

THE BOOK REVIEW

VOLUME XXVI NUMBER 3 MARCH 2002

BASUDEB CHATTOPADHYAY
**Interpreting Scholarship on
Economic Change . . . 4**

MUKULIKA BANERJEE
**Mechanisms of Imperial Control
at Work . . . 6**

RAVINDRA KARNENA
A Poisoned Journey . . . 11

NIRJA GOPAL JAYAL
A State-of-the-art Essays . . . 14

KAUSHIK ROY
**Subhash Chandra Bose:
Axis Collaborator? . . . 20**

KEKI N. DARUWALA
**Beguiled by Chevathar Magic
. . . 26**

S. SRINIVASA RAO
A Multi-Disciplinary Study . . . 31



New From Routledge

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY 1874 –1914: The Role of India by Sneha Mahajan, Indraprastha College, University of Delhi, India

Routledge studies in Modern European History

British Foreign Policy 1874 –1914 contributes to debates surrounding the origins of the First World War, the multipolar diplomacy of the late nineteenth century, and the nature of imperial connections.

This book provides a challenging analysis of British foreign policy at a time when Britain possessed the biggest empire that humankind has ever known. In this empire India had a unique position, comprising 97 percent of Britain's Asiatic empire. All British statesmen deemed it essential to maintain their hold over India whatever the costs, risks and enigmas of doing so.

Students and historians studying British foreign policy, Anglo- Indian relations, international relations, diplomatic and imperial history, strategic history and relations between Britain and India will find this a valuable and thought provoking work.

0415260108

234 x 156 mm

288 pp

Hardback

UK Price £ 55.00

INNOVATIVE BUDDHIST WOMEN: Swimming Against The Stream Edited by Karma Lekshe Tsomo, Chaminade University in Honolulu

This book combines the voices of scholars and practitioners in documenting and analyzing Buddhist women's history. It addresses many gaps in the documentation of Buddhist women's experience. The 26 articles – written by a range of Asian, Asian- American, and western Buddhists- document the lives of women who, individually or collectively, have set in motion changes within Buddhist societies. The articles include analyses of issues such as gender, ethnicity, authority and class that affect the lives of women in traditional Buddhist cultures and increasingly, the west.

The book is unique in analyzing Buddhist women's historical experience in different Buddhist cultures and placing it side by side with western perspectives. It documents the growth of the global Buddhist women's movement and the important research on women in Buddhism inspired by this movement.

0700712534

354 pp

Paperback

UK price £ 15.99

for further information please contact

ROUTLEDGE – India Liaison Office

Taylor & Francis Group

1011-C, 10th Floor, Indraprakash Building, 21, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi – 110 001

Tel : (011) 371 2131 / 335 1453 Fax : (011) 371 2132

e-mail : routledg@satyam.net.in , routledg@ndb.vsnl.net.in



Contents

Basudeb Chattopadhyay	<i>The Economic History of India, 1857-1947</i> by Tirthankar Roy	4
Mukulika Banerjee	<i>Settling The Frontier: Land, Law, and Society in the Peshawar Valley, 1500-1900</i> by Robert Nichols	6
R. Mahalakshmi	<i>Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honour of Noboru Karashima</i> by Kenneth R. Hall; <i>History and Society in South India: The Cholas to Vijayanagara Comprising South Indian History and Society (2001a) Towards a New Formation (2001b)</i> , by Noboru Karashima	7
Vidula Jayaswal	<i>Understanding Harappa Civilization in the Greater Indus Valley</i> by Shereen Ratnagar	9
Lotika Varadarajan	<i>Boats of Bengal: Eighteenth Century Portraits: Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.</i> by Balthazar Solvyns	10
Ravindra Karnena	<i>An Ambiguous Journey to the City: The Village and Other Odd Ruins of the Self in the Indian Imagination</i> by Ashis Nandy	11
K.P. Shankaran	<i>Psychoanalysis in Colonial India</i> by Christiane Hartnack	13
Nirja Gopal Jayal	<i>Power in Contemporary Politics: Theories, Practices, Globalizations</i> edited by Henri Goverde, Philip G. Cerny, Mark Haugaard and Howard Lentner	14
Mrinalini Sebastian	<i>Woman, Body, Desire in Post-Colonial India: Narratives of Gender and Sexuality</i> by Jyoti Puri	15
N.B.E. Bharati	<i>Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands": American Missionary Women in South Asia (1860s-1940s)</i> by Maina Chawla Singh	17
K.K.S. Rana	<i>Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century</i> by John W. Garver	19
Kaushik Roy	<i>The Sign of the Tiger: Subhas Chandra Bose and His Indian Legion in Germany, 1941-45</i> by Rudolf Hartog	20
A.R. Deo	<i>Reassessing Pakistan: Role of Two Nation Theory</i> by Anand K. Verma	21
Ganganath Jha	<i>Fiji: A Precarious Coalition</i> by Shubha Singh	22
Keki N. Daruwala	<i>The House of Blue Mangoes</i> by David Davidar	26
Rumina Sethi	<i>Literature and Nation: Britain And India 1800-1990</i> edited by Richard Allen and Harish Trivedi	27
Swati Pal	<i>Orange Moon</i> (English Translation of the Award Winning Noyel <i>Shikhar Aur Seemayen</i>) by Sharat Kumar	28
Vijaya Ramaswamy	<i>Dogri Folk Tales</i> by Shivnath	29
Rohini Mokashi Punekar	<i>Particles, Jottings, Sparks: The Collected Brief Poems of Rabindranath Tagore</i> translated by William Radice; <i>So Far</i> by Gerson da Cunha	30
S. Srinivasa Rao	<i>Elementary Education in Rural India: A Grassroots View</i> edited by A. Swaminathan and P.R. Gopinathan Nair	31
Renu Malaviya	<i>Early Childhood Education: Postcolonial Perspectives from India</i> by Radhika Viruru	32
Minati Panda	<i>Teaching and Learning: The Culture of Pedagogy</i> by Prema Clarke	33
Vasanti Srinivasan	<i>The Deep Blue Sea: Rethinking the Source of Leadership</i> by Wilfred Drath	34
N.C. Saxena	<i>Branching Out: Joint Forest Management in India</i> by Nandini Sundar, Roger Jeffery, and Neil Thin with Eight Others	35
M.K. Ranjitsinh	<i>India's Forest Policy and Forest Laws</i> by Chatrapati Singh	36
	<i>Journals at a Glance/Books-In-Brief</i>	37
	Cover: <i>Dancing Girl</i> from <i>Understanding Harappa Civilization in the Greater Indus Valley</i> by Shereen Ratnagar (Tulika Books)	

Editors: Chandra Chari Uma Iyengar

Editorial Advisory Board: K.R. Narayanan S. Gopal Raja Ramanna N.S. Jagannathan Romila Thapar Narayani Gupta Meenakshi Mukherjee K.N. Raj V. P. Dutt Mrinal Pande Tejeshwar Singh Chitra Narayanan Ashok Vajpeyi Pulin Nayak

Computer inputs, design and layout: Geeta Parameswaran
Design and Layout Consultants
Tulika Print Communication Services
35 A/1, 3rd Floor
Shahpur Jat
New Delhi 110049
Telephones 649 7999, 649 1448

Subscription Rates 2002
Single Issue: Rs. 40.00 / \$2 / £1
Annual Subscription (12 Issues)
Individual: Rs 400.00 / \$50.00 / £35.00
Institutional: Rs 500.00 / \$75.00 / £50.00
(Inclusive of bank charges and postage)
Life Donors: Rs 10,000.00 and above

Please address all mail to:
Post Box No. 5247, Chanakyapuri
New Delhi 110021
Registered mail should be sent only to
The Book Review Literary Trust
239 Vasant Enclave, New Delhi 110057
Tele+Fax: 91 124 6355500,
(91-635 5500 from Delhi)
email: thebookreview@hotmail.com
cchari@subcontinent.com
uiyengar@hotmail.com

The Book Review is a non-political, ideologically non-partisan journal which tries to reflect all shades of intellectual opinions and ideas. The views expressed by the reviewers and authors writing for the journal are their own.
All reviews and articles published in *The Book Review* are exclusive to the journal and may not be reprinted without the prior permission of the editors.

Interpreting Scholarship on Economic Change

Basudeb Chattopadhyay

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA, 1857-1947

By Tirthankar Roy

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, pp. xvi+318, price not stated.

*What far-reaching Nemesis steered him
From his home by the cool of the sea?*

What lured him to life in the tropic?

Did he venture for fame or for pelf?

Did he seek a career philanthropic

Or only to better himself?

But whate'er temptation that brought him,

Whether piety, dullness or debts,

He is thine for a price, thou hast bought him,

O Land of Regrets.

Sir Alfred Lyall from *The Land of Regrets*

Viewed in a long-term perspective, the controversy over the price that the 'Land of Regrets' was made to pay to the mother country continues to cast its long shadow over Indian economic history since its inception. In fact the emergence of economic history as a distinct sub-discipline is a comparatively recent phenomenon. In the mid-sixties of the last century, when the present reviewer was a post-graduate student of History in Calcutta University, there was indeed a genuine dearth of student-friendly textbooks on economic history of India. The subject was then struggling for recognition in the history curriculum, which, in those days, was still heavily loaded in favour of politico-administrative history of the traditional variety. Irfan Habib's magnum opus on Mughal agrarian economy had then just appeared and had won instant acclaim. But Habib refused to move beyond the early eighteenth century when the Mughal Empire was in the grip of a crisis. What emerged out of the debris was being looked into in their regional settings by a growing band of historians. India's transition to colonial economy was being enquired by historians like J.C.Sinha, H.R.Ghosal and a little later by Amalendu Tripathi. Eric Stokes and Ranajit Guha ably explicated the ideological compulsions behind agrarian policy. At the regional levels N.K.Sinha's pioneering works on the making of colonial economy in Bengal, Sarada Raju and Dharma Kumar's explorations on Madras, Choksey's on Bombay, Walter Neale and Sulekh Gupta's works on north India, B.M.Bhatia's study on famines were being supplemented by trade historians like Tapan Raychoudhuri or Ashin Dasgupta whose works on Coromandel or Malabar had just begun to break new grounds. Not all these historians were of the same hue, nor did they necessarily agree with one another's conclusions. Maritime history as a distinct sub discipline was slowly

making its debut, but its legitimacy was being challenged by some skeptics who, in the first round at least, succeeded in generating more heat than light. In the field of indigenous craft and industry few really ventured to tread. D.R.Gadgil's old classic was still the staple diet but Morris David Morris' work on Bombay had just appeared and had begun to win a few converts. But generally speaking, the nationalist hypothesis on what Daniel Thorner called de-industrialization still held ground. At the macroeconomic level there was hardly anything for a student to fall back on. Few ventured to read R.C.Dutt's *Economic History of India*. It was, like James Mill's *History of India*, one of the most famous unread books on Indian history. At a more mundane level there was of course a textbook on economic history of India edited by V.B.Singh. But it was inadequate in its coverage and uneven in its content. Such is the thumbnail sketch of the state of the art in mid-60s.

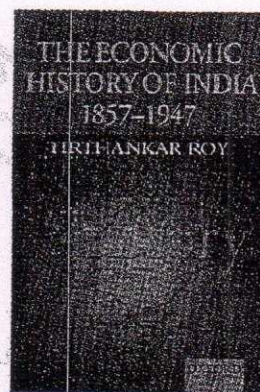
The situation looks so different now. The last forty years or so witnessed a quantum leap in almost every conceivable branch of economic history of India. As a result, some of the questions that agitated an earlier generation of historians now seem altogether trite and commonplace. Take any of the standard themes and you will notice the difference. Till mid-sixties the problem of poverty in colonial India revolved round the nationalist paradigm as initially propounded by Naoroji and later developed by R.C.Dutt. To both of them famine was the symptom of the disease, the root of which lay in the poverty of the Indian people. "I have undertaken this duty because at the present moment the economic story of British India has to be told, and the deep-seated cause of the poverty of the Indian people has to be explained", wrote Dutt in 1901. To Dutt and the nationalist historians of his ilk the remedy was rather simple. Poverty of India cannot be removed until Indian industries are revived, until a fixed and intelligible limit is placed on the Indian land tax, and until the Indian revenues are more largely spent in India. In short, the colonial economic policies were held responsible for the poverty of the Indian people. Quite clearly this nationalist paradigm regulated the research agenda for historians like Surendra J. Patel and even N.K.Sinha. They were no blind admirers of the old system. But they generally shared the belief that what the British destroyed was something imperfect but something precious. This lent a certain simplicity to

their belief about the colonial impact on Indian economy, which was reflected in their writings.

This simplicity in our understanding of our past is what we have subsequently lost. The rapid proliferation of highly specialized works in every direction makes it difficult for a lay reader to keep track with the latest trends. That is indeed the reason why Tirthankar Roy deserves our sincere approbation. His avowed purpose was to write a textbook on the economic history of colonial India. As he correctly states, although economic history of India is a compulsory course in most Indian universities, there is at present no detailed and updated text on the subject. *The Cambridge Economic History of India* might originally have been planned that way, but it is uneven in quality and does not always satisfactorily reflect the state of research on economic history in all its segments. In any case it does not meet students' requirements for a handy reference on the subject. In this book Roy seeks to offer an interpretative summary of scholarship on economic change during the British rule. But unlike in his earlier works, this time Roy set himself a more polemical and confrontational agenda.

From the very beginning till the end, Roy loudly proclaims his differences with what he calls the influential left-nationalist view, which according to him has been restated, in recent years by S.J. Patel, B.M. Bhatia, Sumit Sarkar, Irfan Habib and Amiya Kumar Bagchi. Whether the left and the nationalists always share the same ideological or even methodological platform is open to question. But this minor quibbling need not detain us here.

A closer look at his arguments reveal that what Roy is really up against is a certain way of assessing the colonial impact in the long run. He thinks that the two main planks of the left-nationalist critique, i.e., that decline outweighed growth and that both decline and growth were derived from colonial policies are both empirically invalid and structurally flawed. In his view, colonial India experienced positive economic growth, the three crucial indicators of which were growth of world trade, a strong state and modern transport and communication. He is willing to concede that there was a relative decline in India's position



in the world as an industrial country. But there was no absolute decline in industry. India's comparative advantage in labour-intensive industry ensured the buoyancy of handicrafts over time.

Throughout the colonial period Indian real incomes were growing. And, according to Roy, there is no strong ground to believe that the dominant source of economic transformation was colonial policy.

These revisionist counter-positions inform the author's treatment of the major themes in Indian economic history. In view of paucity of space I would confine myself to only a couple of these. Thus, for example, in the chapter on agriculture and common property resources, he rejects the argument that commercialization was detrimental to the Indian economy. On the contrary, commercialization generated economic growth though resource endowments restricted its scope.

The chapter on small-scale industry is largely based on Roy's earlier work on traditional industry in colonial India. He correctly states that although about 90 per cent of the industrial work force at independence was engaged in small-scale industry, it has so far received scant attention in the mainstream history of Indian industrialization. His attempt to restore this palpable imbalance in historiography is commendable. It is indeed a central theme in the economic history of India. Roy's entry-point to this fascinating world of what D.R.Gadgil called country artisan is of course the de-industrialization controversy and he makes no secret of where his sympathy lies. His main arguments are as follows: (a) the proponents of de-industrialization thesis rely only on one example, i.e., cotton spinning by hand, (b) there were several sectors where employment fell despite absence of significant competition with machinery and (c) de-industrialization is inconsistent with productivity and income growth within small scale industry.

We need not enter into any detailed discussion regarding the validity of the above hypotheses. These have already been subjected to an informed appraisal in an earlier issue of this journal (*The Spinning Wheel Is My Husband* by Rajat Ray). It would not perhaps be improper to restate a few pertinent objections raised by critics. First, Roy is uncharitable to Buchanan Hamilton whose estimate of employment in some districts of Bengal and Bihar he summarily dismisses as 'questionable statistics'. In fact Amiya Kumar Bagchi compares the above estimate with the census data of 1901 in order to measure the degree of de-industrialization in Gangetic Bengal and Bihar. Roy is entitled to differ from Bagchi's conclusions. But one must not forget that Buchanan's reports were no mere compilation of bazaar gossip. On the contrary, these were the result of painstaking empirical enquiry. These empirical findings may not suit Roy's predilection presumably because these do not

go well with his hypotheses. But others, some of whom he approvingly mentions in his own suggested readings, have found in Buchanan a fairly reliable source.

Second, de-industrialization in the nineteenth century was indeed a historical fact testified not just by the so-called left-nationalists but even by economists like D.R.Gadgil who at least cannot be bracketed with those with whom Roy is in disagreement. Following Gadgil one may explore the lost world of the Indian villages and find out, for example, what happened to the potter 'who was perhaps the poorest of the artisan group' or the village tanner 'who was perhaps the hardest hit of all the village artisans' in order to understand the human cost of de-industrialization in the nineteenth century. Some of these trends might have been halted and perhaps even reversed in the twentieth century. But that is a different story altogether.

Third, Roy's categorical assertion that 'there is sufficient evidence that national income did grow in the late nineteenth century' does not seem to have a very firm basis. We do not have for the nineteenth century the statistical data comparable with Sivasubramonian's twentieth century series.

Finally, and this is the crux of the problem, Roy's penchant for reading history backwards often makes him claim for the nineteenth century what is valid for the twentieth. But all said and done, Roy has done well to find a place for the country artisan in the textbook on economic history.

In the few remaining chapters he has competently covered a variety of themes such as large-scale industry, plantations, mines and banking, the macroeconomy, the role of the government and population and labour force. The volume ends with a brief discussion on imperialism, where his disagreement with both the classical theory of imperialism and the world system school comes out in very sharp relief. He argues that the early nationalists drew heavily on the classical theory as it was related to the adverse effects of colonial domination. "Arguments that were for them not much more than political tool, were re-established later by the left-nationalist historiography as correct and valid descriptions. The criticism of the Marxist theories of imperialism applies equally to the left-nationalist paradigm."

How the author would look at imperialism is a matter

of his own judgment. He is entitled to think, if he wants to, that collaboration thesis, as explicated by Robinson and Gallagher offers a more satisfactory explanation of the nature of colonial rule than the left-nationalist school. But a textbook is intended to serve a slightly different purpose. A student should not be expected to share the author's viewpoint as the gospel truth. He should be exposed to alternative explanations in order to enable him to form his own judgment. And this is precisely what this book lacks. Had it not been designed as a textbook, I could have welcomed it as a very competent addition to the revisionist literature on Indian economic history. It covers a very wide area; it deals with some issues, which mainstream history has ignored so far; and it is well written. But it would be unfortunate if students are left with the impression that the nationalist economic thought was merely a political rhetoric, that the nimble-footed Europeans desperately looked for collaborators in order to preserve a treacherous colonial edifice and finally, that the colonial rule in India was not a bad thing to happen. ■

Basudeb Chattopadhyay is Asutosh Professor of Medieval and Modern Indian History and Chairman of the Department of History, University of Calcutta. His most recent publication is *Crime and Control in Early Colonial Bengal, 1770-1860* (Calcutta, 2000).



INDIALOG PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.

Indialog is a quality publisher interested both in fiction as well as non-fiction.

Indialog welcomes short story collections by individual writers in English; compilations of short stories by different writers in English; novels in English; well-researched, well-documented non-fictional works in all areas.

RECENT

Naipaul's Truth: The Making of a Writer by Lillian Feder. A masterpiece of literary biography. Rs. 295.

In Diaspora: Theories, Histories, Texts. A collection of essays. Ed. by Makarand Paranjape. Rs. 450. (HB); Rs. 350. (PB).

Satyajit Ray: In Search of the Modern by Suranjan Ganguly. Rs. 250.

My Place by Sally Morgan. A deeply moving account of the author's search for her aboriginal roots. Rs. 295.

The Loved Flaw. Short stories from Malaysia by K. S. Maniam. Rs. 195.

The World Waiting to be Made by Simone Lazaroo. A young woman journeys back to her roots. Rs. 250.

Used Book. Poetry by Makarand Paranjape. Rs. 250.

FORTHCOMING

Indian Errant. Short stories by Nirmal Verma, translated by Prasenjit Gupta.

Faith in an age of uncertainty. Ed. by Sima Sharma.

Sisters at the Well. Poetry by Uma Parameswaran.

Fusilade. Poetry by Jean Arasanayagam.

Ticket to Minto. Stories of India and America by Sohrab Homi Fracis. The IOWA Short Fiction, Award winner 2001.

O - 22, Lajpat Nagar II, New Delhi - 110024
 © 91-11-6839936; 6320504, Fax: 91-11-6924798
 E-mail: publishing@silicondocs.com
 www.indialogpublications.com/ www.onepageclassic.com

Mechanisms of Imperial Control at Work

Mukulika Banerjee

SETTLING THE FRONTIER: LAND, LAW, AND SOCIETY IN THE PESHAWAR VALLEY, 1500-1900

By Robert Nichols

Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, pp. 321, price not stated.

This book is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. Most recent historical and anthropological work on this area has covered the last decades of the British colonial period when the *realpolitik* of social movements and political parties from this region came into national prominence. This work usefully paints the historical backdrop to the events of the twentieth century. *Settling the Frontier* is an account of the *longue duree* of four hundred years of Frontier history, culminating in events which led to its creation as a separate province in 1901. It thus covers a lot of ground, from the Mughal period, through the Sikh kingdoms and the British colonial period.

The main critical attention in this work is focused on the exploitation of the image of this area by various political powers as 'troubled' and 'volatile'. The need to 'settle' the Frontier was thus a convenient excuse which was deployed by all powers to control this region. The strategic importance of the NWFP and Afghanistan in global politics has been an enduring one, owing mainly to the passes of the Hindu Kush which separate the Indian subcontinent from the Middle East, which lie within it. Any power which aimed to govern the land east of the Indus has therefore needed to either control or limit the activities of the Pathans who live in this area in order to ensure their allegiance.

Control came in many guises; taxation and the violent suppression of dissent being the principal means. But as Nichols shows, it also led to ossified judgements made about the Pathans and other peoples of this area, and these judgements have lasted in the public imagination right into the twentieth century. For instance, in the nineteenth century, the colonial administration imposed definitions of 'criminal' on activities which were 'legitimate expressions of collective mobilization and militant protest'. This allowed for an image of the 'bloodthirsty' Pathan to be created which was as useful later for their enthusiastic recruitment into the colonial British Indian army, as it was in maintaining an aura of curiosity around

them for the rest of the Indian population. Similarly, their Islam was dubbed frequently to be 'fanatic', a perfect excuse to suppress movements such as the Malakand uprising led by a charismatic millenarian leader (Chapter 10). During the colonial period and specially after 1857, the imperial desire to codify and map its subject populations led to the codification of flexible normative ideals of *Pukhtunwali*, which was a 'flexible set of practices' into a much more rigid system. Innovations in the legal system, the manipulation of the traditional decision-making body like the *jirga* led to custom being equated with crime, in a society where the regulation of conflict is achieved through a systematic exchange of violence through feuds. The introduction of a 'European idea of penal practice led to more institutionalized punishment' and 'the birth of the prison' in this area.

Nichols also takes us into unfamiliar historical territory of the developments in this area during and after the Mughal periods. We get details of taxation methods, accounts of itinerant travellers and their observations on locals, and the use of some unusual sources such as some seventeenth century texts and local poetry. Drawing on those sources and through conjecture based on twentieth century ethnography, the author attempts to recreate the socio-economic life of early Frontier villages. This is convincing, but only up to a point. In Chapter 2 entitled 'Genealogy as Ideology' the discussion gets much more interesting as the author displays an anthropological sensitivity to genealogies serving as fictive texts and ones which are open to manipulation and shows how the effusion of literary production in the seventeenth century led to the formalization of flexible oral traditions into narratives.

This study is not a narrative, chronological history of this region, but an examination of some thematic clusters of issues. The treatment of the different periods is uneven, reflecting the nature of the historical archive available. Its strength lies in its marshalling of a variety of evidence to show how

This work usefully paints the historical backdrop to the events of the twentieth century. *Settling the Frontier* is an account of the *longue duree* of four hundred years of Frontier history, culminating in events which led to its creation as a separate province in 1901.

imperial control was exercised by different powers and the repercussions that these had for local society. It demonstrates the differing mechanisms by which 'military dominance was converted to socio-cultural legitimacy'.

The main thrust of the argument of the book, as reiterated on the blurb on the jacket cover is as stated in the opening pages: "From a local perspective, the Peshawar valley was no more a frontier than any other region of agrarian-pastoral society. That notions of frontier were perceived, constructed and projected onto the valley hints at the irony in the title" (p.xxix). While it is true that the label of 'frontier' was as much the result of imperial interests, it is also true that this area also naturally straddles two cultural worlds on either side of the Indus, marked by caste and hierachy on the East and segmentary-feudal societies on the West. Unlike a hermetically sealed border, this region has allowed for a mixing of influences from either side and created some unique social formations as a result, making it a frontier in the true sense, as a region where the unexpected can happen. The non-violent civil disobedience movement in the 1930s of the 'Red-shirt' *Khudai Khidmatgars* is but one example of this. With British colonialism and its desperate vacillations between 'open' and 'closed' door policy on the NWFP, we have witnessed the impossibility of controlling events, loyalties and political activities of such a region. Thus Nichols is only partly right in attributing the label of 'frontier' as a perceived construction. Further, if he wishes to convince the reader that despite all the influences of surrounding civilizations, this area is 'never completely distanced from an earlier pastoral-nomadic heritage' this reviewer would need more evidence. It is an interesting conjecture, but one which needs much more substantiation. ■

Mukulika Banerjee is in University College, London and the author of *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier*, 2001, (reviewed in *The Book Review* Vol. XXV, No. 5).

Societal Shifts

R. Mahalakshmi

HISTORY AND SOCIETY IN SOUTH INDIA: THE CHOLAS TO VIJAYANAGARA COMPRISING SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND SOCIETY TOWARDS A NEW FORMATION

Noboru Karashima

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp. xxxvi + 307, Rs. 595.00

STRUCTURE AND SOCIETY IN EARLY SOUTH INDIA: ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF NOBORU KARASHIMA

By Kenneth R. Hall

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp. xiii + 334, Rs. 595.00

Noboru Karashima, a Japanese scholar of south Indian history, embarked on his researches on landholding patterns in early south India in the 1950s. As a result of the startling revelations implicit in his analysis, the debate on the state in pre-modern south India gained a fresh lease of life—what Karashima himself terms as ‘marking the second ‘golden age’... the first being the 1930s when Professor Nilakanta Sastri and other pioneers vigorously produced a great many of the foundational works...’

On the basis of the findings published initially in article form, Karashima put together his analyses of the Chola (1984) and the Vijayanagara (1992) states, which have been published in an omnibus edition this year. In both these works, his concern was primarily the nature of landholding as described in contemporary inscriptions, with a view to throwing light on the kind of social formation existing at that time. This led him to question certain terminological categories, such as feudalism, employed for these two periods. In the case of the Cholas in particular, his study of the landholding patterns was undertaken to negate the popular and academic internalization of the ‘unchanging’ patterns of communal landholdings in India, a legacy of the colonialists (2001a, p. 44). It also aimed at examining the socio-political mechanism for appropriating the surplus, since the efficacy and patterns of revenue collection are indicators of the nature of state. The study of the Vijayanagara state was but a natural extension of these concerns.

With these agendas in hand, Karashima set out to explore the nature of the non-*brahmadēya* villages in particular in the early medieval Chola inscriptions. Karashima conducted a field study in two villages of Tiruchirappalli district in present day Tamilnadu, and effectively weeded out information on what is euphemistically termed the ‘peasant’ settlements, by studying the land donations made to the local temples or remissions of tax on land in the early Chola period (9th – 10th centuries AD) (2001a, chapter one). He found that while more than 50% of the land was held by individuals in the *brahmadēya*, in the other villages about 70% was held communally. In collaboration with Y. Subbarayulu, Karashima further clarified on the basis of a cross-section of Chola inscriptions that the tendency towards individual

ownership of land in these peasant villages began only in the latter part of the Chola period. By the 13th century AD, there is evidence of very large holdings being held by individuals who had important titles added to their names.

Following from this analysis, it was shown that a class of cultivators existed in *brahmadēya* villages even in the 9th century AD, who held inferior rights to the land and produce. However, it is only with the growth of private landholdings in peasant villages that a clear stratification of society emerged, which for Karashima marked a ‘change of mode of production’, if the transfer of land is any indication (pp. 23-26). However, as Karashima is quick to point out, it is only the superior rights to the land (i.e. greater share to the produce) that these transfers refer.

This also brought the contentious matter of the Chola bureaucracy into the analysis, for it was shown that most of the big landholders held titles appearing over a large part of the Chola macro-region, indicating their creation through royal authority. Related to this, the study of personal names appearing in inscriptions show that some common suffixes (*udaiyān*, *brahmarāyan*) are preceded by associations with land revenue collection or the army (pp. 56-68). Then there are titles like that of the *nādālvān*, which directly denote administration of the territorial unit, *nādu*. For Karashima, all this represents changes in the agrarian structure initiated by Chola imperial interests, which had its own dialectics of transformation, and in the end creating a new order—feudalism. His analysis of revenue terms in terms of context of occurrence in inscriptions and their topographical and chronological distribution, reveals a similar pattern of increasing bureaucratic intervention over the 400 years of Chola rule (pp.69-72).

Here one sees Karashima taking a different position from the one which Burton Stein, the American ‘segmentary state’ theorist for the Chola state, takes. Burton Stein has emphasized the non insularity of the village community, and the autonomy of the peasant locality called the *nādu*. Karashima differs from Stein in that he sees the role of political authority in creating *brāhmana* villages within the so-called autonomous *nādus*, and that this marked the major breakthrough as far as integrating settlements and regions is concerned. From a study of the distribution patterns, he con-

cluded that every *nādu* in Cholamandalam at least had one *brahmadēya*, and often more, from the time of Rajaraja I (985-1014 AD). The *brahmadēya* is seen as not just disseminating the brahmanical ideals but as also contributing to the expansion and intensification of agrarian activities (2001a, pp.36-40).

Karashima extends this argument to the Vijayanagara empire. His interest was to trace the changed mode of production that he had identified in the last stages of Chola rule, which related to changes occurring in both the nature of the state and the agrarian structure (2001b). For him, these changes could be identified by focussing on two distinct social categories representing the new political and social elite, namely, the *nāyaka* and the *nāttavar*. He located these changes as taking root and fructifying in the two halves of the Vijayanagara period (14th-15th, 16th-17th centuries) respectively (Hall, 2001, pp.48-9). The *nāyaka* formation in the second period is seen as heralding a political fragmentation, and also as stemming from the maladministration by the existing bureaucracy (*adhikāri*), with the active support of the traditional landholding elite—the *brāhmana* and *vēllāla*. This is borne out, according to Karashima, by the revolts of left and right hand groups against the aforementioned exploitative strata in the 15th century. The *nāyaka* rule is therefore shown to be an imposition at the end of the 15th century in Tamilnadu by the Vijayanagara rulers, who granted the *nāyakattanam* (territory) to Kannadiga and Telugu warriors from outside the region (2001b, pp. 37-8). While Karashima concedes that they were brought into Tamilnadu from the 15th century itself, he sees them primarily as military commanders with *adhikāris* under them and as administering vast territories. In the 16th century, these appeared as no bigger than estates, and hence, implied a limited territorial control.

The *nāttārs* in the Chola period primarily belonged to a homogenous caste/ class composition, namely the *vēllāla*. In the Vijayanagara inscriptions, the *nāttavars* as they were now called, comprised heterogenous castes, which Karashima feels weakened the traditional hold of the elite over their constituency, the *nādu*, an agglomeration of villages sharing socio-cultural and economic ties (2001b, pp. 50, 60). This was also concomitant with the appearance of other communities such as merchants and artisans, all of whom challenged this traditional *vēllāla* elite once they became socially ascendant. As far as the *nāttavars* are concerned, now they were seen as defending the local people against the exploitative bureaucracy and the former dominant landholders. They were also actively engaged in local production activities in the 14th-15th centuries. However, by the 16th century they succumbed to political persuasion and became the stooges of the *nāyakas* (2001b, pp. 60-1).

In both case studies, Karashima used what is known as the ‘statistical’ method to quantify inscriptional data, and his contribution to south Indian history is assessed in this light

(Champakalakshmi, 1995, p.275). Karashima's work focussed on the interface between modes of production and the political structures they sustained. Hence, his concerns about increasing individual rights in land, forms of control over the land and its produce, and whether there existed hierarchies in relation to these controls. This, I would venture, has been the greatest contribution of Karashima to the study of south Indian history. But this leads one to a perplexing question: why is it that his name does not figure in terms of a major breakthrough in analytical interpretation, unlike say Burton Stein? One of the reasons for this may be the locational setting of agendas in history writing. As Heitzman summarizes: 'The history coming from the United States was immersed in an Area Studies orientation heavily subsidized by defense funds... overrun by theoretical impulses from cultural anthropology and sociology' (1997, p.18). While Heitzman feels the 'regular stream of criticism and rebuttal' from Indian scholars resulted from a wariness 'to dissolve the state and atomize society at precisely the time when nation-building and 'national integration' seemed so important', it is apparent from the Japanese scholar's concerns about the Chola state that this understanding of the criticism of Stein's 'segmentary state' is problematic. In fact, Heitzman (1997, p.17) appears to echo Karashima's (2001a, p.xxvii) view that the autonomy of peasant localities (*nādu*) that Stein posits in lieu of the village autonomy concept, does not explain what was the nature of political authority in these units. Also, the understanding of 'ritual' authority sans political power is not borne out by the evidence for early medieval Tamilnadu (Heitzman, 1997), nor is there anything unique about power being expressed through rituals and symbolism in pre-modern societies (Rubies, 2000). While Karashima did not address the question of ritual power, he did recognize its importance (2001a, p.xxxiii).

Burton Stein, since the late 1960s, is considered the foremost scholar on the pre-modern south Indian state. The full explication of his ideas appeared in the form of a book entitled *Peasant State and Society* (1980). In this, he expounded the theory of the 'segmentary state' for the Chola and Vijayanagara periods of Indian history, with some variations in the latter. The theory had originally been propounded by an anthropologist Aidan Southall for the study of Alur society in East Africa (1956). This thesis was based on an understanding of loosely held, autonomous segments brought together by a single authority on the basis of ritual, not actual, power. Each segment was seen as having its own political structure and bureaucratic apparatus. Stein introduced this concept with some changes to early medieval Tamilnadu, and since then this has been hailed as the greatest contribution to the study of the state in south India. This is where the lack of acknowledgement of Karashima's work is glaring—most scholars in the social sciences are aware of only Stein's thesis. Does this

signify the triumph of ethnohistorical models?

The felicitous volume (Hall, 2001) in honour of Noboru Karashima is a welcome and timely tribute to his scholarship. Some of the contributors seem to have derived their methodology from Karashima's statistical analysis of inscriptions. Heitzman approaches the question of urbanization in Kāncipuram in the Chola period in this vein (chapter six). On the basis of the epigraphical records, he notes that given the complexities in agrarian structures initiated by the Pallavas even before the rise of the Cholas, the growth of individual landowning elite could be seen by the 10th century itself, who, either as individuals or as members of corporate groups, were donors to the many temples. Despite Kāncipuram's centrality in the cotton producing heartland and the presence of textile manufacture here, it did not become a centre of 'urban primacy'. It remained a 'hinterland' centre throughout the Chola period. Consequently, mercantile interests did not play a significant role in its development. The agrarian elite which remained the primary actors in the local economy, were coopted through a 'proto-bureaucratic structure', and remained as a 'stratum of intermediate lords', bargaining for titles and the services of a state that institutionalized modes of surplus extraction and distribution'.

Leslie Orr's (chapter nine) analysis of women donors in inscriptions from the Chola to the Vijayanagara periods is a welcome contribution to the history of gender as also the history of social formations, and in my assessment is the most original piece in this collection. Orr posits the decreasing visibility of women as individuals engaged in social displays of power and status in relation to the growth of complex state structures initiated by the middle Cholas. Women belonging to the royal family, while conspicuous before the first millennium AD, almost disappear from these public records by the end of the Vijayanagara period. Orr sees this as not indicating a shrinking space for women in the public sphere. On the contrary, she argues that the court literature and travellers' accounts actually portray a 'feminized' ritual and cultural milieu by the 17th century. Similarly, in the realm of religion 'feminine' spaces were created, both in the physical construction of goddess shrines within temple complexes and in the theological debates within Vaisnavism and Saivism. All of this demonstrates, in Orr's opinion, a clear demarcation between *Dharmasāstric* injunctions and the actual public roles played by women.

Y. Subbarayulu and Cynthia Talbot (chapters 10-11) focus on the *nāyaka* problem, which formed the basis for Karashima's classification of the 16th-17th centuries in south India as a feudal formation. While they agree with this categorization, both of them focus on the specific nature of *nāyaka* authority in Pudukkottai and Andhra respectively. Brian Murton (chapter 7) corroborates Karashima's views on the expansion of Chola power, by tracing the development of political linkages

between the Chola, and later the Pandya, kings and the local elite in the region termed 'Salem and Baramahal' in the British colonial records. He also traces the development of complex irrigation based agriculture in what was essentially a pastoral and dry crop region.

R. Champakalakshmi (chapter 4) analyses how the large, central *brahmadēyas* and temples designated as separate revenue units called the *tankūrul taniyūr*, mostly in the former Pallava territories (Tontaimantalam), acted as settlement integrators, much as the *valanādu* did in the Chola and Pandya core regions. As Karashima showed for the distribution of *brahmadēyas*, she demonstrates the existence of at least one *taniyūr* in each of the pastoral cum agrarian units (*kōttam*) in this region. Hall in two essays presents the interlocking of temporal power with sacral authority. The significance of Cidambaram as the home of the Chola patron deity, Siva, is traced from the early Chola period till the 13th century (chapter 5). Hall corroborates Karashima's contention that temple managements had superseded the powers of corporate groups such as the *nagaram*, by the 13th century. Thomas Trautmann's (chapter 8) discussion on cross-cousin marriages between the Chola royal line and other minor and major dynasties leads him to an interesting hypothesis on the development of a unique south Indian cultural system based on kinship and linguistic affinity.

Spencer and Karashima (chapters 2, 3) sum up the latter's contribution to the study of south Indian history. While Karashima emphasizes the importance of inscriptions as primary documents to study socio-economic transformations, Spencer focuses on the loose threads that such reliance would perforce leave behind. The criticism of Karashima by Shulman, *et al*, that mere quantification does not reveal the subtleties of political and cultural mappings is a substantive one (1992). However, whether court literature throws light on other aspects of social organization such as agrarian structure, trade organization or peasant-cultivator relations, which also mark the contours of politico-cultural structures, remains a doubtful proposition. In their respective papers, Orr and Hall have attempted to bridge this gap between studies of 'base' productive relations and 'superstructures' of teasing cultural symbols. ■

R. Mahalakshmi teaches ancient Indian history at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

References

- V. Narayana Rao, D. Shulman, and S. Subrahmanyam, *Symbols of Substance: Court and State in Nāyaka Period Tamilnadu*, OUP, 1992.
- R. Champakalakshmi, 'State and Economy: South India Circa A.D. 400-1300', in R. Thapar (ed.), *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, 1995.
- J. Heitzman, *Gifts of Power Lordship in an Early Indian State*, OUP, 1997.
- Joan Pau-Rubies, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance South India through European Eyes 1250-1625*, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Encapsulated History

Vidula Jayaswal

UNDERSTANDING HARAPPA CIVILIZATION IN THE GREATER INDUS VALLEY

By Shereen Ratnagar

Tulika, 2001, pp.168, Rs. 220.00

The slim well printed book under review is by a scholar who has a long experience of working on the archaeology of the bronze age. The quality of the publication and the academic content of this book, thus, complement each other. The theme of this monograph is divided into ten sections. Besides, Introduction and Bibliography, these are—Concepts and Parameters; Harappan Settlements; Neighbours and Trade Partners; Material Culture I: Communication, Public Economy; Material Culture II: Artistic Representation; Material Culture III: Urban Form and Architecture; Religion; Bronze Age Social Formation; Origins; and, the End of the Harappan Civilization. Since the author has intended this book for lay persons and students, technical details have been avoided. The presentation of the theme is, therefore, simple and capsuled. It is therefore, a historical account and the reconstruction of archaeological data, which is based on a series of hypotheses.

The background of the Harappa civilization is briefed in the Introduction, in which archaeological factors and the basic issues of the culture have been discussed. But, one misses mention of some basic questions, and their probable explanations in this book. For instance, it may be noted by readers, that both in time and space this culture appears to have existed for an unusually long period. The survival of 600-800 years ("about 2600 BC to about 2000-1800 BC") and the wide area of its occupation "between Makaran in the west and Haryana in the south" (p.13), are the factors which prompts one to seek answer to the obvious question as to what were the reasons for this unusual situation.

Some of the major aspects of the theme of this monograph have been presented well. Particularly the complexities of the urban society and composition of cities with multifarious activities, which have been enumerated in the section dealing with Concepts and Parameters. The archaeological data, for the drainage pattern of Mohanjodaro, one of the important Harappan cities, for instance, has been convincingly argued as the indication of an evolved public utility system of a society which had progressed to an evolved and complex level of economic and political systems. Similarly, the concept that, "the ancient city was also a political centre", has been supported by citing a number of archaeological findings, such as construction of fortification, craft production mechanism etc., and elaborating the mechanism for the exis-

rence and up keep of various factors of urbanism.

Though Ratnagar has succeeded in putting her hypotheses regarding the nature and makeup of cities quite forcefully, the process through which the urbanism of the third millennium developed is less convincing and vague. For instance, the initial stage identified by her is the tribal social structure, from which sprang the complex politico-urban structure of the Harappans. The acceptance of tribalism at the base, and the development from it, of an entirely different socio-economical format does not appear to be a logical deduction. For, the tribal tendency is invariably marked by isolating the basic patterns of the socio-economic structure from the otherwise changing technoculture milieu. One finds a strong resistance towards change of basic norms of the society. This tendency appears to be particularly distinct in the earlier times, when the mode and ways of interactions between different human groups were comparatively very slow and manual, in comparison to recent times. Contrary to this, in other situations, the human groups prefer to inhabit geographical areas which have the advantage for interaction with other groups and are easily accessible. Under these circumstances the exchange of ideas and technologies are remarkable and, therefore, the process of change in the structure of the cultures is rapid. It is this situation which helps societies to develop fast into complex politico-social and economic entities. Harappa Civilization is an illustrative example of the latter situation. It is therefore, difficult to comprehend that a cultural stage with tribal tendency, had grown into urbanism, as has been assumed by the author.

Stratification of Harappan findings, within five stages: the Earliest occupation of "Ravi" Culture (3300-2800 BC); the Early Harappan (2800-2600 BC); the Mature Harappan (2600-1900 BC); the Transition between the Mature and the Late Harappan (1900-800 BC); and the Late Harappan (1800 BC onwards), by Ratnagar, itself demonstrates a continuous growth of this civilization from the affluent agricultural villages to the urbanization. If this picture is further pushed back in time, archaeological findings evidence make up of the first stage of the Harappan Civilization, the pre-urban settlements of fourth and third millennium BC, over the infrastructure of the Neolithic stage. This early stage of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent is evidence that even though the subsistence of

the time was based on the incipient farming of barley and wheat, and the domestication of some species of animals, there was a close interaction of these farming communities with other parts of the world. Finding of traded items in this context is important. Trade though in a rudimentary stage was the mechanism which helped the give and take of technological knowhow between contemporary societies. It might have resulted in rapid growth in the economy of the involved communities. This mechanism might have helped the early farmers to acquire status of affluence and the settlements as surplus food producing centres. For the growth of urbanization such a scenario has been postulated by some archaeologists, which appears to be a more workable hypothesis than the one which suggests the growth of urban stage from the tribal socio-economic structure. It may be recalled that the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent was the most suitable geographical zone for the cultural interaction of the ancient times. Away from the nucleus region of the Harappa Civilization, contemporary to the Mature Harappan stage, one finds evidence for the survival of tribal groups in the peripheral regions of the extent of the Harappa Culture. Reference to the microlithic using hunting-gathering groups of Rajasthan and Gujarat are illustrative examples of this case. There are other such examples, like the pastoral communities of the Deccan and the early farmers of the Kashmir valley who were contemporary or later contemporary to the city dwellers of the Indus region. Comments and some discussion on such archaeological situations would have certainly enriched the content of the present publication, which otherwise is a welcome addition to the vast literature on the first urbanization of this part of the world. ■

Vidula Jayaswal is a Professor and Head, Department of Ancient Indian History of Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University. Primarily a field archaeologist, she has published more than fifty research papers and eleven books. Her noteworthy contributions to Stone Age archaeology are in the form of two research monographs on technology, one excavation report and three text books. Her other valuable publications are reports on terracotta, ethno-archaeological studies, discovery of quarry sites and workshop sites of Chunar and Varanasi, and the Gupta period temple-site of Bhitari.



'Vessels of All Sorts'

Lotika Varadarajan

BOATS OF BENGAL : EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PORTRAITS: ROBERT L.HARDGRAVE, JR.

By Balthazar Solvyns

Manohar Books, New Delhi, 2001, pp.134, Rs. 500.00

The Bengal described in the book is a riverine and estuarine geographical unit located off the Bay of Bengal, subjected to the same vagaries of wind and weather, tormented by the ever-recurring bore, as is the case in present times. Bengal is a gift of the river and its boats, therefore, hold out a perennial charm. Every change in the hydrographical characteristics of the river system has spawned its own variation in river craft. This has contributed to the remarkable diversity in boat typology to be found in West Bengal and Bangladesh. This diversity has attracted the attention of graphic artists of the Company School such as Solvyns, no less than of professional historians of boat architecture in modern times.

Robert L. Hardgrave has declared in the first page of the introduction that his major interest is in Balthazar Solvyns, the man and artist. The perspective is thus of the subjects painted rather than the context of how these were done. In other words, the emphasis is on the immediate themes of the paintings rather than on the exactitude of these works of art as subjects of documentation. Hardgrave nevertheless attempts to project Solvyns against the backdrop of the commercial activities of colonial India while being governed by the conventions of genre boat paintings of the Paris and Antwerp schools. However, to describe these works as constituents of the first "ethnographic survey" of India (p.5) appears to be somewhat exaggerated. At the same time, Solvyns did identify the differences in boat typology based on functional and hydrographical differences.

The work has emanated from an orientalist point of view and this has to be constantly kept in mind. Moreover, while the artistic merits of the painter can be accepted, his credentials as boat architect fall far short of the standards set by F.E. Paris in his magisterial work, *Essai Sur la Construction Navale des Peuples Extra- Européens construits par les habitants de l'Asie, de la Malaisie, du Grand Océan et de l'Amérique*, (published by order of the King under the auspices of Monsieur, the Minister of Marine), Arthus Bertrand, Libraire Paris, 1843. Unlike Paris who buttresses his graphics with meticulous line drawings, Solvyns adopts the artistic convention of showing one boat broadside in the centre while others may be depicted from other angles with additional adjuncts to provide different sets of perspectives. This raises the question of how a book in which the visual imagery is of the essence, can best be published. The format

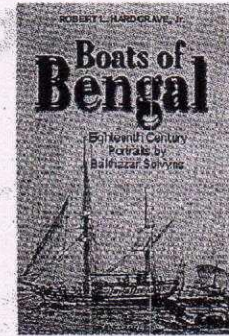
chosen for the publication is suited to the printed word but falls short as far as visual communication is concerned. The images are too small and it is difficult to follow technical details in depth. This is particularly relevant in the plates depicting the North-Western (chapter 1), the Filchera (chapter 3), Penang (chapter 13) and Doni (chapter 14).

The life of Balthazar Solvyns, born in Antwerp in 1760, the same city in which he was to die in 1824, is meticulously surveyed (pages 1-11), and all editions of his publications are recorded and compared. The subject matter of his paintings include "...servant, costumes, means of transportation (carts, palanquins and boats), modes of smoking, fakirs, musical instruments and festivals" (p. 3). The boats of Bengal are portrayed in two sections: Section VIII, "Pleasure Boats," and Section IX, "Boats and Vessels of Burden" (p.4). The original drawings of Solvyns, each accompanied by a hand written description, are housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The chapters appear to follow certain themes such as specific common typologies, non-Bengal themes woven together by linkages in trade and technical issues such as methods of manipulation and propulsion. In the first category are to be placed the Gudara, the Patua, Bangles, Ulak, the Saranga, the Balam and the Kosa to mention a few. The chapters entitled Penang, Pateli and Brig deal with non-Bengal themes while the Bajra, Hola, Bhur and Towboat may be mentioned keeping in mind the subject matter of the last category.

The Gudara (pp. 95-96) is described as a ferryboat. Today it is found in plenty in the Murshidabad area where it is called *gujara*. However, it is perplexing to find the same title Gudara repeated on page 21. Despite their functional utility, it is stated that those who can afford it, prefer to be ferried by a Pansi or a Dingi rather than the Gudara, also called Kheya. Although all these terms remain in usage today, social distinctions are no longer projected in terms of the type of boat used. The Patua, illustrated on page 43, depicts a hull which is very different from that found in the modern *patia*, also a reverse clinker boat of Orissa. The Patua, with a stern post rudder, is said to be unstable if the sea becomes rough. The contemporary *patia* with a well-defined keel is said to sit well on the waves and is steered by a steering oar. Moreover the *patia* is nailed not stapled as is suggested with regard to the Patua.

Bangles, described in pages 83 - 85, appear to belong to the generic category of ships



steered by a sternpost rudder with the *majhi* manipulating the rudder from a platform. The Ulak (pp.100-102) is a grain carrier. It would, hence, invite comparison with the contemporary *bhusi maler nauka*, which falls into the *bhār* category. The method of construction by stapling brings it within the predominant carpentry usage of West Bengal. The stone weighted anchor, shown in the illustration, draws the attention of the reader.

In view of the subject matter of the illustration of the Saranga on page 67, which includes a depiction of river pirates, *banbuieties*, along with a policing river traffic craft, *chaukys*, with the sails of a prospective prize appearing above the tree line, a clearer reproduction would have been very valuable. Although the memory of the Saranga persists in the Sundarbans region today, the craft itself has disappeared. The Balam (pp.92-94) is to be distinguished from the contemporary flat bottomed *balam* of district Medinipur, West Bengal. The fact that the planks are attached by rattan sewing to a dugout base suggests a localized origin rather than a South Indian one as is stated in the text. The shape of the steering mechanism as also its positioning towards the stern end is interesting. Steering is accomplished from a platform. The *kosa* (pp. 103-109) appears to cover several variants. The boat used by the Maghs could not have been completely flat bottomed. It is different from the North Bengal *kosa* of contemporary times. The author's note on the Maghs of Arakan arouses some interest.

A few boats described appear to be of European derivation. These include the Brig, which is a country made analogue of the European brigantine. This tradition of synthesizing native and European usages has continued into present times as is demonstrated in the carpentry of the *Kakdwip Trawler*. The Brigs are said to come from the Coromandel and Malabar coast to Calcutta bringing in local produce. One trip is made annually, the passage from Madras to Calcutta taking six days during the fair season but several months under adverse conditions. The sloop (pp.113-115) is a ship to shore boat again of European derivation. It is no longer extant.

The subjects covered also convey a sense of the geographical spread of the theme, "Boats of Bengal". The survey extends into Penang

thus impinging on the nautical universe of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Chapter 19, entitled Balasore Roads, again touches on the aspect of geographical spread. The text is incisive and clear and the author is obviously more at home in writing a critical assessment of European boat typology rather than engaging on a coverage of the native ones. The Pateli (pp. 86-89), described as boat of Bihar and Varanasi, is said to be clinker built, manipulated by a rudder. It is a rice carrying boat. It is no longer in existence in West Bengal.

In reading the coverage accorded to the Dhaka Palwar (pp. 107-109), it would appear that the Moyna *pauka* has been derived from this boat. The Hola (pp. 110-112) is no longer extant. Its mast appears to have had a tabernacle support system. The crossbeams pierce through outer skin. In present times this type of construction is said to provide a stronger hull.

The Bhur (pp. 118-120), a cargo boat, is synonymous with the *bhār* of modern times. Although Stavorinus (1768-71), who had a sharp eye for detail, says the planks of the hull were stapled, William Hodges describes them as being coir sewn. The model, in contemporary times, is stapled. The Towboat (pp. 116-117) appears to have been an analogue of the contemporary *chot*, which is also said to have performed the function of tugging into the early decades of the twentieth century.

Among the interesting usages recorded is that of "tracking", boats such as the Bajra, the Ulak and the Bhur, also being tracked as and when required. This usage is still in practice and has been documented in North Bengal. When going downstream the Bajra was poled, while when proceeding upstream, it was tracked, that is, pulled along by crew members walking on the shore. Details of how this was done by the crew dragging a line 80 to 100 yards in length, in relays, is described. It is stated that while the passage from Allahabad to Calcutta could take twenty days, the route

upstream could run into three months. If the trackers reached a creek, they would swim across dragging the boat along.

The description of the Grab (pp. 80-82), raises some pertinent aspects. The point is made about "Hindu" preference of *sal* over teak in boat building. The reason for this had little to do with community but was based on the fact that *sal* has an equal affinity both to water as well as to sunlight. It, therefore, lasted longer under Indian conditions when boats were regularly shored during the period of the South-west monsoon. However, the point that is overlooked is that the origin of *grab*, derived from *ghurab*, was from the Arab ship-of-war, with a ram, having the same appellation. There was no prototype for this on the sub-continent. The hybridization which had taken place after the arrival of the Europeans is of considerable interest as it could provide inputs to arrive at an understanding of the Maratha ships of war developed by Shivaji.

Among the details, which demonstrate the lifestyle of the ruling elite of the Raj, is one pertaining to the use of the Bajra. It is noted that several Bajra were grouped together, some even carrying horses and carriages. Also included were the more easily manoeuvrable *pansi* used to convey passengers to the shore. Among the food items taken are mentioned tamarind-fish, fish preserved by addition of tamarind. Bengal has a tradition of salt free sun drying of fish as in *sutki*. It is not clear if tamarind fish could have been a pickle.

While abstaining from adopting an excessively critical stance, a few deficiencies need to be pointed out. In the coverage of the Ita Dingi (pp. 123-124), the resemblance with the contemporary Balagarh *dingi* is very sharp. However, the description of the "Hindoo" method of construction is totally confusing and can be understood only by those who have seen how such crafts are actually constructed in present times. Similarly the Doni (pp. 60-62) is very difficult to identify on the basis of

the illustration provided on page 61. The model to the rear on the right appears to have a square stern rather like the *khoro kisti*, the Bengal straw carrier, or the shoe dhoni of the estuarine waters of the rivers Krishna and Godaveri. While the spelling of *Sundarbund* for *Sundarbans* in the text of Solvyns can be overlooked on page 68, a similar case cannot be made for the identical spelling being used in the commentary, on the same page. It is difficult to follow how *pil* (p. 22) can be transcribed as a Bengali term for elephant or how *morpankhi* can be translated as "peacock feathered". The term for feather is *pank* while *pankhi* would more aptly translate as 'bird'. While the Donga, described on pages 73-75, remains, in essence, unchanged to this day, the derivation of the term appears to be from the Santhali language rather than from "Hindustani" or Bengali.

The orientalist mindset is fetchingly captured in the last entry, 'Vessels Of All Sorts' (pp. 125-127). The illustration shows, much as in a Buddhist painting, how the major figures, in this case the European boats, tower above the fragile miniaturized indigenous vessels. Although the latter, characterized, as "Imperfect shippings", are well adapted to local climatic and hydrographical conditions, Solvyns proudly declares, "I have placed an European frigate, and a boat, as a sufficient proof of the superiority of our naval architecture, over that of the *Indian nations, and particularly the Hindoos*" (emphasis added). Can such splendid hyperbole be further improved?

Despite these criticisms the publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out this publication, which will surely generate a demand for access to the original material. This will engender valuable additions to the already rich bibliography cited in the book. ■

Lotika Varadarajan is Honorary Project Investigator, NISTADS, New Delhi.

A Poisoned Journey

Ravindra Karnena

AN AMBIGUOUS JOURNEY TO THE CITY, THE VILLAGE AND OTHER ODD RUINS OF THE SELF IN THE INDIAN IMAGINATION

By Ashis Nandy

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp., Rs.345.00 (Hard bound)

There is a seductive hue to the writings of Ashis Nandy that leaves very little space for finding a neutral ground, to put them in perspective. Nandy's disposition, in an elemental way, is that of a mythmaker. This allows him to define outside the canons of enlightenment rationality and keeps open for him the possibilities that are foreclosed for

other critics of oppression who defined themselves along with or against the entrenched truth regimes. Grounding himself on the conviction that "for those seeking liberation, history can some times be made to follow from myths", he ventured to probe the possibilities of inventing 'alternative universalities'. However, we know from Levi-

Strauss that, mythical thought is a kind of 'intellectual bricolage'; "it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is none the less limited"². It is this logic of similitude—where things that are not usually found together could be juxtaposed together—gives Nandy's work a dream-like quality, which makes it so captivating.

The trope of dream is just as central to any understanding of Nandy effect as his mythologizing intent. To dream is to possess a self. Like myths, in dreams too things could stand for and in relation to each other though not connected by an unbroken causative chain, giving free play to imagination. In a way, Nandy's work is an invitation to dream, with a therapeutic intent. In his method, the gap between dream and its analysis is sought to be obliterated. After all, Nandy's intention in

delving deep into the pasts of our collective selves is not the retrieval of any authentic self but to dream up a decolonized future for them.

The myth the present volume chooses to work with is that of journey. Its aim is to explore the character and consequences of 'homelessness' in our times. This meditation on journey starts by drawing a contrast between a pilgrimage in South Asia and a railway journey in the Victorian world; contemplative mode of an Indian mystic and a contemplative walk through a museum; a journey conceived as confrontation with self and that conceptualized as a frame through which others could be seen. It compares the imaginative splendours of the former with the colonizing temperament of the latter. According to him, in South Asia, journey is a "trope for growth, learning, unfolding of personal or collective experience, and for life itself..." (p.8) He draws on the depth of this trope to illuminate some aspects of the mythic journey between the village and the city around which important aspects of public consciousness in twentieth century India were organized. The territorial aspect of the journey between city and village does not interest him any more than the 'truth' of the city. His interest is the mythic status of both of them.

Nandy's indictment of what city stands for in contemporary South Asian imagination is almost as severe as the one he metes out for Victorian worldview. According to him, in our part of the world "dream of the city usually comes with a cultivated forgetfulness about the violent record of the last hundred years, a record which shows the complicity of the secular city of citizenship, civility and civic virtues with a particularly ruthless form of self indulgent, unrestrained, asocial individualism..." (p.viii) For him it is a perpetual reminder of a forsaken self. In this vision, a journey to or from this imaginary locale appears to be not so much an *ambiguous journey* as a *poisoned journey*; either way there appears to be very little possibility for the recovery of the lost self—a journey could only accentuate this painful realization. A range of lives, events and imaginations stand for this poisoned journey in Nandy's mythology, each of which is of course a journey in its own right.

For instance, the biographical sketch of Pramathesh Chandra Barua in the present volume narrates the personal and creative life of this pioneering Bengali filmmaker as playing double for each other in the public imagination, which is on the lookout for a mythical mooring to come to terms with 'loss of innocence and demise of a way of life' that came about with the arrival of nascent urban-industrial vision. In popular imagination, his life is closely identified with that of the hero he played in Bengali screen version of Saratchandra's *Devdas*. Journey of his life from

"the relatively self-contained world of traditional landed gentry to the world of modern, monetized, mass entertainment", (p.59) stands for a mythical journey to the city from a village that is doomed to end in a tragic death of a 'Prabasi' (uprooted), unnoticed by the city and not owned up by the village.

Nandy charts the course of the opposite journey from city to village by spinning together the life, convictions and films of Mrinal Sen. The choice of Mrinal Sen, who 'caters to a more exclusive audience in India and abroad', to represent this journey is perhaps meant to underline the fact that the *option* of undertaking this journey is limited to a very small constituency. This journey according to Nandy is a journey to the self. It progresses, as the "rigid psychological defenses...built around the ideas of civic virtues, individual creativity, and radical social criticism" start crumbling along the way. According to Nandy, in Sen's films—from *Bhuvan Shome* (1969) to *Kandhar* (1983)—we find an attempt to overcome the 'cultivated fear of nostalgia', which is at once a biographical contingency and a historical condition. With *Akaler Sandhane* (1980), Sen's journey was complete. In Nandy's reading, here Sen breaks the hermeneutic seals of his radical vision that works with polarities of oppressed and the oppressor and moves on to question the complicity of his own self—through its cognitive failure and spectatorship—in the sordid drama of exploitation and betrayal. *Kandhar* (Ruins) collapses this diachronic journey into a synchronic imagination by spinning an allegory around the theme of journey to the village. However, this film only brings home the truth of impossibility of any real or permanent return to the village or an unequivocal owning up of this rediscovered self. It is a journey poisoned with this knowledge. The thrust of Nandy's argument is of course elsewhere—for him owning up this self does not amount to any doomed romanticism but only an alternative form of realism.

Nandy knows that not all journeys could be talked about with the same ease as ones discussed above. He illustrates this point by exploring ways of breaking silence about partition violence. Holding that "History lies not by misrepresenting reality but by exiling emotions" (p.119), he ventures to explore the delirious journey from the 'poisoned village to a stranger city' and concludes that fearsome memories of villages exploding in violence during this time does not validate characterization of nostalgic invocation of village as a dangerous myth. For, villages may be contaminated by the poison but a city has it already within it. To the extent there is a possibility of restoring a moral universe at all, it is possible only in the memory of a village, since a village is "the ultimate prototype of Indian civilization and serves not merely as a critique of the city,



but also the anchor of virtually all traditional visions of a desirable lifestyle" (p.134).

Perhaps, this millenarian pastoral promise is as much responsible for the enchantment with Nandy's work as the more formal myth-making instincts at work in it. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether a critique of this pastoralism based on an ideological exposure of positing an absolute difference between 'the country and the city' would do. As Nandy himself observed, a purely professional critique of his work is not sufficient. One has to fight it by creating myths that are more convincing.³ A determined critic might retort that in pre-determining the mode in which it could be defied, Nandy's worldview is no less stifling than those it is trying to debunk. True it may be, but that is the strength of the position from which Nandy wages his arguments.

A more rewarding way of interrogating Nandy is to ask political questions about absences, exclusions and alternatives. For instance, why do caste and untouchability have such a marginal presence in his oeuvre in spite of it being so central to theory and practice of Hinduism and quotidian life of Indian village? By which parameters are the mythical journeys of *Karna* and *Arjuna* more appropriate than that of Ekalavya's—a journey of a marginal from wilderness to the city and back, as a journey that began with hope for opportunity and dignity and ended with humiliation, rejection and finally betrayal—as metaphors for a journey in the present day India? Are we so completely devoid of women who made heroic journeys in our times that men get to hegemonize all our mythical imagination? ... Only with these imaginings of alternative myths and journeys, Nandy could be contested; to that extent 'how' his myths work is as much a political question as 'what' they mean. Only the latter question has come to preoccupy most critical readings so far. ■

Ravindra Karnena is a Ph.D scholar in Sociology at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Reference

1. Ashis Nandy: *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*
2. Claude Levi-Strauss: *The Savage Mind*, (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966, p.17)
3. Nandy: *op.cit.*, p. xiii

A Historical Narrative

K.P. Shankaran

PSYCHOANALYSIS IN COLONIAL INDIA

By Christiane Hartnack

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp.243, Rs 495.00

The book under review *Psychoanalysis in Colonial India* by Christiane Hartnack is an expanded version of a rather interesting essay, which appeared in *Vishnu on Freud's Desk* edited by T.G. Vaidyanathan and Jeffrey J. Kripal. Hartnack's theoretical and methodological orientation, "rooted in a 1968 socialization in post German speaking world" implies, according to her, a certain commitment to Marx and Freud. While her attachment to Marx is easily discernible, her loyalty to Freud is less evident—in fact almost absent. The purpose of the book according to her "is to present information that is difficult to obtain, to integrate this scattered material into an argument and to contribute to an on going discussion". I should say that as far as her presentation of the historical material is concerned the book is interesting, perhaps even worth possessing. The problem is with the argument, which she employs to facilitate the easy flow of her historical narrative. According to Hartnack, psychoanalysis as envisaged by Freud is supposed to be a politically neutral and universally applicable science. Nevertheless, the psychoanalytic practice and writing in colonial India was so enmeshed within the socio-political climate of that time, that it hardly bore any resemblance to the 'science' conceived by Freud. After making this absolutely fascinating observation, she quickly abandons it and introduces the argument she wants to weave. A closer look at Freud's correspondences, she tells us, makes one suspicious of psychoanalysis's claim to neutrality.

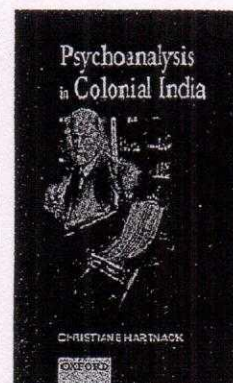
Psychoanalysis, as practised by a eurocentric discourse like Freud's, is both misogynistic as well as non-pluralist; but the Bhadrakolok admirers of Freud who formed The Psychoanalytic society of India in 1921 in Kolkatta practised a version of it which was neither misogynistic nor eurocentric. The Bhadrakolok psychoanalyst theoretician Bose did suggest a series of significant revisions to Freudian

I should say that as far as her presentation of the historical material is concerned the book is interesting, perhaps even worth possessing. The problem is with the argument, which she employs to facilitate the easy flow of her histori-

theory which if adopted would have saved psychoanalysis from its misogynistic and eurocentric orientation. She argues, then, that because of Freud's unwillingness to question European hegemonic attitude '(H)e thus missed the chance to learn from colleagues abroad" and hence failed to clarify the "dark aspect" of his own theory.

A dazzling argument of this magnitude requires an equally dazzling resource to back it up, and that is precisely what is missing in this book. In her enthusiasm to present the Badhrakolok psychoanalysts of Kolkatta in a better light than their colonial counterparts, Hartnack has in Part One of her book, painted the latter as too naive, perhaps even stupid, to merit serious attention. Her presentation of them may be historically accurate—however that is not the issue here. The fact of the matter is that such raw practitioners/theoreticians like Berkeley-Hill and C.D.Daly, whom she takes as exemplary, cannot be used to mount a serious attack on psychoanalytic discourse. As Hartnack's text makes it abundantly clear, neither Freud nor his immediate circle of professional associates took these men seriously. Take, for example, Berkeley-Hill, an Oxford educated psychoanalytic practitioner in colonial India who under the influence of Freud's Totem and Taboo wrote an article in which he seriously proposed a solution for achieving permanent reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims, a theme which was so close to Gandhi's heart. The cardinal feature of this solution is a ritual in which the cow, according to Berkeley-Hill the totem animal of Hindus, is to be killed and eaten by Hindus and Muslims in conclave. In yet another equally bizarre article Berkeley-Hill is said to have argued that because 73 out of a total of 186 patients in a Ranchi hospital were infected with syphilis, 75% of the Indian population suffered from the dreaded disease. Hartnack's argument requires, to say the least, a more credible candidate than this founder-member of Indian psychoanalytical society.

C.D.Daly is the other analyst Hartnack presents in order to suggest that psychoanalytic theory and practice as conceived by Freud is both eurocentric and misogynistic. Is he a more credible candidate than Berkeley-Hill? Daly was a patient of Ernest Jones and Freud before he launched himself as a psychoanalytic theoretician. This was usual: with the exception of Freud all other reputed analysts started their careers as patients. The problem is with Daly's thesis that the "dread of the sight and



makes the boy overcome his Oedipal desire." Even though Daly thought that he had in fact opened up a new era "for mankind and a change in the pattern of culture" by this discovery, Hartnack informs us that he was never accepted by the international psychoanalytical community. Hartnack's quotations from the letters Jones and Freud exchanged about Daly while he was their patient, in fact reveals more about the professional ethics of these men than about the weakness of Daly's intelligence. Let me quote from them without comment. Jones wrote to Freud on 25 January 1920 "I analysed him (Daly) for a few months...rather an ass easy to manage...." In reply to Jones's letter, Freud wrote on 8 February 1920 "you are providing well for my medical income. Capt. Daly has not arrived...As you describe him I am ready to earn money by his treatment but I spare my interest for other clever man, whom you announce coming first week of April" and less than two months after the therapy had begun Freud wrote a letter to Jones on 13 May 1920 that Daly "is a bore and an ass as you said. He is dissatisfied with my person".

In comparison to these two dismal men, the Badhrakolok psychoanalyst Girindrasekhar Bose, who appears in the second part of the book, looks considerably brighter, even charismatic. Hartnack spends considerable time in summarizing various opinions expressed by the members of Psychoanalytic Society of India. She makes it abundantly clear that some of the members of the Indian chapter of the international psychoanalytic movement, like Bose, were innovative and creative in their approach to Freudian theory and practice. Additionally, she takes pains to suggest that it was his eurocentric mindset that made Freud unwilling to revise his theory in the light of the conceptual innovations proposed by Bose. Nevertheless this remains an empty claim—for despite her persistent assertions she offers no evidence to support it.

Hartnack's argument, which is designed to facilitate the easy run of her historical narrative, appears to be grounded on a speculative foundation, which is simply undemonstrable. Despite that, her history of psychoanalysis in colonial India does retain its methodological integrity. ■

K.P. Shankaran teaches in St. Stephen's College,

State-of-the-art Essays

Nirja Gopal Jayal

POWER IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS : THEORIES, PRACTICES, GLOBALIZATIONS

Edited by Henri Goverde, Phillip G. Cerny, Mark Haugaard and Howard Lentner
Sage Publications, London, 2000, pp. 243, £ 16.99

Born of the deliberations of an International Political Science Association research committee, this volume brings together a collection of state-of-the-art essays, primarily by political scientists and political sociologists, on theories and practices of power, in the particular context of a globalizing world. As an object of political studies, the concept of power appeared to have gone out of fashion in the 1970s when, in their quite different ways, the writings of Steven Lukes and Michel Foucault assured us that the debate on power that had raged for almost three-quarters of a century was now conclusively settled. The essays in this volume, apart from rescuing the concept from the oblivion to which it had been consigned, not only engages with the knotty theoretical problems implicit in earlier theories, but also points to its renewed importance in the context of globalization.

It is, in fact, this context that explains the revival of scholarly interest in the concept of power. The recent literature on governance has drawn our attention to the emerging processes of the displacement and reconfiguration of power—till recently presumed to be concentrated in the state—and its dispersal among state as well as non-state actors (such as the market and civil society). A parallel process that has effected a vertical dispersal of power has been the multiplication in levels of governance from the local to the supranational and global. Politics within and beyond the nation-state have been perhaps irrevocably altered, suggesting the need for a new and contemporary look at questions of power and politics, though not devoid of older normative concerns.

An important contribution of this book is indeed the premise, elaborated in the general introduction, that while the normative and the empirical strands in political analysis may be distinct, they are nevertheless inseparable and intertwined. This engagement between the normative and the empirical is launched in the very first essay of the book by Gerhard Goehler, who proposes a distinction between transitive and intransitive forms of power. While transitive power is a zero-sum game, speaking to the subordination of A to B's will, intransitive power is self-referential, speaking "to the community itself, to the conditions for its possibility, to its constitution" (p.45).

Goehler identifies intransitive power with Foucault, Arendt and Bourdieu, to highlight its role in creating a common space of action. From a normative standpoint, therefore, political institutions possess legitimacy only when they correspond to intransitive power, and so to the fundamental value conceptions of citizens in society.

The essays by Mark Haugaard and Stuart Clegg highlight the relationship between power and knowledge. Suggesting that power should be seen as a scalar concept, Haugaard shows how power relations are neither entirely conflictual nor consensual, and can simultaneously be both, as with democracy, a prime example of conflictual interaction on a consensual base. If Foucault demonstrated to us the impossibility of escaping power, Haugaard shows us the impossibility of escaping structure, maintained and reproduced by actors' knowledge of social life, both when they are not aware of the relations of domination entailed by social structures (e.g., false consciousness) and when they are. The stability of asymmetries of power is facilitated by practical consciousness knowledge, and only when this is transformed into discursive consciousness do possibilities for interrogating received structures emerge. With Foucault as his point of departure, Clegg asserts that both government and resistance work through knowledge, and also suggests how discursive consciousness can shape resistance.

In the second part of the book, case-studies exemplify practices of power, in the context of relatively recent developments such as multilevel governance, the diffusion of power between public and private actors, and the new importance of non-governmental organizations. In doing so, the authors engage with the literature on decision-making processes—from the perception of an issue as something on which a choice needs to be made, through the identification of possibilities and the admission of the issue into the decision-making process, to the choice of one possibility and its implementation—which formed the core of many of the older debates on power. In the discussion of policy networks in decision-making, thus, we catch glimpses of the concerns that once animated the writings of Robert Dahl, C. Wright Mills, Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz. The concerns of the policy analyst prove to be quite compatible

An important contribution of this book is indeed the premise, elaborated in the general introduction, that while the normative and the empirical strands in political analysis may be distinct, they are nevertheless inseparable and intertwined.

with those of the political sociologist, who contextualizes these processes by reference to the processes of social change that contribute to the transformation of relations between institutions of the state, market and civil society. There remains, however, a need to integrate the concerns of the political theorist, for whom the democratic *quality* of the decision-making process, encompassing political equality, transparency, and accountability, is of normative consequence.

Bas Arts's essay subjects to scrutiny the common presumption of the power that NGOs wield on international environmental issues such as conventions on climate change and biodiversity. He finds that while global environmental NGOs may well be *influential* global players, they do not have a permanent ability to influence, and are certainly not yet *powerful* actors. The methodology used to arrive at this rather unremarkable conclusion is the curiously named EAR instrument (E stands for Ego perception; A for Alter perception; and R for Researcher's analysis). However, this methodology—and therefore its limitations—are ultimately traceable to the reputational method most famously employed by Floyd Hunter in his study of community power structure in Atlanta, and the decision-making methods of pluralists like Robert Dahl.

The third, and final, section of the book breaks decisively with academic nostalgia, and goes beyond practices of power within the nation-state, propelling the reader into the changing and challenging configurations of power in the rapidly globalizing world of the twenty-first century. Does the new transnational context of power significantly impact its nature and exercise within the nation-state? Erkki Berndtson argues that globalization is substantially about the Americanization of the world—not so much the power of the American state, as the effect of economic globalization spreading American *capitalism, ideology* and *culture* across the world. Even as this Americanization—with the dissolution of economic borders and the universalization of human rights that it entails—makes the world look increasingly like the insides of the nation-state, it lacks the legitimacy of intransitive power that characterizes that particular political universe.

A rather different picture emerges from the

essay by Philip Cerny, who contends that globalization has generated a disarticulation of power—its diffusion and diversification among a wider range of actors than the state—that suggests a “plurilateral” world that more closely resembles the messy webs of power that we associate with the Middle Ages than the post-Westphalian nation-state. The dense and multilayered set of suboptimal institutions of global governance, which enjoy overlapping jurisdictions, render the boundaries of territorial nation-states increasingly fluid. The nation-state, in turn, faces a “governance gap” that critically affects its capacity to make effective economic policy, especially of a redistributive nature. As such, it is very likely that soon nation-states would look and behave like states of the American union. The only hope Cerny offers us, in this rather dismal scenario, is history: the Middle Ages, he reminds us, did after all evolve into something that was more acceptable in normative terms!

In contrary vein, Howard Lentner pins his faith in the liberal state which, by virtue of its impeccable pedigree, remains strong and important, and is being further strengthened—rather than, as is commonly believed, weakened—by globalization. Because and to the extent that states are providers of security, identity and welfare, Lentner argues, they remain the locus of appeal by social groups that are disadvantaged by the relentless march of market forces. Even the emergence of international institutions facilitates cooperation in, for instance, controlling drug trafficking or piracy.

Quite apart from the range and variety of ideas that this volume affords, its single greatest virtue is the fact that—unlike most edited volumes—it provides a rare conversation across the book, as essayists writing about practices of power engage with the conceptualization of those who have written on the theoretical aspects of power. This dialogical dimension gives the volume a definite edge over most conference collections. ■

Niraja Gopal Jayal is Professor, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Subscribers Please Note

Those whose subscriptions are due may please send in their MO/DD/ Cheque immediately to ensure uninterrupted supply of the journal.

The Book Review Literary Trust
239, Vasant Enclave
New Delhi - 110057

Lived Reality And Feminist Discourse

Mrinalini Sebastian

WOMAN, BODY, DESIRE IN POST-COLONIAL INDIA: NARRATIVES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY

By Jyoti Puri

Routledge, New York, 1999, pp. 234, price not stated.

The question of relating itself to the various aspects of the ‘lived reality’ has been central to feminist discourse. Jyoti Puri’s *Woman, Body, Desire in Post-colonial India: Narratives of Gender and Sexuality*, tries to address this question by presenting the narratives of fifty-four ‘middle-class women’ about the various aspects of their lives and about their attempt to negotiate their self-definition, in the midst of a context that seems to be changing in many ways. The *Preface* makes it clear that the book, in some ways, is an attempt to understand the identities of the middle-class women “who came of age amid tensions of postcolonial Indian nationalism and whose bodies and identities are infused with its contradictions”.

The book is based on her interviews with these women of “similar background” which are then analysed from a “feminist, postcolonial” perspective. These fifty-four women are from the urban context (from Mumbai and New Delhi) belonging to different ethnic backgrounds. The method used is not simply that of interviewing people and then commenting on them. There is an elaborate introduction in the first chapter, where Puri positions herself as someone who shares the social background of these women. The author takes sufficient trouble to explain the context of the interviews, to clarify that these are their ‘narratives’ and even to explain the use of many of the terms that are often used in the following chapters. One such term that draws our attention is ‘middle-class women’. Although it often appears as if the author is using the term in an essentializing manner, her explanation is that it is a term that loosely describes a group of women “who self-identify as middle or upper-class.” Though the explanation by itself is not problematic, what gives rise to concern is her statement that she is “interested in what their self-definitions of social class say about how they may act as individuals who conduct themselves respectably and as representatives of Indianness”.

One wonders whether such a loose categorization of ‘middle-class women’, can lead to any specific generalization regarding the class itself. Puri is careful to point out that there are contradictions within their narratives that shape their identities. She is careful not to draw any easy generalization from these interviews. Nor is this a mediation in the actual process of narration. Yet we must say

that these narratives are held together by certain assumptions about the “prevailing wisdom of much of the literature that deals with aspects of gender and sexuality in contemporary, post-colonial India.” The assumptions are that literature that is available in India does not question the “premise of Indian culture” and that it “implicitly reinforces categories of womanhood, gender, and sexuality.” Such assumptions, as well as the keen interest with which the notion of the ‘transnational’ is pursued in the book, make it clear to us that in spite of a methodology that includes the researcher in the category that is examined, the varied and diverse scholarship that is available in India on the feminist question are not available to such a study.

This does not mean that the interviews by themselves are not interesting. They are fascinating in their ability to capture those moments that are crucial in the shaping of their identity as the gendered subjects. They are valuable for the range of issues on which these women have been able to speak. From menarche to sexual harassment, from marriage to childbirth, every decisive moment in the life of a woman has been captured in these narratives. The strength of the book lies in this documentation of the autobiographical narratives, which not only provide the context for the articulations of the author, but also are important by themselves as the attempt of the women to ‘narrate’ their own identities.

These interviews are spread over four chapters: Chapter Three deals with the narratives on menarche and menstruation, Chapter Four on the accounts of sexual aggression, Chapter Five on the heterosexual desire and Chapter Six on marriage and motherhood. In my opinion, the most significant chapter in the book is Chapter Two, titled “Sex, Sexuality, and the Nation-State,” which examines the diverse discourses on gender and sexuality. In this chapter Puri concentrates on the state-sponsored sex education materials and shows how these materials reveal the “state’s ability to articulate hegemonic, normalizing, and regulating codes of gender and sexuality.” She also points out that this hegemonic discourse is affirmed and at times repudiated by the women to whom she spoke. Puri observes that such state-sponsored material operates on the basis of the assumption that there is a “generally accepted and unique national culture” and tries to

.....the most significant chapter in the book is Chapter Two, titled "Sex, Sexuality, and the Nation-State," which examines the diverse discourses on gender and sexuality.

produce a normalizing effect. Moreover, such texts also try to encompass the oppositions of modernity by trying to rely on certain other perspectives which are named "transnational" by her. Though many of these texts try to give "modern and scientific" explanations to queries on sex and sexuality, they operate within the parameters heterosexuality and the unequal relationship between the genders. Thus they succeed in affirming the already existing notions about controlling and normalizing the female body.

Another important aspect of the narratives which can also be found in the various sex education materials, is the notion of 'respectability'. Puri shows how the narratives of these women contradict some of the more widespread understanding of the female body, and, at the same time, she also draws our attention to the repeated reference to 'respectability' in these narratives. Puri rightly points out how the notion of 'respectable and normal' sex within these narratives, as well as state-sponsored discourse on sexuality, automatically refers only to heterosexuality. It is through such state-sponsored as well as scientific discourse, through a discourse that can be considered 'liberal', that social regulation of sexuality is achieved. Even in such matters as menarche and menopause, where the former attitude has been characterized by "myths, superstitions, and ignorance", the contemporary tendency to uphold scientific knowledge and the discourse on personal hygiene have not questioned the manner in which the daily lives of these women have been shaped by notions of 'normalcy'.

Certain notions of femininity, of respectability and male sexuality seem to have shaped the reaction of these women to questions of sexual harassment and aggression. In this context, Puri finds that other 'popular' literature, rather than state-sponsored texts are more articulate about these issues. She also points out how these have been important concerns even for feminist activism. The normative discourses on sexuality seem to be represented very well when these women interviewed by the author talk about premarital and marital sexual activity. The most important revelation for the author in the context of her conversation about the sexual desire is the ease with which sexuality is equated with heterosexuality. These narratives reveal to the author how "heteronormativity is inextricable from nationalisms and how the premise of heterosexuality is sustained through

discourses of what is socially/sexually respectable". At least within the loose category that Jyoti Puri has presented to us, there seem to be a greater sexual choice available to the women, contrary to the general notion that such a choice is available only to men. Eroticization of the marital relationship with the occasional use of pornography for sustaining such a relationship seems to be perfectly acceptable if it is within the parameters of respectable heterosexuality. Many of these women use marriage and motherhood to consolidate their own position within the family.

The author contends that while the normative nature of the various discourses associated with gender have been theorized, the normative aspects of sexuality are only gradually being analysed. Puri specifies that the discourse on the 'deviant' forms of sexuality often show the impact of transnational discourse and also has a tendency towards an urban bias. While referring to the different trajectories taken by the lesbian and gay movements within India and under the banner of 'South Asia', she points out that even the field of discourse around homosexuality, contradictory approaches are visible. While some of them reclaim a history for homoeroticism by digging into the past, and into the ancient texts, and thereby privilege tradition, there are a few who use the past narratives to implicate a tradition which has been normative in nature. Yet Puri is careful to point out that in the context of "dismissive and homophobic attitudes" in our contemporary society, "the recovery of a deep historical cultural tradition that avowed homosexuality is an effective political strategy". In spite of such a claim, the author sees the identity politics of gay and lesbian organizations in India as well as South Asia as something that can be considered a transnational movement. The effort of the organizations like 'Trikone' to establish transnational alliances, even as they are inspired by a transnational discourse on sexuality, is seen as an effort to provide counternarratives "not only to sexuality but also to nationalisms and transnational cultural discourses".

To conclude her discussion of narratives— hegemonic as well as oppositional, national as well as transnational, heteronormative as well as queer—Jyoti Puri chooses to give the example of the film *Fire* by Deepa Mehta. In her view, the film shows how a transnational concept such as feminism or lesbianism can be used in a non-prescriptive manner—in a manner that does not try to 'normalise and contain' such discourses. It is its ability to open up "possibilities" for transnational categories that differentiates this narrative from other narratives. Note 5 to Chapter Eight indicates that the violent reactions to the screening of the film *Fire* must have taken place after the Chapter on the film was written by Puri and it would be unfair to hold her responsible for not

including the debates that took place among the Indian feminists wherein certain clear positions were taken regarding the representation of lesbianism in the film as well as the reaction of right-wing politics. Yet the very fact that the film was chosen by many Indian feminists to problematize the representation of female sexuality suggests that in spite of the shared similarities in the interviewed and the interviewer, the politics of location—spatial as well as ideological—can make a difference to how things are perceived.

Perhaps to invoke location at this juncture also amounts to pointing out the unfortunate assumptions that underline the arguments in an otherwise well written and interesting book. It is true that the narratives of these fifty-four women about their daily lives, about events like menarche, menstruation, sexual desire and their notion of sexual respectability, question many of our preconceived ideas about these issues. It is also true that these often silent subjects of feminist discourse can only be given voice by changing the method of feminist enquiry. One agrees with the author that the narratives of these women make it clear to us that "the sexed body presents a fundamental means through which these women are subjected to hegemonic codes at crucial points in their lives." What is problematic is, however, the suggestion that these narratives "also fill in the gaps in critical feminist scholarship that is focussed on literary and abstract textual analyses." Feminist scholarship in India has many gaps, no doubt. But it has never been solely focussed on "literary and abstract textual analysis". To say the least, feminist discourse in India has, from the beginning shown signs of moving away from these areas into the area of film studies, analysis of law, of reconstructing alternative histories, of problematizing both the nationalist and transnationalist hegemonic discourses. A concerted effort to dialogue with these less transnational interventions would have helped Puri to see that terms like transnational, middle-class and sexuality have to be constantly viewed under the lived context where class, caste and religious identities give rise to contradictory and conflictual spaces, even within a loose category such as middle-class, urban women.

In spite of this inadequate representation of feminist scholarship in the Indian context, the dream of transnational alliance of 'democratic feminism' appeals to all of us. It is such an inviting dream and it is the recognition that discourses—national as well as transnational—have a way of being incorporated, modified and at times contradicted in the narratives of women, which makes Puri's contribution valuable. ■

Mrinalini Sebastian teaches English to post-graduate students at Sheshadripuram College, Bangalore, and is the author of *The Enterprise of Reading Differently: Novels of Shashi Deshpande in Postcolonial Arguments*, (Prestige, 2000).

Stereotyped Constructs Challenged

N.B.E. Bharathi

GENDER, RELIGION, AND "HEATHEN LANDS":
AMERICAN MISSIONARY WOMEN IN SOUTH ASIA (1860s-1940s)

By Maina Chawla Singh

Garland Publishing, New York, 2000, pp. ix+393, price not stated.

When the academic community is geared towards exploring the past from a post-colonial intellectual inquiry and Christian philanthropy and institutional endeavours are viewed as sites of proselytization, Maina Chawla Singh's book *Gender, Religion, and "Heathen Lands: American Missionary Women in South Asia (1860s-1940s)* is a venture into the untrodden avenues of research in terms of sources methodology. Intrigued by the contradiction of reality and theory, in other words, her own post-colonial theoretical understanding of race, power, domination, oppression and her own observation of contrary experiences, led her to ask the question "were attempts to theorize, in fact, gestures of containment from which such experiences slip?" This in turn opened up the diverse trajectories and contexts on the issue of gender and religion in South Asia, "Heathen Lands," which was hemmed into the period 1860s-1940s to understand the work of the women missionaries and their influence on the Indian elite women who were the products of their institutions.

The distinctiveness of the book lies in stretching the rhetoric into the present and viewing the continuities of the culture or the institutional cultural ethos of the alma mater into the lifestyles of the individuals. The cultural ethos were diffused into the society through the alumnae where the values were so internalized that they became spontaneous manifestations through their involvement in the social and philanthropic activities of these women. Thus, it reveals how women's history is not only a dialogue of the past with the present but also an interrogation of the experiences in the living present with the continuing past.

By confining the work of these single women missionaries only to the institutional ambience and culture and viewing them as creators of an elitist group of women, the author seems to have downplayed the larger impact they had exerted on the lives of common women and also the role of education and medicine on the society at large.

The book is divided into two parts with a detailed endnote apparatus, appendices and a clear introduction. The note on the sources as well as the language and situating the work in the ongoing scholarship with pathbreaking

methodological innovations sets the tone for the reader. The monograph not only challenges and deconstructs the conventional and traditional understandings of missionary endeavours but also extends the parameters of feminist historical research.

The first part is grounded on a broader canvass of missionary enterprise of North American missions in South Asia from its inception to the mushrooming of mission boards, the changing policies of these sending bodies according to the perceived need as well as the assertive activities of women leading to the establishment of women missionary societies and the sending of single women missionaries. Emphasizing how the construction of the 'Other' became the motive and justification for the entire enterprise, she posits how the 'victim' 'rescue' rhetoric also challenged, shaped and remapped the female agency in the sending culture as well as the receiving one. Divulging how this rhetoric was sustained through the agency of missionary literature which also became the inlet through which the 'knowledge' of the 'Other' was transmitted, she sees how it became a means in bringing the needed manpower, morale and money to the mission. However, the shift in the 'socio-political matrix' of the receiving culture not only altered the discourse but also set the tone for alternative perceptions and practices. Thus, this section takes us from the women's work of an invisible missionary wife's role to the autonomous independent single women missionaries in Part II.

In Part II the author shifts the focus from the generalized to the specific and chronologically to a later period. Analysing the missionary work against the backdrop of the reform movements, national movement and the changing socio-political scenario in the receiving culture, she traces the concomitant changes that came about in the general missionary strategies and discourse of the 'Other'. Picking up on these shifting paradigms of missionary discourse, she moves on to the work of single women missionaries in the field of higher education and medicine. She takes the case studies of Isobella Thoburn, Ida Scudder and the premier institutions of higher education they established. Taking the narratives of the alumnae of these institutions, she extends the discourse into the present, thus enabling the voices of the past to be heard in

The distinctiveness of the book lies in stretching the rhetoric into the present and viewing the continuities of the culture or the institutional cultural ethos of the alma mater into the lifestyles of the individuals.

and through the living present.

The heart of the book is the personal touch as well as making the "living voices" speak out their experiences leading to the counter perceptions of the traditional colonial/missionary discourse.

The first chapter sets the broader framework for the entire book. Setting the context of the emergence of mission boards in North America, she sets forth the various contexts the missionaries had to tramp in the initial stages of their endeavour. While contesting with the colonial authorities on the one hand and subscribing to their "racial othering" of the receiving culture on the other hand, the missionaries carved their own spaces not only in terms of territoriality but also regarding their construction of the 'Other', their own work ethic, strategies, and justifications. They also established educational institutions and hospitals wading through local resistance for female education as well as western medicine.

In the second chapter, 'Biblical Helpmate and Evangelical Worker: The Missionary wife', the author graphically portrays the life of the missionary wives, the risks they had to take, the sacrifices they made, the duties they had to fulfill and the expectations they had to reach in an alien culture and an alien land. Positioning them between the male missionaries and single women missionaries, she draws out how they were marginalized in spite of undergoing a comparatively higher strain in their multifaceted roles of being their husbands' assistants in all the missionary roles they performed, taking up the stress of maintaining the expected model Christian home and outliving the tragedies of personal loss of children, the trauma of displacement, isolation and cross cultural adjustment. They were not only unpaid workers, whose identity was subsumed into that of their husbands, but also did not even figure in the reports as workers, thereby rendering them even invisible. While interrogating this subordination of wives in mission patriarchies, she presents how in negotiating through these sites of responsibilities of authority, counter (opposing) perceptions emerged. While they were 'liberated from some of the gender hierarchies within their own patriarchies,' they also perceived 'the indigenous worker or the racial Other' as non-trustworthy and inherently unable.

In the chapter "Darkness", "Disease", the

Zenana and the "Heathen Woman": Constructing Discourses and Saving Souls', Chawla Singh argues that "it was the subjectivity of the "oppressed" Asian woman, her modes of living and dress, which constituted the terrain on which missionary women's discourses of philanthropy, redemption, and inevitably power were situated." The rhetoric of the grim description of the 'Heathen women' and all that is non-Christian aided not only in the construction of the 'Other' in terms of "darkness" "uncivilized" "degraded, secluded, and helpless" etc., but also in the construction of the self as "Crusaders", "Redeemers", and "Harbingers of light". The author shows how the women missionaries failed to view the culture of the people, their dress, festivals, living conditions (Zenanas), even their personality traits and leisure from the perspective of the disparate culture. Their discourses were value loaded judgements, from a 'Christian' and European notions of morality. However, this does not seem to be equally applied to all sections in the society for the language was less value loaded while describing royalty, the local elite and upper classes.

While this description served as a powerful justification for female agency in a male controlled missionary project, it also furthered the cause of establishing women missionary societies to send single women to mission fields and facilitated a power variation in the existing male domains of power in the missionary and church organizations. Thus Singh observes, "Faith and piety, associated traditionally with women, were in effect appropriated by them and brought from the domestic/private sphere into the public world... The gospel aimed at "saving" the "heathen woman", thus became a liberating force for missionary women themselves, offering spaces for feminist articulation and legitimizing what were essentially radical moves in challenging established sex roles."

Locating the socio-political changes in the later decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, female education, female higher education became the central concern both for reformers and missionaries, which eventually got linked with national politics. Singh perceives that the shift in the missionary discourse from 'rescue' to 'emancipation' also altered the aim of missions to indigenization and as part of it higher education in the liberal arts and medicine. Interdenominational cooperation became the facilitating strategy in realizing the above aim. Thus by the early decades of the twentieth century Christian colleges, later women's colleges, were founded mostly upgrading their schools.

In the chapter 'Feminists, Philanthropists, Matriarchs, and Managers: The Single Women Missionaries', Singh observes how these women, who became professionals in the field of medicine and education, defied the 'socially accepted stereotypes of womanhood in their

parent societies' and missionary communities and carved their own niches within the parent and the receiving cultures. Taking the example of different individuals, who were pioneers in the field of education and medicine, Singh observes certain commonalities in their approach, aim and attitudes. For her, they were more assertive, more adaptable, more approachable and more appreciative of the local culture. All strove to create an institutional culture based on value education.

Dealing at length in two separate chapters, she draws how character building and imparting of values were the major goals of these institutions. Kinship ties, personal integrity, dedication and commitment to their professions, community service, social responsibility and institutional loyalty were some of the common values imparted within the cultural ambience created by them. Singh crowns their endeavours by tracing the continuity of the values and kinship ties in the living example of individuals who were the alumnae of some of these institutions. Triggered by the narratives about missionaries by her mother, Singh ultimately brought in the lives of the "Indian daughters" as a test case for the work of the missionaries. In her interview with these "Golden Oaks" Singh observes that all her respondents exuded a high level of self confidence, many by opting to live independently even in this old age. "None of them felt that Christianity had been aggressively projected, nor did they remember feeling defensive about their own faiths." Rather they felt in general, the influence of religion was positive and "made us thinking people". She also says, "All my respondents acknowledged being shaped by higher education in general, and by the culture of the institutions in particular. Yet the world of the college, for all its insulation from the world outside, did not seem to have marked them with any sense of psychological disruption or alienation from their natal culture." Thus, she concludes, "As a group, my respondents challenge both historical and contemporary stereotypical constructions of South Asian women as "victims" of "repressive" cultural practices. Their life-styles manifest agency. In that agency they defy assumptions of dependency which emerge from discourses that tend to homogenize South Asian women across the social, regional, and class diversities that determine their locations and characterize their lives."

The cross cultural as well as the interdisciplinary approach not only adds strength to the work but classes it as a book apart. As a monograph, it transcends the discipline of feminist historical scholarship into the disciplines of gender, religion, culture studies and colonialism. ■

N.B.E. Bharathi is a Lecturer in History of Christianity, Academy of Integrated Christian Studies, Aizawl.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS FROM MANOHAR

RSS'S TRYST WITH DESTINY
From Hedgewar to Sudarshan
Pralay Kanungo
81-7304-398-1, 2002, 314p. Rs. 625

PAKISTAN
Nationalism without a Nation?
Christophe Jaffrelot
81-7304-407-4, 2002, 352p. Rs. 650

PANGS OF PARTITION
The Parting of Ways (Volume I)
S. Settar and Indira B. Gupta
81-7304-306-X, 2002, 368p. Rs. 700

PANGS OF PARTITION
The Human Dimension (Volume II)
S. Settar and Indira B. Gupta
81-7304-307-8, 2002, 358p. Rs. 700

PORTUGUESE COCHIN AND THE MARITIME
TRADE OF INDIA 1500-1663
Pius Malekandathil
81-7304-406-6, 2002, 324p. Rs. 650

TRADE AND TRADERS IN
EARLY INDIAN SOCIETY
Ranabir Chakravarti
81-7304-313-2, 2002, 262p. Rs. 500

KARGIL: BLOOD ON THE SNOW
Tactical Victory: Strategic Failure
A Critical Analysis of the War
Maj. Gen. Ashok Kalyan Verma
81-7304-411-2, 2002, 227p. Rs. 475

THE EUROPEAN REPUBLIC
Michel Foucher
81-7304-430-9, 2002, 151p. Rs. 525

WOMEN'S IMAGES MEN'S IMAGINATION
Female Characters in Bengali Fiction in
Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century
Banani Mukhia
81-7304-410-4, 2002, 167p. Rs. 325

PERSPECTIVES ON INDIAN SOCIETY
AND HISTORY
A Critique
Hetukar Jha
81-7304-422-8, 2001, 126p. Rs. 250

SECURITY AND GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH ASIA
P.R. Chari (ed)
81-7304-438-4, 2001, 197p. Rs. 360

TRUMPETS AND TUMULTS
The Memoirs of a Peacekeeper
Major General Indarjit Rikhye
81-7304-409-0, 2001, 256p. Rs. 500

TOWARDS HUNGER FREE INDIA
Agenda and Imperatives
M.D. Asthana and Pedro Medrano (eds)
81-7304-437-6, 2001, 592p. Rs. 895

THE PANDIT
Traditional Scholarship in India
Axel Michaels (ed)
81-7304-435-X, 2001, 265p. Rs. 550

MODERN HARYANA
History and Culture
K.C. Yadav
81-7304-371-X, 2001, 320p. Rs. 600

AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF INDIA
A Symposium
Louis A. Jacob (ed.)
81-7304-408-2, 2001, 189p. Rs. 400

BENGAL: RETHINKING HISTORY
Essays on Historiography
Sekhar Bandyopadhyay (ed)
81-7304-400-7, 2001, 326p. Rs. 650

POLITICAL ISLAM IN
THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
The Jamaat-i-Islami
Frederic Grare
81-7304-404-X, 2001, 134p. Rs. 200

THE SIMLA AGREEMENT 1972
Its Wasted Promise
P.R. Chari and Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema
81-7304-405-8, 2001, 218p. Rs. 390

MANOHAR PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS
4753/23, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002
Phones: 328 9100, 326 2796, 328 4848, 326 0774
Fax: (11) 326 5162 email: manbooks@vsnl.com

Inter-State Relations

K.K.S. Rana

PROTRACTED CONTEST: SINO-INDIAN RIVALRY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By John W. Garver

Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, (Reprinted by arrangement with the University of Washington Press), pp. xiv+447, Rs. 595.00



The opening line and paragraph in a book or article usually sets out the frame within which the work is sketched. By the same token, the concluding section sums up the essential message advanced by the author. John W. Garver commences his massive study with a flourish: "Two of the most brilliant civilizations yet produced by humanity, those of China and India, lie side by side on the continent of Eurasia." (Not Asia?) Garver's final words in the book are less obvious and more questionable: "Unless India is able to alter its lackluster development record and work out a skilled and confident program of employing Indian national capabilities in the South Asian region, India could well conclude that the prudent way to enhance its security is to assume a role as a junior partner to an emerging Chinese superpower." The author justifies this conclusion with a final chapter that addresses the likely developments in the five-decade-old rivalry between the two states. Garver's credentials are impeccable. He has devoted many years to the book. The impressive list of scholars and public figures from China, India and elsewhere listed in his Acknowledgements bears testimony to the breadth of his contacts. The citations are no less complete, besides the access the author has enjoyed to original Chinese language material, plus his interviews with a good number of Chinese personalities familiar with the issues (and some of the Indian actors as well).

For all this the work is flawed on several counts. The author's principal conclusion cited above exemplifies his failure to understand the Indian mind. But before getting into that theme it is useful to underscore and applaud the positive achievements of the book.

One, such a work of scholarship is timely, when attention towards comparative study of India and China is growing. One hopes that Garver's effort will encourage others to delve into the new source material available and to reexamine previous concepts, assumptions and conclusions. The new Chinese material—official documents, personal memoirs and studies by scholars—contrasts strangely with the near-total inaccessibility of Indian documentation. Isn't India supposed to be the more open society? There is sadly no sign that Indian archives will be opened anytime soon. Consequently Garver can hardly be blamed for

going off the track in some places when he relies exclusively on Chinese sources. There are fine nuggets of information, like the revelation that in the midst of publication of a vast amount of historical material, Chinese sources are "remarkably silent" on the Chinese strategy before and during the 1965 India-Pakistan War, which suggests to him that there are aspects that are "potentially embarrassing". Might it be that this lingering reticence is connected with misjudgments by Chairman Mao, during a time now identified as the pre-Cultural Revolution phase?

Two, Garver's narration of the contours of India-China differences is exhaustive. He is right in treating Tibet as the prime element in China's confrontation with India. He offers a sweeping and concise overview of the evolution of events on the high Himalayan plateau, and its cardinal importance in the Chinese "national narrative". One might conclude that it is the need to fit analysis to his geopolitics-determined conclusion that leads the author astray in some assertions, like one to the effect that Tibet is "an issue in domestic Indian politics". Stated so baldly, hardly anyone would agree that this describes accurately the situation either in the past or at present. Garver sheds new light on Chinese motivation in a detailed analysis of the geographic, climatic and strategic factors that made the Sinkiang-Tibet road through Aksai Chin so vital for China. But he over-theorizes in declaring that it was shrewd understanding of the value of this road as a lever against the Chinese in Tibet that led Nehru to focus so much on this aspect of the border dispute. The simple fact is that the road, built without its knowledge, became the most visible symbol of transgression of the border as India saw the situation.

Three, Garver's analysis of the tangled triangular relationship of the two states with Pakistan is exhaustive, as his depiction of the manner in which Beijing and New Delhi have projected themselves on the canvas of the developing, Non-Aligned and Afro-Asian states. His conclusion is apt that Pakistan is "India's albatross" in its "struggle for global equivalence with China".

Four, Garver offers a balanced and thorough account of the nuclear disarmament debate as it has affected the two countries, and notes that India's response to non-proliferation

in the 1990s was similar to that of China some 30 years earlier. He adds that it "may well have to pay a similar price to establish its nuclear fait accompli". Such a conclusion overlooks the changed context of our times. For a scholar looking to the twists in the evolution of the relations of Burma/Myanmar vis-à-vis its two giant neighbours; or to the issues of maritime power in the Indian Ocean region, Garver offers authoritative material.

Let me turn to the areas where the book disappoints, with the observation that it is unrealistic to develop a comparative account of inter-state relations that is couched almost exclusively in terms of geo-politics and a clash of political ambition, without bringing into the analysis economic and other dimensions of the bilateral relationship. After declaring that foreign trade plays a vital and expanding role in China and India (this is true only in part, because as Garver notes, foreign trade to GDP ratio is 30% for China but and only 9% for India, as yet), Garver overlooks the bilateral economic relationship. He fails to note that annual two-way trade, a mere \$100 to 150 million before 1990, has grown dramatically in the past ten years, reaching \$2 billion in 2000, and \$3.5 billion in 2001. Garver limits his statistics to 1996, on the plea that more recent data is not available. This is unfortunate for a book published in 2001, when in fact data is not a serious issue. In the process Garver overlooks the arrival of Chinese consumer durables in India — color TVs, washing machines and refrigerators — and the remarkable invasion of cheap and innovative toys and other mass consumer products. It has led to demands from Indian industry for protection (plus a number of anti-dumping investigations), yet India has welcomed the entry of China into WTO. Then there is also the increasing flow of Indian investments in China, as also Chinese FDI into India, plus the arrival of hundreds of Indian expatriates across China, (mostly working for MNCs), and new linkages in the software and electronics industry. There are also the collaborations in science and technology, education and economic organization (e.g. Indian stock exchanges are being used as a model in China), which add up to actual and potential "virtuous circles" for relationship consolidation. All this is missing from Garver's study.

The book's arch-stone, the final chapter

that deals with the future relationship, posits two possible outcomes: "One, China could agree that South Asia is India's security zone and sphere of influence and desist from actions there which are objectionable to New Delhi. Two, India could accommodate itself to a seemingly inexorable growth of China's politico-military role...and (this) could possibly evolve towards Indian acceptance of Chinese preeminence in that region." This is an over-simplification. What about a third, and far more likely outcome, that the situation remains fluid, even undetermined; it will evolve in consonance with many elements, including the resources and capacity of each of the two, their interconnections with the great powers, and the evolution in Pakistan. In any event does Garver really believe that brilliant civilizational states would accept the kind of voluntary sovereign power limitation, or

acquiesce in junior partnership, set out in either of his postulations?

Today's international arena resembles a three and four-dimensional chessboard. Uni-superpower domination, vividly demonstrated recently in the wake of September 11, coexists with polycentrism, latent and real. It is hazardous to view India and China in a two-dimensional fashion. There is also a problem with the exponential growth projection implicit in Garver's approach. One is reminded that Japan too was seen in such a way at the end of the 1980s when futurists saw it set to overtake the US by 2000.

Garver omits to take account of the threat perceived by China from the development of Pak-backed Taliban, and the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan. This factor, and its possible impact on China's own Muslim minorities in border provinces, has been

relevant to the measured approach that China now adopts in South Asia.

There are other distortions. Garver mentions the Kissinger thesis that in December 1971 after the Pakistan forces surrendered in Dacca, the US acted to prevent Indira Gandhi from prolonging the war against West Pakistan. But he omits to note that not a shred of evidence has been found to support the notion that India had any objective beyond the liberation of Bangladesh.

In summary, this is a work of scholarship that goes astray on some fundamentals. One hopes that if it is going to become a standard textbook, as one of the blurbs on the book-jacket predicts, that other works offering more balanced analysis will follow it. ■

K.K.S. Rana, a retired member of the Indian Foreign Service, has served in China in the nineteen seventies.

Subhas Chandra Bose: Axis Collaborator?

Kaushik Roy

THE SIGN OF THE TIGER: SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS INDIAN LEGION IN GERMANY, 1941-45

By Rudolf Hartog

Rupa, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 206, Rs. 395.00

How to explain the tortuous historical 'event' of 1947 in the subcontinent? On the one hand imperialist historiography as represented by scholars like B.R. Tomlinson (*The Political Economy of the Raj: 1914-47, The Economics of Decolonization in India*, London, 1979) attempts to describe 1947 as an example of 'Transfer of Power' by the British to the South Asians. On the other hand, historians like Bipan Chandra *et al.* (*India's Struggle for Independence*, 1988, reprint, New Delhi, 1990), the protagonists of the Nationalist School assert that 1947 represented the triumph of the Gandhian nonviolent freedom struggle over the dying British Empire. The tussle between imperialist and nationalist historiography continues to dominate the academic discourse till date. The third dimension of Indian national struggle as characterized by Subhas Chandra Bose who emphasized the role of 'organized violence' for achieving freedom and the role played by the Axis powers in destroying British imperialism remains in limbo.

The 1990s witnessed some academic interest in the alternate leadership represented by Bose. But most of the studies like Peter Ward Fay's *The Forgotten Army: India's Struggle for Independence, 1942-45* (New Delhi, 1994) focuses on the Indian National Army (INA) in South-East Asia and about the role of their

sponsors: the Japanese. We know next to nothing about the activities of Bose in Nazi Germany between 1941-43 and the role of the Hitler regime in advancing the Indian struggle for independence. The book under review written from the documents available in the military archives of Germany by Rudolf Hartog who served in the Indian Legion, the precursor of INA, unravels the story for the first time.

For propaganda activities, the German Foreign Office under the leadership of the diplomat Von Trott set up the Free India Centre. The Indian Army under British leadership fought against the *Afrika Korps* in Egypt and Libya. The civilians of the Free India Centre carried out propaganda activities among the Indian prisoners caught by the Germans in North Africa. The Indian Legion of 3000 men was set up from the politicized volunteers of the Indian Prisoners of War Camp. At Konigsbruck the German instructors trained them.

Besides Germany, Italy was also interested in throwing out the British from India by supporting anti-British Indian leaders. So, when Bose arrived in Germany he had a competitor within the Axis Camp in the form of Iqbal Shedai, a Muslim nationalist leader. The Mussolini government also set up an Indian Legion from the Indian prisoners

caught by the Italians in North Africa. But at Bose's insistence and due to pressure from the German Foreign office, the government at Rome decided to forego Shedai.

The Third Reich reached an agreement with Bose that the Legion was to be used only when the British forces would attempt to check the *Wehrmacht's* advance towards India. The German High Command had prepared 'Plan Tiger' for an advance into India. An advance into India was to be undertaken through South Russia over the Caucasus and then into Afghanistan. Plans were drawn up for cooperation with the *Faqir* of Ipi who with the Pathan tribals was conducting a guerrilla struggle against the *Raj* along the Indus frontier. The Germans calculated that their advance would be opposed by about 70,000 Indian troops loyal to the British. And the task of the Indian Legion was to undermine the loyalty of these British led troops. However, this plan could only be successful, if the Germans were victorious in Russia.

In fact, when Bose met Hitler on 27 May 1942, the latter informed him that an advance into India was only possible 'over the corpse of Stalinist Russia'. In the summer of 1942 it seemed that Germany could deliver a knock-out blow to Russia. However, the strategic scenario changed after the German defeat at Stalingrad in January 1943. Another option for Germany was to use the Legion against the British Army at Egypt. But with the defeat of the *Afrika Korps* during November 1942 at the Battle of Alamein, this plan also became unworkable. Thus, for all purposes Plan Tiger was dead by 1943. As the German armies started retreating from South Russia and North Africa in the aftermath of the twin German disasters at Stalingrad and Egypt, it became clear to Bose, that he would be able to achieve more if he could cooperate with the Japanese who had advanced upto the Indian-Burma border. So, in mid-1943, Bose left Germany for Japan in a German submarine.

The fact that in the midst of the Sea War in the Atlantic, when Germany required all the subs, the High Command provided a big submarine for Bose's departure shows Germany's interest in furthering the Indian freedom struggle. The Legion remained in Germany and surrendered to the Allied forces in May 1945. But, Bose's departure in a German U-Boat made possible the reorganization of the INA after the Mohan Singh fiasco.

However, there were some differences between the Indian Legion and the INA, which Hartog overlooks. The personnel of the Indian Legion took an oath to both Hitler as Supreme Commander of all the armed forces of the *Reich* and Bose representing India. But the personnel of the INA which Bose set up in late 1943, took the oath only to Bose and not to the Japanese Premier. Thus it can be argued that the INA was more autonomous than the Indian Legion. And the Indian officers from the 'martial races' who were known as the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers (VCOs) but in reality equivalent to the European Non-Commissioned Officers refused to join the Indian legion. In Germany, writes Hartog, Bose made a mistake in ordering that both the VCOs and the Indian privates had to join in the same rank as the Army of Independent India would not recognize the rank given by the British. The fear of losing ranks and the

accompanying prestige and privileges discouraged the VCOs from joining the Indian legion. And the VCOs enjoyed enormous clout among the rank and files and thus prevented the latter from joining the Legion. Hence, the numerical strength of the Legion remained small. From the INA files available at the National Archives of India, to this reviewer it seems clear that Bose did not repeat this mistake in South-East Asia. In an attempt to win over the VCOs, Bose's INA offered them double promotions.

Nevertheless, there were several similarities between the INA and the Indian Legion. Bose promised both Japan and Germany that independent India would repay the money which these two Axis countries were spending for training the Army of Free India. Hartog tells us that Bose repaid some of the money to the German government from Japan. Both the Indian Legion and the INA were formed from the Indian soldiers made prisoners by the Axis powers in course of the Second World War. In both the cases of the INA and the Indian Legion, it was Bose's personality which won over the prisoners to his side.

Hartog misses the point that Bose's Indian Legion had lot of similarities with the Vlasov Army (Catherine Anderyev, *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement*, Cambridge, 1987). The initiative for setting up auxiliary

forces under German supervision for restoring Axis friendly governments in Russia and India came from the German Foreign Office in 1941. And under its pressure Hitler forwarded these schemes. Both the Vlasov Army and the Indian Legion were set up with the volunteers from the Russian and Indian prisoners caught by the Germans during their advance in Russia and Africa.

Hartog's view opens up a new dimension by focusing on a hitherto unknown aspect of the Indian freedom struggle in the era of Total War. For a long time, the problematic of India's independence was locked within the paradigm of a duel between the khaki clad nationalists and the *Raj*. It is time to analyse the interconnections between the nationalist aspirations of the subjects of the British Empire and the opportunistic policies of the Axis powers to subvert the loyalties of the Empire's inhabitants by sponsoring their national movements. It is a moot point to debate whether those leaders who sought alliance with the Nazis and the Nipponese should be categorized as ardent nationalists or as Axis collaborators. ■

Kaushik Roy is a Junior fellow at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library at Teen Murti, New Delhi. He is working on 'War and Decolonization: Disintegration of the Indian Armed Forces and Independence, 1942-49'.

Pakistan's Dilemma

A.R. Deo

REASSESSING PAKISTAN: ROLE OF TWO NATION THEORY

By Anand K. Verma

Lancer Publishers and Distributors, 2001, pp. 278, Rs. 495.00

Anand Verma's book on Pakistan could not have appeared at a more opportune hour, published as it was, on the eve of the Agra Summit. It is substantial and scholarly without being pedantic, dwells on the ground realities of Pakistan and analyses the insoluble equation of Indo-Pakistan relations. If only some of our media commentators had cared to browse through it they would perhaps have been less euphoric about the prospects of success at Agra. The author, a diligent observer of Pakistan's evolution through more than three decades of his official assignments, has explored the adversarial relationship between India and Pakistan which has defied all attempts at resolution of outstanding issues. He poses a seminal question whether this relationship has been "doomed at some fundamental level" and comes up with an answer that "the two-nation theory is the culprit".

This reviewer, with all due respect to the

author and many others who share this view, finds it difficult to accept this rather shorthand phrase for all that went into the making of Pakistan. K.K. Azis, a distinguished Pakistani historian observes in his work *A History of the Idea of Pakistan*, "In 1858 the Muslims of India ceased to be the rulers and became a problem". For an average Indian it is difficult to imagine the trauma that the elite of the crumbling Mughal empire must have suffered after 1857. The elite which had been accustomed for almost seven hundred years as belonging to a community "born to rule India" had been reduced to the status of subject of a foreign power along with other erstwhile subjects of the Mughal empire. This feeling was succinctly reflected in the memorial presented by the Aga Khan delegation to the then Viceroy Lord Minto on October 1, 1906 in the following words: "the position awarded to the Mohammedan Community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect and in all

other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate not only with their numerical strength but also with their political importance" and that "due consideration would be given to the position which they (the Mohammedans) occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago and of which the traditions have not naturally faded from their minds".

Since the political dispensation for British India was unlikely to evolve into a restoration of the Mughal Rule the "Two Nation Theory" had to evolve in order to justify a separate statehood for the "Muslim majority provinces". Once the idea of dividing up British India was accepted by the leaders of the two main political parties it was natural that the provinces would also be divided on communal lines.

Pakistan came into being as a state before its people could weld themselves into a nation. Syed Badrul Ahsan, a respected Bangladeshi editor calls Pakistan "a country whose ideological basis for nationhood remains hollow... Pakistan came into being from nowhere, and it symbolized no high ideals that the concept of modern statehood calls for", indeed, a severe comment from someone who was born and brought up as a Pakistani and is now a Bangladeshi. In short the root cause of why Pakistan cannot come to terms with its neighbours is that it does not seem to have

come to terms with itself.

The author suggests that the Lahore Resolution was born not so much out of an overwhelming or all-pervading sense of identity as in the "political frustration of Muslim League leaders who were convinced that political power would otherwise continue to elude them". In the author's opinion the two nation theory was no more than a "tool of expediency". If the Muslim League could not achieve "parity" within a post-colonial India then it would secure it with a state crafted out of British India albeit in a "moth-eaten version".

Jinnah was undoubtedly a brilliant lawyer and a politician who wrested a state out of the departing colonial masters but by splitting the South Asian Muslims into two states he in fact reduced their influence. The author quotes Jinnah's famous speech of August 11, 1947 (Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims) but one might well ask then why Pakistan? This speech, in the reviewer's opinion, brings out Jinnah's dilemma in sharp focus. He did not envisage Pakistan as a theocratic state. And yet within less than a year after his passing away on September 11, 1948 Pakistan's Constituent Assembly adopted the Objectives Resolution which in fact relocated its ideological centre of gravity in Islam.

The abiding obsession with successive rulers of Pakistan has been a search for "parity" with India. This search has not only retarded Pakistan's economic development by diverting scarce resources to military build-up and unsuccessful adventures but also created a military machine which has periodically thwarted Pakistan's attempts at evolving a democratic form of government. The net result has been a Pakistan which bears no resemblance to the dreams of its founding father Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan's slide into an Islamic pre-Taliban society is pithily described by the author.

Islam and the Pakistani armed forces are the twin pillars on which the Pakistani state rests. The author details how the mindset of the armed forces has been shaped over the years to believe as an article of faith that dealing with the enemy not just a professional duty but also an Islamic duty (p. 96). "For the Muslim of Pakistan...the Hindu is the natural enemy...a permanent enemy" (p. 97). The range and operations of the ISI, a wholly military controlled outfit, targets not merely the territorial but also the social, religious and cultural integrity of India". Destruction of India has become the unstated national security doctrine and preoccupation of the ruling military establishment (p. 99).

Chapter five analyses the twists and turns of Indo-Pak relations over the last five decades and inter alia highlights the futility of Confidence Building Measure (CBM) exercises

undertaken by men of goodwill on both sides. He rightly says that in order to be successful CBMs have to be backed by political will and steadfastness. As an example he cites Vajpayee's Lahore visit as one such exercise which was sabotaged by the Kargil adventure launched by the Pakistani Army so soon after the visit. In Verma's opinion "More than anything else the nature of operations of the ISI in India spells out (Pakistan's) designs... against India".

What is the way out? This is the question which the author tries to answer in chapter seven of the book. He suggests a nine-point agenda, the first point being the imperative of resolving "the contradictions and the conflict between the practices of the Two-Nation Theory and secularism" before other issues are taken up. Without this philosophical question being resolved progress achieved in any other area will at best be illusory. The author rightly believes that a great deal of soul-searching is necessary in the elite establishments in Pakistan on how the relationship with India has to be handled. The current postures of Pakistani establishment provides for no "exit strategy or a fall-back strategy" from the five decade-old hardened positions. Other items of the author's agenda derive from this basic thesis: if fundamentals are not resolved, any one side can treat a stop-gap arrangement as only a stage towards the ultimate objective as set by it.

The Lahore visit was the unambiguous demonstration by the Prime Minister of India (whose political party stalwarts have time and again raised the cry of Akhand Bharat) that India is fully reconciled to Pakistan's sovereignty and independence and wishes it peace and prosperity. The subsequent events at Kargil almost undid the Lahore process. The Agra Summit was a step taken with all good intentions but without adequate advance preparation. In the reviewer's opinion it did more harm than good because public opinion in both countries had not been mobilized in advance to any restoration of normalcy. This could have been avoided had India developed over all these years deep scholarship on Pakistan based on exhaustive studies of all aspects of Pakistani polity, society and economy.

Verma's book is unique in some ways. It has an executive summary and a valuable set of Appendices some of which are invaluable as much to the layman as to the scholar. In particular, Appendix I giving the text of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 is rarely found in books on Indo-Pak relations. I do hope Verma would in the next edition bring his "reassessment of Pakistan" up to date. ■

Arvind Deo is a retired diplomat and is currently editor-in-chief of *Public Opinion Trends and Analyses and News Service* which covers print media in India's South Asian neighbours.

New Insights to Fijian Politics

Ganganath Jha

FIJI: A PRECARIOUS COALITION

By Shubha Singh

HarAnand, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 183, Rs. 295.00

This study has come out in the backdrop of the recent turmoil in Fiji caused by George Speight, and provides new insights towards understanding Fijian politics. The coup (1987), the civil unrest, and the Speight phenomenon (2000) are generally projected as anti-Indian, but the present author does not accept this view in toto. She finds that the emergence of the neo-rich, new elites, East-West dichotomy and urge for change in the political system are mainly responsible for unrest, manifested by repeated coups and takeover. It is simplistic to say that ethnic Fijians are hostile to Indians. There are several areas of intra-ethnic relations which needs to be addressed towards better understanding of one another and Indians have to live with the power politics of the indigenous people.

Being the illustrious daughter of an illustrious father, Shubha has analysed the history and politics of Fiji with a personal touch. She has examined the plight of the Indians from the time they went to Fiji as indentured labour (Girmitiyas) and settled down as cane growers. The chapters on Girmitiyas, their struggle and the oppression of the British rulers have been examined in detail. Thereafter the social and political role of the indigenous Fijians, their habits, customs and traditions have been analysed and this paragraph is cited here for an understanding of the Fijian way of life.

"The Fijian tribes and chiefdoms were frequently at war with each other. They used clubs and spears for battle, many of which ended with the captured enemy being eaten by the victorious warriors. Cannibalism was known through the Melanesian region and parts of Polynesia but the first accounts about Fiji dwelt so heavily on cannibalism that the islands had come to be known as the Cannibal Islands. Those destined to be eaten, called the Bokula, were first offered to the war gods in a ceremony that involved dashing their heads against a braining stone. The bodies were wrapped in the leaves of a green vegetable that made the flesh easier to digest and then baked in an earth oven. Specially carved, four pronged, wooden forks were used to eat as it was considered inappropriate to touch cooked human flesh by the hand. Similar forks are



now available at the handicraft shops for the tourists, where the Fijian salesman will explain that the hearts and tongues were considered the choicest parts and were given to the chiefs; and the rest of the body was divided among the warriors and the villagers. Women and children did not partake of the bodies except on some very special occasions when there was more than enough to share... The sick and the aged were held in contempt. When an islander became too old to be useful to the tribe or the house, he or she would be strangled, usually at his own request by his relatives. Burying them alive was also not uncommon for it was believed that the spirit had already left the body, even if the person was still breathing".

The author has also explained about the genesis of the sharp division in the thinking of the former indentured workers and the new arrivals (Punjabis and Gujratis). The former were interested in farming whereas the latter were interested in business and trade. It has highlighted the role of Indians in the freedom struggle which disturbed the British colonial masters, who evolved the mechanism of Fijian paramountcy. When the country became independent on 10 October 1970, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara became the Prime Minister. He tried to play a balancing role in the relations between two major ethnic groups, Fijians and Indians but he failed ultimately. Lt. Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka (1987) and George Speight (2000) organized radical ultra-nationalist forces and the subsequent developments caused the resignation of President Ratu Mara from power. Thus an outstanding leader, who always tried to balance the policies of the government vis-à-vis Fijians and Indians and whose credentials were accepted in the regional matters, was out of power. George Speight, a failed businessman and sacked by Mahendra Choudhry as the Chief Executive of the Fiji Hardwood Corporation, dictated terms. He dragged Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry out of the Parliament and made allegations against Ratu Mara and the Great Council of Chiefs repeatedly. When Commodore Frank Bainimarama took over, he was hesitant to take swift action against Speight as he visual-

ized support for Speight in influential sections of the Fijian society and the armed forces.

The slogan, "Fiji for the Fijians" may be popular, but this has not substantially benefited the Fijians. This has caused economic upheaval and destroyed the image of Fiji as a paradise that the founding fathers had envisaged. The concept of "Pacific way of life" is being replaced by violence and display of force and hatred. The Laisenia Qarase government also believes in Fijian paramountcy and there is little initiative for reconciliation. But an important aspect of Fijian life, that the present author has referred to and which has been causing political and ethnic turmoil is differences between the indigenous Fijians of the East and West, that some are against the Great Council of Chiefs and keen for structural changes, that land laws are obsolete and need to be reviewed etc.

Fiji is facing a transitional phase. It is difficult to propose radical changes and get legitimacy. The indigenous people are neither good at farming nor business and gaining something without much labour a cherished goal. Anti-Indian hysteria, looting and arson benefits a section of the Fijians and this attitude is totally adversarial to the long-term interests of the nation. However leaders like Speight exhort followers to indulge in such unlawful acts.

Shubha has rightly observed that there is a substantial section of Fijians who do not believe in the radicalism of "Fiji for Fijians" (p. 168). The mutiny at Nabua army camp, Lautoka High court judgement, etc. were against the radicalism of the new leaders. Shubha has further stated that the hostage crisis was commonly described in media reports as a struggle between an indigenous people against domination by an immigrant community. But antagonistic race relations are a simplistic and misleading way to describe the situation in Fiji. The armed takeover was not just an ethnic crisis. The armed gang used the basic dichotomy of ethnic differences to their own ends by fanning Fijian resentment. At the same time, it widened the differences within the Fijian power structure. The division that existed between the traditional tribal leaders symbolized by Ratu Mara and the neo-elite beneficiaries of the affirmative action policies

It is simplistic to say that ethnic Fijians are hostile to Indians. There are several areas of intra-ethnic relations which needs to be addressed towards better understanding of one another and Indians have to live with the power politics of the indigenous people.

The rights of the indigenous people cannot supersede basic human rights of the people and racism cannot be countenanced in any civilized nation. The dilemmas faced by the Fijian community in transition should not be submerged in the rhetoric of indigenous rights, and the community leadership has to find ways to address them.

and a younger, middle level order of Fijian chiefs. Several fault lines in society were ruptured; the chiefs of the western region displayed their dissatisfaction with the events taking place in Suva. Fijian soldiers fired at each other during a mutiny. Hill tribesmen took over the hydro dam supplying power to Suva in protest against the returns from the use of their land. Army barracks had to be guarded against villagers demanding their land be given back to them.

The main problem in Fiji that needs to be attended to urgently is that Fijians feel marginalized in terms of economic power. Their traditional lifestyle gives them no incentive to engage in economic activity, since the fruits of even individual labour have to be shared with the kin group. The post coup affirmative action policies have helped the educated, upper class Fijians to find jobs in the overgrown bureaucracy and armed forces. But Fijians complain that they find it difficult to get jobs outside the government and the hotel industry, as Fijian employees are branded as lazy. Their village land is rented out to tenant farmers, with a large part of the rent going to the chiefs.

The contribution of Indians in nation building and modernization cannot be brushed aside. Their marginalization would not help the development processes. The multiracial equity, harmony and democracy are important conditions for the prosperity of the Fijians. The rights of the indigenous people cannot supersede basic human rights of the people and racism cannot be countenanced in any civilized nation. The dilemmas faced by the Fijian community in transition should not be submerged in the rhetoric of indigenous rights, and the community leadership has to find ways to address them.

The study is outstanding and topical and is of interest to anybody in understanding Indian diaspora. ■

Ganganath Jha is Associate Professor in Southeast Asian and Southwest Pacific Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

TBR Book Club

Join today and discover how you can avail of fantastic discounts on titles from among the best of Indian publishers.

HERE'S HOW YOU BENEFIT

- No Membership fee. New titles will be on offer regularly. Get your copy of *The Book Review* from the nearest dealer or write to the address below. All you have to do is tick the titles in the box provided, fill the coupon and mail the sheet with your payment.
- 20% discount on all titles on offer
- One year subscription to *The Book Review* at 10% discount
- No extra charges for packaging and postage
- All prices given in bold type are the special CLUB Prices for TBR Book Club members
- This offer is open only to individual subscribers to *The Book Review*.

TITLES ON OFFER

KATHA

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Bhupen Khakhar: Selected Works</i> Translated from Gujarati by Ganesh Devy, Naushil Mehta and Bina Srinivasan	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Home and Away</i> by Ramachandra Sharma	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Ayoni and Other Stories</i> Translated and edited by Alladi Uma & M. Sridhar	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Forsaking Paradise: Stories from Ladakh</i> by Abdul Ghani Sheikh. Translated from Urdu and edited by Ravina Aggarwal	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Translating Partitions: Stories, Essays, Criticism</i> edited by Ravikant and Tarun K. Saint	Rs 250	Rs 200

TULIKA, Chennai

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Aditi and the One-Eyed Monkey</i> by Suniti Namjoshi, illustrated by Bindia Thapar	Rs 80	Rs 64
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Telling Tales From Asia</i> by Cathy Spagnoli	Rs 85	Rs 68
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Storm in the Garden</i> by Sandhya Rao, illustrated by Ashok Rajagopalan	Rs 70	Rs 56
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>That Summer at Kalagarh</i> by Ranjit Lal	Rs 80	Rs 64
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>My Vote Counts</i> by Bindu Bhaskar Balaji, illustrated by Reginald Goveas	Rs 100	Rs 80

RAWAT PUBLICATIONS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Reconceptualising Caste, Class and Tribe</i> by K.L. Sharma	Rs 425	Rs 340
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Refugees and Human Rights</i> edited by Sanjay K. Roy	Rs 750	Rs 600
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Interrogating Women's Education: Bounded Visions, Expanding Horizons</i> by Karuna Chanana	Rs 625	Rs 500
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Sustainable Development: Economics and Policy</i> by P.K. Rao	Rs 895	Rs 725
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity</i> by T.K. Oommen	Rs 775	Rs 620

ABHINAV PUBLICATIONS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Iconography of Buddhist Sculpture or Orissa</i> by Donaldson 1 set, 2 Volumes	Rs 400	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Romance of Raga</i> by Vijaya Moorthy	Rs 1200	Rs 1060
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Introspection for India</i> by V.K. Subramanian	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Some Aspects of Indo-Islamic Architecture</i> by Subhash Parihar	Rs 1300	Rs 1040
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Chittogadh Kirtti-Stambha</i> by R. Nath	Rs 1200	Rs 960

BHARATIYA JNANPITH

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Pehla Girmitya</i> by Giriraj Kishore	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Amrita Preetam: Selected Essays</i> by Amrita Preetam	Rs 300	Rs 240
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Aadibhoomi</i> . Translated from Oriya by Pratibha Ray	Rs 250	Rs 200
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Mahanayak</i> . Translated from Bengali by Vishwas Pati	Rs 365	Rs 292
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Panipath</i> . Translated from Marathi by Nagnath Inamdar	Rs 200	Rs 160

TULIKA, Delhi

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Re-take of 'Amrita'</i> by Vivian Sundaram	Rs 400	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Inventing Subjects: Studies in Hegemony, Patriarchy and Colonialism</i> by Himani Bannerji	Rs 395	Rs 316
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Capital and Labour Redefined: India and the Third World</i> by Amiya Kumar Bagchi	Rs 575	Rs 460
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Land, Labour & Rights: 10 Daniel Thorner Memorial Lectures</i> edited by Alice Thorner	Rs 525	Rs 420
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>State & Diplomacy: Documents and Essays under Tipu Sultan</i> edited by Irfan Habib	Rs 325	Rs 260
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Disease & Medicine: A Historical Overview in India</i> edited by Deepak Kumar	Rs 495	Rs 396

KALI-FOR WOMEN

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>This Time of Morning</i> by Nayantara Sahgal	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>My Friend, My Enemy</i> by Ismat Chughtai	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Singer and the Song</i> by C.S. Lakshmi	Rs 400	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>My Girlhood: An Autobiography</i> by Taslima Nasrin	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Borders & Boundaries</i> by Ritu Menon & Kamla Bhasin	Rs 200	Rs 160

RADHA KRISHNA

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Doosri Kahani</i> by Alka Saravagi	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Gangatath</i> by Inanendrapati	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Trishanku</i> by Mannu Bhandri	Rs 95	Rs 76
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Ghatsradh: Samagra Kahaniyan-1</i> by U.R. Anantamurthi	Rs 75	Rs 60
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Professor Sanku ke Karnamen</i> by Satyajit Ray	Rs 75	Rs 60

STREE/SAMYA

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>In Search of Freedom: An Unfinished Journey</i> by Manikuntala Sen	Rs 450	Rs 360
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Whom Can I Tell? How Can I Explain?</i> By Saroj Pathak	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Nabankur: The Seedling's Tale</i> by Sulekha Sanyal	Rs 250	Rs 200
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>A Question of Community: Religious Groups and Colonial Law</i> by Amrita Shodhan	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>God as Political Philosopher: Buddha's Challenge to Brahminism</i> by Kancha Illaiah	Rs 400	Rs 240

POPULAR PRAKASHAN

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Man Who Divided India: An Insight into Jinnah's Leadership and its aftermath</i> by Dr. Rafiq Zakaria	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Britannica Quizmaster India</i> (Set of 4 Vols.)	Rs 100	Rs 80
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Britannica World of Quiz</i> (Set of 2 Vols.)	Rs 100	Rs 80
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Man from the Sun—The Story of the Kosambis</i> by Indrayani Sawkar	Rs 225	Rs 180
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Husbands and Pumpkins and other stories</i> by Gangadhar Gadgil	Rs 200	Rs 160

RAJKAMAL PRAKASHAN

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Bisrampur ka Sant</i> by Srilal Shukla	Rs 125	Rs 100
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Lucknow ki Paanch Raaten</i> by Ali Sardar Jafri	Rs 85	Rs 70
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Chaku</i> by Maitreyi Pushpa	Rs 250	Rs 200
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Do Panktiyon ke Beech</i> by Rajesh Joshi	Rs 125	Rs 100
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Samay ke Paas Samay</i> by Ashok Vajpeyi	Rs 125	Rs 100

STERLING PUBLISHERS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya: The Romantic Rebel</i> by Sakuntala Narasimhan	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Masterpieces of Modern Urdu Poetry</i> by K.C. Kanda	Rs 495	Rs 396
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Masterpieces of Urdu Ghazal</i> by K.C. Kanda	Rs 495	Rs 396
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Love Mysteries</i> by Asho	Rs 75	Rs 60
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>My Story</i> by Kamala Das	Rs 90	Rs 70

VISION BOOKS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Chessmaster and His Moves</i> by Raja Rao	Rs 395	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Musical Journey of Kumar Gandharva</i> by Raghava R. Menon	Rs 280	Rs 224
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Making of India</i> by Ranbir Vohra	Rs 190	Rs 150
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>A Military History of Ancient India</i> by Maj. Gen. Gurcharan Singh Sandhu	Rs 995	Rs 800
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Healing Power of Garlic</i> by Paul Bergner	Rs 110	Rs 88

TBR Book Club

TARA

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Mahabharata I and II</i> Written and illustrated by Samhita Arni	Rs 300	Rs 240
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Hungry Lion</i> adapted by Gita Wolf Illustrated by Indrapramit Roy	Rs 165	Rs 132
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Tiger on a Tree</i> written by Anushka Shankar Illustrated by Pulak Biswas	Rs 70	Rs 56
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Child Art</i> written by Tarit Bhattacharjee Illustrated by children	Rs 175	Rs 140

THE OTHER INDIA PRESS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Justice for Women</i> ed. by Indira Jaisingh	Rs 160	Rs 128
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Free From School</i> by Rahul Alvares	Rs 100	Rs 80
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Inhuman Rights</i> by Winie Periera	Rs 175	Rs 140
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Transforming of Goa</i> by Norman Dantes	Rs 175	Rs 140
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Organic Farming Reader</i> by Claude Alvares, Vandana Shiva, Sultan Islamil, K. Vijayalakshmi, Korah Mathen, Bernard Declercq	Rs 150	Rs 120

SEAGULL BOOKS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>In her Own Right: Remembering the Artist</i> <i>Karuna Shaha</i> by Tapati Guha Thakurta	Rs 425	Rs 340
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Captured Moments: A Life about</i> <i>Shambhu Shaha</i>	Rs 400	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Till Death Do Us Part: Five Stories</i> by Mike Marqusee	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Madhavi</i> by Bisham Sahni	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Bruised Memories</i> edited by Tarun K. Saint	Rs 475	Rs 380

MADHYAM BOOKS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Propaganda and the Public Mind:</i> <i>Conversations with Noam Chomsky</i>	Rs 250	Rs 200
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Globalization Unmasked</i> by James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Profit Over People</i> by Noam Chomsky	Rs 175	Rs 140
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>This World in the Age of Globalization</i> by Ash Narain Roy	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Taming Global Financial Flows</i> by Kavaljit Singh	Rs 250	Rs 200

GYAN SAGAR PUBLICATIONS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>A Rediscovered History of Gorkhas</i> by Chandra B. Khanduri	Rs 495	Rs 396
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>General and Strategists</i> by Chandra B. Khanduri	Rs 395	Rs 316
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Kashmir: Wail of Valley</i> by M.L. Kaul	Rs 595	Rs 476
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Glimpses of Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh</i> Prof. P.N. Pushp Memorial Volume	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Symphony Guitar Book</i> by Rahul	Rs 150	Rs 120

B.R. PUBLISHING CORPORATION

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>India: 50 Years of Independence—</i> <i>Publishing by Narendra Kumar</i>	Rs 225	Rs 180
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Holy Sundarkanda</i> (fully illustrated with original text in Awadhi and English Script, translation in Hindi and English)	Rs 750	Rs 600
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The President of India During 50 Years</i>	Rs 260	Rs 208
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>How They Come to Sri Aurobindo and the</i> <i>Mother</i> (1112 true stories of sadhaks and devotees) in 4 vols.	Rs 1400	Rs 1120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Vignettes of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother</i> (1141 true stories) in 3 vols by Shyam Kumari	Rs 825	Rs 660

MANOHAR PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Pangs of Partition: The Parting of Ways</i> Vol. I & Vol. II edited by S. Settar and Indira B. Gupta	Rs 700 each	Rs 560 each
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Modern Haryana: History and Culture</i> by K.C. Yadav	Rs 600	Rs 480
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Perspectives on National Security in</i> <i>South Asia</i> by P.R. Chari	Rs 800	Rs 640
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Brave Men of the Hills: A History of</i> <i>Anti-British Resistance and Rebellion in</i> <i>Burma 1825-1932</i> by Parimal Ghosh	Rs 400	Rs 320
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The State in Medieval Kashmir</i> by R.L. Hangloo	Rs 300	Rs 240

SAHITYA AKADEMI

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Nalacartiam</i> by Unnayi Varier	Rs 130	Rs 104
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Tales Told by Mystics</i> by Manoj Das	Rs 180	Rs 144
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Hill Temple</i> (Kannada Poetry) by P.T. Narsimhachar	Rs 50	Rs 40
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Agganna Sutta</i> by Steven Collins	Rs 65	Rs 52
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Sweet Gentle Radiant: Selected poems of</i> <i>G. Sankara Kurup</i> edited by Bhaskaramenon Krishankumar	Rs 65	Rs 52

RAVI DAYAL PUBLISHER

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Final Question</i> by Sharat Chandra Chatterji	Rs 395	Rs 315
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Towards Securer Lives</i> by Mala Dayal	Rs 175	Rs 140
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Civil Lines 4</i> edited by Rukun Advani	Rs 195	Rs 156
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Country without A Post Office</i> (Poems - 1991-95) by Agha Shahid Ali	Rs 100	Rs 80
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Mostly Birds, Some Monkeys and A Pest:</i> <i>Nature In and Around Delhi</i> by Ranjit Lal	Rs 175	Rs 140

D.K. PRINT WORLD (P. LTD)

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Speaking of Dance: The Indian Critique</i> by Mandakranta Bose	Rs 650	Rs 470
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Chanting Narratives: The Living</i> <i>Katha-Vachanai Tradition</i> Edited by Molly Kaushal	Rs 900	Rs 720
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Yantras of Dieties and their</i> <i>Numerological Foundations</i>	Rs 1100	Rs 880
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Minerals and Mentals in Pre-modern India</i> by Arun Kumar Biswas	Rs 1200	Rs 960
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas,</i> <i>Bodhisattvas and Other Dieties—A Unique</i> <i>Pantheon</i> by Lokesh Chandra & Fredrick W. Bunce	Rs 5600	Rs 4480

ORIENT LONGMAN

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Anaro and Other Stories</i> by Manjul Bhagat	Rs 225	Rs 180
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Primal Land</i> by Pratibha Ray	Rs 350	Rs 280
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Shock Therapy: Short Stories</i> by Subodh Ghosh	Rs 200	Rs 160
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>People, Parks and Wildlife Tracts</i> for the Times (XIV)	Rs 150	Rs 120
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Hindi Nationalism</i> by Alok Rai Tracts for the Times (XIII)	Rs 80	Rs 64

RATNA SAGAR

	List Price	Club Price
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>An Island of Trees</i> by Ruskin Bond	Rs 44.90	Rs 36
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>A Bond with the Mountains</i> by Ruskin Bond	Rs 44.90	Rs 36
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Tigers Forever</i> by Ruskin Bond	Rs 44.90	Rs 36
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Tales from the Panchatantra</i> by Meera Uberoi and Pulak Biswas (Deluxe Edition - 1999-00)	Rs 125	Rs 100
<input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Sword of Dara Shikoh and Other</i> <i>Stories from History</i> by Subhadra Sengupta	Rs 44	Rs 36

TBR Book Club

239 Vasant Enclave
New Delhi 110 057

Tel + Fax: 91-124-355500
Tel: 614 2031, 614 0383

- Yes I would like to be a member of TBR Book Club
 Yes I would like to subscribe to The Book Review

Name _____

Address _____

Number of titles ordered
(Tick in the boxes provided) _____

Amount remitted _____

DD/money order/Cheque no. _____

Please make out your cheques in the name of The Book
Review Literary Trust, New Delhi
Please allow 30 days for processing order (45 days in case
of payment by cheque).

Beguiled by Chevathar Magic

Keki N. Daruwala

THE HOUSE OF BLUE MANGOES

By David Davidar
Penguin Books India, New Delhi, 2002,
pp. 421, Rs. 395.00

When you approach a book which has hit the stalls with considerable hype (drums rolling, trumpets blaring, the saxophone alternately whining or sawing away at some sensitive aural nerve) you are prone to start with a prejudice. When the book does land at your doorstep, you find yourself rubbing your hands in glee. And if you are a Punjabi like me (Parsees also can be Punjabis, to the mutual regret of both communities) you are liable to spit on your hands, the way wrestlers do, before they take on each other in an *akhada*. But much as I would have loved to lambast the book, I must confess that once I started reading it, I failed to notice any loopholes. And right from the start one got hooked.

Dynasty novels are a genre by themselves. I am not about to reach for my *Forsyte Saga*, which I read over forty years ago, for a comparison. Writing a 'dynasty novel' requires great patience, a good grasp of history and how it affects, or must have affected lives, and the ability to change your focus while narrating the hopes and travails of each generation. Amitav Ghose has done this recently in *The Glass Palace*. David Davidar manages to do this very successfully in *The House of Blue Mangoes*. Ghose had an advantage—his novel worked on a bigger scale, and his characters and events got encrusted in a more international and wider historical landscape. The fall of the Burmese king, his exile to Ratnagiri, the coming of rubber, the Japanese invasion and the havoc that it spelled, the INA—all this struck a raw nerve. David Davidar is grappling with imaginary castes and caste-wars in an imaginary district. That is a good deal tougher to handle, or rather, to create. Yet he has made such a fine job of it.

We start with the village Chevathar on the Coromandel coast, "thickly manned with coconut palms". The village takes its name from the southern-most river of India. A mile and a half away is the town of Meenakshikoil. Solomon Dorai is the Patriarch of the Andavar clan and rules the village with an iron hand, but very different from the zamindars of North India who were corrupt and violent and mostly given to debauchery. Solomon is the *thalaiwar*. (There are no *Puratchi thalaivais* in the novel, only *Puratchi thalaivars*. Gender bias? Urvashi Butalia, Ritu Menon, where are you?). The Andavars and the Vedhars have a long-standing feud, though Solomon Dorai has kept violence out for decades till an Andavar girl is raped. Caste rape is followed by caste murder. Muthu leads the Vedhar clan. He is huge in size and thinks he can take on

Solomon Dorai. Tension rises as Vedhars kill three men and rape five Andavar women of the village.

Vakeel Perumal, a half comic, half-sinister character, who suddenly turns Christian and names himself "Jesus Christ" on conversion, further queers the pitch. He protests vociferously against a lime-scrawled message on a rock, which says "Remember the 1859 Breast wars. If low-caste dogs do not know their place, their wives and sisters will soon remind them of it". Actually he has got the message scrawled himself. It all ends in a bitter fight in which Solomon Dorai and Muthu kill each other. Good show.

The novel is well researched, but lately one has noticed, the better researched a novel, the heavier it is on sociology. (One was thinking of novels like *The River is Three Quarters Full*, a fine piece of fiction though it is.) For instance, we are told about molten lead being poured in the ears of any low-caste person who heard the Gayatri mantra. This, would be known to Davidar's Indian readers, though it would be a novelty for the West. The 'breast wars' are described in detail: "hitherto tradition had ordained that the various members of the caste tree should bare their breasts as a sign of deference and subservience to those who perched higher in the branches. Accordingly, the untouchables went bare breasted before the Pallans, the Pallans before the Nairs, and so on until the Namboodri Brahmins, who deferred only to their deities". Lower castes could not keep their turban on their heads, but had to tie it round their waist when passing through a locality inhabited by higher castes. But better more detail than none at all.

The next two protagonists are Solomon's sons, Daniel and Aaron. Daniel, the eldest but the weaker one, who is held in contempt by his father, becomes a doctor of Indian medicine and produces a whitening ointment called Dorai's 'Moon-White Thylam'. He makes a lot of money—any whitening cream, balm, ointment, in fact any such concoction or decoction is a sure shot winner in our colour conscious market. Aaron is the fighter, a man after Solomon's heart. He jumps across a huge well at the age of sixteen. He is everything which Daniel is not, but is weak in studies, gets entangled with radical politicians, shoots a Head Constable dead and partakes (as a back up) in the assassination of Magistrate Ashe, who had earlier ordered firing on a mob, protesting against British rule. The sadistic treatment meted out to him is given in all its gory detail. He meets a sorry end at the hands of his captors.

But the *piece de resistance* comes from the last section of the book—Pulimed. This is about Daniel's son, Kannan, who shows no interest in medicine and so is sent to a fine college in Madras where he falls in love with a very beautiful Anglo Indian girl, Helen.



Obviously his father is not going to stand such nonsense. An old English friend of Solomon from the ICS gets Kannan a job with English tea planters in Pulimed. Kannan marries and takes Helen to the huge tea estate. This portion, which forms more than one third of the novel, is brilliant. All the nuances of social interaction between the British Planters, the Indian, Kannan and the Anglo-Indian, Helen are brought out well. The Anglo Indians are made to look a bit stereo typed, but the different approaches of the British Planters towards Indians are not painted with the same brush, from Major Edward Stevenson, the General Manager, his imperious wife who can't stand 'coolies' and certainly not the 'mixed' Anglo Indian Helen, to Freddie who befriends Kannan.

The writing too picks up in this section. Reading about the tea served at Mrs. Stevenson becomes a sort of an aesthetic experience for the reader. The tea tray, "enormous and intricately carved out of teak" carried in by the butler, Madaswamy, has a vast array of objects on it—"three teapots, a brown one of terracotta, an exquisite Stafford porcelain one and Mrs. Stevenson's favourite, a Worcester teapot, part of the tea service she used most often". Four tea caddies, one of pewter, one of tin, one of terracotta and the last one of antique silver also grace the tray. "No matter how stimulating or vicious the conversation, no matter how delicious the scones or the sandwiches (tomato, cucumber and in place of watercress—a Mrs. Stevenson touch—salted tongue) everything was expected to be forgotten when tea arrived". But there's much more to this section than tea and scones. Surprisingly, it is Helen who tells Kannan, "Don't you see how they treat you? Every time I see you smiling and fawning on them, running around to do their every little errand, it makes me want to vomit. Don't you have any self-respect?" She also tells him "If you had any guts you would stand up to these white buggers..." And it takes a tiger hunt (this is not *shikar* but going for a man-eater), and Harrison, the Brit gone native, to din some sense into his head.

Davidar holds the reader's interest all the time. The writing is exceptionally good. And the sweep of the novel is remarkable—from caste riots to Gandhi, the two World Wars, the Quit India movement and a brush with terrorism and tigers. A fine, satisfying read. ■

Keki N. Daruwala is a poet, writer and critic.

Reading Against the Grain

Rumina Sethi

LITERATURE AND NATION: BRITAIN AND INDIA 1800-1990

Edited by Richard Allen and Harish Trivedi

Routledge in association with the Open University, London, 2000, pp. 400, price not stated.

Nationalism is a subject of ongoing interest, more so since Elie Kedourie traced its relationship to culture in the nineteenth seventies, making it the most powerful political force constituting a major historical form of an identifiable cultural politics. Its associations exist with issues that have nothing to do with the nation-state (the most obvious example being religion, and the most trivial, cricket), yet it will certainly survive the replacement of the nation-state by any other form of political association—if that should occur. As a subject of Cultural Studies, it is both loved and hated, deemed progressive as well as regressive. It is not surprising that in recent years some of the most widely read and debated volumes have been published about the rise of nations. *Literature and Nation* is about the literary dimension of nationalist ideology, having relevance to both Britain and India, an analysis of major texts written in Britain and India from 1800 to 1990.

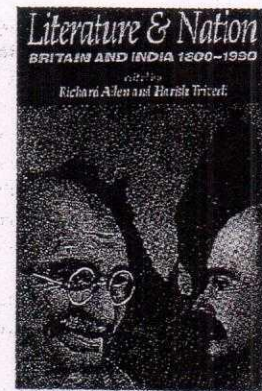
The first part of the book examines canonical texts from Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* to Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*. The usual *Kim*, *A Passage to India* and *Kanthapura* are all here. The second part contains a selection of literary texts and historical documents pertinent to colonial and nationalist history, helpfully collected by the editors. The intention behind the individual analyses of a series of texts in the first part is to play up the particularity of author and text against the generalizations one is wont to make in genericizing both literature and the nation, especially since these are texts most frequently picked up by students of postcolonial literature. The ways to circumvent orthodox reading of texts is given in detail by Richard Allen as he defines 'nation', 'nationalism', 'cultural identity', 'literature', 'colonialism and postcolonialism', all of which are attempts to problematize conventional ways of understanding these terms. By helpfully citing names of authors and books, he would like to make sure that the unwary reader first understands the way British hegemonic strategies tutored the natives into confounding nature/culture tropes. As a guiding principle, Allen cites Stuart Hall's redoubtable essay, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' at the outset to distinguish essentialistic identity from a more fluid, shifting and changing one. He describes in great detail how he dealt with the 'grand and weighty' word 'aporia' that Hall uses in this

essay. As one reads further, moving to the analysis of the complex language used by Gayatri Spivak, the realization grows strong that this is indeed a fine essay for new learners.

Part of this enterprise is the endeavour to give a step-by-step introduction to the making of British India. The year 1757 in which the Battle of Plassey was fought which made the British dig their heels in Bengal by protecting Mir Jaffar; 1818 which virtually completed their dominion; 1783 when with the appointment of Sir William Jones as the judge of the Supreme Court in Bengal, the British advanced their cultural hegemony. Then followed the infamous controversies between Orientalism and Anglicism where, by the beginning of the 19th century, the latter was being rapidly advocated at the cost of the former, as has been argued lucidly by Gauri Viswanathan in *Masks of Conquest*. This tug-of-war was to culminate with Macaulay's Minute on Indian Education, arguably the most quoted statement in the colonial history of India, in the formation of Britain's 'imperialish empire'.

Literature and Nation takes the two aspects of its title to be cultural repositories in the context of both Britain and India. Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Of course, Britain, like America today, thought it was its 'divine right' to rule the world using culture as its primary tool. As William Blake has written: 'The foundation of empire is art and science. Remove them, and the empire is no more. Empire follows art and not vice versa.' The trajectory of the 19th century novel has precisely such an intention. I am not implying that creative writing consciously planned such a move to make Europeans go out and colonize the world, but, as Said has argued in *Culture and Imperialism*, imperialism is sustained by art, and novel-writing and empire building are inconceivable without each other. Art forms have to inevitably carry the burden of 'ideological state apparatuses'. The chapters on *Mansfield Park* (1815) which may be read alongside the dynamics of keeping slaves in *Antigua* and *A Tale of Two Cities* within the context of the uprising of 1857 follow such a pattern. The early 20th century *Kim* and *A Passage to India* are also shown to represent how 'people live everyday life in the modern nation in discourses which are quintessentially embodied in the realist novel.'

Harish Trivedi has made two individual



contributions: Raja Rao's *Kanthapura* which indeed is the most well recognized representation of Indian nationalism in literature until perhaps Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*. After a biographical sketch of Rao and his first novel, Trivedi mentions that two book-length studies exist on Rao: one, M. K. Naik's and the other, mine—*Myths of the Nation*. Although he says that the two work on different ends, it may be mentioned that Naik's book is an introductory *Reader* with separate chapters on each of Rao's writings. On the other hand, *Myths of the Nation* is a different project: it presents the argument that unstated and probably subliminal political ideologies underlie nationalist representations. It relates literature to history and politics of the Indian freedom struggle to raise questions about the nature of history-writing and its approximation to the writing of fictions in nationalist accounts. While it may be a case-study of *Kanthapura*, the novel itself is incidental to the argument of the book which has larger concerns.

And as for the central concerns, Trivedi says that the method adopted was merely 'politically correct' as the novel had been scrutinized 'against the grain' especially when the claim is made that women, Muslims, and peasants were marginalized in the making of the nation. As is clear from the argument of my book, the fictional account of *Kanthapura* is no exception. Trivedi believes that the Muslim policeman in the novel is regarded as a villain because he is a policeman and not because he is not Hindu as I do. He might consider Chapter 2 of the novel which begins with: 'To tell you the truth, Bade Khan did not stay in *Kanthapura*. Being a Mohomedan he could stay neither in the Potters' Street nor in the Sudra Street, and you don't of course expect him to live in the Brahmin Street.' Khan turns nasty only when the village outcasts him. And yes, novels, or for that matter, any writing, should be read against the grain. How else may we read when we are no longer in a premodern state of innocence? I presume the purpose of Allen and Trivedi is to induct new readers precisely into such a reading. Isn't that what all the contributors are advocating?

I may also point out that it is not I who is being politically correct but Raja Rao: he

shows progressive brahmins as well as progressive women. He has to. Most brahmins in the novel are so enthusiastic (in spite of moments of conflicting orthodoxy) that they coexist with other castes in terms of common celebrations and communal eating to permit Rao to present a vision of a united India; although read 'against the grain', the movement is seen to be largely hinduized by ushering in discourses on Vedanta and maya-vada, and references to Sankara, brahmin gods, avatars and incarnations. How else could the observances relating to Kenchamma, the gram-devata, be performed by Priest Rangappa and the pontifical brahmins, Bhatta and Ramanna? Besides, Lingayat forms of worship are completely disregarded in a novel set in Karnataka. And as for the women, they may have been represented as 'the chief satyagrahis', but does the novel give evidence of any transformation whatsoever in their position, except perhaps in a spiritual sort of way? For that matter, does the Indian national movement give evidence of empowerment in the status of all those Indian women who contributed enormously to it? If it is a 'historical fact' that the women of India 'were second to none', why are we still battling patriarchal tendencies when we have it all? If we were to believe 'history', we would assume that after the Civil Disobedience movement of the 1930s there has been no need for any further liberation of women. ■

Rumina Sethi is in the Department of English, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

Of Human Relationships

Swati Pal

ORANGE MOON (English translation of the Award Winning Novel *Shikhar aur Seemayen*)
By Sharat Kumar
Excel Books, New Delhi, 2000, pp.198, Rs 185.00

Orange Moon reads more like a lyrical poem. From the very symbolism of its title (as well as of each chapter) to the detailed descriptions of nature and all her roles: aesthetic, sensual, sexual, spiritual and divine—and the generally musical tenor of the language, all add to the almost Wordsworthian quality of the novel.

A young, beautiful and sensitive girl, Dipti who has been brought up in England harbours the belief that traditional Indian marriages are

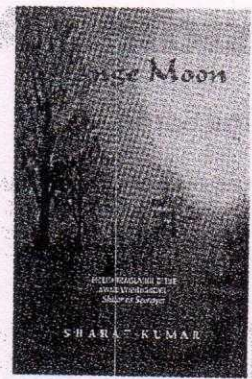
stable ones. She returns to India to have an arranged marriage with Vinay, an IFS officer posted to Sikkim. At the start of the novel, it is evident that Dipti's marriage is unhappy and we find her instinctively drawn to Samaresh, an army officer. In their sexual union she finally finds fulfilment. At the end she divorces Vinay but does not make any demands of Samaresh. There is a melodramatic moment when vengeful Vinay attempts to shoot Samaresh, who however is saved by the loyal Havaladar Ramdatt Ram. Finally, Dipti does send for Samaresh, but the letter reaches so late, that by the time Samaresh arrives at Delhi where she is to await him, she has left.

The pivot of the novel is Dipti and though it is her relationship with Samaresh that the tale focuses on, it is also her negotiations with other people around her as well as with her own 'selves' that propels the plot forward. Her bonding with her father may have been briefly mentioned, but it is not insignificant. For it may have well been his love for Indianness that she inherited and which in consequence made her nurture the kind of ideals she had about the workability of traditional Indian marriages.

Vinay is a typically practical, unpoetic man, happy airing his own views and unable to share Dipti's silences. Typical too is his inability to gauge her responsiveness in bed and his selfish pleasuring of his own self. This sexual relationship is symptomatic of a society where women have been unable to voice their sexual preferences, have buried their resentment under a mask of submissiveness; men in turn have either failed to recognize this frustration or have used labels such as 'frigid' unthinkingly.

Dipti's relationship with Mr Jagannathan and Dr. Pillay are resonant of a warm and easy camaraderie—by one she is teased and the other she provokes into speech. It is with Samaresh, however, with whom she shares a relationship that is meaningful, enriching and that frees her from her emotional crisis. That her ideals about love could only be realized in an unconventional, societally deviant relationship nullify her presumptions about arranged marriages paving the way for eternal bliss. However, at this juncture, the question arises as to who apart from Vinay (and his pique stems from a bruised ego) objects to Dipti's relationship with Samaresh? For nowhere is there a hint of reproof—rather all the others appear almost as if they abet the act. The environment is, in fact, tailor made for a secret romance with no one showing any hostility towards this 'illegal' relationship—probably

A lot of the novel is about movement, actual physical movement in various forms.....



the author's intention is to show that true love transcends narrow-minded beliefs.

While Dipti and her various relationships form the core of the novel, there are other relationships that are easily woven into the fabric of the plot—that of the officer and his jawans, the frustrations of both when posted in inclement conditions, the temptations of wine and women that appear to be the only modes of escape, the rigours that the infantry goes through on a difficult terrain—all these glimpses of army life are spontaneously and comfortably fleshed out. What one may miss in the novel is the lack of female bonding; except for the brief and sketchy picture of the three Mountford sisters, relics of colonial India, who own the Himalaya Hotel in Kalimpong—and they enhance neither the plot nor Dipti's frame of mind. Dipti's attitude to her own sex is shown to veer between shocked incredulity and a kind of arrogant detachment.

A lot of the novel is about movement, actual physical movement in various forms—on foot, in jeeps and cars, in trains, ships and airplanes and even on horseback. Perhaps, this outer manifestation of motion is symbolic of the inner, ever-questing restless self, moving from one locale to another, hoping to finally find the 'self'.

The translation flounders in some instances with overlong sentences contrived similies and awkward words. The glossary at the end robs the novel of a bit of its charm and romance.

There is no formula for a good novel, but an essential feature is the readers' need to know more as the plot thickens. *Orange Moon* is successful in this respect. However, another feature that this reader considers vital is the ability of the novel to haunt the reader. If Sharat Kumar had removed his undoubtedly interesting epilogue, thrashing out his views on love, and relegated it into a book of essays propagating such ideas, perhaps this second condition too would have been met. ■

Swati Pal teaches English Literature at Janki Devi Memorial College, Delhi University, Delhi.

Stories with a Wide Trope

Vijaya Ramaswamy

DOGRI FOLK TALES

By Shivnath

Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi, 2001, pp.176, Rs.80.00

The phrase 'Once upon a time' never fails to provoke a sense of anticipation in most of us. There is after all a child who continues to reside in the adult. It is precisely with this sense of anticipation that I picked up this book of Dogri folk tales and I was not disappointed.

These are simple tales presented with sincerity and charm. To the present day folklorist/anthropologist, oral traditions constitute 'soft evidence'. In the absence of historical or literary documentation of the lives of the common folk, oral traditions such as folk tales, ballads and folk songs become invaluable as sources of information, providing the key to what historians today call 'alternative histories'. A folklorist cum anthropologist, speaking of folk traditions, put it succinctly: 'Soft evidence may be poor evidence but it is evidence'. I am sure scholars of ethno-history could use this set of Dogri tales with profit.

My primary interest is these stories themselves which have a wide trope ranging from didactic tales to powerful women-oriented themes. There is however no attempt by the editor and translator, Shivnath to straitjacket these stories into neat categories. The tales flow spontaneously as it were winding their way through a maze of magic, mysteries and devotional themes.

The very first tale tells us that the active force behind creation was Parvati's Shakti rather than Siva's power. In the tale she is referred to as 'Bidh Mata', 'Bidh' meaning 'destiny'. The males were shaped strong and sinewy by Siva and the women made slender and beautiful by Parvati. When the Devas raised doubts about the sheer biological inequality between the sexes, Parvati assured them saying: 'I am giving a special piece of my shakti to her. With this, she will remain the Centre of Life. ...woman will become a storehouse of mental power. Where energy in man will show itself in the shape of physical strength, my Shakti in the mind of woman will remain hidden. When a woman uses this energy consciously or unconsciously, she will be capable of altering destiny' (pp.13-14).

Why is the moon cool and soothing and the sun hot and scorching? Thereby hangs a Dogri tale where the cosmic universe gets linked to the domestic hearth. The sun and the moon were both sons of Bidh Mata. The sun was disobedient and rude to his mother. One day his mother pleaded with him to

rub her aching back. Instead of easing her pain the naughty son/sun scorched her back and hurt her with a prickly broom. Seeing his mother's pain the moon started applying balm to her back and fanned her with cool breath. The mother cursed the sun saying, "You'll always continue to burn in the same way as you made my back burn." She blessed the moon saying, "The way you've soothed me, you'll always remain cool and comforting." And so... Given the importance of the Bidh Mata in Dogri culture it seems but natural that destiny should play a powerful role in many of these tales ('Destiny', 'The Lucky One:Punnu', 'Jasmine Flower', etc). While strong faith in destiny characterizes many of these stories one is surprised by the occasional element of deviance which creeps into some of them. The story 'Who is Untouchable' clearly indicates that a man/woman is Brahmin or Shudra by deed and not so much by birth.

The story reminds one of the Jabala Maharshi tale from the *Chandogya Upanishad* which is part of the Sanskrit tradition. Jabali is a low caste 'servant' woman who gives birth to an illegitimate child. She sends the boy to a Gurukul where the boy truthfully narrates the nature of his birth and the fact that he knows only his mother. The teacher tells him that his brahminhood is proved by his quality of truthfulness and takes him in. 'Who is Untouchable' is a story well worth further research. Stories like

'Woman's Will' and 'Riddle Girl' are women oriented and focus on the courage and initiative of women. The key idea in the tales being "Woman is the mistress of her will" (p.102). The opening story which talks about Shakti also reflects the concept of woman power. 'Rain of Fishes' however talks not so much about women's will as about her cunning.

One is reminded of the 'greater tradition' of *Panchatantra* tales while reading stories like 'A Sparrow and a Buffalo' and 'A Vixen and a Cock', stories which are didactic as well as entertaining. In this particular genre the 'The Hair of Gold' is endearing because of its charming prosody.

The collection consists of fifty-six folk tales from Dogri culture. A brief review like the present one cannot do justice to these wide ranging stories. I would just like to say that *Dogri Folk Tales* makes good reading on a rainy day and will be an interesting gift to give book-thirsty youngsters. ■

Vijaya Ramaswamy is in history faculty, Delhi University.

BOOKS ON SPIRITUAL/RELIGIOUS HEALING

HEALING THE FUTURE

The Journey Within

DEEPAK KASHYAP

A rational look at spirituality...difficult to dismiss —*Life Positive*

A genuine and comprehensive book on yoga and self-help...

—K.N. Rao, Author and astrologer

ISBN: 81-7822-039-3

Rs. 225



THE ART AND SCIENCE OF PSYCHIC HEALING

LARRY M. McDANIEL
Phyllis G. McDaniel

The present volume illustrates how psychic power can be used for greater personal relationships and sexual harmony. —*Life Positive*

ISBN: 81-7822-030-x

Rs. 150



HOW TO ACHIEVE INCREDIBLE RESULTS BY INSPIRATION

P. VATSALA
T. GOKULAN

The story of those who follow their conscience and witness a greater power taking charge of their destiny, supplemented with inspiring anecdotes and discussions on the glory of a Sadguru. —*Life Positive*

ISBN: 81-7822-035-0

Rs. 195



THE HINDU MIND Fundamentals of Hindu Religion and Philosophy for All Ages

BANSI PANDIT

It presents the fundamentals of Hindu religious and philosophical thought in a logical and straight-forward manner.

ISBN: 81-7822-007-5

Rs. 395



New Age Books

A-44 Naraina, Phase-I, New Delhi-110028

Ph.: (011) 589 5218, 589 5219 • Fax: (011) 579 7221

E-mail: nah@vsnl.in • Website: www.newagebooksindia.com

Two Very Different Poets

Rohini Mokashi Punekar

PARTICLES, JOTTINGS, SPARKS : THE COLLECTED BRIEF POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE
Translated by William Radice

SO FAR

By Gerson da Cunha

Both published by HarperCollins India, pp. 202, 130, Rs. 195.00, 150.00

The most interesting feature of this volume of translations is its title, sounding oddly like something out of physics, perhaps lending credence to the claim, made frequently by his enthusiastic supporters, of Tagore's interest in science. The book is a painstakingly sincere effort to translate and put together three volumes of what Radice terms 'brief poems' that Tagore himself compiled, even the last, though it was published posthumously four years after his death. These volumes are *Kanika*, *Lekhan* and *Sphulंगा* translated by Radice as *Particles*, *Jottings* and *Sparks*. Tagore seems to have produced occasional poems all his life almost automatically, as thank-you notes, as introductions, as mementos, as autographs that have been preserved by an adoring public. The poet himself rather indulgently chided his admirers thus

*Why fill your bags with my every verbal scrap?
Things that belong to the dust should be left to
drop (p.21).*

But that does not seem to have deterred him from preserving the short poems in the above volume in various modes including printing them on aluminium sheets. Nor of course was the present translator held back in preserving them in English. To be fair to him Radice raises the question 'What is their place in world literature? How do they relate to the mass of poetry that we regard as native to the twentieth century?' (p.26) but does little to answer it. As translations the poems seem to be neat enough, Radice evidently has reservations about Tagore's skills as his own translator. But oh, what *are* the poems? How can they be taken seriously, their playful 'cosmic' overtones notwithstanding? Much has been made of Tagore's sense of mystery, his affectionate tone, the goodness that shines from the poems. His longer works, poems, novels, and plays perhaps bear these qualities out. But this reader must beg to excuse herself where the above volume of short poems is concerned. Consider for example a 'poem' titled 'Old and Young' from the collection *Particles*

*'Alas, you get more respect than I do,
Young hair complains to grey hair sadly.
Says grey, 'You can have the respect gladly-
Provided you make me as young as you can.'*

There are more in similar vein: loose hair to bound hair, the ocean to the sky, the begging bowl to the full purse, to mention just a few. The whole of *Particles* in fact consists of this extended dialogue over many poems between capitalized states of mind/qualities/ what have you. Is one expected to bow in reverence out of respect to 'Robi babu's' saintly reputation and pass in silence, or expose the myth and take the consequences? Significantly Radice invokes only the fulsome Yeats omitting to mention the other not so congratulatory reaction. The other two collections *Jottings* and *Sparks* are not much different in nature for all that the translator assures us to the contrary. Aphoristic, didactic and ponderously playful they are surely not the best of Tagore. Much hard work, however, has gone into the present volume of translations in terms of choosing correct editions of the original, including a couple of poems not known before, also attaching as appendices a few articles written by the poet. For this scholars of Tagore should be grateful.

Polished and urbane, the better poems in this collection by Gerson da Cunha work towards a quietness which is perhaps a mark of good poetry. One expects less after the rather patronizing foreword by Dom Moraes; indeed it is with a sense of pleased surprise that one reads this poetry where good sense and muted emotion combine with a sharp eye and a skill with words. Obviously Gerson da Cunha's background in advertising and communication, and experience in developmental work reveals itself. This book of poems is a result of his extensive travel as a member of the UNICEF to many parts of the developing world, recording significant observations of small details. The poems revolve round experiences in Africa, Latin America and India. One of the best poems in this volume is about the funeral of a driver murdered/killed in Uganda; the metaphor of the split second instant that separates life from death is arrestingly captured. The poem is worth quoting in full,

*The tiny vanities were lived out
that morning, bath and brush,
as if there was to be no end,
fresh shirt, accustomed shoes
and key in door. Unkempt look*

*avoided but not the secret
that waited on a green road
hurrying to the heart of Gulu.
Death crouched and instant
needs just one excuse to pounce:
life, driven by its tidied nails,
school fees and appointments
in Lira. Life, dear John,
weaves ceremonies for itself,
especially for when it stops,
as witness these moments of
your passing from the church,
under a blue flag of all things;
the crowd with whom you have
never had much to do before,
gravity suddenly and oddly new,
it takes six men to move you
in the casket you wear today
down the lengthening aisle,
away from Nassuna once for all.
Safe journey, John.
On some of us the metaphor
has dawned. We are moments
just behind you going home,
if not yet mourned.*

Note the cinematic rendering of the movement of the coffin. The voice is the poet's but speaking for the dead man, and the experience is eerily represented from the inside as it were: 'the oddly new gravity', 'the lengthening aisle'; the eye of the camera looks out from the coffin. Cunha does have an uncanny knack of inhabiting simultaneously more than one plane of existence whether physical or mental. Generally it succeeds, as it does in the poem above. Occasionally, however, it borders on the precious,

*Never an idle moment here
that somewhere else is not
tight with an idea cracking
open, or in a vein a tidal
bore of blood. Ceaselessly
a new-born, lit by a star in
the desert, eludes the sabers
of Herod.*

All things considered *So Far* is a volume of good poetry in an age when fiction straddles the literary world. True it does not attempt to probe or question burning problems, but in as much as it charts a diverse range of experiences flung across the globe, this unfussy verse may draw a parallel to the hybridity of contemporary Indian fiction in English. ■

Rohini Mokashi-Punekar is a member of the department of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati.

Special Issues on South Asia

The Book Review has been published as special issues on South Asia (October 2000, March 2001 and November-December 2001).

Order your copies now.

Rs. 60.00 each. A set of three Rs. 150.00

A Multi Disciplinary Study

S. Srinivasa Rao

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN RURAL INDIA: A GRASSROOTS VIEW

Edited by A. Swaminathan and P.R. Gopinathan Nair

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 574, Rs. 695.00

The book is an outcome of a broader 'National Research Project on Social Sector Strategies and Financing for Human Development in India', which is funded by UNDP, New Delhi and IDRC, Canada, and implemented through the Department of Economic Affairs, Government of India. Under this national project, studies were conducted during 1993-97 in different parts of the country on various themes of human development, namely, education and health care, demographic transition, food security and public distribution system, social security for vulnerable population groups, and employment security and generation schemes. The present volume is a part of the project focusing mainly on the aspects of access to and financing of education and the performance of elementary education in rural India, in particular. The research team that conducted studies on this theme was drawn from all parts of the country and also from more than one social science discipline. Therefore the studies that are reported in the book are multi-disciplinary in nature and also diverse in terms of coverage and geographic spread.

Another interesting feature of the book is that it starts with a broad macro-level analysis of elementary education in the country and then provides in-depth micro-level insights into the dynamics that are at play in promoting or in hampering the access to basic education. About ten micro-level studies were included in the book, covering almost all numerically large states and regions. Some of them even provide comparison with other states as well.

The editors in their introduction set the ground for micro-level studies by describing the patterns of variation across different regions and also the underlying factors for differential spread of education among various social groups. The macro-level trends show that there are wide variations in the educational progress across the regions, socio-economic classes and gender. For instance, the differences between the literacy rates of states such as Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and states such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, leave much to be desired in achieving the goals of universal elementary education. The literacy rate differentials between Scheduled Castes/Tribes and non-Scheduled Castes/Tribes, minorities and the majority, men and women, rich and the poor, rural and urban, send alarming signals to the policy makers. But, what the policy makers lack is the concern for issues like how and why certain regions, states, socio-cultural groups, social classes gained in the

process of educational progress and why others could not in spite of target group oriented, area specific, decentralized, child-centric strategies for achieving UEE. Against this backdrop, the editors have brought out succinctly the implications of the trends in order to help the decision-making establishment to understand the social dynamics at the grassroots level and pave the way for a meaningful education policy-making.

Sarathi Acharya looks into the salient features of literacy and access to elementary education in rural areas of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh with the help of secondary data sources. According to him, there is strong evidence to suggest that historical and social forces have influenced the determination of access in both the states. One agrees with his observation that gender, economic class, caste, tribe are the major limiting factors for universal access to elementary education. Some of the assumptions made by the author need empirical corroboration before they are stated universally. For instance, the assumption that the access to education is expected to progressively increase with the availability of a school within a village, requires substantiation. Because, even when a school is situated in the same village or in the same habitation, many a times, children are found to be outside the schooling system.

Anuradha Pande in her article on the education of rural children in the then hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh, now part of a new state of Uttaranchal, examines the variations in spread of literacy between Uttaranchal and the rest of Uttar Pradesh. She mixes meticulously the historical background with the macro-level mapping of inter-district variations with the help of secondary data and micro-level survey of a few villages. Pande stresses more on the ecological and environmental problems as the reason for the failure of girls' education. Ravi Srivastava also provides some of the contrasts of the hilly areas of Uttar Pradesh (Uttaranchal) and the eastern parts of the state. The enormous statistical data and analysis presented in the article, linking both and non-school factors for access to basic education in Uttar Pradesh provide illuminating insights.

The case of Andhra Pradesh among all the South Indian states is interesting in terms of its position in the literacy map. Andhra Pradesh has more resemblance with the so called BIMARU states than other states in South India. In this context, the study by Krishnaji on the issues of poverty, gender and schooling assume relevance. The districts chosen for the study, Mehboobnagar and Adilabad, are in the backward Telangana region and their situation

can be compared to any other backward region of the country. Joseph A. Thomas presents the dynamics of educational development in four backward villages in Malabar region of Kerala. This article also reflects the contrast between highly literate southern Kerala and comparatively less literate northern Kerala. It also brings out the sudden improvement in the literacy rate among the two districts selected for the study, Mallapuram and Palghat, in recent years though they still lag behind the state average. Interestingly, the study did not find the discrimination of the girl child in three of the four villages that are Muslim dominated. Enrollment rates were found to be higher and the drop out rates lower in these villages. The reason for this is the initiative shown by religious reformists, who combined both religious and secular education to bring the children to schools. The findings of the study may unravel some of the myths about minority education in the country.

Malathi Duraiswamy in her article attempts to provide an analysis of the determinants of child schooling, private household expenditure on schooling and linkages between the school quality and the child schooling in two districts of Tamil Nadu. Though the findings of this study are not new and have been reinforced by many studies in the past, the analysis of interlinkages among the economic indicators, social context and education of children in a rural area make the study interesting. Manabi Majumdar presents another interesting article with a comparative perspective between two states, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan. Tamil Nadu presents the case of an educationally advantageous state and Rajasthan is disadvantaged in literacy and educational opportunities. Comparisons of this nature are very relevant as they present what is common and what is different in each one's case. For that matter, comparisons between a less developed district and a highly developed district within a particular state as presented in an article by M.K. Jabbi and C. Rajya Lakshmi on the education of marginal groups in Bihar also provide certain lessons for policy makers.

Githa Nambissan's article is an important addition to this volume because it takes care of the issues of social and cultural diversity and its impact on the schooling patterns, an area that has received less attention from sociologists of education. The article presents a careful balance between the perspectives of education and sociology. Sailabala Devi's article on equality of access to education in Orissa is more or less on the lines of earlier studies.

The book is certainly a pioneering effort and its interdisciplinarity is one of its major strengths. However, the predominance of economists tilts to some extent the coverage of the studies. Except in the case of one or two articles, it seems to have affected the mixture of perspectives from other social science disciplines. ■

S. Srinivasa Rao is an Assistant Professor in Sociology of Education at Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Knowledge Constructs About Child Development

Renu Malaviya

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVES FROM INDIA

By Radhika Viruru

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 189, Rs. 225.00

The book starts with an apparently irrelevant narration of how the Indian construct of a child looks at them as poor eaters. This further leads to the parents sending large quantity of food in the child's lunch box. The author uses this and similar other examples to highlight how there are multiple ways in which childhood is constructed, yet the 'official construct' is nearly always based upon the western knowledge construct about the science of child development.

As one proceeds through the book, the reader also experiences how the author's own knowledge constructs about child development and its applications into early childhood education evolved. During her days when she was doing her post graduation studies, she assimilated and was convinced about the absolute correctness of all the western constructs about the science of child development and school education. Gradually the observation that knowledge construct could have multiple angles and layers dawned upon her. This further led her to question whether there actually is a separate construct of childhood in the Indian scenario or whether there is just a continuity between the child and adult. Finally the author seems to question whose knowledge is actually the yardstick for judging the school system as well as ourselves.

The author guides the reader effectively along the multiple realities that exist in the postcolonial eastern concepts of knowledge and its application to early childhood education. Simple obvious situations have been effectively fitted into the social jiz-saw puzzle and yet the content of the text is left to the reader to generalize into their own specific situations.

The author focuses upon how the 'privilege knowledge' with its roots in the western ideas of childhood has its emphasis upon logical reasoning and that logical reasoning has not only a developmental part but also a social and political context. The impact of this on the curricular content of early childhood education in the West has led to the focus upon individual over the group and cognitive over the socio-emotional. With examples from Shishu Van school in India, she has tried to show that even the very ideas of logical reasoning have culturally constructed concepts in them. The guided tour of Shishu Van school and the teaching-learning processes therein has

highlighted the variations with regard to the western notion of 'personal separateness' and the Indian notion of multiple perspectives that coexist without any one of them taking the more dominant position. Further, even as the author focuses upon the discourse of choices being interrelated to the concept of plentiful, she reflects upon whether control over minor materialistic choices or other more important choices carries more meaning.

As the reader moves on from the collective experiences at Shishu Van to the individual case of a child and its contextualization to the multiple notions of childhood in India, one is again caught speculating about the variations in adult-child boundaries and continuity in the Indian and the western context. The author also brings out effectively how the forces of modernization lead the child towards conflicting socialization processes with emphasis on differentiation and autonomy on the one hand and the silent discourse to accept the adult's 'wisdom' on the other hand. The 'silent communication' of what is left unsaid carries more weightage here than does the verbal and action orientated communication. Similarly Viruru explains how the differentiation of space and age related responsibilities are western concepts of child development. Thus the multiple realities of the Indian childhood include many contradictions, complexities and ambiguities. The author explains that this really signifies a commonality that underlies all human experiences. Hence the very concept of children's experiences being different from adult experiences have a strong cultural base.

These concepts of adult-child continuity, contradictions, complexities and ambiguities as well as 'silent voices' are taken along in an attempt to construct the educational scenario in postcolonial India. Simple British rituals in schools, such as morning assembly, still remain part of the school system. Yet they have become a unique blend of complex realities. The English language is very much a part of the Indian psyche, but children learn to negotiate through multiple languages and to use them in appropriation to the context and person. Even the academics in schools is a complex concept, which on the surface may appear very western, yet a deeper look highlights its relation to the Hindu philosophy of 'moksha' and 'maya'. The author relates these

... there are multiple ways in which childhood is constructed, yet the 'official construct' is nearly always based upon the western knowledge construct about the science of child development.

philosophical concepts to why the higher level of learning is considered to be through mental thoughts and memorization is considered a way to engage the mind as well as why Indian schooling still remains so academically oriented. Yet further the concepts of labelling and categorization of children is non-existent except when it comes to academics.

Viruru has again and again brought up the issue of silent discourses in the Indian context and how silence speaks louder than verbal communication. In contrast to the developmental model of early childhood education, life at Shishu Van had no appropriately correct norms for daily life. This again relates to the philosophy of tolerance and acceptance, so predominant in Indian culture. Although the locus of control remained with the adults at school the children still had immense power of negotiation.

The book highlights that colonization of children, both physically and mentally, continues in the school system in many different yet obvious ways. Indian voices are not heard as they do not fit the 'western ears' and more so the construct of Indian childhood (or rather the multi-layered Indian construct) is not heard or even recognized as it just does not fit into the predominate western construct of childhood. The collective is still more important in the art and science of Indian living whereas the schooling system with its colonial past tries, often ineffectively to focus upon individualism with a 'single layer approach'.

An interesting, informative and thought provoking reading for any person interested in early childhood education. Yet at places the author does seem to jump from making one point to another, leaving the first in between. One is left with the feeling that the author has so much to say and the thoughts and ideas flow faster than the written word is able to capture. The historical construct of childhood in India is well depicted but its connectedness to schooling and living at Shishu Van schools could have been still more, thus leading to an even better flow and continuity to the theme of postcolonial perspective. ■

Renu Malaviya, a reader and Head of the Department of Education, Lady Irwin College, University of Delhi. She has specialized in Child development and Pedagogy of teaching-learning processes.

Critiquing Pedagogic Norms

Minati Panda

TEACHING AND LEARNING: THE CULTURE OF PEDAGOGY

By Prema Clarke

Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 223, Rs. 250.00

Prema Clarke attempts a difficult task in critiquing the prevailing norms of teaching and learning by using culture as a framework for analysis. With the help of a unique combination of methods like ethnographic interviewing and classroom observation, Clarke unfolds the perceptions and beliefs of teachers and the mechanics of teaching in India. She records extensively and minutely the underlying rationale and beliefs of teachers. The book claims to provide a vivid description and analysis of Indian teachers' perceptions of their tasks, roles and responsibilities and analyses those in the Indian cultural context.

The book comprises six chapters. The first chapter draws upon literature in social anthropology and cultural psychology to examine different cultural models to study teacher thinking. The chapter examines the appropriateness of teacher thinking as cultural models and introduces the explicit and implicit models to study teacher thinking in India. The second chapter provides an historical overview of teaching and learning in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial India. Taking a detour through the available historical accounts, she disagrees with the commonly held view that 'all of Indian education is foreign'. Instead she suggests that there are many aspects of the contemporary Indian educational system (such as repetition and memorization as main forms of learning) which are rooted in native pedagogical practices. During the Vedic period, repetition and memorization were valued as predominant pedagogical methods of instruction—across the centuries, instructional practices in India appear to have had few deviations from their traditional course (p. 34). She however admits that the British did not intervene aggressively as it helped them get the trained manpower, who did not question British supremacy. Clarke also discusses Gandhi's notion of education and contrasts this with Froebel's pedagogy. She mentions the most current national attempt "Competency Based Learning" though without critically examining this model. This approach being the most recent deserves a more honest and open discussion in the book.

Chapters 3 and 4 enumerate the explicit cultural models of teacher thinking through observing 12 mathematics teachers and 12 social studies teachers in areas like instruc-

tional goals, communication of knowledge and teacher-student interaction in private, government and semi-government schools in Bangalore. Both teachers' self-articulated constructions obtained through interview data and, acted out praxis models captured through teacher's classroom performances describe explicit models of teacher thinking and teaching. Whereas, the implicit models abstracted from teacher's explicit models through a process of analytical interpretation, are discussed in chapter 5. They include acceptance of regulation, knowledge as static and divorced from reality, textbooks as perfect and imperfect containers of the syllabus, hierarchy as a necessary organizational feature and dissonance of pedagogy in government school classrooms (p. 138). Clarke also discusses in this chapter the broader meaning system surrounding both teachers and students that are derived from the analysis of the interconnectedness and inter-subjectivity of explicit and implicit cultural models of teacher thinking and teaching. These three chapters convincingly portray the way in which the Indian students are socialized into the culture of learning, which is receiving rather than inquiry-oriented. In this culture, collective decision making prevails over arguments and counter-arguments in the class. Teachers have very little faith in children's ability to construct their own knowledge and also set parameters for the application of acquired knowledge. In the end, she discusses the policy implications of this study for the country and suggests some major reforms in the area of teacher training. The last chapter provides a good account of the research design used in this study.

The glaring omission in the book appears to be the absence of any debate on politics of curriculum in a multicultural society like India. The book naively places all the blame on the country's cultural past while the author reviews only Vedic learning. The book ignores other major traditions of learning that were prevalent in the past. For example, the country has also had a long tradition of Upanishadic learning where continuous dialogue between teacher and students was the main form of learning. In this, dialogue was generally initiated by students and teacher and students together debated to discover the truth. The Upanishads provides running accounts of numerous such dialogues and knowledge

construction (and discovery) processes. Therefore, it may not be right to equate indigenous systems of learning with the Vedic system of learning.

With the help of a unique combination of methods like ethnographic interviewing and classroom observation, Clarke unfolds the perceptions and beliefs of teachers and the mechanics of teaching in India.

Subtle if not huge differences were found between the private and government and government aided schools in the present study. The study could not powerfully explain the differences probably because of the non-inclusion of two very important and socially relevant dimensions in the discourse i.e. power and politics. Though the National Education Policy, 1986 talks about contextualization of education, some impact could be seen in private schools that cater to children from upper middle class and middle class families. Whereas, almost no impact has been found in government and government-aided schools. This reflects the power relations among the people from upper middle class and lower middle class in the country and its impact on curriculum and classroom teaching.

The last chapter highlights Clarke's debate on indigenization and contextualization. The author in this chapter seems to have adopted a narrow view of indigenization, especially when she argues for making contextualization as the educational goal rather than indigenization. She appears to have treated these two concepts as functionally antagonistic. In case of ethnic minorities like tribals in India, many researchers hold the view that contextualization can be attained through indigenization of education. Here they refer basically to the folk ways of learning and treat localization and indigenization as overlapping phenomena. Therefore, except in a few areas, it is difficult to draw contradictions between these concepts.

However, the message that Ms. Clarke provides very consistently throughout the book and also in the last but one chapter is that the country should aim at fostering higher order thinking among children. Clarke's thorough understanding of the formal educational system of the country and its cultural milieu has been revealed in the last part of chapter 5, wherein she discusses the reforms in teaching and learning. ■

Minati Panda is Assistant Professor in Social Psychology, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Conceptualizing Knowledge Principles

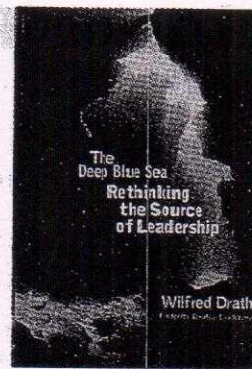
Vasanti Srinivasan

THE DEEP BLUE SEA: RETHINKING THE SOURCE OF LEADERSHIP

By Wilfred Drath

Jossey-Bass Business and Management Series and

The Center for Creative Leadership, San Francisco, 2001, pp. 187, \$ 27.95



Not another book on leadership was my first reaction when I received the book titled *The Deep Blue Sea—Rethinking the Source of Leadership* by Wilfred Drath. The book however turned out to be rich in substance and introspective. The essence of the book is—leadership does not rest in a single individual; it is the property of a social system; it happens when people participate in collaborative forms of thought and action. This participation results in shared leadership.

The book draws a distinction between leadership styles that most of us are familiar with and knowledge principles of leadership. A leadership style is an approach that a leader chooses to take. It is something that a leader has control over and hence is able to utilize effectively. A knowledge principle according to the author is a set of ideas, a set of rules, about the nature of reality and life that are taken for granted to be true. It exists in the minds of people, but may not be articulated. To understand these realities, a process of dialogue and understanding would be required. Most leadership theories are based on an individual perspective that is style based. The author uses three knowledge principles to conceptualize leadership. The three knowledge principles of leadership are personal dominance, interpersonal influence and relational dialogue.

The first knowledge principle, personal dominance, is a way of understanding leadership as the personal quality or characteristic of a certain kind of person called the leader. Historically, this is the oldest conceptualization of leadership and the one all of us understand.

The second principle is interpersonal influence. Leadership happens when groups of people through interactions agree and disagree and influence each other and the most influential person claims the role of a leader. The difference here is that instead of personal characteristics it is the power of negotiation and influence that determines leadership. The theorists belonging to the situational and contingency leadership schools subscribe to this view of leadership.

The third principle, relational dialogue, is the author's conceptualization of leadership. Leadership occurs when people who have to accomplish their shared work use dialogue and collaborative learning to understand the multiple worldviews that different people have. This principle requires a mutual

acknowledgement of shared work; a recognition that differing worldviews held are equally worthy; a relational dialogue across the worldviews and a process of shared meaning making.

According to the author, whatever be the knowledge principle, any leadership has to accomplish three tasks—setting direction, creating and maintaining commitment of the people within the organization and facing adaptive challenge i.e. a challenge confronting an organization for which it has no pre-existing tools or solutions. The leadership tasks cover the tasks related to defining mission, setting goals, creating vision, motivating followers, creating and managing change, teamwork and fostering innovation. The book explores the relationship between the three knowledge principles of leadership and the three leadership tasks.

In reality, most of us have experienced the first two knowledge principles. The third one however is in the making today across the world. The framework of relational dialogue is of great importance for organizations in the knowledge economy, which are loosely knit structures. Virtual and dispersed teams are the reality. Change is the only known constant factor. In this scenario, the critical questions are: How do people working together bring leadership in to being in such contexts? How can their capacity for leadership be increased and what role do individuals play in creating, sustaining and developing leadership? Is the leader and follower role necessary? Are there other roles, which we have not understood? These questions are best answered by bringing forth the third principle in organizations and communities.

What is it that individuals and organizations need to do to make this happen? There is an urgent need to cultivate a process of sense making in organizations based on dialogue. This would require that people change their mindsets about meetings and the manner in which work has to be conducted. Most of the meetings tend to focus on problem solving, analytical presentation and decision-making. But if one were to focus on a narrative mode of thinking, i.e., expressing something through a story of the cause and effect relationships it is likely to be more meaningful. It also means a willingness to give up one's cherished beliefs, principles; be open to others realities, beliefs

and principles and arrive at a result that is far more meaningful. All others in the group need to experience this richness and meaningfulness in the sense making process.

Is this utopian, unrealistic, naïve, unreal or impossible? These are the first set of adjectives that come to one's mind. To illustrate the concepts covered in the book, the author has developed the story of a fictitious company—the Zoffner Piano Company to illustrate this framework. Elena the heroine of the story inherits the company from her father who epitomizes the first principle. Realizing that she is not a natural leader like her father and recognizing that the organizational members also do not see her as a leader the way they did with her father, she works towards an alternate process of leadership. She begins to influence the others by using more listening, participation and involvement. The leadership process using the second knowledge principle works for some time, till Zoffner is confronted with a crisis that threatens the existence of the organization.

Elena then decides to take the managers away from their work to engage in a process of reconstructing their multiple realities. The recognition of multiple valid contradicting realities affords an opportunity for the entire team to understand each other. This results in every member taking personal responsibility for their actions and the future of Zoffner, which they never did during her father's days or even during her leadership.

The story has been woven brilliantly around the three themes and by the time one completes the first four chapters of the book, one is tempted to flip the pages and go to the last chapter just to read the climax of the story. The strength of the book lies in using a single story to get the readers to stay connected to the idea and then gradually develop the various themes that are interrelated through the various chapters.

The major shortcoming of the book is its verbosity. The author repeats the idea frequently and this disturbs the flow in some chapters. The book is not an easy first reading and to internalize the ideas multiple reading is recommended. ■

Vasanti Srinivasan teaches Organizational Behaviour at the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore.

Protecting Trees

N.C. Saxena

BRANCHING OUT: JOINT FOREST MANAGEMENT IN INDIA

By Nandini Sundar, Roger Jeffery, and Neil Thin with eight others
Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 289, Rs 595. 00

It is widely believed that involvement and collaboration of the people can make the development efforts by governments more effective, transparent and sustainable. In the context of forestry projects participation of local communities would improve forest productivity, alleviate poverty and increase environmental stability. It would also build consensus within the community, which is often vital for effective protection and regeneration of denuded forests. Participation may however vary from information sharing (one way communication) to consultation (two way communication); collaboration (shared control over decisions and resources) and finally to empowerment (transfer of control over decisions and resources). In this context India's experiment since 1988 with a new people-oriented forest policy and with involving the local communities in forest management assumes great significance for the developing countries both for resource development and poverty alleviation.

This book is an analytical study of the origins, regional variations, and shortcomings of various Joint Forest Management (JFM) projects in India. It is based on intensive field work in 16 villages equally divided in four forest divisions, one each from Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Gujarat, and is a sequel to the authors' earlier work, *A New Moral Economy for India's Forests: Discourses of Community and Participation* (Sage, 1999). It shows that far from being a simple, unified programme, JFM started in different states due to different local factors; in Gujarat due to the work of various NGOs, in MP because of orders and monetary inducements from the World Bank through the state government, in Orissa almost entirely due to the efforts of numerous self-initiated forest protection groups with government often playing a negative role, whereas in AP the programme is characterized by the keen interest taken by the Chief Minister that has given it a high degree of media profile plus a lot of success.

The problems JFM addressed varied across states, and even among villages within a division. In the Paderu villages of AP, JFM was used to check shifting cultivation, in Rajpipla, Gujarat it was seen as a way to reduce conflict between the villagers and the forest department (FD), in Orissa FD attempted to gain control over forests protected by the people, and in MP 'problems' included both encroachment and smuggling.

The outcome too varied from village to

village. However, some generalizations can be made about the results achieved after years of 'joint' management. On the positive side, the most explicit objective—afforestation of degraded forests—was achieved in many places, at least in the short run, in the process providing subsistence and wages to those living near forests. Rather than oscillating between the simplistic poles of state and village community, JFM has opened up space for more complex arrangements for forest management with objectives shifting from timber production to multiple products more amenable to gathering by the poor. Conflict between FD and the people also diminished, but JFM shifted conflict to the village level: between and within villages, with FD emerging as arbiter rather than as a party to conflict. Thus JFM helped in improving the image of the Forest Department.

People-oriented policies have a legitimizing role for the state power. Deforestation and land degradation weaken the state, whereas land rehabilitation policies make people depend more on the state authority, and thus strengthen the state. Many activists in MP oppose JFM because it is successful. They see it as an underhand means of stopping encroachments, and 'as a reformist illusion aimed at diverting attention from the real demand for complete people's control' (p.72).

Did JFM succeed in transferring decision making and control over resources to the poor? Certainly not. On the other hand, clear patterns emerged whereby men were being empowered and potentially enriched at the expense of women, local elites at the expense of the local poor, and settled villagers at the expense of migrants and poor forest-distant users. JFM has thus strengthened existing power structures, since the JFM committees are managed by the same elites who manage other village resources and committees. Poor communities with no long-term stake in forest protection see the projects as merely providing wage employment that may end when the project ends.

It is important to distinguish between a strategy that encourages people to protect trees during the limited life of a project and one that encourages the development of forest conservation and protection as social capital, with benefits to the community that go beyond the period of the project. The JFM strategy has failed to pay enough attention to the poorest people in India's forest dependent communities, such as artisans, headloaders and podu (shifting) cultivators. The emphasis of

People-oriented policies have a legitimizing role for the state power. Deforestation and land degradation weaken the state, whereas land rehabilitation policies make people depend more on the state authority, and thus strengthen the state.

joint forest management should thus shift from merely giving incentives in the form of wages or share in produce to building social capital and community capability.

There are other problems too. Many non-timber forest products (NTFPs) remain nationalized as government monopolies, with gatherers having no rights to process, store, and transport NTFPs without government permits that are difficult to obtain. Due to such uncompetitive policies, the collection and incomes of tribal populations remains less than what it would be without such controls. Projects must be designed to increase the organizational capacity of villagers so that their management is genuinely participatory, socially equitable, and economically rewarding. Empowered communities may then focus on obtaining credit, creating community assets (such as schools and wells), or investing in farm and non-farm economic activities. These economic benefits are often long lasting and sustained.

The JFM strategy may have helped in the regeneration of degraded forests but it has not yet contributed to the development of long-lived social and economic capital. The state has clearly succeeded in kick-starting a JFM industry, with many donors, academics, NGOs, and forest staff themselves thinking and writing about JFM, but whether this translates into a genuine social movement is debatable.

Despite the limited success of JFM, the authors have rightly concluded that India does offer a basic model of participatory forest management—a patch of degraded land being protected by a small community with technical and monetary help from government—that has been applied in many other countries. One of the first source book on this subject, it is going to be of immense value to state governments, field workers, policy makers, donors and NGOs. The book is a rare combination of extensive field study, social science insights and policy studies, and should be a good reference material for researchers and academics interested in participation and natural resource management. ■

N.C. Saxena, on long sabbatical from government, was Secretary, Planning Commission, and earlier Secretary Rural Development in Government of India. He has contributed several books and articles on rural livelihoods, natural resource management, and governance.

An Emotive, Contentious Issue

M.K. Ranjitsinh

INDIA'S FOREST POLICY AND FOREST LAWS

By Chatrapati Singh

Natraj Publishers, Dehra Dun, 2000, pp. 338, Rs. 395.00

This book, published posthumously, is the second work of its kind by the author. It gives not merely an overview of forest law and policy of India, but goes into depth and detail of the state forest laws and related legislations and their applications and implementations in the various states of the country: Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Haryana and Maharashtra. It would have been very appropriate if Kerala, Bihar and perhaps more critical the "seven sister" states of the Northeast had also been covered, as that would have made the treatise more comprehensive. Perhaps the untimely demise of the author is responsible for this omission. Issues related to joint forest management are discussed at some length and there is a special chapter on the tree grower's cooperative project. Land ceiling and wasteland development, rights of the local people, local institutions, village forests, farm-forestry, wildlife and land-use are touched upon, as are the impact and ramifications of Central Government Acts like the Forest Conservation Act, Indian Forest Act and of the National Forest Policy. The impact of the Environment Protection Act 1986 with its powers to declare sensitive zones, is somehow omitted.

Forest conservation and management has always been an emotive and contentious issue. As the book says at the very outset, "The history of state forestry has indeed been a history of social conflict," quoting an English vicar as saying "Liberty and forest laws are incompatible". On the one side are professional foresters who believe that timber production can only be ensured through exclusion of human and livestock exploitation and their usage of forests. On the other are peasants, pastoralists and local users of forest produce on which they are partially or wholly dependent and whose cause is being taken up by social activists. It is pointed out, and logically so, that in a democratic set-up forests can only survive on a long-term basis with the partnership and participation of the local communities.

Both sides have very graphic and telling arguments and examples to strengthen their respective viewpoints. The 1952 Forest Policy of the Government of India was indeed production forestry oriented, emphasizing the need to develop and manage forests as a revenue earning resource. The emphasis was upon timber production and to a lesser extent, bamboo. The non-timber tree species were classified as "miscellaneous" and non-timber produce including bamboo was called "minor forest produce" (MFP), overlooking the fact

that "miscellaneous" trees and MFP were far more important both ecologically and for the local economy and livelihood than timber. Large tracts of "miscellaneous" forests were converted into teak and even the exotic eucalyptus and even some of the "sal" tracts were "converted". In the Singhbhum tract of Bihar, now Jharkhand, the sal gave sustenance to both the soil and the local people throughout its 80 year life-cycle, while from the teak they only got less than a rupee worth of wages once in 60 years when it was harvested by the forest department. The sal came to symbolize the people and the Jharkhand movement, the usurping teak the government and the State of Bihar. The tribals came to call teak the "sarkari" tree and cut down teak plantations. Grasslands, both within and outside of forests, the most productive terrestrial ecosystems in the world, were ignored as they bore no trees and were either sought to be converted into forest, or were settled with forest villages or outright surrendered to the Revenue Department for distribution to the landless. Bamboo has been sold to a Birla owned rayon company for a rupee a ton, while a villager could not get a single bamboo pole for that amount.

The forester's lobby also has some sad tales to tell. The old "taungya" practice introduced by the British by which the forest settlers were allowed to practice agriculture till the tree canopy came up in forest "coupes", failed miserably, the people never moving away to other cut "coupes" as they were supposed to and became permanent encroachers. Collection of sal seed and *tendu* leaves for bidi-making is responsible for upto five repeated fires in as many months causing devastation of the forest, and incessant and heavy grazing is impoverishing the soil, bio-diversity and the capacity of the forest to regenerate. The much vaunted joint forest management (JFM) has failed in far more places than either the government or the social activists would dare admit and huge forest tracts in Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere have been occupied for cultivation under the guise of JFM.

In the past economic aspects have been sovereign in forestry. The human protagonists advocate social aspects as sovereign in forest management these days and the government is mostly falling in line as the people, not trees, have votes. Neither economic, nor social factors should be sovereign. In the Indian context, if not the world over, the ecological aspect must be paramount.

This is not to deny the needs of local communities. These have to be met with through farm forestry and biomass production on communal lands and village forests. Forests

per se must be viewed as an ecological entity—as a saviour of top soil and productivity, as a retainer of water regimes and as a repository of bio-diversity. Yes, its utilization can be done, but only that of its harvestable surplus after ensuring its long-term ecological viability and productivity at the optimum level, not its current degraded level. This means giving the forest a rest for it to recuperate so that it reaches its optimum level of production and then harvesting its growth so that its sustainable use does not degenerate it below its optimum level. This is its rational and sustainable use, and the level of harvest must be determined on scientific or technical basis, not on demographic demands or political convenience. What is practised today and what is advocated, tacitly or otherwise, by the social activists is that the needs of the local communities must be met with first and the remainder will be conserved by the people themselves participating in that conservation. They deliberately overlook two factors. First, that what were hithertofore small subsistence level forest communities gathering from the forest their own basic requirements and for sale to purchase their basic needs, have become much larger settlements whose standards of living and hence their needs have increased and they are harvesting the forest produce not merely for survival, but for economic well-being, as is their right. It is an interesting fact that social and farm forestry succeeds where the people have no access to forests, in as much the highest milk production in the country occurs in areas like Haryana, Punjab and South Gujarat where lack of free-grazing enforces stall-feeding of cattle. If forest or grazing areas are available, however degraded or distant, it is a free lunch and goodbye to social forestry or stall feeding. There are no free lunches in ecology; the nation pays for this profligacy.

The second factor that is also conveniently glossed over is that if the local communities have rights over forest produce, they also have a duty to protect it and an obligation not to overuse it. If they fail to fulfill their duty and obligation, they *ipso facto* forfeit their right. No social activist or NGO emphasizes this social contract.

The solution lies in eco-centric, not an economic nor populist harvesting of forests, the local communities having first claim to the forest produce thus obtained. Attempts must be made to both educate and involve people in forest conservation. People's participation is crucial, but its basis must be performance, not dogma. At no point of time can long-term conservation interest be jeopardized as that would jeopardize the ecological and hence socio-economic security of the country.

If there is a flaw in the book, it is the fact that ecological aspects of forest management is not adequately emphasized and tends to become subservient to social demands. ■

M.K. Ranjitsinh, a former member of the Indian Administrative Service, is an expert on wildlife and currently Adviser (NH), Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, New Delhi.

Journals At a Glance

HINDI: LANGUAGE, DISCOURSE, WRITING

A Quarterly Journal of the Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University, Vol. 2, No. 2, July-September 2001
General Editor: Ashok Vajpeyi
Editor: Rustom Singh



Wags may quip about Hindi being written in English and international lit-fests abound with heartfelt murmurs about the dominance of English and the neglect of Indian languages. To a serious reader of literature however the mere fact of being able to a 'acquaint' oneself with what is being written in languages one may not read oneself, would be sufficient reason to publish a journal like *Hindi*. If it were simultaneously translated into *all* the Indian languages, 'gold would acquire fragrance'.

This issue of Hindi focusses largely on the poetry of Teji Grover and Gagan Gill. The editor's self-conscious distancing from all attempts to impose restrictive, narrow categorizations like 'women writers' apart, the translations of twelve and fourteen poems respectively of the two poets plus a critical inquiry into their work as a whole is commendable.

The issue has short stories by Jaishankar Prasad, a long interview with painter Ambadas, a review of *Philosophy in Classical India* by Jonardon Ganeri (why not a review of a Hindi book on philosophy, one might ask), and a brilliant essay by Narendra Panjwani on romantic Hindi films of the 1950s and sixties, could well constitute getting one's money's worth.

However there is more. A delightful piece by Avinash Kumar on 'Nationalism as Bestseller: Chand's 'Phansi Ank', a sociological commentary on the colonial period and the role played by Little Magazines is material for a literary archive.

CHANDRABHAGA : A SELECTION OF INDIAN WRITING

New Series, Number 4, 2001
Editor: Jayanta Mahapatra
Single copy: Rs. 10.00, Annual: Rs. 200.00



Veteran Jayanta Mahapatra carries on battling all odds. Poetry occupies centrestage in this issue (65 poems in translation) with four short stories, translated from the Telugu, Tamil, Oriya, Assamiya, Bangla, Malayalam and Manipuri. "I write about/The Noises that/Knock at the door in the middle of the night....I write about/Those people that/Squabble about fame standing on endless roads/And about/The dreams

that blossom/The wheels that roll/And I write about myself/And how I became bare as leaf after leaf falls from me" (Kannada poem by G.S. Sivarudrappa). As the Tamil proverb says, testing a grain is enough to prove that a pot of rice is cooked. The quality of translations published by Jayantada speak for the selections.

PRATIK: A MAGAZINE OF CONTEMPORARY WRITING

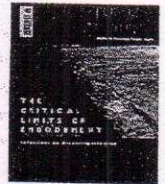
(Quarterly), Volume 12, No. 1, 2001 Spring
Editor: Yuyutsu R.D. Sharma
Rs. 100.00 (Individual) and Rs. 200.00 (Libraries) for a single copy.



This issue of *Pratik* has as its centrepiece four young Nepali poets—Pramod Snehi, Tanka Uprety, Rasa and Govardhan Puja. There are translations of short stories and poems by Bisham Sahni, Vishnu Prabhakar, Jayanta Mahapatra, Raghuvir Sahay, Shamsheer Bahadur Singh, Gopal Honnalgere, Dev Shanker Navin and Eva Toth. E.V. Ramakrishna's article on The Ethics of Imagination: Ecology and Violence in an Age of Market Economy, a critical essay on Emerging Trends in Nepali Poetry and an interview with Eva Toth, the Hungarian poet, constitute the rest of this slim 72-page issue of *Pratik*.

PUBLIC CULTURE

The Critical Limits of Embodiment: Reflections on Disability Criticism
Volume 13, Number 3, Fall 2001
Founding Editors: Carol A. Breckenridge & Arjun Appadurai
Published by the Society for Transnational Cultural Studies, U.S.A.



This issue of *Public Culture* guest edited by Carol A. Breckenridge and Candance Vogler is the outcome of a conference on the subject held at the University of Chicago in May 2000: In the words of the Editor Elizabeth A. Povinelli, the essays put together in this volume show the way that this emergent field of study and activism might convey and extend the spirit of a radical critique of corporeality. "These essays examine the responsibilities of embodiment, not only those of governmental agencies and local and national publics charged with caring for persons with various forms of disabilities, but also our own—and how we come to hold certain persons responsible for certain forms of embodiment".

Contributors include Eli Clare, Sharon L. Snyder and David T. Mitchell, W.J.T. Mitchell, Wu Hang, Hank Vogler, Kyeong-Hee Choi, Celeste Langan, Susan Schweik, Alexa Wright, Veena Das and Renu Addlakha, Rayana Rapp and Faye Ginsberg and Eva Feder Kittay.

Books-In-Brief

THE PENGUIN GUIDE TO USING THE INTERNET IN INDIA

by Pratik Kanjilal
Penguin Books, 2001, pp. 290, Rs. 195.00



This elegant little book which can be slipped into a pocket or a handbag purports to have all the tips and tricks to work effectively online. The author claims that this is the best and worst time to write a book on the Internet—best because the Nobel Prize for Physics went to the founding fathers of the digital age. Worst because the boom is over.

Written with a sense of humour the book has all sorts of information, some quaint, some funny and plenty of tips. It enlightens the reader on anything and everything to do with the Internet. From Simon the original Ur-PC to mail etiquette to hoaxes to the laws governing the Internet. Tongue in cheek or just wittily imparted information is for the reader to decide. Here is an example:

Books-In-Brief

Tehelka.com

Alternative chilli pepper-driven news site which redrew the correct boundaries for reporting in a thoroughly incorrect nation. After the cricket rigging and Defencegate expose, it had its back to the wall. The stories made very good journalistic sense, but very poor business sense. According to the grapevine, Tehelka is now being helped out by NRIs who are sickened by India's corruption. If it's true, it sets a new and very welcome trend of finance with a conscience.

INDIAN FOOD SENSE: A HEALTH AND NUTRITION GUIDE TO TRADITIONAL RECIPES

By Ruth N. Davidar
East West Books, Madras, 2001, pp. 294, Rs. 250.00

An easy reference book on nutrition—it is aimed at the misinformed, underinformed and uninformed. A must for people who are most

susceptible to food selection based on social acceptance, fads, food taboos and superstitious beliefs and particularly those misled by advertisements. In three parts the book highlights the rudiments of nutrition, has a compilation of traditional Indian recipes with emphasis on low-fat cooking, and lists ingredients with regional names, the different nutrients in food and home remedies. It is peppered with little boxed items "Did You Know" with nuggets of useful information like "All nuts and oilseeds comprise natural, invisible fat that equals half their weight".

An informative book interestingly written.



SACRED WATERS: A PILGRIMAGE TO THE MANY SOURCES

By Stephen Alter
Penguin Books, 2001, pp. 356, Rs. 295.00

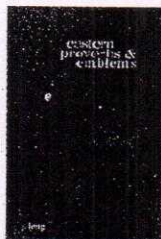
The author takes the reader on a journey down the Ganga in search of answers, not just spiritual but physical, emotional, personal and sometimes even scientific. On a pilgrimage involving a different form of inquiry. Alter while describing the physical journey intertwines it with explorations of tales from the epics, connection between natural history and mystical experience. The reader travels with Alter from Rishikesh to the Valley of Flower. The geographical description is constantly and continuously enlivened with myths and legends, stories and facts.

EASTERN PROVERBS AND EMBLEMS

By J. Long
Rupa & Co., 2002, pp. 280, Rs. 150.00

This book, the end result of twenty-five years' of work, a collection of Eastern Proverbs and Emblems, is aimed at orientalists, lovers of folklore, teachers and preachers. The matter collected shows parallels in variant races. They have been drawn from many Eastern regions, from Chinese, Urdu, Afghan, Telugu, Russian, Hebrew, Bengali, Greek, Sanskrit and even Galic.

Emblems, Parables and Proverbs of Buddhist preachers, Biblical writings and Sufi teachers all find a place in the book.



FRIENDS COLONY: A MODERN FABLE FROM THE HIMALAYAN KINGDOM

By Mani Dixit
Rupa, 2002, pp. 108, Rs. 80.00

A tale in which animals live with human beings who, with their petty foibles and political culture, are on a path of destruction. The animals in their turn show that taking turns to be the master of the jungle can be beneficial to all. Thus the "seven year cycle" in which the elephant, hare, monkey, bear, stag, rhinoceros and the tiger are Lords of the jungle one after another, leads to the setting up of an eco-friendly world.

Originally published in *The Kantipur* as "Bandu Ko Basti"--a combined story with M. Ranjan Baral (8 August 1998)--this book began in the "year of the tiger" according to the Chinese, Tibetan and Gurung calendars. Nepal said to be the house of the tiger which is in the process of becoming extinct.

Mani Dixit, a Nepalese born in Kathmandu studied medicine and has written fiction for the young. This is an enjoyable read for the young and the adult-young-at-heart.

JAKE'S TOWER

By Elizabeth Laird
Macmillan Children's Books, 2001, pp. 154, £9.99

"I'm planning my dream house. It's going to be very tall and thin, a tower really. There's a moat all around it and the only way over it is by a drawbridge that's pulled up all the time. My room is at the very top. It's totally safe up there."

In Jake's real life he's never safe. His stepfather can turn violent and hurt him whenever he feels like it. So Jake escapes to a fantasy place where he lives with the person he most longs to meet--his dad.

The author of the unforgettable novel *Red Sky in the Morning* which was commended for the Carnegie Medal and short listed for the Children's Book Award, writes yet another powerful story of love that triumphs over cruelty.

Elizabeth Laird's other books for children include the *Wild Things* series, *Kiss the Dust* (winner of the Children's Book Award) and *Secret Friends* (nominated for the Carnegie Medal).



THE MAKING OF A TEACHER: CONVERSATION WITH EKNATH EASWARAN

By Tim and Carol Flinders
Penguin Books, 2002, pp. 191, Rs. 200.00

This is a book about Easwaran a teacher of meditation and the founder of Blue Mountain Center of Meditation. He is a prolific writer of books on meditation and the spiritual life. The book aims at tracing his development as a spiritual leader and is not to be read as a biography or a memoir. This is the Indian reprint of the 1989 imprint of Nilgiri Press, Berkeley.

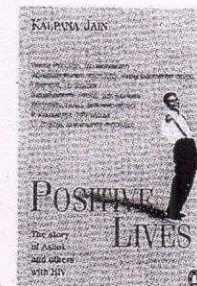


POSITIVE LIVES: THE STORY OF ASHOK AND OTHERS WITH HIV

By Kalpana Jain
Penguin Books, 2002, pp. 300, Rs. 250.00

AIDS has been raising its virulent head all over the world at a phenomenal pace. By 2001 four million men, women and children had been affected by it in India alone. *Positive Lives* depicts the life of Ashok Jain who from a victim went on to battle for AIDS sufferers' rights.

Written with courage and hope it is a guide to the victims of this terrible scourge to deal with the stigma and shame, isolation and loneliness. The addresses of Positive, People's Networks is a boon to those who are floundering rudderless with this deadly disease.



ART & CULTURE

Satyajit Ray: In Search of the Modern by Suranjan Ganguly examines in depth six of Ray's major films which reflect Ray's interest in how a culture shapes consciousness through its encounter with history and modernity. Indialog Publications, 2001, pp. 175, Rs. 250.00

LAW

Law, Strategies, Ideologies: Legislating Forests in Colonial India by Akhileshwar Pathak provides new perspectives to our understanding of modern law and its origins. Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 185, Rs. 550.00

HISTORICAL STUDIES

Identity Mania; Fundamentalism and the Politicization of Cultural Differences by Thomas Meyer analyses the social, economic and political factors that contribute to the success of the fundamentalist clash-of-civilizations ideology. Mosaic Books, New Delhi, pp. 152, Rs. 250.00 (hard cover)

The Ideas and The Men Behind The Indian Constitution: Selections from the Constituent Assembly Debates (1946-49) edited by Bimal Prasad seeks to analyse the roots of the ideas governing the drawing up of the Constitution. Konark Publishers, 2001, pp. 239, Rs. 400.00

LITERATURE

The Hindi Public Sphere—1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism by Francesca Orsini analyses how a language became the instrument with which the contours of a new nation were traced. Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 486, Rs. 695.00

Virtual Realities by Neelum Saran Gour is the hilarious story of two compulsive storytellers—Sraavan (novelist, bored husband) and Buddhoo (chatterbox, merry bachelor). Penguin India, 2002, pp. 241, Rs. 250.00

Middle India: Selected Short Stories by Bhisam Sahni, translated by Gillian Wright, a collection of seventeen short stories, explores the humanity of individuals and their places in society. Penguin, 2001, pp. 244, Rs. 295.00

Madbavi by Bhisam Sahni, translated from the Hindi by Alok Bhalla recounts an ancient tale from the *Mahabharata*. Seagull Books, 2002, pp. 68, price not stated.

SPIRITUAL STUDIES

Overman: The Intermediary Between the Human and the Supramental Being by Georges Van Vrekhem, a metaphysical study, dwells upon the concept of the ultimate progression of man into a highly enlightened species. Rupa & Co., 2001, pp. 189, Rs. 195.00

URBAN STUDIES

City Improbable: An Anthology of Writings on Delhi edited by Khushwant Singh brings together articles by residents, refugees, travelers and invaders who have engaged with the city at various moments in its long history. Viking, 2001, pp. 286, Rs. 395.00

SOUTH ASIA

Intra and Inter-State Conflicts in South Asia edited by Sudhir Jacob George seeks to explore state-society ties for the unresolved ethnic, regional, ecological, linguistic and border related tensions as the sources of the diverse conflicts occurring in South Asia. South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 310, Rs. 450.00

Ethnicity, Identity and the State in South Asia edited by Kousar J. Azam, a collection of seminar papers presented at an international conference at the IACIS/ASRC in June 2000, attempts to review the changing face of ethnicity in the wake of the emerging confluence between the local and the global after globalization. South Asian Publishers, New-Delhi, 2001, pp. 345, Rs., 500.00

War at the Top of the World: The Clash for Mastery of Asia by Eric S. Margolis takes the reader through the geopolitical complexities of the region and the tense situation obtaining due to the Indo-Pak nuclear stand off as well as the rival interests of extra regional powers in the area. Roli Books (Lotus Collection), 2001, pp. 250, Rs. 395.00

Pakistan History and Politics 1947-1971 by M. Rafique Afzal is a comprehensive account encompassing a wide range of developments as well as the democratic and military systems that have governed Pakistan over twenty-four years of its existence as a state. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, pp. 490, price not mentioned.

India Emerging Power by Stephen P. Cohen offers an assessment of India's strategic and political power since it became a declared nuclear weapons state in 1998 and the Kargil war in 1999, and argues that India has

become, with China and Japan, one of the three most important states in Asia. Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C., 2001, pp. 377, price not mentioned.

India's Emerging Nuclear Posture: Between Recessed Deterrent and Ready Arsenal by Ashley J. Tellis seeks to explain the prevailing attitudes towards nuclear weaponry among Indian security managers to provide a broad assessment of India's strategic interests, institutional structures and security goals. Rand, 2001, pp. 885, price not mentioned.

The United States and Pakistan 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies by Dennis Cux draws heavily on primary documentary sources and interviews to give a comprehensive account of the roller-coaster relationship between the two countries. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, pp. 470, Pakistan Rupees 595.00

From a Head, Through a Head, To a Head: The Secret Channel Between The US and China Through Pakistan by F.S. Aijazuddin traces the sequence of events in the evolving relationship between the three countries in the years 1969-71 and the Indo-Pak war of 1971. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2000, pp. 163, price not mentioned.

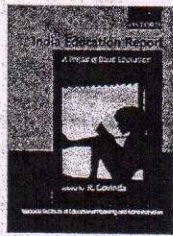
Political Islam in the Indian Subcontinent: The Jamaat-i-Islami by Frederic Grare seeks to underscore the points of convergence and limits of cooperation between Islamist movements by looking at the regional and international strategies of the Jamaat-i-Islami. Manohar Publishers, 2001, pp. 134, Rs. 200.00

Out of the Nuclear Shadow edited by Smitu Kothari and Zia Mian is a collection of diverse voices that speak out against nuclear politics and for peace in India and Pakistan. Lokayan and Rainbow Publishers with Zed Books, London, 2001, pp. 525, Rs. 275.00

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: A Centenary Tribute edited by Asloob A. Ansari attempts to look at the larger-than-life personality of a man who was singlehandedly responsible for helping Muslims to emerge from the medieval to the modern era. Adam Publishers; Delhi, 2001, pp. 496, Rs. 500.00

Once A Happy Valley: Memoirs of an ICS Officer in Sindh, 1938-1948 by Roger Pearce spans a dynamic period in the history of the subcontinent coinciding with Roger Pearce's career in the Indian Civil Service. Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001, pp. 514, price not mentioned.

from Oxford...



India Education Report
A Profile of Basic Education
Edited by R. Govinda

The *India Education Report* is a unique volume presenting, for the first time, a comprehensive overview of the status of basic education in India that goes beyond the usual statistics on literacy and school enrolment. It is the outcome of a detailed and reflective review of all aspects of the Indian education system undertaken on the occasion of the world forum on *Education For All*, convened in Dakar in 2000.

A key feature of this report is that its contributors are all independent experts who present a critical but purposeful analyses of the scale and complexity of the issues involved. The reviews not only serve as useful and objective benchmarks on the status of *Education For All* but also
0195657950 2002
267 x 205 mm Rs 300



Selected Writings for Children
Rabindranath Tagore
Sukanta Chaudhuri

This book extends the image of Rabindranath Tagore in the

world's eyes, and offers readers a rich insight into one of the most attractive yet least explored aspects of Rabindranath's life and imagination.

The book also contains a wealth of illustrations by Rabindranath himself, his circle and the members of the Shantiniketan community. All in all, it constitutes a treasury of funny, colourful, thoughtful writing touched by the mind of an all-time genius.

The translations were made by Sukanta Chaudhuri, Sukhendu Ray and Suvro Chatterjee. Sukanta Chaudhuri, the General Editor of The Oxford Tagore Translations series, has also contributed the Introduction and detailed notes. This volume will provide readers — children and adults alike — with a window to a world rich in fantasy, wit, and expression.

0195658736 2002
215 x 140 mm Rs 495



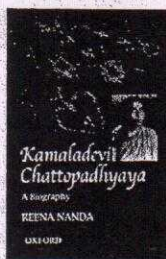
Conflict Unending
Indo-Pakistani Tensions
Since 1947
Sumit Ganguly

Ever since Independence, India and Pakistan have been locked in seemingly unending conflict. This book investigates this mutual hostility, offering a detailed account of the four wars and several crises that have punctuated Indo-Pakistani relations. In a timely epilogue, the author assesses the repercussions of the

September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the political balance of the region.

The only full-length study of the Indo-Pakistani tensions, *Conflict Unending* will be a standard reference for political scientists, policy-makers, journalists, and anyone else interested in the past or the future of war and peace in South Asia.

0195651901 2002
215 x 140 mm Rs 395

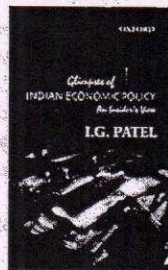


Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya
A Biography
Reena Nanda

This book focuses on the pioneering women's rights crusader, and leader of the crafts movement, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. The author succeeds in placing 'Kamaladevi's life in the historical context of the nationalist movement while simultaneously bringing out her personality.

After Independence, Kamaladevi's untiring work to save handicrafts and handlooms began when Jawaharlal Nehru appointed her head of the Handicrafts Board, but continued long after she stopped holding formal office. Later, as Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, she worked to enrich folk art performances, and brought together theatre workers and traditional artists.

0195653645 2002
215 x 140 mm Rs 345



Glimpses of Indian Economic Policy
An Insider's View
I.G. Patel

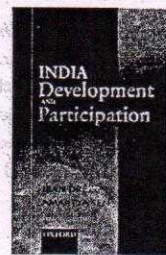
This volume presents I.G. Patel's reflections on, and recollections of, India's economic policy as it evolved from the 1950s to the 1980s. It captures his growth as an economist, policy advisor and international diplomat. It is a biographical account of his views and his relationships with the country's five Prime Ministers and several ministers, economists and bureaucrats.

Patel dwells on various milestones in the economic history of modern India: the Second Five Year Plan; the drift towards foreign aid and a regime of controls; the response to the Chinese war and gold control; the 1966 devaluation; the nationalization of banks; the Bangladesh war; the beginning of systemic corruption; the politicization of economic life and institutions; and the response to the second oil crisis. The narrative is interspersed with his musings on the sequence of events and the issues surrounding them at the time.

019565885X 2002
215 x 140 mm Rs 395

India Development and Participation

Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen
This book explores the role of public action in eliminating deprivation and expanding human freedoms in India. The



analysis is based on a broad and integrated view of development, which focuses on well-being and freedom rather than the standard indicators of economic growth. The authors place human agency at the centre of stage, and stress the complementary roles of different institutions (economic, social and political) in enhancing effective freedoms.

In comparative international perspective, the Indian economy has done reasonably well in the period following the economic reforms initiated in the early nineties. However, relatively high aggregate economic growth coexists with the persistence of endemic deprivation and deep social failures. Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen relate this imbalance to the continued neglect, in the post-reform period, of public involvement in crucial fields such as basic education, health care, social security, environmental protection, gender equity, and civil rights, and also to the imposition of new burdens such as the accelerated expansion of military expenditure. Further, the authors link these distortions of public priorities with deep-seated inequalities of social influence and political power.

The book discusses the possibility of addressing these biases through more active democratic practice.

0195658752 2002
215 x 140 mm Rs 395

- Kolkata: Plot No. A1-5, Block GP, Sector V, Salt Lake Electronics Complex, Kolkata 700091
- Delhi: 2/11 Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002 • Chennai: Oxford House, 219 Anna Salai, Chennai 600006
- Mumbai: Oxford House, Apollo Bunder, Mumbai 400001

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN - 0195658752