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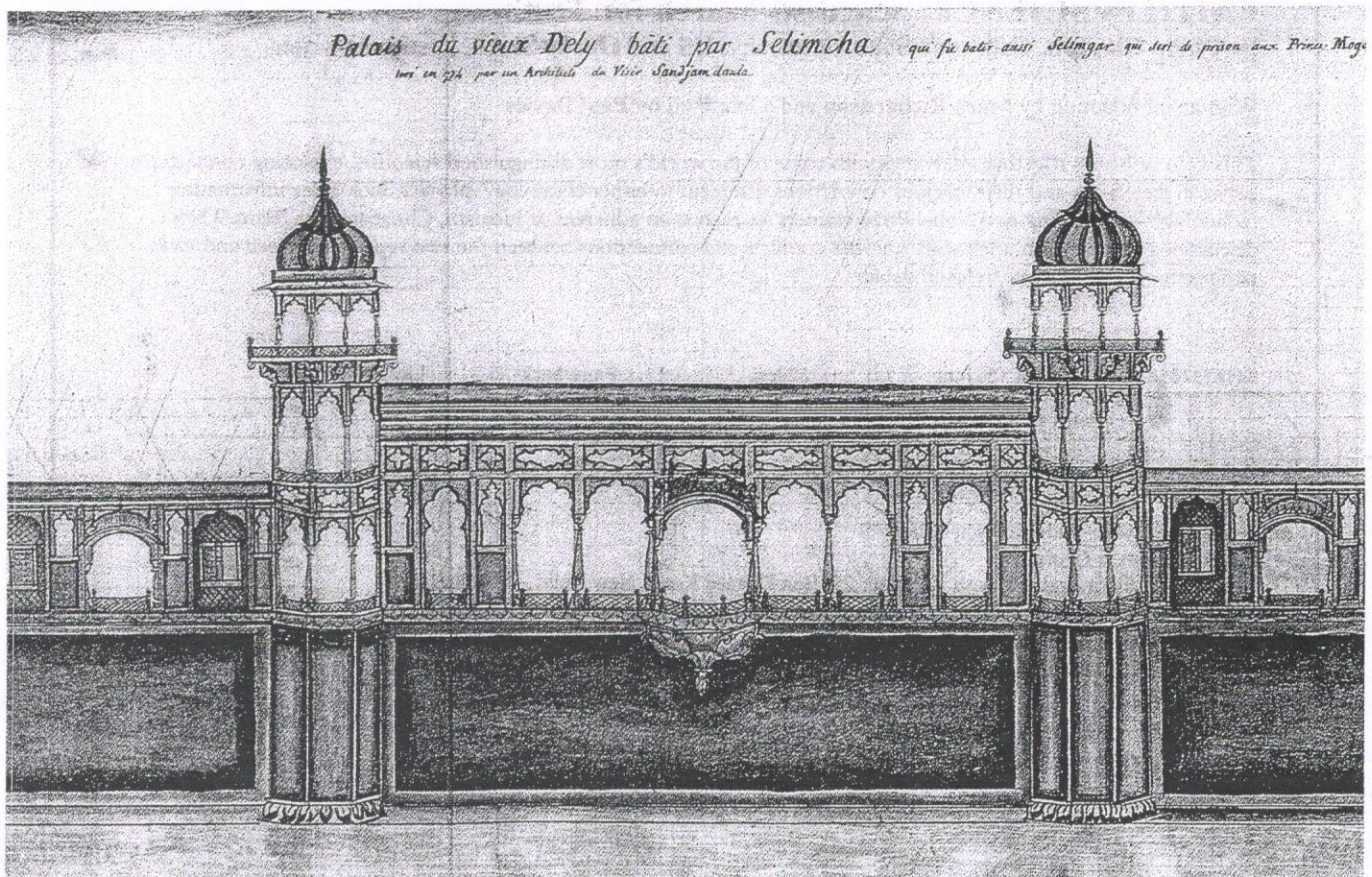
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Cover: Palace built in Old Delhi by Salim Shah. Drawn by an architect of Wazir Shuja ud-Daula. From *Chitra—Cities and Monuments* by Jean-Marie Lafont. Courtesy Oxford University Press, Delhi.

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A Swinging Pendulum

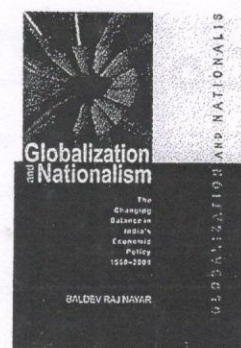
Subir Gokarn

GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONALISM :

THE CHANGING BALANCE IN INDIA'S ECONOMIC POLICY 1950-2000

By Baldev Raj Nayar

Sage Publications, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London, 2001, pp. 285, Rs. 450.00



Most observers of the various experiences with economic reforms that countries around the world have had during the last two decades would agree with the proposition that the process is as much, if not more, a matter of politics as economics. Economists tend to focus on the "model"—the blueprint driving reforms, its internal consistency and its theoretical linkages with the eventual objectives of the endeavour. They have little in their traditional toolkit to be able to analyse the choppy and unpredictable path that reforms typically traverse. The forces of resistance and reinforcement inherent in any real-life reform effort and how these are shaped by both the broader environment, both domestic and external, are perhaps therefore given less attention than they deserve.

Unfortunately, this imposes severe constraints on the professional economist's ability to provide practical policy advice. The people implementing the reform process are usually doing so with all of these environmental forces very visible, insistent and strident. A systematic effort to place the economic principles of reform in the broader context of the environment in which the reforms are being implemented would undoubtedly be of far more practical value to them. This is where complementarities between economics and other social sciences, particularly politics (or political science), have proved to be a fruitful line of inquiry and analysis. Professor Nayar's latest book is cast in this mould. While stopping short of arguing that the approach addresses all the policymakers' needs, I am certainly of the view that we will get nowhere with our stagnating reforms until we fully understand the political dynamics of the forces in favour as well as against.

Professor Nayar has chosen to categorize these forces into the broad categories of globalization and nationalism. In looking at Indian economic policy through this framework, he has brought the outside world on to the centre stage, in contrast to what I would consider as mainstream Indian political analysis, which focuses on the internal dynamics of caste, class and region. The reader could be forgiven for being sceptical initially about the influences of the forces of "globalization" on Indian economic thinking in the four decades between 1950 and 1990. But, the

author demonstrates quite convincingly that this is a useful and effective way in which to understand the evolution of the country's policies. Having done this, it is a simple matter of extending the framework into the 1990s, during which the term "globalization" has entered virtually everybody's vocabulary.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter lays out the basic framework. It uses the two terms in their common sense meanings, to simply capture the variety of forces that shape the external and internal environments in which economic policy is made. The chapter provides an international perspective on the way in which these two forces have been shaping the world economy. Focussing on the post Second World War period, which saw an intensification of the forces of globalization—the Bretton Woods institutions being a major example—it looks at a variety of contexts in which nationalism has reacted to the intensification. It argues that states pursue goals of national security and "legitimacy" autonomously of economic objectives. Therefore, the interplay between market forces, which are the main manifestations of the globalized economy, and the state varies according to the comfort the state has with respect to its two objectives. In short, the framework views the evolution of economic policy in a country as the result of the swinging pendulum between these two forces.

The rest of the book applies the analytical framework to independent India. The fifty-year sweep of the book lends itself naturally to division into two unequal periods: the four decades upto 1991 and the years following the high-profile reforms of that year. There is a general perception that these reforms marked a very significant shift of Indian policy towards globalization. This provides a convenient structural break around which the discussion is organized. However, as Professor Nayar demonstrates right through the book, even during the forty years prior to 1991, it is hard to argue that nationalism was the dominant influence on policy outcomes (as opposed to ideology or thinking). Chapter 2 presents a very rich and insightful discussion of the evolution of the Nehruvian policy model as it evolved over the Second and Third Five-year Plans (1956-61 and 1961-66 respectively). Particular attention is paid to the thinking and

debate over the Mahalanobis Model, which provided the intellectual foundations of the policy framework, and the central role that the dilemma between autarky and openness played in this debate.

Having successfully interpreted the policy motivations of the day in terms of his framework, in Chapter 3 the author describes the unfolding of outcomes over the period. In contrast to the self-contained, autarkic equilibrium that characterized the blueprint, reality was marked by a series of recurrent crises—food shortages, inflation, balance of payments problems—all of which inevitably compelled the policy pendulum to swing from unbridled nationalism to a pragmatic degree of openness. Ultimately, the only way out of the major crises was through foreign assistance, which come with its own conditions, all involving an increase in the economy's degree of openness. Of course, when the crisis passed, the pendulum tended to swing back, although in the later years of the period, perhaps not entirely. The 1980s began with a degree of domestic liberalization on the back of the IMF loan; Rajiv Gandhi's tenure as Prime Minister saw a spontaneous (not driven by any immediate crisis) movement towards globalization. The main message analysts of contemporary economic trends in the country should draw from this is that "reformism" has always been inherent in the Indian blueprint. Further, it has always manifested itself in response to a crisis, when it offered the most obvious and practical solution out of it.

If crisis-induced reform is indeed a persistent theme, broken to some extent during the second half of the 1980s, do the 1990s truly represent a paradigm shift towards globalization, or were the reforms of 1991 merely a more intense response to a more intense crisis? This is the context within which the next segment of the book should be read. Chapters 4-7 analyse the policy experience of the decade. Chapter 4 provides a description, comparable to Chapter 2, of the "ideology" underpinning the reforms of 1991, and running through the five years of the Congress government.

...“reformism” has always been inherent in the Indian blueprint. Further, it has always manifested itself in response to a crisis, when it offered the most obvious and practical solution out of it.

Ironically, the balance of payments crisis of 1990-91 was partly attributable to the expansion of external debt during the late 1980s, which had fuelled the acceleration in GDP growth during those years. But, as the book underlines, in India, a crisis is a crisis. The same pragmatism in moving towards globalization that was seen during the earlier decades came to the fore on this occasion as well. However, what really set 1991 apart was that the reforms went far beyond crisis management and initiated a process of structural reform that reflected a dramatic swing of the pendulum towards globalization. At least in terms of the underlying blueprint, this was a

paradigm shift. However, as is shown in the next chapter, reality caught up in the form of the business community's general wariness about too much openness. Various forms of resistance, some high-profile like the Bombay Club, others more low-key and subtle emerged from the private sector. Ultimately, the shift in thinking was neutralized by the aggressive nationalism of business interests and the outcome was a slow, protracted and unpredictable evolution.

The last two substantive chapters deal with the governments subsequent to 1996. These are obviously very recent events in the context of the historical approach of the book and, as a consequence, cannot be dealt with in the same depth as more distant ones, whose course has been played out. Nevertheless, the framework appears to be quite robust in showing that the effort to balance globalization and nationalism is intrinsic to the objective of economic stability.

When I looked at the framework that the book was based on, I was a little sceptical about attempting to describe Indian political economy without recourse to the standard

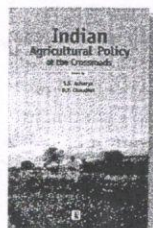
considerations that I referred to above. Having gone through its applications, however, I am quite persuaded that this is indeed a useful lens through which to view Indian policy-making. Other issues are important, no doubt, but in presenting his analysis in the way that he has, Professor Nayar follows a principle dear to economists—parsimony. It requires that the maximum amount of variation in the phenomenon being observed be explained by the minimum number of explanatory factors. Globalization and nationalism are parsimonious ways of categorizing the large variety of forces that ultimately influence economic policy in terms of both thought and decisions. The author has applied his framework to great effect. Anybody wanting to get a sense of how economic policy was made in India would do well to read this book. So would anybody wanting to take a guess on how it will emerge in the future.■

Subir Gokarn is Chief Economist and IFCI Chair in Industrial Development at the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi.



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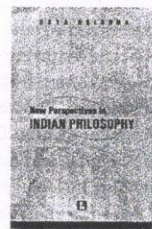
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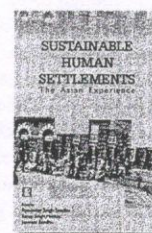
Ranvinder Singh Sandhu, Sarup Singh Minhas and Jasmeet Sandhu (eds.)

The volume comprises papers on sustainability of human settlements by researchers, academicians, city planners, administrators, politicians and NGOs from countries like Australia, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Japan, the Netherlands and India. It deals with issues like sustainable urban settlements, urban poverty, social segregation, gender and migration.

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How Global Capitalism Exploits

Sunanda Sen

SHIFTING SANDS: WOMEN'S LIVES AND GLOBALIZATION

Edited by the Centre for Women's Development Studies
Stree, Calcutta, 2000, pp. iv+326, Rs. 450.00

DOWN AND OUT: LABOURING UNDER GLOBAL CAPITALISM

By Jan Breman and Arvind N. Das
Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000, pp. 156, Rs. 349.00

Shifting Sands: Women's Lives and Globalization is a timely contribution towards an inquiry into the lives of Indian women who have been hit badly by policies following the Adjustment Policy Programmes (APP) of the IMF and the World Bank. Research on the above issue which connects the seven chapters of the book seems to be the end-product of a project sponsored by the Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) and steered along by Joy Deshmukh-Ranadive. The central theme concerns the impact of the APP programmes in terms of poverty and the gender bias against women.

The book contains seven chapters along with an Introduction by Deshmukh-Ranadive. The latter is supposed to provide a conceptual frame to the macro-economic process of adjustments in relation to poverty. Little however has come out from the lengthy details and the taxonomy (p. 35) as could be of help to other contributors in spelling out their arguments. Her analysis of the SAP and the macro-process is often repetitive and hardly original.

The remaining chapters include studies of Social Sector Expenditure (Seeta Prabhu), Health of Women from Household Perspectives (Malavika Karlekar), Gender, Poverty, Environment (Kumud Sharma), Environment (Sumi Krishna) and Survey Findings of Slum Households in Delhi, at Golemarket and JNU sites (Preet Rastogi, Vasudha Jain and Indrani Mazumdar). The chapters are rich in detail and the findings, though dated, provide a good reference point to further research, especially for the post-reform period. The Survey chapter by Preet Rastogi et al is one of the best and should be emulated by others who want to work in the area. The conclusion by Deshmukh-Ranadive comes out with a summary of the project and is useful for the reader. The book will be a good companion volume to those who are interested in issues of Reforms, Poverty and Gender.

Down and Out: Labouring Under Global Capitalism is a remarkable contribution in the area of development studies. The book is by a well-known social scientist from Netherlands who has been doing research on the country-

side in western India since the seventies and by a prominent journalist who shared the concerns for labour exploited under global capitalism. The text offers an analysis as well as a graphic description, with revealing photographs by Ravi Agarwal and design by Brinda Dutta, of exploitation, destitution and poverty in the small hamlets of Surat district in Gujarat. While the pictures speak for themselves the supporting facts are carefully documented and analysed, thus offering a sordid account of unequal exchange between defenceless labour in the countryside and their employers.

Jan Breman's Prologue laments of a 'dream', which remained unfulfilled, of an end to the exclusion of labour in the Indian countryside, from basic means of survival. The dream seems to have been shared with his mother as she wrote back reassuring her son who was in a state of shock at the sight of the impoverished 'dubla' tribe of South Gujarat in the early sixties. As with many others, both Breman and his mother probably expected a turn of events which was common with the welfare-states in post-war Europe, changing the profile of the countryside with new jobs and newer opportunities for the unemployed. Breman admits of some marginal improvements in the state of the Dubla locality over 1986-91 (p. 8), a comment which, however does not tally with the observations relating to the toiling mass of labour in various capacities in the following chapters. The authors were more concerned in the text with snapshots, captured by photographic lens as well as by intellectual discourse, of observations which relate to a point of time rather than a historical span. This has precluded a traverse across time with inter-temporal comparisons, especially in the context of the post-reform scenario. The text with all its thirteen chapters including the Introduction offers an account of dispossessed labour in the countryside. Arvind Das's Epilogue comes as the last chapter, complementing Jan Breman's Prologue at the beginning.

At the outset the authors wanted to steer clear of stereotypes as are commonly in use in similar 'labour studies' which include the "prototype of 'labour', the male worker piling on assembly lines in factories" (p. 12). Recognizing unorganized labour alone, however, was

not enough, as is pointed out, especially when the former is identified as 'rural' as opposed to urban and 'informal' rather than unionized (p. 15). Instead the authors seek to look closely at the lower rung, of the "...continuum in the workforce, ranging from the miserable rag-picker to the relatively well-off organized sector high-tech factory worker" (p. 16). Attention is drawn to "mobile labour" as well to "localization" of production both of which "complements globalization" (p. 18). Migrant and mobile labour, primarily pushed out from its natural habitat, is a major component of the downtrodden. The rather limited contribution of the state towards welfare pales into further insignificance as far as these workers on the move are concerned. Drawing from the Social Darwinism of late 19th century, these workers are treated by the state and by the private agents in the mainstream as "...dangerous..wily, evasive and erratic.." (p. 24). The study deviates from the popular perception of development paradigms which sees the reduction of poverty as the end-result of major shifts in employment from rural-agricultural to urban-industrial jobs. Instead a continuing organic relation between labour in its various capacities and other aspects of the economy is identified in the process. This poverty is viewed as the outcome of faulty development policies rather than due to an innate inefficiency of labour, as is often postulated in the literature.

Chapters which follow dwell on the specificities. Discarding the stereotype of Indian villages with undifferentiated and rustic population, the next chapter narrates the increasing differentiation and inequality within. Villages as these are today "subordinated", through exchange, to market forces. The latter encompasses the land, labour as well as credit relations within the village. Simultaneously the plight of the migrants, much of which is conditioned by their initial economic and social status continue to be abysmal, with the ruling wage rate for the lowest paid as well as the level of living in the village often below the subsistence level (p. 30). Migrants whose life evolves around "The Move" is the theme of the next chapter, narrating the clutches of jobbers which defies all norms as a fair exchange. "Work Sites" which comes in the next

chapter starts by rejecting factories and 'assembly lines' as work sites (p. 46). Instead these could be "cramped manufactories within households, in slums or even under the open skies on streets, quarries, river-beds and banks and fields" (p. 46). The rest of the chapter speaks of makers of brass idols, cobblers, craftsmen and food vendors, the coolie who continues despite the officials despising the forbidden term, the diamond polisher in the atelier watched by hawk-eyed supervisors, the rag-pickers or even the young one who prepares the thread for the kite festival. Powerful photographs portraying the "body language of the seeth" in the brick kiln or the hawk-eyed supervisors in diamond polishing units (p. 54) encapsulates the familiar scenes elsewhere in work places. The world famous zari and art silk products of Surat do not help the impoverished artisans in their deplorable living conditions, as can be found in the chapter on 'The Weft and the Warp'. Pictures of child workers with "nimble hands" (p. 64) add to the despair and deprivations narrated. Workers engaged elsewhere in dyeing and printing mills of the textile sector work in the most unhygienic conditions, handling chemical dyes with bare hands and sometimes having no relation at all with the owner of the factory

premises (pp. 64-68).

The saga of those who are 'Down and Out' thus continues, whether they are 'Behind the Glitter' of diamonds or with the 'Crushing Cane', as the story is told in the next two chapters. The story goes on, of 'Brick Makers and Builders and Diggers' in the next two chapters and ends in the chapter on 'Off Work'. It tells us of the powerloom workers on 12-hour shift and packed like sardines as they rest at end of the day. Those having no such luck as a roof over their head park themselves on pavements, railway platforms and over-bridges, in rain or shine. Sites of entertainment are carved out, at street side fairs, local *addas* with children dressed as gods or goddesses or with sex workers. Women uprooted from their bearings have less at command. In all these however there exists, according to Breman and Das, an 'Assertion of Dignity'. They observe "...assertions of individual and social dignity—*izzat*—through simple acts of citizenship" and/or with a process which include silent acts of sabotaging. One observes the casual workers to demand piece rates in order to find some outlets for emancipation. Mobilization despite casualization is not uncommon, and sometimes around caste affiliations like the dalits. These forms of protest are symbolic, according to the

authors, which help "...the labouring poor of the informal sector reach out...higher up in the economic landscape" (p. 149). Also "...in the worst of situations, workers simply vote with their feet: they run away and seek employment with other employers and in other activities" (p. 144). Romantic visions as above however are difficult to accept, especially with the on-going oppression of the same set of people on different occasions. One however wonders if the impression as above is consistent with what the authors bring forth in the earlier chapters of the book.

The book ends with an Epilogue by Arvind N. Das pointing at "...the gloomy scenerio, one of exclusion of a large section of the people from the fields of productivity to which they contribute" (p. 156). Arvind Das did not know that he was not going to live long enough to further witness the unfolding of such tragedies. He has left behind this book, co-authored with his able colleague, Jan Breman, towards social awareness for posterity!■

Sunanda Sen, a professor in the Centre for Economic Studies in Jawaharlal Nehru University until her retirement last year, is the author of *Trade & Dependence* (Sage, 2000).

Impact of Globalization

Gayatri Srinivasan

GLOBALIZATION AND GLOBAL GROWTH EQUILIBRIUM IN INDIA

Edited by K. Munirathna Naidu

Reliance Publishing House, 1998, pp. 115, Rs. 135.00

India formally embarked on the path of globalization beginning in the 1990's. This was a sequel to the deregulation policies that were consciously implemented in the 1980's. Since then there has been no looking back. Controls on trade have been liberalized and in several cases completely done away with. Policies towards industry have given greater leeway to the private sector and to foreign interests and governmental role confined only to the 'core' areas. Globalization has not been an unmixing blessing.

Globalization and Global Growth Equilibrium in India is a collection of articles that attempts a critical analysis of the globalization process in India. This book ventures to analyse practically every major facet that the globalization process has thrown up.

The first in the series of eight articles examines the impact on the poor. The author concludes that this process that brought the Indian economy closer to the rest of the world, has not benefited the poor in India and suggests the introduction of an appropriate institutional framework that embodies effective governmental intervention.

In assessing the economic performance of a closed economy vis-a-vis an open economy,

D. Chakraborty focusses on a comparative study of Argentina, Chile and India. While supporting the view that liberalization on the capital account should be carried out simultaneously with that of the current account, he lauds the Indian experience which avoided the mistakes made by Argentina and circumvented the costly experience of Chile.

An interesting question that globalization has thrown up is with reference to equalization of wages. This aspect has not been ignored by the authors. This reviewer only wishes that this issue had been explored in greater detail. While attributing productivity increases to the role of MNCs and the concomitant technology and capital transfers one cannot ignore the fact that adaptive methods play an important role here. The author cites this as one of the reasons for divergence in real wages. However there also exists the costs of importing technology. Technological dependence has always been looked down on and the need for self-reliance in R&D emphasized. In Professor Jayaraj's econometric study on domestic technology development and the trend in innovation efforts (as measured by the expenditure on R&D) he finds that firms with MNC concerns spend less on R&D as compared to the "local" firms. The

reason probably being that local firms do not get technologies that suit their needs and hence are likely to spend more on researching on adaptive technologies.

While dwelling on trade related issues, the agricultural sector has been completely ignored. It is true that the Indian agricultural sector has so far been shielded from globalization for the fear that globalization may have an adverse impact on the poor farmers (e.g. through lowering of prices) and also for food-security reasons. Lessons from the past when food was used as a tool for blackmail by the better endowed countries haunt policy makers who are reluctant to give a go-ahead to this sector. However in a global world India may continue to be a big player in several agricultural commodities and hence at least some of the fears may be unwarranted. A fuller assessment of the globalization process in India would call for a critical analysis of this sector.

The book serves as a good introduction to the several issues that globalization has brought to the forefront. The book will be better appreciated by a reader with sufficient grounding in economics. For the interested reader, some of the references mentioned at the end of each article would prove to be rewarding. However, the book would do better with a careful round of editing of the several typographical errors that seem to be strewn all over the book.■

Gayatri Srinivasan, an alumni of the Delhi School of Economics, works for GE (Caps), Gurgaon.

Alternative Models of Social Security and the State as Agent

Ashwini Deshpande

THE UNORGANISED SECTOR: WORK SECURITY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION
Edited by Renana Jhabvala and R.K.A. Subrahmanya
Sage, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 191, Rs. 195.00

Foregrounding as it does the vulnerability of the lives of millions of Indians who are in the informal sector (92 percent of the workforce, according to the reported estimate), this volume makes an important and welcome addition to the literature on the subject. It contains fourteen essays with a strong focus on the experiences of some NGOs, such as SEWA, Mobile Creches and the Kasturba Hospital in Sevagram, Wardha. The focus on the NGOs is educative: on the one hand, it serves to illustrate alternative models of social security and the benefits that can come from decentralizing social security services. On the other hand, it leads to questions about practicality; about the possibility of universalizing these local experiences; about the relative contributions of state and private initiatives in providing social security to an overwhelmingly poor community; and about the eventual sustainability of social security programmes if they simultaneously do not address the underlying causes of inequality.

Three essays towards the end—on widows, ageing, and on natural disasters—are somewhat unexpected and especially interesting. Thematically, they form a separate section that, however, can be linked to the earlier essays. The link comes from their focus on other vulnerable sections of society—whose vulnerability does not necessarily arise from being in the unorganized sector, but rather, due to their demographic attributes, as in the first two, and due to the calamitous nature of the latter. The latter essay argues correctly that the poor are the most affected by natural disasters, often due to their habitat: living as they do, in flood or famine prone areas. The editors in the introduction, could have established the thematic link between the essays. This would have also helped to place programmes suggested in the latter part, in the context of the efforts mentioned in the first part of the volume that deals exclusively with the unorganized sector.

On ageing, there is no doubt about the fact that old age care is increasingly becoming an important problem, with no concomitant solutions in sight. However, the gravity of ageing populations is well established in the developed, industrialized countries, where there is any amount of evidence on how and why the age structure of their populations is shifting towards the 60 plus years. Given that the bulk of research funding comes from this part of the

world, research agendas tend to get established and tailored to the central concerns of these societies. Thus, one finds, for instance, that ageing and obesity are two of the most widely researched topics in demography in the West. It is nobody's case that these problems do not exist in the developing world. But given that we are still grappling with the problem of high birth rates and population explosion, I think, the issue of ageing needs to be put in perspective. One would have liked to see the essay give some statistics that would define the contours of the phenomenon of ageing (especially a comparative discussion with the other essay in the volume on maternity and child-care schemes). This could be linked to existing research on the changing contours of the family, focusing on the rural urban divide, that would then appropriately highlight the proportion of the elderly who need care outside the family circumstance.

What the essay on ageing does not do, Martha Chen's essay on widows more than compensates for. She places the economic and social vulnerability of widows in India in the context of caste and property relations, reports existing evidence on the lower than average consumption and incomes of widow-headed households, and critically discusses existing forms of social security for widows. As with most of the other contributions in this collection, Chen ends by outlining proposals for alternative forms of social security. While she does not elaborate on this, it is clear from her discussion that a lot of the proposals to strengthen social security for widows actually involve a reversal in the gender balance: property rights to be made gender-equal, to take one instance. What gives hope is the last section of Chen's essay "promising examples", where she discusses the experiences of SEWA, that runs an insurance scheme for women, including widows.

This particular insurance scheme is discussed elsewhere in the volume in an essay by Chatterjee and Vyas. This documents the experiences of SEWA and SEWA Bank in dealing with bigger insurance companies in order to get a health insurance scheme started for its members. While the approach is laudable and the initiative badly needed, the essay is wanting in that it reads more like a statement of purpose, than a critical assessment. The tables at the end reveal that the numbers of claimants

While voluntary efforts must absolutely continue and expand, as yet, there is no evidence in the development histories of different societies to suggest that this could be done comprehensively by an agency other than the state. What needs to be emphasized simultaneously is the establishment of structures that make the state apparatus democratic and accountable.

under various schemes are at the most 3-400. While not underestimating this effort at all, one wonders about the possibility of wider applicability of the scheme.

This is the feeling one gets after reading some other essays as well: for instance, Jajoo's essay on Kasturba Hospital in Sevagram in Wardha. Clearly the efforts of the hospital are exemplary, especially as it attempts to formulate and implement an alternative, egalitarian approach to community financing of healthcare. But reliance on voluntary initiative could well result in ad-hocism. Is there a framework for ensuring consistency? Jajoo hints at this problem briefly as he discusses how health is a low priority area for the community. There is another problem with voluntary action that his discussion of malnutrition as a cause of ill health highlights: health is often an outcome of the structural disadvantages that the poor face. Unless the community initiative simultaneously addresses the underlying structures that generate disparity, the approach to health care may remain superficial.

In the overall introduction to the volume, there is an argument made for "space" to be provided for family and community initiative in social security. Given that, according to Table 1.1, central and state governments finance only 20 percent of health expenditure, with a whopping 75 percent being financed by private households, one would not expect any lack of space. On the contrary, what it points towards is just the opposite—that the state needs to increase its presence in this sector. At another place the volume mentions an estimate that on an average, private health care is two and a half times more costly than that provided by the state. Given the economic vulnerability of the unorganized sector workers, affordable, easily accessible and widely available health care should be the call of the day. While voluntary efforts must absolutely continue and expand, as yet, there is no evidence in the development histories of different societies to suggest that this could be done comprehensively by an agency other than the state. What needs to be emphasized simultaneously is the establishment of structures that make the state apparatus democratic and accountable. ■

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Reviving the Old and Traditional

Meera Lal

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRY IN THE NEW MARKET ECONOMY:

THE COTTON HANDLOOMS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

By Kanaklatha Mukund and B. Syama Sundari

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 169, Rs. 395.00

It is a universally accepted fact that state intervention is desirable and efficacious where only corrective measures are required both in public and private sectors. The state has a positive role to play and in a much more liberalized economy today, lesser intervention and more flexibility and autonomy is required for achieving the desired goal of economic development.

In a fast developing economy like India, with labour in abundance and scarcity of capital, the development of small scale sector has become an effective tool for economic and social transformation. The SSI has emerged a dynamic and vibrant sector, more so in the last two decades. However, in spite of the state government's efforts at protection, in the form of information, entrepreneurial development, training, industrial estates, raw materials, marketing, they have nevertheless suffered in the relative allocations of outlay and investments in the five years plans. Sandesara a former director and professor of economics, University of Mumbai, and expert on SSI, calls the small traditional industries a "poor cousin of large industries". In the new liberalized market economy the New Small Enterprise Policy (NSEP) has undergone a drastic change. It now views handloom products as part of the handicraft sector, free from competition from power looms and mills. Greater reliance for administering assistance programmes is placed on NGOs and cooperatives to improve the delivery system.

The small scale sector is represented by the self-employed, family undertakings, sole owners, partnerships, and cooperatives. It not only includes modern manufacturing, trading and service oriented industries, but more so the traditional industries, which were once the backbone of India's industrial growth. Our traditional industries reflect the heritage of skilled craftsmanship and artistic expression. The authors have attempted to look into the working of the handloom weaving units, to delve into and evaluate the problems with some corrective and positive suggestions. The focus on the state of Andhra Pradesh is very apt at a time when the state is making valid attempts to

find a place in the global map. Andhra Pradesh today is one of the most happening states of India. With advancement of information technology even to the remotest part of rural areas and installation of incubators, positive signals are being transmitted to traditional industries.

The new industrial policy of the state is committed to develop a strong SSI base with liberal incentives to SSI units, with a view to encouraging export promotion. The 1995 policy aims at investment in industries both from inside and outside the state, faster implementation of projects, successful running of existing units and improving quality of life, not only of artisans and small entrepreneurs but in general the citizens of the state.

Mukund and Sundari question the continued survival of handlooms, particularly after a sharp decline in their growth in the state during the 80s. Their future appears bleak in the macro-economic climate of liberalization and global competition. The earlier message of labour intensive employment generation, with little capital investment is being challenged with Foreign Direct Investments and larger markets capturing the scenario. Against this background the study "looks at the reality of handloom weaving in Andhra Pradesh, one of the major handloom weaving states of India to present a concrete picture of the dynamics of handloom weaving in a changing economic environment" (p. 19).

With a brief historical background of handloom weaving in the twentieth century, the authors next highlight the government policies and perceptions. There is a critical review of the National Textile Policy in general and the Handloom Policy in particular, relating to organization, modernization, subsidies and welfare schemes. The government agencies themselves have expressed concern, accepting the failure of their general policy towards handlooms. Though the Nizam's dominions were very poor and highly indebted, Andhra Pradesh still remained one of the leading states for handloom production. According to the Census of Handlooms of 1977-78, "the state had 5,29,000 looms, the highest among all the

The stress is on consolidated schemes with viable soundings rather than many fragmented programmes which rarely yield any positive results. Delinking government control both central and state would enable cooperatives to function as autonomous, decision making economic entities.

states of the country" (p. 46).

The current scenario has been evaluated with a brief comparison with other states of India—West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and U.P. Among all apparel items, the traditional sari still captures the main market. The main problems envisaged by the authors relate to the relatively low level of wages in the state and a sharp decline in the number of looms in the 1980s. A district level analysis of the handloom sector covering the period 1980-93 has also been undertaken. The analysis is based mainly on 2 variables, in the number of looms and the volume of cloth production. The general consensus arrived at by the authors seem appropriate that weavers are no longer positive players and respond positively by changing the product mix to cater to the new patterns of demand both in domestic and international markets, thereby decrying the "general belief that handloom weaving is an activity in decline" (p. 70). District profiles have been prepared after field surveys and case studies have been taken up which become more authentic than mere sample surveys. Different weaving centres specialize in particular variety of saris, from Mangalagiri in Guntur District, Venkatagiri in Nellore District to Gadwal in Mahaboob Nagar. Each is distinctive with regard to silks and cottons used, with borders and "pallus" using both real and artificial zaris to capture a larger market.

The later chapters concerned with marketing options and channels have been carefully evaluated providing details about production relations—weavers, cooperative societies and master weavers. The authors quote Donald W. Attwood, an expert on cooperatives and rural development. "Cooperation has failed but cooperatives must become the effective alliance of the interest of the rich and small weavers which Attwood has set down as the necessary precondition for their success" (p. 128).

The cumulative findings of Mukund and Sundari have culminated in a detailed evaluation of government programmes, relating to subsidies, protective measures, credit and marketing, modernization, welfare schemes and other development initiatives. The stress is on

consolidated schemes with viable soundings rather than many fragmented programmes which rarely yield any positive results. Delinking government control both central and state would enable cooperatives to function as autonomous, decision making economic entities. A better alternative provided by the authors is a two-tier policy making administration, with more flexibility and more functional approach to suit the changing milieu. In the present scenario of globalization there is a direct integration of village markets with the outside markets. "The continued survival of handloom weaving is imperative both from an economic and a larger perspective" (p. 145).

The research undertaken by the authors will prove beneficial not only to academicians and scholars but more so to policy makers. However, a much more detailed comparative analysis with demand projections in the different district profiles within the state as well as in the neighbouring states would make the book much richer. Competition with neighbouring countries also, in particular Bangladesh, can become issues for future research and a new edition. The role of NGOs need to be highlighted where the handloom sector is concerned. The mushroom growth and functioning of NGOs particularly in Andhra Pradesh have likewise to be evaluated. But the book is a valuable contribution particularly in a period of reforms and market economy. The revival and survival of our traditional sector has to be a clear objective of policy makers today. ■

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Awarded

Pitambar Publishing Co. has been awarded the Bronze Prize for excellence in printing and presentation in the category of Fully Translated Children's Books for the book *Koriyan Lok Kathayen* by Divik Ramesh. The prize was given at the 7th APPA Book Awards ceremony organized by the Asian Pacific Publishers Association in Seoul in May 2001.

In a Political Economy Framework

Praveen Jha

RURAL LABOUR RELATIONS IN INDIA

Edited by T.J. Byres, Karin Kapadia and Jens Lerche.

India Research Press, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 369, Rs. 695.00

Academic engagement with rural labour relations in India has had a well-established tradition, at least since the early days of post-independence period. Studies by Surendra J. Patel, and Daniel and Alice Thorner in the 1950s were among the trail-blazers in this regard which have been followed by several eminent successors. As it happens, one of the editors of the volume under review here, T.J. Byres, has been making important contributions to the relevant literature for well over three decades now.

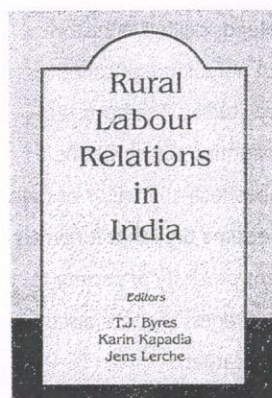
The volume is a selection of papers presented at a workshop held at the London School of Economics in 1997. The focal concern of the workshop, as the editors tell us, was to analyse emerging development trajectories of rural labour relations and rural labour struggles in India, based on studies from its regions and states. Apart from the two introductory essays by the editors, the volume contains one general conceptual paper on issues relating to freedom/unfreedom of labour in India's agrarian context, and six studies based on five individual states, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh. Given that India's agricultural sector is characterized by a variety of regional and sub-regional politico-economic patterns and distinctive histories of rural labour relations, the canvass of the volume based mainly on the individual treatment of five states (out of a total of 24 states and 7 union territories at the time of the workshop) provides only a partial coverage. The fact of such a partial coverage obviously must not be viewed as a drawback of the collection, but should be kept in focus while approaching the scope of what is truly a very complex theme that the volume has chosen to address. Sure enough, the editors are quite conscious of it and sound a cautionary note in this regard.

However, one must note rightaway that the volume has much to offer in terms of indepth and richly informative analyses with respect to the chosen study regions. Much of the collection is based on very careful and recent field work which allow the authors to explore penetratingly a variety of critical issues that generally elude the net cast by the large scale data systems. Moreover, authors generally seek to relate the analytical treatment of their field-

study to the major developments at the all-India and/or to other individual states. In the process, a number of important analytical debates relating to continuity and change in the Indian countryside get illuminated.

A clear commitment to political economy framework as being the preferred framework for tackling the subject on hand is common to all the contributors. This obviously implies that the issues such as the dynamics of accumulation patterns, the nature and impact of state intervention, class formation and class action etc. are central to the analyses of changing labour relations in all the contributions. Given that the term political economy has come to be used increasingly with almost boundless and bewildering flexibility, so much so that even the mainstream neoclassical economics that happens to be bereft of any sense of history has its own so-called 'new political economy', it may be useful to note here that the contributors to the volume generally have their clear moorings in the Marxian analytical tradition. However, while making skillful use of the Marxian approach, authors do not confine themselves only to its conventional concerns. In particular, the questions relating to caste and gender in shaping the trajectories of rural labour relations are examined explicitly, and in some detail, in the different study-regions.

As regards the central concern of the book, i.e. the changing labour relations in the Indian countryside, at a high level of generality the findings emerging from this volume are broadly in conformity with the conclusions arrived at by much of the recent literature, the thrust of which is neatly encapsulated in J. Mohan Rao's paper. As he puts it, "While neither the robust elements of continuity nor the substantial variations over space should be underplayed, the following stylized shifts seem fairly widespread: from caste-based or personally bonded labour sometimes secured by debt frequently extending across generations to long—and short—duration credit contracts apparently with no such tying; from informally defined and open-ended obligations to formal contractual arrangements; from relations based on 'extra-economic' sanctions to ones based on voluntary agreements; from a reliance on intra-village labour exchanges to the conjoint employment of local and migrant workers; and,



from permanent farm labour to casual labour' (p. 243). As already mentioned, it is similar stylized shifts that emerge from the papers in this volume based on the individual states/regions.

Thus, the view shared by most of the relevant literature on this question during the last couple of decades, that for labourers in rural India a variety of emancipatory processes have been at work leading to substantial expansion in their formal freedom is reiterated. Of course, the extent of this formal freedom and, what is far more significant, its substantive content, varies a great deal across regions and states in India, and this emerges very clearly from the present volume as well. In fact, as has been discussed by several observers in the recent years, there are pockets where sections of agricultural labourers have to voluntarily surrender their formal freedom at least temporarily.

The major contribution of the present collection of papers lies precisely in demonstrating the evolution of the above noted trajectory of labour relations, in the respective study regions, in a nuanced manner while capturing much of the underlying complexity.

The important contributory factors that have been at work in effecting the direction of change, and how far such emancipatory processes can proceed occupy the attention of different contributions. As may be evident from our earlier remarks regarding the analytical framework, centrality of class struggle with reference to both these issues is a common thread running through the volume.

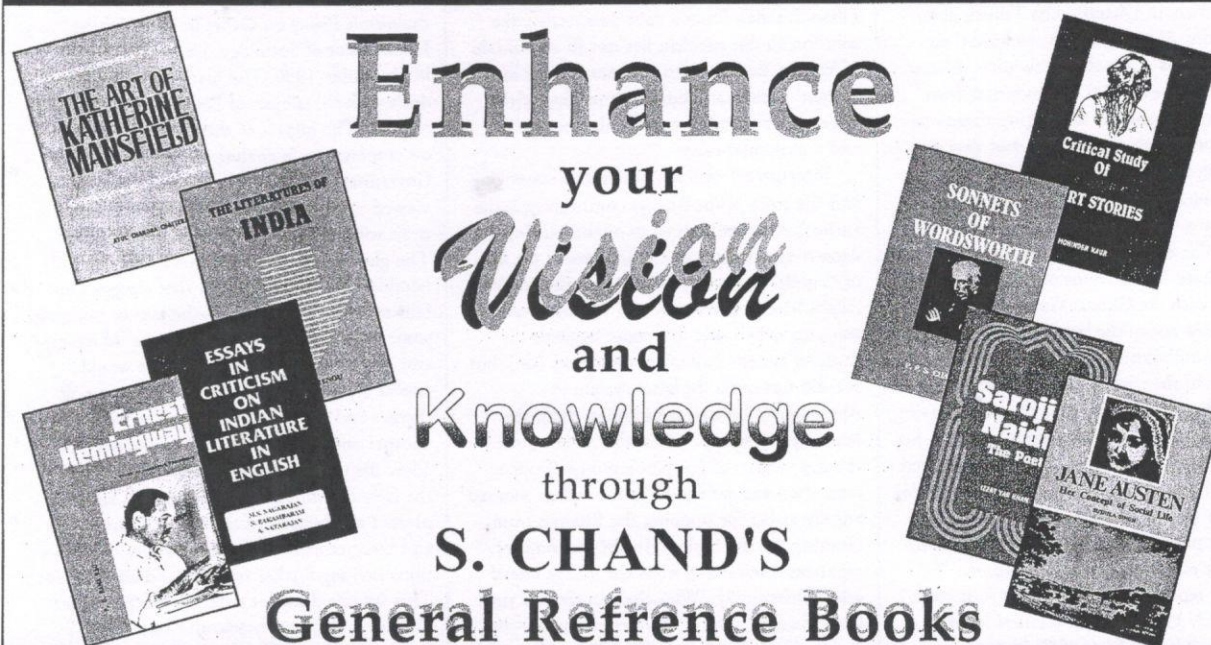
By way of concluding remarks one may say that the book should be amply rewarding to all those who are interested in a disaggregated and fine-combed analysis of the evolution of labour relations in certain regions of rural India, and valuable for researchers working on similar themes in different part of the country. ■

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Untouchable Freedom?

Fernando Franco

ENDLESS FILTH—THE SAGA OF THE BHANGIS

By Mari Marcel Thekaekara

Books for Change, Bangalore, 1999, pp. 126, Rs. 200.00

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY AND DALITS

Edited by P.G. Jogdand

Rawat Publications, Jaipur and New Delhi, 2000, pp. viii+342, Rs. 675.00

There is a harrowing poignancy in the uninhibited, unsanitized, though highly sensitive account of the practice of manual scavenging in *Endless Filth*. The book is a journalistic expression of the author's obsession with the problems of the Bhangi community—the term 'Bhangi' being used by the writer 'with humility, respect and total empathy for the community'; it is also the fruit of her contact and association with the struggle waged by the Navsarjan Trust, under the leadership of Martin Macwan, against the apathy of the Gujarat State towards the plight of this community. Chronologically the story begins with the agitation of the Bhangis of Ranpur town, in Dhandhukha Taluka, about 75 km from Ahmedabad city, to have their broken brooms replaced by new ones. Almost by accident, the activists of Navsarjan Trust discovered that manual scavenging (headlong carrying of human excrements) was alive and flourishing in the town.

The practice of manual scavenging was banned by a Central Government Act of 1993, but a similar act was not enacted by the Gujarat State. The account of the legal battle of the Trust with the Gujarat Government is an unbelievable tale of the latter's denials in the face of an outrageous and intolerable reality. At one point in the trial, the activists were accused of presenting faked photographs, and of having paid people to carry filth on their heads. In her reply, the lawyer representing the Trust offered publicly the sum of one lakh rupees to anyone present in the court who would be willing 'to pose for a photograph with a basket of human excrement on his head' (p. 37). No one obviously replied. It was only after four years, on 3 March 1997, that the Central legislation was adopted by the State of Gujarat.

The author blends skillfully a historical narrative with autobiographical notes, and brief case studies. The book succeeds in highlighting the problem: it portrays unabashedly the anger of dalit leaders at the same time that it reveals the permanent proclivity of society to sweep the awareness of caste discrimination under the carpet. Manual scavenging is linked to the existence of 'dry latrines', that is, toilets without flushing facilities. Though the practice

has been banned, the author records statements from various activists attesting to the existence of dry latrines, not in villages, but in small towns all over India lacking sewage facilities. In an altered but no less humiliating form, the members of this community have remained chained to the cleaning occupation in our cities under the name of 'safai karmacharis'. No other community is entrusted with the job of cleaning septic tanks and clogged manholes. The author recounts with sadness the story of a sixteen year old boy who died probably of asphyxiation from the rush of gas emanating from a septic tank he was trying to clean in Wadhwan (a small town close to Dhandhukha). From a dalit perspective, the solution to this problem lies not in an attitude of 'caring' that wants to turn scavenging into a 'decent' occupation, but in a breaking of the age-old stronghold between this occupation and a particular caste.

Interspersed with the practice of scavenging and the story of the Bhangi community, is the author's recorded testimony of the existing and deep-rooted upper-caste prejudices in the land of Gandhi. A wealthy old Jain woman in Vav, a taluka headquarters in North Gujarat, was not ready to switch over to a more hygienic flushing system because it was a *paap* (sin), but she did not mind the latter system in Ahmedabad, because it becomes, then, the Municipality's *paap*. When the author visited the dry latrines of Ranpur, a group of upper caste men and women from the village shouted angrily at her for stopping the Bhangis from cleaning the dry latrines. In the exchange of repartees one woman from the village crowd asked rhetorically: 'Who else can clean if you stop Bhangis? One of the men accompanying her responded with rage: You! They (the author and her friend activists) think you and I should clean our own shit while they introduce Bhangi raj!' (p. 34).

While providing a sketchy outline of various

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activists who have fought against this evil in various states, the book includes relevant portions from the National Commission for Safai Karmacharis appointed in 1994 by the Narasimha Rao government, an all-India list of all the jatis associated with the traditional occupation of scavenging, and parts of the Bombay Enquiry Committee Report of 1949. The book could have benefited, however, from an updated bibliography including Vijay Prashad's *Untouchable Freedom*, an excellent contribution to the subject.

The New Economic Policy and Dalits is a collection of articles presented at a two-day national seminar on 'The Impact of the New Economic Policy on Dalits in India' by the Department of Sociology, University of Pune, in December 1996. The first part of the book deals with the subject of Dalits and economic reforms. The impact of these economic reforms on employment is analysed in the second part. Government employment schemes are reviewed in the third part, and the last section deals with tribals and the economic reforms. The glaring limitations of this volume are heralded in an introduction that struggles but fails to do the impossible—the task of bringing some sort of order and focus to a set of repetitive and poorly edited papers. One would expect an editor to avoid the overlapping of themes and arguments from one article to another and from one section to the next, to allow the title or sub-title of the book record the fact that tribals are also included, and to present an overview of the areas of agreement and disagreement among the various contributions inviting further research and clarification. This volume does not meet such expectations. Outdated tables on headcount ratios of poverty, for example, are supplied on pages 47, 137, 155 and 220-21. A large number of articles indulge in sweeping generalizations devoid of empirical proof. Economic arguments of a general tenor, for example the effects of devaluation and of the liberalization of imports, have been precariously linked with the economic position of Dalits. With the exception of three contributions (Gopal Iyer, E.N. Ashok Kumar, and Rajendra Patil), all the articles rely on secondary data.

In general, the emerging opinion is that economic reforms have had a negative impact on Dalits. Gail Omvedt's views of the effects of globalization on Dalits are more nuanced. While there is not enough evidence to suggest that poverty among Dalits has increased, "reforms have not helped much either" (p. 54). Before 1991, Omvedt contends, the license raj damaged Dalits as much as a non-dalit middle class full of unsatisfied aspirations, and the period after 1991 has opened up new possibilities to Dalits in other (service) sectors of the economy.

It may be helpful to end this brief review with a reflection on the statement made by S. Palshikar that "economic changes have a potential of altering the economic dimensions of caste" (p. 70). While accepting that caste has become an important means of gaining access to political power, Palshikar notes that recent economic changes have unleashed at least two discernible processes: the lumpenization of lower castes, and economic differentiation within a single caste. Important as these processes are, they do not explain fully the irruption of various dalit and other

bahujan groups into the political arena. Political mobilization may be a conscious response to claim a share in the economic dream being propagated by all and sundry. The tension and distance between promise and reality is becoming more and more unbearable. ■

Fernando Franco, who holds a doctoral degree in Economics from Bombay University, was formerly associated with a voluntary organization working for Dalits, and is currently Director of Research at the Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.

Food Security and the State

Bharat Ramaswami

FOOD POLICY AND THE INDIAN STATE: THE PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM IN SOUTH INDIA

By Jos Mooij

Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1999, Rs. 575.00

WEAKENING WELFARE: THE PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM IN INDIA

By Madhura Swaminathan

LeftWord Books, Delhi, 2000, Rs. 275.00 (hardcover), Rs. 95.00 (paperback).

In independent India, food subsidies have perhaps been the most potent symbol of a government's commitment to be a friend of the poor. Yet, surprisingly, with the exception of a few southern states, food politics have never been prominent in electoral campaigns. As researchers have noted, the idea of using the public distribution system as a means of ensuring food security among the poor was never considered seriously *till recently*.

The public distribution system started off as a wartime (i.e., the Second World War) rationing measure to ensure food supplies to the cities. This piecemeal measure in response to the economic exigency was formalized into a policy in independent India. The ideas of the day saw the key to economic development in large investments in industry. Cheap food was essential to the success of this strategy. Although ideologies that called for heavy taxation of the so-called kulaks were influential, practical politics limited such policies. Instead

...Swaminathan sees the problem as much larger than merely misguided or politically motivated food policies. In particular, the current policies of targetting are to her a standard component of structural adjustment processes inflicted on developing countries by the international financial institutions. The deeper plot, she fears, is to dismantle the welfare programmes.

the public distribution system (PDS) was kept afloat primarily by food aid and its principal objective was to protect the workers in the major urban centres from the slow and uneven progress in food production. It was only in the 1970s that the rhetoric changed and the PDS was enshrined as a friend of the poor. In retrospect, two developments played a role. First, with the decline of food aid and the growth of domestic food surpluses, farmers became a force in the political economy. The policies of procurement and buffer stocks dovetailed neatly into the public distribution system. Secondly, the well-known politics of *garibi hatao* needed potent images and the PDS was handy.

In recent years, however, evidence has steadily mounted that in most places, the PDS is not a particularly valuable friend of the poor. In the southern states, especially Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, the poor seem to make reasonable use of food subsidies. This is not so in the rest of the country. Furthermore, even where publicly subsidized grain reaches the poor, the market is just as important a supplier. Most households depend on a mix of the two. In the typical pattern, the market is the dominant supplier (presumably because ration quotas are limited and not available for purchase continuously). If, as the evidence suggests, the PDS increases the market price of food, then these effects may well dwarf the direct benefits of food subsidies. Symptomatic of the crisis is the huge stocks with the government. At the moment, the government's food policy subtracts (and subtracts heavily) from available supplies rather than augmenting them. This suggests that the PDS is a nasty foe and not just an indifferent friend to at least

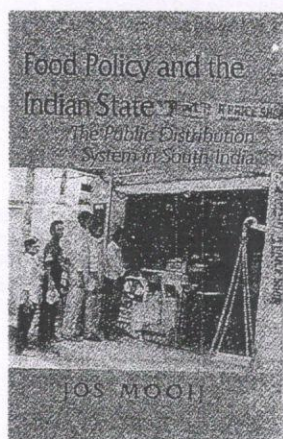
some of the poor (depending on whether they are located).

Madhura Swaminathan's monograph is a clearly argued critique of the food policy of the 1990s. This period was marked by swift increases in the issue price (at which the government sells grain) to match consistent rises in the procurement price (at which the government buys grain). The period also saw the introduction of targetting which increased the issue price for the nontarget groups called the above poverty line population in official jargon. As a result of these measures, sales from the public distribution have declined which is one of the reasons for burgeoning food stocks with the government.

To Swaminathan, the principal outcome of these reforms has been the erosion of the PDS. While she acknowledges the problems that prevent the PDS from delivering more to the poor, she persuasively argues that the extent of food deprivation requires more food subsidies rather than less. The book scores well as a concise analysis of current food policy issues. The book is however much less persuasive in its advocacy of desired reforms.

The problem is that Swaminathan sees the problem as much larger than merely misguided or politically motivated food policies. In particular, the current policies of targetting are to her a standard component of structural adjustment processes inflicted on developing countries by the international financial institutions. The deeper plot, she fears, is to dismantle the welfare programmes. Her review of the impact of structural adjustment in various countries is, however, inconclusive. In all these countries, the introduction of targetting followed a macro shock and Swaminathan's





analysis does not separate the contribution of these separate factors to the outcomes for the poor. An outcome of her sweeping judgment is that any policy associated with a structural adjustment programme is tarred with the same brush. Although her arguments against targeting are weighty, she also dismisses food stamps because of the Sri Lankan experience where they were not indexed to inflation. Then why not consider indexed food stamps? Food stamps are also criticized for onerous administrative requirements. But are these administrative difficulties any greater than what we face currently with direct delivery of food?

Policy concerns are the backdrop in the book by Jos Mooij. The focus is on the institutions and processes that implement the PDS. As state governments implement

procurement and public distribution, the core of her book consists of case studies of these processes in Karnataka and Kerala. Her chapter on the procurement of levy rice in Karnataka is a riveting account of how local government officials, rice mills and traders, and politicians cope with these coercive powers granted to the state. She emphasizes the use of social networks in moderating state (and bureaucratic) power and allowing businesses to function. Her study of distribution practices in the two states echo known results about how the design of PDS, difficulties of access and illegal grain diversions limit the reach and use of PDS by the poor.

In another chapter, Mooij describes the workings of the food and civil supplies corporations in the two states. Although the analysis is thoughtful, her conclusions seem hasty and predetermined. On the basis of very doubtful cost figures (for the state corporation), she claims greater efficiency for the Kerala corporation relative to private trade. Her other point is that the problems of these firms stem not from government ownership but because of rigidity of procedures and private misuse (by politicians). Mooij misses the larger point that neither of these problems handicap private firms. In the last case study, Mooij provides an absorbing account of how the Essential Commodities Act works in connection with the PDS. She points out the impossibility of full compliance and the staggeringly harsh legal procedures (such as reversing the burden of proof on the accused, offences being non-bailable) in the event of prosecution.

Policy concerns are the backdrop in the book by Jos Mooij. The focus is on the institutions and processes that implement the PDS. As state governments implement procurement and public distribution, the core of her book consists of case studies of these processes in Karnataka and Kerala.

The rest of the book is concerned with situating the problem and making sense of the findings in the light of theoretical conceptions about the Indian state. Not only are these speculations not as compelling as the case studies, they seem to divert Mooij from grasping the message of her fieldwork. In spite of her attention to how social structures modify regulatory processes in mofussil towns and districts, Mooij is hopeful about the value of coercive laws and government in protecting the weak against the predations of the market. On the other hand, the tales of levy procurement, the essential commodities act and state civil supplies corporations are devastating indictments of the license-permit raj. The critique is, of course, unintended and ironically, for that reason, effective. ■

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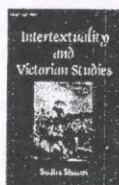
Rs. 650.00

The *Epic of Shivaji* is the English translation of *Sivabharata*, a classical Sanskrit epic poem composed during the lifetime of the Maratha King Shivaji Bhosle by his court-poet. It recounts the early feats of Shivaji and those of his early forbears Maloji and Shahji. This book contains the first complete English translation of the poem, together with a detailed introduction and an essay on the poem's place in classical *mahakavya* literature.



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A Wake-up Call ?

Raviprasad Narayanan

CRISIS AS CONQUEST: LEARNING FROM EAST ASIA
TRACTS FOR THE TIMES XII

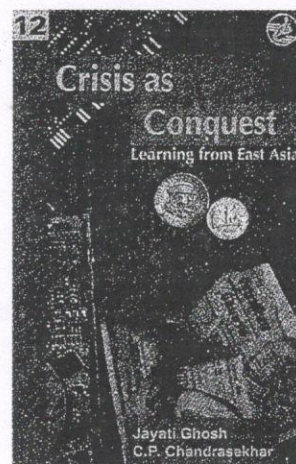
By Jayati Ghosh and C. P. Chandrasekhar
Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 137, Rs. 150.00

The three years that have elapsed since the beginning of the crisis that afflicted the 'tiger economies' of Southeast Asia and South Korea have generated a wealth of detail. The tract on this subject brought out by Jayati Ghosh and C.P. Chandrasekhar, tautly written, examines the nature of the crisis and the extent of their recovery.

To most policy makers and analysts, the unravelling of the 'East Asian Economic Miracle' was a shock, in the sense, that it was sudden and perhaps unexpected. The catalyst responsible for the implosion was to begin with the cross-regional stagnancy in exports, which affected Thailand most severely. This stagnation in export growth in 1996 had come about after years of exports having grown at close to twenty percent annually. There are three explanations that have general acceptance for this phenomenon. The first pertains to a cyclical fall in demand for manufactured (mostly electronic) products. The second was the evidence of mounting global over-capacity in many industries, attributable to some extent, to the increased economic activity in China—a devaluation of the renminbi in 1994 was followed by success in bringing down the inflation rate—thereby making Chinese exports extremely competitive. The third and perhaps most important explanation, and that has generated maximum debate, is to do with currency controls that broke down, thereby ending an international consensus (in place since the 1985 New York Plaza accord). That accord had allowed the yen to strengthen against the dollar, making Japan's exports more expensive, and encouraging its manufacturers to relocate capital and infrastructure to continental Asia, where, since local currencies were linked to the dollar, production costs were cheap. The extent of this move was phenomenal. For example in 1987 Thailand received more Japanese investment than in the entire course of the previous two decades! Japanese investment poured into a region creating capacities that generated cheap exports. But this arrangement unravelled as the dollar appreciated sharply against the yen. From its peak of about 80 yen to the dollar in 1995, the yen fell to a low of 129 to the dollar at one point in 1997. Similarly the East Asian

currencies, which were in one way or another linked to the dollar appreciated against the yen and most other currencies. The strains this shift generated sucked Thailand first into the quagmire. The series of speculative attacks on the baht denuded foreign currency reserves and led to a massive flight of capital, leading the country to turn to the IMF for standby credit and to reschedule debt, much of it short-term.

It is here that Ghosh and Chandrasekhar analyse the role of multilateral lending agencies, as also the role of global finance capital that in an otherwise celebrated era of 'globalization' is a barely concealed euphemism for predatory capital on the prowl for 'base-ment bargains.' The financial liberalization of the 1990s in developed countries increased the flexibility of banking and financial institutions while creating credit and making investments, and also allowed the emergence of hedge funds, which, unlike banks, were unregulated. As Ghosh and Chandrasekhar quote (p.32), "it also provided the space for 'financial innovation' or the creation of new financial instruments or derivatives such as swaps, options, and futures that were autonomously created by the financial system." This being so, it increased competition and whetted the appetite of banks to earn higher returns, thus causing them to search out new recipients for loans in different economic regions as capital had to be kept moving. When return on capital in the 'Asian tigers' was deemed attractive, debt and equity instruments began to flow into these countries, as they were quick to liberalize rules relating to cross-border capital flows and regulations governing the conversion of domestic into foreign currency. A significant amount of these capital flows were utilized for mergers and acquisitions, and not in generating much needed employment. Large current account deficits resulted as corporations and institutions approached foreign financial institutions, as they were a source for cheaper money. The irony emerges when one observes that the Southeast Asian countries had an enviable savings rate even as short term external debt ballooned. In analysing the role of the IMF, the picture that one conjures is one of initial confusion followed by the enunciation



and implementation of a harsh economic recovery package that effectively erased a decade of growth. An unanswered question here pertains to the half-hearted attempts by Japan to set up an Asian Regional Fund that was scuttled by pressure from the United States.

The hossanahs in favour of globalization being the answer to economic ills should examine the impact the East Asian crisis had on the entire region. Three tendencies illustrate this. First, the period of globalization undermined the ability of some of the most successful industrializers to sustain the process of industrial growth they registered earlier. Second, when vulnerability led to the financial crisis, the ensuing adjustments involved a substantial reduction of many of the gains made with regard to global industrial restructuring of the 1970s. And finally, the industrial production that persists in the crisis affected countries is today increasingly dominated by agents from the developed centres of global capitalism. Is globalization, as we know it, leading to the opposite, i.e. centralization?

In concluding the tract, Jayati Ghosh and C.P. Chandrasekhar examine in brief the policy implications for India and present the case that for a successful growth strategy an activist state is a must. An activist state could firstly pursue a mercantilist growth strategy by disciplining its industrial class, and secondly, mobilize resources to sustain that strategy. For a wider participatory approach that would go a long way in making the state capable of functioning as a disciplining force, land reforms and investment in agriculture and rural infrastructure would have the desired impact in creating a broad base of development. ■

Raviprasad Narayanan is a doctoral student at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

A Fledgeling Democracy on the March

Man Mohini Kaul

CAMBODIA: THE LOST DECADE

By Shankari Sundararaman

Knowledge World in association with Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 2000, pp. 201, Rs. 550.00

Shankari Sundararaman's book is well researched and is a detailed analysis of the crisis in Cambodia. The study is based on her PhD. dissertation with an additional chapter dealing with the developments in the post UNTAC period leading to the elections of 1998. Although she was able to go for a field trip to Singapore, Bangkok and Phnom Penh in August and December 1994, major changes have taken place in Cambodia since then, requiring a new postscript. But this is not to detract the significance of the study. The author explains, "The thrust of the present study has been to analyze the international dimensions of the Cambodian conflict and to focus upon the roles of the various regional actors that have been involved since 1978." The author has drawn heavily on both primary and secondary sources. It is a serious inquiry into the most complex and brutal conflict that the world has witnessed and hence it is no bedtime reading.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is an overview of the political evolution of the Cambodian state. Starting with the establishment of the Khmer empire, the author goes on to describe the emergence of Cambodia as an independent and non-aligned country in 1954 under Prince Norodom Sihanouk. One of the oldest leaders of Asia, he has been to a large extent responsible for his country's woes. In 1970, General Lon Nol ousted Sihanouk and it is believed that the CIA was behind this coup that eventually led to the rise of the Khmer Rouge. Much has been written about this period, including Sihanouk's most readable memoir *My War with the CIA*. In 1975 the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot seized power and Cambodia experienced a most terrible phase in its history. Its major contribution was the genocide of its own people, tragically immortalized in the film *The Killing Fields*. The deliverance for the people came ironically from Vietnam, when it attacked Cambodia and established a government led by Heng Samrin as President and Hun Sen as Prime Minister. However, the conflict between the Khmer Rouge and the pro-Vietnam government continued, with no peace in sight for the Cambodian people.

The Cambodian conflict, as the study shows, was full of complexities due to the

involvement of regional and extra-regional actors. China supported the Pol Pot regime and refused to recognize Heng Samrin's government. China viewed the Soviet-Vietnam nexus with alarm and so did the United States. China attacked Vietnam in 1979 to teach it a lesson. The author has rightly stated: "The attack led to a polarization of the conflict and increased tensions along the regional power balance".

The most crucial role in the conflict was that of ASEAN. Even though the ASEAN countries differed in their perceptions regarding Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia, publicly they were united in condemning Vietnam. Though it refused to recognize Heng Samrin's government, ASEAN worked hard diplomatically towards achieving peace in Cambodia. As long as conflict in Cambodia continued, the ASEAN nations were aware that there would be no "...peace and stability in Southeast Asia". As a result of these diplomatic efforts, ASEAN succeeded ultimately in starting a peace process in Cambodia. The author has given a chronological account of the initiatives taken by ASEAN in getting the major warring groups together.

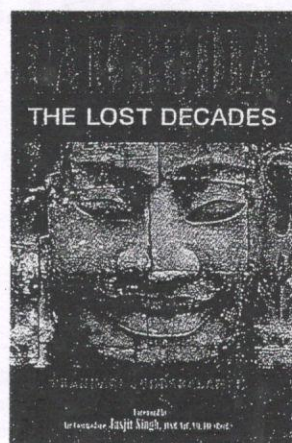
In the chapter on extra-regional actors involved in the Cambodian conflict, the author has put the United States, the former USSR, Japan, Australia and India together—this seems rather an eclectic choice. The period under discussion is basically the Cold War era, which has been subjected to much scholarly enquiry by a large number of experts. Thus, there is nothing new in this chapter that has not already been stated many times over by those listed in her bibliography. This is not meant as a criticism of the author, but to show how much academic interest this period has generated, especially *vis a vis* Southeast Asia. The author's discussion of the three middle powers—Japan, Australia and India—is interesting. Japan and Australia supported the ASEAN viewpoint, while India was totally out of tune with ASEAN. When the ASEAN countries condemned the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, India was lobbying within ASEAN to change its collective mind in favour of Heng Samrin. India's recognition of Samrin's regime soured its relations with it. India's assessment of ASEAN was guided by the Cold War perceptions—the region was regarded by New Delhi

as divided into two distinct divisions, ASEAN and Indo-China.

According to the author, Australia adopted an independent stance towards the Cambodian conflict. It played an active role in initiating the peace process in Cambodia. This was part of Australia's regional policy of constructive engagement with Southeast Asia. On November 24, 1989, the Australian peace proposal was put forward. Under the proposal, the UN was to be involved in administering Cambodia during the transitional period. The UN Peace Proposal for Cambodia was finally based on the above mentioned proposal. The intriguing part is that in spite of Australia's major contribution, it was left out of the final settlement signed in Paris on 23 October 1991.

The fifth chapter on assessment of international dimensions offers valuable insight into the complex political dynamics of the Cambodian conflict. To quote the author: "As such, nobody was a loser or a victor in this conflict, everyone involved lost in some way or the other. The greatest sufferers are the people of the country." In Cambodia at least two million people died under the Pol Pot regime and an unspecified number have died in the long-drawn conflict between various warring factions. It is only since 1998, that peace has been established after decades of violence and immense suffering. Today Cambodia is an active member of ASEAN, and is now involved in building its shattered economy. According to the author, "...the fate of this fledgling democracy depends upon one man—Hun Sen". Being one of the most intriguing political figures in Southeast Asia, no one can predict how he will lead his country on the difficult path of development. The book under review would prove extremely useful to those involved in understanding Cambodia. The author has commendably discussed in minutest detail all issues which led to the crisis. ■

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Cultural Interface of the Colonial Experience

Meena Bhargava

A EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE OF THE MUGHAL ORIENT: THE IJAZ-I-ARSALANI (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) OF ANTOINE-LOUIS HENRI POLIER

Translated and with an Introduction by Muzaffar Alam & Seema Alavi
Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 422, Rs. 750.00

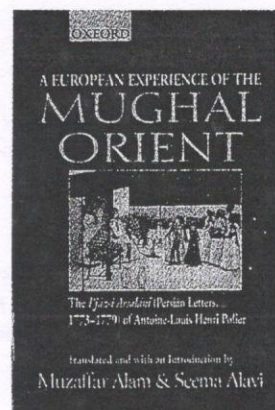
A *European Experience of the Mughal Orient* makes a significant shift in the understanding of eighteenth century India. It does not focus on the study of the Europeans in India as traders or travellers or missionaries but concentrates on their intellectual curiosity and intellectual achievements. Several Europeans had studied and interacted with the Indian society and had recorded their observations in the native languages: Persian and Urdu, thus contributing a new genre to the prevailing Indo-Persian literary culture. Collecting such evidence, the book puts into proper perspective the colonial debate on orientalism. With Polier and his *Ijaz-i Arsalani* as a case study, it seeks to highlight European experiences and understanding of the Orient (in this case the Mughal Orient) and European interventions within it. Alam and Alavi reinforce the questioning of the "constructions of British India and a colonized 'other' as mere narrative productions within the vast political discourse of colonial domination" (p. 18). They argue that the colonized 'other' and the colonial experience as a whole are now located in "more pliable cultural interface and material as well as discursive negotiation between Britain and India" (p. 18). It is in this context that the book discusses the significance of *Ijaz-i Arsalani*.

Ijaz-i Arsalani i.e. Persian letters of Polier represents eighteenth century Indo-Persian literary writing. Antoine-Louis Henri Polier was a French military officer in the service of the English East India Company in India. The Mughal Emperor had decorated him with the title of *Arsalan*. No wonder, he decided to call his letters in Persian *Ijaz-i Arsalani*. Evaluating the significance of these letters in the socio-cultural spirit of the eighteenth century, the authors have resented the lack of attention to Polier's works. This book is a translation into English of the first volume of *Ijaz-i Arsalani* with an exhaustive and illuminating introduction. With Polier and the *Ijaz* as a case study, the attempt is to understand the importance of the social and cultural dimensions of India's encounter with the Europeans. The authors argue that the European understanding of eighteenth century India was vividly distinct from that of the British orientalists. The European connection or more appropriately

the European writings in Persian (in this instance Polier's writings) have been skillfully woven into the fabric of the eighteenth century for a wider and more complete understanding of the eighteenth century. The book analyses aspects of cultural turmoil that had been generated by India's interaction with the European colonizers during this period. The authors are of the view that a careful study of texts like *Ijaz* and similar such Persian texts written by the Europeans could unravel issues for a fuller understanding of this crucial phase of Indian history.

This apart, the added significance of the book is its value as a source book for the study of the economic and social history of eighteenth century India. The information and observations contained in the letters that comprise the *Ijaz* throw new light on relations between the Europeans, the Mughals and the Awadh court. They provide rich details on cultural and economic transactions and in particular on Polier's interest in private trade. The letters are also immensely valuable for their information on the changing trade routes in the period and the nature and extent of commercial networks that tied together a large number of small towns and market centres. In addition, they provide invaluable details on the changing land relations and the links between the landed magnates and the Mughal centre during the period of transition. However, while the book focuses on social matters and issues pertaining to trade, merchants etc., a consideration of agrarian issues, land, land rights, *ijara* or other aspects of the economy of the period, could have further enhanced its importance as a source book.

Embarking on a discussion of Polier's career in India and his works, the authors trace the military and mercenary as well as the intellectual heritage of Polier. Notwithstanding these genealogical abilities and before being conscripted in the Madras army and in the service of the English East India Company, Polier comes across to us as more of an adventurer. He had sailed in a ship (called *The Hardwick*) coming to Madras in 1757 to join his Uncle, who was in the service of the English East India Company and posted in Madras. Illustrating through Polier's experiences, the authors have cogently explained the Anglo-



French rivalry in eighteenth century India and its consequences. The Company had rarely trusted the French. In such circumstances, the authors argue, the French origins of Polier had proved to be a major handicap. He was removed from his senior position as chief engineer in charge of constructing Fort William. Notwithstanding the bias, Polier had somehow managed to cling on to the Company's service. To resolve and overcome these obstacles, Polier had consented to his posting in the survey department of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh. He also had a brief stint in the service of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam. Nonetheless, his French connection had denied him any promotion beyond the rank of Major. It was only in 1782 on the recommendation of Warren Hastings that Polier was permitted to stay in Faizabad and later in Lucknow with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. During his stay in Awadh, Polier had amassed several oriental manuscripts and miniatures and had built up a vast and attractive library in Lucknow. The holdings of this library were subsequently distributed to the different libraries in Paris, London, Cambridge, Berlin and Lausanne.

Commenting on the works of Polier, the authors tell us that his major work was *Mythologie des Indous*. His other valuable work, *Ijaz-i Arsalani* is available in two volumes in Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. It contains 1833 letters written in the first phase of Polier's stay in north India between June 1773 and March 1780. Both volumes together comprise 771 folios. Copied in *nasta'liq* and *shikast*, they were apparently written by different people. Volume I consists of 445 folios, of these 351 folios have been written in *nasta'liq*. Volume II comprises 326 folios and is written in *shikast*. Volume I, of which this book is a translation, contains wide ranging letters by Polier in Persian to the Mughal Emperor, Nawabs of Awadh, merchants, artisans, *amilis*, his Indian wives, sons, other relatives and his attendant, Lal Khan. The reply of the addressees also in Persian are unfortunately not included in the *Ijaz*. Most are either lost or scattered. The authors mention yet another dimension to Polier's correspondences. For strategic reasons and to

maintain secrecy and confidentiality. Polier and his addressees often wrote letters in a European language or in English. Focusing on Polier's appropriation of the language and culture of the Mughal imperial court and his adaptation and adoption of pre-colonial values and identities, the authors observe that like the Mughal Emperors, Polier had employed *munshis* to write letters on his behalf. The *munshis* notwithstanding, Polier himself had supervised the drafts so that he could claim full authorship of the Persian text. Alluding to and commenting on Polier's style and his work, Alam and Alavi suggest that Polier was conscious of providing his work the aura of significance and authenticity within the mould of Islamic letters.

Examining the style and diction of *Ijaz-i Arsalani*, the authors argue that in its several characteristics it represents the eighteenth century *Insha*. To evaluate and assess the significance of the *Ijaz*, they give a brief and interesting history of *Insha* as a genre and trace its evolving features from eleventh century onwards. *Insha* had developed as an important genre of Indo-Persian literary tradition and had become an indispensable part of the Muslim literary and politico-diplomatic world since the earliest times. Understanding the traditions of Indo-Persian *Insha*, the authors observe, that the *Ijaz* in nearly all its letters emulate the pattern. The letters contained in the *Ijaz* generally follow a direct style. "The prose is simple, elegant, free from turgidity and a heavily Arabized phraseology, and uninterrupted by verse quotations" (p. 17). Elaborating the characteristics of the letters even further, Alam and Alavi point out that the *arzdashths* (letters) addressed to Shah Alam, the *tahniyatnamas* to Shuja-ud-daulah and Asaf-ud-daulah and the two prefaces in the volume are "extraordinarily rich in vocabulary without being tedious" (p. 17).

Analysing Polier, the person and his works, the authors convey not only the complexities of Polier but also those of India's encounter with the Europeans. They stipulate that Polier had adopted Mughal Persianate lifestyle to dilute his European identity. The fact that he intervened and interacted with indigenous culture is evident from *Ijaz-i Arsalani*, which represents Polier's "larger cultural negotiations" (p. 18). Polier's letters in the opinion of the authors are a significant text within the study of India's cultural encounter with the West.

Explaining eighteenth century India's interaction with the West, Alam and Alavi argue that while the image of British 'self' and Indian 'other' are no longer accepted as binary opposites, the image of the British as culturally definable and politically demarcated still persists. It is in this context that they evaluate the significance of *Ijaz-i Arsalani*, which challenges the view that the British alone carried out the imperial expansion in India. It compels us, the authors argue, to reconsider the notion of "an unadulterated Britishness within Britain's colonial success" (p. 18). At least in

India, they say, British imperialism depended on a number of Europeans and Polier was one of its representatives. *Ijaz-i Arsalani* evidently indicates that Polier had identified himself completely with the English. However, this identity was not in terms of national identity but a professional and a cultural and linguistic identity. The authors, however, warn us that while Polier asserted his English identity, he never forgot his "foreign birth" (p. 30) and simultaneously asserted his European identity. *Ijaz* illustrates that Polier claimed English identity selectively. Understanding and coming to grips with these contradictions in Polier, the authors argue that Polier may have assumed English identity for the sake of convincing the regional rulers and the local people. Examining various options to explain Polier's behaviour, Alam and Alavi conjecture that may be in the eighteenth century it was a common practice to equate Europeans with 'Englishmen'. But before the reader gets convinced to choose one or the other alternative, the authors make yet another observation i.e. all Persian writers in the eighteenth century did not consider Europeans as *angrez*. They cite the example of Khwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri, who claimed that he could distinguish between the French (*Francis*), the English (*Angrez*), the Dutch (*Wolandez*) and the Portuguese (*Purtagez*) by their diction and particularly the pronunciation of the syllable 'za'.

Discussing the issue of Polier's identity, Alam and Alavi observe that one of the similarities between the English administrators and Polier was their fascination for the wide variety of books and manuscripts in the collections of the Indian rulers. In this context, they give interesting details of the holdings of the indigenous rulers and the social significance attached to the books and manuscripts by the rulers whether they were the Sultans of Delhi, the Mughal Emperors or the Nawabs and the Rajas of the regional states in the eighteenth century. This is followed by a lucid discussion on the English Company's quest for indigenous texts and knowledge of India and its sensitivity to the social nuances of the 'local book bazaar'. The missionaries, on the other hand, had also gathered Islamic intellectual knowledge from the 'local book bazaar'. Several of these men knew none of the Indian languages whether Sanskrit or Persian or Arabic and yet for them knowing the languages of India, collecting its texts and promoting works of translation was as important as to "know the people". From amongst these galaxy of men, the authors give interesting details on Reuben Burrow, a distinguished British mathematician, astronomer and member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Frenchmen such as Gentil and of course Polier.

Burrow's understanding and interaction with indigenous knowledge and his beliefs and convictions should be of great interest and significance in contemporary Indian politics. Burrow as opposed to the British Sanskritist Orientalists believed that there was no rigid,

demarcated link between certain languages and religious identities. He rejected the notion that Sanskrit was the language of only the Hindus or that Persian and Arabic were the languages of Islamic texts and Muslims. In other words, he did not view the Hindu and Muslim texts and traditions of learning "as neatly defined and compartmentalized" (p. 43). Analysing Burrow's impressions on indigenous learning, Alam and Alavi rightly see in Burrow a person who represented "a more syncretic and outward looking Hindu learning in eighteenth century India" (p. 46). Ideas such as those of Burrow, the authors have found clearly reflected in the *Ijaz-i Arsalani*. *Ijaz* suggests that the indigenous society was derived not only from literate Hindu and Muslim elites but from a wide-ranging section of the people, who were never identified within religious categories. The authors thus argue that men like Burrow and Polier generally offered "a more flexible and negotiable forum for interaction with the locals, unmediated by learned men" (p. 44).

Polier like Burrow is also of immense current relevance to India. He had displayed great sensitivity towards syncretic and assimilative Islamic intellectual legacy that the Mughals had nurtured and promoted. Neither did he compartmentalize indigenous texts into Hindu and Muslim categories. In fact, Polier regarded the *Vedas* and the *Qur'an* as well as Persian manuscripts like the *Gulistan-i Sa'adi* as "constituting the syncretic, all-encompassing indigenous intellectual legacy for which he had developed a feeling" (p. 50). Analysing the aspirations and inclinations of Polier towards indigenous knowledge and systems, the authors argue that Polier stands solidly as "a believer of a cultural shareholder in the larger tradition of an Indo-Islamic ethos" (p. 52).

To convey a perfect and an untarnished flavour of the *Ijaz* even as they translate it, the authors have resorted to certain variations. The translation is not word by word. For the sake of clarity but without compromising with the substantive part of the contents, Alam and Alavi have preferred a summary translation of the text. In translating letters which were congratulatory and in which celebration was the *mudda'a*, the authors have chosen to give only a synoptic rendering. *Ijaz*, they stipulate, is generally free from verbose passages.

Apart from various striking features and contributions, the book has a fascinating title and it has been aesthetically produced. The illustrations, both coloured and black and white have been integrated artistically that adds to the value of the book. These, of course, as we have noted at length are not the only characteristics of the book. It is based on exhaustive research and new information and should be an inspiration for students of eighteenth century India to undertake research of this kind and promote such studies. ■

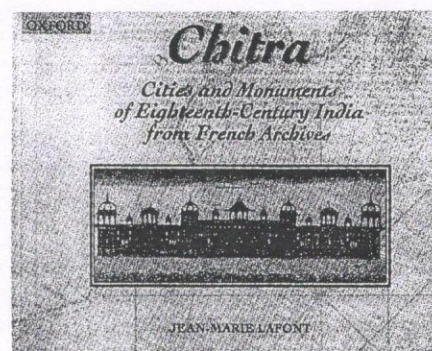
Drawing a Map to Understand Space

Yogesh Sharma

CHITRA: CITIES AND MONUMENTS OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY INDIA FROM THE FRENCH ARCHIVES

By Jean Marie Lafont

Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2001, pp.162, Rs. 750.00



It is rare for scholars to come across authentic representations of eighteenth century town-plans, views of towns and monuments, as these are by and large confined to the archives. It is indeed remarkable that the French Embassy and Jean-Marie Lafont have produced a collection of this rich archival material in the form of a book along with a scholarly narrative. The enhanced value and beauty of this work lies in the fact that it is not a coffee-table book but a piece of serious historical source-material, which is likely to find as much favour with the casual reader as with the vocationally inclined.

The 18th century was a phase characterized by intensive activity in India, both by the European mercantilist powers and by the Indian regional potentates, who established new centres of authority in many parts of the subcontinent, following the disintegration of the Mughal empire. The fragmentation of political authority in India gave immense scope to European soldiers of fortune amongst whom many Frenchmen acquired distinction such as Gentil, Martin, Polier, de Boigne, Sombre etc. These fluid political conditions, marked by the growth of English colonial power and the contending aspirations of the French in India, provided considerable opportunity to French engineers, cartographers and town planners to document the strategic locations, town plans and fortifications in the subcontinent.

Chitra brings to light some of the finest

The need to understand, document and further to lay claims over space and territory became marked in the writings of the Europeans in 18th century, when they had outgrown their primarily mercantilist orientations and moved towards politico-militaristic involvement in India.

works of contemporary cartography, town plans and architectural sketches made by French engineers and artist. This book of 162 pages devotes 50 plates exclusively to the pictorial reproduction of this archival material, mainly drawn from the Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer (Centre for Overseas Archives) located at Aix-en-Provence in France. Lafont's writing is mainly in the form of historical narration or background accompaniment to the specific pictorial plate from the French archives.

The importance of the French collection also lies in the fact that these representations were not confined to the French settlements in India. They include maps and views of Portugese Goa, Danish Tranquebar, the Dutch settlements of Negapattam, Cochin and Columbo and the English enclaves of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Besides, plans and fortifications of many Indian cities such as Gingi, Trichnapoly, Tanjore, Mangalore, Vijaydurg etc., indicate the interest of the French planners in different strategic points of the subcontinent. Such mapping of Indian towns, as Lafont points out, was a part of the French policy to assist in the 'liberation' of territories acquired by the English Company and return them to their legitimate Indian sovereigns. This admixture of pragmatism and idealism was visible in the support the French provided to the North American colonists in their revolt against the British during 1778-83.

Lafont's introductory piece bestows well deserved attention upon the French artists, fifteen of whom are unfortunately anonymous. Of the twenty-six craftsmen who signed the drawings they made, many were engineers or officers belonging to the Corps Royale d'Artillerie, such as Denis de Nyon and Francois Bourcet who were instrumental in building the fortifications of Pondichery at different points of time. Others such as de Sornay and Marquis d'Estilly were noblemen who were particularly concerned with English colonial designs in South India. But the most prolific of these map makers was Lafitte de Barassier who is credited with 9 of the 26 city

plans, whose works are identifiable. He lived in India for over thirty years (1750s till 1780s) and was responsible for the detailed marking of the coasts of Malabar, Southeast Asia and of many important town plans in India.

The most unusual and beautiful part of the French collection comprise the 5 plates commissioned by Jean-Baptiste Gentil, who spent over quarter of a century in India including a long and important tenure at the Awadh nawabi court. Married into an aristocratic Indo-Portugese family having Mughal imperial connections, Gentil was an avid collector of Indian literary and artistic works, whose collection is located at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. The 5 drawings from Gentil's collection reproduced in *Chitra* are representations of Indian Palaces commissioned by Gentil and drawn exquisitely by Indian architects from the Awadh court. Apart from the drawing of the river-side view of the Mughal imperial palaces in the Red Fort, the most striking drawings are those of palaces of Salim Shah (son of Sher Shah) a mid-sixteenth century monuments and the palace of Nizam ul Mulk, Wazir of the Mughal empire and founder of the successor-state of Hyderabad. Unfortunately both these palaces which endured till the late 18th century on the Delhi water front are no more, and their representations only serve as historical memory of the architectural skills and of the life style of the grandees, of the Mughal period.

Lafont states quite appropriately that 'Drawing a map is a way of understanding space'. The need to understand, document and further to lay claims over space and territory became marked in the writings of the Europeans in 18th century, when they had outgrown their primarily mercantilist orientations and moved towards politico-militaristic involvement in India. This led to the production of very important works of marking by the contending European powers in India, notably the English and the French. The exquisite maps and views in Robert Orme's *History of the*

Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan (1787) are a case in point as is the very meticulously produced *Bengal Atlas* by James Rennel (1783), for which extensive field surveys were also undertaken by the famous Frenchman Claude Martin.

The maps and plates in *Chitra* are quite diverse in nature. Plate 1 contains a scientifically detailed maritime maps of the Gujarat coast, which highlights the strong navigational documentation created by the Europeans. Plate 2 carries one of the most comprehensive town plans available of the 'blessed' port-city of Surat dating 1758AD. But Lafont's accompanying text can occasionally be questioned for its sweeping historical generalizations. Writing about Surat's commerce he observes 'This trade gave the Mughal empire the financial means to exist and indeed flourish'. It would be gross underestimation to ascribe the entire financial strength of the Mughal empire, to the commercial vitality of Surat, bearing in mind the fact that port-revenues accounted for only one per cent of the total revenues generated by the Mughal exchequer.

Some other observations pertaining to Surat's declining importance in the late 17th century are somewhat abrupt and misleading. Lafont writes, "The English left Surat for Madras, they acquired Bombay in 1661 and finally founded Calcutta in 1690. The Frenchman Francois Martin left Surat to found Pondichery in 1674" (p. 30). In objective terms the English never left Surat and only shifted the Company's Headquarters from Surat to Bombay in 1687, while Madras had already been founded in 1640. Similarly Francois Martin did not quit Surat altogether to found Pondichery but returned to serve as the Director of the French Company at Surat between 1681 to 1686, when French commerce was growing.

The town plans of Bombay, 1777 (Plate 5) Mangalore 1778 (Plate 7), Cochin 1778 (Plate 8), Tranquebar 1778 (Plate 17), Negapattam (Plate 19) and Calcutta 1779 (Plate 40) are beautifully detailed and executed with great finesse. All these maps are credited to the genius of Lafitte de Brassier. A very interesting drawing from the point of view of urbanization is the late 17th century view of the city of Negapattam (Plate 18) which was captured by the Dutch from the Portuguese in 1658. It shows European style two to three storeyed houses with slanting roofs, and two handsome large buildings going upto four storeys, one of which appears to be a cathedral and the other a governmental building. Such views of Indo-European towns of the 17th century are rare, and provide a glimpse into the social urbanism created by the Europeans in the early phase of their mercantilist presence.

Lafont's accompanying narrative which touches on many themes and regions in the Indian subcontinent is throughout very

interesting and illuminating. He covers a lot of ground from the Anglo-French military conflict in South India to the role of French soldiers of fortune such as Gentil, Polier de Boignee etc., to the royal court of Awadh and the decadence of Delhi under the later Mughals. Some mistakes occur at times. On page 32 the narrative refers to Daulatabad as the former capital of the Yavada Kingdom, which is apparently a misprint for Yadava. On page 76 Lafont's observation that the Dutch occupied Pondichery in 1793 is off by a century. The Dutch occupied Pondichery from 1693 to 1699. The same confusion concerning the dates about the Dutch occupation of Pondichery occurs on page 78.

Barring this mix up of dates Lafont's narrative about Pondichery is particularly authoritative, focussing on the militaristic role of the European enclaves in India. The elaborate drawings of the splendid Governor's palace at Pondichery (Plates 26, 27) completed in 1752 during Duplex's stewardship, now merely serves as historical memory since the building was blown up by the English who occupied Pondichery in 1761. Lafont's accompanying text is beautiful and evokes nostalgia.

Lafont's meticulous writing involving various themes however falls short on one count. It does not bring to light the 'Memoirs' and historical narratives by many French contemporaries, who have left valuable accounts about India and its cities in the 18th century. In fact, the works of several Frenchmen who came to India as soldiers, missionaries, orientalists and company men such as Modave, Desvaux, Madec, Maissin, Polier, Wendel etc. have been re-published by the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, in the last thirty years. Besides these there are many more French memoirs, whose extracts are available in Guy Deleury's *Les Indes Florissantes* which are confined to the archives. But citing supportive narration and descriptions from these sources Lafont would have done great service to the English-reading scholars, and also greatly enhanced the value of his work, as these French writings are fascinating as well as incisive.

Lafont points out that the present volume presents only a small part of the Indian collection from the *Depot des Fortifications des colonies*. It is our hope that the Embassy of France and Jean-Marie Lafont would bring out a second volume, incorporating many of the important depictions that have been left out of the present work. Finally the publishers need to be commended for bringing out this beautiful book. However a collection as valuable as this certainly merited a hard cover to give it longevity. ■

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A Bubbling Cauldron

A.R. Vasavi

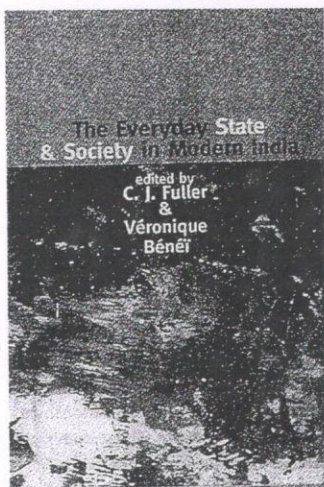
THE EVERYDAY STATE AND SOCIETY IN MODERN INDIA

Edited by C.J. Fuller and Veronique Benei
Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 221, Rs. 465.00

When Rajkumar, the Kannada cinestars was kidnapped, people took to the streets, closing the capital city for forty-eight hours and forcing the state to negotiate on terms that assured only the safety of the actor, not the upholding of the law. Similarly, Jayalalitha's electoral contest and subsequent return to power saw an assertion of mass people power over state-based rules. Both incidents are imminent cases of the extent to which 'state' power has been eroded in a context of turbulent and unpredictable politics, increasing populist demands and a general corrosion of institution-based regulations. Such conditions call attention not to the crisis in the electoral or political system but to the strange and rather unpredictable trajectory of society-state relations in India. In this context, this edited volume helps identify and understand some of these issues and is a pioneering effort to go beyond the political science approach to understanding the state. In a comprehensive introduction, Chris Fuller and John Harris indicate the need for an anthropological perspective to understanding the state and draw on a range of varied and interesting ethnographies to indicate "what.. the state is for people in India" (p. 10). The essays elaborate not merely on how the state impacts on society but also on how society conceptualizes, uses and relates to the state as an organization, entity and as a set of people.

Thomas Hansen focuses on the Srikrishna Commission Report and analyses the 1992-93 communal riots in Mumbai. Drawing on details from the report and the affidavits and testimonies, Hansen demarcates the 'sublime' and 'profane' dimensions of the state. The former refers to the resources, knowledge and

The volume is a competent and comprehensive collection of essays that represent the new genre of socio-anthropological writings on India. Perhaps, the book's most important contribution is its integration of issues of political economy with socio-cultural trends and patterns.



power of the state to act as a judicious and rational arbiter, while the latter refers to the "brutality, partiality and banality" (p. 35) of the state as evidenced in the 1992-93 riots. Emma Tarlo provides an excellent essay, which is an "ethnographic excavation" of emergency files on Delhi. As she elaborates, the emergency was not only a time when state power subjugated people but was also an opportunity for some people to gain thereby revealing the "dynamics of people's relationship to rules" (p. 87).

Similarly, Craig Jeffrey and Jens Lerche contradict common projections of an anti-people state and detail how people can and do appropriate state privileges and benefits. In a context of agrarian populism—typically represented in other recent literature as people's opposition to state-sponsored developmentalism, Jeffrey and Lerche show how certain classes access state resources and power and in many ways actually collude with state power. The ability of successful Jat farming families to access government jobs and

positions and in capturing political apparatus such as the panchayats are cited as evidence. Jeffrey and Lerche detail important trends such as the role of politicians in acting as brokers to state institutions and apparatus. In another village, Thakurs had accessed state resources through the irrigation projects and loans. But in another village, the coming to power of the BSP had enabled the SCs to contest violence, oppression and discrimination and even access political power but this had not led to actually challenging the economic and social inequalities of the system. Though the details provided by the authors are interesting and important, their excessive criticism of Akhil Gupta's essay on corruption in U.P fails to take into consideration a vital transaction that occurred in the context of agricultural development.

Arild Ruud draws on field research in West Bengal to understand the Indian ambivalence towards politics—seen typically in the high voter turnout but low participation in the actual functioning of the political apparatus. Ruud details village residents' constitution of politics as 'dirty' and 'corrupt' and notes this to be the basis for the cultural legitimization of politics as immoral and the people's resigned acceptance of such corruption. In contrast to this ethnographic essay is Caroline and Filippo Osella's piece on Kerala where they detail the construction of the state as munificent and benevolent and akin to the creator god Mahabali. Such expectations and relations are enacted during the annual Onam or New Year festival thereby forging links between the government and the people.

David Mosse's essay on the precolonial kingdoms of Ramnad and Sivagangai focuses on the arena of public irrigation in which state and society relations were once built on recognizing customary practices of resource maintenance and sharing. Mosse details the collapse of ritual and political and economic power of the Zamindars to be coterminous

with the collapse of public resources like tanks, temples and forests. Mosse's point that "tank resources are not used in ways which maximise economic utility, but rather in ways which minimize social conflict and enhance the prestige and credibility of contractor leaders" (p. 184)—is important in challenging purely economic arguments about development. Both Mosse's and Jansen's essays detail the attempt by society to personalize the state's impersonal rules by seeking to incorporate individuals into the public/state persona.

In an interesting and incisive essay on schooling and nationalism in Kolhapur, Veronique Béné details the physical and pedagogical regimentation that forms part of the school's state-directed syllabus and which is linked to ideals of citizenship and patriotism. Taking a comparative perspective, Béné notes the practice of such nationalism to be that of "banal nationalism" which is "ingrained in people's everyday lives that it goes unnoticed most of the time" (p. 210).

It is to Béné's credit that she does not make a neat association between such pedagogical practices and the internalization of Hindu fundamentalism. Rather, as she indicates—"teachers were not particularly sympathetic to Hindu militant nationalism, not even to RSS ideals" (p. 212) and much of the pedagogy and drills are routinized by the teachers.

The volume is a competent and comprehensive collection of essays that represent the new genre of socio-anthropological writings on India. Perhaps, the book's most important contribution is its integration of issues of political economy with socio-cultural trends and patterns. Such an approach and perspective, one hopes, will pave the way for further studies that will help understand the increasing complexities and contradictions of India's culture. ■

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Kaleidoscopic Impressions

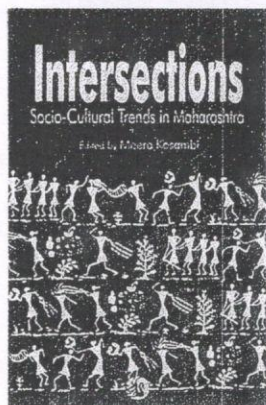
Kamala Ganesh

INTERSECTIONS: SOCIO-CULTURAL TRENDS IN MAHARASHTRA
Edited by Meera Kosambi
Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 220, Rs. 475.00

Regional/ Area Studies as a field is a relatively recent development in academic research in India. Inherently interdisciplinary, it has also no thematic unity except for focusing on one geographical region. Given that often people living in a region have (some) shared history and have evolved (some) unified cultural identity, there is some

validity to formally delineating such a field (not to forget its implications for research grants and teaching positions, and of course, its political fall-outs). Of course, individual research on specific aspects of a region, when published in full-length, combine two important features: lodged within disciplinary frameworks, they go in depth on a regional

canvas. Thus the reader can follow through and evaluate the substantial argument in detail while also enjoying the regional flavour. Such studies are a joy and an eye-opener. But this effect is tougher to achieve in a collection of articles about a region. A volume which brings disparate topics pertaining to a region together can turn out to be a chaotic affair, unless imaginatively put together with a solid editorial input, which goes beyond paraphrasing the articles in summary. The book under review cannot be said to have fully overcome this problem. Further, too emphatic an assertion of regional identity can on the one hand be hegemonic with reference to sub-regional identities, and on the other hand take a parochial tone vis-à-vis inter-regional linkages and continuities.



This last danger is skillfully avoided though, with ten contributions from distinguished scholars from India and abroad, all having credentials of sound scholarship. The specific articles comprise a mixed bag of brief, descriptive pieces and longer, well-researched and substantial contributions. Eight articles broadly work within a historical canvas, plus one contribution each from an anthropological and ethno-musicological perspective. This gives the book a certain methodological integrity.

In section 1, the three papers deal respectively with the intricate relationship between the 'Great' and 'Little traditions' with respect to river mythology in Maharashtra (Anne Feldhaus), the norms and values of *varkari* traditions (Irina Glushkova) and Shivaji and the Maharashtrian Identity (James Laine). This section covers a seminal area that is crucial to current self-perceptions of Maharashtrians and the articles by Feldhaus and Laine in particular form a weighty opening for the volume, while also being a delight to read and savour. Feldhaus superbly employs the method of parallelisms to show how the narrative of the descent of the Ganga onto Mount Meru and thence to Shiva's head can be seen to be echoed in temple architecture and sculpture at the sites of the river sources, and reflected again in water bearing rituals that connect rivers to the temples of the region like Panchaganga temple at Mahabaleshwar. These three are not seen in cause and effect relations, but certainly the parallels are striking and illustrate a larger point, made by pioneering anthropologists like Nirmal Kumar Bose about the links that connect the 'classical'/elite and 'folk' cultures. The connection between Siva and mountains and rivers and their metaphorical significance are discussed insightfully.

James Laine's article masterfully and with great respect for sources, deals with a subject that is a sensitive one in Maharashtra: Shivaji. Maharashtra is a region with great internal diversity and hazy boundaries. 20th century thinking has tried to see this region as a distinctive one, and towards this both the *varkari* tradition and Shivaji's legacy have been harnessed. Analysing the different 'tales' of Shivaji authored over two centuries including

the *Shivabharata* composed by Shivaji's court poet, Laine points out that Shivaji's reinvention in the nationalist and post-independence periods casting him as a precursor of nationalism, a *vaishnava varkari*, a Maharashtrian and finally even a secular nationalist Indian does not show fidelity to the picture that emerges from contemporary accounts. At the same time, concludes Laine, Shivaji surely ascribed to himself some aspects of being a 'Hindu', 'Maharashtrian' and 'Indian', and in any case, without him the contemporary narratives we call Hinduism, Maharashtra and India would surely be different.

Irina Glushkova eschews the currently popular approaches of either critiquing the saint literature in Marathi for its prejudice against Shudras and women, or ascribing to them absolute radicalism. She prefers to see how these two dimensions are juxtaposed in the perceptions of the adherents. The *varkaris* of medieval times did submit to the norms of their epoch and society, for instance with reference to caste, but at the same time they cherished different values. In the poetry (from which she gives telling examples), there is the idea that the existence of saints itself is confirmation of the fact that values are not illusions but achievable. The values of the *varkari* tradition make a difference to people's consciousness of equality, though it did not result in the eradication of caste structures.

In a brief note which is a counterpoint to this article, Eleanor Zelliot writes of the ambiguity that 20th century Dalit leaders have felt towards Chokhamela, the untouchable saint whose poetry has touched deep chords, but whose legacy of accepting his fate as *karma* is bitterly rejected.

In a long and characteristically well-researched piece, Y.D. Phadke details the impact of the Depression and the Second World War on agriculture and industry in Bombay Presidency, and concludes that the only silver lining was that with the slowing down of sugar production in other countries,

.....ten contributions from distinguished scholars from India and abroad, all having credentials of sound scholarship.

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far-sighted Indian businessmen seized the opportunity to convert the liability to a profitable venture and this was followed by the growth of sugar industry and diversification into other industries, giving Bombay a headstart industrially speaking over the rest of the country.

A.R. Kulkarni's article on the Mahar Watan, a specific set of patron-client economic relationships within the *balutedari* system, is

... there is the idea that the existence of saints itself is confirmation of the fact that values are not illusions but achievable. The values of the *varkari* tradition make a difference to people's consciousness of equality, though it did not result in the eradication of caste structures.

based on solid research on British period archival material and contemporary literary works. Painstakingly, he pieces together the complex web of economic interrelationships between the Mahar and the village community or the landed community, which while ensuring survival, established and formalized an elaborate system of social subservience and economic inequality. It was attacked by Mahar leaders of the 20th century as detrimental to the progress of Mahars. He traces the process by which it was eventually abolished in 1959.

Jim Masselos's piece on 'Bombay Time' excavates a piquant moment in the city's history in the late 19th century, when the government decreed that the time zones of the country must be homogenized, and that Madras time would provide the standard. Bombay would have to set its clock forward by half an hour. The citizens did not agree and energetically crusaded for the right to their own time, and carried on in their own time zone for a while before events overtook them and the unification was achieved.

Ashok Ranade the noted musicologist has contributed an article with nuggets of description of various musical trends between 1800-1920: the development of Naradiya Kirtan based on the writings of the *pant kavis* (rather than the *sant kavis*), and of the *lavani* singing integral to the *tamasha* form, of *natya sangeeet*—trends reflecting the coalescing of a regional identity, not contradictory to the larger affiliations to Hindustani classical musical traditions. In his characteristic style, he weaves into his presentation the basic point that for a valid reading of a society, the state of and trends in its performing traditions offer vital clues.

Toshi Yamazaki has an article on the life history of Justice Telang, and Meera Kosambi writes once again about experiences of widowhood in the late 19th century, a topic that she has written much on. Here she deals with the specific cases of Anandibai Karve who remarried and Parvatibai Athavle who went into teaching and the cause of women's education: both were new options that emerged in the period of social reform.

'Quick and interesting glimpses of some salient topics on Maharashtra' is how I would sum up this book. ■

Kamala Ganesh is Reader in Cultural Anthropology, University of Mumbai

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Rasipuram Krishnaswamy Narayan

A Tribute

By Stephanos Stephanides

R.K Narayan (born October 10, 1906 and died May 13, 2001) is a singular and outstanding voice in twentieth century fiction and the greatest English-language novelist of India. He is known for his gentle, tolerant humour, and non-intrusive narrative voice, which assumes unforced authority over his characters without being judgemental, but wielding a fascination with their perspectives and world view, their way of being and acting in the world. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he does not easily fall into the categories of postcolonial or post-modern, yet with his invention of the fictional town of Malgudi (the location of most of his narrations spanning seven decades), he has created a space where (albeit not self-consciously) the pre-modern and the post-modern meet. The materiality of the figurative and the metaphoricality of materiality while opening up a debate in post-modernity seems to have always been quietly taken for granted by Narayan. The topological becomes tropological (or vice-versa) in the early semi-autobiographical novel, *The English Teacher*, which still remains one of my favourites. One recalls that the Goddess in whose temple Krishna begins communicating with the spirit of his dead wife is known as *Vak Matha*, the mother "who came out of a syllable". This might have been treated with the trappings and excesses of magical realism by another author decades later, but Narayan remains perfectly poised neither writing in, nor excluding the possibility of a sacred substratum. Materiality and metaphoricality are placed in counterpoint in the elliptical spaces of culture. As a writer he has something in common with the sculptor in *The Vendor of Sweets* who makes a chip on the Goddess' statue so as to circumscribe the divine in the realm of the human.

In his perhaps most celebrated novel *The Guide* (though in my view many of his novels are of the same calibre), the readers are left with the challenge to discern the obfuscation at the frontier of mirage and vision. Does Raju turn from con man to holy man, or is it a role bestowed upon him by the villagers who believe in his holiness, and then Raju is drawn into the role? If culture is topological, it is founded in paradox because it emanates from human perception and the optics of representation. In Narayan's world the divine is intuited in the site of our paradox not in orthodoxy. His characters occupy the locus of human ambiguity, whose boundary is constantly under negotiation in his narratives.

This negotiation of boundaries within his subject is often discerned in the mythical river Sarayu that is also the northern boundary of the city of Malgudi. The river, which his characters are usually called upon to cross in the process of dismantling their routine selves, emerges as a sign of the motility of the boundaries within the flow and plurality of being. Place and space function as concomitants and landscape whether naturalized or aesthetically skewed frames the cultural habitat of the Malgudians who see themselves as its human agencies and who frame the space of that landscape in turn. In *The Painter Of Signs*, Raman who lives on the riverbank becomes accustomed to "the sight of the human figure in the water", while Margayya in *The Financial Expert*



who is required to cross the river to fetch a red lotus for a ritual that will bring him wealth, becomes anxious about getting wet and urges Dr. Pal to enter the lotus pond on his behalf. The river tests the permeability of Narayan's subjects and their ability to challenge the naturalized conscriptions of their character as they go bumbling through incongruity and conundrum.

In the multiplicity of characters and situations that his *oeuvre* portrays, Narayan suggests that there is no isomorphic invariance in the effects of human action—that is the beauty of it. Narayan is in quiet complicity with the priest who tells Margayya that the ritual he is instructing him to perform has no guarantees: 'the results are...you may have results or you may

not...or you may have results and wish you had failed'. There is no one to one correspondence. Narayan syncopates his stories with the rhythm of his characters as they negotiate with the contingencies of lived temporality and human history, which means to bend and transform place into a modality of space.

Narayan's characters do not often travel far in the story's journey, but they usually get somewhere. Even if they only revisit the same place, it becomes a new virtual space; the site of the paradox is defined or reiteratively configured. At the conclusion of *The Painter of Signs*, Raman revisits the Boardless, the restaurant without a signboard where he had often proposed painting a nameless board for the owner, and takes pleasure in musing on how things could be if messages could be applied or erased at will. Whereas at the beginning we see him dreaming of the age of reason, at the end he is contemplating a world ruled by semiotics. Here like elsewhere, the shadowy realm of the non-rational is the driving force behind the movement and change in Narayan's characters. Human experience is not wholly susceptible to rational analysis and Narayan's aesthetic imaginary pushes the horizon of perception to explore this pre- or post-conscious realm without moving into the genre of the fantastic. He remains within the palpability of the social and the everyday, pursuing feelings embedded in memory of kinship, place, object, ritual, or memories embedded in a missing signified, such as we find in Raman's love for Daisy, which he attributes to another *janma*.

Narayan's choice of English as his literary language came naturally to him. He bent it to his needs without using linguistic tricks as one might find in Rushdie. If he wrote in a language that is now called global, his writing attests that the global cannot occupy a single unified space without ceasing to be real, but can only be apprehended in the arena of our multiple circumscriptions, the warps and bends of human paradox, its circumstances and critical topologies, which Narayan so warmly depicted. ■

Stephanos Stephanides, Professor of English in the University of Cyprus, is the author of *Kali's Feast: The Goddess in Indo-Caribbean Ritual and Fiction* (Radopi, 2000).

Questioning Patriarchal Categories

Aruna Chakravarti

THE FINAL QUESTION (TRANSLATION OF BENGALI NOVEL *SESH PRASHNA*)

By Sharatchandra Chatterjee

Ravi Dayal Publishers, 2001, pp. 313, Rs. 395.00

Published in 1931, during the final phase of Saratchandra Chatterjee's writing career, *Sesh Prashna* was a radical departure from his other fiction in terms of its narratology and its conscious underplay of sentimentality. The debates it raised provoked a storm of protest from the readers of Bengal. Letters came pouring in—angry and condemning; puzzled and questioning; mocking and belittling. A section of readers viewed the novel as Saratchandra's revenge on Rabindranath for his refusal to support him in the matter of the confiscation of *Pather Dabi*. Some thought it a parody of *Sesher Kavita*; others of *Gora*. Traditionalists were convinced that this was his last, most vindictive blow to the already crumbling citadels of Hinduism, and their counterparts from the younger generation believed that the novelist had turned senile and did not know what he was doing. One of the criticisms levelled against the novel was that it embodied ideas and concepts but lacked flesh and blood. It was felt that Saratchandra was trying to be modern without knowing how and that a character like Kamal was an impossibility. But Saratchandra knew exactly what he was doing. In a letter to Radha Rani Devi he spelled out his reasons for writing the novel:

I have tried to give a hint of what modern writing should be... I am growing old. The feeling that my strength and abilities are gradually sinking in the West is constantly with me. It is now time for powerful young writers to rise. I have hinted to them the path the novel must take in the future. Now it is up to them. May they be successful in their mission.

The same sentiments were expressed in a letter to Bhupendra Kishore Rakshit—an up and coming novelist of the time:

Sesh Prashna is a modern novel...written in the hope that it will act as a signal to the direction the novel must take in the future. My writing abilities are gradually failing me. Still I hope to be able to make you, the writers of tomorrow, see that it is possible to write good literature without descending to pornography.

Though unpopular with the male section of Saratchandra's readers *Sesh Prashna* was welcomed by the female who perceived in it a continuation of his life-long concern with women's issues. One lady wrote to him that if she had the money she would bind the book in

gilt like a Bible and distribute it free. But the most astonishing certificate of excellence came from the revolutionary Manabendranath Roy. Comparing *Sesh Prashna* with the works of the European masters Anatole France, Emile Zola and Ibsen he wrote:

The focal point of the novel is a girl who is a truly Dionysian character. The conviction with which she tramples on generations of tradition and the manner in which she exposes the truth about the followers of Gandhi and Tagore is indeed astonishing. Whoever takes it upon himself to introduce this Dionysian heroine of Sarat Babu's to the West will help to pave the way for another Nobel Prize to an Indian writer. Believe me, Sarat Babu is no less deserving of the Nobel Prize than Robi Babu was.

Personally I prefer *Sesh Prashna* to *Gitanjali*.

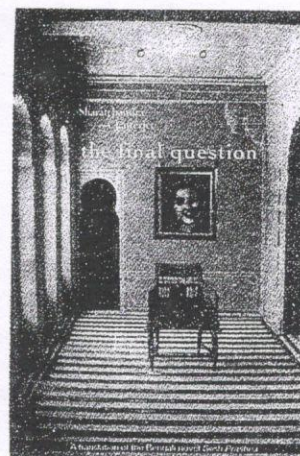
Sixty-nine years after this announcement a group of academics from Jadavpur University have taken upon themselves the onerous task. But whether the volume under consideration will 'pave the way for another Nobel Prize for literature', remains to be seen.

The novel opens in a small Bengali middle class milieu in Agra and revolves around the lives of some of its members—the rich widower Ashu Babu; his daughter Manorama; Abinash, a college professor; Harendra a social reformer; Akshay Babu a rabid traditionalist; Ajit—Manorama's beau; Shibnath a profligate singer and his second 'wife' Kamal. Kamal's presence among the *probasi* Bengalis disrupts conventional assumptions about sexual morality, religion and politics. The dialectical structure and the intellectualized tone of the novel, a deliberate departure on the part of the author from his earlier work, becomes explicit right at the onset of the narrative when a debate ensues on the symbolism of the Taj Mahal. Kamal's refusal to see the monument as a relic of undying love establishes her function in the novel as a source of disruption of known categories of belief, experience and behaviour. Racially, like Rabindranath Tagore's *Gora*, Kamal conflates the colonial and the colonized, the East and the West. Her part European blood provides her with a vantage point from which she lashes out at conventional Hindu society with mercilessly rational critiques of faith and morality.

In *Sesh Prashna* the novelist poses a variety of social questions and offers a cross-section of

opinion but Kamal is given the central voice. Freedom is the most important aspect of her ideology and she asserts it fearlessly despite living within rigidly circumscribed social conditions. Unlike Harendra or Gora, for that matter, she refuses to idealize the past and what it stands for or reject everything western in a blind acceptance of everything Indian. Instead she examines the power politics behind religious and patriarchal discourses and exposes the insidious control they wield over women's destinies. Such an examination and expose was of immense relevance at the time the novel was written for the dawn of the new century was witnessing a replacement of social reform movements with Hindu revivalism. In her refusal to valorize the virtues of self-sacrifice, abstinence and restricted social freedom for women, she is at least fifty years ahead of her time. Her unsuccessful liaison with Shibnath and her unstructured relationship with Ajit shakes the very foundations of traditional notions of love and marriage. Her belief in a civilization based on love and humanity as opposed to one based on convention is not only forcefully presented but allowed to triumph, at least to an extent, in the novel.

Sesh Prashna is a radical departure from the author's earlier work in many ways. The narrative element is slight and lacks tempo—hence the novel's unpopularity with the masses. The structure is loose and the conclusion hazy and undefined. This refusal, on the novelist's part to straitjacket lives and relationships is in keeping with Kamal's persona and his own assertion that he was writing a modern novel. Apart from Rajen's death there is no conclusion offered to any of the characters' personal trajectories. We do not know what happens to Manorama and Shibnath's marriage or Kamal and Ajit's relationship or how Ashu Babu's life turns out or which mission Harendra Babu follows next. This inconclusiveness provides the rationale for the title *Sesh Prashna*. The novel is structured in the form of a series of questions some of which are answered by the exigencies of the plot. However, most of them remain



unresolved.

The importance of the work lies in the contribution it makes to the shape of the novel to come. A milestone in the history of Bengali fiction, it dissipates, once and for all, the stagnant cloud of romance and sentiment that tended to hang over Saratchandra's own writing as well as that of his contemporaries. His earlier heroines may have rebelled periodically but, apart from Abhaya, they invariably conceded, in the end, to the norms of a male dominated society. Kamal, to use Manabendranath Roy's words, comes 'with the flag, not of rebellion but of revolution, in her hand'. Kamal is an embodiment of the novelist's final recognition of the rights of women and their equality with men. Untrammelled by relationships; as free of

body and soul as her creator himself, she is the medium through which the novelist reveals his vision of the woman's potential.

A landmark character in the representation of women in the fiction of Bengal Kamal is also a prophecy. "Ten years from now", Saratchandra had said to his friend Nalini Kanta Kar in 1931, 'girls like Kamal will be born in every home in Bengal'.

The quality of translation of a work like *Sesh Prashna* is important, not only on literary grounds but also in extending the boundaries of Indian feminist thought. Unfortunately, the translation falls short of expectations—in both contexts. The highly experimental putting together of the efforts of several different people in one single volume has turned out to

be an exercise in 'yoking by violence', and has left us holding a book with a remarkable lack of cohesiveness. Recreating the effect of the source language in the target language is difficult enough for a single person with a single focus. How much more so it is when the focus itself is fragmented! This work completely effaces the linguistic innovations Saratchandra introduced into the Bengali language.

The introduction to the text by Ms. Supriya Chaudhuri is informative but fails to provide a holistic perspective on the author or the novel. ■

Aruna Chakravarti is Principal of Janaki Devi Memorial College, New Delhi.

Catharsizing Post-Partition Trauma

Taqi Ali Mirza

DAWN OF DREAMS

By Abdus Samad. Translated from the Urdu by Mehr Afshan Farooqi
Macmillan India, Chennai, 2001, pp. 309, Rs. 175.00

One of the saddest aspects of the partition of India in 1947 is the way in which the contribution made by the Muslims of undivided India to the freedom movement has been almost totally marginalized. With the exception of a few individuals like Abul Kalam Azad, the sacrifices made by other Muslim leaders like Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, the Ali brothers and countless others seem to have been written off. It is forgotten, specially in the conditions now prevailing in the country, that Muslims fought, shoulder to shoulder, with their Hindu brothers, for a hundred years, ever since the great uprising of 1857, to liberate the country from alien rule. This is the price they have had to pay for the creation of a separate state for which, it is now widely recognized, the British rulers were primarily responsible. Abdus Samad's novel *Dawn of Freedom (Khwabon Ka Saver)* brings out this tragic development poignantly, but very forcefully. It is the story of a staunch "nationalist" Muslim of Gaya, Bihar, Anwar Ahmed, brought up on Gandhian principles and Nehruvian idealism, who refuses to believe, despite a succession of set-backs, that he has ceased to be an Indian. His loyalty to the motherland is unflinching. He is an active Congress member who has risen to a position of considerable eminence in his state of Bihar. He turns down the entreaties of his wife and her brothers to migrate to Pakistan at the time of Partition. In the years that follow his trust in fair play and justice receives one jolt after another—his inability to secure a seat for his son, Afaq, in a good college, the way Afaq is hounded out of Aligarh University because of

his involvement in politics and the growing realization that though people still treat him with regard his claims are ignored because he is a Muslim. The decline in his political career by the abolition of *Zamindari* which of course as a true patriot, he welcomes with open arms, means a sharp fall in prosperity. Disillusionment and frustration mark his later life, but he never loses faith in his principles. His step-brothers, Sabir Ahmed and Jabir Ahmed, enter the world of business and flourish, sending their sons abroad for education, but Anwar Ahmed remains unfazed. Afaq, his son, falls prey to the lure of communal politics and gains some political standing, and is inevitably drawn into the vortex of sectarianism which mark the growth of "rightist" forces creating an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and a deliberate attempt at alienating certain sections of society.

Alok Bhalla, in his perceptive introduction to the book, rightly suggests that "the novel offers a sharp rebuke to the Hindu communalists who have, for their own mean-spirited reasons, refused to memorialize the life-contributions of the Muslims to the cultural, moral, social and political ethos of the country", but "there is no reason to believe that relations between Hindus and Muslims are so fatally flawed that their life together can only end in tragedy; that they can never escape from living like fated fools". Fortunately, Afaq is rescued from a ruinous career by the courage and commitment of his cousin, Kulsum, the daughter of one of his uncles. Kulsum is an activist and has made public service the main concern of her life. The novel, it may be said, ends on a note of hope, when Afaq decides to

join forces with her, and Kulsum agrees to be his life-partner. This, probably, is the dawn of dreams.

Besides Anwar Ahmed, Afaq and to some extent Kulsum, who are characters of substance, there are other interesting characters like the eccentric but utterly lovable Fakhru Chacha who refuses to believe that his mother has died in Pakistan because she belongs to India and should be buried here, Anwar's close friend, Hashmi, the left politician, driven to cynicism as a result of what he considers the criminal capitulation of the silent majority to the criminal minority of "murderers, rapists, killers, looters, and trouble makers" both among the Muslims and Hindus, the long-suffering Aliya Khanum, the wife of Anwar Ahmed who has seen her world collapse around her, the totally wordly-wise Sabir Ahmed and Jabir Ahmed, Anwar's step-brothers, who have accumulated immense wealth through fair means and foul. The translator is right when she says that *Dawn of Dreams* picks up the narrative where most Partition stories end. The closest parallel to this novel that the reviewer can think of is Atia Hossain's extremely well-written, but largely forgotten novel, *Sunlight on a Broken Column*.

Mehr Afshan Farooqi's English rendering of Abdus Samad's novel is a splendid effort. Not only has she captured the poignancy of the Urdu original, she has, one likes to suggest, enhanced its total effect by slightly reducing its size by omitting several passages and occasionally, whole chapters, to give the narrative greater vigour. One does not know if the omissions have been made with the author's knowledge, or at the translator's own discretion, or at the publisher's instance. Whatever the reason, the English version has gained considerably in effectiveness and readability. In her translator's note the translator asks herself the question, "Should a translation read like a translation?" One would like to assure her that her translation reads like an original, and yet remains faithful to the original text. ■

Taqi Ali Mirza, a former Professor and Chairman, Department of English, Osmania University, Hyderabad has translated a number of books from English/French into Urdu.

Existential Dilemma of Modern Living

Tutun Mukherjee

THE ESCAPIST

By Manoj Das. Translated from the Oriya by the author
Macmillan, Chennai, 2001, pp. 276, Rs. 114.00

Macmillan's effort towards making available in English, modern novels from various Indian languages is indeed commendable. The stated goal is "to paint a vivid and general picture of Indian life as revealed by various post-Independence fiction" and engage as wide an audience as possible as "shareholders" in the enterprise of translation. Today, works of translation are being given their deserved significance because they celebrate the multilingual reality of India by recognizing that each of its many languages is capable of enriching and interrogating the others. Thus, through translation may be created a shared community of discourse. With the growing popularity of Indian Writing in English, the readership targetted need not necessarily remain confined to the resident Indian. A good publishing house is expected to maintain a creditable standard in the quality of work as well as in its production values to satisfy a global market.

The latest addition to the Macmillan list is *The Escapist*, translated from the original Oriya by the author, Manoj Das, a well known bilingual writer, at ease in various genres and the recipient of many awards, the most recent being the Saraswati Samman (2000) for his novel *Amruta Phala*.

The Escapist is a quintessential post-Independence novel. The milieu, the characters, and the plot grow out of quotidian time and reflect the existential dilemma of modern living. Yet, like any writing of quality, the novel deals with the universals of human experience: frustration, bewilderment, jealousy, anger, pain, fear, love, loss—the entire emotional alphabet.

It is a part and parcel of daily experience to feel at once free and enchained, capable of shaping one's own future and still feel threatened by powerful forces of moral and social proclivities. Those whose reflection leads them to reject the conclusion that they are mere marionettes must also resist the grand delusion of being puppet masters. They then face the task of reconciling the experiential ambivalence and must do so if their moral choice is not to become inert and their will malleable. *The*

Escapist presents this scenario. There are evil, manipulative and totally self-centred people like Jayant Thakore, Sudarshan Ray, Swadesh Gaurav, Jasmine, and Kumar who dominate the hostile new age and thrive in the environment of corruption, exploitation and moral depravity. And there are people like Natobar Sir, Ranjita Devi and Sushie who resist easy categorization. The protagonist, a poor unemployed youth, Padmalochan Pramanik, allows himself to be coerced by circumstances to assume the role of a holy man, Padmananda. In return for material comforts, he becomes a tool in the hands of the unscrupulous powerbroker Jayant Thakore to probe the minds of politicians and business rivals. Padmananda is clearly a deceiver, a charlatan, yet he possesses an acute power of self-observation and analysis. He is able to discern his own degradation: his slow transformation into a smooth liar and a cheat. Rootless and motivated mainly by the thought of self-preservation and greed, he shows neither the inclination nor the will to resist exploitation. But soon his self-reflexivity militates against his entrapment and his sinfulness, and leads him through deep introspection towards self-realization. He is able to turn away from the vacuity of life and the relationships grounded in physical need. He moves towards transcendent love and "truth."

The "truth" is something created by acts of remembering and re-examining. The past is so intertwined with the present and the future that the truth of experience is created and represented by the constant entanglement and expression of all the perceptions that occurred, are occurring, will occur. Though the closure of Padmalochan/Padmananda's story is governed by the logic of what he had started, the protagonist moves towards some kind of salvation. Through the novel's presentation of character-in-change, identity is finally shaped by his development of a metaphysic of time and place, particularly by his recognition of the place he occupies in the temporal cosmic drama, in the generations of humanity successively unfolding in and through the time of man.

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The novel has well-developed episodes which attempt to redefine the meaning of sin, expiation, sainthood and heroism in the context of secular modernity. The self-conscious narrative voice runs parallel and at time collides with that of the author. The characters are fully delineated, sometimes acquiring even generic overtones. They form a part of a believable universe. The author's subtle irony comes across very well. It is easy to understand the contemporary appeal of the story. In a well-written and insightful Introduction to the novel, Professor Sachidananda Mohanty places Das's novel in the tradition of Graham Greene's and R.K. Narayan's novels with their excellent portrayal of "fallen" heroes.

By translating the novel himself, Manoj Das has retained the freedom to transcreate. However, he does not seem to have taken advantage of this. Even the title *The Escapist* seems an unhappy choice and fails to carry across the connotative richness and the musicality of the Oriya title *Akashar Ishara* or the whisper of the sky. This is perhaps an indication of the problems faced by a translator of any Indian language text. There are, however, other problems. The attempt to render a word-for-word transference has produced at places a jarring mixture of styles. Phrases like "mellifluous futuristic bleating making significant prophecies" spoken by a small town lawyer to a group of villagers, or "I tarried for a while" or "he scanned me" and words like "Mum" to refer to the mother-in-law, appear incongruous. Literal translation can also make dialogues clumsy. Regrettably, there is also evidence of careless proof reading in the spelling errors that remain.

Translations may have moved from the periphery to the centre stage, but we are reminded with never failing regularity that the space there has to be marked with care. ■

Tutun Mukherjee Professor of English in Osmania University, Hyderabad, is a critic and a translator.

Essays in Fresh Thinking

Raj Kaw

CHUKTE NAHIN SAWAL

By Mridula Garg

Samayik Prakashan, 1999, pp. 160, Rs. 150.00

This is a collection of essays in Hindi by noted novelist and short story writer Mridula Garg, who has written several famous novels like *Chitta Kobra*, *Kath-Gulab* and *Uske Hise Ke Dhoop*. These are in an innovative genre that tries to span the chasm between literature and journalism by writing essays of topical interest in a literary style. The language is sharp and pungent; Mridula wields a pen dipped in lethal irony.

The title of the book is derived from the very first essay 'Sahitya: Kya, Kyon, Kaisa?', where she discusses some first principles of literary writing in the contemporary context. Her thesis is that literature does not provide definitive answers to the eternal questions. It questions all traditional mores, styles of thinking, customs and traditions, and does not delineate an ideal path that should be traversed by one and all. A writer has to transcend his own cherished beliefs in order to enter the lives of his characters.

A writer cannot travel on the beaten path, he has to fashion a new track for himself. Nor can literature be penned in a classic style based on a theory or a doctrine enunciated by a critic. Any memorable work follows its intrinsic parameters of judgement and critical theories have to follow the creative impulse.

Another essay 'Jokhim Uthane Se Katarati Hindi Kahani' propounds the general impression of the author about the reluctance of Hindi short story writers to move in path-breaking directions. They are so apprehensive of consequences that they always look for a guru under whose benevolent protection they can prosper. There is hardly any worthwhile attempt to break free of the clutches of the ideal village, the Marxist revolutionary or the hero of yesteryear. Even where some writers try to portray the life of the underdog by writing slang, it reads more like a superimposition. Many writers suffer from an inferiority complex with the result that use of even the traditional tool of magical reality is treated as the copying of a recent western trend.

There are a couple of essays relating to the depiction of female characters in Hindi fiction, as also the way feminism exhibits itself in literature. Mridula has a grievance with the way in which male writers have tended to limit the role of women characters to being near appendages to men or as victims of sexual outrages. It appears to her imperative that

women be treated as persons with a three-dimensional image, who face all kinds of problems—social, economic, political, psychological and so on. Fortunately, some recent trends indicate that writers are now able to write realistically and rationally about matters such as childbirth, female sexuality, life after rape etc. and portray female characters in a holistic perspective.

The author has also commented on the twin cultures of India—writing in English and in the Indian languages. There is a colonial mindset which looks upon English as superior to the native tongues. But Indians writing in English can never be authentic in their portrayal of contemporary Indian life. At best, they may curry favour with their western audiences by berating their own countrymen and making fun of them. The real solution to the tangle lies in going to one's mother tongue for genuine literary activity with a sense of pride in our Indian languages and writing them for original thinking.

In this context, Mridula is sarcastic in her analysis of the way Hindi is treated in India. There are no avenues of employment for those who acquire knowledge through the Hindi medium, nor are Indians encouraged to make original contributions to science, technology or the humanities in their own mother tongue. If the state is serious about Hindi or the Indian languages, it should establish Government-run elementary schools throughout the country where all children go, irrespective of the family's income level and all education should be imparted in the mother tongue.

The author has lashed out at the present democratic system, where the electorate has no real choice of parties or candidates on the basis of genuine ideological differences. No one is interested in ideology. Politics has now been reduced to the art of securing and holding power. Would it not be better, Mridula asks, if we go in for twenty-five years of monarchy as an experiment? It would save us the colossal expenditure on elections and at the same time give us a legitimate dynasty.

There are other essays which deal with the Bhopal gas tragedy, the problem of child labour, the death toll taken by the buses of Delhi and so on. The tone throughout is highly critical of the present dispensation, our national mind-set and the hypocrisy that permeates the ruling elite.

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Mridula Garg comes across as a rebel. Her basic theme is that the writer's task is to expose the status quo and not be satisfied with any aspect of what is currently happening (she has to be a gadfly), attacking everything in sight and upsetting the apple cart. If, in the process, people feel hurt or humiliated, it is all in a good cause!

Some vignettes of her critical writing would be of interest to the readers. She talks of Bhishma, who sacrificed his all for the sake of his father and bemoans the fact that this was in aid of old Santanu satisfying his lust... Unwittingly, Bhishma set the tradition of children blighting their own future to satisfy the ambitions of their parents, a process that has come down as a legacy right upto the present day.

When talking of the differing attitude of men and women towards trees, she remarks with perceptive insight that men favour species that can be sold and fetch a monetary return, while women are for species that yield feed, fodder and fuel wood.

The cloud of lethal gas that spread over the skies of Bhopal and killed thousands reminds her of the cloud messenger that Kalidasa visualized in his *Meghadutam*. Could the cloud have been a messenger of love, when it was in fact the harbinger of death?

In sum, the book represents a collection of essays which are full of a wisdom born out of irony, sarcasm and a measure of iconoclasm. Given that Mridula's theory of literature stems from a need to break all current idols, she succeeds eminently in her objective. ■

Raj Kaw, lecturer in the Department of Hindi, Ramlal Anand College, is the author of *Hazari Prasad Dwivedi Ke Upanyason mein Itihaas* (Sahitya Nidhi Prakashan, 1988).

BOOK NEWS

BOOK NEWS

Badshah Khan: A Man to Match His Mountains by Eknath Easwaran is an impressive biography which shows how perfectly Khan embodies what Gandhi called the nonviolence of the brave.

Penguin, 2001, pp. 273, Rs. 295.00



Images of Silence

M. Sridhar

BARE FACE: POEMS

By Jayanta Mahapatra

D.C. Books, Kottayam, 2000, pp. 79, Rs. 100.00

The latest volume of poems, *Bare Face*, by Jayanta Mahapatra begins most silently and surreptitiously, like this: The saints are all silent inside their own truths. Moss broods silently in the cracks of the stone. Four-year-old Pratick is silent inside his screams. Nobody answers him although they surround his fears (p. 13). The poet moves beyond the child's silence inside his screams. The evening is silent "inside the arithmetic of rain". He sees the "imprisoned image" of the herd of shadows in the eyes of the young woman clerk. He sees the garden spider silently spinning its web. He finds the sigh curled up and asleep on a mat. These seeming images of "silence" behind which movement and activity are writ large are set against the silence of the saints who sit pretty inside their own truths. The entire volume is an attempt to make the saint/poet introspect about his/her silent posture. In his poem 'Collaboration' he tries to communicate with his dead father. His father's dead face in turn talks to him about his childhood days. No wonder then that Jayanta Mahapatra chooses the following words for the epigraph of his book: A beheaded puppet is a sadder sight than a dead human being. —Camilo Jose Cela. Perhaps, the poet feels that the puppet before it had been beheaded would have been more active than the dead human being when s/he was alive. Like the "beheaded puppet" the "headless torso" of Gandhi in the poem 'Sometimes' too can speak. Mahapatra has several poems here about the nature of poetry. A poet who has been acclaimed all over wonders what it means to be able to string words together: "Once upon a time there were words" which "urged the gentle / harmony of nature to bleed from the grass" (p. 36). As against that, he finds that for days past, "merely blank poems / have been lying around, fluttering their eyelids. They mean nothing" (p. 36). The blankness he experiences reminds us of the title of the volume, *Bare Face*. There is a strong sense in these poems that perhaps his poems are not able to do what they are supposed to do. Can a poem, an aesthetic object, just "be" and not "do" anything? What constitutes "activity" for a poet? These questions seem to preoccupy Mahapatra's mind throughout the book.

There are other poems too in this volume which are self-reflexive. Consider for instance the first line of 'The Tame Ending': "The poetry I write bruises the page" (p. 39). Its total incapacity to act is summed up here: "The poem is like a lost child wailing / near a lamp post, uncomfortable by the coin / thrust into its

fist by a passer-by" (p. 39). What is sadder is that the poem cannot even "acknowledge that it is mute" (p. 39). Not only is the poem mute, but it also does not seem to know what to do with what it hears. In his poem, 'Traveller,' he says: "...it's time again to wonder / what I'll do with what I hear." One option before the poet is a complete withdrawal into his/her own self. In a poem entitled 'Freedom' Mahapatra says: "In order for me not to lose face, / it is necessary for me to be alone. / Not to meet the woman and her child / in that remote village in the hills / who never had even a little rice / for their one daily meal these fifty years" (p. 34). He wishes to grow into "a half-disembodied bamboo, / its lower part sunk into itself in the bank" (p. 34).

This intense soul-searching of the poet enables him to locate the problem. Consider his response to watching tribal dances in an Orissa village: "All moments break on the dance's shore. / ... / Moments of ages past, of the power from the earth, / ... of the drained silence of starvation / so certain tomorrow and the day after" (p. 30). He also realizes now why his poem is "lame". In 'The Lines of My Poem' he says: "It has not been able / to find its way out, / stumbling over the hunger / of another starving child. / Perhaps the lines of my poem / will be lame for a long time" (p. 43). He also speaks of the poem as being "trapped like a sparrow / which has strayed inside, / beating its wings against / the bars of the world's conscience" (p. 44). His soul-searching makes him conscious of the fact that his "...poem becomes a girl growing up, / while keeping her legs pressed chastely together, / looks around shyly, / as another set of January deaths / when a father and his two children were burnt alive / (just because they had another faith)" (p. 37). He also knows now why his poems have been blind. In the poem, 'Progress,' written in response to the killing of the Australian missionary and his two young sons, Mahapatra says: "It was there, friend, this poem, / its hands folded, eyes shut, / looking down at those three charred corpses, of a father and his two young sons in the middle of a long journey to nowhere" (p. 50).

In a recent article in *The Hindu* (18 March 2001) Jayanta Mahapatra defined true poetry as one that finds "a sense of relation between self and other, the inner and outer world, the personal and social worlds" (IX) When a poet is able to achieve this he lives "inside history," like the great poets of Latin America and Eastern Europe and our own poets writing in

regional languages. He declares: "Frankly, I should like to write such a poetry, a poetry which comes out of the ashes of our own culture" (IX). The poems in this volume are definite pointers to this vision of poetry. I feel a trifle disappointed though that these sensitive portrayals are not gender-sensitive. In the opening poem 'Silence' Mahapatra says that the rain is "capacious like the body of a woman" (p. 16). It is surprising that even while he points to the irresponsibility of the poet, he likens the poem to a young girl "keeping her legs pressed chastely together" (p. 37). Obviously, the poet's responsibility is related to his masculinity. Incidentally, when Mahapatra criticizes the poem, the reference is to either its femininity or childishness as in the following lines from 'The Tame Ending': "The poetry I write bruises the page. / It's a coquette that keeps telling her little secrets." And a little later, "[t]he poem is like a lost child wailing..." (p. 39).

What constitutes weakness in a poem? What is the point in writing something a poet does not feel? In the poem, 'Sometimes,' Mahapatra says: "And it is sadder / when words come out from a face / that isn't there. / Sadder like the bleat / the slaughtered goat gives out / from the dinner plate. / One grows weak in those words..." (p. 29). It is significant that this poem starts with the figure of Gandhi who, Mahapatra perhaps feels, not only heard and saw, but had the moral courage to utter the truth fearlessly of what he heard and saw. It is precisely these qualities he wishes poets to possess. In the second section of the book, which is a "Requiem" for Gandhi, he portrays India as a little girl whom Gandhi had wished to lead to freedom. But looking back at what the country had done with the freedom he had earned and how the country has paid him back, Mahapatra says: "...perhaps the frozen life of the freedom he wished for / was beyond his own conception of mortality" (p. 65). He wonders: "Or, had he [Gandhi] set a trap for his own death" (p. 65)? He describes Gandhi's principle of ahimsa, the self-sustaining light of suns, and "a redefinition of beauty" (p. 68). He is pained that all we have preserved of this man "to whom no man was too small / or too unimportant" (p. 69) is: "[f]aded pictures on bare walls. A day every year as a national holiday. / Growing, seething leper colonies" (p. 79). This long poem, which begins with a description of the bare January trees, ends with the bare office walls. That brings us full circle to the title of the book *Bare Face*. Jayanta Mahapatra exploits all the possibilities this collocation can bring about. It is a challenge too to the poet/intellectual to bare his/her face. Full marks to D. C. Books for bringing out this fine book with an attractive cover at an affordable price.■

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The Goddess and the Monkey-Face

Maharaj Krishen Kaw

LOVELINES: POEMS OF LOVE AND LONGING

By Jagannath Prasad Das

Virgo Publications, New Delhi, pp. 77, Rs. 160.00

Jagannath Prasad Das is a noted Oriya poet, playwright and fiction writer. This is a collection of his love poems in Oriya, translated by the poet himself with help from Paul St. Pierre, Professor of Translation at the University of Montreal, Canada. He calls it *Lovelines* and subtitles it 'poems of longing and despair'.

There are some exceedingly powerful poems in this collection. There is a protagonist who seems to be common to all of them, and the measured stability of that persona is such as to make it seem almost autobiographical. All the poems are addressed by this protagonist to an undefined, mysterious figure who is by turns ethereal, divine, earthy, sensual, distant and cruel.

These poems are documents of unrequited love, unremitting passion and unfulfilled desire. The protagonist has met the beloved by chance:

*Unwittingly you strayed
into my life;
but how can you
walk out of it now
leaving me all alone? (p. 76).*

There have been intimate moments between them and then the beloved has gone away. All that the poet is left with now are memories, desires, lusts, passions and wild images. Most of the poems reflect an unrestrained outpouring of emotions and imagined scenes of sexual abandon and fulfilment.

*Let the fear
of my unruly hands
harden the pointed urges
of your breasts;
let your lips part
before my tongue begins
its urgent search (p. 16).*

He keeps on waiting for her to return, but she does not. He hopes she will write a letter or make a phone call, but she does not. He wishes they will meet again, but he knows somewhere in the depth of his heart that:

*Were we to meet again
after a long interval,
the planets and stars
of our lives
would have moved
to a new configuration*

*I would have gathered
in my hands
all your letters
I did not receive,
and all your phone calls
that never came.
With all these nothings
my palms would be full
and there would be no space
for any more (pp. 64-66).*

When he goes to her city, he is ecstatic, for he can imagine her presence everywhere.

*I find the clouds
in a grand design,
the way you arranged them.*

*You lived here once,
so there is in this city
no discontent,
no ugliness, no disorder (pp. 56-58).*

But his love is unrequited. He hopes she will return, he wishes her to come back, he wills her to grant him a few more tokens of love and passion, but in his innermost heart he knows she will never come. Witness the cold despair:

*My remaining days
will be a long wait
looking at the telephone
which will not ever ring,
and waiting for the postman
who will not ever come (pp. 49-50).*

Who is this mysterious female? Is it a Goddess he worships and longs for? He wants her to 'come as Shakti embodied' (p. 16). He says:

*I can never reach
the fringes of your holiness (p. 17).*

*his many states and aberrations?
You are the sum total
of my entire life,
its beginning, middle and end;
the three measures of time
and the four directions;
the five elements, the six seasons,
and the seven heavens;
the ten misfortunes
and the fourteen worlds (p. 21).*

The beloved is a larger than life figure. He sees her almost in Viratarupa darshana:

*On the fertile stones
of your earnest thighs
I have seen primeval galaxies (p. 25).*

Elsewhere, he refers to her as Goddess. "You are like/the Supreme Being/you are everyone's" (p. 37). 'You are the precious boon/bouncing off your/many flashing weapons' (p. 38). 'You are the simple meaning/difficult to grasp' (p. 39).

Yet there is internal evidence to show that this exercise in sublimating and divinizing the beloved is just a hyperbole. It is tongue in cheek, not to be taken seriously. For the poet confesses:

*When we are alone,
I call you monkey-face;
but before others
and especially
in my poems,
thou I call a goddess (p. 42).*

These are indeed poems of longing and despair for an earthly damsel whom the poet possessed briefly once and then lost for ever. Although the general tone is one of passionate expectancy, there is also a calm resignation. As the poet says:

*And the greatest
achievement of my life
is the ability to live
between your yes and no (p. 70).■*

Maharaj Krishen Kaw writes poetry and fiction and is currently President of the Poetry Society (India) and Education Secretary to the Government of India.

TBR Book Club

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Oh, Sylvan Telangana!

Syamala Kallury

KALAANNI NIDRA PONIVVANU

By N.Gopi

Chitanya Prachuranalu, Hyderabad, 2001, pp. 102, Rs.35.00

NGopi, a Telugu poet and Vice-chancellor of Telugu University in Hyderabad has published six volumes of poetry since 1976 including the title under review which won for him the Sahitya Akademi award.

The title of the book sets the tone and spirit of the poetry. The poet by asserting that he will not allow Time to sleep, *Kaalaanni Nidra Ponivvanu*, gives the reader an indication of concerns important to him. What then are the concerns of this poet?

The main concern, one perceives, is the struggle for survival of the downtrodden. His is the voice of the dalits, the underprivileged, and the poet chooses the roti, the home made quilt known in Telugu as bonta and a host of other everyday objects as his basic symbols in poetry. 'Rotte', the very first poem in the collection is on the daily bread. It does not drop out of the sky. It is the hunger dream that is carried into this world by the sweat drops that manifest from the earth's deep. Children while waiting to be fed watch the mother kneading the dough and the poet says it appears as if she is patting the hungry stomachs of her children. Bonta is another symbol the poet uses in a poem of the same title. It is a common sight in rural Andhra to see the women in their spare time joining the old and used sarees and lungis into a thick quilt which while providing cover and warmth for the children also gives them an immense feeling of security, comfort and love.

The poet in the first line itself makes the statement that Vimal designs stand nowhere when compared to the quilt that his mother made. It took her ten days to stitch the quilt, the poet recalls. It is a magic mat that evokes cherished childhood memories as soon as he sits on it. His children vie with each other for a place on that quilt. An inherited chain of affection handed down from one generation to the other. A poor man's quilt and a poor man's roti evoke rich memories of fulfillment and abundance of love.

The images that the poet evokes in his poetry reflect a rich rural ambience which is only a thing of the past for him, never to be regained. The poems give us glimpses into his childhood and the memories of that background which have inculcated in him a deep sense of human values. The things that he sees and reflects on in his adult world act as reminders of things forgotten and recalled in

fond memory. There are many things that help him to make these journeys, a visit to Mumbai and its textile mills brings to his mind the sight of the economically poor Andhra weavers who are constantly driven to hardships in a futile effort to make both ends meet ('Yeh Mumbai', p. 87). The pace of life, the way the city throttles the lungs makes one yearn for the village but there is no village now. It is not the village that has come to the city. The poet sees the cities invading the villages and all the things that at one time stood for the village have now disappeared. The poet hence forever searches for the remnants of his village in the city. In the poem 'Epitaph' the poet says as he walks down from Kachiguda station into the city of Hyderabad before he enters the city he encounters his village, a place where everyone speaks with a Telangana accent. The poem is a tribute to his friend, poet and scholar Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao.

Another poem 'Blowout' describes the devastation caused by the fire that broke out in the oil well in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh, an environmental disaster that destroyed all the coconut plantations of the area for at least a decade. The Godavari delta region in Andhra is called the Konaseema where one sees shades of green and nothing else. But when the fire broke out in the oil well it took days for the experts who had come from all over the world to put it out as the greenery turned totally black. Villagers were forced to flee because of the polluted air. Then the poet says the coconut trees resent that they cannot run and they stand as mute witnesses to the anger that erupted like a volcano from the heart of the earth. The sari that the river Godavari wore which normally flutters joyously while visiting all the villages on her journey to the sea, caught fire that day. The land that echoes the vedic incantations was accompanied by the roar of the burning petrol. How weak and ineffectual is man when the powers that he plays with rebel. The oil that lights the lamps threw darkness around in the lives of thousands of people who depended on the land for survival. The poet also speaks with equal anguish at the plight of the victims of the Latur earthquake. Man-made environmental disasters cause more heartburn.

N. Gopi's is a powerful voice that speaks for the village that he stood for and loved. The poet does not shy away in his poetry from the

The main concern, one perceives, is the struggle for survival of the downtrodden. His is the voice of the dalits, the underprivileged, and the poet chooses the roti, the home made quilt known in Telugu as bonta and a host of other everyday objects as his basic symbols in poetry.

old world values that made him what he was while living and loving the computer saavy modern world. While one appreciates the themes and the way they are given aesthetic shape, if there is one jarring note in his poetry it is the manner in which the poet seems to be resorting to the use of English words in Telugu poetry. Many a time one sees the poet resenting the way the city has invaded the village and he contributes to this invasion most effectively by distorting his natural language by repeatedly resorting, in and out of context, to English language expressions.■

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Communication

It is aptly said that to any book-lover, reading book reviews is a pleasure that ranks next only to reading books themselves. Often I am able to read only the reviews and not the books reviewed. One of the few exceptions was *Oona, Mountain Wind* reviewed by Shobhana Bhattacharji in *The Book Review*, August 2001. My reaction to the book was at complete variance with the reviewer's. The central theme of a mother coping with her loss (the death of her daughter and grand daughter), which the reviewer sees as "raw with emotions", and therefore the book's "weakness". I personally saw it as its strength. It gave the book a universal appeal since no age, no culture, no family is immune to such tragedies. *Oona, Mountain Wind* is a moving portrayal of endurance and a beacon of light for anyone, anywhere in similar clutch of circumstances.

R. Prakash
New Delhi

Beasts in our Backyard

Seema Bhatt

MOSTLY BIRDS, SOME MONKEYS, AND A PEST—NATURE IN AND AROUND DELHI

By Ranjit Lal

Ravi Dayal Publishers, 2000, pp. 180, Rs.175.00

The discovery of a murdered couple within the ramparts of the Tughalakabad Fort, as reported in the newspaper a few months ago distressed me. The distress was of course due to the rising crime in Delhi, but more, because almost fifteen years ago the beautiful ramparts of this Fort had been a regular weekend haunt for many birdwatching trips undertaken by me and other like-minded people. Ranjit Lal's book, titled, *Mostly Birds, Some Monkeys, and a Pest—Nature in and Around Delhi* is a journey through many such beautiful spots in Delhi. Some like the Tughalakabad Fort are not safe for roaming naturalists any more but there are others, still as approachable and exciting as ever.

This book is a compilation of Ranjit's writings on observations made in and around his home in Delhi, at the Old Delhi Ridge, the Yamuna, the National Zoological Park, some other sites in Delhi and the Sultanpur National Park in neighbouring Haryana. The writings span an approximate period of ten years.

Delhi, the seat of many empires, harbours a variety of wildlife. *The Oxford Anthology of Indian Wildlife* edited by Mahesh Rangarajan has a piece by G.C.Mundy that describes a lion shoot in Haryana (not too far from Delhi) in the 1820s. The anthology also mentions the presence of antelope at Delhi's doorstep, while tigers were said to roam the Aravalli hills, again close to the capital. An occasional jackal or Neelgai/ Bluebull can still be spotted in parts of the Delhi Ridge. Delhi has always been a haven for birds. One of the earliest documentation on birds of Delhi was by a British officer, Major General Hutson who published this in 1854. Delhi perhaps has been more fortunate than other cities. Usha Ganguli published another book titled *A Guide to the Birds of Delhi Area* in 1954.

Inspired by existing work and perhaps with the felt need to continue documenting bird life in the city, a then Delhi-based environmental NGO, Kalpavriksh (to whom the author dedicates his book) decided to carry out regular bird counts in several different parts of the cities. These counts (carried out twice a year) started in the early 1980s and continued over a span of 10-12 years. Although this data was never published, the counts generated an incredible amount of information. The author himself was an active participant in these counts. The counts were an attempt to monitor

bird life in various areas of the capital and maintain a systematic, long-term database. Besides this, the counts brought together, like-minded people, many of whom formed bonds that have spanned over two decades. The counts also laid the foundation for significant work that many people have generated over the years and continue to do so.

That urban biodiversity is not a misnomer, is a point made quite emphatically by the author in this book. Ranjit describes places well ensconced within the urban metropolis of Delhi which appear to be teeming with myriad life forms. A checklist of birds in Delhi reveals over 400 species, one out of every three bird species in the subcontinent. Delhi is fortunate to have a host of different habitat types. It is also influenced by the Himalaya in the north and the desert in the south. Last but not the least, Delhi has a unique city forest called the Delhi Ridge, popularly known as the "green lung" of the capital. Delhi has the distinction of being one of the few metros in the world that possesses a city forest. Ranjit describes his own forays into different parts of the Ridge, while documenting its bird and animal life.

A surprising aspect brought into focus by Ranjit in this book is the variety of bird species that can be seen in some of the most polluted, undesirable places of Delhi. Life will present itself, in diverse forms, in the worst of circumstances. The author describes the area behind Rajghat Power Station with its, "large evil ponds (that) glistened iridescently, opaque with noxious fluids and oils. Immense mounds of garbage simmered and reeked powerfully in the dank monsoon air". In such unpleasant surroundings, he still manages to find a variety of birds ascribing them as belonging to the 'effluent society'!

An important part of enjoying nature/wildlife comes from observation. Two chapters of the book drive this home. One chapter describes the birth of a moth in the author's bedroom and other describes the antics of a group of macaques that live in the north Delhi Nicholson cemetery. Perhaps a naturalist's greatest tool is his/her power of observation. It is this and a whole lot of patience that is required to venture into the world of wildlife biology. The description of the birth of the moth brought back memories of many books written by the great naturalist Gerald Durrell where the author describes many a happy hour

Besides introducing the reader to the richness of bird and animal life in these areas, the author also draws attention to the destruction that has taken place over time. Unfortunately, his writings are mainly confined to the early to mid 90s. Another decade has gone by since, bringing with it more destruction and change.

observing creatures he had caught during his extensive travels. For readers who want to follow the 'Nicholson' macaques in a truly delightful fictitious journey with Ranjit, do read another book by the author titled, *The Life and Times of Altu Falu* published by Indiaink in 2001.

Besides introducing the reader to the richness of bird and animal life in these areas, the author also draws attention to the destruction that has taken place over time. Unfortunately, his writings are mainly confined to the early to mid 90s. Another decade has gone by since, bringing with it more destruction and change. The growing population, both resident and immigrant has taken its toll on Delhi's natural beauty. Roads are being broadened every day. Paved sidewalks have left very little place left for trees to grow and breathe. Increasing construction is destroying many places that were a haven for birds and smaller life forms. Delhi happens to be among the most polluted cities in the world. Can we still hope to continue seeing the wildlife that Ranjit describes so well in his book?

Perhaps all is not lost. The recent diesel ban has brought down air pollution levels in the city. The Delhi Government has also launched a massive campaign to clean the Yamuna. In 1996, the Delhi Ridge was declared a Reserve Forest. The city has several active citizen's groups working towards the conservation of Delhi. In this cyber-era there has recently come into existence a Delhi bird e-group which consists of enthusiastic bird watchers who keep in touch through e-mail, as also manage to meet and do quite a bit of birding together.

Ranjit with his captivating and humorous style of writing makes this book very readable. To many readers who are avid Delhi naturalists, this book will add to the richness of their own experiences. To others interested in the subject, this book will urge them to visit places Ranjit so beautifully describes.■

Seema Bhatt is an independent consultant on biodiversity issues. She lives in Delhi and is an avid birdwatcher. She is currently a member of the Technical and Policy Core group that is involved in the formulation of India's Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan.

A Contributive Rendition called Theosophy

N.C. Ramanujachary

THE ETHERIC DOUBLE: THE HEALTH AURA; THE ASTRAL BODY; AND OTHER ASTRAL PHENOMENA; THE MENTAL BODY; THE CAUSAL BODY AND THE EGO

All by A.E. Powell

Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Chennai, 2000, pp. 140, pp. 265, pp. 322, pp. 355, price not mentioned.

These books are dedicated with gratitude and appreciation to all those whose painstaking labour and researches have provided the materials for them. They present a major segment of theosophical philosophy as propounded by Annie Besant (1847-1933) and C.W. Leadbeater (1856-1934). The ocean of theosophical doctrines with many whirlpools and bottomless paths can be waded by an earnest seeker and aspirant with the aid of the material provided here.

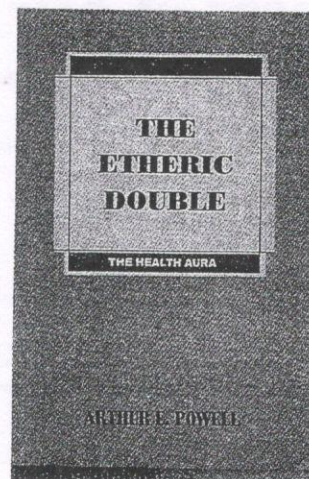
Cosmology and anthropology happen to be the ken subjects of theosophy. *The Solar System*, also a sequel of the books under review, opens a vivid window to the first, while others deal more pointedly with the auxiliary and ancillary bodies available to the human being, how they are drawn from and centered in the consciousness, which is the ultimate. That the human being is at the center of the universe/world, that he has, besides the physical vesture with which he is in a way familiar, several other bodies to enable one to have a wider travel was knowledge limited to a few intellectuals both in the West and the East. Madame Blavatsky, the chief founder and the exponent of theosophical philosophy in her *The Secret Doctrine* has discussed the origin and evolution of Cosmos

and the Man, also bringing in various evidences from world mythologies, ancient scriptures and histories of nations.

The *Etheric Double*, its nature, appearance, functions, its relationship to the other vehicles, its connection with Prana or vitality, its birth, growth and decay, its connection with certain methods of healing, with mesmerism, with mediumship and materializations, the powers it can be made to exercise, and a host of miscellaneous etheric phenomena with which it is connected are studied in greater detail in the first book with ample diagrams to matter more intelligible. The solar forces descend into the system in three manifestations viz. Fohat or electricity convertible into heat, light, sound, motion etc., Prana or vitality and Kundalini or Serpent-Fire. These three forces remain distinct, and none of them can at this level be converted into either of the others. The structure of the force centers, their proximity to the physical organs is indicated. Popularly known as *Chakras* in the yoga philosophy, their functions in relation to human activity are necessarily to be understood both by the practitioner and the lay person, the academic. Etheric faculties are extensions of the ordinary physical senses, enabling the possessor to appreciate "vibrations" pertaining to the etheric portion of the physical plane. Certain practical hints as to the acquisitions of these faculties are available:

It is strengthening to sleep under a pine tree with the head to the north, for the magnetic currents flow over the surface of the earth, by steady gentle pressure, gradually comb out the entanglements and strengthen the particles both of the astral body and of the Etheric Double, and thus give rest and calm. The radiations of the pine tree make the man sensitive to the magnetic currents, and, in addition, the tree is constantly throwing out vitality in that special condition in which it is easiest for man to absorb it (p. 108).

The place of the pineal gland and the pituitary body in human development and consequential evolution are clearly explained. The book affirms the three "truths" concerning



the Immortality of the Soul, the Principle that gives life and the Absolute Lawfulness of Man. These provide a firm base for the possible understanding of human situation in the world full of all riddles.

The second in the series, *The Astral Body* is a condensed synthesis of the information available concerning the Astral Body of man, together with a description and explanation of the astral world and its phenomena. The varied facts about the astral body and the astral plane of nature, the other inhabitants on the plane besides the human, after death-states of the person are methodically arranged in a sequence. What makes the study even more interesting is the fact that *astral chakras* are different from the *chakras* of the Etheric Double, and that there is a category of people called "Invisible Helpers" on the plane.

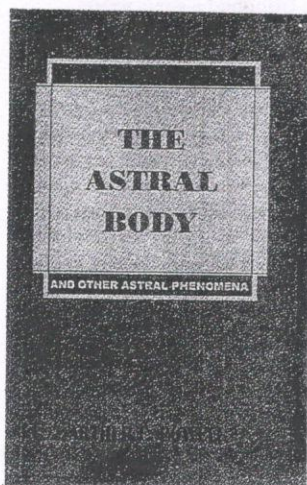
Though the works of Madame Blavatsky were not used, the compiler humbly states, 'the debt to H.P. Blavatsky is greater than could ever be indicated by quotations from her monumental volumes. Had she not shown the way in the first instance, later investigators might never have found the trail at all. The principal feature of the astral body being "colour" its functions are elaborated as three in the main, viz. 1. To make sensation possible 2. To serve as a bridge between the mind and physical matter and 3. To act as an independent vehicle of consciousness and action.

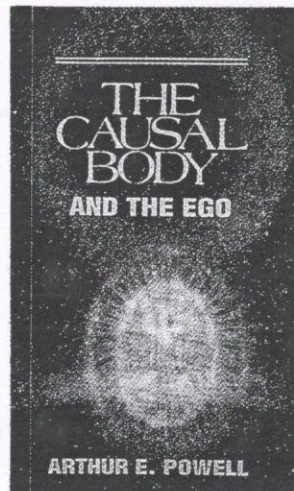
The human principles are classified in the following way:

Atma, Buddhi and Higher Manas—
Immortal
Kama-Manas—Conditionally Immortal
Prana, Etheric double and dense Body—
Mortal

This classification holds good for all practical purposes while dealing with human activity, behavioural pattern and the consummation of values worth reckoning.

The book also introduces a theory of "Invisible Helpers". The following sensitivities





are recommended to be developed in the individual human nature so that his/her utility on the higher nature of existence is enhanced:

Single-mindedness (One-pointedness),
Self-control,
Calmness,
Knowledge and
Love.

This is where the conviction is confirmed that 'spirituality' is nothing beyond 'common sense' which has a vast scope for expansion.

The Mental Body, the third in the series, opens a Pandora's box before the readers' eye. The mental equipment of man is divided into two distinct portions: 1. The mental body which deals with concrete thoughts and 2. The Causal body which deals with principles/abstracts. These two bodies, their constitution and operation are discussed in the last two series of the set.

The Mental body is the vehicle through which the Self manifests as concrete intellect, in which are developed the powers of the mind, memory and imagination included therein. As some development is achieved this serves as a

separate and distinct vehicle of consciousness, in which man can live and function quite apart from both his physical and his astral body. The Visible man, the Invisible man; the Desire-mind and Thought-Forms; Conscious mind and the Unconscious mind are explained in more practical understanding and all this need not be a matter of mere speculation these days. In view of various experiments and explorations made into the psychology and parapsychology, the reader can have a clear and simple methodology to digest his own "being". The faculties of the Mind, their possible extensions and expansions, meaning and methods of Concentration, Meditation and Contemplation and the planes of Nature along with the inhabitants therein are diagrammatically put forth besides verbal explanations. How it becomes possible for the human being to improve upon his higher qualities and become an effective instrument of the Self could be comprehended well here. The central point/focus of the philosophic understanding is that the 'personality' should eventually give place to the 'Individuality' or Ego. The former exists, yet sublimates the entire atmosphere in surrendering to the higher possibilities of Life. The states of consciousness in which the mind could dwell, the waking-sleep-deep sleep-beyond are thoroughly examined with the popular yoga-philosophical terms juxtaposed.

The Causal Body and the Ego, the fourth and last book in the series discusses the causal body as the Cause for the manifestation of the hitherto examined bodies and thus it derives that name. The term Monad is introduced and its gradual descent into the lower planes of nature by influencing and gathering round the matter relevant to the needs is traced. The seat of the first descent is ego, housed in the Causal body. The matter of Individualization, becoming of the human, assumes greater importance in human life. How the ego gets and gradually detached from the bonds of the lower-nature and moves up to open to itself the higher

opportunities of the supreme splendour of life are worth noting for any thinking-person. Mere 'intellect' is not adequate and this has to grow into 'intuition' as a mark of progress in the human activity.

The terms Etheric, Astral, Mental and Causal bodies may appear, prima facie, too speculative for a beginner. But one in the know of the Vedantic terminology could immediately find parallels in ancient books such as *Linga Sarira*, *Pranamaya Kosha*, *Manonmaya Kosha* and *Vijnanamaya Kosha*. The terms could however be not applied mutatis mutandis. The assessed thought that the ancients have all the time visualized the segments of the inseparable compartments of the total human-being is to be noted here.

Providing right approaches to 'living the life' is the purpose of any philosophy. Unless one knows what his/her constituents are, what optimum possibilities lie before, any attempt at fulfillment would be unthinkable. The series of books decidedly present the grand panorama before the reader, inasmuch as the data has been compiled from 30-40 books from veteran theosophists. 'The value of knowledge', as quoted from Annie Besant, at the end of the last volume, is tested by its power to purify and ennoble life, and all earnest students desire to apply the theoretical knowledge acquired in their study of Theosophy to the evolution of their own character and to the helping of their fellow-men. Truly is Avidya—the privation of knowledge—the first step out of unity into separateness, and only as it lessens does separateness diminish, until its disappearance restores the Eternal Peace. The books originally published by the Theosophical Society in England some 40 years back are now brought out as Indian (First) editions. ■

N.C. Ramanujachary is a theosophist and a critic.

The Path to Wholeness

O.R. Rao

'QUESTIONING KRISHNAMURTI'

J. KRISHNAMURTI IN DIALOGUE WITH LEADING TWENTIETH CENTURY THINKERS

Krishnamurti Foundation India, pp. 254, Rs. 325.00 (hardbound), Rs. 150.00 (Paperback)

Let me begin by asking, as they might do in a quiz, 'What is there is common between day-dreams, myth, fantasy and vision (artistic, poetic, or religious)?' One answer which immediately suggests itself is that all of them, in one way or another, involve a

search for order, coherence, wholeness. In daydreaming we feel that our real life, 'ordinary' life, in some way lacks completeness, it does not give full satisfaction; there is a disorder, a lack, felt in it. So, we resort to fancy and imagine a 'full life', remaking the world to

the heart's desire, indulging in a willing suspension of disbelief, which for the moment gives a feeling of wholeness and coherence. So too, in fantasy, especially in children's fantasy, imagination takes flight to build a whole new world. The paper boat becomes a real boat, and the rain puddles the river. This gives the feeling of 'greater reality' to the child. In myth, the human mind feels the spectacle of the world—the mysterious, painful or fearful aspects of it—as crying out for 'explanation', for an account of 'What it all means'. The myth 'completes' what was earlier fragmentary, unaccounted for, and 'meaningless', and gives a meaningful account of human experience. In artistic and poetic vision too, we get a sense of participating in an experience which is more 'whole' than 'ordinary' experience, resonating with meanings which enable us to understand ourselves better

and thus feel more whole. Science too is a quest for wholeness, for the explanation of the seemingly arbitrary, random happenings in the 'external' world by subsuming them under laws of greater and greater generality. Above all, the utterances of the great sages seem to light up the whole of our life experience and have an inspiring quality about them which makes us feel more whole than we do normally.

Order, regularity and wholeness then, seem to be indispensable to our being. We seek them naturally just as we naturally breathe. Truth itself can be seen as wholeness. Judgements, hypotheses, theories etc. are true when they correspond to 'things as they are'; only then is there a wholeness in the relationship between what we think and what is thought about. Falsity is a fragmentariness, a lack of wholeness.

The question is, why is there this human hunger for wholeness? What account can we give of it? For, among 'sentient beings', human beings alone seem to feel this need consciously. All other beings—plants, trees, animals—are already 'whole'. They are one with nature and are one with themselves. They and their world form an inseparable whole. Human beings alone feel their separation from the world. This is the price we have to pay for self-consciousness, our awareness of being aware. 'A question have I become unto myself': 'Who am I?' In order to feel one with ourselves and with the world, with the order of things, we have to answer this question, to define ourselves and 'our place in the Universe'.

Our response to this question is to form the self-image, the personality that we as children build up in the course of learning about the world. In learning to 'cope with the world'—the world of parents, society, nature—the child fashions out of a mix of his innate tendencies and the influences that press in upon him—sensory, physical, psychological, societal, religious and so on—an image of himself. Through this image the child seeks both self-approval and the approval of society: this is the process of 'socialization' we all undergo. To the extent that I am successful, in building up a satisfactory image of myself, think of myself as a successfully functioning human being, and there is a dynamic balance between 'me' on the one hand and society and the world on the other. However, this sense of balance leads not to a sense of wholeness, or of 'oneness' between me and the world but at the most to a sense of precarious equilibrium between these two opposed entities.

The primal human anxiety, the feeling of aloneness in the world with which we start, has made us, through the process of building up of the self image, actually separate from it. 'Things as they are' are never seen fully as they are, but with a 'skew' that is favourable to 'me' and to my self-image. My memory selects, interprets and accumulates experiences basically according to this skew. Thus what I am is nothing but the totality of these experiences

interpreted and stored by memory. My knowledge of the world starts from this store and adds to the store in the course of life.

And the 'skew' has a 'multiplier effect' in that any response to the world from a skewed stance will lead not to wholeness or oneness with the world but only to further efforts to strengthen the self image through possessive accumulations of various kinds—of property, ideas, relationships, power, sex and so on, or of violent reactions against the world. Thus arise what are known in the Buddhist teachings as 'greed, hatred and delusion' and from there, the individual, societal and global conflicts with which we are so familiar.

To be religious is to feel that there is no 'secular' path of amelioration out of this trap, and to turn to those inspiring images of transcendental wholeness which the religious traditions provide. And for a great majority of people it is the religious tradition into which they were born which provides the natural path to take. This means accepting in faith the transcendental truths and ideals which have been revealed in the scriptures of that religion and which are embodied in the lives of its seers. This usually involves knowledge of the scriptures, and the disciplined practice of the ideals enjoined in them. This may involve the 'imitation of Christ', or following the Eightfold path of the Buddha, or following one of the Yoga paths described in the Bhagavad Gita, and so on. In almost all the religious traditions, there is the belief that the path to reality or freedom or salvation is one which it takes time to traverse. There is a gradual progress from a state of ignorance (or sin) to one of knowledge (or redemption), for it takes time to know the scripture well, to discipline oneself to follow its ideals. Again, religious traditions emphasize the need for detachment from passions and compulsive drives in order to know ourselves, our tendencies and failings. Such detachment is a cardinal requirement for divesting ourselves of the impurities and incoherences we have collected; by detachment, it is said, we can overcome the baser elements of our nature and improve to attain a purer state. Detachment, purification, faith in and following of the ideals enshrined in the tradition, and a progression through time towards the final goal of wholeness, integration, freedom, salvation, etc. by a process of disciplined study are, we may say, approaches common to all the great religious traditions of the world.

Krishnamurti denies them all. He denies the efficacy and validity, in the religious life, of faith, tradition, ideals, discipline, knowledge, detachment and time. Many who are shocked by what they consider to be his 'nihilistic' views, have turned away from him. However, there is more here than meets the eye. If we take, to start with, the question of 'detachment', of centering oneself in 'a pure space of the mind' as a centre from which we can act to purify ourselves of the dross of imperfections,

Krishnamurti denies that this is what actually takes place. He denies 'this idea that somewhere there is a part of me that is order, that is looking at disorder'. On what grounds is this denial based? If, for instance, I am envious or furiously angry (these being instances of total disorder), is there a space in me of calm and order, an 'I of the storm', from where I can observe the anger or the envy and overcome it, discipline it or in other ways 'control' it? Rather, the effort at detachment is always a 'deliberate effort', a striving. And this striving, we can see, if we only pay close attention to this whole process, is itself the link which unites the observed disorder with the observing centre. There is a tension in the striving for detachment, which has already entered the act of observation, and infected it with the disorder of what is observed. The way in which I observe my anger is itself angry. My observation of my envy is itself infected with a quality of envy. So, says Krishnamurti, 'the controller is the controlled'. And 'the thinker is the thought'. These pairs of opposites are always tied together like Siamese twins.

There is no centre of purity, coherence or order in me, no inviolate self, from which I can act to control, discipline, or regulate my incoherences. Herein lies Krishnamurti's challenge to our normal ways of thinking. For inspiration we go to the religious texts which are often beautiful; they seem to resonate with 'deep meaning', from a realm of purity. And so we are tempted to think that we, from our centre of purity have been able touch and be changed by a transcendental purity. By diligence, by thinking about the ideals, meditating on the qualities and personality of the sages and seers and following the ethical norms prescribed, I hope to incorporate these ideals and qualities within myself. I hope to improve and evolve into a purer state of Being. But the incorporation of these beautiful ideals, images and meanings is already an interpretation, a 'skewing' by me. When I study and meditate on transcendental religious meanings and ideals, all that I do is to incorporate them into the fragile structure which is my self-image. I do not possess any centre of purity from which I can take off and overleap this self-image and touch transcendental purity. Moreover, I have not even attempted such a leap, but only hoped to cross over by means of the bridge of the teachings provided by a prevailing tradition. This I hope to do by thinking about, meditating on and practising these ideals and truths, and by taking time.

However, to the shock of many, Krishnamurti says 'Thought is limited'. To many, this is almost sacrilegious, for it is indeed thought which has given man, homo sapiens, his uniqueness and his dignity. It is thought moreover, which has built the modern world through the marvels of Science and Technology. So what can Krishnamurti's 'shocking' statement mean? Krishnamurti does not deny

that thought and knowledge have their place in their pragmatic functions of understanding the regularities of the 'external' world. We need thought and knowledge in order to build bridges, for setting up efficient communications systems, to grow crops and to perform surgical operations. We need thought in the humble function of driving a car. In these fields thought functions so to say, in the 'neutral gear', it is not 'geared' to any person, tradition or culture. Two plus two is four, regardless of who says it, and a good bridge is a good bridge regardless of who builds it. But thought rarely functions in the manner. We love Ramanujan not because we understand a single equation of his, but because he is an Indian mathematician, and if we are South Indians, because he was South Indian. Such thought which is universal and ubiquitous, is not 'neutral'; it is 'geared'—geared to emotions, identifications, compulsive drives, and so on. In short, it is geared to all the contents of the self-image. Thus there are thoughts of all kinds—pleasurable, painful, happy, unhappy, resentful, grateful, fearful, hopeful, indulgent, abstemious and so on running through the endless gamut of feelings. Or the emotions may be geared to energies generated by collectivities and ideologies, by identification of the self-image with them—witness the energy derived from identification with nationalism, religion, atheism, capitalism or communism and so on. Krishnamurti has called the thought which moves in such opposing terms, 'the corridor of opposites'. Whether we are indulging or abstemious, caught in our emotions or striving to be detached, we are caught in this corridor of opposites because we ourselves consist of these opposites, we are ourselves part of the problem, and as Krishnamurti says 'If you are part of the problem, you cannot solve the problem'. In this sense, thought which is geared to all the loaded emotions and identifications, and which has constructed the self image out of these emotions and identifications is basically limited; it cannot break out of the circle of the self which it has created as a buffer against reality.

Nor is time a redeemer. We are creatures of time, and live immersed in time. As Krishnamurti puts it, we are nothing but a bundle of memories and thoughts, and 'thought is time'. In what way? We are immersed in the stream of memories which rushes towards us from the past bearing regrets and nostalgia, remorse and past happiness, and bears us on through the present to a future full of hopes and fears. We look before and after and pine for what is not. Thought, whatever its content, has as its essence this pendulum swing of time from the past through the present to the future, and back again, perpetually. And we who are our thoughts are caught in this swing of the pendulum. Observing our past with its imperfections, we hope to drop these or to refine them away to reach a state of greater

felicity in the future. But this never happens; the observer who hopes to drop or refine the matrix of memories away, cannot do so, for he himself has arisen from that matrix and is part of that matrix.

The moment I notice this, there is a pause in my thinking. I look again, and see, in a flash, that I, the problem solver, am myself a part of the problem. The observer, the 'controller', is tied as with a strong vibrating chain to the 'controlled' content of the self. The moment I see this, the tension in the chain collapses, and the observed and the observer, the controller and the controlled, past, present and future fuse together in an implosion. There is a sense of blessed relief and freedom and wholeness. This has come about not because of my striving to solve the problem, but precisely because without striving I was choicelessly aware of the totality of the situation, which is that I am myself a part of the problem. Moreover, such a seeing is not a time-bound process. The collapse of the chain linking the observer and the observed is instantaneous.

And so we come to realize that it is only by paying unagitated attention to our own experiences and to what is happening to us in the concrete actuality of our own lives, and not by the contemplative absorption, or by imitation of spiritual goals already formulated by others, (however beautiful or intellectually and emotionally appealing they might be) that we can catch a glimpse of that freedom or wholeness that we strive for. And in such a glimpse there may be the seed of a totally different movement—a movement of deepening calm rather than frenetic mental and physical activity. This, as I understand it, is the essence of Krishnamurti's 'message' though he disclaimed being the bearer of any 'message'. The point is not that religious traditions are 'false', but that by considering them to be pre-laid paths for us to tread, we become mechanical, 'second hand' as Krishnamurti says.

This has been a very sketchy account of some of the insights which come through in *Questioning Krishnamurti*. This is the latest collection of Krishnamurti's dialogues with persons of eminence in different fields, all of whom were concerned with the question of human freedom and the prospects for it in the present age. For over a period of half a century Krishnamurti welcomed and initiated many such dialogues, with a view that his teachings should be thoroughly 'discussed, challenged and torn to bits'. It is a measure of the power of his vision that it could not only hold different perspectives within its compass but go beyond them. In this book there are dialogues with scientists (Dr. David Bohm FRS, Jonas Salk, Noble Prize winner for Medicine), philosophers (Iris Murdoch, Dr. Huston Smith, Dr. Renee Weber) a Buddhist scholar (Dr. Rahula), a Jesuit scholar (Fr Eugene Schallert), and a Buddhist monk (Chogyam Thrumpa Rimpoche), as also a dialogue with

Krishnamurti's biographer Pupul Jayakar. In all the dialogues the central concern of Krishnamurti comes through with great clarity. The concern was to show that unless we are in touch with ourselves at first hand and pay close attention to our incoherences and go beyond them by realizing for ourselves their contradictions, we cannot touch the wholeness we are in search of. Merely having a theoretical knowledge of the images of wholeness found in the great teachings of the past may be aesthetically satisfying or emotionally uplifting, but will only confirm us in our being 'second-hand persons'. All those who are interested in being first-hand and not second hand persons, will find this book to be of great interest. ■

O.R. Rao is a critic.

The Book Review Literary Trust

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Towards Peace and Universal Responsibility

Bharati Puri

THE SPIRIT AND WRITINGS OF HIS HOLINESS THE XIV DALAI LAMA; THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HIS HOLINESS THE XVI DALAI LAMA: SELECTED SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Both edited by A.A. Shiromani

Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, 1996, 1998, pp. 392, 490, Rs. 125.00, price not mentioned.

The Dalai Lama has addressed many forums, has written about issues and discussed them at length in various books, and articles published at various times. The purpose of these volume is to present the magnum opus of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's writings in one place.

Chiefly a collection of his most representative writings, these two books bring forth the views of the Dalai Lama on various issues ranging from environmental protection, human rights to peace and non-violence.

Founded on the concept of individual, collective and universal responsibility as well as respect for all sentient beings, the Dalai Lama's simply formulated political philosophy which has found the basis not only of the Dalai Lama's understanding and engagement with the Tibetan question but also with global issues, has been seen as an important guiding and inspirational force for Tibetans as well as for all freedom-loving and peace-loving people and nations of the world.

Conveying his message of peace, non-violence, forgiveness and compassion in a series of discussions on matters affecting the Tibetan people and the international community, the volume brings forth the speeches, writings and interviews with the Dalai Lama.

Propounding his message of kindness, non-violence and compassion, the Dalai Lama has delivered speeches during his tours to various places including the United States of America, Australia, South Africa, Lithuania, Israel to gatherings of world leaders, parliamentarians, university students and human rights groups and environmental groups.

While in his address to overseas and other Chinese, he has spoken of the need to understand each other's concerns and of his firm commitment to the value of nonviolence, he details the centuries old relationship between India and Tibet in his message to Indians. Addressing the Tibetan political question in a spirit of reconciliation and healing, he highlights his views on how his 'Middle-way' approach (autonomy in place of independence for Tibet) to the Tibetan question is a constructive and forward-looking proposal to the solution of the Tibetan problem.

In the 'spontaneous and frank' answers that

he gives to the world media, the Dalai Lama elaborates on his commitment to non-violence, love and compassion as he clearly acknowledges the debt he owes to Gandhi for his own understanding of these ideas. Some of the interviews are a response to the demonstrations that took place in Lhasa in September 1987. In these interviews he also elaborates his Five-Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg proposal.

Apart from highlighting reasons for choosing a non-violent path for his struggle envisaging a free Tibet, we also get through these books a fair idea of the Dalai Lama's firm determination to democratize Tibet and his envisaged role in fostering a democratic system in the Tibetan community in exile. Underlying his commitment to democracy is the conviction that it is the Tibetan people who must eventually decide the Tibetan question.

Through his March 10 statement, which he has made ever since 1961 to commemorate the Tibetan National Uprising Day, he has been stressing his commitment to finding a solution for the future of Tibet. While keeping alive the Tibetan's hope to returning to a free Tibet, the statements clearly bring out the events that have had an impact on the Tibetan movement. The Dalai Lama's initiative for the democratization of the Tibetan community, as well as his statement during his recent visit to the United States of America have been included.

Rajni Kothari observes that the 14th Dalai Lama's larger and comprehensive philosophy, normative commitments and espousals of diverse causes at so many levels of humanity's march in history have a critical role to play.

The comprehensive range of topics that the Dalai Lama discusses among others, encompass nuclear proliferation, environmental concerns to human rights and disarmament.

The writings in these books, thematically arranged, portray intimate glimpses of the Dalai Lama's personality, his interests that are wide ranging and his thoughts on subjects of global significance. ■

Bharati Puri is a Doctoral student at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

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Trade in Early India Themes in Indian History Ranabir Chakravarti

This collection of fifteen essays and extracts by some of the leading scholars of early Indian history underlines the significance of trade in the social, political, economic, and cultural development of the subcontinent. The essays cover the period from the third millennium BC to c. AD 1300.

They reflect the changing perspectives, methodologies, and approaches to the study of early Indian trade.

The contributors focus on not only trade and economic activities but also consider allied social and political developments such as agriculture, urbanization, state formation, mediums of exchanges (including coins), and cultural exchanges. The essays span a long chronological period and they also cover a wide methodological and historiographical spectrum. The selections included here cast a new light on many old debates on the nature of early Indian society and economy, challenging the reader to reassess received wisdom and stereotypes.

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Conducting Environmental Impact Assessment for Developing Countries Prasad Modak and Asit K. Biswas

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) is a policy and management tool for

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This volume includes an introduction to EIA, and explains its processes, methods, and tools. It discusses the implementation of specific environmental management measures and the need for their constant monitoring. The authors also explore the writing and reviewing of an EIA report and the process of translating and communicating the findings of an EIA study to decision makers and the public. The book also examines emerging trends in EIA and concludes with a number of illustrative case studies.

0195655400 2001
215 x 140 mm 378 pp. Rs 595
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Violence and Subjectivity

Veena Das/Arthur Kleinman/
Mamphela Ramphele and
Pamela Reynolds

The essays in *Violence and Subjectivity*, written by a distinguished international roster of contributors, consider the ways in which violence shapes subjectivity and acts upon people's capacity to engage in everyday life. Like

its predecessor volume, *Social Suffering*, which explored the different ways in which social force inflicts harm on individuals and groups, this collection ventures into many areas of ongoing violence, asking how people live with themselves and others when perpetrators, victims, and witnesses all come from the same social space.



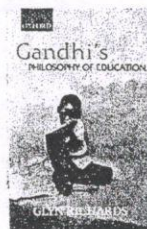
From civil wars and ethnic riots to governmental and medical interventions at a more bureaucratic level, the authors address not only those extreme situations guaranteed to occupy precious media minutes but also the more subtle violences of science and the state. However particular and circumscribed the site of any fieldwork may be, today's ethnographer finds local identities and circumstances moulded by the state and transnational forces, including the media themselves. These authors contest a new political geography that divides the world into 'violence-prone areas' and 'peaceful areas' and suggest that such descriptions might themselves contribute to violence in the present global context.

0195658191 2001
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Gandhi's Philosophy of Education Glyn Richards

While there are numerous studies on Gandhi's philosophy, his views on education have been largely neglected. This study attempts to establish the *avant-garde* nature of Gandhi's philosophy of education. Glyn Richards argues that Gandhi's

thoughts on education were integral to his views on truth and self-realization. Gandhi envisaged education as a means to self-realization, the attainment of truths and the all-round development of an individual. He stressed that it should be in the vernacular and should involve not just literacy and numeracy, but also the development of the creative faculties. The ideal education, according to him, involved both the cultivation of the spirit and the development of the mind and body. Through a study of Gandhi's speeches and writings, Richards contends that Gandhi saw education as a key means of shaking off the yoke of alien culture. It was thus integral to his schemes of Sarvodaya and Swaraj.



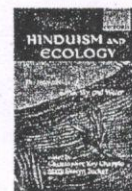
Richards draws comparisons between Gandhi's views and those of Hindu reformers, educationists, and philosophers such as Rammohan Roy, Tagore and Radhakrishnan. He also explores the ideas of Western philosophers, theologians, and educationists with distinctive theories of education and methods of teaching. Richards argues that Gandhi's Platonic spirit, his Whiteheadian approach, and his Montessorian methodology place him in the vanguard of those seeking to propound an acceptable philosophy of education.

0 19 565283 5 2001
215 x 140 mm 128 pp. Rs 295

Hinduism and Ecology The Intersection of Earth, Sky, and Water

Christopher Key Chapple and
Mary Evelyn Tucker (editors)

In the struggle to sustain the earth's environment as viable for future generations, environmental studies have so far left unexplored the role of religion. But human ecology is deeply conditioned by religious beliefs about our nature and destiny. Religious views and practices mould our attitudes towards and relations with material life, and help us to reappraise our ways and reorient ourselves towards the sources and resources of life.



The essays in this volume examine the ecological underpinnings and implications of Hinduism, both in principle and in practice. The outcome of a conference at the Center for the Study of World Religions at Harvard University, this book addresses a new field of study in religion, which has implications for contemporary environmental ethics and public policy concerns. The essays are grouped into sections that cover traditional Hindu concepts of nature, Gandhian philosophy, forests in texts and traditions, sacred rivers and environmental conscience.

From the Rigveda, the Bhagavadgita, and the Ramayana, to Gandhian ideals and contemporary issues; from forests in the epics to the sacred rivers—Yamuna, Ganga and Narmada—*Hinduism and Ecology* offers a wealth of perspectives on the ways in which Hinduism and ecological issues are enmeshed. Engaging and evocative, the essays discuss both the personal and the collective dimensions of ecology in Hinduism.

0 19 565808 6 2001
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