. While showing how the fabulous geographies of Assam continued to elude being completely translated or contained onto a colonial territorial map, he went on to explore the various semantic proliferations of this trope of the Assamese women possessed of magical powers into discourses of science (rationalised), nationalist histories of Assam (sanitised), popular narratives (allegorised) and finally in the forms of commodified enchantments (amulets, aphrodisiacs) that pervaded the nascent colonial-metropolitan market-economy.



On the second day of the seminar, Sudeshna Purakayashtha and Arupjyoti Saikia discussed the work of Surya Kumar Bhuyan and William Gaits on Assamese *Buranjis*. Gaits as a colonial administrator compiling ethnographic data, gave the *Buranjis* (translated and tabulated with local help) the status of indigenous textual sources, albeit "dubious" and "fragmentary", to be corroborated with 'hard evidence' from inscriptions, numismatics etc. towards a disaggregating ethno-history that acknowledged the heterogeneity of the Assamese people. In contrast, Bhuyan's agenda to rescue Assam from being marginalised from the national mainstream, followed the trajectory of regional-nationalist histories, selectively assimilating and homogenising an Assamese people. The redemption of Assamese culture was predicated on the identification of certain quasi-mythic topoi from

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ancient Sanskrit texts (which also afforded them an authoritativeness unavailable to Gaits). Both papers underlined the semantic shifts undergone by the *Buranjis* depending on their use for the purposes of historiography, especially considering the culmination of the term 'Buranji' as synonymous with history in Assamese school text-books.

V. Narayana Rao urged us to dissociate the *Niti* tradition from its unproblematic and distorted rendering as lessons of morals and virtue for inclusion in school curricula under colonialism. Taking Kautilya's *Arthashastra* as the ur-text, Rao follows the development of these astute, pragmatic treatises on statecraft characterised by a non-theological perspective, an emphasis on the pursuit of pleasure and wealth (and power) and an unmistakable political realism grounded in a contingent ethics. Later *Niti* texts reveal an awareness of existing literature, including traffic with Islamic or Persian manuals for princes. In fifteenth century Warangal, for instance, they were transformed when the trader-warrior kings encouraged a shift in values and the extension of the role of the minister/scribe class (*Karanams*) to advisers, polyglot historians and commentators on strategy.

Janaki Nair argued for an equally pragmatic idiom, or "exegesis of power", in the context of two specific biographies of Haider and Tipu. She distinguished Nallappa's *Haider Nama* by the absence of "affect" and a "cosmo-temporal timeframe" associated with the alleged absence of historical consciousness in pre-colonial India. Tipu's own writing in *Tarikh-i-Khudadadi* reveals his understanding of the macropolitics of an imminent regime change and of gender and caste. Simultaneously, it was deeply inflected with his quest for a new ethics of kingship (legitimacy through adept and just action) where religious zeal became "his ideological bulwark against the British". Nair's paper called for a reconstruction of "a cultural ecology of modes" mutating and crystallising for a crucially transitional phase in south India.

Milind Wakankar's paper was an exegesis of Rajwade's interpretation and canonisation of the *Dnyaneswari* (itself a commentary on the *Bhagvad Gita* embedded in the Dalit Varkari tradition) in his project to unearth the trajectory of a historicised "unmiscegenated" grammar for an authentic and "urbane" Marathi language. While Wakankar anticipated many of the concerns of the papers presented on the following day, his *coup-de-grace* lay in reading an anti-foundationalist ungroundedness in *Dnyaneswari's* invocation to a non-solipsistic inward turning that allowed for an idea of "a perpetual critique of identity"—a space of the self from which no one, at least in theory, need be excluded.

Various discussants pointed out how Rajwade's project of instituting history at the heart of a language was embedded in colonial knowledge congealing under the Linguistic

Survey of India, a Brahminical quest for 'classical' authenticity and the authority of commentary, how grammaticality itself can be viewed as the most concrete manifestation of a social order in the form of the state (thus qualifying the necessity of its inscription as a latently indigenous telos for Rajwade), and how the numerous appropriations and convenient excisions undergone by the *Gita* as the ur-text of nationalist ideologues has possibly obfuscated meaning beyond access for the kind of retrievalist reading called for by Wakankar.

The first paper on the third day was by Shail Mayaram, who investigated the work of James Todd, not as the sympathetic archivist celebrated in Orientalist scholarship, but as an ethnographer motivated by colonial imperatives of administration and military machinations. Her argument emphasised the necessity for recognising the continuities between the British and contemporary American discourses, which have essentialised and criminalised castes, communities and religions for purposes of control, and the irony of the persistence of these discourses in shaping the modernities and self-representations of such communities aspiring to political and epistemic agency.

The two papers that followed were by Avinash Kumar and Padmanabh Samarendra, both of whom handled historical material in Hindi. While Avinash focused on the dynamics involved in the emergence of history as a discipline in Hindi working out of the subsuming frame of literature, Padmanabh Samarendra analysed what can be read as the flip-side of the openness Wakankar located in the *Bhagvad Gita*, in nineteenth century reconstructions of caste-genealogies (as community histories) with pre-determined schemas for locating an elevated *Puranic* ancestry. The compulsion to rationalise and linearise, however, drove the caste histories to produce dynastic-political biographies, which, subsumed similar trajectories of the Hindu community (tyrannised under Muslim regimes), enabled these castes "to participate in the national movement as well as [in] the mobilisation of Hindus".



Raziuddin Aquil excavated a similar but contrary trajectory in the

work of Urdu historian Abdur Rahman and his efforts to "establish the righteousness of Islam and Muslim [regimes] in medieval India", focusing on his ideological and methodological differences with the left/liberal/secularist scholarship, the Hindu right as well as the separatist Muslims, the privileging of his own *Quran*-derived critical evaluation of certain undesirable tendencies of syncretism, and the subsequent perpetuation of this scholarship in the relatively isolated spheres of Urdu regional-language studies in history.



In the final paper, Sanal Mohan discussed Prathyakhsha Rakhshya Daiva Sabha's reconstruction of the history of the slave experience of lower castes in Kerala (congruent with and mediated through missionary efforts at addressing the inhumanity of their oppression). First, through written histories compensating for the deliberate aporias of canonical historiography. And second, through the repetitive ritual re-enactment of the trauma of slavery, which was a "re-memoration" of an essentially "imagined" history. The problem with such a 'history', mobilised through a future-oriented mystical faith, was precisely that the figure of Yohannan, the founder of the creed, became ensconced in hagiography. And the passing of the crisis of the present conveniently made way for a rhetoric of governmentality and development for a people far removed from any actual experience of slavery. This instance of history as *practice* underlines the ironic impossibility of critical intervention in the established canon without re-phrasing, re-contextualising, or in effect re-historicising, such recalcitrant histories.

The seminar was concluded by a symposium. Lakshmi Subramanian emphasised the need to problematise the very process of 'vernacularisation' in terms of its functions and urged us to engage with certain ruptures/ellipses in history to recognise the specific formal and structural innovations/improvisations they had generated. Tapati Guha-Thakurata focused on a perceptible shift in understanding the 'vernacular' from its purely linguistic implications towards that of a socio-cultural space underscored by its exclusion or marginalisation from

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the mainstream. She expressed concern about the increasing polarisation of certain spheres of knowledge from other possible vernacular modernities as they exist in post-colonial perceptions of India.

Drawing from these observations and especially from Janaki Nair's summation of the five most distinct deployments of the term 'vernacular', it seems useful to strategically posit the term vernacular in terms of its etymology from *The Oxford Concise Dictionary*— *Verna* (Lat.), "house born slave". Thus, 'vernacular' in the adjectival form— "of the slave born in the house of the master"— becomes a relational category embedded in an essentially asymmetric equation of power. A term that primarily acquired epistemic currency, or became identifiable, through the experience of colonialism— as the language/s of the colonised "native", other than English,

to be located, classified and tabulated for administrative (e.g. in ethnography or in the naming of regimens) or for epistemic purposes (e.g. locating *Manusmriti* as analogous to Western legal codices).

So politicised, the vernacular can include Sanskrit and the so-called high languages or "purist constructs" in terms of the colonial Orientalist discursive practices, as well as the corroborative, though resistant, discourses of vernacular pride in the search for authentic genealogies for languages that will eventually be established as hegemon over yet other vernaculars. Such a strategy, while guarding against the simplification of multiple orders, hierarchies, negotiations and exchanges between vernaculars, can also address instances of reversal of epistemic markers between English and regional languages, unconventional sources,

'hybrid' languages or language spheres constituted by the very lexicon of the colonial-metropolitan market, genres or modalities produced by the quotidian now distanced by the 'otherness of history' or allegations of unprofessionalism and also the rhetoric of rituals, esoterism or secrecy designed as hidden critiques to evade censorship, or as sites of agency or empowerment. This could open up the possibility of reading "vernacular histories" as against "histories in the vernacular" as pointed out by Gyanendra Pandey and enable us to interrogate, if not evacuate, certain established categories of history, while acknowledging that any such exercise in heterologies is likely to be as politically, ideologically and institutionally motivated by present imperatives as the efforts that they seek to question in retrospect.



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All other photographs courtesy Abhijit Bhattacharya, Archivist, CSSSC.

International Vernacular Languages Day, 21 February

Ekushey February now also called just *Ekushey*. Adopted first in 1952 in then East Pakistan as Mother Language Day (*matribhasa dibash*). It is also commemorated as *Shaheed Dibas* (Martyrs' Day) and, since 2000, as International Vernacular Languages Day. On 21 February 1952, corresponding to 8 Falgun 1359 in the Bangla calendar, a number of students campaigning for the recognition of Bangla as one of the state languages of Pakistan were killed when police fired upon them.

Bhubaneswar Calling: The Tenth Cultural Studies Workshop



Kamalika Mukherjee

She is a doctoral scholar in history at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta and her research interest is in allegories of womanhood in popular visual culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Calcutta. Apart from her interest in arts and aesthetics, she is also keen on issues related to gender and development studies. She loves visiting museums, gallery hopping, listening to sixties music and alternative rock, and is passionate about soccer and thinks that Brazilians are the ultimate gods on the footie field.

The Tenth Cultural Studies Workshop on "The Governance of Cultures" was held in Bhubaneswar, India from 21 to 26 January 2005. One of the reasons for organising these inter-disciplinary workshops, explained Partha Chatterjee, was that researchers from different disciplines were often faced with a range of issues that did not belong to the conventional ambit of social sciences.

The sub-theme for the first day of the workshop was "States as Custodians of Culture". Satish Deshpande made a presentation on Michel Foucault's "On Governmentality". He discussed the shift from management of territories to management of population that occurs with the emergence of such notions as social contract and family, and Foucault's argument regarding the family becoming a model for governmentality. Deshpande concluded that this work could be extended to rethink colonialism and colonial governmentality.

Sanjib Baruah discussed Etienne Balibar's "The Nation Form": How the family gains importance for the nation-state and how the nation-state in turn reconstitutes the family. In this context he discussed the various problems plaguing the North-East and the Indian state's continuing ignorance and high-handedness in dealing with the region.

Janaki Nair discussed the work of Rajeswari Sundar Rajan, titled "Women between Community and State: Some Implications of the UCC Debates". Since 1975, after the publication of *Towards Equality*, the Indian state began to perceive women as a 'category' rather than a 'community'. In conclusion, Nair referred to the visibility of women in the public sphere against the context of a growing market economy and emphasised that women as consumers cannot remain outside the state.

The student presentations began with Nilanjana Mukherjee analysing the tableaux or spectacle of the Republic Day parade; Simran Chadha spoke about ethnic nationalism and the pluralistic space of the nation in immigrant Sri Lankan fiction; Lou Antolihao (Philippines) spoke about the Pahiyan festival, which showcased the integration of a Catholic ritual into the core of Filipino culture; and, Ogu Sunny Enemaku (Nigeria) dealt with the culturally

pluralistic nation of Nigeria where the state has been trying to systematically legitimise the dominance of the three largest ethnic groups, and to project them as being representative of national culture.

The second day's theme was "Governance of Religion". Rajeev Bhargava began with a presentation on William Connolly's "A Critique of Pure Politics". He enumerated different problems that the current liberal doctrine of secularism faces: Conceptual flaws, need to go beyond a normative power and lack of alternatives. Unlike Connolly, Bhargava opined that questions relating to secularism, especially in the Indian case, have been preoccupied with inter-religious and intra-religious domination. The next speaker, Partha Chatterjee, presented Talal Asad's "What Might an Anthropology of Secularism Look Like". Chatterjee elaborated on Asad's anthropological perspectives on religion and secularism. Asad denoted secularism as a set of practices and ways in which such secular practices can be doable, thinkable and justifiable. Chatterjee pointed out that secularism becomes an unresolved ground between the moral and the empirical subject—the secular subject is based on a myth. Next, Dwaipayana Bhattacharya discussed Partha Chatterjee's work "Secularism and Tolerance". He argued that the option left to the secular state of India was to recognise inherent differences as a hallmark of a multicultural country.

The student presentations for the day began with R. Santosh's analysis of the religious practice of *thookkam* (hook swinging) that existed in the Elavoor *Puthnkavu* temple near Ernakulam in Kerala, subsequently stopped in 1987 due to the opposition of a Hindu reformist sanyasi. Renate Meyer suggested that memory be seen as a performative act and that the state archives in South Africa played a significant role in relation to the TRC. N.M. Meetei spoke on the revivalist movement in Manipur and the need to preserve Meetei cultural identity.

The theme for the third day's workshop was "Cultural Institutions, Histories and Policies" and the morning

session saw a discussion of Timothy Mitchell's work, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Complex" by Tapati Guha-Thakurta. According to Guha-Thakurta, Mitchell's essay rethinks the two regimes of art history and visual culture. In Mitchell's work one can see how art museums have become the most important legacy of Western civilisation and how the West now turns towards art as a valorised category. Guha-Thakurta highlighted the West's attempt to 'order' the 'other' non-western world in particular modes of commodification of its cultural practices. Guha-Thakurta then discussed "The Art Museum as Ritual" by Carol Duncan and the various features of art museums as a specific colonial Western institution. According to Guha-Thakurta, art museums have become a ritual site and their aim is to uplift the aesthetic sense of the population—this can be seen as a moral and aesthetic civilisational process. Guha-Thakurta then asked whether the art museum holds the same status in the colonised cultures of the West as in colonial and post-colonial worlds. The speaker aptly concluded that there was a sustained effort in producing the idea of great art museums in India, which was concurrently entwined with the project of the nation-state. A good example, the speaker pointed out, was the National Museum in New Delhi.

Manas Ray presented the article by John Frow called "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia". Ray showed how 'visibility', 'nostalgia' and 'memory' often overlap and contest with each other. According to Ray, what comes out from Frow's writing is how the writer addresses the question of representation, which in turn attempts to create the 'real' out there. The world, argued Ray, becomes a series of endless exhibitions.

Sushil Hegde spoke on Sudipta Kaviraj's work, "The Cultures of Representative Democracy". According to Hegde, Kaviraj's writing evokes a deep awareness of De Tocqueville's mood, raising the important issue of what representative democracy has done to India.

The student presentations for the day began with Shalini M's study of the functioning of school textbooks as an agency of the state and dominant

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culture. A Brazilian student of Anthropology, Aline Sapiezinskas, analysed the implementation of historical-cultural heritage public policies, specifically in Porto Alegre, focussing on identity reconstruction. Richard Ssewakiryanga from CBR, Kampala, Uganda, spoke about university cultures and the social history of Makerere University of Uganda. The last speaker for the day, Arnab Dey, focussed on how the Assam Valley tea plantations have been important sociological and cultural progenitors in the emergence of notions of Assamese identity as well as in initiating questions of modernity and change.

The third day ended with the most 'controversial' paper by Sovan Tarafdar on the 'spectacular' execution of Dhananjoy Chattopadhyay, the convicted rapist-killer. Sovan threw open to the house the question of whether the spectacle, centring round the execution of Dhananjoy, acted as a deterrent for the masses. The session witnessed some animated debate.

The fourth day was spent sightseeing in Konarak, Puri and Pipli. The theme for the fifth day's workshop was "Censorship and Cultural Policing". Udaya Kumar discussed Jonathan Gilmore's essay, "Censorship, Autonomy and Artistic form". Udaya concluded that disciplining of aesthetics in Europe led to the growth of governance of aesthetics and culture. Thus censorship as a constraint mechanism becomes productive. Udaya in his presentation also dealt with notions of pornography and obscenity and stated that what is not obscene in one situation can become obscene in another cultural location.

Moinak Biswas analysed Madhava Prasad's essay, "Cinema and Censorship in Colonial India". Biswas identified the Indian Cinematograph Committee Report of 1927 as singularly important in the history of cinema in India. Sibaji Bandopadhyay in his captivating reading of Slavoj Zizek's work, "Multi-culturalism and the Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism" started with a personal confession that Zizek's writings evoke both 'cleverness' and 'passion'. Bandopadhyay then identified two key concepts: a) Clean— one can find this notion in Sigmund Freud's *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, b) Symptom— Zizek has tried to establish a contiguous condition between Marxian analysis and Post-Freudian Psycho-analysis. Bandopadhyay then brought into the discussion issues like the deadlock between multiculturalism and fundamentalism, nationalisation of ethics and ethnicisation of the national.

The student presentation for the day started with Indonesian Fakhriati's

discussion of Sufism and radical politics in Aceh in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Kamalika Mukherjee analysed the image of the woman in late nineteenth and early twentieth century popular visual imagery and literature in Calcutta. Kamalika attempted to survey the changing world of popular picture production in order to see the large richly diverse imagery and categories of womanhood that were at play.

Ratheesh Radhakrishnan's paper attempted to work out the relationship between the structuring of the public domain and hegemonic masculinities in contemporary Kerala. The last two papers for the day's session were by Clementia Neema Mureembe who made a diachronic study of women's empowerment, marital conflict management and family stability in Banyankore of Uganda and Samson James Opolot's discussion on politics and culture in post-colonial Uganda, the legacy of censorship, cultural policing and non-democracy in a multi-ethnic country.

The theme for the final day was "Disciplines, Canons, and Contestations". Kavita Singh discussed Tapati Guha-Thakurta's "Art History and the Nude". The speaker spoke of the effort by colonial masters to classify and amass knowledge about art objects, which were sensuous and sexually charged. Kavita then concluded that Khajuraho's eroticism is not a problem thanks to tourist pamphlets and coffee-table books so readily available.



Anjan Ghosh took up Johannes Fabian's work, "Popular Culture in Anthropology". Ghosh referred to its autobiographical aspects. When interpretation of cultural theory was proceeding in a linear manner, Fabian tried to move away. Fabian posited popular culture as an alternative to culture. However, Ghosh raised the pertinent point whether popular culture is pertinent to understanding cultural theories.

The student presentations began with Shashikantha K's attempt to understand Dasa Sahitya, placing it in the larger socio-political situation in early twentieth century Karnataka. N.R. Levin's work attempted to look at the statist imagination and its practical and local application in the case of a Kerala fisher caste association called the Dheevvara Sabha. Udaya reminded

us that from Levin's work one can see the opposition that now arose between Brahmanical documents and new histories which were being produced.

Sujit Mohapatra gave a fascinating account of the construction of the notion of 'jungle' and he traced the genealogy of the 'jungle' from ancient India to the colonial period. He analysed Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book* to see how the representation of the jungle in this book reflected and justified colonial policies governing the forest. Radica Mahase from Trinidad and Tobago spoke of the Indians in Trinidad and the ways in which their culture evolved over time. She discussed the impact of the policies of the British Imperial government, the Colonial state in Trinidad and the Independent government (since 1962) on the development of "Indian" culture. Finally, the workshop ended with Panchanan Dalai's paper, which dealt with various accounts on 'diaspora' by different critics. Dalai depicted the picture of the older generation *grimityas* of Fiji and Malaysia who longed for their native homeland of India, as well as the younger generation and their sense of self-identity and ethnic sensibility.



At the end of all the presentations, it was time to reflect on what this year's cultural studies workshop achieved or aspired towards. Each student participant was invited to say a few words and there was unanimous agreement that it had been a good platform to present their respective researches, an eye-opener for students coming from different disciplinary backgrounds about the diversity of scholarship and that the suggestions and comments had been useful. Everyone agreed about a strong South-South foundation being established through such a rewarding and wonderful workshop. However, there was some discomfort and complaints by foreign participants about too much focus being given to Indian scholarship. There was also the suggestion that the venue of this workshop be taken beyond India to other South countries. The tenth Cultural Studies Workshop thus ended on a very happy and successful note and young aspiring scholars of this year's workshop proposed coming together again if given the opportunity in the near future.

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Memorable Maputo: Personal reflections on the Visual South Workshop, Maputo, 2004.



Rajasri Mukhopadhyay

Rajasri is a (developing!) Art Historian. After a B.A. from Presidency College and an M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture from Calcutta University, she is now a Research Fellow at The Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Her research is on the Early Medieval Sculptures of Khiching (Mayurbhanj, Orissa). Her interest includes both iconography and style. She is at present working towards a Ph.D. She has written on heritage, gender, sexuality and feminist art history. Her passions are music and cinema, both of which she practices. She sings every variety of Bengali songs, and has been Associate Director of national and international award winning documentaries. She has also been a Resource person for "Peaceworks", an initiative of Seagull Media and Arts Resource Centre, explaining to school children the fabricated nature of the Archaeological Survey of India's report on Ayodhya.

Among the New Year emails, there was a poignant Derek Walcott extract capturing the spirit of Christmas in the Caribbean region. It was sent by C. M. Harclyde Walcott. He teaches cultural history at the Cave Hill campus of the University of West Indies. We became friends at the training workshop on visual sources held at Maputo, Mozambique in September 2004. The email brought back a host of wonderful memories. The workshop had been an enriching, learning experience.



Jean Paul Sartre while introducing the poets of a collection of black poetry, *Black Orpheus* (1963), identified the shared sentiment of a collective black consciousness in their poetry. During this workshop, I experienced a similar sense of collectiveness at two levels. First, the area of visual studies being dominated by north American and west European scholarship, what we are trying to do in the South is push the frontiers and access visual sources through new categories. Throughout the South, the hegemony of textual sources is a reality: Most of us who deal with visual sources of history, whether art objects, photographs or films, feel that we are a 'minority' in our respective departments or institutes which are largely dominated by conventional textual sources. Sometimes, our work is not accorded an equal status because it uses 'softer' sources. Though none of us at the workshop in Maputo wanted to do away with the 'word' altogether, our passion for the 'image' or the 'visual' forged an instant bonding. We were all in complete agreement in wanting visuals to be seen as constituting parts of discourse *in their own right*,

and not merely as complements to written history because they provide new and different insights that can not be gained from texts alone. It was inspiring to know that the University of the Western Cape is running a course called Visual History. The second factor contributing to a sense of collective was the obvious legacy of a shared colonial past, involving both the anti-colonial struggles of the past, and the present-day attempts to negotiate the challenges of the post-colonial predicament. From Peter Fryer's book *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1984) one gets to know about the intellectual and political connections between peoples of Asian, Caribbean and African descent in Britain. At Maputo we experienced such connections first hand, in an autonomous space, as it were, outside the restrictive framework of nationhood and citizenship (within which Fryer's book, by definition, operates). I can recall here, in passing, two particular instances of this spirit of unity and fraternity: In his opening remarks, Prof. J.D.N.Tembe, Director, Mozambican Historical Archive, said, "We are all from developing countries. For that dialogue will be easy"; and Babacar Ba, presenting the history of colonial penitentiary punishment in Senegal, evoked an immediate association with the Cellular jail in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, India.



Engaging exchanges characterised the workshop. On the very first day, while getting acquainted, Farabi Fakh from Indonesia, mentioned enthusiastically that the name 'Rajasri' sounded very familiar to him. He started calling

me 'Siri', the latter being a very common and popular name in Indonesia. On being told that 'Siri' means 'goddess', I pointed out to him that the Sanskrit root is 'Sri', which denotes the goddess of wealth and bounty, a synonym for goddess Lakshmi. This took us into the links between our pasts— the relations between early medieval India and *Yavadvipa* (ancient Indonesia, the term 'Java' is a derivative) and the rest of South-east Asia, the concept of Greater India or Hindu colonies in the Far-east which gained much popularity in the colonial period among Indians. Indians craved for *colonies* supposedly founded by their forefathers, largely in order to achieve an imagined parity of sorts with British colonial power. Our thoughts then veered towards a re-examination of the Indianisation of South-east Asia. What emerged from our discussion was that Indian culture had failed to modify the basic structures of society, economy and polity of the South-east Asian countries which essentially remained true to their Austro-Asiatic past, while the cultural trappings— consisting of social behaviour pattern, religious practices, fine arts and literature, scientific and philosophical speculations, jurisprudence and administrative system— were greatly influenced by Indian ideas and ideals. Farabi who lives near the Borobudur stupa and Prambanam temple complex extended a warm invitation to come and study these artistic-historic splendours. I promised to share my understanding of the iconographical details and symbolism of the archaeological/architectural sites with him.



With Maria from Argentina it was a reticent start; it was only gradually

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that we discovered our mutual concern for human rights issues. As Maria talked about dictatorship and state terrorism in Argentina in her presentation on the photographs of people who have 'disappeared', I made mental notes, comparing it with the situation in Kashmir and North-east India, particularly Manipur. During the coffee break our discussion touched upon cinema— the social-realist genre in Argentina and India, in particular. Maria was happy to know that Argentine filmmakers like Fernando Solanas, Manuel Antin and Carlos Sorin are familiar names to Indian film-buffs and that *The Adventures of God* (Eliseo Subiela, 2000) was the opening film at the Calcutta Film Festival in the recent past.

Cinema turned out to be an important issue at Maputo. Leslie Witz in an interactive literacy exercise session showed clippings from three documentaries dealing with slave trade from different angles— Mazroui's film about black Americans making 'pilgrimage' to Africa, Gates' tracing back of personal roots, and Basil Davidson's attempt at postulating how racism grew out of slavery. Gairoonisa reflected on film as historical source and evidence and on film as history, weaving her arguments around her own film *Cissie Gool*. Foluke, discussing television docu-drama, referred to the strong video film movement in Ghana and

the West African coast. During the plenary discussion I mentioned Anand Patwardhan's political documentaries, only to find later that Harclyde from Barbados, is an old friend of Anand and has organised shows of his films in Canada. Interested in various art forms, films, photography and theatre, Harclyde expressed his fascination for the dramatic Indian dance form, Kathakali. We also compared the Indian and Caribbean cuisines, food being an important marker of cultural history. We agreed that we had a shared taste for rice and fish, something that seems to be true for the South at large.

Commonalities were discovered not only in cuisine, but also in colonial photographic practices and indigenous customs. The photographic presentation by Patricia Hayes depicting the heyday of game hunting and ethnographic photography in Africa brought to mind the *shikar* (game hunt) photographs of colonial India. Such parallels can be found in Paulo Lopes Jose's study in cultural patrimony management. Throughout the South, indigenous knowledge and community consciousness play an important role at various historical and archaeological sites.

But the Maputo experience was not limited to the confines of the seminar room. Moving about the city we came across a huge female statue opposite the railway station near the central

market. Her gigantic proportions immediately caught our attention. The idea of the family played a crucial role in consolidating the Afrikaner nationalist ideology. The Mother of the Nation image was central to such consolidation. The authority and power of motherhood was marshalled in the service of white racism, and the statue was a vivid reminder of that. Another tremendous visual experience was viewing the works of Malangatana, the most acclaimed painter of Mozambique. The vibrant colours, exuberant figures, and dramatic compositions bristling with movement reflected the political turmoil of the anti-colonial struggle and the civil war. Malangatana's large collection of traditional Mozambican art was no less impressive than his own work. The Makonde sculptures from North Mozambique are intricate pieces carved in ebony. They depict the 'Tree of Life'— men, women and children engaged in daily chores, and in their hours of leisure; in short, a celebration of life. The iron sculptures of Bastar (Madhya Pradesh, India) illustrate identical themes in similar ways, only the medium and the ethnic look of the figures being different. Such incredible similarities demand an awareness of the relationships between the countries in the South and re-emphasise the necessity of South-South exchange and comparative study.



Photograph Courtesy Patricia Hayes

Contemporary South

Yes to War! No to War! ...Claims and Claims Making Activities¹

Edsel L. Beja, Jr.

Edsel is a graduate student in economics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA. He is interested in the areas of development and international finance, development economics and policy, environmental economics and policy, the informal sector, and political economy. The title of his doctoral dissertation is *Capital Flight from Southeast Asia: Case Studies on Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand*, which is being supervised by Professors James K. Boyce and Gerald Epstein. His study has received funding from the Social Science Research Council and the Political Economy Research Institute. Edsel has graduate degrees from the University of Cambridge and Ateneo de Manila University. He is from Cagayan de Oro City in southern Philippines.

What is a claim? An example of a claim is as follows:

Dulce et decurom est pro patria mori.

[It is sweet and fitting to die for one's fatherland.]

Here is another claim:

Iraq has and is producing weapons of mass destruction, including biological and chemical, and thus a threat to the national security of the United States of America.

A new United Nations Security Council resolution is needed in order to disarm Saddam Hussein.

Yet another claim is:

This war on Iraq is about oil. The United States is interested in securing the oil reserves of Iraq.

A claim can be in the interrogative form too, such as:

Where is Osama Bin Laden in this debate?

So what then is a claim? A claim is a perceived or alleged condition or situation or problem that people find undesirable or offensive and that needs to be addressed. Claims, however, need not be true. But claims can have objective bases, and thus are legitimate and true claims. In considering a claim, the focus has to be on the process of constructing and re-constructing and on presenting arguments and counter-arguments in different venues. In this process, the claimants— both those who support a

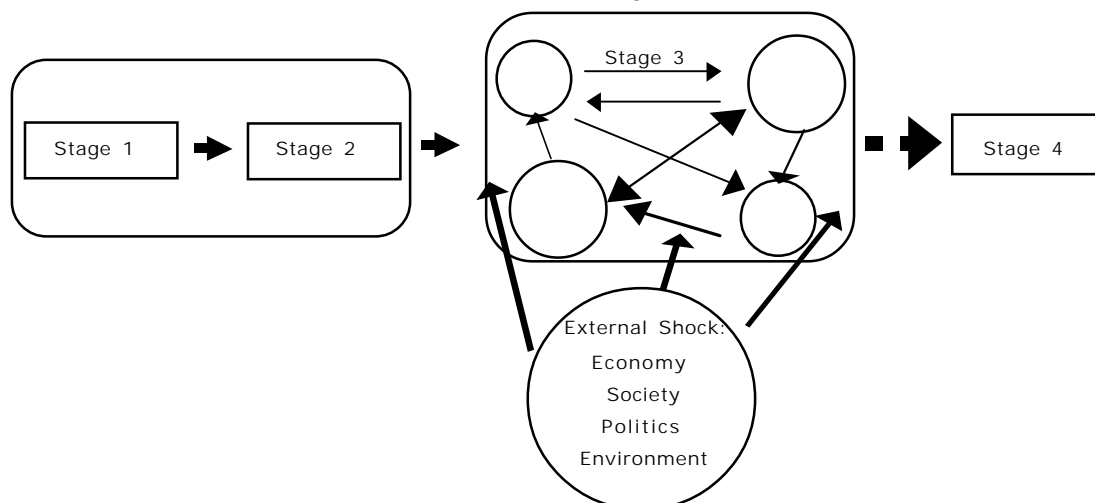
claim and those who do not— are important players.

To help us understand claims making, we present a model (Figure 1). This model has four stages. In the first stage, there is an assertion of a need to eradicate, ameliorate, or change an existing condition. First, an individual or group of people raises a claim. They say there is a discrepancy between an expected outcome or situation and the actual outcome or situation. But once made, it is important that the claim is sustained

and raised in a public debate, or else it gets ignored. It needs to be articulated, and in this way may gain power and support. Here power can mean the sheer number of claimants supporting or agreeing with the claim, which can be demonstrated by the legitimacy of claimants as reflected by their past activities or involvements.

But when the claim is acknowledged by an organisation, there is a response. The response arises because the claim is perceived to be of consequence and so can neither be

Figure 1



¹Thanks to Sandi Chan and Jerry Epstein for comments on the earlier version of this paper. The author claims all mistakes.

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ignored nor disregarded outright. With this recognition, a claim becomes part of the agenda of the responding organisation, which transforms a claim from something that is outside the system to that which is part of the system. Through the response, the claim's position in the system is secure. Claimants themselves can become part of the system as the claim gets established: for instance, they can be asked to participate in proceedings to determine the appropriate response to take.

For the claim to move to the next stage an institution has to be set up. Succeeding events are typically characterised by surfacing of counter-claims and responses. The reason for this is that sometimes the institutional response is not accepted or perceived to be the appropriate or adequate solution; meaning to say, the response is judged to be non-optimal. It is possible that other groups perceive that the institutional response has put them at a disadvantage, thus giving rise to a counter-claim. In this latter case the response is shown to be inferior. This stage is similar to the first—claimants perceive that there is a difference between what they expected to have and what they actually have.

What then follows with counter-

claims is a process of re-negotiation, reform, and dialogue. A new institution is subsequently set up. In a similar fashion, if the counter-claim is similarly perceived to be inappropriate and so on, or a response puts other groups at a disadvantage, or similar position, another set of counter-claims arises—giving birth to a claims-and-counter-claims cycle.

Yet it is possible for claims making to get stuck at this stage or for claims making to be transferred from a site that is non-accommodating to another that is more receptive to the activity. But time is also important because the longer this cycle persists it is likely that claims become more intense.

In the final stage, the cycle of claims making exhausts the process. In a way there is a threshold to the third stage. Eventually claimants lose confidence in the process and conceive their own solution and act. In this regard claimants reject not only the institutional response but also the whole process; they perceive that it is no longer possible to work within the system and take up radical action. Sometimes an external shock— a strong enabling factor or critical event— may be required for the process to reach the last stage.

A few more comments about the basic model may be needed. The first point is that the basic model suggests

a direct progression of claims making from stage one to stage four. Yet it is possible that people are stuck in the earlier stages of claims making. If there was progression to the higher stages this would probably be a slow process. The second point is that claims making suggests that there is always a radical fourth stage, where the established processes are totally repudiated by claimants who have become so frustrated that they take matters in their own hands. However it may be possible for claimants to pursue something not extreme or radical, especially when they realise that working within the system is unavoidable or necessary to reach their goals. The third point is that past activities and responses are important. Precedence is relevant. Indeed the credibility of claimants is earned over time and demonstrated by their past activities, both successes and failures. In the same way claimants' expectations on how institutions respond depend on the latter's past behaviour and responses. Finally the location of claims making is also important. In fact it is possible for claims-making activities to shift from one place that is non-accommodating to another that is more receptive.

Now let us go back and consider the claims made earlier... Or let us consider the following claim:

And we have evidence that shows that the infrastructure to make more missiles continues to remain within Iraq and has not yet been identified and destroyed. — Collin Powell

How about this claim:

North Korea has nuclear weapons.

And another claim:

The notion that the United States is getting ready to attack Iran is simply ridiculous. Having said that, all options are on the table. — President George W. Bush

Here is a model to understand claims making on the pressing issues of the day. It is not about whether a claim or the counter-claim is true or not; it is about process— what claim-

ants actually do, that is, what their activities are, both overt and covert, in support of or against a claim in order to address the alleged condition

or problem. Claims making is important because it determines to an important degree the social, political, and economic agenda of a society.

To offer one's life is a sacrifice and in the context of war, it is indeed "dulce et decurum" [sweet and fitting] to die for the fatherland. Yet such sacrifice becomes meaningful only when life is given up with moral cause and conviction.

...So it is a claim.

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The Tsunami of 26 December 2004

Satyesh C. Chakraborty

Satyesh C. Chakraborty did his M.A. at Calcutta University and went on to London University to read for his Ph.D. He taught at Presidency College from 1957 to 1972 and did a brief stint at Burdwan University. He was with the State Planning Board from 1972 to 1977. He left that to join the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta, as a Senior Professor and was there till 1991. He has lectured extensively in Universities in India and abroad. *Global Warming Scenario* (Thema, Kolkata) is his recent publication. He is interested in anything concerning human beings.

On the northwestern tip of Sumatra a severe earthquake pushed walls of water against coasts of 11 nations in Asia and Africa on 26 December 2004, killing more than 250 thousand people. People died in Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, Seychelles, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Indian peninsula together with the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. It has been a brutal demonstration of the vulnerability of mankind. Without warning, waves up to 10 metres slammed on the low-lying coast engulfing whole villages within 100 metres from the high water line, sank fishing vessels and swept off people, many of them young children and the elderly, out to sea. The records of casualty are not yet final.

How were the Waves Triggered

A series of waves started just before 7 a.m. local time in Sumatra that was followed over the next two hours by a series of aftershocks, some of them major earthquakes in their own right. The National Earthquake Centre at the US Geological Survey in Honolulu had measured the quake at 8.9 on the Richter scale, making it the largest in the world since 1964 and the fifth largest since 1900. Seismological stations around the world recorded the shockwaves almost instantaneously.

This killer wave has been called a 'Tsunami'; a term adopted for general international use in 1963. It is a Japanese word, represented by the characters *tsu*, meaning 'harbour' and *nami* meaning 'wave'. Although older accounts often refer to tsunamis as 'tidal waves', one natural phenomenon that doesn't cause the tsunamis is the tides. Most tsunamis are formed when slippage along fault moves huge segments of oceanic crust vertically during underwater earthquakes. The water column over a vast area is also thrown vertically. The tsunami-producing earthquakes usually occur when a block of the crust of the earth overlying a reverse fault moves upwards.

Consisting of solid, rigid rock, tectonic plates form the outermost layer of the crust of the earth. Oceanic plates are transported outwards from mid-oceanic spreading zones. At oceanic margins these are pulled under continental plates at oblique angles, a process known as

subduction. Beneath continental fringes and island arcs, buried oceanic crust melts, venting on the surface as volcanoes that compose the Ring of Fire. Paralleling the coast, offshore trenches show the massive underwater thrust faults on which subduction persist. Such a trench, known as the Sunda Trough, is located to the south of the Indonesian archipelago. Although several types of offshore earthquakes can cause tsunamis, the majority of them originate on thrust faults in subduction zones.

Tsunamis are always a possibility in the Pacific, the world's largest ocean, where the ocean floor is expanding against the surrounding continental margins. No floor of any other ocean is known to be expanding. The Hawaiian Islands, in particular, lie directly in the path of tsunamis originating from most of the Pacific Ocean subduction zones. This is one of the reasons why a major tsunami warning centre is located in Honolulu in the Hawaiian Islands. There are also many more warning centres in the Pacific Rim countries.



Fuji Series by Katsushika Hokusai. Ships transporting fish in high seas along the coast of Kanagawa. Early 1830's. Popular image of Tsunami. Reference: http://www.hungry.com/~jamie-jimages-fujibig_jpg_files\ufuji.htm

Unlike wind-generated waves, the pulse of displaced water in a tsunami wave extends all the way to the bottom of the ocean and is transported forwards and backwards. As tsunami waves travel across the ocean basin at speeds of about 750 kilometres per hour, the wavelength from crest to crest may spread up to 400 kilometres, while the amplitude from trough to crest is usually less than two metres. Thus a tsunami disguises itself well in deep water. When the sea becomes shallower towards shore, the wavelength shortens, the amplitude from trough

to crest increases and the tsunami becomes destructive. While the characteristic tsunami wave appears as an extreme and rapid tide, other forms of waves can occur. Particularly fearsome is the bore, a vertical wave of tumbling water.

As initial waves travel, it disperses into a series of component waves and into a succession of rings. In local tsunamis, travelling directly to the nearby land, the arrival is quick and the intervals between the successor waves are almost nil. These arrive within an hour, sometimes in as little as three minutes, and they may be huge, in rare cases over 30 metres. They often arrive too quickly for formal warning systems to be effective. The only announcement might be the preceding earthquake.

However, when the tsunami crosses the wide oceans, say in the Pacific, its component waves may arrive as much as an hour apart. These can travel vast distances, losing little of their energy en route. Arriving on far shores, they may be as high as 15 metres. Prior to modern warning systems, distant tsunamis arrived totally out of the blue. The picture people have of tsunamis is 'one giant wave that always seems to leap up in the middle of the night like surf over a sleeping village.' Perhaps what they imagine is the big, curling, tendril bearing wave as in the famous nineteenth-century prints of a painting by the Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai. The artist never intended to represent a tsunami.

The early waves arrive gently. The residents often believe that the tsunami is nothing to worry about. They may even venture to the shore to watch subsequent waves come in, losing their lives to later waves that are as much as ten times larger than the initial ones. As these propagate along the shore, they bounce off and refract around headlands and sea stacks. Sometimes these waves add together and become larger than the direct waves.

Though underwater earthquakes usually generate tsunamis, they may be caused by any massive disturbance of the water column, either from above or below. They may, for instance, be caused by large volcanic eruptions, like the infamous 27 August 1883 eruption of Krakatau in the East Indies. The sudden collapse of the 2000 metre high volcano triggered a powerful tsunami that killed over

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36,000, and left no trace of 165 coastal villages. The impact of celestial objects such as meteors can also cause tsunamis.

In addition, two types of landslides can generate tsunamis. Sub-aerial slides begin on land, but their debris can impact the water. Submarine slides begin and end completely under water. Submarine landslides not associated with earthquakes can be particularly insidious, generating tsunamis that arrive with no warning. Such slides could occur, for example, in the steep-walled submarine canyons, such as in the Sunda Trough or in any other numerous trenches of the Pacific Ocean.

Impacts of the Tsunami

Aerial images of the coastlines of the areas affected by the tsunami of 26 December 2004 suggest that the world map may have changed forever, with chunks of land sinking into the sea. But scientists do not think that the change is going to be permanent. They believe that almost all the apparent land fragmentation appearing in the aerial images are due to temporary flooding. Indonesia's National Coordination Agency for Surveys and Mapping says no new islands have been spotted and no existing islands have been seen to vanish or split up off the coast of Sumatra in Indonesia. Nor has Sumatra's coast been reshaped.

Local coast guards had, however, noted that some of the islands of the Andaman and Nicobar archipelago might have been cut into two or more parts. A long stretch of coral reef, which used to be under the sea, has now emerged above water, possibly because the island has tilted. But, it is not yet clear whether such reported changes are due to the tsunami, which creates only temporary changes, or due to the earthquakes. These may regain their earlier shapes gradually. A similar feature has been observed with the island of Sumatra. The entire island may have moved a few centimetres immediately after the quake, but measurements taken later showed it has mostly moved back in the week since the disaster.

The tsunami's impact varied between locations. The reason is that the shape of the ocean floor influences the force and behaviour of the waves when it approaches land. The sea floor shape can either enhance or dampen the wave, and since every basin is slightly different, so is every wave. For example, a steep drop-off from the coastline to the open sea, rather than a shallow slope, can form a natural barrier that tames the wave's ferocity. The tidal waves that swept across the Indian Ocean did more than take a heavy toll of lives and property in the Maldives, which is the world's lowest-lying country formed of 1,190 coral islands. Waves a metre or more high swept completely across many islands. Government officials and many residents are reassessing

whether it makes sense to live on hundreds of low-lying coral islands scattered across 620 miles of ocean.

In the more severely affected regions, the workers rushed to bury corpses to ward off diseases in all parts of the affected area. The count of death soared every day and no final count has yet been reached, because many were washed away. Millions were homeless in the disaster, dealing with hunger and the threat of disease. Town after town, village after village was covered in mud and salt water. Homes had their roofs ripped off or were flattened. However, the experts believe that this would not alter the demographic profile, because in each country only a small segment of the population had died. But there is a good possibility that a trend may set to migrate away from the rural areas to nearby urban centres for better infrastructure. Widespread looting was also reported in Thailand's devastated resort islands of Phuket and Phi Phi, where the tourists had left valuables behind in wrecked hotels when they fled or were swept away. The tsunami has also made the animals its victims. Dogs are homeless. Cows, water buffalo and goats have died. A number of farm animals are roaming over destroyed grazing land and drinking polluted water since their owners have died.

The tsunami swept away coastal crops and filled the fields with salt, leaving the farmers homeless as also snatching away the living they scraped from the soil. It could be two years or more before anything will grow in the damaged soil. Salty soil kills plants by preventing them from absorbing the water they need. The tsunami also washed away valuable topsoil and nutrients that took years to accumulate, meaning that even after the salt is gone, the land will be less fertile than before. Most fields are littered with debris. It would require a massive clean-up operation.



Downloaded from www.shoa.cl/servicios/tsunami/generalidades.htm

The tsunami had also battered the Indian Ocean coral reefs that already were in distress from pollution. It will require decades to recover. The incoming tsunami waves smashing into the coral reef damaged the reef. More disastrous was the wave returning to the ocean. It carried tons of debris along with sludge and silt. The heavy debris hit the reefs like battering rams, bulldozing the fragile coral formations. The sludge can bury the

coral, suffocating it. The researchers, surveying the coral formations in South Andaman Islands, found the coral reefs in danger of being smothered by sand deposits. The Andaman coral reefs are a treasure trove of biodiversity; second only to Australia's Great Barrier Reef and comparable to the coral reefs near the Philippines and Indonesia. Marine researchers have identified nearly 200 coral species in the reef around Andaman and Nicobar. More extensive surveys in the affected areas might reveal similar damages caused on the other coral reefs of the Indian Ocean. The loss of coral reefs could severely reduce the amount of fish available to the small, coastal rural communities in Asia and Africa that depend on the sea for food.

Some wildlife enthusiasts observed no evidence of large-scale deaths of animals indicating that animals may have sensed the wave coming and fled to safer ground. But some endangered sea turtles were casualties of the tsunami. In the tsunami-affected region, the olive ridley breeds only on the Andaman Sea coast. A number of turtles have been found on the shores of Phuket island, some dead, others with cuts, scrapes and broken shells. Many olive ridley turtles in a breeding programme were swept away. The green, hawksbill, olive ridley and leatherback turtles, which are found in tropical waters, live 18 feet from the shore, making them vulnerable to high waves as produced by the tsunami. The olive ridley and leatherback are listed as threatened or endangered. These had become nearly extinct in Thailand, because their eggs were smuggled for food.

Some governments had temporarily suspended imports of sea food from South Asian countries on the belief that fish may have ingested heavy metals. But experts have brushed off these fears, saying that fish could be contaminated by heavy metals only over a long period of time. But fish would more likely be contaminated with pathogens rather than chemicals, as heavily populated India and Sri Lanka have no waste water treatment.

Before shifting from the topic on impacts, it is probably useful to recognise that rampant coastal development in recent years, which removed the mangrove forests and coral reefs that had previously been abundant along shorelines did enhance the damage and death toll. Mangroves grow in thickets along tropical coastlines and their complicated root systems help to bind the soil together, effectively providing a shield against destructive waves. These natural barriers serve as nursing grounds for the fish and sea mammals and also buffers against the pounding surf and occasional tidal waves. Thailand's popular and extensively developed beach resorts were some of the hardest hit areas in the tsunami zone. In these especially vulnerable areas, hotels, shrimp

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farms, highways, housing and commercial developments have destroyed the natural barriers that might have otherwise shielded many victims from the brunt of the deadly wave. Some observers claim that many lives were spared by this tsunami because of coastal conservation measures instituted in India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka to preserve mangrove forests and coral reefs.

Sensing Tsunami

Wildlife in Yala National Park of Sri Lanka survived the tsunami. The wardens of the park found no dead animals. This has prompted theories that a 'sixth sense' alerted the animals of the impending disaster. But experts consider that the belief that animals have a sixth sense for danger is an ancient one and has never been proved. Probably their keen senses and the lay of the land enabled the animals to scamper to safety. Many animals are able to detect ground vibrations imperceptible to humans. The beasts also stood a chance because relatively few of them lived in the arid strip of salt flat and sand dune that forms part of Yala's southern boundary as it slopes into the sea. The dunes, reefs and mangroves may also have helped to blunt the impact.

A similar ability is believed to be a distinctive quality of many tribal people. After the tsunami, local officials spotted most members of the Great Andamanese, Onges, Jarawas, Sentinelese and Shompen tribes living in islands of the Andaman and Nicobar archipelago. They had apparently fled to the highland forests in the islands before the tsunami waves could trap them. These tribes live the most ancient lifestyle known to man, frozen in their Paleolithic past. Many produce fire by rubbing stones, fish and hunt with bow and arrow and live in leaf and straw community huts. The anthropologists believe that ancient knowledge of the movement of the wind, sea and birds may have saved these tribes.

Establishing Tsunami Predicting Centres

Animals and primitive people both having lost the ability to sense

impending threats from their environment, the peoples of the world need to set up tsunami warning systems. In fact, there are tsunami-predicting centres in the Pacific-rim countries, the central one being in Honolulu. Such an agglomeration of warning centres in the Pacific region is conditioned by the fact that the ocean floor of the Pacific is expanding against the continental margins where subduction zones are being formed. The arc-shaped island archipelagoes representing the tips of submerged mountains, like the Aleutian archipelago, the Japanese archipelago, the Philippine archipelago, the Indonesian archipelago and the Andaman Nicobar archipelago, mark the continental edges of these zones of subduction. Many other arc-shaped mountains now found on the edge of continents, like the Andes mountain, the Sierra Nevada mountain, the Himalayas, to name a few, had also formed on more ancient zones of subduction. The currently active zones of subduction are along the rim of the Pacific Ocean. If the shifting ocean plates are considered, then the Patkoi-Naga-Lushai mountain and the Andaman-Nicobar archipelago should also be seen to be located on the Pacific rim.

The Pacific Tsunami Warning Centre had detected the massive earthquake off the coast of Sumatra on 26 December 2004, but failed to warn the countries around the Indian Ocean, except Thailand, Indonesia and Australia, because there was no official alert system in the other countries of the region. Somehow it was believed that tsunamis would happen only in the Pacific region, not around the Indian Ocean. It was generally ignored that the subduction zones in the Bay of Bengal are related to the expanding floor of the Pacific Ocean.

The wave took at least 90 minutes to travel to South Asia. But, no one was alerted in any of the affected countries. The Indian Meteorological Department had detected the quake, but could not predict the tidal wave. Like meteorology experts elsewhere, the Thais' understanding of the event was limited by the fact that there was no sensor devices in the Indian Ocean area to measure currents and

changes in water levels. Although they were aware of the possibility of a tsunami developing, the decision not to issue a warning was motivated by the wish not to upset the tourist industry. The complete absence of any warning is likely to become the most critical political issue for the affected countries.

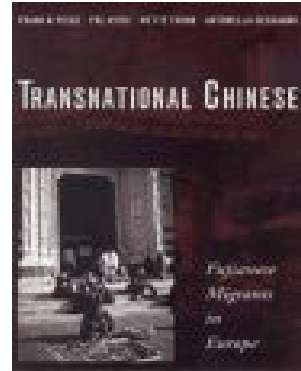
A warning centre such as those used around the Pacific Ocean could have saved thousands of lives. But it takes a substantial investment and long-term commitment to set up a 24-hour communications infrastructure, operational capabilities and specialised training. The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has proposed a system similar to the one that now protects the Pacific for the Indian Ocean countries. It would cost \$30 million and go into operation by mid-2006. But the experts have acknowledged that a warning system is not enough. Also needed are quake proof seawalls of sufficient height, detailed hazard maps showing danger areas, well-defined evacuation routes and shelters, a way to alert endangered people and education of coastal people about the dangers. Residents should be educated about warning signs of impending tsunami, such as offshore earthquakes and suddenly receding seas, so that they know how to evacuate on their own.

It should, however, be mentioned that the current scientific understanding of tsunamis and the available technology permit only limited prediction. Warning centres can determine whether an earthquake is capable of producing a tsunami and when such a tsunami will arrive, but they cannot say whether it will be a six-centimetre bulge or a ten-metre cataclysm. A multitude of factors, such as bathymetry, absence or presence of coral reefs, the shape of the shoreline, steepness of the beach, and distance from the origin, play a role in the final manifestation.

Migration: Linkages between the Transnational and the Local

Li Anshan

Frank Pieke, Pal Nyiri, Mette Thuno and Antonella Ceccagno, *Transnational Chinese: Fujianese Migrants in Europe*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2004, ISBN 0-8047-4995-7.



Received his PhD from the Department of History, University of Toronto. Professor at School of International Studies, Peking University, and visiting professor at Menlo College and Center for African Studies, Stanford University. He has publications in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* (Boston); *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Cambridge), *Journal of Religious History* (Sydney) and in Chinese academic journals. Author of *A History of Chinese Overseas in Africa* (Beijing, 2000), *British Rule and Rural Protest in Southern Ghana* (New York, 2002) and *A Study of African Nationalism* (2004), he is interested in African studies, colonialism, comparative nationalism and overseas Chinese studies.

This is a book by a group of transnational scholars (at least in the sense that they are constantly travelling from one country to another) who worked on the project for three years. This work is a valuable contribution towards our understanding of a new phenomenon. Fujian, a province in south China, is reputed for its long history of migration. The “Fujian Bang” identity (of the group of Fujianese, especially from Quanzhou, Xiamen and Zhangzhou) has made its mark in Southeast Asia. Over time, hundreds of thousands of rural Fujianese have migrated to different parts of the globe: United States, South America, South East Asia, Africa, Pacific region and Europe.¹

Although the Fujianese migration to Europe is a rather new phenomenon, it has nonetheless become “emblematic of changes taking place in Chinese migration at large.” Recent trends in Chinese migration to Europe have attracted international attention.² In *Transnational Chinese: Fujianese Migrants in Europe*, we come across such case studies. Take the Wu family for example. Although the Wu siblings settled down in Italy, yet one of them, Wu Yi, went back to Fujian purposely through Russia and stayed in Moscow long enough to get a residence permit. Then he used the permit to issue an invitation to his sister and other relatives (pp. 102-106). From Village A in Fuqing, there are 489 migrants now living in Singapore, United Kingdom, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Spain, France, United States, Honduras, Argentina,

Japan and Israel (p. 47). In this sense they are really transnational.

Transnational Chinese is also new in the sense that it is a cohesive work co-produced by researchers from five countries, China, Great Britain, Italy, Hungary and Denmark, both sending country and receiving countries. With the help of a Chinese field researcher, the four authors worked on the project for three years, interviewing migrant families in two villages in Fujian, China, and more than one hundred Chinese migrants in twenty-one European cities in Russia, Hungary, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Britain, Spain and Italy. They also visited New York City in order to get more information on the subject. Although this is a collective work, it has a cohesive theme, structure and argument. The interviewees included asylum seekers, families whose members live in different European countries, restaurant workers, families of workshop owners and businessmen. By doing this, they found two locales at the same time, the home villages, or the sending place, and the settled community, or the receiving place. Using their labour, skill, capital and service, the Fujianese by establishing direct or indirect contacts between their ‘home’ and various parts of the world are truly becoming transnational.

The transnational character of the subject is central to this approach. In recent years, a great number of works on Chinese migrants have been published. Some of them are general studies, others collections of articles on specific themes, still others are case studies, focusing only on one side, either sending communities or receiving countries.

Transnational Chinese stands out because it deals with both sides— the sending communities and receiving countries are both probed, analysed and theorised. This work is not merely an academic exercise; the authors have also tried to provide suggestions to both the sending and receiving countries in order to better conditions for ordinary migrants working in Europe.

The analysis is on three levels. First, the transnational social space proper, i.e. individuals, events, institutions, practices, and phenomena. The second is concerned with how and to what extent these separate transnational phenomena come together at one location to create a distinct local social space and how the local social spaces interact with each other. It is at this level that the local and the global meet. The third level asks how and to what extent the many transnational spaces and local worlds add up to global processes that encompass and transcend the individual phenomena of the first two levels.

The research method, so-called “transnational ethnography”, is also unique. Although the method used in this work is generally ethnographical, combining informal conversation and participant observation with formal interviews and a household survey, it is yet different from the conventional ethnographic method, which usually concerns one place. This research, on the other hand, involved five researchers working simultaneously at different localities, with each locality being visited several times in the course of three years. While concentrating on the transnational communities in Great

¹ I met a woman from Gutian of Fujian in the aeroplane to Singapore in April 2004. She told me that many of the girls in her village went to Singapore because migration to the U.S. cost too much, about 300,000 RMB.

² Frank Laczko (ed.) ‘Understanding Migration between China and Europe’, *International Migration*, 41, 3, Special Issue, 1/2003.

Reviews

Britain, Hungary and Italy, the study goes deep into the 'sending villages', or the "transnational villages", to use the authors' term. Questionnaires were sent to the Chinese local leaders, interviews carried on in the migrant villages in Fuqing and Mingxi. The interviews covered a wide range of people, although most of them are anonymous in the text.

What is more, as far as the sending localities are concerned, the conclusions are drawn from careful studies of the costs of transnational migration, local attitudes and conditions for migration, migrant household reactions towards migration, remittance, etc. This method also offers the much-needed means of studying the social activities within the processes and patterns of migration and provides the most up-dated data, indicating the continuity, discontinuity and change in the same locality. What is more, electronic copies of all the case files, interview notes, and field work notes are publicly available at the British Economic and Social Research Council for research purposes.

What is most impressive is the authors' ability of combining case studies with theoretical synthesis. There are many thoughtful arguments, but I will emphasise just one of them here. As far as conceptualisation of Chinese migration or Chinese diaspora is concerned,

the authors have introduced new concepts to describe the flow of Chinese people, ideas, capital and goods across the globe, such as "greater China", "Chinese commonwealth", "clash of civilizations", "Chinese capitalism", and "Confucian values". According to the authors, although these terms are important they do not provide the necessary analytical tools.

In order to counter such concepts, they have adopted the term "Chinese globalization", conceptualised as multiple, transnational social spaces. Chinese globalisation is seen as an ongoing process. It takes place in multiple centres and peripheries, produces new forms of inequality and competition, and encompasses a multiplicity of developments. By using this concept, the authors also challenge the conventional theory of globalisation based on the assumption that the natural nodes of globalisation processes are the large "global cities", such as New York, Los Angeles, London, Paris, etc. Of course, the authors did not want to cause misunderstanding by using the term "Chinese globalization", and thus stressed that Chinese migratory flow, although "distinct and distinctive", "can only be understood in the context of global processes that affect all people" (pp. 198,199).

Transnational Chinese gives us a picture of how the Fujianese migrants moved out of Fujian, entered Europe through various routes, set up their small communities or local social spaces. This stimulating book contributes a great deal to the field of migration and also opens up a treasure house for us to probe, and should inspire more work of this genre.

In a sense, "Transnational" also means "global". In the light of this work, however, the word "local" has double meaning, the Fujianese home village and their settled community. *Transnational Fujianese* makes us think about immigrants through a new perspective: They are transnational and local at the same time. A significant finding in the *World Culture Report* entitled "Cultural Diversity, Conflict and Pluralism" (published by the UNESCO in 2000) is that local and global loyalties are not mutually exclusive and an increasing number of people now consider themselves to be both local and global at one and the same time. I wonder how the Fujianese in Europe— undocumented immigrants, restaurant workers, peddlers without licence, porters— would respond to questions such as these. After all, they are the real living examples of the 'transnational and local'.

Announcements

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CALL FOR PROJECT PROPOSALS
LABOUR HISTORY
 NOIDA, INDIA.

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THE 'LONG' 1950s.
 LAST DATE FOR APPLICATION: 20 MAY 2005
 NEW YORK, USA.

SHORT-TERM COURSE
**FORCED MIGRATION, RACISM,
 IMMIGRATION AND XENOPHOBIA**
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 KOLKATA, INDIA.

WORKSHOP
MIXING RACES
 17-21 JUNE 2005
 CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.

ADVANCED COURSE
ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES
 VIII FACTORY OF IDEAS
 8-28 AUGUST 2005
 SALAVADOR, BAHIA.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
**GLOBALISATION: OVERCOMING EXCLUSION,
 STRENGTHENING INCLUSION**
 29-31 AUGUST 2005
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CALL FOR PROPOSALS
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 AUGUST 2005
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 AND LAUREATES
THE MEDIA IN AFRICAN GOVERNANCE
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**MASCULINITIES IN CONTEMPORARY
 AFRICA**
 LAST DATE OF APPLICATION : 17 MAY 2005
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EXTENDED WORKSHOP ON SOCIAL HISTORY
GENDER, ETHNICITY AND CULTURE
 5-25 SEPTEMBER 2005
 DAKAR, SENEGAL.

Announcements

PROJECT PROPOSALS

LABOUR HISTORY

NOIDA, INDIA.

For further information, E-mail: shram_nli@vsnl.com, www.indialabourarchives.org

The Integrated Labour History Research Programme (ILHRP) of the V.V. Giri National Labour Institute, NOIDA invites proposals on research and collection projects from institutions and individuals working on labour history. The core activity of the ILHRP is the building up and maintenance of a Digital Archive of Indian Labour, which is the first of its kind in India. The archive systematically preserves documents relating to labour movement, as well as historical documents generated by the state, trade unions and the business enterprises.

These proposals would be considered for the next financial year, commencing from **April 2005**. The following are the current priority areas of the ILHRP:

- Informal Sector Labour History
- Central Trade Union
- Central Government Labour Records
- Textile Sector
- Oral History Collections
- New forms of work organisation and changing employment relations

Applicants are requested to send a detailed proposal (about 1500-2000 words) indicating the objectives, proposed methodology, timeframe, budget and output of the study as well as highlighting its relevance. Each project is expected to build up a collection of documents on the selected theme, apart from the preparation of a detailed report. The collection thus generated would eventually be digitised and stored in the archive.

Archives of Indian Labour encourages professional institutions and trained researchers as well as trade unionists, practitioners and activists with known track record to join in the unique venture of constructing an apex repository for the documents on Indian Working Class Movement.

Short-term (6-10 months) and modestly budgeted proposals would be given preference. The submitted proposals will be examined by an expert panel comprising eminent labour historians and practitioners. For further details on the archive visit us at www.indialabourarchives.org. The proposal along with brief curriculum vitae of the principal investigator(s)/ key resource person(s) may be forwarded to:

The Coordinator

Archives of Indian Labour

V.V Giri National Labour Institute

Sector -24, NOIDA-201301

Uttar Pradesh, India

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

THE THEME FOR 2005-06: THE 'LONG' 1950s.

DEADLINE FOR RECEIVING APPLICATIONS: 20 MAY 2005

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL (SSRC), NEW YORK.

For further information, visit: <http://sarn.ssrc.org/sarfp/yr4theme.shtml>, sur@ssrc.org

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), New York, is pleased to announce the fourth round of annual fellowship competition.

Objective:

The primary intent of the fellowship is to enable successful applicants to take time off from teaching and other responsibilities to write up completed research on this topic. Applications proposing new research or seeking support for ongoing fieldwork will have much lower priority. Funding is offered for short-term writing fellowships (3-4 months) on topics related to this theme from scholars in any discipline of the social sciences, humanities, and related fields.

The South Asia Program is particularly interested in applications from junior scholars who have had relatively fewer opportunities to attend international conferences and/or receive international fellowships and grants. Fellows are expected to use this grant to write up completed research for either publication in a peer reviewed academic journal or a book published by a scholarly press.

Eligibility:

The South Asia Regional Fellowship Program seeks to strengthen the link between teaching and research; hence, the competition is open only to full time faculty currently teaching in an accredited college or university. Applicants must hold a PhD.

Award:

Awards range from \$2,200 to \$3,000 for 3-4 months, depending on rank and seniority. Selection of fellows is made by an international panel of scholars representing a variety of disciplines. As many as twenty fellowships may be awarded each year. This program is supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Application forms may be downloaded from <http://sarn.ssrc.org/sarfp/apply.shtml>

or obtained from:

SSRC Regional Fellowship Program

c/o: Sarbani Bandyopadhyay

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (CSSSC)

R-1, Baishnabghata Patuli Township

Kolkata 700 094

Tel: (91-33) 2462-7252/5794/5795; Fax: (91-33) 2462-6183

Email: ssrcal@cssscal.org

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SHORT-TERM WINTER COURSE

FORCED MIGRATION, RACISM, IMMIGRATION AND XENOPHOBIA

LAST DATE FOR APPLICATION: 31 MAY 2005

KOLKATA, INDIA.

Objective:

Applications are invited for a 15-day residential course in Kolkata, India, on Forced Migration, Racism, Immigration and Xenophobia. The curriculum will deal with nationalism, ethnicity, partition, and partition-refugees, national regimes and international regime of protection, political issues relating to regional trends in migration in South Asia, internal displacement, the gendered nature of forced migration and protection framework, resource politics, environmental degradation, and forced displacement of people. The course will have emphasis on experiences of displacement, creative writings on refugee life, critical legal and policy analysis, and analysis of notions of vulnerability, care, risk, protection, and settlement.

Eligibility:

The short-term winter course, to be organised by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (CRG), is intended for younger academics, refugee activists and others working in the field of human rights and humanitarian assistance for victims of forced displacement. Applicants must have (a) 3 years experience in the work of protection of the victims of forced displacement, or hold post-graduate degree in Social Sciences or Liberal Arts, and (b) proficiency in English.

Applications must be accompanied by an appropriate recommendation letter and a 500-1000 word write-up on how the programme is relevant to the applicant's work and may benefit the applicant. Selected candidates from South Asia will have to pay INR 3000 each as registration fee (from outside South Asia US \$300). CRG will bear accommodation and other course expenses for all participants. The course will be preceded by a two and a half month long programme of distance education.

Applications, addressed to the Course Coordinator, can be sent by e-mail or by post, and must reach the following address by **31 May 2005**:

Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group

FE-390, Ground Floor, Sector-III, Salt Lake City, Kolkata 700106, India

Phone: 91-33-2337-0408, Fax: 91-33-2337-1523; Email: mcrgr@mcrgr.ac.in; Website: <http://www.mcrgr.ac.in>

WORKSHOP

MIXING RACES

17-21 JUNE 2005

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.

For applications and further information, zimitri@humanities.uct.ac.za

A workshop organised by the University of Cape Town (South Africa) and Sepsis Programme

Objective:

This workshop will deal with the question of why the cultural and political implications of 'racial mixing' have varied so widely between places and times.

- Why is it that 'racial mixing' has produced specific social categories of 'half-castes' (mestizos, mulattos, Eurasians and so on) in certain historical locations and periods but has gone practically unnoticed in others?
- How can we explain that 'racial mixing' has been glorified in some places as the fountain-head of a new postcolonial nationhood but has been vilified in others as an affront to the purity of the nation— to be disowned, punished, discriminated against, or expelled?

These subjects have been vigorously debated in the South but almost always in the context of separate cultural zones: Southeast Asia, the Swahili Coast, Spanish-speaking parts of Latin America, the Black Atlantic, particular European colonial empires, to name a few.

The workshop focuses on the political and cultural differences surrounding 'racial mixing'. It seeks to provide a meeting ground for researchers working on various parts of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific who wish to present their findings in a broad comparative setting.

Eligibility:

We invite research papers from scholars who are based in the South. A few scholars from the North can participate at their own expense. Their papers should use primary sources (personal correspondence, memoirs, diaries, interviews, official documents, newspapers, visual material, and so on) and should have a comparative approach to the case, or cases, being studied. The papers should address the questions raised in the first paragraph and they must be of internationally publishable quality. The University of Cape Town and SEPHIS will undertake to publish a selection of suitably refereed papers soon after the workshop.

The organisers will cover travel costs and other participation expenses for successful applicants. However, air-tickets will be issued only upon timely receipt of acceptable papers, i.e. the paper submission deadline must be met.

Authors are invited to submit a one-page paper proposal (in English) indicating the scope, nature and approach of their intended papers, as well as an academic curriculum vitae (maximum of 3 pages). Proposals must reach us by **30 November 2004**. Final drafts of selected papers (4,000–6,000 words) are due by **31 March 2005** to ensure that airline tickets and other participation expenses can be disbursed in good time. Selected papers can be written in languages other than English but in that case they must be submitted by **28 February 2005** to allow enough time for translation into English, the language in which the workshop will be conducted.

For further details write to:

Zimitri Erasmus

Department of Sociology

University of Cape Town

Private Bag, Rondebosch

Cape Town, 7701

South Africa

For a list of reference works, see <http://www.sephis.org>

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ADVANCED COURSE
ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES
 VIII FACTORY OF IDEAS
 8–26 AUGUST 2005
 SALVADOR, BAHIA.

For further information, www.ceao.ufba.br/fabrica

Advance Course Organised by Center of Afro-Oriental Studies – CEAO and Federal University of Bahia – UFBA ; Sponsors: Ford Foundation and SEPHIS Program

CEAO, announces the eighth consecutive year of the Factory of Ideas, a course that envisions contributing to training researchers who deal with processes of racialisation and ethnic identity formation. The Course focuses on white-black relations, on black cultural production in Latin America and Africa, and on the African Diaspora. Ethnic and race relations in other regions of the world are also scrutinized. The course is comparative in nature, explores several aspects of race relations within Brazilian and international academic production, and aims at strengthening interaction between students and scholars of different regions of Brazil as well as abroad, especially along the South-South axis.

Course specification:

The Factory of Ideas course will take place at CEAO, Salvador, Bahia, and in the colonial town of Cachoeira, also in Bahia, from **8 August to 26 August, 2005**. It will consist of classes, study groups, thematic seminars, and colloquia, and will require a commitment of forty hours a week. During the course students will write a paper developing an aspect of their own research project. They will be expected to participate actively and to do the required reading, mainly in English. Students will be encouraged to discuss their own research projects throughout the course. One teaching unit is specifically dedicated to discussing these projects, even though an exhaustive analysis will not be possible. Working languages will be Portuguese and Spanish. Proficiency in one of the two languages is therefore mandatory.

A total of 30 participants will be selected through an international open application. We will take up to 18 students from Brazil. Preference will be given to candidates from the Northeast, North, and Central Western regions of Brazil, as well as to Afro-Brazilians. Up to 12 vacancies will be offered to candidates from other countries of the South.

Participants will be provided airfare, room and boarding (breakfast and lunch), and a small stipend of USD 150. Salvador residents are only entitled to meals and stipend. Towards the end of the course students will be offered a day trip across the Recôncavo, the bay surrounding Salvador.

A weekly evaluation of each student, based on attendance and participation, will determine eligibility to remain in the course. Certificates will be issued to those who present satisfactory performance.

From 2005, each Factory of Ideas course will emphasise a central theme. In the VIII Factory of Ideas the central theme will be *Biographies and genealogies in black political thinking in Africa, the Caribbean, North America and Brazil*. Each teaching unit focuses on the work of five black or African intellectuals and leaders.

Enrolment Requirements:

Candidates should be at the graduate level (students of MA or PhD programmes, or holders of such certificates) or higher level. A committee will make the selection on the basis of the presented documents and its decision will be final. Candidate should write a statement (maximum two pages) expressing their interest in the course and in what way it will contribute to their intellectual development enclose their *Curriculum Vitae*; give name and contact address / e-mail of two scholars who can recommend them. They should enclose a research project (maximum 10 pages single-spaced, character Times New Roman, 12) that they will debate in the course.

In exceptional cases, candidates with difficulties in filling out the online forms can send their application by E-mail or regular mail. (We recommend that you make use of a service such as FedEx so as to guarantee that your materials arrive in a timely fashion) The postmarked date will be considered in review. Enrolment documents will not be returned.

Those interested in participating should fill in the electronic form available at: www.ceao.ufba.br/fabrica
 Forms can be filled in Spanish or Portuguese.

The enrollment material must be sent by **15 March 2005**. The committee's decision will be announced no later than 15 April 2005.

Please note that applications have closed.

For further details write to:

Factory of Ideas Course
 Center of Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO)
 Federal University of Bahia (UFBA)
 Praça XV de Novembro 17 - Terreiro de Jesus
 40025-010 – Salvador – Bahia – Brazil
 Telephone and fax +55 (71) 3226813;
 E-mail: fabrica@ufba.br & sansone@ufba.br www.ceao.ufba.br/fabrica
 Website: www.ceao.ufba.br/fabrica

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

GLOBALISATION: OVERCOMING EXCLUSION, STRENGTHENING INCLUSION

29-31 AUGUST 2005

DAKAR, SENEGAL.

For further information, GSN.Conference@codesria.sn

The **Globalisation Studies Network (GSN)**, an association of over 100 institutions from nearly 50 countries around the world united by a shared preoccupation to promote a better understanding of the processes and structures of globalization, is pleased to announce its **second international conference** which is scheduled to take place in Dakar, Senegal, from **29 to 31 August 2005**, and to invite abstracts and panel proposals from those wishing to be part of the conference. The umbrella theme around which the conference will be held is *Globalisation: Overcoming Exclusion, Strengthening Inclusion*.

The framework document of the GSN observes that "globalizing dynamics are unfolding at accelerating rates in every realm of human endeavour (see the GSN website at: www.gstudynet.com). The inaugural conference of the Network which was held in Coventry in August 2004 and hosted by the Centre for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization of the University of Warwick was devoted to an exploration of all aspects of these dynamics as captured by the research, teaching and policy preoccupations of the numerous institutions and organisations that were represented at the meeting. The second conference is designed to focus reflection on the discontents of globalisation in the ways in which they have manifested themselves and with a view to exploring the challenges of making the process more inclusive, representative and equitable. The conference will be hosted by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) at its headquarters city of Dakar, Senegal, and will feature the presentation of keynote addresses and papers in plenary and parallel sessions. English and French have been adopted as the working languages for the conference and authors of paper abstracts and panel proposals are encouraged to make their submissions in either one of these languages. Every effort will be made to accommodate as many of the abstracts and panel proposals which are received; funds will be available to support participants from developing and transitional countries. An opportunity will also be provided for participating institutions and programmes to exhibit some of their outputs during the conference.

Abstracts and panel proposals for consideration for the conference should be received by **30 April 2005**. Authors of abstracts and panel proposals that are selected will be notified by **21 May 2005**. Full papers for circulation to conference participants should be received by **15 July 2005**. Abstracts, panel proposals, and full papers should be sent to:

The Coordinator

The 2nd Globalisation Studies Network Conference

CODESRIA

Ave. Cheikh Anta Diop, X Canal IV

BP 3304, CP 18524, Dakar, Senegal

E-mail: GSN.Conference@codesria.sn

Website: www.codesria.org

Tel.: +221-825 9822; Fax: +221-824 1289

CALL FOR PROPOSALS

COMPARATIVE STUDIES ON DIFFERENT THEMES

LAST DATE OF APPLICATION: 31 AUGUST 2005

DAKAR, SENEGAL.

Within the framework of the new programme initiatives that are being implemented by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), proposals are hereby invited for the constitution of Comparative Research Networks (CRNs) to undertake comparative studies on or around any of the following themes:

- i) Health, Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa
- ii) Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reform and Transformation
- iii) Reforming the African Public Sector: Retrospect and Prospect
- iv) The Changing Political Economy of Land in Africa
- v) Africa and the Challenges of Globalisation
- vi) The Popular Arts, Identity and Culture in Contemporary Africa
- vii) Re-thinking (African) Development
- viii) Migration Dynamics and Changing Rural-Urban Linkages
- ix) New Regionalist Impulses in Africa
- x) New Institutions of Transitional Justice
- xi) Conflict and Reconstruction in Africa
- xii) Colonialism, Customary Law, and Post-Colonial State and Society in Africa
- xiii) State, Political Identity and Political Violence
- xiv) Political Pluralism and the Management of Diversity
- xv) Transport and Transportation Systems in Africa

The primary purpose for which the CRNs are being introduced is to encourage the development and consolidation of a comparative analytic perspective in the work of African social researchers. In so doing, it is hoped to establish a strong corpus of comparative studies produced by African scholars and which could help to advance theoretical knowledge and discussion. In developing proposals, therefore, interested researchers are requested to highlight clearly the following:

- i) Comparative question which they wish to pursue and its significance
- ii) Methodology that they would employ
- iii) Output that is expected from the study

Furthermore, each proposal should indicate clearly, the membership of the network, including the coordinator(s) of the group; the biodata and institutional affiliation of the network members; a copy of the *curriculum vitae* of the coordinator(s) and members of the network; the budget outline for the activity that is proposed; and the time frame for the launching and finalisation of the research activities of the network, it being understood that each network is expected to have a life span of 18 months from the date of its launching. Authors of proposals submitted for consideration are urged to pay close attention to the comparative methodology, for which they will be applying, and to demonstrate a proper understanding of the challenges of carrying out comparative studies. The independent Selection Committee that will be reviewing proposals received will be mandated to eliminate all proposals that are either silent on the comparative question that will be researched and the corresponding comparative methodology that will be employed or which show an inadequate understanding of the challenges of comparative research.

Each CRN will be entitled to organise two meetings during its lifespan, one methodological and the other to evaluate the

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progress of the work of the members of the group. Although the budget that will be approved for the CRNs to be supported will vary from group to group, prospective applicants may wish to note for indicative purposes only that the grants that have been awarded by CODESRIA in the recent past have ranged from USD10,000 to USD35,000. Similarly, although no specific format is required for the presentation of the budget for the work that is proposed, authors may wish to note that resources will be allocated by the Council to cover the following costs: (i) a methodological workshop for the members of the CRN; (ii) a review workshop at which the progress of the work of the members of the CRN will be assessed; (iii) the field work to be undertaken by the members of the network; (iv) books to be purchased for the work of the CRN; (v) the honorarium to be paid to the members of the CRN for the work undertaken. The size of a CRN will vary from proposal to proposal but on average, most of the groups sponsored by CODESRIA in the past have had an average of five to seven members. It is advantageous to ensure that a proposed CRN is multidisciplinary in composition, sensitive to gender issues, and accommodating of younger scholars.

For the 2005 competition, CODESRIA will be open to receive proposals up to **31 August 2005**. Notification of the result of the selection exercise will be made by **30 September 2005**.

Proposals for the constitution of CRNs should be sent to:

CODESRIA Comparative Research Networks

For more details see www.codesria.org

CALL FOR DIRECTORS, RESOURCE PERSONS & LAUREATES

THE MEDIA IN AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

AUGUST 2005

DAKAR, SENEGAL.

The CODESRIA Democratic Governance Institute is an interdisciplinary forum which brings together African scholars working on topics related to the broad theme of governance. The 2005 session of the Institute is being organised as part of a special collaborative initiative with the Panos Institute. The theme for the 2005 session is *The Media in African Governance*.

Through the 2005 Governance Institute, the Council proposes to extend the work which it has supported in recent years on the media and democratisation by focusing attention on the range and variety of issues arising from and posed by changes in the African media terrain. Prospective participants will be encouraged to map the different contours of change that are occurring, produce fresh empirical and analytical insights, engage in a comparative analysis of their findings and reflect on the challenges posed by their own work to inherited/dominant conceptual frames.

The Director:

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

- participate in the selection of laureates
- identify resource-persons to help lead discussions and debates
- design the course for the session, including the specification of sub-themes
- deliver a set of lectures and provide a critique of the papers presented by the resource persons and the laureates
- submit a written scientific report on the session

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

Resource Persons:

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

Once selected, resource persons must:

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

Laureates:

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

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Applications:

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

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

Applications for the position of **Resource Persons** should include:

- an application letter
- two writing samples
- a curriculum vitae
- a proposal, not more than five (5) pages in length, outlining the issues to be covered in their proposed lecture

Applications for **Laureates** should include:

- an application letter
- a letter indicating institutional or organisational affiliation
- a curriculum vitae
- a research proposal (two copies and not more than 10 pages), including a descriptive analysis of the work the applicant intends to undertake, an outline of the theoretical interest of the topic chosen by the applicant, and the relationship of the topic to the problematic and concerns of the theme of the 2005 Institute
- two reference letters from scholars and/or researchers known for their competence and expertise in the candidate's research area (geographic and disciplinary), including their names, addresses, and telephone, e-mail, and fax numbers

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

The **deadline** for the submission of applications is set for **30 June 2005**. The Institute will be held in Dakar, Senegal in **August 2005**.

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

CODESRIA Democratic Governance Institute
 Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV
 BP 3304, CP 18524,
 Dakar, Senegal.
 Tel.: (221) 825 98 21/22/23; Fax: (221) 824 12 89
 E-Mail: governance.institute@codesria.sn
 Website: www.codesria.org

CALL FOR DIRECTOR, RESOURCE PERSONS & LAUREATES

MASCULINITIES IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA

LAST DATE OF APPLICATION: 17 MAY 2005

DAKAR, SENEGAL.

Each year, since 1994, CODESRIA has organised a Gender Institute, which brings together some 12 to 15 researchers for between four to six weeks of concentrated debate, experience-sharing and knowledge-building. The Institute has subsequently been organised around specific themes designed to strengthen the use of gender as an analytical category that is integral both to the output of African social researchers and the emergence of a networked community of scholars versed in the field of Gender Studies. The theme that has been selected for the 2005 Institute is: ***Masculinities in Contemporary Africa***.

Participants in the 2005 Gender Institute will be invited to, among other things, explore various aspects and dimensions of masculinities in contemporary Africa, beginning with the conceptual challenges, which are posed. The wealth of empirical, theoretical, and methodological issues involved in the study of masculinities, including the extent to which it can be understood and researched as a category independent of femininities, will be explored by participants in the Institute. So too will the range of factors that account for the changing content and context of masculinities. The extent to which inter-generational differences could be observed in the contemporary expressions of masculinities in Africa will be examined, as will the indicators of changing forms of masculinities as captured by language, dressing, musical genre and general discourse. The many different modes of mobilisation of masculinities, including the specialist magazines published for male audiences, the types of values, which they seek to project and the reasons for doing so will be discussed at the Institute. Transnational influences in the shaping of masculinities in Africa in the current phase of globalisation will be explored. Participants will also be encouraged to explore comparative issues in masculinities in historical, spatial and ideological terms. The implications of contemporary masculinities for the struggle for gender equality and for a civic identity and culture in Africa will be a concern, which will underpin the reflections at the Institute.

The objectives of the 2005 Gender Institute are to:

- 1) Provide a platform to African scholars with an interest in undertaking theoretical and empirical research on masculinities in Africa
- 2) Familiarise researchers with the latest literature in the field and through this help consolidate an African perspective on the theoretical debates taking place
- 3) Sharpen researchers' gender analytic skills, as well as promote an African feminist methodology in the study of masculinities
- 4) Encourage African knowledge production on masculinities and, in so doing, contribute to the emergence of a critical mass of networked intellectuals with an active research interest in deepening research on this theme

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Eligibility and Selection:

Director:

For every session, CODESRIA appoints an external scholar to provide the intellectual leadership of the Institute. Directors are senior scholars known for their expertise on the topic of the year and for the originality of their thinking on it. They are recruited on the basis of a proposal and course outline covering a total of up to forty-five days during which they are expected to:

- participate in the selection of laureates
- assist with the identification of appropriate resource persons
- design the course for the session, with specifications of sub-themes
- deliver a set of lectures and provide a critique of the papers presented by the resource persons and the laureates
- submit a written scientific report on the session

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

Resource Persons:

Lectures delivered at the Gender Institute are not introductory courses, but think-pieces that are meant to help advance the reflections of participants on the main topic of the year, and on their own research topics. Resource Persons are, therefore, senior scholars or scholars in their mid-career who have published extensively on the topic, and who have a significant contribution to make to the debates on it.

Once selected, resource persons must:

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

Laureates:

African social scientists who have a minimum qualification of a Masters' degree, with a proven research capacity and who are currently engaged in teaching and/or research activities are invited to send in their applications for consideration for admission into the Institute. The selection of laureates is done by an independent committee of renowned scholars.

Application:

Applicants for the position of Course Director should submit:

- an application letter
- a proposal indicating the course outline and showing in what way the course would be original or responsive to the needs of prospective laureates, specially focussing on the issues to be covered in each sub-theme
- a curriculum vitae
- three writing samples

Applicants for the position of a Resource Person should include:

- an application letter
- two writing samples
- a curriculum vitae
- a two-pages abstract of their proposed lecture

Applicants for laureates should include the following:

- an application letter
- a curriculum vitae
- a letter indicating institutional or organisational affiliation
- a research proposal (two copies and not more than 10 pages) indicating a descriptive analysis, outlining the theoretical interest of the theme chosen by the applicant, and its relation to the problematic and concerns of the theme of the 2003 Institute
- two reference letters from scholars and/or researchers known for their competence and expertise in the candidate's research area, including their names, addresses and telephone, e-mail, fax numbers

The deadline for the submission of applications is set for **17 May 2005**.

Applications should be sent to:

The CODESRIA Gender Institute

For more details see www.codesria.org

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CALL FOR APPLICATIONS
 EXTENDED WORKSHOP ON SOCIAL HISTORY
GENDER, ETHNICITY AND CULTURE
 5-25 SEPTEMBER 2005
 DAKAR, SENEGAL.

For further information, ndeye.gueye@codesria.sn, burnabe2002@yahoo.fr

The fourth CODESRIA/SEPHIS Extended Workshop on New Theories and Methods in Social History will be held from **5 to 25 September 2005**. The theme for the 2005 session is **Gender, Ethnicity and Culture**.

The Workshop will be organised around the comparative experiences of Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Caribbean. The aim of the Workshop is to bring together about **15 young historians** for three weeks of joint reflection, knowledge building and training. The participants will follow a programme designed to permit them to share experiences, improve the theoretical and methodological quality of their work, and deepen their comparative insights.

Contents of the Workshop:

The main objective of the Workshop is to promote discussion and debate on recent methodological and theoretical developments in Social History. To this end, participants will be encouraged to carry out their reflections in a comparative perspective. Participants will be offered practical support in sharpening their skills on how to write an article, plan a research project, and submit a research proposal for funding. The discussions will be linked to the research interests of the participants and the progress of their work.

The Workshop will be led by a convenor who is a senior researcher with an established reputation in the field. This convenor will be responsible for the overall academic content of the workshop. Four main resource persons from various parts of the South will give multiple lectures and facilitate discussion and/or conduct seminars on different questions pertaining to the latest developments in Social History in their respective areas of competence. Several other historians from the host country will be invited to offer single lectures. The Workshop will be conducted in English.

Accommodation and Excursions:

The workshop will be held in Dakar, Senegal. CODESRIA will provide a stimulating and pleasant environment within which participants can work. The Council will also take care of the air travel, accommodation, and local transport expenses of the participants. Furthermore, a subsistence allowance to cover living expenses will be provided. Local excursions will be organised for the laureates in order to make their stay more enjoyable.

Eligibility:

The workshop is open to PhD students registered in Southern universities, i.e., Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America.

Application procedures:

Applications should include the following:

- A Curriculum Vitae (maximum of two pages)
- A letter certifying that the candidate is enrolled in a PhD programme at a university in the South
- A research proposal outlining the candidate's current research project, including the methodology that is being employed or considered (at most four pages)
- A sample of the applicant's work (a draft paper, a draft research proposal or a draft thesis chapter)
- A letter from the thesis supervisor indicating why this workshop will be of importance to the applicant

Applications must be written in English. The deadline for the submission of applications is **30 April 2005**. An international scientific committee will select the candidates by **May 2005**. Successful applicants will be notified immediately after the completion of the selection process. Incomplete and unnecessarily lengthy applications will not be taken into consideration. All faxed and e-mailed applications must also be accompanied by a hard copy original version sent by post if they are to be considered.

Applications and requests for more information should be sent to:

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