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Original papers that fall within the scope of the Journal shall be submitted by e-mail. An Abstract of the article in about 150 words must accompany the papers. The length of research papers shall be between 5000 and 7000 words. However, short notes, perspectives and lengthy papers will be published if the contents could justify.

Notes should be placed at the end of the text and their location in the text marked by superscript Arabic Numerals. References should be cited within the text in parenthesis.

Example : (Sambandhan 2007:190)

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Soldier, Diplomat, Historian: Mark Wilks and the Representations of Empire in the Early Nineteenth Century

Venkata Raghotham

Abstract

Mark Wilks, like any contemporary of the Enlightenment was attracted to the characteristic differences in the forms of civil society and royal power in India and Europe. Caste and Despotism were invoked as literary tropes to explain and rationalize the apparent unchanging nature of the Indian society—vegetating in the teeth of time—in the purple prose of Karl Marx. Rejecting the then widely accepted theory of environmental determinism, Wilks argued that despotism, by which he meant absence of “civil liberty” was the result of the absence of written law and the infusion of religion in purely secular matters of civil society and its functioning.

Introduction: Issues and Perspectives

Mark Wilks (1759-1831) remains a curiously neglected historian of the early nineteenth century, a period that saw the emergence of British paramountcy over India. As a soldier, Lt Col. Mark Wilks participated in several of the battles that were fought in southern India and was with General James Stuart when Tipu Sultan's capital was stormed in May 1799. As a diplomat, Mark Wilks, the Resident at the restored court of the Wodiyars at Mysore, was quite successful in bringing Mysore firmly into the grip of the administration of the Madras Presidency. Committed to the restoration of what was then regarded as an ‘ancient dynasty,’ Mark Wilks had to deftly subvert powerful votaries of outright annexation of the territories of Tipu Sultan and he undertook a long range historical investigation that combined the principles of enlightenment historiography with the analysis and

representation of the histories of states, cultures and societies that differ fundamentally from the prevailing notions of property, civil society and government. Wilks in his Historical Sketches of the south of India made a pioneering attempt to place the political structure encountered by the English in southern India in the historical context of the disintegration of the Vijayanagara Empire and in doing so laid the basis for a historical methodology that is still relevant in that the combined epigraphic evidence with the material collected by Colin Mackenzie: the weakness of the later corrected by the strengths of the former.

With Edward Said's Orientalism and the consequent rise of post-colonial theoretical constructs, texts such as Mark Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India are interrogated for traces suggesting ‘identity,’ ‘ideology’ and more recently artifacts that “fashion” individuals. The

methodological principle involved in such analyses in the elaboration of a discursive field linking within texts with a host of institutions, ideas and political and economic interests. Historians like Robert Orme, Mark Wilks, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Grant Duff are generally viewed as ‘imperial historians’ whose works in the words of Burton Stein constitute a ‘trophy of domination’ (Stein 1985:387).

The highly charged military and political context in which these historians wrote their works, the Carnatic Wars, the Mysore Wars and the Anglo-Mahratta Wars lends credence to the view of Stein. All four of these early historians were participants in military engagements with Indian states and therefore their views were necessarily colored by their experiences. In her path breaking India Inscribed: European and British Writings on India's 1600-1800, Kate Teltscher has used techniques of literary analysis in order to demonstrate the common assumption, strategies and imagery shared by early historian and travel writers that reflect the “anxieties of empire”. Linda Colley has added yet another dimension to the post colonial perspectives by arguing that the experience of captivity was central to the growing sense of English / British identity (Colley 2002:307).

An important intellectual factor in the history of the second half of the eighteenth century was the influence of the European Enlightenment particularly its engagement with historiography and the past. In scholarly interpretations of the writings of historians such as Mark Wilks the influence of the Enlightenment is hardly ever emphasized even though his monumental Historical Sketches of South of India bears three important marks of enlightenment historiography. Firstly, Wilks was able to reconstruct for the first time a continuous narrative of the history of peninsular India from the early thirteenth century by scouring historical materials in three different languages: Persian,

Kannada and Telugu. Secondly, historical events such as wars, battles, rise and fall of dynasties are placed in a context that is sensitive to both the structural features of continuity and the contingent features of change. Finally, Wilks, sensitive to the Enlightenment project of comparative ethnography, attempted to identify the linkage between ‘civil society’ and political power and in doing so created the concept of south Indian villages being ‘little republics’, a notion that entered western social and political theory through the writings of Karl Marx. The earliest description of rural agrarian communities of Mysore as ‘little republics’ are found in Historical Sketches and Marx cites Wilks as his authority when he analysed the unchanging nature of Indian social formation that constituted the foundations for a despotic political order.

In this paper we attempt an analysis of Mark Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India with a view to uncovering the influence of the Enlightenment on his concept of historiography. We have examined Mark Wilks' reconstruction of the early history of the Vijayanagarara Empire in order to demonstrate the lien critical method had on his approach to history. Secondly, we investigate Wilks' treatment of the history of Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Indian historians have excoriated Wilks for his “bitter invective” against these two rulers (Habib 1999:xviii). We argue, herein, that part of his denunciation of the Hyder-Tipu regime stems from the political context informing his work: a justification for the restoration of the Wodeyar dynasty under the subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. Finally, we examine the participation of the Indians in the establishment of the company raj. Individuals like Diwan Purnaiya who served both Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and as Prime Minister under Krishna Raj Wodeyar possessed the ability to transcend regime change and retain agency at the time of rapid and momentous change.

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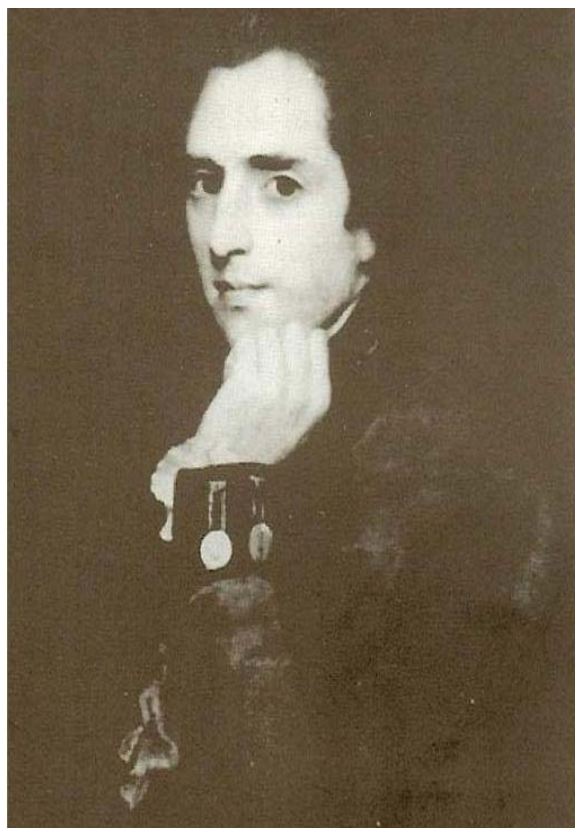


Figure 1 : Mark Wilks as a Lieutenant in 6 Madras Native Infantry probably painted 1795-99 (Courtesy of Director MNH)

Mark Wilks: A Brief Biography

Mark Wilks remains a shadowy figure in spite of having behind a historical masterpiece and several letters together with the correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Mysore Residency. Recently professor L.B. Thrower has pieced together his life in his *From Mann to Mysore: the Indian Careers of Col Mark Wilks FRS and Lt Gen Sir Mark Cubbon*. Based on private papers preserved in the Isle of Man and British library this book explores the life of Wilks and his nephew Mark Cubbon from a biographical perspective and there is little analysis of his historical scholarship and intellectual influences

(Thrower 2006). The classical education Mark Wilks acquired at the Isle of Man is attested by his frequent references to Herodotus, Livy, Strabo, Nearchus and other Greek and Latin writers of antiquity. His life long interest in classical literature and scholarship made Wilks give the following piece of advice to his young nephew Mark Cubbon in a letter written on May 9, 1807.

I advice you above all things not to allow your classical education to slip through: in Greek you had not made sufficient progress to hold your own with facility, and although the first of languages it may go if you find it troublesome to recover (Thrower 2006:88).

Apart from solicitous concern for Cubbons' classical education Mark Wilks could always be relied upon to send his nephew Octavo volumes of Greek works.

The classical education imparted to Mark Wilks destined him to one of the non conformist ministries like his famous namesake from Norfolk. However, a career in the East India Company was widely regarded as opening the wide doors of fame, fortune and prosperity, while the ministry would only lead to religious and spiritual solace. With the backing of Sir Henry Fletcher, Deputy Chairman of the court of Directors, Mark Wilks secured a cadetship in the Madras Army in 1781 when he was 21 and was commissioned officer in 1782. Since the Madras Army worked closely with the Political Department of Fort St. George cadets like Mark Wilks were trained in the Persian language and they retained a life long interest in Persian literature. Wilks published an English translation of the Persian poet Nasir-ud-din's, *Aklak-i-Nasiri in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The lengthy correspondence Mark Wilks had with Lt Col. William Kirkpatrick dealing with the nuances of Persian prosody provides evidence of

his abiding interest in Persian literature. Ability to read Persian was considered essential for superior office in the Madras Army as Persian became language of diplomatic correspondence by the middle of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The Madras Army at the close of the eighteenth century was a patchwork of armed peasants drawn from the poorer, dry regions of peninsular India. The regiments constituting the Madras Native Infantry to which Mark Wilks was seconded consisted of troops that had fought in the two earlier Carnatic and Mysore wars (Wilson 1883:38). Co ordination of both strategy and logistics was the responsibility of the Military Board at the Fort. In 1786 Mark Wilks with the rank of captain was appointed Deputy-Secretary of the Military Board and in 1787 accompanied Barry Close on a diplomatic mission to Mysore. In 1788 Wilks was appointed Town Major and soon after became aide-de-camp to Col. James Stuart, becoming military secretary in 1794. After a brief furlough in England, Wilks returned and served as private secretary to Lord Edward Clive and it is the delicate mission undertaken by Wilks as Clive's secretary with which William Darlymple's *White Mughals* begins.

In 1803 when John Malcolm was sent as the agent of the East India Company to Basra, Mark Wilks was appointed Resident at Mysore and served as political resident until 1808 when he returned to England.

The second phase of Mark Wilks life began with his appointment as Governor of Saint Helena, an island in the Atlantic Ocean. This island was one of several acquired by the East India Company in the seventeenth century when its sailing ships needed a port before beginning the long arduous and dangerous passage circumnavigating the Cape of Good Hope. The

East India Company did not essentially trade in slaves, but its employees were not above indulging in that inhuman trade. Saint Helena was known to play host to slaving ships sailing across the Atlantic from the west coast of Africa. It appears that for sometimes towards the close of the eighteenth century slaves were being brought to Saint Helena from Bengal. The Indian Records series of Fort-William-India House Correspondence in its volume XIII p.225 contains an important document that sheds light on this trade. It must be mentioned that Mark Wilks, as Governor of Saint Helena, though he did not or could not outlaw slavery, seems to have taken a humanistic view and the tombstone of Samuel Ally, a freed slave at Kirby in the Isle of Mann provides a moving testimony to this fact (Thrower 2006:98).

Mark Wilks, as Governor of Saint Helena, was responsible for the safety and well being of its most illustrious inhabitant, Napoleon, the deposed emperor of France. The French Emperor seems to have held Mark Wilks in high regard. Henry Lowe, Wilks successor was a study in contrast and Napoleon seems to have had a healthy disregard for him. At Saint Helena, Mark Wilks continued the work associated with the Enlightenment inviting the famed botanist William Roxburg who had set up the botanical garden in Calcutta to help with the cultivation of cinchona obtained from South America at Saint Helena with the ultimate purpose of introducing commercial cultivation in India.

Upon his return from India, Mark Wilks settled in the Isle of Man where he owned the beautiful estate of Kirby. Having lost his son, John Barry, named for Col. Barry Close, Wilks remained a devoted parent to his only daughter, Laura. Scholarly recognition to study of south Indian history came in the form of a fellowship of the Royal Society and was the Vice President of the

Royal Asiatic society for several years. His public service in the Isle of Man saw him being elected to the house of Keys in 1811 and in 1823 was elected Speaker of the House (Thrower 2006:98).

In this brief sketch of the life of Mark Wilks we have attempted to show the extraordinary career of a young man from the remote islands of the British Isles to high office. The East India Company provided both opportunities as well as challenges and by physically locating the spatial distribution of places associated with the life of Mark Wilks we may begin to appreciate the global reach the East India Company had acquired: Isle of Mann, London, Madras, Calcutta and Saint Helena. Mark Wilks makes a global perspective possible in that all the major events and personalities of the late eighteenth century intersected with his own individual biography (Ogborn 2008). The American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the Rise of Napoleon, the bitter contest with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in Southern India, public debate over slavery and the impeachment of Warren Hastings were all public events in the life of Mark Wilks and can illustrate the extent to which historical events shape and transform the lives and fortunes of ordinary mortals.

Wilks and the Mackenzie Collections

The influence of the Enlightenment on the canons of historical scholarship and the conventions of historiographical representation was considerable. Historical scholarship was being underpinned by whole panoply of devices, the footnote being one of them, whose purpose was the transparent evocation of evidence on which the narrative rested (Grafton 1998). Mark Wilks was among the earliest historians to use both literary and inscriptional evidence in his work. Unlike James Stuart Mill who used only English language records of the East India Company, Wilks integrated material from the traditional accounts preserved

in the Mackenzie Collection in his narrative (Majeed 1992: 148). Political and military events analysed within the framework of an exact chronology, with lengthy analysis of land and property relations, together with detailed reflections of English interests in India, threatened first by the American Revolution and second by the Napoleonic aftermath seen through the prism of Balance of Power, are the outstanding features of Wilks' historiography.

Quite early into his scholarly pursuit, Mark Wilks discovered the startling contrast between European conceptions of the historicity of human actions and therefore rationally apprehensible and Indian indifference to historical events and their consequences. To quote Wilks:

The department of ancient history in the East in so deformed by fable and anachronism, that it may be considered an absolute blank in Indian literature. (Vol I:xxv)

This important statement reflects the fractured historical consciousness encountered by the officials of the East India Company in that there was indeed a strong emphasis on the puranic mythology and its regional variants in providing the cultural resources for memory and representations of the past. A more sympathetic interpretation of the same historiographical conundrum is found in the *Textures of Time: Writing History in South India* in which Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subramanyam point out:

A latent metaphysics animates each of these works and calls for analytical formulation, as is the case in any other historiographical text, from anywhere in the word. (Rao et.al.2001 252).

Mark Wilks preferred to read the material, particularly the documents collected from the

Mackenzie Collections, against the grain, accepting as evidence "facts" corroborated from inscriptions.

The eighteenth century antiquarians and historians encountered a genre of historical material that was novel in that European antiquity was unaware of its existence. These were the copper plate engraved inscriptions whose discovery during the course of Col. Colin Mackenzie's surveys led to the recognition that such records offer a window into the past. Yoking the elusive events of the past to the iron frame of time, disciplined by the use of a calendar, arranged in a linear direction, was the ideal of the Enlightenment and Mark Wilks clearly embraced this ideal:

These ancient documents are of a singularly curious texture; they almost always fix the chronology, and frequently enfold the genealogy and military history of the donor and his ancestor, with all that is remarkable in their civil instructions, a religious reforms; and the facts derived from these inscriptions are illustrated by a voluminous collections of manuscripts, which can the trusted with confidence so far as they are confirmed by these authentic documents (vol I: xxv).

In a letter dated 12 November 1809 to William Kirkpatrick, Mark Wilks referred to the immense problems he encountered in reconstructing the early chronology of south India and those stemming from the calendar introduced by Tipu Sultan (Mss Eur F 228:21). With the assistance of Abbas Ali, "field munshi" of Hyder Ali, Wilks hints at the preparation of a memorandum which is unfortunately lost. Synchronizing dates using the Adick or intercalary month that fell in the eleventh or twelfth month of the lunar calendar did lead to inconsistent chronology and hence CP Brown remarks:

Lt Col Mark Wilks in his *Historical Sketches* has given the genealogy of the rayar of that country but his dates are a riddle to me, they do not accord with any known reckoning and he does not expound his method (Brown 1853: preface).

Erroneous dates abound in *Historical Sketches* but Wilks attempted to bridge the gulf between chronological confusion and historical exactitude.

The foundation of Mark Wilks historical scholarship rests on the collection of material assembled by Col. Colin Mackenzie. Known as the Mackenzie Collection this assemblage of documents transcribed by nearly 20 Indian assistants has been neglected by historians as a source of history, primarily due to the fact that these records contain an impossible blend of fact, fiction and fanciful narration. In recent years this "Imperial Archives" as Nicholas Dirks terms it has been viewed as colonial "Britain's most extensive engagement with Indian history" (Dirks 2002: 82). The instrumental logic animating such surveys was spelt out clearly by Bernard Cohn when he argued that the "Surveys" and the knowledge gathered from surveys was transformed into "textual forms" that was "deployed by the colonial state in fixing, bounding and settling India" (Cohn 1997: 8).

Both Nicholas Dirks and Bernard Cohn align themselves firmly with Foucault's idea that ability to mark, see, observe and represent is inscribed with relations of power and dominance, the very basis of colonialism. This view, the dominant view in the post-colonial discourse on India, is misplaced in that it does not engage either with the individual agency or the larger cultural and intellectual world that existed outside of the micro world of colonialism. The issues of identity have become dominant in the field of post colonial

theory and the encounter between England and South India is reduced to ashioning and articulation of identities. A G Hopkins in a critique of post colonial perspectives has pointed out: “The new skepticism has enabled researchers to retreat from the hard political and economic questions that were once central to imperial history. Modes of production have been replaced by modes of discourse; ideas have become material forces; material forces as once understood have become epiphenomena” (Hopkins 1999:199).

The genre of historical materials used by Mark Wilks has been termed Karanam historiography. The manuscripts collected by Mackenzie and his assistants like Kavali Venkata Rao and Booria were late eighteenth and early nineteenth century renderings or redactions of late Vijayanagara prose texts recording the life, adventures, valor and political and ritual transactions of powerful warrior lineages link to the nayakas. Karanam historiography was not self consciously reflective but it did possess a structure, usually the genealogy—vamsavali—of the nayaka family, its incorporated diverse elements like wars, migrations, wonder stories, titles (birudas) awarded and danas (gifts) performed. Representing history in this form also provided a template for legitimacy in that such documents reflect on the wider domain of south Indian politics.

Mark Wilks recognized the utility of such records and in the true fashion of Enlightenment historian used the Mackenzie manuscripts to “illustrate the civil, military and religious institution.” (Vol I: xxv). In the eighteenth century, history moved beyond the limits of political and military events to investigate the larger world of society and economy—civil society--as that domain came to be called. Wilks’ reconstruction of the early history if the Vijayanagara Empire is entirely versed on the Mackenzie Collection as he

reproduces the Vidhyaranya myth in the account of the foundation of Vijayanagara (vol I: 18).

In a letter dated November 4, 1809, Mark Wilks states in some detail the literary material used, and refers to a History of Mysore compiled by Purnaiya (Mss Eur F 228:21). In the same letter he refers in passing to “intelligent and experienced Hindus who possessed journals or family manuscripts” (Mss Eur F 228: 21). A red book given to Mackenzie is stated to be “a great treasure”. It is obvious that in the 200 years since the compilation of the Mackenzie Papers, several of the records have been lost. Wilks also refers to a History of the Wodeyars which was written in Kannada language that was translated into Persian in 1798 at the behest of Tipu Sultan (vol I: xxi). Wilks was able to use the Persian version. This material eventually found a place in the Mackenzie Collection as it was passed on the Colin Mackenzie by Kirkpatrick, one of the commissioners for Mysore appointed by the Earle of Mornington. Apparently at the time of the sack of Srirangapattinam, the archives of the Mysore Kingdom were destroyed. Wilks refers to *Kaditams*, cloth books, on which royal records were written. From the references given by Mark Wilks it is possible to conclude that south Indian kingdom in the century and a half after the fall of Vijayanagara, had begun to record historical facts in an orderly manner, forming the basis of what historians now regard as the *Karanam* historiography. The Mackenzie collection offers or glimpse into the material such as Maisur Arasu Purvabhyudhya that reflects on the rise of the Wodeyars to prominence in the penumbra of Vijayanagara decline.

Mark Wilks and Vijayanagara

Mark Wilks’ approach to the history of Mysore was framed by two significant events—

the rise of Vijayanagara Empire in the middle of the fourteenth century and the usurpation of Hyder Ali that linked the History of the region with the larger domain of Islamic states and polities. For an understanding of the Turkish and Mughal periods of the Indian history, Wilks relied on the chronicle of Ferishta.

There is an important insight with which Wilks begins his analysis of the Vijayanagara Empire: the formation of regional languages and the politics of empire. “The ancient divisions of the country may be traced with great probability by the present limits of the spoken languages than by any other guide which is easily accessible...” The reason for the emphasis on language can be traced level to the belief prevalent amongst the philosophers of the Enlightenment that a common spoken language was the consequence of a shared history. Thus esentialising language Mark Wilks observed:

Identity of language may safely be admitted to prove identity of origin; and in the absense of more direct evidence constitutes a criterion of political union, less liable to change from the influence of time than any other test that can be proposed (vol I:5).

The European Enlightenment confronted the tangled question of the ‘origin of nations’ by positing a dyadic link between language and ethnicity. Mark Wilks in the passage cited in the previous paragraph was merely reflecting the scholarly consensus of his day. Projecting the spread of languages—Tamil, Telugu and Kannada—backward to the medieval past, Mark Wilks merely reified the process of identity formation based on linguistic affiliation, the enduring basis for an imagined linguistic grouping back into the Vijayanagara past. In attempting a homology between language and nation Mark

Wilks was merely echoing the sentiments of Francis Whyte Ell, his Madras based contemporary (Trautman 2006:113).

Wilks perception of Vijayanagara Empire as a “barrier to the progress of the Mohammedan arms”, was further elaborated by Robert Sewell in his the Forgotten Empire. This view is essentially derived from the traditional literary accounts preserved in the Mackenzie Collection, in which the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is attributed to Vidyaranya a sage under whose influence Hari Hara and Bukka are stated to have acted. As in the case of language, discussed earlier, here again we find a tendency towards reification, these times of religion. Recent historical researches have demonstrated that religious identities in Vijayanagara were complex and multi vocal (Raghotham 2002: 139).

Historical Sketches of the South of India published first in 1810, made a realistic attempt at placing Vijayanagara history in a universal framework. Like his famous contemporary, Edward Gibbon, Wilks also identified the rise of Islam as a powerful force that shaped the course of history and he placed the predatory expeditions of Malik Kafur and Ulugh Khan in the context of the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate, Again, presaging the argument of the Richard Eaton, Wilks saw the emergence of the Bahamani Sultanate and Vijayanagara as part of the same historical process and not as a reaction to the former.

The explanation of the Delhi Sultanate south of the Deccan is perspicaciously viewed by Wilks as a consequence of the expansion of the Mongols and the threat they posed to the Islamic polity. South India provided the wealth with which the Mongols were “bought off” as Wilks put it, quoting Ferishta as his source. The resultant redistribution of wealth in Mongol heartland is captured thus:

It is a curious fact that the plunder of the south India was thus transformed by a double process to be buried in the plains of Tartary (Vol I: 23).

In fact Mark Wilks points continuity between the Mongol invasion of 1398 under Taimur and the eventual establishment of the Timurid House in India under Babar merely a century later. Mark Wilks, like any contemporary of the Enlightenment was attracted to the characteristic differences in the forms of civil society and royal power in India and Europe. Caste and Despotism were invoked as literary tropes to explain and rationalize the apparent unchanging nature of the Indian society—vegetating in the teeth of time—in the purple prose of Karl Marx. Rejecting the then widely accepted theory of environmental determinism, Wilks argued that despotism, by which he meant absence of “civil liberty” was the result of the absence of written law and the infusion of religion in purely secular matters of civil society and its functioning. As Wilks remarks:

The affairs of the government, of judicature and of police down to the most minute form of social and domestic intercourse, are all identified with religious observances, the whole is sacred and unchangeable (vol I :27).

The despotism springing from the union of “divine and human code” generates its own countervailing tendency through dynastic changes—incessant revolutions as Wilks termed them.

Vijayanagara Empire is therefore seen as the outcome of the force of despotism clashing with the expansionist zeal of the Islamic Delhi Sultanate. Yet Wilks rightly recognizes that the power and élan exuded by Vijayanagara was fragile and uncertain; recent historical researches have confirmed the insight of Wilks.

The external appearance of the general government was brilliant and imposing, its internal organization feeble and irregular; foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance at the court of Vijayanagarar.

A splendid monarchy with uneven and limited capability to extract and deploy resources, human and fiscal, is now the prevailing paradigm of Vijayanagara historiography.

The fall of Vijayanagara in 1565 and the rise of “little kingdoms” like the Wodeyar Kingdom of Mysore is seen by Mark Wilks as setting the stage for a new phase of state formation in peninsular India, in that kinship and community linkages provided the impetus for the growth of polities that were expansionist in proportion to their ability to tap into the emerging military labor market and fiscally extractive in their desire to maximize fiscal resources to sustain their military establishments.

The Mysore kingdom under the Wodeyar and the regimes of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan are examples of such states.

Tipu Sultan, Diwan Purnaiya and Mysore

The sources consulted by Mark Wilks and the traditional narratives collected and assembled in the Mackenzie Collection admit the conclusion that in the eighteenth century history writing had begun making inroads in south India. The century that witnessed unprecedented levels of military violence, migrations, contests over sovereignty, both in Madras and Bengal, increasing integration of Indian handicraft industry into an emerging ‘global economy’ and, of course, rise of new forms of political organization and legitimation, also saw new and novel forms of anchoring collective memory to written records and social identity. Genealogies and the like were invoked for settling land right

claims inams and descent was seen to confer legitimacy to succession. Therefore one level at which disputes were fought over was that of history, a contest, as it were, for the past.

The Wodeyar kingdom of Mysore claimed its political legitimacy to its emergence as a principality during the heyday of Vijayanagara Empire. Mark Wilks recounts the charming story of a damsel in distress who was rescued from an inappropriate marriage that was preserved in a Mackenzie manuscript (Vol I: 39). Such stories are found distributed across the political landscape constituted by the poligars. In the case of the Mysore kingdom we have the added dimension of a pastoral community—the Idaiyar—emerging to political strength and prominence. Thus the rise of the Mysore kingdom was a consequence of the fall of Vijayanagara though for political reasons the fiction of allegiance to the rulers of Penukonda, Vellore and Chandragiri was preserved with decent reverence. The rise of the Mahrathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the French power in south India are traced in some detail by Mark Wilks in order to prepare the background for the cataclysmic fall of Srirangapatnam in May 1799.

Mark Wilks was appointed political resident in 1803 and seems to have started collecting material for his great work soon after. Wilks was suited for this assignment having worked closely with the Mackenzie survey. Lord William Bentinck had requested Wilks to prepare a report on the revenue interior administration and resources of Mysore, as a follow up of the survey undertaken by Colin Mackenzie in 1799. The detailed statistical abstract of income and expenditure which figures as part of the report is based on information collected by the Mackenzie survey (Robb; 1998:205).

The defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799 brought to the fore the issue of partition or annexation of

the territories of the erstwhile Sultans. The English policy towards Tipu Sultan and earlier toward, Hyder Ali was based on the realization that the Sultanist regime was implacably opposed to the ambitions both territorial and economic, of the company. The defeat of Lord Cornwallis at York Town in 1776 and the fall of Britain’s Atlantic empire with the material assistance of France perhaps made Tipu Sultan seek French assistance. An embassy was sent to Versailles in 1787. Tipu’s aim was to seek 3000 French Soldiers who would be paid a fixed salary by the Sultan Lafont 2000:168). Further, the French were to receive commercial privileges. The French revolution of 1789 broke out before these objectives could be achieved. Tipu Sultan was aware of Napoleon’s presence in Egypt and sought his help. The East India Company alert as it was to the situation in Europe responded by creating ring of the states whose appetites were whetted by a vague promise of territory carved from the kingdom of Mysore. The Maharattas and the Nizam of Hyderabad were roped in to form a Triple Alliance against Tipu Sultan. Mark Wilks was objective in this assessment when he stated that the policy of Cornwallis was “calculated to produce a war with Tipu Sultan, than an open defensive alliance”(Vol II: 378).It would be interesting to analyze company policy towards ‘native states’ in the context of prevailing notions of English statecraft predicated upon the balance of power. The correspondence of the Earl of Mornington makes it clear that even as the company was protesting its firm alliance with the Peshwa it was at the same time encouraging Scindhia; this wedge in the Mahratta confederation was to lead to the collapse of Mahratta power in 1818.

The options before the East India Company adverting to the erstwhile territories of Tipu Sultan were two fold: annexation or restoration. Thomas Munro, the then Collector of

the Ceded Districts was a powerful voice against the restoration of the Wodeyars. Barry Close and Mark Wilks amongst others were advocates of a different policy: restoration of the Wodeyar family, with territorial compensation to satisfy the Peshwa and the Nizam. At one level the entire History of the South of India can be read as a retrospective defense of the policy of restoration most strongly advanced in the council of Fort Saint George by Josiah Webbe.

Burton Stein in his outstanding biography of Thomas Munro does not refer to Munro's role in the settlement of Mysore, following the fall of Srirangapatnam (Stein: 1998). In a Minute dated June 10, 1799 Thomas Munro provided a series of justifications for the outright annexation of Mysore. In this minute there is the realization that an eventual conflict with the maharattas was inevitable, together with a realistic assessment of their mode of warfare. Munro was stinging in his remarks on the policy of restoration:

No political advantage can be gained by dragging the descendant of the Rajahs of Mysore from his obscurity and placing him on the musnud, unless we suppose it to be one to divide only a part of the country, in order that we may, by excluding the Nizam extend our own influence over the rest (Gleig vol I:233).

Further, Munro was opposed to the idea of investing a six year old boy with the crown. Instead of restoration, Munro argued for a partition of Mysore between the company and Nizam, implying thereby that Mahratta hostility could be assuaged temporarily with the cession of Anaigondi, adding that they "might not be perfectly satisfied" (Gleig vol: 233).

The boy king placed on the throne was under the direct authority of his divan, Purnaiya.

Mark Wilks provides little information about their able administrator who began his career as a shresthidar under Hyder Ali rose to the position of a finance minister under Tipu Sultan and was trusted with a contingent of horses and troops which was garrisoned as Satyamagalam. Purnaiya himself was not above inflating his importance in the administration of Hyder Ali by recounting an intimate conversation he is said to have had with the Sultan (Vol II: 121). Mark Wilks earlier while writing his Report paid Purnaiya handsome tribute for husbanding the resources of the truncated Mysore kingdom. In the Historical Sketches he states that the commercial regulations of Tipu Sultan, al Siraijiya, were administered by Purnaiya.

In History of Tipu Sultan by the well known historian, Mohibbul Hasan, Purnaiya is depicted as an individual whose loyalty to Tipu was suspected. Mark Wilks, however, does not provide even a hint of the changed loyalty of Purnaiya and being a contemporary and one with whom Purnaiya shared a good rapport we may safely expect him to record such a happenstance. The silence with respect to Purnaiya's alleged treachery suggests that there was little truth in the theory of internal subversion as the cause for the defeat of Tipu Sultan. Mark Wilks makes no mention of the alleged plot of 1797 in which Mir Sadiq, Purnaiya and Qamar-ud-din Khan were said to have been involved. The failure of Purnaiya to intercept the troops of General Harris cannot be attributed to any mala fide intent and even Mir Sadiq, the diwan, was actually killed in the battle along side Tipu Sultan. Wellesly, the commander-in-chief, writing to his brother, the then governor general, mentions the death of Mir Sadiq and in no way implies that he had in any way assisted the invading army (Brittlebank 2003:201).

Historical records pertaining to the days immediately following the death of Tipu Sultan

provide a fairly good indication of the non involvement of not the actual innocence of Purnaiya and Qamar-ud-din Khan. In a letter written by General Harris dated May 13, 1799 just over a week after the fall of the Srirangapatnam the general observes:

This morning Purnaiya, who has so long been at the head of the principal departments of the Mysore government and enjoyed the confidence of the late Sultan, paid me a visit, having arrived last night from the army which remained under his command (Dispatches of Lord Mornington:7).

This letter certainly proves that Purnaiya enjoyed the confidence of Tipu Sultan and if there was any secret correspondence prior to this meeting General Harris would most certainly have known. Moreover, the proposal that Purnaiya made was certainly unorthodox: he advocated the crowning of Fatheh Hyder as the king. Had Purnaiya been a party to the conspiracy against Tipu, it is highly unlikely that he would have sought the throne for his son. Another letter quoted by Kate Brittlebank states:

I think it is very immaterial whether Futeh Hyder and Purneah come or not. At all events I have got his family of his latter, which is tolerable security for his behaviour (Brittlebank: 2003).

The fact that Purnaiya's family was held hostage to ensure his good behaviour suggests that he was not party to any conspiracy against Tipu Sultan.

In the Interest of historical accuracy there is one single solitary document in the form of a memorandum to Lord Mornington that states that Mir Sadiq and Purneah would become useful instruments in establishing a new government. This

document clearly established possible fault lines in the administration of Tipu Sultan. It certainly does not make Purnaiya complicit in an act of Treachery.

Conclusion

We have argued in this paper that the influence of the European Enlightenment formed an important aspect in the historiography of Mark Wilks. We have demonstrated that he effectively used both literary and other sources in his narrative. We have shown that the Mackenzie Collection formed a vital corpus of information on which Mark Wilks mounted his reconstruction of the History of Mysore. In his treatment of the history of Vijayanagara, we have drawn attention to the use of the concept of oriental despotism and have tried to contextualize the notion of despotism in the political discourse of the eighteenth century. The concept of history embodied in Mark Wilks work is quintessentially derived from the Enlightenment.

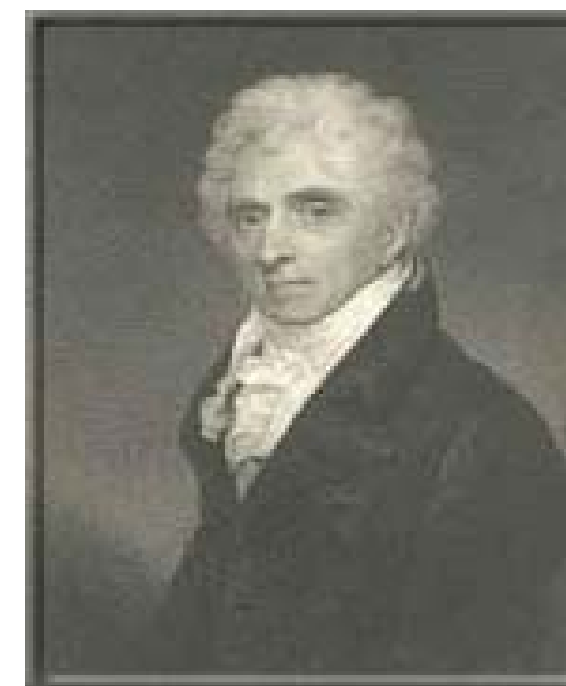


Figure 2 : Mark Wilks

We have situated the book within the larger context of debates within the ruling circles of the East India Company on the issue of Tipu Sultan and his dominion after 1799. Further we have looked at the role of Purnaiya in order to answers a question that has dogged south Indian historiography.

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From Containment to Strategic Partnership: Explaining Conflict and Collaboration between the Global and a Regional Power

Nalini Kant Jha

Abstract

“Ups and Downs” in India-US relations in the post-colonial era is in fact the outcome of the clash and convergence in interests of the American global power with that of a regional power like India. Viewed thus, Indo-US tensions till the 1980s was an outcome of American compulsions to contain all independent centres of power including India and this country’s aspirations to play an independent role. However, since India lacked capability to influence American policy, it became the target of its containment. The situation began to change since the 1980s due to several reasons, the most important being India’s emerging clout. Not surprisingly, the real improvement in India-US ties occurred only after it demonstrated its scientific advancement by conducting nuclear tests in 1998 and its capacity to withstand American sanctions. Hence, the key to the prospects of India-US relations and indeed India’s role in the world depends on its continued development and political stability.

Surely, US-India relations have drastically improved in recent years despite changes of several guards in both Washington and New Delhi. Most of the scholars and analyst trace this improvement after the end of the Cold War in general and since the second Clinton administration in particular. They usually argue that the demise of the Soviet Union enabled both the countries to rediscover their shared democratic values (Harrison and Kemp 1993:1-73, Kronstadt 2006).

In reality, however, the foundations of this accommodation were laid down during the Cold War itself (Jha 1994: 89-107). On the other hand,

US-India ties nose-dived after the end of the Cold War due to differences on issues like non-proliferation and human rights, etc. Ironically, when India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998 against American wishes, US-India cooperation got back to rails though after initial bickering. This paper, therefore, explains conflict and co-operation in India-US relations mainly in terms of clash and convergence of national interests defined in terms of national power (both hard and soft components) rather than peripheral factors such as shared values and Indo-Soviet friendship. To elaborate this point, it is necessary to begin with a brief backdrop of India-US tensions before the 1980.

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Containing India

When the US emerged as a truly global power after the Second World War, two years later, India emerged as an independent state. By compulsions of being a global power, the US was obliged to contain all independent centers of powers that were not willing to toe American line. It is true that America gave greater attention towards containing the Soviet Union because it was the only country, which posed substantive challenges to America's global influence. But at the same time, United States applied its containment policy towards those powers which were not willing to surrender to American dictates. When the US initiated the policy of containment aimed at all independent centers of powers like Cuba, Vietnam, etc., India because of its civilization heritage, big size, strategic location, ideals of freedom struggle and aspirations of its leadership began to pursue a independent foreign policy symbolized by the policy of non-alignment. This made Washington to apply its policy of containment against India as well (Nayar 1976; Jha 1992:79-94; and 1998:26-28).

That is why, the United States attempted to create an unfavourable balance of power against India in South Asia by admitting Pakistan in its alliance network. Those who see US-Pakistan alliance only in terms of American policy towards containment of Soviet Union forget that as compared to Pakistan, India was more capable of checkmating Soviet influence in every respect. Besides, Indian foreign policy *elites* were largely pro-Western. This was evident in many ways. India not only joined Commonwealth of Nations in 1949, but its leaders, Jawaharlal Nehru had clearly manifested his pro-Western proclivities. While preparing for his official visit to the US, he asked the Indian High Commission in Britain, V. K. Krishna Menon, why, in view of its requirements, particularly of food, machinery, and capital goods,

India should not align itself "with the United States *somewhat* and build up our economic and military strength" (Gopal 1979: 44-65). On the other hand, he expressed serious reservations regarding the Soviet Union during the initial years. He wished to publicize, "Asian peoples had no sympathy for Soviet expansionism." To him, "International Communism was aggressive and the Soviet policy in Southeast Asia was wholly destructive." He also made it clear, even to the Western Powers, that "there was not even the least chance of India living up with the Soviet Union in war of peace." An important reason behind his aversion to the Soviet Union during those early years was the Soviet disapproval of his policies and also open support for Communist uprising in various parts of India, the most serious being the violent movement in Telangana¹(Gopal 1979: 44-65).

It is, therefore, obvious that if Nehru later turned towards the Soviet Union, he did so reluctantly, not voluntarily. Surprising as it may appear, he was left with no choice but to do so with the United States itself through its support for Pakistan against India on the issue of Kashmir, which was vital for India's survival as a secular state. Besides, he could not ignore Soviet use of its power of veto in the Security Council in defence of India's stand on Kashmir. Washington's opposition to India was mainly an outcome of the fact that the United States, being a global power, disliked India's emergence as an independent centre of power and its leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Soviet Union, being less powerful, economically and militarily, was inclined to strengthen India's autonomy in International relations and thereby circumscribe US global influence at least in South Asia.

This is why, the United States refused to strengthen and modernize India's defence capabilities after the Sino-Indian War of 1962 and

its public sector industries whereas the Soviet Union readily agreed to do so. Except during the food crisis in the 1960s and the consequent need of food aid from the United States, and on a few similar occasions, India consistently refused to toe the US line. It is thus obvious that Indo-Soviet friendship and the Cold War was not the root cause of Indo-US tensions though once differences between the two countries occurred due to India's pursuit of an autonomous foreign policy, Indo-Soviet friendship and the Cold War complicated the differences (Jha 1988:51-52; Jha 1982:26).

From Containment to Accommodation

It is generally assumption that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and the beginning of the Cold War II aggravated the Indo-US tensions by alleviating Pakistan's status as a front-line state in American strategic perception for bleeding the Russians white in Afghanistan. In reality, however, the heat of the Cold War melted the coldness in India-US relations. For, the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan altered the basic parameters of New Delhi's prospective strategic profile. This brought a grudging realization on its part that it had to cultivate the US, China and even Pakistan (recall the then foreign minister, Narasimha Rao's hints at Karachi in 1980 for a coordinated approach to the Afghan issue) to counteract the adverse implications of the Soviet move on Indian security. That, the Soviet Union did so without warning India, exacerbated New Delhi's disenchantment and provided an unwelcome proof that despite professions of friendship, Moscow would not hesitate in doing what it considered to be in its best interests, regardless of Indian sensitivities (Muni 1992:53; Limaye 1993:30).

At the same time, New Delhi could not fail to notice the outcome of discussions going on between United States and Islamabad on the

Afghan issue. Their talks made it clear that neither of them was willing to go that far. Pakistan's then Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi, neatly epitomized the new relationship as "a handshake not an embrace" (Wriggins 1987:72). Once these limits were understood, the worst fears of New Delhi regarding the US-Pakistan relations were somewhat allayed. Besides, the Reagan Administration's greater prudence in dealing with China and improvement in India's own relations with China contributed to reduction in New Delhi's immediate, though not long-term security fears, and thereby enabled it to distance itself from Moscow and move closer towards the Americans.²

New Delhi's move to reduce its dependence on Moscow also got an impetus from its concerns regarding its non-aligned credentials, which were under cloud ever since the signing of the Indo-Soviet Treaty in 1971. New Delhi possibly felt the need to remove this cloud, because it was to inherit the Chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1983. Similarly, India, with a large Muslim minority and complicated ties with the countries of the Islamic crescent, must have felt the need to show greater sympathy to their concerns about the Soviet-attempted subjugation of their Muslim brethren. India, therefore, rejected the Cuban concept of the USSR as a natural ally or the US as a natural adversary of the NAM (IDR 1982: 112-15).

Non-alignment credentials aside, India's economic requirements too promoted its softened stance towards the US. Ever since the 1982 budget, Mrs. Gandhi attempted to modernize the Indian economy through trade expansion, acquisition of high technology and financial assistance, and for that purpose, she needed American assistance bilaterally as well as multilaterally. At the same time, India's developing defence strategy, which placed priority on the

indigenous production of high technology weapons, made access to US wares crucial (Limaye 1993:30). She, therefore, gradually realized that India's interests lay not in collective confrontation with the "West" in league with a mythical Third World. Instead, New Delhi must build its strength by shrewdly exploiting the potential friendship with the US and other industrialised countries.³

Personally, Mrs. Gandhi's move towards the US may also have been influenced by her bitter experience during the days of her political wilderness (1977-79), when Moscow deserted her in favour of the then ruling party in India.⁴ Perhaps her son, Rajiv Gandhi too, inherited this personal consideration. He indicated this by asserting, "I do not have to admit liking President Reagan."⁵

The US, on its part, too appreciated India's substantive motives for improving relations with the US and realized the imperatives to retreat from the rigid posture initially adopted by it. In other words, Washington realized that despite New Delhi's early dithering about the Soviet invasion, India shared America's interest in a Soviet withdrawal and was opposed to further Soviet expansion southwards (White House 1982:3). As a corollary to its strategy of weaning India away from Moscow, Washington encouraged and rejoiced at India's gradually improving relations with Pakistan and China. For this could relieve the American dilemma of dealing with regional adversaries in a zero-sum game and thereby reducing Soviet influence in the region (Hatch 1984:3). In order to address this concern, Washington had to establish a dialogue with India.

The prospects of securing India's friendship without abandoning Pakistan, enthused those pro-India conservatives within the US, who were refusing to see the American policy in South Asia as requiring a choice between New Delhi and Islamabad (Cohen 1988:34). They were

encouraged by a large number of Indian expatriates in the US. These Indo-Americans, counter balanced to some extent, the lack of politico-bureaucratic contact between the two countries (Cohen 1988:34; Jha 2001:55-78; Helweg & Helweg 1990).

To cap it all, India's growing capability also contributed to the shift in US perception regarding India. Just prior to Mrs. Gandhi's arrival in Washington in 1982, the White House stated that "we well recognize which country is the most powerful country in South Asia. No one has to explain that to you" (White House 1982:3). While similar views were expressed earlier, it was the first clear-cut reiteration by the Reagan Administration. It revealed the administration's realization that Pakistan could no longer be balanced with India and that it, therefore, made sense for the US to improve relations with a power with which it would have to deal within the forthcoming years (Limaye 1993:36; Chanda 1988:34; Tellis 1987:185-219).

Last but not the least, the economic liberalization programme in India, initiated by Indira Gandhi and accelerated by her successors, obviously attracted American attention. India's increasing emphasis on free market mechanism and deregulation policies advocated by the Reagan and Bush Administration at home and abroad enhanced their interest in ameliorating ties with India. This country's middle class, constituting a vast market for US goods and services, attracted the attention of American businessman at a time when the US economy was suffering from high unemployment and trade deficit.⁶ Many large US companies, including Pepsi, Cola and several high technology firms, lobbied the Reagan Administration to support expanded economic links with India (Limaye 1993: 30) moreover America's economic problems obliged its policy-makers to realize that it would have to wind down its massive

global presence.⁷ This shrinkage had to be met by a new strategy and thus was born the idea of "cooperative security." It implied US willingness to accept India's regional status, if it agreed to accept the American global role (Jha 1993:17).

Indicators of Accommodation

The mutual pursuit of accommodation by India and the United States since the 1980s got manifested in various fields, namely, personal equation, nuclear field, technological and defence collaboration, economy and politico-strategic cooperation. Personally, Mrs. Gandhi sought a private meeting with President Reagan at the North-South Economic Summit at Cancun, Mexico, in 1981 and initiated a warm personal correspondence with President Reagan, and agreed to visit Washington after a lapse of thirteen years.⁸

As stated earlier, cooperation in the nuclear field began with President Carter's clearing of nuclear fuel supplies to India in June 1980. In 1982, during Mrs. Gandhi's visit, this contentious issue was passed to the French for containing difference over this issue. Moscow's sensitivity to this flexibility was quickly demonstrated when the then Soviet Defence Minister, Ustinov, rushed to New Delhi with fresh offers of defence collaboration and enhanced trade arrangements. New Delhi picked up some of the Soviet offers, but Mrs. Gandhi appeared determined to maintain a more diversified policy (Thornton 1982:20).

The fact that India, as an emerging power of some consequences, appeared interested in buying arms outside the Communists block prompted even a conservative senator, Orrin G Hatch, to welcome new warmth in relationship. He observed, "I believe a historic shift is underway ten years from now scholars will look back on this past year as an end of an Ice Age, which

symbolized the cool relations between the United States and India for many years" (Weintraub 1983; Gould & Ganguly 1982: 13). This projection was vindicated, in November 1984, when the Reagan administration issued National Security Decision Directive 147 (NSDD 147) and personally signed off one initiative incorporated in NSDD 147.⁹ This initiative was the Memorandum of understanding on Technology Transfer (MOU) leading to transfer of technology to India.

The MOU of 1984 and the follow up procedural implementation agreement, signed after Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the US in 1985, introduced substantial changes in Indo-US relations in areas of defence cooperation and sales of military and dual-use equipment technology. Its significance lies in the fact that earlier there was a tendency especially in the department of defence to ask for a political price for Indo-American technological cooperation, namely, a compensating reduction in India's ties with the USSR. However, since the 1984 MOU, there has been an increasing recognition in the United States for the long-term security benefits of technological transfer to India.

This became evident in October 1986, when a high level Pentagon delegation led by the Secretary of Defence, Casper Weinberger, visited New Delhi to negotiate transfer of military and military related technology to India. Again in April 1988, the then US Defence Secretary, Frank Carlucci, visited New Delhi. She agreed there to sell India a ring-laser gyroscopic for use for light combat aircraft (Thomas 1990:825-44). New Delhi, on its part, permitted American naval vessels to visit Indian ports. It also allowed US officials to inspect Indian defence facilities (Khalized 1989:419-20). An American analyst of South Asian politics, therefore, argued, "If the United States has a 'tilt' in South Asia on military sales, it may be argued that it is towards India rather than Pakistan"(Rose 1990:59).

The economic relationship, too, became important in the last half of the 1980s as the US replaced the Soviet Union as India's largest trading partner with a relatively balanced exchange relationship. There was, for instance, substantial growth in Indian software exports to the highly competitive US market (Rose 1990:59).

Undoubtedly, Indo-US cooperation in the aforesaid areas reflected political understanding between the two democracies. Washington not only welcomed India's intervention in Sri Lanka, where an Indian Peace Keeping Force was sent in 1987, and Maldives, where Indian paratroops frustrated a coup against the President, Muhammad Abdul Gayoom, but also counseled other South Asian regimes to accept India's paramount role. For instance, American comment on India's economic blockade of Nepal was that Kathmandu should come to terms with realities such as India's control of Nepal's access to the sea (Hagerty 1991:351-63; Ayooob 1990:112-14).

The developing political understanding between two democracies led to their cooperation in containing terrorism. In order to allay Indian suspicions regarding American encouragement to ethnic conflicts in India, the US refused to grant a visa to a Sikh nationalist leader, J. S. Chauhan. When a Sikh extremist hijacked an Indian airliner in September 1984, the US cooperated with India in ending the siege and flew the captured back to India. Similarly, India cooperated with the US in combating narcotics as it realized the importance of US expertise, technology and intelligence capabilities in this regard. India thus benefited from the "Opening" in the 1980s – whether Washington to Delhi or Delhi to Washington.¹⁰

Dashing of Hopes after the Cold War

The end of the Cold War generated new hopes about deepening of India-US cooperation.

From America's strategic perception, the dissolution of the USSR reduced Pakistan's significance as a bulwark against Soviet expansions in West Asia. For the first time, the US could look directly at the countries of the region without reference to any outside power. Economically, the failure of socialism, prompted the Indian government like many governments the world over, to initiate the market based economic reforms largely along the lines advocated by Washington.

New Delhi sought to move towards the US to compensate, as far as possible, the loss of its time-tested friend, the Soviet Union, as well as seek American aid in India's programme of economic recovery. It was not surprising, therefore, that the process of improving US-India relation, which had begun in the Regan era reached its peak during the Bush administration when the two countries conducted joint military exercises in the summer of 1992. Understandably, the assumption of office by a Democrat, President Bill Clinton aroused expectations of another leap in Indo-US relations (Jha 1993: 17).

These expectations, however, soon dashed to the ground as shrill voices out of, Washington produced shriller echoes in India. Though the then Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit to the US in May 1994 cleared up many misunderstandings, both the countries continued to quarrel over several issues like Kashmir, human rights, nuclear-proliferation, Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and trade related issues (Jha 1994).

The Pokhran-II and Revival of Co-operation

Ironical though it may appear, the real improvement in India-US relations occurred only after India's nuclear tests in Pokhran in 1998. Americans were; of course, very angry over India's temerity to defy the hegemony of nuclear powers, as they found India's act as an affront to

the US efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. The Clinton administration, therefore, not only condemned Indian tests, but also sponsored a UN Security Council resolution in June 1998 calling upon India and Pakistan to stop their nuclear weapons development programs. At the same time, Washington imposed several sanctions against India (Jha, 1999: 1-18).

While doing so Washington, however, forgot that it was dealing not with India of 1960s when even strong leaders like Indira Gandhi had to bow to American pressures for American food aid to save its teeming million (Jha 2002) but an India of 1990s when it had developed, several leverages to influence America. What were these leverages?

The first and foremost factor that motivated Clinton administration to mellow down its opposition to India's nuclear tests was India's ability to stay together and move forward despites fractured electoral verdicts since 1996. The very fact that Indian nuclear establishment was able to conduct tests notwithstanding intrusive surveillance by the American intelligence and internal institutions demonstrated the triumph of India's science and technology, not surprisingly the change in American stance towards India's nuclear concerns progressed as feedback pored in from American think tanks and nuclear technocrats. The first shift in American postures came with feedback from its nuclear monitoring organizations, which for full six months were engaged seriously in assessing the worth of Indian nuclear technology and the extent to which Indian scientists claims on the two-day tests were justified (Murthy 1999)

The second factor that motivated the Clinton administration to bridge its differences with India was the revival of its economy. The very fact that India was able to withstand US sanctions

without much hardships belied American hope of India's capitulation to its pressures. As a noted economist observed, "The economic impact of US sanctions did not hurt India beyond a point" (Bhagwati). On the other hand, the emergence of India's vast middle class as a growing market for American Commodities attracted American business community towards this country. At the same time, America's growing need for India's software engineers made Washington realize that its own multiple losses from imposing the sanctions on India were considerable. These American losses included direct export losses as well as loss of clientele to its other business rivals.

To cap it all, while the US could afford to ignore damage to its international reputation arising out of alleviating a vast population under India's democratic regime, it could hardly afford to ignore its own business community and lobbies adversely affected by their administration's South Asia Policy. They indeed lobbied hard for a pragmatic interpretation of American law concerning sanctions to enable them to continue business with India. The American banks, for instance, lobbied the administration for their continued cooperation with India. They feared that restriction on US banks will prompt other banks from Europe and Asia to step into the Indian market (Jha 1999:1-18). In addition, the one million strong American community of Indian origin, known as Indo-American community too played a critical role in bringing Clinton administration closer to India (Jha 2001:55-78).

The quite diplomacy pursued by the Indian leader, Jaswant Singh, and the then US Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbot, played a significant role in bridging nuclear divide and reviewing India-US friendship during the second term of Clinton administration. The disillusionment of Russia with American arrogance, and the

continuing eastward expansion of NATO as well as strains in US-China relations also contributed to induce fresh thinking in Washington towards engaging, and not, isolating India.

The most critical factor in this regard, however, has been India's growing clout in Washington. New Delhi's capabilities to withstand sanctions, its attractiveness for the American business community, though lesser than that of China, America's need of India's software professionals and the Indo-American community are some of the indications of India's position in American perception. Not surprisingly, President Clinton's support for India in the 1999 Kargil conflict with Pakistan and his visit to India in March 2000 - the first by an American President in 22 years - accelerated this rapprochement.

Strategic Partnership

The foundation of accommodation in India-US ties, which President Reagan and Prime Ministers Indira and Rajiv Gandhi laid down and that continued to grow during senior Bush and Clinton years despite occasional differences, witnessed a drastic transformation during present administration of President George W. Bush. Banking on India's growing global power and looking for a counterweight to China in Asia; Bush removed nuclear-related sanctions, approved defence technology cooperation, accelerated bilateral trade and investment, and collaborated with India in the "war on terrorism." India also departed from past patterns to embrace the U.S. For example, New Delhi was an early supporter of the Bush Administration's Missile Defence Policy. It also participated in operation enduring freedom in Afghanistan by sending warships to escort US supply ships through the Malacca Strait in 2002; it nearly sent a division of combat troops to Iraq; and a twice voted against Iran in the International Atomic Energy Agency (Lavoy 2007:115).

The most dramatic outcome of the enhanced partnership between the US and India was the civil nuclear cooperation deal announced by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in July 2005 and formalized when the two leaders met in New Delhi in March 2006. As India did not test a nuclear device prior to 1967, when the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) was under negotiation, this country is non-nuclear power according to the NPT. Thus, the US and other nuclear technology exporters that make up the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) cannot sell India even peaceful nuclear items because of its weapons program. This has been a major irritant in US-Indian relations for decades. Accepting India's logic that civil nuclear cooperation is the price that must be paid for strategic engagement, Bush decided to reverse the US law and NSG policy to permit reactor sales to India in exchange for its commitment to separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities and place the former under international safeguards. China, Pakistan, and several other countries – plus numerous non-proliferation proponents – criticized the deal but, as 2006 drew to a close, the US Congress enacted legislations to enable the controversial cooperation. Unfortunately, narrow political interest of political parties in India has not permitted New Delhi to go ahead with his historic accord (Jha 2007:1-17).

Despite the intense political wrangling over the nuclear deal in both capitals, Washington and New Delhi managed to boost bilateral cooperation in other areas. For example, economic interaction is growing rapidly. U.S. exports to India doubled from \$4 billion in 2002 to \$8 billion in 2005 and bilateral trade grew from \$16 billion to 27 billion during the same period. In 2006, US-India trade exceeded \$30 billion. Trade and investment should accelerate even faster because India agreed in 2006 to lower tariffs on industrial goods from 15% on average to 12.5%. India also agreed to extend

patent protection to pharmaceuticals, agricultural chemicals, and various food products. An agreement inked in April 2005 regarding civil aviation increased a number of flights and passengers traveling between the US and India by more than 60% in little over a year. Furthermore, the number of American students attending Indian universities rose by 50% in 2005 and stood at 1,800 in 2006. There were also close to 80,000 Indians studying in the United States in 2006, more than any other country. These are indications of the significant deepening of bilateral relations over the last few years, especially in 2006 (Lavoy 2007: 116).

Another area of deepening relations was civil space cooperation. India has long coveted American space technology, but Washington had restricted India's access to it because of concerns that it could be diverted for use in India's ballistic missile programmes. In recent years, the two governments have ironed out differences on this issue, and during Bush's May 2006 visit they agreed to have Indian space launch vehicles launch American satellites and satellites carrying American components. Two months later, officials agreed to include two US scientific instruments on India's Chandrayaan-I Lunar Mission, scheduled for 2007. There also are plans to include Indian astronauts in training programmes for the US astronauts (Lavoy 2007: 116).

Security ties between India and the US are expanding even faster. A new bilateral defence framework signed in June 2005 charts a 10-year course for joint and combined military exercise and exchanges, expanded defence trade, and new opportunities for defence technology transfer, collaboration and co-production. The 2006 Quadrennial Defence Review – which the Pentagon released in February – identified India as "a great power and key strategic partner" and

one of a few emerging and major powers whose choices, "will be key factors in determining the international security environment of the 21st century" (US Department of State 2006:28).

Although there were no major arms sales in 2006, the USS Trenton – an amphibious transport landing-dock ship – was readied for delivery to India. During the year, the Indian Navy sent over 300 personnel to Norfolk, Virginia, for training so they can sail the vessel to India by early 2007. The Trenton, which will inevitably be renamed by the Indian Navy, promises to be India's second largest warship after the Hermes-class aircraft carrier *INS Viraat*. Negotiations proceeded for the related sale of six refurbished Sea King helicopters to sail with the Trenton. In 2006 the United States also delivered 10 of the 12 AN/TPQ-37 Firefighter counter-battery radar sets ordered by India for \$190 million in 2002 – the largest ever Indian purchase of US military equipment. The radar can pinpoint mortars, artillery, and rocket launchers up to 300 kilometers away after tracking a shell for just a few seconds. Talks also progressed on the sale of C-130J Super Hercules Military transport aircraft, long-range patrol aircraft, equipment for the Indian Special Forces, and various types of helicopters. As 2006 drew to a close, the Indian Air Force was finalizing a tender for a \$6 billion purchase of 126 multi-role combat jets, with the US-made F-16 Falcon and F-18 Hornet aircraft regarded as the frontrunners (Lavoy 2007:117).

At the eighth meeting of the senior US-India Defence Policy Group held in New Delhi in November, US Under Secretary of Defence for Policy, Eric Edelman and Indian Defence Secretary, Shekhar Dutt agreed to upgrade joint military exercises from the present level of platoons and companies to more integrated battalion-level and command-post engagements. After conducting over 40 exercises in the past five years to improve

Indian and US military Inter-operability the new emphasis will be on multi-level military maneuvers involving all three services and having a mix of commands. An example is the US-India *Shatrujeet* urban commando exercise that took place in Southern India in October, which was linked with the annual Malabar naval exercises. Future joint exercises are planned for high-altitude maneuvers in Uttaranchal and Alaska and will involve troops from various military commands and services. In the past, the Indian military has always interacted with the US Pacific Command, but in a significant policy change that demonstrate India’s increased importance to the United States, India will also be allowed to coordinate with U.S. Central Command and Strategic Command in the future (Lavoy 2007:117).

Looking into the Future

The above-mentioned account of improvement in India-US relation should not blind us to continuing differences between India and the US. To cite only a few: though, both the countries are threatened by terrorism, America is more concerned with terrorism in Afghanistan than in Kashmir. While India regards Iran as its friend, Washington treats it as a proliferator for Weapons of Mass Destruction. The US is not yet ready to accommodate India in the UN Security Council. India on the other hand, likes a multi-polar world as against America’s interest in preserving uni-polarity.

The continuing improvement in India-US relations, however, presents an optimistic picture. If the process of accommodation can withstand changes of four guards in the White House and ten guards in New Delhi, we can reasonably hope that this trend will continue during the next President and Prime Minister irrespective of the fate of India-US nuclear deal. This is because of the fact that the improvement in relations has

occurred not due to any emotional or ideological reasons but because of hard facts noted earlier in this paper, the most important among these factors is rapid advancement in India’s power, which today depends not only on political and military component but also on technological and economic advancement. This changing paradigm of power is the crucial factor in bringing two democracies closer rather than simply the end of the Cold War or of sharing of certain values. The makers of India’s foreign policy must not forget this crucial significance of power in International relations if they wish to engage not only the US but other significant states also in a meaningful manner. Unfortunately, the lack of domestic consensus about India’s national interests has circumscribed its emergence as great power. We can only hope now that some broad consensus in this regard will emerge after the next general elections.

Notes

1. Nehru’s reservation in regard to the Soviet Union and his inclination to support the Western side is acknowledged by Western commentators. See, for instance, the account of the then Canadian High Commissioner in India, Escoot Reid., in his book *Envoy to Nehru* (New Delhi, 1982).
2. Former Indian Ambassador to France, Singh Narendra’s assertion in an article, entitled, “Mixed, Signs for an Improvement of US-Indian Ties,” *International Herald Tribune*, June 10, 1985; and Point Paper on “Air Chief Marshall La Fontaine: Perceptions and Comments,” November 5, 1987; US Government, Department of Defence, Briefing Paper, unclassified , p.1.
3. This pragmatism in India’s foreign policy invited fierce criticisms from the Leftists. See, for instance, Bidwai Praful (1991): “India Lurches towards the US: Foreign Policy without a Doctrine,” *Times of India* (Patna). Others, however, welcomed it. See, for instance, Adhikari Gautam (1991): “A Giant Leap Forward.”
4. Author’s interview with India’s Consulate General in San Francisco, USA, Sushil Dubey, February 8, 1993.

5. Rajiv Gandhi told this in his reply to a question from the Press. See “Gandhi Shifts Tone over Nuclear Issues: Talks in US Called Satisfactory Overall,” *Washington Post*, June 19, 1985, A18.
6. The US Budget deficit, which stood at \$74 billion in 1980, increased to \$212 billion in 1985 and \$290 billion in 1992, as reported in, *New York Times*, March 19, 1993.
7. There is a widely shared view in the US that running Russia to ruin in an arms race sapped American industrial and technological vitality. For details, see Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990; Paul Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Changes and Military Conflicts from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987); and C. Raja Mohan, “Towards a New World Order,” in Rose et al, eds., n.7, p.21.
8. State Department and White House Officials were pleasantly surprised by a second letter from Mrs. Gandhi congratulating Reagan on his electoral victory. See, “Indian Premier’s Visit to her First in More than 10 years,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1982. For the significance of Mrs. Gandhi’s 1982 US visit, see Nalini Kant Jha, Hindi article, entitled, “*Bharat-America Sambandh: Sambhavnaye*,” *Navbharat Times* (New Delhi), June 20, 1982.
9. The relevance of NSDD 147 for India –US Relations was two-fold: first, it set down in writing the evolving US perceptions and policies with respect to India. Secondly, it provided the bureaucratic basis for amelioration of ties with India. See “Rethinking Policy towards South Asia,” *New York Times*, November 24, 1984, p. 23.
10. Authors’ interview with Dr Walter K Anderson, at the Department of State, Washington DC, on Dec 22, 1992.

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Indian Diasporic Identity in UK: Opportunities & Dilemmas

Badruddin

Abstract

Indian community in UK is among many ethnic groups which are increasingly visible throughout due to its colonial connections, historical relations and socio cultural ties. However, the influx of ‘New Immigration’ in 1990s following the IT Revolution and new concept of globalization has been the focus of enquiry. Indian Diaspora communities are among the cluster of newly formed immigrant groups with wide support of ethnic, social, economic and cultural alignments. They are well managed due to supply of knowledge based labour, hardworking and commitment in workforce. Over the years, the level of academic and professional achievements of Indian communities in UK are phenomenal and suitably may be called as ‘Model Diaspora’. Higher level of entrepreneurship in academics, professional and business enterprises are evident about the Indian Diasporic identity in UK despite racial differences, nationalist segregation and stringent law against migrant communities after 9/11 Episode. It has raised multilayered level of demands and expectation from Indian Diaspora in UK.

Historical Background

The concept of ‘Diaspora’ denote the Jewish communities derived from the Hebrew word *Galut* which means ‘Exile’. It is often a dangerous term in a number of ways. Diaspora maintains a strong sense of connection to a homeland through cultural practices which include religious, philosophical, social and political connotations. The twentieth century witnessed huge population movements worldwide. Some of these were due to natural disasters while others were involved in large-scale transfers of people by government and local actions. Some diasporas were voluntary because the people accepted while other diasporas have occurred as the indigenous and local communities fled due to persecution,

oppression or victimization at various levels. There is hardly any part of the globe untouched by population movement and hence Diaspora remains a controversial but interesting area of research.

The philosophy of Diaspora and population movements have engrossed mankind since the time immemorial. The theme traditionally appeared in the writings of philosophers, statesmen, soldiers and human right activists. Globalization of culture and realization of humanitarian initiatives brought Diaspora culture to the forefront of political consciousness. Soon it got wider support from humanitarian international law in the developed world though the problem originated in developing countries. Thereafter, sustainable efforts were made to promote Diaspora Studies in academic

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and professional discipline. India being the largest democracy in the world, increasingly felt the relevance of population movement of varied nature.

Indian Diaspora, having presently over 20 millions worldwide, spread in over 70 countries, is perhaps unmatched by any other nations in terms of nation, race, language, religion and region. Indians in UK are the largest community outside Asia percentage wise, and the second largest population wise, only surpassed by the United States. Though immigration from India to the other parts of the world is for trade avenues, migration in European states especially in UK has distinct opportunities and makes the Diaspora community a unique one (Gupta 2002).¹

The origins of the modern Indian Diaspora is associated with British Colonialism and its incorporation into the larger empire. Indians were taken over as indentured labour to far-flung parts of the empire in the nineteenth-century, a circumstance to which the modern Indian populations of Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and other places attest in their own peculiar ways. Over two million Indians fought on behalf of the empire in numerous wars, including the Boer War and the two World Wars. During the Post-World War II period, the dispersal of Indian labour and professionals has been a world-wide phenomenon. Indians and other South Asians provided the labour force that helped in the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, particularly the UK and the Netherlands, and unskilled labour from South Asia has been the main force in the transformation of the physical landscape.

India continues to remain on the global map due to its unique identity and support of global community. Obviously, the Diaspora community who migrated to different parts of the world, continue to remain a major concern. Britain, once the imperial power, constitutes an important source of

communication for generations. The presence of a large number of moderate leftist intellectuals like Gokhale, Naoroji, Sir Mancherjee Bhawangree, Shapurji Saklatvala, Krishna Menon, and many more strengthened the political movement. While living in Britain, Indians helped in mobilizing public opinion and prepared grounds for Indian National Congress (INC). Naoroji, the first Liberal Party member of British Parliament (1892) a successful Parsi businessman, and the 'Grand Old Man of the Congress' communicated Indian opinions and applied his liberal education and experience in the UK to highlight India's problems in a proper perspective. A well known English author Arthur Conan strongly defended the Indian Parsis in Britain and considered them as a boon in disguise.

During the first World War, some over 1.50 Lakh British Indian Army soldiers were recruited in various cadres in Britain where Indians were found competent enough to tackle the local situations. During world wars (1914-1945), over 4.2 million Indians joined the war on behalf of allied forces out of which 2.5 million were in the fighting arms of those forces. Many soldiers who were part of the war effort, decided to settle down in Britain. The largest settlements, however, occurred during the Independence of India in 1947. A number of Indian organizations were also established by Indians during post independence. Almost all of them believed in mobilizing the British public opinion for their cause. This further contributed to Indians becoming a part of the English political process. In establishing a host of Student Union in world's top most academic bodies like London, Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, and Manchester Universities, the INC leaders were on the forefront. A large number of INC Leaders during the independence movements, Including Tagore and Nehru, were deeply influenced by the liberal education they had received in U.K. The non-violent nature of Indian independence movement resulted

not only in the peaceful departure of the British from India but also helped in continuation of ties with the English society. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of Nation, was highly inspired by the English parliamentary system functions, the methods of non-violent struggle, and techniques of liberal education. Indian democracy drew rich sources like Rule of Law, Cabinet Form of Government and the British Parliamentary system from the English constitution. Moreover, the British enlightened community was highly impressed by the social reforms brought by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Phule, Dayananda Saraswati, and B.R. Ambedkar and thereafter promoted English scholars to study about the epics like *Bhagavadgita*, and *Mahabharata*. British Governor General Warren Hasting praised *Bhagavadgita* as the most dignified text in the world.² The colonial policy resulted in the emergence of the Indian Communities in virtually every part of the empire. The patience, perseverance and expertise played a vital role in the transformation of these colonies into organized economies and modern states. Sizeable Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs), the earliest arrivals during 18th and 19th Centuries, and Non Resident Indians (NRIs) who subsequently migrated to Britain, thereby created unique segment within the large Indian Diaspora of the U.K. The presence of such extraordinary diversity in a country with which India had over the two centuries a colonial relationship, had resulted in a truly unique Diaspora. The substantial presence of PIOs in the British parliament, several Counselors and a number of Mayors reflected the significant participation of PIOs in the public domain and political processes in the U.K. Among other prominent PIO citizens working in different capacities include industrial grants, hoteliers, traders, media personnel, scientists, artists, literary figures, academicians and sportsmen of eminence.

Indian Diaspora : Three Phases of History

Indians entered UK in three different phases. The first wave of generation migrated during the 19th century that developed intermixed characteristics and soon became an integral part of the English Community. The second major wave occurred in the 60s and 70s when PIOs following the entry of Gujarati Origins who were forced to leave erstwhile British colonies in East Africa. The highest influx of Indians in UK took place between 1950s to 1960s when Britain faced serious problems of racial war against the Asian migrants. Large numbers of workers, mainly of Punjabi origin also went to the UK as Industrial workers. Many of them Left the UK for the USA thereafter reflecting secondary and tertiary waves of PIOs migration. The second wave had considerable expertise in trade, business and entrepreneurial activities. The economic successes and prosperity of the Indian community in UK commenced in a major way with this second wave of migration, establishing the Indians as 'shopkeepers'. It made a major impact on the socio-economic profile of the UK. The Sikh communities initially comprised only of men, resulting in large demographic gender imbalances in UK. Small section of Indian community also migrated from Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh. The arrival of Indian families in the UK had the effect of strengthening the pattern of social life along the lines that existed in India. Traditional customs, religions and cultural values were also maintained. The pressures of discrimination from the dominant society led to further strains and consolidation of the traditional lifestyle of the minorities. However, the growth of an Asian sub-culture is seen in the combined *Bhangara* and western dance music, which reflects the synthesis of the British and Asian cultures. The Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities in the 50s and 60s experienced difficulties in assimilation in the

mainstream host society due to ethnic and racial discriminations. This brought a new concept of 'multi-culturalism' and drew on the public agenda of the UK, which emphasized the need of co-existence of different cultures to enrich the multi-culture Fabric of the nation. The Asians who were uprooted from Uganda in large numbers under the dictatorship of Idi Amin, the Ugandan, constituted an important segment of the PIOs who went to Britain in a large influx in the early and mid 70s. Most of them settled in and around London while rest of them scattered in the East Midland, Leicester, ,Birmingham, Manchester, Bradford and Yorkshire (Patel, 1993).³ They basically entered in traditional business like traders of pearl, gold, diamond, semi precious stones, and other domestic handicrafts for which India has been the centre for generations (Berthet, 2003).⁴ The Royal Houses of England along with the precious nobles always patronized the craftsmanship of Indian classical minds.

The last and third phase witnessed a high influx of IT Professionals, Academics and Catering Technology Experts, and Medical Practitioners in the late 1990s. This has led to a dependence on young workers from non-western countries, especially high-tech skilled workers such as IT and Software, doctors, teachers, fashion designers, hoteliers, engineers and experts in a number of other professions. During the last couple of years, the highest concentration of Indian students in the UK through a number of academic exchanges programmes show the excellence in academics. Indian Student Unions in Oxford, Cambridge, London, Manchester, and Birmingham have been among the most active student organizations and the tradition still continues in a number of ways. Take an example of a prominent intellectual cum politician Lord Navnit Dholakia, an IT mindset, was conferred as the 'Asian of the Year 2001'. A student of Chemistry at Brighton Technical

College, a counselor in Brighton of Young Liberals, President of the Liberal Democrat and a Member of House of Lord played significant role to promote Commission for Racial Equality and Advisory member of Judicial Studies Board in London.⁵ While other prominent members like George Edalji, Shobna Gulati, Lakshmi Mittal, and Mark Ramprakash are well known figures and continue to remain the source of inspiration for Indian Diaspora in UK.

New Amendments & IT Revolution

India being the third largest economy, next to that of USA and China, has a potential resource for IT lovers and professionals that benefit the stakeholders in number of ways. The Electronic Knowledge Management Culture (EKMC) offered new avenues and wider prospects for Indian IT professionals in UK. The signing of World Trade Organization on 1st January 1995 opened the floodgates for Indian IT professionals as Britain faces a massive skills shortage in IT. In fact, the success and achievements of Indians in UK have attracted the attention worldwide. London Business School continues to attract the highest IT professionals from India apart from hundreds of other IT related institutes in UK. Almost every University in UK has earned reputation of having a large number of IT lovers from India and corporate world (Subramanyam, 2003).⁶

Indian Professionals in UK continue to earn new possibilities by exploring innovative concepts in IT Fields which often surprise the English community. Survey conducted from time to time show that the average income of Indians in IT Profession is higher than the locals.⁷ Most Indian companies have made the offshore supply of services as specialists and skilled based. By continuing to provide economic services, utilizing the large pool of highly skilled IT professionals available, more and more organizations throughout

the US, UK and Europe are outsourcing work to Indian companies. The Indian telecommunications infrastructure is constantly improving and developing so that data can be seamlessly transmitted. IT development budgets allowed for crucial development work to be carried out in-house, or sent to bespoke service providers in Silicon Valley (USA), and London.

India and the UK are making serious bilateral efforts to intensify economic cooperation in IT related sectors. Non-traditional knowledge-based sectors therefore have acquired greater prominence and promises in bilateral relations. Nearly 120 Indian companies are residents in the UK and 75 of them belong to IT sectors. This facilitates the conversion of student visas into work permits in the skill shortage categories while the individual concerned stays in the UK. It is therefore obvious that the Diaspora in the UK will continue to grow and acquire even greater diversity in the coming years despite stiff conditions imposed by the British Immigration Department. Unfortunately, the recent move to Promote Highly Skilled Migrants Programmes (HSMP) has debarred over 5000 Indian professionals.⁸ The present debate on HSMP is subjective and race biased due to absence of empirical data. The discussion about the 'Brain Drain' is motivated by political agenda and prejudices that needs much academic conversations. HSMP in UK, is being investigated at many levels which can also be seen as an 'Ideal Model' of mutual economic benefits.

The exhaustive list of IT activities in UK run by the Indian professionals in UK deserve to be congratulated. As on date, over 12,000 jobs have moved from India to the UK, mostly in the professional services and IT industries. Among the leading Indian companies in the UK, the Wipro Technologies provides British companies with business processing operations in India. While

Infosys Technologies entered the UK in 1996, its European revenue reached £75 million in 2002 and it continues to grow. The company has 450 employees in the UK. Since 1975, Tata Consultancy Services in the UK and its clients include Bank of Scotland, British Telecom, and Transco has 1,000 employees. Britain's ageing population and slow birth rate will leave the country short of 700,000 workers in health and social care, retailing and financial services by 2010.⁹

UK India Business Council (UKIBC), presently is the biggest IT Based investor in UK due to global shifting process. For successful partnerships and business ventures, British and Indian companies need to respect each others' concerns, commitment and objectives and strive to gain trust and transparency. This is an excellent piece of work which highlights the perceived and real challenges in UK-India business partnerships. There is now a mutual desire to develop more collaborative relationships, and to discover how to establish truly effective strategic partnering relationships. Most companies participating in the research – in India and the UK - expressed a positive view that partnering with each other can be extremely beneficial.¹⁰ When done well, it unequivocally realises the desired vision and outcomes for all concerned. Trust emerged as the foundation of a successful partnership. There is a greater need of alignment of objectives, collaborative mindset, sponsorship and commitment, environment, engagement approach, and value added principles. In this turbulent and competitive global market, it is absolutely essential for Indian and British companies to assess the nature of their critical business relationships. Never before have organisations had to rely on their partners to such an extent and this research will help them to identify the areas where change is required in order to create world-class partnering relationships.

Social Demography

There has been always a controversy about the NRIs and PIOs settled in UK at different times and places due to lack of reliable data base. The first systematic census of NRIs and PIOs was conducted by UK National Census (UKNS) in 1951 when NRI and PIO were just 43,000 which included Pakistanis, both East and West. It happened due to intercultural mixing and inter-state migration. Diaspora continued to witness upward trends in population growth. The most systematic survey conducted by UKNS in 2001 following the 9/11 Episode when a greater sense of realization was seen in Diaspora community. According to the 2001 UK Census 1,053,411 people (1.8% of the country’s population) were of Indian descent.

Table I : Growth of Indian Population in Great Britain Compared to Total Population

Year	Indian Population NRI+PIO (in Thousands)	Population of South Asia (in Thousands) / India + Pakistan & Bangladesh
1951	31	43
1961	81	112
1971	375	516
1981	676	1037
1991	840	1480
2001	1,000	2027
2005*	1215	Data Not Available
2008*(Projected)	1600	Data Not Available

Source : Ceri Peach, *South Asian Migration & Settlement in Great Britain, 1951- 2001*, *Contemporary SouthAsia*, Vol.15, No.2 June 2006, p.134. Also visit http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-resident_Indian_and_Person_of_Indian-Origin#Indians_in_the_UK

According to the April 2001 UK National Community wise, Hindus comprise 45%, Sikhs 29%, Muslims 13%, Christians nearly 5% while Jains, Parsis (Zoroastrians), Buddhists and those

Between 2001 and 2005, National Statistics has released estimates for the number of Indians in England only. They were as follows: 2001 - 1,045,600, 2002 - 1,074,700, 2003 - 1,109,100, 2004 - 1,156,000, 2005 - 1,215,400. However, the projected population of Indians will either go down or remain stabilized in the years to come due to stringent law. Following continuous trend (including those of mixed Indian ancestry), in 2008 there are likely to be well over 1,600,000 Indian people in the UK despite new immigration rules.

The following table may be of a great value to examine the comparative study of migration of Indians in UK along with Pakistani and Bangladeshi Indians.

who stated no religion represent 11 %. An overview of community wise distribution is shown in Table II.

Table II: Indian EthnicGroups by Religion UK , 2001

Ethnic Group	%age of Population
Hindus	45.00
Muslims	12.70
Sikhs	29.10
Christians	04.90
Buddhist	00.20
Jewish	00.10
Other Religions (Mixed)	01.70
Atheists	01.70
Religions kept in Hide	04.60

Source : *Census of England and Wales 2001, Table S/ 101*

While considering the geography of Indians in region, there is considerable variation in terms of population distribution. In general, over 5 to 10 % Indians live in London and the suburban regions while the rest are living in other urban centres as shown in Table III.

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE

Indian culture has been constantly referenced within the wider British culture, at first as an “exotic” influence in films like *My Beautiful Laundrette*, but now increasingly as a familiar feature in films like *Bend It Like Beckham*. Indian food is now regarded as part of the British cuisine, probably no where in the world. The Indian community today maintains a vibrant and dynamic socio-cultural life within the framework of its numerous organizations and associations which are based mainly on their Indian religious or regional origin. In addition, there are a number of

social, cultural and political organizations though nearly 1000 organizations exist and a number of them still have to be listed. The community organization is by and large a constituent among the following alignments:

A) Religious Based organizations

Ever since the advent of Indians in Britain, the relations through the networking of religions organizations duly noted time and again has worked as a chain of communication between NRIs and PIOs with their Indian minds and soils. Important amongst these are: Hindu Cultural Society, India Centre Temple Hindu, Indian Cultural Association, Indian Muslims Federation, Ahmadiya Muslims Association, Deadwood Bohra Community, Arya Samaj, Jain Samaj Europe, Indian Christian Organization etc. In fact, Religious and cultural identity has been a significant factor in helping the Community to cope with the stresses of adjustment in a foreign land. This is evident in the vast mushrooming of Gurudwaras, temples and mosques as well as committees which administer them. There are about 800 such committees spread in different parts of UK of which nearly 50% belong to temple committees. Many religious functions are organized in the temples, Gurudwaras, and Mosques. Britain’s largest Swami Narayana Hindu Temple has the credit of having its place in The Guinness Book of World Records.

B) Ethnic Based Organizations

Ethnic alignments in UK have been deeply rooted in the blood and soil of Indian English culture for ages with strongest networking. Most of these have incorporations with the English and the locals and work successfully online with Indo UK organization. Prominent among them are : Indian Association Manchester, All India Brahmin Association, Bengali Cultural Association, Council of Bengali Cultural Associations UK Sanaton

Table III : The figures for all of the English regions, cities and boroughs are based on 2005 estimates, whilst the figures for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are from the 2001 Census.

Distribution of Region	Total Population	Indian population	% age of Total population	Significant communities
London	7,512,400	491,300	6.50 %	Harrow - 22.0% Indian Hounslow - 18.3% Brent - 18.1% Ealing - 15.0% Redbridge - 14.3 % Newham - 12.1% Hillingdon - 10.0 % Barnet - 8.8% Croydon - 7.5 %
West Midlands	5,366,700	196,500	3.70 %	Wolverhampton - 12.0% Indian Coventry - 8.1% Birmingham - 6.0% Walsall - 5.5 % Sandwell - 9.4%
East Midlands	4,364,200	141,900	3.30 %	Leicester 24.9% Indian Oadby and Wigston - 11.2% Charnwood - 5.0% Derby - 4.0% Blaby - 3.5% Nottingham - 3.0% Northampton - 2.2 %
South East	8,237,800	131,000	1.60 %	Slough - 14.7 % Indian
North West	6,853,200	95,200	1.40 %	Blackburn 10.2 % Indian Preston - 8.3% Bolton - 5.9% Trafford - 2.4 % Manchester - 2.3 %
East	5,606,600	81,000	1.40 %	Cambridge 2.7 % Indian Bedford - 4.3% Luton - 4.2%
Yorkshire and the Humber	5,142,400	71,800	1.40 %	Bradford - 2.9 % Indian Leeds - 2.2% Kirklees - 4.2% Sheffield - 1.1 %
South West	5,124,100	37,500	0.70 %	Bristol - 3.9 % Indian Gloucester - 2.0% Swindon - 3.0%
Scotland	5,094,800	17,000	0.30 %	Glasgow - 2.4% Indian
North East	2,549,700	17,900	0.70 %	Newcastle Upon Tyne - 1.7% Indian
Wales	2,903,085	8,200	0.30 %	Cardiff - 1.3 % Indian
Northern Ireland	1,685,267	1,600	0.10 %	

Source : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_British

Association, UK Leicester Ankur Manchester Malayalee Cultural Association, Worcestershire Malayalee Cultural Association, Anand Overseas Brotherhood UK,Goan Overseas Association, Aden Vanik Association, U.K. Young London Goans, etc.

The list is exhaustive and most of these associations have their own web pages to promote their activities. In London, the South Asian Communities continue to remain on the political map where Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims have greater sense of realization due to self identification, the diversity of belief, and practices within the social community (Geaves 2005)¹¹ Paradoxically, however, the significant ethnic communities in UK now a multi-religious faith, have successfully maintained their social identity thereby proved a new critique since 9/11 event at New York. Even a number of liberal intellectuals like Salman Rushdie’s *Satanic Verses* have brought changes in the Diaspora community that has proved a new thought in the direction of religious sentiments. Despite all, Muslim ethnic community continues to be considered as insurgent and symbol of destruction and hence remain under tight scrutiny. While most of the Indians are linked with their ‘homeland’ despite close ties with inter-religious communities in UK. Muslim organizations irrespective of South Asian nations, have often been viewed suspicious by the western media and minds. They are often described as ‘Folk Devils’, as Werbner has truly quoted : ‘ the politics of race, quasi nationalism or xenophobia by contrast, is a violent politics’ (Werbner, 2002). ¹² There have been cases of arrest and detention of Indian Muslims in UK. The Hindu organizations in Britain, though less critical unlike Islamic, continues to remain active despite differences in ideologies. The British Hindus has often been identified as homogenous due to individual faith. At present

there are 334 temples in UK while London has 136 temples (Nesbitt, 2006).¹³ All these continue to provide holy ground and community facilities for Hindus as well as educations trustees. Hindu schools in UK frame their instructions. Sikhism remains a strong sense with all possible social security owing to instructions in schools and Sikh Trust Institutions in UK. ¹⁴ It is very common among British Sikhs (and everywhere in the world) to portray Sikhism as *Khalsa* in the forms of rituals and deity. However, many supporters of *Khalsa* believe prompting ideology without caring political or religious conflict with other Indian ethnic groups.

In general, Indian ethnic group in UK, a part of larger English population, is bound together by common ties of language, nationality and culture. It is a complex process that has often been associated by uneasy and uncomfortable national interest. However, the combination of tolerance, interdependence, and separatism has been more relevant due to doctrine of freedom and democracy. India Diaspora community continues to face challenges due to ethnic and racial variations. A recent example of Indian doctors and nature of racial discriminations is UK is a serious concern for medical professionals.

A Case of Medical Practitioners

Let us briefly examine Indian doctors who are practicing in London and other cities of UK are now under tight scrutiny since January 2006. The Medical practitioners continue to confront against new Immigration Rule on Medical Practice (IRMP) and British National Health Services (BNHS). The British Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (BAPIO) often organized protest against IRPM which blames Indian medical standard as poorly organized and non competent that don’t match with IRPM and BNHS norms. The termination of 15,000 Indian

Doctors has already led to the formation of the Joint Council for the Welfare Immigrants (JCWI). Unfortunately Non-EU Doctors have to undergo for specialized skills which is an open violation Visa –Free Permit Training Schemed (Lall, 2006).¹⁵ However, the move of BAPIO to make petition favoring Indian doctors and medical students and the issues of Race Equal Impact Assessment (REAI) continue to remain a debated topic. BAPIO’s Vice Chairman Dr Satheesh Mathew and present Dr Ramesh Mehta virtually failed to convince the British Judicial Bench leading another set of controversies that still continues.¹⁶ In fact it is also a reminder for Indian Medical Association and Indians Doctors who earn degree either through heavy donations or reserved quota which don’t match with BNHS. EU Doctors irrespective of any standard of medical profession, remain to be answered as number of European countries don’t match with BNHS. The way Asian doctors are being targeted, is definitely concerned with racial criteria.

Sikh Diaspora

Britain has witnessed the emergence of modern Gurudwara movement embracing 250 institutions and succeeded in establishing a distinct sacred spaces. Britain has the largest home for Sikh community, the most upward mobile ethnic group (Tatla 1999).¹⁷ Since 1980s, Sikh organizations in Britain have articulated national identity though the rights of ‘self determination’ in Punjab and national organizations outside Punjab. It is duly noted that Sikh nationalism openly challenge the contemporary global order through rejection of sovereign statehood by asserting *Khalsa Panth* (Shani 2000).¹⁸ Unfortunately, Sikh nationalist elites, however tapped in the discourse of 9/11 event. But the transnational links of Sikhs is a well known fact.

Muslim Diaspora

The migration of Indian Muslims in Britain has often raised crucial questions about how they are to be behaved as Muslims publicly or privately. Anthropologists assess the social relations as the bedrock of ethnic community and beliefs. But the process of understanding of locality through the social engagement of trans-border flow of movement that are often misinterpreted as a source of Islamic Fundamentalism that dramatically lack the secular appeal. However the absence of authentic information and the hurry in decision making about Muslim Diaspora, including Indian Muslims, often result in misunderstanding the issue in the Western World. The recent case of Illegal Immigration from India is among the four people arrested by UK Border Agency (UKBA) in the northern England at Middlesbrough these are restaurant owners. Humran Parvez (30), claimed that he had no idea that four men are working in his restaurant illegally. However, Parvez may be under detention because he did not verify the documents.¹⁹ Like Parvez, there are hundreds of more such examples that make India Muslim Diaspora more critical.

C) Unique feature of Cultural Organizations

The Indian community is culturally very active. It organizes numerous cultural festivals time and again. One of the leading Nehru Centres was established in 1992 in London that functions as part of the High Commission of India. It is a major source of admiration and a hub of Indian culture and intellectual life. Considerable space exists for further expansion and there is a wide range of diaspora activities for which Indian artists, poets, and exponents of culture are in great demand. Another Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan performs a very useful role in fulfilling the cultural need of the Indian community and helps in establishing links with India.

Cases of inter racial weddings, common rituals and religious ceremonies are frequently reported. The visit of English VIPs like Prince Charles and Former US President Bill Clinton in Indian Associations and Royal Opera Houses have opened wider cultural avenues between India and UK. Some prominent names Dilip Tahul, Nina Wado, Namita Punjabi, Gurinder Chadha, Arun Nayar and Ayesha Dhanker are the ideal examples. Karan Billimoria who married with an English Lady Heather, won ‘Asian of the Year 2002’ Award for giving new concept of flotation rate in the London Stock Exchange (Nair, 2003).²⁰

D) Craze of Bollywood in UK

The ever-increasing demand for Hindi films and ethnic television is a major element in keeping the Indian Diaspora active and alive. The popularity of the Hindi cinema cuts across barriers of language, religion and caste which are otherwise seen in most communities. Hindi and regional South Indian films in UK also enjoy considerable popularity amongst the other south Asian communities apart from the English locals. Some cases of prostitution and entertainment at remote areas where Indian and Pakistani girls are forcefully brought to UK under the cover of Bollywood films and music business. Girls performing *Mujras* in areas with larger Asian population in London suburbs, Birmingham, Bradford, and Leicester are duly identified (Dutt, 2003).²¹ *Mujras* are also promoted in private posh houses, bars, and night clubs where brokers with the support of the local earn handsome money. However, the modernized UK culture, media and minds do permit to run the demand of Indian glamour. Thanks to craze of Bollywood starts like Shilpa Shetty, Amitabh Bachhan, Aishwarya Roy, Vivek Oberaoi and Salman Khan who continue to earn popularity. London’s Madame Tussaud’s the

popular Wax Museum has a distinction of a number of Indian celebrities with original wax figures, probably nowhere in the world. British Film Council (BFC) continues to promote the identity of Indian Film slots in London’s Big Ben and Trafalgar Square, famous for pigeons, demonstrations and New Year revelries that claim to have great fan of Indian films (Ahmed, 2003).²² The proposal to establish Bollywood School in London by Indian celebrities like Anupam Kher, Urmila Matondkar, Tabbu and Boman Irani is a move to promote material arts, yoga, dance, music shows the potentials of India’s commitment.²³ In the year to come, India is likely to start dozens of cultural programmes to promote bilateral dialogue between London and New Delhi Officials.

Economic Profile

Economically, Indians in UK are better equipped than the English due to hard work and commitment. Indian talents have already proved a phenomenal success especially after the IT revolution in nineties. It is evidently known by the per capita income that stand about £ 15860 UK per annum. Studies conducted by the London School of Economics, and Social & Economic Research; University of Essex, have show that Indians have attained considerable prosperity in the field of steel, engineering, manufacturing, finance, hotels, pharmaceuticals, IT, media, trade, trading (including cash & carry), catering, fashion, and consultancy services. Almost every sector has distinction in establishing monetary institutions that wok as a base for economic prosperity of UK and India. Some prominent economic organizations are listed below.²⁴

1. Real Estate Holding and Development Indian Real Estate
2. International Media and Entertainment Group Nikanor

- 3. Indian Power Generation
- 4. Indian Real Estate
- 5. Naya Bharat Property Indian Real Estate
- 6. Evolvence India Holdings plc
- 7. Indian Fund
- 8. Promethean India
- 9. Indian Private Equity
- 10. Dhir India Investments PLC
- 11. Distressed Assets and Property in India.
- 12. Indian Media/Animation
- 13. Indian Oil and Gas
- 14. Design Business Association

India has now emerged as a leading investor in the UK, with most of the 125 Indian companies set up in London and other cities of UK. Indian companies have invested over 250 million pounds in the UK, and have created several hundred Jobs in this country. Hundreds of Chambers of Commerce and Industries in the UK incorporate ‘Asian’ units or chapters manned by Indian-origin professionals. Besides, some of the prominent community organizations also play a key role in disseminating business information which is involved in business promotion. There are at least 15 prominent PIO commercial organizations and consultancy services in Britain, such as Indian Development Group (UK) Ltd., Indian Development Fund, Confederation of Indian Organizations and Indian Forum for Business. Though decisions to trade with a country or company are not taken on emotional considerations but on realistic, economic ones, the PIOs knowledge of the home country and its culture as well as their family links are generally considered as an advantage and attraction.

Political Profile

Owing to the century-old tradition of participation in the political processes in the UK, the Indian community in Britain has made its presence felt in the political arena in the country. The increase in its numbers, accretion in economic strength, attainment of higher educational levels and enhancement in social status are being gradually reflected in the increasing political visibility of the English community. There are over 250-300 Councilors of Indian origin scattered all over the UK. Through the network of “British-Indian Councilors Association” (BICA), about a dozen Indian Mayors of different councils have also been elected time and again. Traditionally, Indians have been supporters of the Labour Party and till recently, over 65% of the Indian population was estimated to be voting in favour of labour though there are members from conservative and liberal partiers too to represent Indian English for historical reasons.

Out of the three major political parties: Liberal, Labour and Conservative, the first two have formed Friends of India Parliamentary groups. Apart from these Friendship Groups in the political parties, there is also a British –Indian Parliamentary Association which cuts across party lines and consists of members of the British Parliamentary Association. It is known as the “Curry Club” that meets regularly to discuss matters of topical interest and help to promote India’s bilateral relations. Lord Swaraj Paul as Head of the British delegation for the Indo-British Round Table, a non-official initiative launched during the visit of Honorable Robin Cook to India. Prominent members of the Indian community have been assisting officials of the Indian High Commission whenever necessary in their efforts to lobby political opinion makers. Historically, number of INC Leaders has represented British

Parliament as mentioned in the opening part of this paper.

MEDIA

Host of Indian communities occupy important positions in the mainstream British media, including organizations like the BBC, The Daily Telegraph, The Financial Times, etc. Their presence in these organizations contributes to a better understanding of India and more balanced projection of issues of concern to India. The ethnic Indian media has a strong and powerful presence throughout the country. There are nine prominent ethnic publication: India weekly, Gujarat Samachar, Garavi Gujarat, Asian Trader, Amar Deep, India home & Abroad, South Hall Gazette, New World, and Asian Affairs that highlight the activities of Indians in UK. The following table will be helpful to overview.

Table IV : List of Selected Periodicals and Place of Publication

Sl. No.	Name of Journal/ Periodicals	Place of Publication
1.	Ajit Weekly	Birmingham
2.	Asian Voice	London
3.	Awaze Punjab Weekly	North Middlesex
4.	Awaze Qaum	Birmingham
5.	Des Pardesh Weekly	South Hall, London
6.	Garavi Gujarat	London
7.	Gujarat Samachar	London
8.	India Home & Abroad	London
9.	India Weekly	London
10.	Jagat Wani	Birmingham
11.	Punjab Times	Derby
12.	The Sikh Times	Birmingham

Source: Country wise Bibliography in Indian Diaspora (2004), Department of Sociology, Sardar Vallabh Patel University, Vallabh Nagar

There are also one dozens of ethnic Indian radio and TV channels, namely- Sunrise Radio Yorkshire, MP Media Service, Zee TV, Asia -1 TV, Sony TV, Namaste TV, Sabras Radio, Radio XL, APNA TV, and MP Media services. The launching of first regional Tamil Channel, SUNTV has already earned wide popularity in UK (Suroor, 2003).²⁵ Most of these tend to focus primarily on news and events related to the Indian Subcontinent and help the community to remain in touch with India. The growing availability of newspapers on the Internet is another important new development for keeping the Diaspora connected with India. The contributions of media, literature and cinema are increasingly in mainstream British society.

Demands & Expectations from India

The Indian community in the UK has expressed the pressing needs, grievances and demands from India to the High Level Committee for the grant of dual nationality. Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have allowed dual nationality to their people in the UK. It is the perception of PIOs that Dual Nationality would have a positive influence especially on the second and third generation of Indians settled abroad. There is an urgent need to reduce the Visa Fees of the PIOs for easy access and physical movements. Purchase of agricultural land on the UK soil can be allowed by PIO Card holders. A Single Window Clearance System (SWCS) for PIO investments in India is increasingly important to fasten the cases. Safety and security during their visit and stay in India and elimination of harassment at airports should be guaranteed.

Promotional linkages of the youth with India is the urgent demand of third stage generation. These include increasing two-way exchanges of cultural troupes and regular interaction between the High Commission and representatives of the youth to understand their aspirations and needs

and acquaint then with the positive aspects of India. Linkages between educational institutions for exchange of students as part of a degree course between India and UK will help to access the educational matters. Cells in Central and select State governments to deal with PIO/NRI problems, systems of fast track disposal of cases and greater transparency in banking transactions must be given due weight age for Indians who are working in different managerial capacities. PIOs who return to India after retirement should be made aware of their rights under the provisions of the law. A permanent body should be established to address the various problems faced by such returnee Indians. Greater coverage by various media agencies reflecting the needs of the PIOs should be highlighted. PIOs and NRIs who make films on India should not be required to submit for their scripts. Renewal and grant of new passports should not involve cumbersome and time consuming references. A time limit should be set by government for such responses to avoid harassment. Redressal of problems faced by the NRIs in regard to investment, trade and industry. Such initiatives will significantly boost bilateral ties between India and UK at various levels.

Conclusion

The Diaspora study aims in establishing a baseline for observation of the socio economic parameters of the Indian community. Despite odds and differences, limited English minds have room for flexibility, tolerance, openness and opportunities for British Indians. This is evident by the continuing influx of Indians representing diverse languages, religions, races and cultures. After all, the new culture of India is marked by talents, competence, and credentials which are clearly noted in many streams of the British society. At the academic and professionals levels, UK officials continue to show leniency, mutual interest and goodwill towards

the Indians. As the host of ‘Cultural Pluralism’ Indians actively participate in British system whether it is education, business or culture. After all, Indian Diaspora comprises several micro based community that are readily available everywhere. Hence, there is a greater need to examine the hidden character of Indian Diaspora

Unfortunately, the influx of fresh migration in UK has often resulted in the imbalance between education and employment. UK’s inability to absorb qualified Indians is also a logical consequence of frustration at various levels and the question of human capital remains difficult to answer by sensible critiques. While in India the changing perception about the skilled migration has been driven by the role of NRIs in IT, Education, Health and Bio-Technology. There is growing awareness towards the investment flows, skill, knowledge, technology transfer, trade and business opportunities. There is a universal fact that Indians in UK, their savings and remittances do represent direct measurable benefits wherein Diaspora are often able to leverage a network to raise funding opportunities, access distribution of wealth and spawn of better enterprises.

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Modernity, Liberal Democracy and Political Islam:
 A Critical Perspective

V Bijukumar

Abstract

Political Islam’s negative attitude towards liberal democracy can be seen in the context of its approach towards western project of modernization in the guise of imperialism. Both the colonial and postcolonial modernity failed to make substantial headway in the socio-economic life of the people forcing the Arab world to distance from liberal democracy. The contemporary Islamic upsurge deserves to be seen as a positive and creative response to the challenge of western kind of modernity. As against the western propaganda that Islam is by nature anti-democratic, there are many values of Islamic tradition that are conducive to democratization. It is entirely compatible with modernity, notably science and the spirit of rational inquiry. In fact, the strategic and economic interest of the west prevented Islamic countries from genuine democratization rather than the innate values of Islam as argued by the west.

The twentieth century was aptly described as the age of confrontation between two rival ideologies – Capitalism and Communism – over the mankind. These two ideologies preached its own kind of modernity and influenced human thought and action. However, at the beginning of the twenty first century Islam emerged as the potent political force through out the Muslim world. More specifically, since 1970s, the reassertion of Islam and Islamic values in Muslim politics and society started. The Islamic countries were called for a return to the original principles of the Islamic state. In the recent past, Islam has assured a high place and role in the modern world by calling for a more visible role in political life, namely Political Islam.¹

Various scholars and Muslim intellectuals defined Political Islam in different meanings. Kramer used it to denote ‘a wide range of individuals and associations dedicated to the transformation of state and society so as to make them, ‘Islamic’ (Kramer 2004, 536). According to him Political Islam refers to Islam conceived as a set of beliefs, a code of conduct, or a repertory images and metaphors relevant to politics, as well as to various attempts to define an “Islamic State” or “Islamic Order” (Kramer 2004, 536).

Initially, Political Islam was not synonymous with violent, racial or extremist Islamism and it is restricted to opposition groups. In the course of time, by interfering into the political

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affairs Islam promised the people a clean and better government. In the 1980s, it started as a reform movement against authoritarian and corruption of Middle East regimes. In other words, Islam assumed its political colour with a claim to the defence of state legitimacy, civil order and political stability.

Contesting Western Modernity

Political Islam developed as a critique of the western modernisation project imported to the Arab countries. It engaged in a direct confrontation with the West by criticising the western modernity. Huntington described the clash between the West and the Arab world as a ‘clash of civilizations’ (Huntington 1996). However, the fact remains that the confrontation is beyond the clash between the two civilizations. The perceived threat of western modernity to the Arab world forced them to protect its traditional values from the onslaught of western modernity. The advocates of Political Islam sees that ‘Islam is the solution’ to the problem confronted by the contemporary world. They advocate that Islam is the only alternative to the world’s existing powers and ideologies, from Capitalism to Communism, and from Liberalism to Fascism. Political Islam seeks to re-establish the religion of Islam as a political system in the modern world. It is re-interpreting conventional concepts in the contemporary situations. It develops a notion against the West, the nature of political power, functioning of democracy, etc.

Islam and Colonial Modernity

The genesis of the contradiction between western modernity and Political Islam can be traced back to the colonial era. It can be seen as a reaction to the colonial encroachment upon the Islamic state and society. Like other Third World countries colonialism destroyed the socio-cultural

religious life of the Muslim world. The colonial modernity, thus, created a discontent among the Muslim world who tried to create a collective image of Islam against the colonial west. During the colonial period, the Europeans started to project their own imagination on the Muslim societies. As a result, ‘the heterogeneous Islamic world was reduced to a monolithic, anti-modern and anti-intellectual world excluded from the world history’ (Malik 2004, 154). For many Muslims, colonial modernity was simply the form of humiliation at the hands of the West. Several movements called for the Muslims to revolt by rejecting the influence of the West and the values of colonial modernity and returning to the true values of Islam. A prominent among them was the Muslim Brotherhood, a powerful influence in Egyptian politics in the 1940s.

The colonial modernity shrunk the cultural space in the Muslim world. In fact, modernity destroyed the symbolic relationship between Sufi orders and crafts guilds and undermined their ability to organise public life in urban centres (Choueiri 2003: 265). The cultural hybridization of the colonial process adversely affected the Arab world. Thus, colonialism sowed the seeds of Islamic movements in many parts of the Muslim world. Some sections of Muslim community tried to reform the Muslim society in secular (western) way and opted for the integration of the colonial system with Islamic theology. The move towards this direction came from the western educated intelligentsia. However, the move was sceptically watched by other sections of the society.

Flaws of Postcolonial Modernization

The project of postcolonial modernization has a bearing on the conflict between the West and Political Islam. After decolonisation, the secularised urban post-colonial regimes in the Arab world moved towards state capitalism. The ruling

elite with the cooperation of bureaucratic elite championed secular nationalism in the Arab World. However, the non-political Muslim associations tried to reconstruct the postcolonial state on the basis of Islamic ideology to counter western ideologies and institutions (Malik 2004, 155). The modernisation initiated in the aftermath of the Second World War generated certain structural problems such as insufficient societal integration, artificial boundaries and narrowly based economies in the Arab world. The western view of ‘secularization’ imposed on the Muslim world – contrary to the spirit of Islamic culture and civilization. This produced a unique set of parameters for socio-political life, fundamentally different from the ones on which a faith based society is established (Ahmad 1983, 218). Political Islam challenged the western project of secularism keeping away both religions from politics/state. It has to be remembered that the western concept of secularism is closely related to Enlightenment modernity which is considered as the triumph of reason and rationality. Political Islam, on the other hand, preaches that religion and state are interrelated and interlinked. Thus, Political Islam can be seen as a onslaught of the Enlightenment values – rationality and secularism. Islamic movements claim that the western project of ‘secularism’ as an attempt to renounce the Muslim religious values. The wider feeling is that ‘secularism’ is singled out as the most dangerous internal threat to Muslim identity and authenticity, notions that have high priority on the Islamist agenda (Kramer 2004: 539). They reiterated that its commitment to the traditional values of Islam is posing a threat created by the western modernity.

After the decolonization, both the internal and external forces exerted pressures for the ‘westernisation’ of the Islamic world. It has to be kept in mind that during the colonial era, the

westernised Muslim elite visualised political freedom and by aping culturally and intellectually towards the west. After decolonisation, the westernised secular elites replaced foreign colonization with internal colonization (Khan 2004, 273). The western educated intelligentsia advocated ‘the emulation of European civilization as a cure for the poverty and underdevelopment of the Islamic world’ (Ismael 1991, 36). They advocated the adoption of social, political and economic institutions and structures of the west. They emphasised the western values of liberalism and secularism. When the westernised Arab intellectuals while appreciating the western values tried to devalue the Islamic cultural heritage, a certain section strongly opposed the liberal secular attack on Islamic and Arab culture. They are calling for preserving and protecting the Muslim legacy, cultural, institutional and intellectual ethos.

Postcolonial modernisation failed to bring out drastic social changes in the Arab world. The western modernisation project was superimposed on the traditional society. The present revivalism is because of the inability of the modernisation project to bring out drastic social change. The growing feeling that the westernising model cannot deliver goods. As Ahmad argues that the Islamic resurgence is a ‘multi-dimensional phenomenon’. On the one hand, it is ‘an historical expression of the concerns as well as the aspirations of the people, based primarily upon internal indigenous factors. On the other hand, it is also a response to an external challenge, the challenge of post colonial impacts on Muslim society’ (Ahmad 1983: 226).

During the nationalist movement, Islamic ideology was an ideology of mobilising people against colonial masters not only for political freedom but also for economic one. However, political freedom remained only the direct transfer of power from the west. Even after independence,

the colonial powers exercised their authority over the Muslim countries. The western domination continued not only at the political level but also at the socio-economic level. The political modernisation coupled with socio-economic modernisation super-imposed on the western ethos of modernity. Decolonization does not mean that the end of western influence over the Muslim countries. The colonial objective of the civilizing mission changed to westernise the Arab world.

The westernised political leadership pushed a development agenda/modernisation project on the Arab societies. While the state is modern, the society remained as traditional. As it has been evident from that ‘the new political, economic and intellectual leadership of the Muslim countries was replica, a transplant implanted by western powers’ (Ahmad 1983: 225). Like other postcolonial states Islamic states, the ruling elites were the products of western education and training, turned to the west as a model for nation-building. The adoption of western political institutions meant the increasing influence of the west over the Middle East. It has been argued that ‘from the west came industrialisation, urbanisation, technology, commercialisation, rationalism, constitutionalism and other notions that in time would constitute powerful force of change. The imposition of these methods and ideas on the traditional social structure heightened expectations and aspirations throughout the Third World, motivating the political elites that stepped into power to continue the process of modernisation. The effect of this acculturation was a gradual dismantling of the old order’.²

Political Islam is a response to the postulate of modernity itself, particularly in its colonialist and post colonialist manifestations (Choueiri 2003: 256). It is the expression of collective desire to go back to the fundamental values to challenges in the contemporary world. Political Islam wants an

imagined historical Islam to prevail over modernity (Noorani 2006, 79). The postcolonial project of modernisation in its socio political and economic dimensions has flawed in the true sense of the term. Socially, modernization led to a breakdown of traditional family, religious and social values. Political modernisation with the national independence could not reconcile with the traditional values of the society. Economic modernisation, in fact, created a faulty one moving towards negative effects. Economic wealth generated through high oil reserve could not address high unemployment rates, government corruption and growing gap between rich and poor. Modernisation could not sustain social order and political stability as it came under pressure from domestic and international forces.

The western model of economic and political development failed to address the problem of Islamic countries. The Muslim population saw the western model as completely a failure. While the western model was projected as the symbols of modernity, the Islamic world felt it as the source of moral decline and spiritual malaise. The discontent towards the western model in the course of time developed into anti-west sentiment and in particular with the U.S. The U.S., on the other hand, extended it support and cooperation to authoritarian Muslim rulers who backed westernisation. For instance, Iran’s Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi support to westernisation turned him into a pet of the U.S.

Modernization vs. Fundamentalism

The imposition of western modernity created a fear psychosis among the Islamic communities. The attack on traditional values generated discontent among the people. This was manifested in the form of Islamic fundamentalism. The contemporary Islamic upsurge deserves to be seen as a positive and creative response to the

challenge of modernity (Ahmad 1983, 220). The values of western liberalism imposed on the Muslim world weakened the traditional values. Modernization has an even greater effect by proving new channels of communication, in fact, led to a backlash between tradition and modernity. Islamist movements are the contradictory product of modernity, both in their political attitude towards the state and in the content of their social claims (Addi 1997: 112). One of the reasons for the fundamentalist revival in the Islamic countries is the strength of the perceived threat from liberal, western values to tradition Islamic societies (Fukuyama 1992: 46).

The contradiction between tradition and modernity is based on the dichotomy between individual and community. While the western society is based on individual self development, Islam emphasis on the group and community. Islam leaves little to the individual. The three of the five injunctions of Islam – prayer, fasting and hajj – are directly related to group activity and participation (Ahmed 1990: 220). Arabian societies are comprised of traditional bonds whether tribal, ethnic, communal, religious or kinship based. Islam believes in a single community of brotherhood (Ummah) – irrespective of national geographical boundaries.

Islamic movements see that the western modernity values would shackle their society. Islamic countries feel that the western model produced moral havoc, the social ills and the psychological shock. Citing that the modern values left American society destitute – children are suffering due to the high incidence of frequent divorces and broken families. Modernity created tension in society which explicated in the forms of rising incidents of violence in schools and classrooms. The western society based on nuclear family creates insecurity and disintegrating way

of life. Muslim society is essentially based on group interest and community interests. Because of the emphasis on the group, the Muslim family is still relatively cohesive and not broken down (Ahmed 1990, 220).

Islamic movements see that Europe’s advance towards technology and industry created shackles to that society. The import of western technology and development along with globalisation would destroy the cohesiveness of the Islamic society. Political Islam, in this context, emerged as a result of a ‘development syndrome’. The western model of development through technology transfer threatens the basic ethos of the Muslim society.

Cold War Conundrum

The cold war situation has some repercussions on liberal democracy and Political Islam. The super powers during the cold war period criticised the Middle East to meet their strategic needs – thwarting democratic regimes. The superpowers conveniently used the Middle East region to serve this purpose. The U.S. used the Iranian ruler Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi as an ally against communism in the cold war and supplied him with large amounts of military equipments. Shah, was, in fact, used by the U.S. to plunder the oil resources in the region.

Islamic Revolution and the West

Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 paved the way for the western animosity towards the Arab world. By deposing the pro-western ruler Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Iranian revolution established the Islamic Republic of Iran and developed hostility to the West, especially to the U.S.A. For instance the prominent theoreticians and ideologues of the Islamic states, such as Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran and Syed Outh of Egypt emerged as the strong critique of the west.

The hostility to the west developed as the total repudiation of liberal democracy. The very idea of an Islamic state, which, in fact, developed after the Iranian Revolution represents not only a rejection of liberal democracy in its moment of triumph but also a means to register opposition to the global hegemony of the west (Sayeed 1995: 22).

The Iranian revolution and the subsequent emergence of the Islamic state were projected as an alternative to the two confronting blocs during the cold war—the Capitalist West and the Communist East. The Arab countries found ‘Islam is the solution to the confronting ideologies during the cold war. As Khan states that ‘just embracing this concept was liberating in experience as it implied that by advocating Islam, one was not only free of western global ideologies of capitalism and communism; but was also free from the internal colonization by secular westernised elites who used authoritarian means to subjugate Muslims in their own countries. Thus, the rejection of western ideas and ideologies was a mark of rebellion against imperialism as well as internal colonialism’ (Khan 2004: 266)³

On the other hands, the west was deeply concerned over the Islamic revolution and the establishment of Islamic state fearing that it would spread the entire Arab countries which ultimately will adversely affect their oil interest in the Middle East region.

Islamic state was essentially a postcolonial expression that rejects western cultural and geographical domination of the Muslim world (Khan 2004: 266). It was projected to rescue the Muslim Ummah from western domination.

Post Communist Situation

Political Islam emerged as the potent enemy to the west after the setback of communist regimes in Soviet Union and other East European countries. The decline of communist modernity and

the emergence of unipolar world under the U.S. further accelerated the process. As Choueiri states that the rise of Islam as a political force was the outcome of ‘the failure of nationalist and socialist forces with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the U.S.A. as a sole superpower’ (Choueiri 2003: 256).

The west and U.S. have been identified as the most powerful external enemy of Islam. In order to sustain its global military hegemony the U.S. is confronting with the Arab countries. Along with the clash between tradition and modernity, western imperialism also inspired Islamic revivalism. Its opportunism aided fundamentalism (Noorani 2006: 79). In order to protect its economic and strategic interest, the west fostered many rebels and Islamic fundamentalists. The Islamic organisations were armed, financed and supported by the West. The progressive elements in the Arabian countries were nibbled in its bud alleging that it had support from the communist bloc.

Re-orienting Ideology and Reconstructing Identity

As it has been stated earlier that Islamic resurgence was a response to the shattered political aspirations created by the western domination. While rediscovering of identities, Islam was used for rejuvenating the individual and social life. This was quiet surprisingly watched by the west and dubbed it as ‘fundamentalism’. Islamic ideology is used for legitimising their mobilization. Islamist movements are mobilising people in the liberation of the Muslim land from the western domination thereby challenging western modernity. Islamic movements want to reconstruct society more in Islamic ideology and its values. They are in search of a new social order based on Islamic values. While religion is permeating the national culture Islamic tradition maintains an active interest

in issues of national politics and social justice (Sachedina 2001: 4).

Political Islam rejects any distinction between the religious community and political community. It does not recognise the public and private spheres. It does not separate or distinguish between the spheres of secular and sacred.

Globalisation and Political Islam

The modernity imposed by the forces of globalisation creates havoc to the Islamic world. The values of globalisation contradict the values of Islamic societies. The neo-liberal globalisation is based on individual interest rather than protecting community interest. Community and group interest have been replaced by individual self motive in the process of accumulation of wealth.

Globalisation has created more havoc to Islam rather than any other religious communities. In other words, Islam responded vigorously to globalisation than any other religion in the world. The reason can be seen in the context of Islam as a totalistic religion which regulates the whole of human life. It not only sets up spiritual goals, but also provides the institutions, laws and the general environment in which those goals should be attained (Ahmed 1990: 19). Islamic laws are based on Koran. Islamic state does not believe in popular sovereignty but ultimate sovereignty and absolute authority only vest in God. Islamic religion regulates the entire aspects of individual life birth, death, dress, food, marriage, etc. The penetration of values of western modernity in the era of globalisation has changed these aspects of individual life in the Islamic world.

Globalisation in the Arab world led to the search for identity and distinctiveness. The crisis of identity taken in the forms of demands for Muslim state. Political Islam ‘stands for a reaffirmation of Islamic morality and a rededication

of resources of the *Ummah* – material as well as human – to the achievement of social justice and self-reliance’ (Ahmad 1983: 277). The confrontation of western modernity with Islamic tradition has been further aggravated by the growing western media exposure to Islamic countries. The western music, life styles, entertainment and films often acts as the liability to Islamic ethos and values.

In the context of globalisation, westernisation is making inroads in Islamic society. Multinationals are dumping goods to Islamic countries, especially the West Asian markets. A consumerist culture is developing which is posing a challenge to Islamic values. The new middle class which is developing in this region was often described by the west as the torch bearer of modernity and liberal democracy. However, such a middle class often acts as a liability to Islamic values and its traditional norms. Globalisation made adverse impact on the Muslim societies. High media exposure, technological intervention also generated discontent towards the west. The growing feeling is that freedom and political sovereignty enjoyed by Dar-al-Islam (Islamic territory) is under attack by the western powers.

Internal Flaws of the Arab World

The civil society and political culture existing in the west are not conducive to liberal democracy. The nature of society is basically patriarchal and the tradition of authoritarianism and conservative monarchies. Many Arab countries still divided into tribes (most notably in Yemen) or sects (Lebanon), it is hard to establish political parties. The authoritarian rulers feel that the introduction of liberal democracy would loose their grip on economic resources which were monopolised by them for a long time. They are promising the people that the authoritarian regimes are able to meet the material needs of the people rather than its democratic counterpart. While the authoritarian

regimes are legitimising their regimes by means of adopting populism, the opposition to authoritarian regime is profoundly divided by religious and ideological cleavages (Brumberg 2003: xi).

Socio-economic climate in the Arab world is no longer conducive to accept/reckon with the project of democratization. Ethno-religious divisions and their manipulations have a bearing on the democratization process in the Arab world. Most of the Islamic countries are afflicted by ethnic conflicts. The multi-ethnic and multi-tribal character of the society poses a threat to democratization process. Ideally, there is a common faith in Islam that unites Muslim countries. It visualizes one great Islamic community or nation (the Umma). However, in reality, there is a gross tribal division. Usually, the largest ethnic community controls the state and uses it to dominate the others (Kurth 2005: 320).

Arab societies are lacking freedom, knowledge and women's participation. Most of the Arabian countries yet to open political space to women. The forces of tradition that take Islamic law, including inequality for women. Islamic fundamentalists are trying to enforce strict versions of Islamic law and promoting the tradition of male dominance. Political opposition and dissent is not tolerated by the leadership. Rulers regard any opposition to the state as a threat to national security and ruthlessly suppress it. People preferred strong leaders able to act swiftly and promptly to address their needs. Popular disillusionment with political change led to apathy and cynicism (Kubba 2003:30). Since the 'populaces of many Arab states still have not developed a shared sense of political community, and consequently the people need authoritarian rule to ensure political stability' (Davis 200: 230).

The freedom of press is under a mess in the Arabian countries. The crackdown of Press

upbeats the free flow of information. In the era of information revolution, many Arab countries are facing to connect internet and restricting the flow of information. The increasing role of military in civil affairs restricts the deepening of democracy at the grass root level. Arab democracies are too weak and lacking in public support to withstand military intervention (Kubba 2003: 30).

Unlike other countries, civil society in Middle East is not so vibrant in pushing for democracy. 'In the Middle East, there have historically been three Civil Society Organizations that have enjoyed considerable autonomy and independence from the state'. They are the clergy (Ulema), tribes and tribal confederacies, and traditional merchants known as the bazaaris' (Kamrava and Mora 2003, 342). The popular pressure from civil society and individuals for democratization is very low in the Middle East. Civil society activities are often restricted by the government. According to Othman, civil society in Muslim countries is facing two key tasks. Firstly 'the challenge of ensuring that democracy is somehow maintained if not developed further within the existing state and policy'. Secondly, 'these countries take on the urgent work of engaging with Islamic and the nature of the polity and democracy that is implicit in their blueprint of the Islamic state' (Othman 2003). In most of the Arabian countries, pressure from below for democratization is weak. CSOs are not so vigorously advocating reforms. In many Middle East countries, there is a favourable condition to the development and spread of CSOs. Ethnic and tribal conflicts persist in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Algeria and many other Muslim countries pulling back the activities of civil society.

The over influence of religion in politics often restrict democratic expansion. Religion interprets the political life. Liberalism and democracy were treated as antithetical to Islam.⁴

As a result, political pluralism is a distant dream in the Arab world. In the contemporary world, Political Islam is posing a grave threat to liberal democracy, especially in the Arab world. Political Islam depicts liberal democracy as a western game plan to destroy the values of Islam. By exaggerating the threat of Political Islam, Arab regimes are further strengthening the authoritarian roles and thereby stifling the political opposition and CSOs. Any effort to political modernization was blocked and most of the countries forced to remain traditional. In the era of globalization, the opening up of the Arab society to the external world generated backlash which assumed in the form of terrorism. Othman rightly points out that 'Islamization affects the prospects for democracy in all these Muslim nation-states not because there is any intrinsic contradiction between Islam and democracy but because the resurgent movements of Political Islam do not (or perhaps refuse to) recognize the intellectual prerequisites of reactualizing Sharia principles with democratic trajectories in the modern world' (Othman 2003: 124).

Democracy recognizes the right to vote as the important fundamental right. Equality in voting is cornerstone of a democracy. Most developing countries have recognized gender equality in suffrage and granted the right to vote to both men and women. However, women in some Muslim countries are not allowed to exercise this right for a long time. These societies base their decision to deny woman the right to vote on religious beliefs. The United Arab Emirates remain opposed to women's political participation. Women in some parts of the Middle East tend to be rigidly governed by religious and traditional beliefs that exclude them from politics. However, there are exceptions in this respect. Despite restrictions imposed on women by Iran's Islamic government, women are making significant progress. For

instance, in 1999, women held 14 of the 270 seats in Iran's Parliament.

Political leadership in all these countries is an exclusively male preserve. Religious and other cultural factors ultimately set boundaries on women in the Middle East region. The conservative element in Islam often prohibits female employment outside the home and virtually confined women to their house. In the absence of educational opportunities, political participation levels remain low for the majority of poor women in the Middle East. Thus women are marginalized from the main stream of economic life. Women have significantly less access to resources and to income opportunities. Women's voices have been ignored and women have been cast to the sidelines.

The depiction of women as inferior to men and the consequent denial of democratic rights to them were legitimized by Islamic regimes. Thus, democracy failed to become an 'inclusive' exercise. There are number of reasons for such 'exclusiveness'. Even though the western liberal democracy spread to more regions during the third wave of democratization, it failed to extend Arab regions. The history of longstanding conflict between Islam and the West has not made Islamic movements naturally incline towards western forms of political democracy. Waterbury contends that 'the Arab Middle East is exceptional in its resistance to political liberalization, respect for human right and formal democratic practice'. Others argue that the political leaders and rulers in Middle East have strong control over economic and political power. They fear that democracy would bring political reform and lead to lose their grip over it.

For a long time, Arab countries are restricting the flow of information through internet. For instance, Saudi Arabia relies upon limiting

the number of its internet subscribers who constitute less than one per cent of the population. Iraq and Libya recently connected to the World Wide Web. Syria, which had been connected, subsequently blocked access to it. All Arab states have ministries of information charged with controlling the flow of information into their respective countries and ensuring the steady flow of state propaganda.

Onslaught on Liberal Democracy

Premised on the attack on western modernity, Islamic fundamentalists launched a vehement attack on western ideas and institutions. In fact, the Islamic attitude towards the western modernity generated a misconception about modern democratic institutions and liberal democracy as such. Political Islam, for instance, sees liberal democracy as the product of westernization.

The much claimed ‘third wave’⁵ of global democratization did not touch the Arab World. Most of the Arabian countries are paying lip service to democracy and resist political liberalization. In fact, Arabian countries at the turn of the last century laid the foundation for modern states with democratic institutions. The Arab fought against the Ottoman Empire and was granted independence. However, this phenomenon served the interest of the urban rather than the rural people (Kuba 2003: 30). Modest democratic reforms were initiated by many monarchs. For example, monarchies such as Jordan and Mexico have increased space for people’s participation in the political life of the community, and Tunisia has taken steps to expand political participation. However, all these initiatives proved to be slower move towards democratization. Only Turkey among the Middle East Muslim countries has a largely democratic system. Others like Libya and Saudi Arabia still remain closed in spite of international

pressure. For a long time, U.S. initiative to implant democracy in Arab world, could not realize its objectives because the socio-economic condition and political culture are entirely different from the western world.

The classical argument of the Modernization theory, in fact, finds incongruence with the Arab World.⁶ Even though, major Arabian countries are economically rich, democracy is a distant dream. For example, Saudi Arabia, the wealthiest of the major Muslim countries is far from democracy. On the other hand, sub Saharan Africa which is economically poorer than the Arab world, democracy built. The ruler and political leadership exercises strong control over economic resources. The reason to fear of democracy that political reform would strip them of their booty (Brumberg and Diamond 2003: xi). High illiteracy rate is often acting as a stumbling bloc to true democratization.

The genesis of the debate on Political Islam and liberal democracy can be traced from Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama’s reflections on religion and democracy which can be explicated in the Western stand. Huntington while discussing the ‘Waves of Democratization’ is arriving at a conclusion that religious values are playing vital role in the process of democratization. According to Huntington, certain religions are prone to liberal democracy and others are not. The role of religion in the process of democratization constitutes an arena of debate among the practitioners of democracy in the West. From the western point of view, religious values can push for democratization or impede the flourishing of liberal democracy. Huntington argues that religious traditions of a country play an important role in democratic transitions. In his opinion, historically there has been negative relationship between democracy and Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity,

Islam and Confucianism. Protestantism and democracy have been positively interlinked. In Protestantism, there is a great emphasis on individualism and the protest countries are more likely to give rise to democratic regimes than Catholic ones. Like Protestantism, Hinduism is also considered to be conducive to democratization because it lacks a centralized hierarchy.

Further, it is argued that Confucian culture promotes rigidly hierarchical societies and encourages obedience to authority, both of which are antithetical to democracy. The West alleges that initial slowdown of the process of democratization in Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan during the 1970s and early 1980s was due to the influence of Confucianism. Like Catholicism and Confucianism, Islam is considered to be detrimental to liberal democracy because the notions of political freedom are alien to Islam. Islamic beliefs do not readily support democratic institutions because it fails to separate religion and politics. Majority of the Arab countries, especially in the Middle East, are non-democratic in nature because of the deep rooted influence of Islam in the society.

Francis Fukuyama in his theory of End of History argues that the ‘unabashed victory’ of liberalism, after its success from two competing ideologies of the twentieth century – Fascism and Communism – has not touched the Islamic world. Most of the Islamic countries are suffering from ‘democratic deficit’ as it is more vulnerable to liberal ideas. According to Fukuyama Islam constitutes a systematic and coherent ideology just like liberalism and communism, with its own code of morality and doctrine of political and social justice. “The appeal of Islam is potentially universal, reaching out to all men as men, and not just to members of a particular ethnic or national group. And Islam has indeed defeated liberal democracy in many parts of the Islamic world,

posing a grave threat to liberal practices even in countries where it has not achieved political power directly’ (Fukuyama 1992: 45). In the contemporary world only Islam has offered a theocratic state as a political alternative to both liberalism and communism. But, the doctrine has little appeal for non-Muslims, and it is hard to believe that the movement will take on any universal significance (Fukuyama 1989: 14).

The western argument of religion in relation to the process of democratization has no logical reason. Number of Catholic countries adopted liberal democracy during the ‘third wave’ of democratization starting from 1974. It has to be remembered that in order to tackle the ‘menace of Communism’, Pope made a clarion call to the Catholic countries to move closer to liberal democracy. In fact, the Catholic Church played a substantial role in Poland’s move away from the Soviet Communism. In the recent past, many Catholic countries underwent the democratization process such as Philippines, Chile and Brazil, etc.

Moreover, protestant values were for a long time described as congruity with democracy rather than Catholicism. Even Samuel Huntington accepts that large number of protestant countries adopted liberal democracy rather than its catholic counterpart during the first and second waves of democratization. Only in the third wave, Catholic countries embraced liberal democracy.⁷ This clearly shows the Catholic conscious was for a long time prevented the spread of liberal democracy. Contrary to the arguments by Huntington which rationalised Catholic consciousness with liberal democracy, the fact remains that the ‘Catholic phenomenon’ is, in fact, a reaction to the Soviet Union influence over the Catholic countries. A sense of fear arising out of the Soviet Union to influence Catholic countries to Communism forced Pope to decry them to move

closer to liberal democracy. For example, the Catholic Church played a substantial role in Poland's move away from the Soviet communism. It is international compulsion arising out of Soviet influence rather than the late arrived Catholic consciousness which forced Catholic countries to adopt liberal democracy.

Moreover, Confucianism has not impeded democratization of South Korea and Taiwan. In these countries democracy came late because the legacies of Japanese colonial domination produced a lengthy period of authoritarian rule from 1945 to early 1980s. Again, the values of Hinduism have not brought sustained democracy in the Hindu state of Nepal. The Himalayan Empire is still confronting with monarchical regime before establishing democracy.

The recent effort of the West to equate Islam as anti-democratic deserves no empirical evidence. Islamic values (especially Political Islam in the modern sense of the term) are no longer incompatible with liberal democracy as the West argues. Malaysia is among Asia's most stable democracies having a Muslim country. Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim country has recently democratized. Islam in India is more prone to democratic values.

The western contention that Islam is contrary to democratic values was contested by many scholars. According to them, 'there are many features of Islamic traditions that are conducive to democratization and especially to the development of flourishing market economies upon which democracy can rest' (Bainbridge 1997, 343). Political Islam and liberal democracy is incompatible is a simplistic argument without properly understanding the course of action. During the cold war, America legitimised its military hegemony by sighting the threat posed by the Soviet Union. Today, the U.S. is engaging in the same by

sighting the potent threat of Political Islam and Islamic fundamentalism as a potent threat to humanity. The west depicts Islam as negative to political democracy and finds it as the new enemy after communism. Moreover, the west is undermining the structural reasons for the Islamic resurgence but giving only simplistic arguments.

The western contention has no face value as it is evident that many of the Muslim countries adopted liberal democracy in the recent past. In 1994, seven states – Egypt, Kuwait, Jordan, Yemen, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania – had moved in the direction of democratization. In 1993, Morocco conducted its free parliamentary elections since the 1960s. In Egypt, political reforms began under President Anwar al- Sadat in the mid-1970s. The reform efforts were forwarded by his successor president Hosni Mubarak. He pursued a policy of gradual liberalisation and democratization by inaugurating economic reforms and privatisation.

Islam as a religion preaches humanism. Islam, as distinguished from Christianity, is a temporal project, wanting to usher in 'the kingdom of God' on earth. It respects from the dignity of human being, concern for the welfare of fellow citizens. Its basic thrust was towards universal brotherhood, equality and social justice. Ideally, the objectives of an Islamic state necessitates that the Muslim community be founded on the principles of equality, solidarity and freedom. Indeed, Islam was born in its struggle against a decaying social system based on feudalism. Islam is considered both as religion in the technical sense and a social revolution which posed powerful challenge to the oppressive structures.

Islam is more than a religion which believes in God, it provides a specific way of life. It is entirely compatible with modernity, notably science and the spirit of rational inquiry. Islam is a liberating force – liberating from bondages constructed by

human beings. Peace is the essential character of Islam. Ideally, Islam rejects all the justifications for war in the world such as nationalism, racism, greed and economic expansion. Islam has certain inherent values suited for democracy – individualism, aversion to hierarchy, etc.

The western propaganda that Islam is by nature anti-democratic. In the name of democratizing 'Islam' the west is engaging in the process of revitalising it. The advocates of the thesis that Islamic religion is anti-democratic by citing the denial of women rights for substantiating their argument. Arab nationalism, in their view, is less tolerant and allows less room for democracy. In the Arab world, authoritarian relations prevail in the family, the religious community, the workplace and between social classes. The west contends that Islam is posing a formidable challenge to prevailing secularist modernist ideas. It was often depicted as a threat to liberal, secular, democratic values. Liberal democracy has not made substantial entry into the Islamic world. The west perceived that Islam as a religion is diametrical to liberal democracy. Fukuyama's conclusion that Islamic values are antithetical to liberal democracy invites lot of criticism from the Islamic intellectual world. Islam is basically an egalitarian religion and enshrines human dignity and fraternity.

The assumption of western scholars that political Islam and democracy is elusive has been contested. Political Islam, in fact, is the creation of the west against the communist regimes in Soviet Union and other East European countries. The west always wanted the Arabian society as traditional and fostered authoritarian regimes to safeguard the oil interests of the West.

The depiction of Islam as antidemocratic by the West has to be analyzed in a historical context. In the oil triangle, which also happens to be predominantly Islamic, the U.S. has done its

best to overthrow democratic regimes. They supported despots and puppets and allied with the most retrograde forces in society to control its oil wealth. All the modern and democratic regimes which came into power by overthrowing the emperors wanted to nationalize and take control of oil resources, which was opposed by the United States and its allies. In Iran, the government of Mossadegh was overthrown and Raza Shah Pahlavi was installed as the ruler in 1953 under the watchful eye of CIA. Mossadegh was considering the nationalization of the oil industry. Shah acted as a puppet and permitted the plunder of his oil resources.

In Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden and his fundamentalist outfit Taliban were nurtured by the U.S. with the help of Pakistan to overthrow pro-Soviet People's Democratic Party regime in 1978. The Taliban elements were armed, financed and supported by the CIA to fight against the influence of Soviet Union. Saddam Hussein, America's number one enemy was also the creation of American policy towards Iraq. He was supported by the CIA against the progressive forces in Iran which came into power after the Iranian Revolution in 1979.

The western powers are engaging in a war against terrorism often legitimises their misdeeds by considering that the Political Islam is antithetical to liberal democracy. However, such a generalisation proved to be negative while taking into account of the experiments of liberal democracy in other Arab countries. A number of Muslim countries have experimented liberal democracy by conducting elections based on competitive party system.

Historically, certain innate factors impeded liberal democracy in the Arab world. It is argued that 'democracy is supposedly impeded in Arab countries because they were not formally

constituted as modern nation-states until after the Ottoman Empire collapse in 1918’ (Davis 2005: 230). The other major reasons for the lack of democratization can be seen as socio-economic, political, cultural and religious forces whose roots go back to decades.

The important reason for the lack of democratic structures in the post colonial Islamic societies lies in the experience of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It has to be noted that the national boundaries of the postcolonial states were redrawn by colonial powers. Hence people in the new political entities did not necessarily share a national identity. This lied to the demand for building ‘Arab Unity’ or ‘Pan-Arabism’(Stodte and Froeblich 2004: 462).

The west’s attempt to impose liberal democracy on Islamic countries is a futile exercise. Political Islam cannot be dislodged by the west for it was born from the local political culture, and was an outcome of the history of national liberation movement. Its ideological reality deeply rooted in society and it is the manifestation of popular discontent (Addi 1997: 117). Islamic religious fundamentalism is, in fact, a response to modernity. They are engaging in the process of defining modernity while defending the tradition. Thus, fundamentalists engage in technological, philosophical and political dimensions of modernity (Lawrence 1989: 24).

The U.S. war on terrorism and its project of democratization is counter productive to the democratization process in the Middle East. The authoritarian regimes further legitimized its authority in order to defend the nations from the U.S. invasion. The growing tendency of governments in the Middle East and many parts of Asia to use the authoritarian banner as an excuse to crack down on political opponents, and thereby crushing democratic dissent (Carothers

2004: 415). International monetary agencies like World Bank and European Union often make foreign aid, trade and investment in Arab countries. Along with U.S. these financial institutions are encouraging the implementation of market reforms hoping that economic liberalization can bring political liberalism. However, the economic liberalization in the Middle East cannot bring political liberalization.

Today, the Arab countries have been undergoing a process of transition. There is a growing public discourse on issues previously considered taboo. Civil society groups are breaking new ground. The ability to communicate freely with the outside world is leaving a variety of effects on the views of the people, reinforcing some and changing others. The high speed of flow of information and the constant exposure to different cultures and belief systems is reshaping the opinions, values, concepts and perceptions of citizens in formerly closed societies. There is immense domestic pressure emanating from human rights and women groups for transparency, accountability, etc. However, these things can be translated into the way of democratization depends upon the internal and external conditions of these countries.

Endnotes

1. Political Islam means applying Islamic texts to modern political life. In the Arabian world, Islam continues to be one of the major political forces.
2. *The Middle East Congressional Quarterly Inc. (1981)*, Washington: Congressional Quarterly Inc., p. 109.
3. This view was further explained by Ayubi (1991) and Esposito (1997) see Ayubi (1991) and Esposito (1997).
4. Samuel Huntington (1993) argues that religious tradition of a country plays an important role in democratic transformation. According to hi, there have been

negative relationship between democracy and Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Confucianism. Protestantism and democracy have been positively linked. In Protestantism there is a great emphasis on individualism. Protest countries are more likely to give rise to democratic regimes than catholic one. Endorsing the view of Huntington that Islam is incongruence with liberal democracy, Vatikiotis (1988) argues that the notions of political freedom are considered alien to Islam. see Huntington (1993) and Vatikiotis (1988).

5. Samuel Huntington, an American political scientist, argues that liberal democracy spread to world not in a linear process but ‘waves’. He offers three waves of democratization. The In the First Wave, the long wave (1828 – 1926), democracy spread to USA, Britain, France, Italy, Argentina and the Overseas British domains. During the Second Wave, the short wave (1943-62), West Germany, Italy, Japan, India and Israel became democratic. The current wave of democratization, the Third Wave, started in 1974, democracy extended to the countries like Portugal, Latin American, Asia, Africa and eastern European countries. see Huntington (1991).
6. Modernization theorists such as S.M. Lipset believe that advanced economic development is precondition for democracy. They argued that ‘democracy is the likely outcome of a braider process of modernization in which the economy industrializes, roles get more specialized, and values and orientations change’. This argument was posited by Lipset. see Lipset (1959).
7. Samuel Huntington suggests that the large number of Catholic countries participating in the current ‘third wave’ of democratization makes the later in some sense a Catholic phenomenon, related to the change in Catholic consciousness in a more democratic and egalitarian direction in the 1960s. The prior causes of change in Catholic consciousness would be seem to be: the general legitimacy of democratic ideas that infected Catholic thought (rather than arising out of the later), rising levels of socio-economic development that had taken place in most Catholic countries by the 1960s; and the

long-term “secularization” of the Catholic Church, following in the steps of Martin Luther 400 years later. see Huntington (1991).

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South Asia and WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism (1995-2007): A Survey

Girish Kumar

Abstract

This paper surveys the participation of South Asian nations in the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism from 1995-2007. The WTO with its strong dispute settlement mechanism profoundly influences the domestic law/political economy of nation-states. South Asia is not an exception. This article explains the disputes filed by and against South Asian nations.

The Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations was successfully concluded at Marrakesh, Morocco on 15 April 1994. The jurisdiction of GATT was extended to three more areas - investment, intellectual property rights and services. (GATT originally covered trade laws in goods sector only.) The new agreement covers agriculture and textiles also, which were outside GATT purview and are of great significance to India. The final Act comprised of 28 Agreements, in addition to 26000 pages of national tariff and service schedules. An understanding was also reached regarding the settlement of disputes. Consequently, a judicial apparatus, the Dispute Settlement Board (DSB) was established. The DSB is a legalistic, ‘rule-oriented, mechanism with a formal, adjudicatory decision - making process and strong enforcement measures (Dam: 1998). The Understanding on Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes (DSU) contains “remarkable innovation” that take the system in a more “legalistic direction” (Steger and Hainsworth 1998). It very well reflects the metamorphosis from GATT’s power-oriented conflict resolution to law oriented dispute settlement. The

rulings of dispute settlement mechanism are considered as “binding legal obligations (Jackson, 1997) and because the WTO Agreement on Understanding of Rules and Procedures Governing the Settlement of Disputes (DSU) stipulates that an “Appellate Body report shall be adopted by the DSB and unconditionally accepted by the parties to the dispute...” (WTO Legal Texts, 1995)

Designed as ‘a central element in providing security and predictability to the multilateral trading system’ (DSU Article 3.2), “no review of the achievements of the WTO would be complete without mentioning the Dispute Settlement system, in many ways the central pillar of the multilateral trading system and the WTO’s most individual contribution to the stability of the global economy”- the remarks made by Renato Ruggiero, the previous Director-General of the WTO on 17 Apr. 1997 still holds good. During the first ten years, the number of requests for consultation before the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism (DSM) lodged by the members was 324¹ with majority of outcomes resulting in a change in the national trade

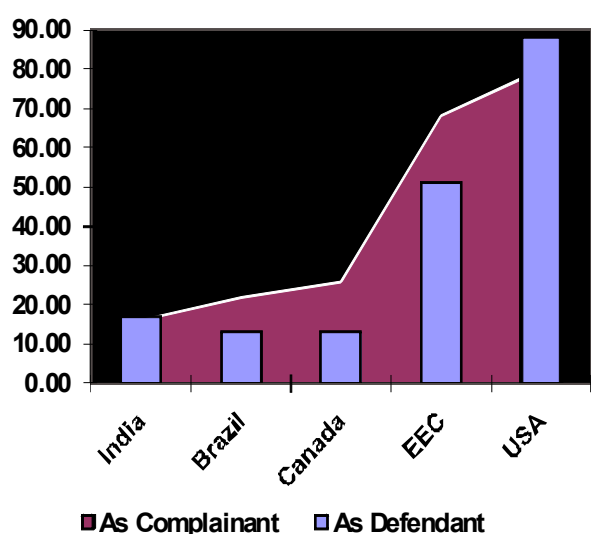
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law or policy. This is in stark contrast to the number of disputes filed before the International Court of Justice. The statutes of ICJ provide for the acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction; but less than fifty states have accepted such jurisdiction and less than hundred cases have been referred to the ICJ in the first fifty years of its existence (Gantz 1999). John H. Jackson regards WTO DSM as ‘one of the most important, and perhaps even watershed, developments of international economic relations in the twentieth century (Jackson 1998) where ‘right perseveres over might’ (Lacarte-Muro and Gappah 2000).

Major Players involved in the WTO Disputes

The statistics of the disputes filed by the top five litigants during the first ten years of WTO (1995-2004) is presented in the following diagram.

Figure 1: Major Players involved in the WTO Disputes



Source: <http://www.wto.org/wto/dispute/bulletin.htm>

Out of 324 disputes filed during the first ten years, the US² ranks first with 168 cases (80 times as complainant, 88 times as respondent)

followed by EEC with 119 cases (68 as complainant and 51 as respondents), Canada with 39 cases (26 as complainant and 13 as respondent), Brazil with 34 cases (22 as complainant and 12 as respondent) and India with 33 cases (16 as complainant and 17 as respondent).³

The inferences based on this statistical analysis reveal that two developing countries- India and Brazil and the most industrialized countries, namely, USA, EEC, and Canada share the top five places. The developed nations used the WTO dispute settlement mechanism the most number of times both as complainants and as defendants. Of the 324 requests for consultations filed before the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, developed nations invoked the dispute settlement provisions 205⁴ times as complainant; whereas the developing countries invoked 119 times. As respondents, developed nations appeared before WTO dispute settlement mechanism 190 times, and developing nations appeared 134 times. It would be interesting to note that these 324 requests for consultations were filed by or against just fifty-seven nations. This means that the participation of rest of the ninety WTO members are minimal or absolutely nil. Barring the single case of Bangladesh that has filed a case against India⁵ the participation of the least developed countries was almost nil, either as the complainant or as defendant. However, China’s entry may make significant changes in future, for it has added a ‘new layer of complexity to polarised relationships’ between the developed and the developing nations (Andenas and Ortino 2005).

South Asia and WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism

South Asia comprises three developing countries India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and four least developed countries, Bangladesh, Maldives,

Nepal and Bhutan. Except Bhutan, all the members of South Asia joined WTO as a founding member. Bhutan has only begun its accession recently. (Bokhari, 2008). Most of them are ill – equipped with human and material resources to devote permanently to their WTO desks at Geneva. Strong economic imperative for a South

Asian economic solidarity is absent among them and South Asian nations prioritise WTO negotiations over regional SAARC negotiations. They focus on forging need-based coalitions like services for India, textiles and clothing for Bangladesh, duty free quota, duty free access and erosion of preferences of LDCs in general. (Kulkarni, 2008).

Table 1: South Asia at WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism (1995 - Septemeber 2008)

Country	As complainant		As defendant		As third party
	Total no. of requests	Panels established	Total no. of requests	Panels established	
India	17	9	19	6	51
Pakistan	3	2	2	0	9
Sri Lanka	1	0	0	0	3
Bangladesh	1	0	0	0	1
Total	22	11	21	6	64

Source: William J. Davey (2005): ‘The WTO Dispute Settlement System: The First Ten Years’, J. Int’l Econ. L. vol. 8, pp. 17-50

Maldives and Nepal never participated in the dispute settlement process of WTO.

India

India has used WTO’s DSB extensively- (she ranks fifth among the Member nations and second among the developing nations). This extensive use clearly indicates the importance of determinations made by WTO judiciary in Indian economy. The first case that induced India to have recourse to the dispute settlement procedures of WTO was on the dispute on automobiles with Poland as a complainant.⁶ In fact, it could be regarded as the continuation of a GATT case with Poland.

As a complainant, India approached the WTO DSM seventeen times. India sought the

establishment of the panel nine times. Among these disputes, establishment of Appellate Body was sought in six. On two disputes, mutually agreed solutions (MAS) were reached. The rest of the six cases were inactive. India initiated cases against seven Members - US (7 times), EC (5 times), Poland, South Africa, Brazil, Turkey and Argentina (1 each). In five Indian complaints, few South Asian nations (Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) reserved third-party rights. In the *shrimp* case, Pakistan was even a co-complainant.

The disputes also revealed the very nature of India’s trading partners. The United States is India’s largest trading partner. Bilateral trade in 2005 was \$26.8 billion. India mainly imported aircraft and its parts, computer hardware ferrous waste/scrap metal, machinery, cotton, fertilizers, and diagnostic equipments from the US. Major US

Table 2: India as Complainant

Year	Sl No.	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Defendant	South Asian nation as Third Party	Stage
1995	1	DS 19	Import régime for automobiles.	Poland		MAS•
1996	2	DS 32	Measures affecting imports of women's and girls' wool coats.	US	Pakistan	Inactive
	3	DS 33	Measures affecting imports of woven wool shirts and blouses.	US	Pakistan	Panel/AB Stage
	4	DS 34	Restrictions on imports of textile and clothing products	Turkey		Panel/AB Stage
	5	DS 58	Import prohibition of shrimp and shrimp products (Brought by India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Thailand)	United States	Sri Lanka	Panel/AB Stage
1998	6	DS 134	Measures affecting import duties on rice	EC		Inactive
	7	DS 140	Anti-dumping measures on imports of unbleached cotton fabrics from India	EC		Inactive
	8	DS 141	Anti-dumping measures on imports of cotton-type bed linen from India.	EC		Panel/AB Stage
1999	9	DS 168	Anti-dumping duties on import of certain pharmaceutical products from India.	South Africa		Inactive
2000	10	DS 206	Anti-Dumping and Countervailing Measures on Steel Plate	US		Panel
	11	DS 217	Continued Dumping and Subsidy Offset Act of 2000	US		Panel/AB Stage
2001	12	DS 229	Anti-Dumping Duties on Jute Bags from India	Brazil		Inactive
	13	DS 233	Measures Affecting the Import of Pharmaceutical Products	Argentina		Inactive
2002	14	DS 243	Rules of Origin for Textiles and Apparel Products	US	Bangladesh, Pakistan	Panel
	15	DS 246	Conditions for the Granting of Tariff Preferences to Developing Countries	EC	Pakistan, Sri Lanka	Panel/AB Stage
2004	16	DS 313	Anti-Dumping Duties on Certain Flat Rolled Iron or Non-Alloy Steel Products	EC		MAS
2006	17	DS 345	Customs Bond Directive for Merchandise Subject to Anti-Dumping/Countervailing Duties	US		Panel/currently under appeal
• Mutually Agreed Solution						

imports from India include textiles and ready-made garments, internet-enabled services, agricultural and related products, gems and jewellery, leather products, and chemicals. Naturally, in its trade relations with the US, textiles sector is something extremely sensitive to India. Out of the six complaints filed against the US, three complaints related to textiles. The dominant markets for India’s textile and apparel exports are the US and EU, which together accounted for nearly 83 per cent of exports in 2003. Two of the complaints in textiles were addressed to EC. Textile and clothing exports contribute over 27% of Indian total exports to the EU.

In fact, one-third of the total complaints India filed related to the textiles sector. Out of the nine disputes that reached the Panel stage where India filed as complainant, four were on the textiles sector. It displays the lobbying power the Indian textile industry wields over the Government of India in using WTO DSM as a forum to address trade issues. Exports to US have further increased after the Multi-Fiber Agreement (MFA) ceased. The US statistical analysis reveal that in the post MFA scenario exports from India into US have increased by 27 per cent than the corresponding period last year. Presumably, the WTO complainants in these areas against the US and the EC are likely to increase in future in the post MFA regime. Textiles sector also supports over 80 million Indian people through direct and indirect employment. Since 1992 exports of textiles and clothing from India have grown by 7.7 per cent annually, reaching US\$ 13.4 billion in 2002 and accounting for 4 per cent of global trade in this sector. India was the fifth-largest global exporter and the second largest net exporter of textiles and clothing in 2002. The developing countries as a whole are very much concerned about the back-loading of the integration process vis-à-vis textiles and clothing (Laird 2000).

The first case filed by India that reached the panel was against the United States and India triumphed.⁷ In this case a panel convened at the request of India determined that the United States violated its obligation under articles 2 and 6 of the ATC by imposing a transitional safeguard restraint on imports of woven wool shirts and blouses from India. The panel further concluded that the U.S. action constituted a *prima facie* case of nullification or impairment of the benefits accruing to India under the ATC. Still India appealed certain issues of law in the panel report. On April 25, 1997, the Appellate Body affirmed the legal findings and conclusion of the panel⁸. The DSB formally adopted the decision on May 23, 1997.

Other agreements India has invoked include the Anti Dumping Agreement. But the complaints on anti-dumping measures from developing countries including India are unlikely to decrease because their export prices are always lesser than the home prices owing to the economies of scale and absence of procedural bottle necks enjoyed by the export-oriented firms in developing countries (Aggrawal 2004).⁹ This was one of the reasons that prompted India to proceed with the *Bed linen* case till the Appellate stage against the EC. Neither in the *Wool Shirts* nor in *Bed linen* India succeeded fully but in both cases it won important points, which ‘benefited directly in future situation.’ (Davey 2005).¹⁰

In *bed linen*, India successfully argued a point that the EC did not take the special situation of India into account, before imposing anti-dumping duties against India. The SDT provisions necessitate a nation to explore the “possibilities of a constructive remedy prior to the imposition of anti-dumping duties” and the “European Communities acted inconsistently with Article 15 of the Anti Dumping Agreement by not exploring possibilities of a constructive remedy prior to the imposition of anti-dumping duties (provisional or

final) and by not reacting to detailed arguments from Indian exporters...”¹¹ The Panel upheld Indian contention, because “the possibility of an undertaking has already been broached by the developing country concerned.”¹² As a complainant, India has mixed results. In four out

of the nine cases India won; whereas in other four cases India has mixed results. (See the following tables). In its case against the US on Agreement on the Rules of Origin, India lost. This means that India has greatly succeeded in unlocking the markets of the rest of the world through WTO DSM.

Table 4: India as Complainant Panel/Appellate Body

Dispute number	Defendant nation	Agreement involved	Outcome of the dispute
DS 33	United States	Art. 6 of Agreement on Textile and Clothing (ATC)	India won
DS 34	Turkey	Art. XI, XIII (GATT) and Art. 2.4 of ATC	India won
DS 58 ¹³	United States	Art. X:1 and XX(g) of GATT	India won
DS 141	EEC	Anti Dumping Agreement	India partially won
DS 206	United States	Anti-Dumping Agreement; and the SCM Agreement	India partially won
DS 217 ¹⁴	United States	Anti Dumping Agreement & Subsidies Agreement	India partially won
DS 243	United States	Agreement on the Rules of Origin.	India lost
DS 246	EC	Paragraphs 2(a), 3(a) and 3(c) of the Enabling Clause.	India partially won
DS 345	United States	Anti-Dumping Agreement; and the SCM Agreement	India won

Given the constraints in financial resources, participation as a *third party* in WTO dispute settlement process is one way for a developing nation to improve their legal expertise.¹⁵ As a *third party* India has participated in the dispute settlement process fifty-one times. This involved disputes related to TRIPS, textile products, primary products and dumping (Chaisse and Chakraborty, 2007). India also frequently sought the advice from the Advisory Centre on WTO Law. For instance during the first years of ACWL itself

India sought advice on three cases (*US-rules of origin*, *EC-GSP*, and *Automobiles*). (Valles, ‘Comments’ in Andenas and Ortino (ed.)). During the first 311 disputes panellists having Indian nationality served 17 times and they chaired the panel 10 times. Among the developing countries India topped the list. A single panellist who has served most number of times belonged to the Indian nationality - Mohan Kumar, who served the Panel fourteen times (Horn and Mavroidis 2007).

Table 4: India as Defendant

Year	Sl. No.	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Complainant	Stage
1996	1	DS 50	India: Patent protection for pharmaceutical and agricultural chemical products	US	Panel/AB
1997	2	DS 79	India: Patent protection for pharmaceutical & agricultural chemical products	EC	Panel
	3	DS 90	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	US	Panel/AB
	4	DS 91	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	Australia	MAS
	5	DS 92	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	Canada	MAS
	6	DS 93	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	New Zealand	MAS
	7	DS 94	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	Switzerland	MAS
	8	DS 96	India: Quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural, textile and industrial products	EC	MAS
1998	9	DS 120	India: Measures affecting export of certain commodities	EC	Inactive
	10	DS 146	India: Measures affecting the automotive sector	EC	Panel/AB
	11	DS 149	India: Import restrictions	EC	Inactive
	12	DS 150	India: Measures affecting customs duties	EC	Inactive
1999	13	DS 175	India: Measures relating to trade & investment in the motor vehicle sector	US	Panel/AB
2000	14	DS 279	Import Restrictions Maintained Under the Export and Import Policy 2002-2007	EC	Inactive
2003	15	DS 304	Anti-Dumping Measures on Imports of Certain Products	EC	Inactive
2004	16	DS 306	Anti-Dumping Measure on Batteries	Bangladesh	Inactive
	17	DS 318	Anti-Dumping Measures on Certain Products	Chinese Taipei	Inactive
2006	18	DS 352	Measures Affecting the Importation and Sale of Wines and Spirits from the European Communities	EC	Panels established (report not circulated)
2007	19	DS 360	Additional and Extra-Additional Duties on Imports from the United States	US	Panel/ Now at AB

As a *defendant*, nineteen cases were filed against India. The complainants requested establishment of panel in seven disputes. Five disputes reached the Appellate Body stage as well. The EC is the top complainant against India that has used the WTO DSM most times. Out of the nineteen disputes, EC invoked dispute settlement procedures nine times followed by the US (four times), Australia, Canada, New Zealand,

Switzerland, Bangladesh and Chinese Taipei (all-one each).

As a defendant India has appeared before the panel five times. Except one, in all the disputes, where India has figured as defendant, Indian measures were found as WTO-inconsistent. These disputes along with their outcomes are presented in the following table.

Table 5: India as Defendant

Dispute number	Complainant nation	Agreement involved	Outcome of the dispute
DS 50	United States	Arts. 63, 70.8 and 70.9 of TRIPS	India lost
DS 79	EEC	Arts. 63, 70.8 and 70.9 of TRIPS; 9.1 and 10.4 of DSU	India lost
DS 90	United States	Art. 4.2 of Agreement on Agriculture; X:1 and XVIII of GATT	India lost
DS 146	United States	Art. 2.1 and 2.2 of TRIMS; Arts. III:4 and XI:1 of GATT	India lost
DS 175	EEC	Art. 2.1 and 2.2 of TRIMS; Arts. III:4 and XI:1 of GATT	India lost
DS 360	United States	Articles II:1(a) and (b), and III:2 and III:4 of the GATT	India won

Pakistan

Pakistan appeared before the WTO dispute settlement mechanism five times- three

times as complainant and twice as respondent. It was a co-complainant in the *Shrimp* case.

Table 6: Pakistan as Complainant

Year	Sl No.	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Defendant	South Asian nation as Third Party	Stage
1996	1	DS 58	Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*	US	Sri Lanka	Panel/AB
2000	2	DS 192	Transitional Safeguard Measure on Combed Cotton Yarn from Pakistan	US	India	Panel/AB
2005	3	DS 327	Anti-Dumping Duties on Matches from Pakistan	Egypt		MAS
*Joint complaint by India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand .See Appellate Body, United States — Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products, WTO/DS 58 dated 12 October 1998						

On 8 October 1996, India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand requested consultations with the US concerning a ban on importation of shrimp and shrimp products from these complainants imposed by the US under Section 609 of US Public Law 101-162. Violations of Articles I, XI and XIII of GATT 1994, as well nullification and impairment of benefits, were alleged. Sri Lanka was one of the third parties. Following US appeal, the Appellate Body reversed the Panel’s finding that the US measure at issue is not within the scope of measures permitted under the chapeau of Article XX of GATT 1994, but concluded that the US measure, while qualifying for provisional justification under Article XX(g), fails to meet the requirements of the chapeau of Article XX. India and Pakistan reserved their third-party rights. The US noted that it had issued revised guidelines in implementing its Shrimp/Turtle law. The US also noted that it had undertaken and would continue to undertake efforts to initiate negotiations with the governments of the Indian Ocean region on the protection of sea turtles in that region. Even though Malaysia pursued the matter further under

article 21.5, the DSB found the US Revised Guidelines and its application by the US authorities justified.

In the second dispute, Pakistan requested consultations with the US regarding the imposition of a unilateral transitional safeguard measure (quantitative restriction) applied by the United States on imports of combed cotton yarn from Pakistan. India reserved its third-party rights. The Panel found that the US excluded the production of combed cotton yarn by vertically integrated producers for their own use from the scope of the “domestic industry producing like and/or directly competitive products” with imported combed cotton yarn. The US neither examined the effect of imports from Mexico (and possibly other appropriate Members) nor demonstrated that the subject imports caused an “actual threat” of serious damage to the domestic industry. Hence, the US measure was found WTO-inconsistent. The AB confirmed panel rulings. Thus in both disputes Pakistan got a favourable ruling from WTO.

Table 7: Pakistan as complainant at Panel/AB

Dispute number	Defendant nation	Agreement involved	Outcome of the dispute
DS 58	United States	Art. X:1 and XX(g) of GATT	Pakistan won
DS 192	United States	Provisions of Article 6 of the ATC	Pakistan won

In the third dispute filed by Pakistan against Egypt, Pakistan claimed that the definitive anti-dumping duties imposed by Egypt on matchboxes from Pakistan and the investigation leading thereto violated the imposition of these anti-dumping duties and the investigation leading thereto were inconsistent with Egypt’s obligations under the GATT 1994 and the Anti-Dumping Agreement. But Pakistan and Egypt reached a mutually agreed

solution in the form of price undertaking agreements between the concerned Pakistani exporters and the Egyptian Investigating Authority.

As defendant, two requests for consultations were filed against Pakistan (See Table: 8). The first one was filed by US on patents. But the grounds of dispute brought against Pakistan in patents dispute were similar to the one brought

against India. Pakistan found a mutually agreed solution with the US. But India fought till the AB stage. The second dispute was brought by EC on export measures regarding Hides and skin. The EC requested consultations with Pakistan in respect of a Notification enacted by the Ministry of Commerce of Pakistan prohibiting the export

of, *inter alia*, hides and skins and wet blue leather made from cow hides and cow calf hides. The EC contended that this measure limits the access of EC industries to competitive sourcing of raw and semi-finished materials. The case remained inactive.

Table 8: Pakistan as Defendant

Year	Sl. No.	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Complainant	Stage
1996	1	DS 36	Patent Protection for Pharmaceutical and Agricultural Chemical Products	US	MAS
1997	2	DS 107	Export Measures Affecting Hides and Skins	EC	Inactive

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka appeared before the WTO dispute settlement mechanism only once. It invoked WTO dispute settlement procedures against Brazil as a complainant. But the case is inactive now. But the subject matter of this case was already a bone of contention between Philippines and Brazil.

Sri Lanka reserved third party rights then. The report of the Panel concluded that the provisions of the agreements relied on by the claimant were inapplicable to the dispute. This was also upheld by the AB. But as third-party Sri Lanka participated in two more cases- the *Shrimp* case and the *GSP* case. Both the disputes involved India and Pakistan.

Table 9: Sri Lanka as Complainant

Year	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Defendant	Stage
1996	DS 30	Countervailing Duties on Imports of Desiccated Coconut and Coconut Milk Powder from Sri Lanka	Brazil	Inactive

Bangladesh

Bangladesh is the only least developed nation that has invoked WTO dispute settlement procedures.

Interestingly, the complaint was against India. The dispute demonstrated the absence of a disputes viable settlement forum at South APTA.

Table 10: Bangladesh as Complainant

Year	Dispute No.	Details of the dispute	Defendant	Stage
2004	DS 306	Anti-Dumping Measure on Batteries from Bangladesh	India	MAS

55

Conclusion

As of 1 September, 2008, 378 disputes were filed at WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism. The major participants of WTO DSM are EEC and USA for they control a major stake in global trade; whereas South Asian controls share is less than two percent. No wonder, the WTO DSM was reduced to an arena of transatlantic trade war, especially during the first few years of WTO. However, that did not desist the developing nations from participating at WTO DSM. Membership in the WTO is of great importance to developing countries. WTO does have specific provisions to address the concerns of the developing countries. The special needs of developing countries are recognized in the preamble itself. The DSU too contains innumerable provisions that are supposed to meet the needs of LDCs. The first ruling of WTO’s Dispute Settlement Mechanism delivered on January 17, 1996 in a complaint was brought by Venezuela and Brazil against United States’ environmental restrictions on gasoline imports was often regarded as a triumph for the developing South against the developed North. The DSB held that the Environmental Protection Agency’s (EPA) regulation regarding imported gasoline was inconsistent with WTO obligation.

But effective participation of developing countries in WTO’s dispute settlement mechanism was crippled by their inability to take advantage and defend their rights. WTO’s dispute adjudication process is very much “member driven” and requires greater resources. The DSU has become more ‘judicial’ than its drafters intended and hence the investment of lawyers with greater technical expertise has become a necessity. A WTO claim could cost US\$300,000-400,000 for the attorney’s fees alone (Shaffer 2004). For effective participation, a member needed a well-informed delega-

tion in Geneva and good support from the capital. In 1996 the average number of meetings in the WTO had risen to 46 a week.¹⁶ Even for large delegations such hectic schedules were observed to be a strain (Shaffer 2003). Barring the case of India, the participation of rest of South Asia is negligible.

There should also be better coordination between the government and the industry because different private interest groups, predominantly industry, are at play in WTO (Pauwelyn, 2003) and constitute the driving forces behind WTO litigation. Horn, Mavroidis and Nordstrom (1999) say that sectors with powerful lobbies like textiles, clothing and agriculture would be more successful and countries with more economic power bring more complaints. Gregory Shaffer (2003) has explained the significant importance of ‘private-public partnerships’ through which US and EC private commercial interest groups manipulate WTO litigation. The developing nations because of their political, historical, economic, and cultural background, which is mostly sceptical to private participation has so far refrained from such an approach. SAARC nations are no exception. Consequently, the US and the European Union benefited more than the disadvantaged developing countries by using the WTO dispute settlement system. A perusal of Indian complaints reveal the lobbying power of the Indian textile industry over the Government of India in using WTO DSM as a forum to address trade issues. More than one-third of Indian complaints related to the textile industry. Similarly, Indian fight at WTO DSM in the patent case as a complainant despite the certainty of a failure till the Appellate Body stage was, to an extent, attributed to its strong generic pharmaceutical industry. The presence of such export-oriented lobbying industries are absent in other South Asian countries.

Even if there exists any such strong lobbying group, their major competitor will be their neighbour in South Asia. All member countries of SAPTA produce similar export products, both agricultural and industrial, forcing them to vie for international markets and go after GSP benefits of developed nations. Thus the penchant among South Asian nations to go after the pay-offs offered by the US and EU in the form of preferential treatment and market access in exchange of political allegiances has made the creation of South Asian camaraderie a distant mirage (Kelegama 2007). Only by avoiding the striking of such political deals with developed nations it will be possible to construct a South Asian partnership. (Jawara and Kwa 2003). The dispute India filed against EC¹⁷ (*EC-GSP case*) was, in fact, an attempt to stultify such preferences given by developed nations to other developing countries including Pakistan.

Notes

1. WTO, *Overview of the State-of-play of WTO Disputes* (as notified on January 1, 2005) available at <<http://www.wto.org/wto/dispute/bulletin.htm>>. The number of complaints filed every year is given in brackets -1995 (25), 1996 (39),1997 (50),1998 (41), 1999 (30), 2000(34), 2001(23), 2002(37), 2003(26), 2004(19).

2. This includes all the joint complaints filed by the disputants.

3. William J. Davey divides the first ten-year period into two - the first half from 1995 through 1999- witnessed filing of 185 requests for consultations involving 125 disputes. The US filed 60 followed by the EC with 47. During the second period there was a decline in consultation requests - a total of 139 requests were filed between 2000 through 2004. The first period also witnessed WTO DSM being used as an arena to settle the transatlantic trade wars. Davey quotes J.D. Foster (J.D. Foster ‘Going Bananas Over the FSC’, *Tax Features*, June-July 2001 (Tax Foundation publication)): ‘Why did the Europeans suddenly raise the [FSC] issue?

... [T]he real reason seems to be all about bananas, with a touch of beef hormone. The US won the last two trade disputes with the Europeans brought before the WTO The problem was not that the US won these cases, but that after winning the banana case the US Administration pounded its chest in loud self-congratulation like the louts that infest British soccer stadiums. Bad form. No one likes to be shown up, least of all Sir Leon Brittan, the European Union Trade Commissioner. Sir Leon lost the beef and banana cases and wanted revenge after the Americans behaved so badly.’ (See William J. Davey, ‘The WTO Dispute Settlement System: The First Ten Years’, *J. Int’l Econ. L.* vol. 8, (2005), pp. 17-50; also see Marc. L. Busch and Eric Reinhard K, “Transatlantic Trade Conflicts and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement”, in Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann and Mark Pollack, *Transatlantic Economic Disputes: The EU, the US and the WTO* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp 465-485.

4. There were multiple complaints as well. For instance, *Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, WTO Doc., WT/DS 58/1 dated 14 October, 1996. Co-complained by India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand (all developing countries).

5. WTO, *India-Anti-Dumping Measure on Batteries*, ‘Request for Consultations’, WTO Doc.,WT/DS 306/1 dated 8 January 2004.

6. WTO, ‘Request for Consultations’, *Poland -Import Regime for Automobiles*, WTO Doc., WT/DS19 dated 28 September 1995 and ‘Mutually Agreed Solution’, dated 11 September 1996. (Also see WTO Trade Policy Review Body, *Trade Policy Review- India*, Report by the Secretariat, WTO Doc., WT/TPR/S/100dated 22 May 2002, pp.155-6).

7. Panel, *United States, Measures Affecting Imports of Woven Wool Shirts and Blouses from India*, WTO Doc., WT/DS 33/R, dated January 6, 1997, para 8.1.

8. Appellate Body, *United States: Measures Affecting Imports of Woven Wool Shirts and Blouses from India*, WTO Doc., WT/DS 33/AB/R.

9. Aradhana Aggrawal, *The WTO Anti-Dumping Code: Issues for Review in the Post-Doha Negotiations*, WTO Working paper series no: 4 (New Delhi: ICRIER, 2004), p.25.

10. Davey, *supra* note 8, fn103.

11. Panel, *Anti-dumping Measures on Imports of Cotton-type Bed Linen from India*, WTO Doc., WT/DS 141/R, dated January 6, 1997, para 6.219. (On these provisions, the developed nations- the US and Japan stood united that there was no legal duty, since “the second sentence of Article 15 does not impose anything other than a procedural obligation to “explore” possibilities of constructive remedies.”

12. *Id.*, para 6.238.

13. Joint complaint by India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand .See Appellate Body, *United States -Import Prohibition of Certain Shrimp and Shrimp Products*, WTO/DS 58 dated 12 October 1998

14. Joint complaints by Australia, Brazil, Chile, European Communities, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea and Thailand (WT/DS217); and Canada and Mexico (WT/DS234). The DSB also agreed, in accordance with Article 9 of the DSU, that the panel established to examine the complaint by Australia, Brazil, Chile, EC, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea and Thailand (WT/DS217) on 23 August 2001 would also examine the complaint by Canada and Mexico (WT/DS234).

15. In this respect China is far ahead of India. Since its accession on 11 December 2001, China participated in 62 cases as third party as of now. During the same period, China participated in the WTO dispute settlement system thirteen times - twice as a complainant and eleven times as defendant. See http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/china_e.htm

16. Countries with larger trade delegations are more likely to be active than the developing countries. For small delegations of only two or three persons, who had to cover WTO, UNCTAD, ILO and other Geneva-based organizations, it was an impossible burden. In 1997, of the 28 developing country members of the WTO, only 10 had permanent missions in Geneva – that too of one

or two persons. The rest of the 18 survived out of London, Brussels or national capitals (UNCTAD, 1997). These figures clearly demonstrated that effective participation by the developing world was not taking place in WTO.

17. Panel Report, *European Communities-Conditions for the Granting of Tariff Preferences to Developing Countries*, paras 2.1-4.41, WT/DS246/R (Dec. 1, 2003). AB, *European Communities-Conditions for the Granting of Tariff Preferences to Developing Countries*, paras 2.1-4.41, WT/DS246/AB/R7 (April 2004). Also see Pakistan’s statement as third party supporting the EC (Paragraphs 5.79- 5.84).

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Indian Compliance and Trips Agreement Understanding the Economics of Indian Foreign Policy

Arundhati Sharma

Abstract

The reorientation of India's Foreign Policy in 1991 gave preeminence to economics, so far implicit, as a vital instrument to integrate with rest of the world and advance its non-economic objectives. Since then, there have been visible shifts not only from past emphasis on 'politics' to 'economics' as important determinant of foreign policy but also from 'defensive' to 'active' as regards Indian stance pertaining to various negotiations in the multilateral forum, the WTO. This paper attempts to understand the evolution of India's foreign policy which strives to engage with the world while simultaneously pushing forward its foreign policy objectives in line with its national interest by focusing on the TRIPS Agreement.

Introduction

The significance of economic considerations, implicit earlier, in India's foreign policy is reflective of its efforts and attempts to integrate with the rest of the world breaking its earlier policy of aloofness. This is visible in the active participation and avowed initiatives of policies compliant with the agreements of multilateral negotiations yet consistent with its national interest of maximum benefits. One effort in this direction to integrate while simultaneously promoting its national interest is visible in the Patent (Amendment) Act, 2005 in light of the TRIPS Agreement of 1994. While India's interaction with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) dates back to the days of General agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) concluded in October 1947, the real

integration process began in the 1990's. Since then India's positioning in terms of participation has seen drastic changes whereby India is using WTO as a projection of its foreign policy. The Uruguay Rounds of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN), 1994 served as a turning point in stimulating such instrumental change. This not only saw the formation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to subsume the GATT in 1995 but also a new defined role to be played by the developing countries, particularly India as the leader and spokesperson for the former, to integrate into the world economy. India has moved beyond the conventional trade in goods to services and investment since then. Within the ambit of varying context, there arose new issues of discussion and negotiations; some issues resolved while some others continue to be contested and deliberated till

date. The Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) is one of those issues adopted in the agenda that is undergoing the process of implementation changes in the developing countries. Thus, it becomes imperative to delve into the paradigmatic shift of India from a passive and dormant to an active participant in the WTO negotiations.

WTO and IPR: Understanding Intellectual Property Rights (IPR)

In order to appreciate and protect creativity and innovations made by people, contributing to the larger interests of society, the WTO provides for certain incentives in the form of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). This extends to ideas, knowledge, inventions, innovations, research and designs in areas of art, literature and technology. The WTO defines it as:

"Intellectual property rights are the rights given to persons over the creations of their minds. They usually give the creator an exclusive right over the use of his/her creation for a certain period of time."¹

As trade became intensive and comprehensive in its coverage, there arose tensions in economic relations. Thus, the extent of protection of IPR became pronounced. Consequently, the WTO introduced the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement to ensure long and short term benefits and costs of both the producer and society covering the application process, adequate protection, enforcement and dispute settlement mechanism.

Prior to the WTO, the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) situated in Geneva promoted the use of intellectual property throughout the world. This was achieved through cooperation among Member States based on

Conventions and Treaties of *Paris Convention*, 1967 for the protection of industrial property rights in inventions, trademarks and industrial designs, etc. and the *Berne Convention*, 1971 for the protection of copyright in literary, musical and artistic works, etc. An important sphere of WIPO's activities concerns assistance in the development of developing countries through training programmes, seminars and workshops to enable government officials and other personnel from developing countries to acquire knowledge and practice in various aspects of industrial property. India has been an active participant in WIPO's seminars, meetings and projects.

The *Uruguay Round at Punte Del Este under the GATT, 1994* not only mandated the WTO as the multilateral trading system but also extended the trade coverage to include goods, services and intellectual property rights. The main motive behind the WTO was to promote free and fair trade through commitments by countries at reducing tariff and non-tariff barriers. Consequently, the TRIPS Agreements provided for the protection of intellectual property as part of the process of liberalization. *The Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) is an international treaty administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO) which sets down minimum standards for most forms of Intellectual Property (IP) regulation within all member countries of the World Trade Organization.*²

Basic tenets of the TRIPS Agreement

The TRIPS Agreement laid down the provisions, principles and scope of intellectual property rights:

Principles³

The TRIPS agreement conforms to the basic principles of the WTO:

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- National Treatment: treating one's nationals and foreigners equally
- Most Favored Nation (MFN): equal treatment of nationals for all trading partners of WTO
- Enhancement of economic and social welfare: protection should contribute to technical innovation and the transfer of technology and benefits of both producers and users.

Features⁴

The main features of the TRIPs agreement are:

- *Standards*: defined standards for protection, namely the subject-matter to be protected, the rights to be conferred and permissible exceptions, minimum time duration of protection in conformity with the WIPO, the Paris Convention for protection of Industrial Property and the Berne Convention for the protection of Literary and artistic works.
- *Enforcement*: provisions for domestic procedures and remedies for enforcement of intellectual property rights including civil, administrative, borders and criminal measures, procedures and remedies.
- *Dispute settlement*: the disputes arising out of the TRIPS Agreement signatories would be resolved through the WTO's Dispute Settlement Mechanism.

Scope⁵

The TRIPS agreement extends to areas like:

- *Copyrights and related rights*: it covers protection of computer programs, rental rights, and also performer's rights (recordings, reproduction and broadcasting) for not less than 50 years.
- *Trademarks*: refers to protection of signs capable of distinguishing goods or services of

one undertaking from those of other undertakings.

- *Geographical indications*: identifies the place of origin of the product and protect the rights of the member, region or territory of product of origin.
- *Industrial Designs*: protection of novel industrial designs from third parties to sell, import or copy the protected designs without the owner's consent for 10 years.
- *Patents*: protection of patents available to novel inventions in both product and process for a period of atleast 20 years to prevent commercial exploitation.
- *Layout-designs of integrated circuits*: protects the layout-designs in integrated circuits from commercial exploitation of selling, importing and distributing without the owner's consent.
- *Protection of undisclosed information*: it allows for maintaining trade secrets and classified information having commercial value.

TRIPS Agreement and implementation requirements

With respect to the implementation of the agreement, the TRIPS Agreement provided for a one-year transition period for developed countries to bring their legislation and practices into conformity i.e 1996. Developing countries and countries in the process of transformation from a centrally-planned into a market economy would have a five-year transition period i.e. 2000, and least-developed countries 11 years i.e 2006. Developing countries which do not at present provide product patent protection in an area of technology would have up to 10 years to introduce such protection i.e. 2005. However, in the case of

pharmaceutical and agricultural chemical products, they must accept the filing of patent applications from the beginning of the transitional period. The latter applied to Indian case too which did not have a product patent at the time of adoption of the agreement ⁶.

The Doha Declaration also extended the transition period for LDCs for implementation of the TRIPS obligations from 2006 to 2016 limited to patents and marketing rights, and data protection for pharmaceutical products. Thus, LDCs are still obliged to implement the rest of their obligations under the TRIPS Agreement as of 2006 ⁷.

Shifting position of India: WTO and TRIPS: Economic Diplomacy

India's stance in the WTO needs to be analysed through the changing domestic conditions that reflects a radical departure and distinctiveness of India's foreign policy pursuit. The various stakeholders in terms of civil society and industrial lobby also assume significance. At the time of India's independence, its passive participation, as a member of GATT in 1947 can be understood in the developmental strategy of closed, inward-looking economy focused on self-sufficiency and import-substitution. It was only in the mid-1980's that trade as developmental strategy received attention. This coincided with the beginning of the Uruguay Rounds of GATT negotiations, 1986. Given the legacy of a protectionist regime, low level of technological growth and the inchoate integration process with the world in 1991, India remained skeptical of greater engagement in the multilateral forum. Thus, from 1991 till the Doha Rounds in 2001, India took a hard line on the number of issues in WTO, including the TRIPS Agreement. It was only when India has achieved an international recognition and stature on account of its economic stability and technological

development in the turn of the millennium that its voice was heard and many concessions on several issues saw the light of the day. As regards the TRIPS Agreement, India was able to bargain for concessions on pharmaceuticals and agriculture.

Before proceeding towards the shifts in Indian position as regards TRIPS, it is to be taken into account that intellectual property rights were protected through the Patent Act, 1970 which provided for process and not product patent.⁸ This enabled the production and marketing of new drugs through a different production process conducive to Indian conditions at a much lower price than the patented products of developed countries. It also provided for compulsory licensing which allowed the government to compel the patentee to license the invention or cancel it on account of non-working i.e. it is not put to use in India. Again, it provided the License of Right to ensure the usage of the patented product after the expiry of the patent period by any person without the consent of the patent holder with payment of royalty.

India, like many other developing countries, opposed the inclusion of the TRIPS in The WTO mainly on the grounds of differential level of technological know-how and domestic capabilities. India's know-why⁹ process of development capabilities based on 'reverse-engineering'¹⁰. This made possible the development of products through replication of process of advanced technological countries. A product patent as per TRIPS would hamper the development of products through reverse-engineering whereby the Indian Pharmaceutical Industry flourished. Interestingly, by the post- 1989 there was visible dissension amongst the domestic industrial lobby. The one with dominant MNC's favoured the TRIPS Agreement based on the logic of strong technological level to serve their long run business interest, while the nascent industrial lobby, forming the larger chunk,

opposed it for fear of competition and hence being wiped off. There was the civil society in protest against the agreement for increase in drugs prices and public health concerns¹¹. Thus, there were clear-cut linkages between the government, pharmaceutical industry and civil society. The political dynamics is instrumental in understanding the variations in the strategy of Indian Government towards the TRIPS Agreement.

With increasing pressure from developing countries like India, Brazil and South Africa, the Doha Rounds in 2001 conceded to the demand for exemption of patent clause in medicines/ pharmaceuticals based on concerns of public health, geographical indication (GI) beyond wine and spirit¹². This was to extend to rice varieties, Indian basmati, as against the US production of similar rice by Ricetech, biological and genetic resources, and traditional knowledge. This led to the TRIPS Agreement whereby the developing countries were provided with some flexibility considering the individual domestic needs and concerns.

Although India has modified the Patent Law of 1970 in conformity of the TRIPS Agreement, it continues its demand for protection in term of technological transfer, biodiversity and GI ¹³.

Enforcement of TRIPS Agreement:

India has brought changes in the areas mentioned under the TRIPS Agreement to fulfill its commitment during the span of 10 years. The major amendments that have been undertaken are:

1) *Copyrights*: India amended the Copyright Act of 1957 periodically to comply with the TRIPS Agreement. The copyright law of May, 1994 has been an important landmark that covered computer software, satellite broadcasting and digital technology¹⁴ which conforms to the Rome Convention. The Copyright

(Amendment) Act, 1999 is consistent with the Berne Convention.

- 2) *Trade Marks*: The Bill to review and replace Trade and Merchandise Marks Act, 1958 has been passed and notified in the Gazette of India since 30th December, 1999. The process to bring it into force which shall harmonise the trade marks laws with the international practice is under consideration.¹⁵
- 3) *Geographical Indications (GI)*: The Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act, 1999 notified in the Gazette of India on 30th December, 1999 awaits its enforcement.¹⁶
- 4) *Industrial design*: the Industrial Design Act, 2001 that replaced the Design Act, 1911 is in force since 11th may, 2001¹⁷
- 5) *Patents*: The most comprehensive and contentious changes is noticeable in the Patent Act of 1970. The TRIPS Agreement provided for minimum standards of patent regime both product and process i.e the process of producing a product and the product itself can be patented provided it conforms with the TRIPS conditions. This came in clash with the then existing patent law that ascribed to process only of the developing countries, including India. India, as per the Patent Act, 1970 did not recognize product patenting for pharmaceuticals and specific agricultural products. A patent in the product for India meant to incur loss in the export of medicine made available at lower prices and also competition in manufacturing of medicine by emulation of the same process on account of deficient technology.

The 10- year transitional period fixed for the developing countries meant the introduction of a mechanism to file product patent applications,

called the ‘mail box system’ ¹⁸ to provide a legal sanction to product filed for patent application. This required modification in the Patent Law. As a consequence, the Indian Government amended the Indian patent Act, 1970 through an ordinance in December, 1994 facilitating the filing of applications in pharmaceuticals/agricultural chemical products. Another amendment in March 1995 covering health and genetic engineering was initiated but failed to receive the approval of the Parliament. Thereafter, Indian Government provided for a ‘mail

box’ system through an administrative order which was challenged by US as breach of obligations under certain clauses. Consequently, India changed its Patent Act in 1999 to include ‘mailbox system’ and Exclusive Marketing Rights (EMR). The Patent Act was again amended in 2002 and finally in March, 2005 the Patent Act, 2005 came into force. In the interim period, the Patents (Amendments) Ordinance, 2004 introduced product patents for food, pharmaceuticals and chemicals.

Table 1: Comparative analysis of Patent Act 1970 and 2005

1970 Indian Patent Act	TRIPS Agreement
Process Patents in agriculture and agriculture/chemicals	Process and product patents in almost all fields of technology.
Patent Duration of 5-7 Years in chemicals and pharmaceuticals and foods/agriculture from the date of filing	Patent Duration of 20 years from filing date
Compulsory Licensing and License of rights in public interests	Limited compulsory licensing, no license of rights.
Fields excluded from patents included agriculture and medicinal properties	Excluded fields : plant varieties and bio technology

The Doha round of negotiations provided for the adoption of a sui generis system for protection of plant varieties, traditional knowledge and bio diversity. This acknowledges three major areas:

- No Patents on Life
- Protection of Farmers’ Rights to save, use and exchange and sell seeds
- In terms of bio diversity, to ensure that the provisions of TRIPS conforms the Convention of Bio Diversity.

However, the TRIPS Plus restricts the flexibility. TRIPS Plus refers to one of the strategy

of the developed world, US and EU, to push patents on life including plant, animal, biological process and genes beyond the obligations of TRIPS Agreement through bilateral or regional agreements.

Mechanism of IPR in India

India has modified, and amended/enacted laws in areas of Patents, Trade Marks, Designs and Geographical indications in conformity with TRIPS Agreement. India has enacted necessary legislation in the IP laws and also rules for processing of IP applications.

The *Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion (DIPP)*, established in 1995 and

reconstituted in 2000 with the merger of the Department of Industrial Development (DID) under the Ministry of Commerce is the nodal department concerning the legislations pertaining to Patents, Trade Marks, Designs and Geographical Indications in India. The department is assisted in its administration by the subordinate office of The Controller General of Patents, Designs and Trade Marks (CGPDTM). This is done through:

- The Patents Acts, 1970 (amended in 1999, 2002 and 2005) through the Patents Offices at Kolkatta (HQ), Mumbai, Chennai and Delhi.
- The Designs Act, 2000 through the Patents Offices at Kolkatta (HQ), Mumbai, Chennai and Delhi.
- The Trade Marks Act, 1999 through the Trade Marks Registry at Mumbai (HQ), Chennai, Delhi, Kolkatta and Ahmedabad.
- The Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration & Protection) Act, 1999 through the Geographical Indications Registry at Chennai.

The Indian patent Office is recognized as an International searching Authority (ISA) and International Preliminary Examining Authority (IPEA) under the Patent Cooperation Treaty of WIPO.

The *National Institute for Intellectual Property Management (NIIPM)* has been established at Nagpur as a national centre of excellence for training, management, research, education and policy advice in the field of IPR. Since the construction of the institute is underway, it is working from the Patent Information System in Nagpur. The CGPDTM is in-charge of the Office along with the Patent Information System.

An *Intellectual Property Appellate Board (IPAB)* set up in Chennai hear the appeals against the decisions of Registrar of Trade Marks, Geographical Indications and Controller of Patents.

In addition, copyright is protected through Copyright Act, 1957 as amended in 1999 administered by Department of Higher Education. The Semi-conductor Integrated Circuits Layout Designs Act, 2000 administered by the Department of Information and Technology protects the Layout Transistors and other circuitry elements. New varieties of plants are protected through the Protection of Plant Varieties and Farmers' Rights Act, 2001 - administered by the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation.

Besides the legislative initiatives, modernisation of IP infrastructure has also been undertaken focused on infrastructure development, computerization, human resource development training and awareness. E-filing facility for patent and trademark applications has been introduced since 20th July 2007¹⁹. Civil and criminal provisions exist in various laws for dealing with counterfeiting and piracy. The DIPP has been set up an Inter-ministerial Committee to coordinate IP enforcement issues. The 11th Plan (2007-2012) allots Rs. 300 crores for further modernization in terms of physical infrastructure, human resource, computerization and databases and creating awareness among different stakeholders²⁰.

India and Trips Agreement: Implication in varied sectors

The inclusion of the IPR in the Uruguay Round agenda was predominantly the initiative of the developed world. Thus, it became a contentious issue with the developing world, including India, putting stiff resistance on the grounds:

- it would strengthen the monopoly power of the multinationals companies and adversely affect

the poor with exorbitant increase in prices of food and medicine.

- it is discriminatory due to limited access to information and transfer of technology, unlike the developed world, as a result of IPR.

The worst affected would be the agriculture and pharmaceuticals sectors. Patents in agriculture would result in monopoly power of the companies receiving patents in particular plant varieties, seeds, etc and, hence, restrict research and development in those agricultural products leading to loss of bio-diversity. It might also lead to commercial exploitation of common man in indigenous medicinal plants. In case of patents in pharmaceuticals, it would increase the cost of medicines and hence affect public health. Thus, it can be seen clearly that there is intrinsic relation between economic, social, and technical and industrial development of a country.

The enforcement of the TRIPS Agreement with comprehensive changes in the Patent Law brought in a mix bag of benefits and loss. While it proved propitious for the larger stakeholders, it adversely affected the smaller segment of society. While much has been debated whether the changes were in the form of bane or boon, the Act of 2005 has far reaching consequences. On one hand it has provided safeguards for innovation and creativity in terms of idea; on the other, it has neglected major areas like public health and agriculture.

Negative Impact

1. Pharmaceuticals

The Pharmaceutical industry bears the maximum amount of pressure from the TRIPS Agreement. This is mainly because India earns major profits through the export of cheaper drugs on account of low labor cost attach and hence

there surfaces the fear of diminishing export earnings from the IPR Regime. Here, it is to be noted that prior to the Patent Act, 1970, 85 % of medicines in India were supplied by the Foreign Multinational Pharmaceutical Companies.²¹ This directly impacts on the public health. There are three visible implications in the pharmaceutical industry:

1. *Impact on Research and Development (R&D):* The cost associated with pharmaceuticals infrastructure is very high. The TRIPS regime not only means the end of reverse-engineering but also investment in R&D process on account of competition for longer sustainability. While the TRIPS Agreement assures of stimulation of R&D, the variations in globally endemic diseases and developing country specific diseases defeats such improvement. Since the private companies are profit oriented, there is always the bias to develop research and development of drugs that would accrue larger markets and returns. Therefore it is seen mostly that while there is constant development to fight cancer, in terms of diseases like malaria, tuberculosis are negligible. More so, even there are drugs to cure the diseases dominant in developing countries, there is no assurance that the prices would be lowered to incur losses.
2. *Impact on pricing:* The investment in R&D would automatically lead to increase in the prices of drugs. Moreso, for small farmers' patenting their seeds and plant varieties would seem a distant dream for patenting an invention cost around US\$5000-US\$23, 000.²²
3. *Impact on drug accessibility:* Monopoly of a patented product would benefit the larger industry at the cost of small and medium-sized; this shall limit the availability of drugs. To compound it, the simultaneous price hike would raise the question of access of public to drugs.

2. Agriculture

There is no denying the fact that agriculture forms the backbone of Indian Economy. It contributes 21% of GDP and employs 53% male and 75% female workers for livelihood.²³ The TRIPS Agreement poses severe challenge to agriculture threatening the self-reliance and livelihood of farmers. It is a threat to indigenous knowledge and bio-diversity. The Indian Government stressed on GI for preventing bio-piracy that debars the real benefits to the developing countries. This was in response to the patenting of Indian Basmati rice variety by the Rice Tech company of the US, gene sequences of rice by Swiss MNC Syngenta and such other like turmeric, neem, jamoon, bittergourd etc by the US and European MNC's.²⁴ The genetically modified plant varieties like GM paddy, wheat, corn, oil seeds and vegetables are eroding the productivity and fertility of soil. This is the main reason for India to initiate the Plant Variety Protection and Farmer's Rights Act, in 2001 and the Seeds Act, 2004²⁵.

The monopolization of agro-biotechnology by few private companies has led to commercialization of crops for financial returns. As I have mentioned earlier the bio-piracy has become conspicuous. Another adverse consequence of the IPR laws are felt in Food Security and erosion of biodiversity. The monopoly power of the companies has led to increased prices of seeds of plant varieties and increased the dependence of farmers' on them for supply. By undermining the traditional knowledge dissemination process and introduction of Genetically Modified (GM) crops, the biodiversity has been eroded. There is seen an interconnection between the patent laws and rise of farmers' suicide in India who on account of high price of seeds and monopolised supply by few has led them to debt-trap. The introduction of GM cotton variety

by Monsanto in collaboration of Indian based Mahyco company put 1.26 million and 3.28 million hectares under Bt Cotton cultivation in 2005 and 2006. This was a severe blow to the traditional cropping patterns as more farmers took to Bt cotton cultivation²⁶. The high cost coupled with low yields in later stage led to low returns and income and hence to debt trap. This in turn impedes bio diversity, traditional agriculture and longer sustainability.

The Positive Changes

The positive changes are evident in terms of the Patent Law Procedures wherein one can see drastic improvement in filing of application and providing the real benefits to the owner of product.

Patents

The filing of patent applications has increased from 17,466 in the year 2004-05 to 28,882 applications in the year 2006-07 and that of applications examined stood at 14,119 in 2006-07. The number of patents that were granted saw an increase from 1911 in 2004-05 to 7359 in 2006-07²⁷ (Figure 1).

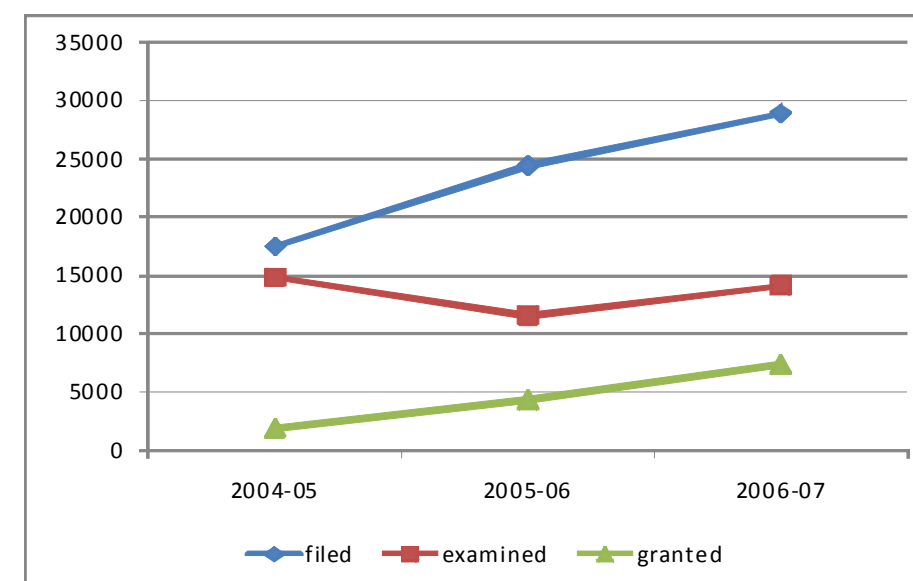
Trademarks

As regards Trade marks, the number of applications filed, examined and registered stood at 1,03,419, 85,185 and 1,09,361 respectively in 2006-07 against 78,996, 72,091 and 45,015 in 2004-05 as is evident from the graph²⁸ (Figure 2).

Geographical Indications

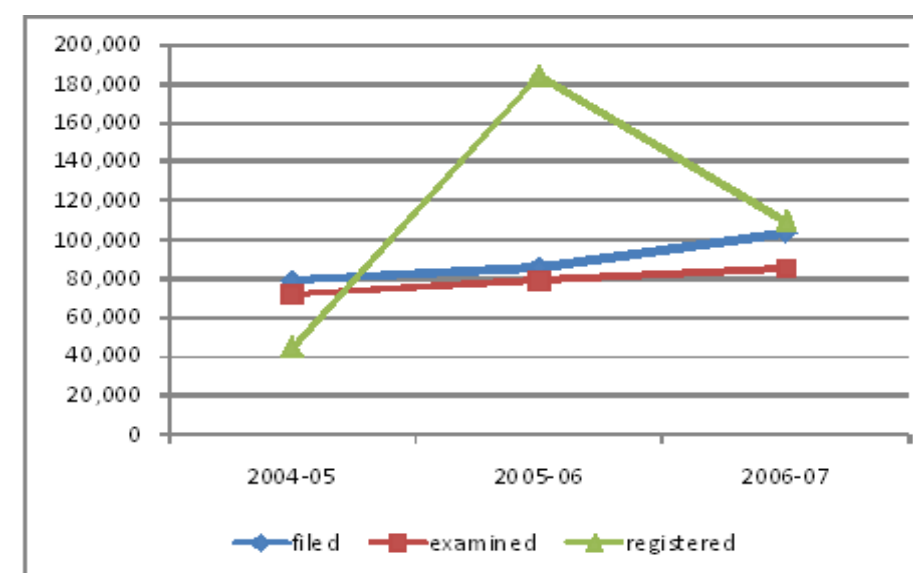
According to the Annual Report of CGPDTM, 38 Geographical Indications products have been filed in 2006-07 covering areas of tea, horticulture, handicrafts, textiles etc. and 30 registered since 2003. These include Darjeeling Tea, Chanderi Saree, Pochanpally Ikat, Solapur Chaddar, Mysore Silk, Kullu Shawl, Bidriware, etc.²⁹

Figure 1 : Statistics of Patent Enforcement



Source: Annual Report of CGPDTM 2006-07.

Figure 2 : Statistics of Trade Marks

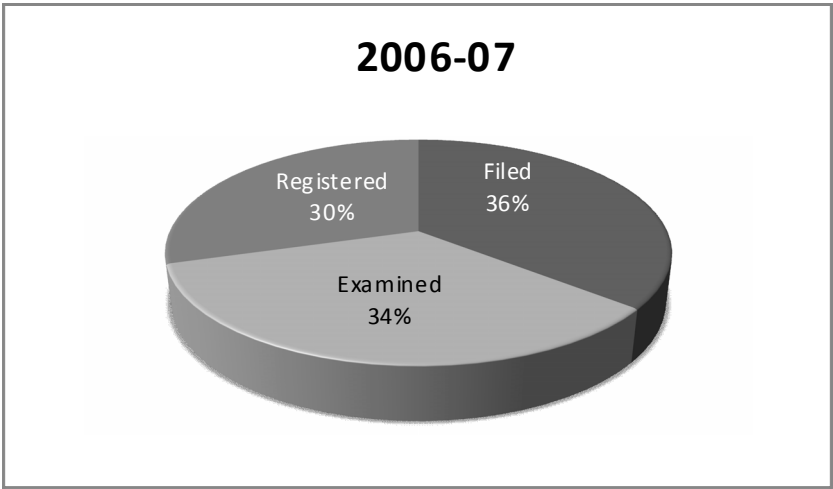


Source: Annual Report of CGPDTM 2006-07.

Designs

According to the DIPP, the number of application filed, examined and registered stood at 5372, 5179 and 4431 respectively in 2006-07.³⁰

Figure 3 : Diagram showing the Pattern in Designs



Source: Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion, India

Flexibilities/Safeguard Mechanism in Line with India

In order to counter the negative impact of being TRIPS compliant, the developing world including India succeeded in achieving some safeguard mechanism at the Doha Round, 2001. India has incorporated these flexibilities in the Patent (Amendment) Act, 2005 keeping in view public health and national security. The principal instrument available in the Patent Act includes: ³¹

- *Compulsory Licensing (CL)*: It refers to the procedure whereby a Government can allow any company, agency or designated person the right to make a patented product, or use a patented process under license without the consent of the original patent holder. This is also referred as “non-voluntary license” to curtail monopoly and promote competition. This can be exercised through 3 ways:

- *Government Use for non commercial purpose*
- *Emergency and extreme urgency*
- *Bolar provision*: it refers to license for old generics for various grounds for the purpose of research and development and regulatory approvals.

However, the specified time limit of six months to obtain a patent by the Controller can get delayed apart from the 3 years of original patent expiry.

- *Parallel importation*: This is an instrument to enjoy and exploit the benefits of differential prices of drugs in different countries. This is based on the logic of “exhaustion of rights” entailing that once the patented product is put for first sale the patent holder’s right is exhausted and another entity can export the

same without the holder’s consent. This would not amount to infringement of the Law.

Besides, India adopted sui generis system of plant protection through the Protection of Plant Varieties & Farmers rights Act 2001 (PPVFR) to comply with the TRIPS Agreement and ensure farmers right to sow, save, exchange, sell, research and design of new plant varieties³². However, the Seed Bill, 2004 puts constraints on the farmers in terms of a registration certificate to sell, barter seeds and also the supply or availability of seeds. Another challenge is in the form signing of UPOV for protection of plant varieties that is not conducive for the farmers’ right to sell or exchange seeds beyond their lands.

As a signatory to the agreement of WTO and TRIPS, which came into force on January I, 1995, India has accepted the minimum standards to be adopted under the stipulated time of 10 years through a series of amendments to the Patent Acts of 1970. However, the Patent Amendment Act, 2005 has evoked debates about the real gains. There is also the challenge that confronts India in the form of TRIPS Plus. The Amended Act, 2005 also throws light in the latent political motivations that has impinged on such shifting position. Pattern of intense lobbying by the larger segment of industry at the cost of the smaller one is apparent. The cost-benefits argument of providing protection to innovations and stimulate R&D dissipates in developing countries or the South when seen from social welfare and profit terms. Considering the North (Developed) and South (Developing) Trade Configuration, there might be conflict of interests not only in inter-industry trade but also intra-industry trade³³. Hence, the TRIPS agreement impacts adversely on both the North and the South. Therefore, there is the need to analyse the deeper and concealed cost and benefits attached to the implementation of ‘blanket approach’³⁴ of the TRIPS Agreement. Observed from the

conventional perspective, a process patent in South would deprive the monopoly of the North in the share of the larger markets of the former. Thus, a conflicting perception between the North and the South is inherent. The preference of the North for the product patent is, therefore, understandable. However, in trying to earn financial gains, the pharmaceutical industry of the North that pushed the TRIPS Agreement overlooked the other dimension in terms of innovation, imitation, cost and welfare consumerism. Taking all these variables into account, the conventional logic is defeated. For instance, under process patent not only the developing world but the developed world would have the permission to imitate and innovate and sell products in the developing markets and thereby allowing a share in the developing markets. In terms of cost and welfare consumerism, the logic of earning profits from the larger market would be defeated if the products do not find appropriate demand in the South. This can be understood in the global vs poor country specific diseases mentioned earlier. This challenges the very principles of National Treatment and Most favored Nation (MFN) and enhancement of social and economic welfare. Considering the deleterious impact on developing world in general, India’s shifting change reflects a transformed environment- both global and domestic- and also the bargaining power to integrate judiciously with the global economy. Integration as an integral part of India’s foreign policy has been served but stimulation of development process in a uniform manner in varied sectors remains debatable. However, a foreign policy needs to be dynamic. The changing posture of India in the international forum, bargaining for concessions as seen in the TRIPS Agreement, is reflective of the reorientation in its conduct i.e the economic dimension, liberalization at domestic level and globalization at international level, as an

instrument to achieve non-economic benefits. Economics have come to restructure the conduct of relations in Indian foreign policy framework. The analysis of TRIPS Agreement and its enforcement reveals that India has succeeded to achieve economic development that has been the underlying objective of India’s foreign policy. The flexibilities if used effectively would allow India to develop low cost drugs through generic production and hence accessibility of medicines.

The Amended Act has evoked critical scrutiny from varied quarters. However, two things need to be noted:

- that there are both negative and positive elements in any development-oriented policy. Foreign policy strives to promote its national interest. In doing so, it takes cognisance of the all pervasive nature of welfare. Yet, this welfare is neither to be misunderstood in absolute terms nor at the cost of the neglected segments.
- the changing global realities warrant reorientation of priorities for sustainable benefits.

Analysed within this context, compliance of TRIPS Agreement through the modified Patent Act, 2005 allows the prospects of realizing India’s potentialities and a preparedness to play its role as a emerging great power. Commensurately, to influence the decision-making process at the international level in her favour as a spokesperson of the developing world, a long cherish dream since independence. One cannot override the fact that the amendment has been made with certain flexibilities that provides for the protection of rights. Thus, the Amended Act, 2005 is an accomplishment of Indian diplomacy and foreign policy projection.

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Ploughmen, Wild Tribes and the Monarchy: Reflections on the Notion of ‘Good Governance’ in Kautilya’s Arthashastra

Shri Krishan

Abstract

The ruling classes have always used a variety of moral-ethical languages to justify and legitimate their rule. Recently, some scholars have tried to relate the notion of good governance to Kautilaya’s text Arthashastra. Our contention is that though a notion of good moral order and righteous and virtuous rulers existed in all pre-modern social orders they can hardly be compared to contemporary polities because a monarchical form of government, by its very nature, presupposed autocratic functioning of the state and an assault on the livelihood and existence of socially marginalized groups engaged in cultivation and food gathering to extract maximum revenue for running the state. On the contrary, good governance is a contemporary notion which is embedded in other ideas like equality of opportunity, protection of human rights, gender equality and equitable sharing of resources. It does not make sense to trace the obligations and stipulation about such mode of governance in a monarchial setup.

The notion of governance and good governance are being increasingly used in development literature.¹ Governance is the process of decision-making and the procedures by which decisions are implemented or certain decisions are not implemented. In any hierarchically arranged social-order, the apparatus of state wields the power to conduct public affairs and manage or mismanage public resources. It is believed that good governance accomplishes these tasks in a fashion that is free of abuse and corruption and in keeping in view the rule of law. However, it needs to be understood that government is only one actor in the process of modern-day administration. In modern complex society, many other institutions and actors are involved in the process of governance. In rural areas, for instance, these other actors might be influential powerful landed magnates, peasant associations, cooperatives, NGO’s, religious and community leaders, caste-hierarchies, and both formal and informal financial institutions etc. The situation at national level and in urban areas is far more complex. Here, powerful corporate houses and other business interests, organized and well-articulated urban elites, transnational companies, media, well-entrenched crime, landed and drug mafia and syndicates may play important role in decision-making.

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In order to realize the goal of good governance, what we need is social empowerment of marginalized social groups. In the contemporary social setting in India, caste and class based social inequalities are so deeply entrenched that they are bound to affect the developmental process and participation of deprived sections of society in our democratic polity.² A few important elements of good governance are accountability, transparency and participation of citizens. It means that public or state officials must be responsible for their acts to the entity from which their authority is derived and citizens must be involved in the process of development and governance. There must also be provisions for the availability of information to the general public about the state's rules, regulation and decisions and their legal enforceability. The equity dimension of governance seeks to ensure that development is inclusive, that all people benefit from well-functioning political and economic institutions and political, economic and social processes. Equity is often used in the context of giving traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women, disabled persons, ethnic minorities, and indigenous peoples, equal access and control over resources and opportunities. Measures are often used to compensate for historical and social disadvantages towards creating a level playing field. Equity leads to equality. Governance also implies that institutions and processes have to demonstrate their responsiveness to the hopes and aspirations of the people at large, not just certain social groups or elites. Responsiveness includes the extent, to which public service agencies demonstrate receptivity to the views, complaints and suggestions of citizens and service users, by changing their own structure, culture and service delivery patterns. Allowing citizens to obtain redress for their grievances and advocate for change in policies and processes increase participation and promotes transparency. Such broader notion of good governance means that establishment of formal

democracy and acceptance of the goal of good governance is in itself no guarantee of that all citizens will enjoy equal participation in political processes.

Recently, some scholars have maintained that the Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a treatise on statecraft in ancient India can be taken as a model of good governance.³ Let us examine the claim in the light of what we have conceptualized as basic principles of good governance. The commentators who have tried to relate *Arthashastra* with an ancient model of good governance uncritically accept that most of our knowledge about State policy under the Mauryas comes from the *Arthashastra* written by Kautilya (more popularly known as Chanakya), who was a Brahmin minister under Chandragupta Maurya. Though it was written at the end of the fourth century BC, it appears to have been rediscovered only in 1905, after centuries of oblivion. The treatise in its present form is most likely not the text written by Kautilya, though it is probably based on a text that was authored by Kautilya; and in no case can the text in its entirety be ascribed to Kautilya, on account of numerous stylistic and linguistic variations. The book, written in Sanskrit, discusses theories and principles of governing a state. It is not an account of Mauryan administration. The title, *Arthashastra*, which means "the Science of Material Gain" or "Science of Polity", does not leave any doubts about its ends. According to Kautilya, the ruler can use any means to attain his goal and his actions require no moral sanction. The only problems discussed are of the most practical kind. Though the kings were allowed a free reign, the citizens were subject to a rigid set of rules. This demonstrates that what Kautilya was dealing was a normal kind of monarchical state. Before we proceed further, it needs to mention here that this textual source contain at best the views of Chanakya, the famous minister of the Mauryan

king Chandragupta. The norms prescribed in the text of *Arthashastra* may be simply a theoretical construct or might not depict the existing realities of the times. In the words of Amritya Sen: "India's past has become an ideological battleground"⁴ For him, it is important to recognize that the significance of past for us today involves selection and choice in which our contemporary concerns can have a reasonable role. But he cautions that it is also important to see that this connection between the present and our involvement with the past neither undermines the need to look for veracity and ascertained evidence nor removes the case for deliberately concentrating on those cases in which the lessons involved have particular relevance to our concerns today".⁵

The historians of Mauryan Empire suggest that the Mauryan state became the central land clearing agency with the objective of extending settled agriculture and breaking up the disintegrating remnants of the frontier hill tribes whose members could serve as a useful source of providing labourer-cultivators on these newly cleared forest lands. The Mauryan Empire was divided into *Janapadas* or districts, which reflected earlier tribal boundaries and were administered by emperor's closest relatives or the most trusted generals. The Mauryan army was organized in four major corps, whose strength was reported to have been six hundred thousands infantry, thirty thousands cavalry, eight thousands chariots and nine thousands elephants. Even if we make discount for exaggeration, it attests the remarkable size and level of centralized polity. To encourage the clearing of forests lands, tax remissions were granted, and tribal areas were settled with state support, mostly by *shudras*, whose status was slightly higher than slaves. *Arthashastra* cautioned that a denuded treasury posed a grave threat to the security of state, advising the monarch against too many remissions of land revenue.⁶

Mauryan agriculture had two types of landholdings, one were the *rashtra* type of holdings which were the direct descendants of the holdings of the former tribal oligarchies who had been subjugated in pre-Mauryan times. The *rashtra* landholdings were to a large extent independent of the state machinery in their internal functioning and administration. Their only obligation was the regular payment of the *rashtra* taxes to the state. The second major type of landholdings was *sita* landholdings, which were formed by clearing forest lands with the help of the tribesmen whose tribal way of life had been systematically encroached upon and subjugated to the needs and requirements of surplus appropriation by the Mauryan polity. It would be interesting to recollect here the episode about the birth and passing away of Rama's wife Sita whose name these landholdings bear or perhaps vice versa. The corollary in the name Sita for Rama's queen and also for a type of landholding illustrates the fact that the *sita* type of holding must have been a very common type of holding in ancient India such that the word *sita* was given to a mythological character who was supposed to have been a daughter of the earth. But this story also illustrates that the *sita* type of holdings could have come into being as a new type of landholding which was evolved out of an earlier one (perhaps the *rashtra* holding or some other holding). This was the possible reason why the daughter of the earth, who sprang from the earth, was called Sita. However, it was during Maurya rule that the word *sita* seems to have come into wide usage and the *sita* holdings were a result of clearing up of forest lands mainly with the labour of displaced tribesmen. This clearing up of forests lands opened contacts with still farther tribes. The expanding Mauryan Empire needed more and more resources for its military adventures and therefore more and more tribal people were subjugated by the Mauryan State. Thus was extended the margin of the monarchical revenue system and of settled

agriculture as well. The state maintained a close control over the -state owned *sita* lands. These lands were not made the property of the cultivator. They were leased to him for his lifetime and he could hold the lease on condition that he cultivated the land and paid taxes. The penalty for non-cultivation was confiscation of the leased land. The reason why the Mauryan State insisted on intensive cultivation with maximum results suggests that taxes in Mauryan times bore a close proportionate relationship with the size of the crop. Hence it was in the interest of augmenting the state's revenue collection, to insist on maximum results.

In Mauryan times, the *sita* lands could not be sold or transferred without special permission from the state. Their cultivation too was strictly on a family basis. No form of collective labour or any other type of work that could strengthen common tribal solidarity or identity was permitted to flourish. Even religious associations were restricted in such type of land holdings. Thus by leaving out the establishment of any collective association by ensuring segregation of individual cultivators in such lands, the Mauryan state absolutely eliminated all potential of any popular resistance or trouble from the peasant masses. The right to movement was also restricted for the fear of cultivators shifting from the *sita* lands to those outside the pale of fiscal jurisdiction. No peasant could even become a monk without making prior provision for his dependants. The Mauryan state took no burden of unproductive citizens upon itself. This explains the barring of entry of Buddhist and Jaina Bhikshus, before Ashoka in these *sita* lands. This was aimed at preventing the conversion of peasants into unproductive monks. Agricultural production was not even to be disturbed by non-agricultural, non-economic pursuits. According to the *Arthashastra*, there shall be no buildings, in villages, which could be used for sports and recreational activities. Nor shall actors, dancers,

singers, drummers, baffons (*vagjivana*) and bards (*kushilava*) make any disturbance in the work of the villagers.

These extreme provisions were enforced by establishing guarded frontiers for each of the isolated and disjointed agricultural villages called *janapadas*. These internal frontiers not only served the purpose of toll and tax collection but also exercised control over the movements of peasants. The state also had a full-fledged network of spies to observe and maintain up-to-date records of every minister and state official to check on their loyalty and honesty. Spies disguised as philosopher-hermits were placed around the residence of every important person. Any sudden acquisition of wealth or suspicious behaviour on part of any important official was closely watched and reported. Such was the steel-framework of the Mauryan state which enabled preservation of the highly centralized character of the empire.

But the real factor that enabled such centralised functioning was the limited, but widely scattered *janapadas* on which taxes had to be levied. The state got its revenue directly from the peasants with no intermediary in between as in the later feudal ages. The smallness of the fiscal jurisdiction made possible the consistently followed, policy of not giving land grants that could permanently deprive the state from any revenue hence the absence of a hereditary revenue collecting hierarchy of state officials that became a character of later ages. The Mauryan State also undertook commodity production on a large scale. Apart from farmlands it also owned warehouses, shipyards and mines. In short, the Mauryan economy functioned not only without intermediary revenue collectors but also largely without individual owners of means of production. The state itself was by far the biggest owner of the means of production especially land and regulator

of the major economic functions. The reason for this control of agriculture, industry, trade and the levy of all varieties of taxes on the population was perhaps that the state was in dire need of a great amount of surplus for military considerations. State played a significant role in the economic life of the people. New settlements were established and decaying ones were rehabilitated by drafting surplus settlers from the overpopulated area of the Ganges valley. Generally the lower castes were encouraged to move out of the Ganges valley and settle in the new agricultural settlements. Land was leased out to them. In order to make the virgin land cultivable, the state allowed remission of taxes for a few initial years and other concessions by way of supplies of cattle, seeds and agricultural instruments which they were required to repay later. But no land could be sold off by these cultivators, they were supposed to cultivate it and churn out revenue for the state.

This centralized feature that characterized the Mauryan polity was made possible due to the limited spread in which the fiscal machinery had to function. Though the agricultural settlements were scattered throughout the empire, the size and area dimension of the dotted *janapadas* made possible the centralized system of the Mauryas. This centralized system which was built upon the principle of the *Arthashastra*, did not create a corollary of feudal lords who could occupy the hereditary position of revenue collectors and earn their own income from retaining a fraction of the revenue collected. In the absence of such a class what came into being was a class of revenue collectors who were the paid officials of the Mauryan State. But this high officialdom and the superior community had its opposite in the form of a proletariat who worked on the *sita* state owned farms without a claim to the land they tilled. These tillers of the *sita* lands were termed the *ardha-sitikas* or half share-croppers as they were

entitled to only a portion of the crop they reaped, with the rest going to the state as revenue. These agrarian relations were basically feudal in nature in the sense that they enabled the state official to drain off a substantial chunk of agricultural surplus. This was the reason why these relations were preserved by the various dynasties that followed the Mauryas. During the Post-Maurya and the Gupta periods, the state revenue collectors were absent and their place was taken by the grantees of *brahmadeya*, *devadana* and *agrahara* lands, but the position of the share-croppers remained almost unchanged as they had to pass on a share of the crop to the feudal grantees in the place of the state-appointed revenue collectors. A new class of feudal landowners emerged as intermediaries who passed on a part of the revenue they collected to the king.

The *Arthashastra* was one of the greatest political books of the ancient world. Max Weber said that this. "truly radical 'Machiavellianism' in the popular sense of the word, is classically expressed in the Indian literature in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and compared to is, Machiavelli's *The Prince* is harmless."⁷ Although Kautilya proposed an elaborate welfare state in domestic politics, something that has been called a socialized monarchy, he proved willing to defend the general good of this monarchy with harsh measures. Even slavery thrived in certain situations during the Mauryan times.⁸ As we have mentioned earlier, the *Arthashastra* is a treatise on statecraft and economic policy which identifies its author by the names Kautilya and Vishnugupta, who are traditionally identified with the Mauryan minister Chanakya.

The traditionally identification of Kautilya and Vishnugupta with Mauryan minister Chanakya would date the Arthasastra to the 4th century BC. Some scholars are of the opinion that this

document definitely dates back to the early Mauryan era. Many administrative terms used are similar to those used in the edicts of Ashoka. The Magdha kingdom under the Nanda dynasty is given as a case study. The language of many fragments is archaic. Certain inconsistencies may be explained by the fact that the document has probably seen many revisions by various authors at different times. It has been suggested that Vishnugupta was a later editor of the original work by Chanakya. However, certain affinities with smritis and references that would be anachronism for the 4th century BC suggest assigning the Arthashastra to the 2nd through 4th centuries CE. Thomas R. Trautmann and I.W. Mabbett concur that the Arthashastra is a composition from not earlier than the 2nd century AD, but definitely based on earlier material.⁹ What we here wish to contend, however, is that good governance is a contemporary notion which is embedded in other ideas like equality of opportunity, protection of human rights, gender equality and equitable sharing of resources. It does not make sense to trace the obligations and stipulation about such mode of governance in a monarchical setup. Even though, most pre-modern societies and states had notions of righteous and virtuous rulers¹⁰, they should not be compared with the present-day polities.

Arthashastra is considered by historians as a manual on statecraft¹¹, dealing with what ought to be than what was. The text of this manual gives seven elements (*prakritis*) of sovereignty: the Swami or the monarch, the *amatayas* or the group of advisors to the king, the *janapada* or a specific territory, which included cultivable lands, forests, pastures, water resources in that region as well as mines, the *durga* and *pura* or fortified cities and trading centres, the *kosa* meant treasury where revenue collected was deposited, the *danda* refers to the coercive apparatus of state or force and finally the *mitras* or allies and friends. The state

carried out the executive role of collection of revenues or *bali* and *bhaga*, which became regular taxes as compared to pre-monarchical ritual offerings and gifts. It also maintained law and order and *dharma* or 'just ordering of society' or the meticulously articulated hierarchical *varna* system.¹² It was emphasized in *Arthashastra* that it was the *danda* and *dandaniti* on which the triple *Vedas* and *vartas* depended. The triple *vartas* were the agriculture, cattle breeding and trade that brought in grain, cattle, gold, forest produce or *kupya* and free labour or *vishti* for the king's treasury. It was claimed that there was never a better instrument than the spectre to bring people under control. The absence of a magistrate or wielder of *danda* (*dandadharabhave*), it was proclaimed in this text would lead to social anarchy and disorder expressed in the famous proverb of fishes (*matsyanyayamudbhavayati*) or how big fish eats the smaller ones. Speaking of duties of a king, *Arthashastra* depicts king as the *hedaprasada* or the dispenser of both punishments and rewards or as a person in which powers of Indra and Yama were blended. The text also mentions the rebellious districts and wild tribes (*aranyacahara*) and need for special surveillance measures to track down the treacherous opponents of sovereignty. It was time of expansion of agriculture and *Arthashastra* advises the ruler to encourage steps to establish new settlements. In view of social cohesion, it further advised, not to settle people from same community or tribe in one place rather settle them in different *janapadas* so that they did not have the opportunity to congregate and conspire for a revolt.¹³ Although, *Arthashastra* literally means the science of wealth but actually it was a work on polity concerned with increasing wealth and power of the ruler. The maximum collection of revenue and organization of an efficient law and order machinery was its main objective.

In this sense, the economic thinking of *Arthashastra* can be compared to the seventeenth century Camaralist thinking in Germany, which also laid considerable stress on increasing tax revenue for the Prince.¹⁴ We may come across such statements in *Arthashastra* that "In the happiness of his subjects lies the happiness of ruler and in their welfare, his own welfare or that whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider good". However, Kautilaya's *Arthashastra* put the possession and use of power above ethical questions. Therefore, although there is advice and suggestion against oppressive fines, free labour and excessive taxes (*dandavishtikarabadhah*), simultaneously we also come across injunctions against actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons (*vagjivana*) and bards (*kusilava*) as they disturb the agricultural operations and get resources from villagers. The chief concern of state was to get maximum amount of agricultural surplus from the expanding agriculture. Apart from agricultural taxes, state also obtained produce from forests (*vana*) and herd of cattle (*vraja*). The lands given to Brahmin for their subsistence were exempted from taxes and fines but the bulk of cultivable lands were occupied by taxpayers only for life (*ekapuruskani*).

Lands might be confiscated from those who did not cultivate them and given to others for cultivation or alternatively they might be cultivated with the hired labour (*gramabhristaka*) through leaders or *vaidehaka*. There are other references in the text of *Arthashastra* that points towards the existence of social hierarchy in the villages. There were *ardhasitikas* or tenants cultivating *vaptiriktam* or uncultivated lands on the basis of sharing the produce by half as well as *svaviryopajivinah* who lived by their own physical exertion and who received only 1/4th or 1/5th of produce as their allocation. The state also employed

slaves, labourers and prisoners (*dandapratikartri*) to sow seeds on *sita* or crown lands. The marginalization and exclusion of certain social groups in the monarchical set-up comes out without a doubt because although there were references to cooperative ventures like construction of reservoirs for irrigation but personal physical labour was not required in such cases as the resourceful people could send their bullocks and servants. The state was also more and more trying to establish control over forest and other resources and such control might well have excluded the tribal people from entitlements to such common property resources. It was explicitly stated in the text of *Arthashastra* that the king had the right of ownership in fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables and the superintendent of forests collected timber and other products like medicines, animal skins from the forests. Particular attention was paid to exercise control over elephants as they were crucial in the battlefields for destroying the arrayed army of an enemy, its encampments and fortifications. The social conflicts arising out of expansion of cultivable lands might be the reason for apprehension expressed about the wild tribes and their activities and they foreshadow the stigmatization of these groups under colonial rule. The *Arthashastra* admonished the king not to take possession of any country which was liable to the inroads of enemies and wild tribes. This clubbing together of 'wild tribes' with enemies is understandable because the 'wild tribes', living under a leader and moving in the neighboring forests had their own strongholds, they were numerous and brave and ready to fight in broad daylight and capable of seizing and destroying countries and kings. They could, therefore, cause problems for the stability and security of the kingdom.

What needs to be emphasized is that the state emerged in a highly differentiated economy

and in stratified social formations; in our ancient history, the State also appeared as kingdoms and empires and it was the outcome of political processes in class structured societies. The transition from chiefdom to kingdom or monarchial system took place in North India in the middle of the first millennium BC while it came much later in the Southern parts of the subcontinent around sixth century AD. Once the state emerged, it subordinated the *vis* or peasantry. Social stratification created tensions between producers (ploughmen and tribes) and the agency that established its control over territories as the resources were required to carry out the managerial functions of the state. The good governance meant for the rulers how to get the maximum amount of agricultural surplus from the cultivators and how to control the social groups that existed on the fringes of settled agriculture.

Romila Thapar refers to anthropological concepts like lineage society and household economy to explain the hierarchically arranged *Varna* society.¹⁵ She describes how Vedic literature is full of references to lineage terms like *gotra*, *vraja* etc. and how lineage groups comprised of *rajanya* and *vis* and how the former group came to exercise greater control over the community resources leading to internal differentiation and dissolution of lineage based social organization during later Vedic period. Other contributing factors like environment, technology, extraction of social surplus from the producers, urbanization and ideology also paved the way for the making of state. In another place Romila differentiates a kingdom from an empire by arguing that an empire is a more evolved form of state than a kingdom. According to her, an essential feature of the empire has generally been an extensive territory held together by continuing conquests and a centralized administration. An empire, therefore, requires a restructuring of economy to provide substantial

revenue and the introduction of administrative forms that are appropriate to regional and local governance, and the encouragement of a flexible ideology acceptable to its constituent elements. Imperial systems have to control diverse communities and they have to evolve varying nature of this control.¹⁶

In light of above analysis, we may conclude that for a democratic restructuring of our contemporary administrative machinery, we need not turn to glorification of outdated monarchial ideals and norms. There is a need to specifically empower the marginalized and excluded sections of society and involve them in the process of governance. This is the only remedy that can save thousands of lives who are being lost in India’s countryside through mass suicides due to the impact of deep-rooted agrarian crisis.

Notes

1. For ideas and concepts of governance and good governance see Sam Agere (2000): *Promoting Good Governance: Principles, Practices and Perspectives*, Commonwealth Secretariat; Commonwealth Secretariat (2005): *Citizen’s Governance Kit tool: creating Change by Making people’s Voices Heard*; Pani Niranjana, Santap S. Mishra and Bijaya S. Sahu (2004): *Modern Systems of Governance: Good governance vs E-Governance*, Anmol Publishers.
2. See Kishan, Shri (2008): “Entangled History in Discourses of ‘Good Governance’: From Colonial Notions to Globalized Enclosures in the Contemporary World”, in *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, Jan - June.
3. Some writings which draw inspiration from Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* include N, Shiva Kumar and U.S. Rao (1996): “Guideline for value based management in Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*”, *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 15, No. 4, April, pp. 415-423; Charles Waldaner, William J. Zahka and Surendra Pal, “Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*: A neglected Precursor to Classical

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4. Amartya Sen (2006): “Our Past and Our Present”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 25-December 1, p. 4877.
5. *Ibid.* p. 4800.
6. Wendy F. Kasinec and Polushin, Michael A (2002): *Expanding Empires: Cultural Interaction and Exchange in World Societies from Ancient to Early Modern Times*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, p. 63
7. Max Weber, “Politics as a vocation”, W.G. Runciman (1998): *Selections in translation*, Trans. Eric Matthews, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 220.
8. Sharma, Rekharani (1978): “Slavery in Mauryan Period (C. 300 B.C.-C.200B.C.)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol.XXI, NO. 2, May, pp.185-194
9. See Thomas R. Trautman, *Kautilya and Arthashastra: A statistical Investigation of Authorship and Evolution of the Text*, E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1971, p. 185 and I.W.Mabbet (1964): “The Date of *Arthashastra*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 84, No. 2, pp. 162-169.
10. See N. D. Irani and Morris Silver, ed. (1995): *Social Justice in Ancient World*, Greenwood Press, Westport

shows how the idea of social justice was articulated and implemented in various ancient civilizations like Chinese, Babylonian , Iranian and other cultures. For ancient India, See M.G.Prasad, “social Justice in the Ancient India” in Irani and Silver, eds., *Social Justice in Ancient World*, pp. 91-100.

11. References and citation for *Arthashastra* are based on 1915 Shamasastri’s translation of Kautilaya’s *Arthashastra* in our article.
12. See Vilho Harle, *Ideas of Social Order In the Ancient World*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1998, especially the Chapters on ‘Dharma and Caste as the basis of Social Order’ (pp. 52-64) and ‘The Wise King as the basis of Social Order’ (pp. 111-128) to understand that there was nothing unique in the notions of Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* and every society had its ideas about social justice as well as the proper social hierarchy and rules to be observed to maintain it.
13. See Jayant Gadkari (1996): *Society and Religion From Rigveda to Puranas*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, pp. 115-116.
14. See Ajit Kumar Das Gupta (1993): *A History of Indian Economic Thought*, Routledge, pp. 28-41 for this interpretation
15. See Romilla Thapar (1984): *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium BC in the Ganga Valley*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
16. Romilla Thapar (2006): “The Mauryan Empire in Early India”, *Historical Research*, Vol. 79. issue 205, August, pp 287-305.

A Study on the level of Indoor Air-Pollution and its Effects on the Health of Women and Children in the Tribal Hamlets of Kerala, India

Shyamlal G S

Abstract

In majority of the developing countries, biomass is regarded as a main source of household fuel energy. Ineffective combustion of biomass basically due to lack of effective processing and drying resulted in an increase in the indoor air pollution (IAP). The smoke from biomass fuels is a complex mixture of aerosols, which contain significant amounts of carbon monoxide, suspended particulate matter and hydrocarbons. The groups which are adversely affected by this are women and children even in tribal communities who lead a life respecting the rules and regulations of nature. It is surprising to note that fires in traditional stoves and the smoke associated with them often have considerable practical value in the tribal hamlets. It is considered as a tool for insect control, which had various scientific justifications as well. The smoke generated from these traditional stoves is even used for drying the collected wood and also the fresh palm leaves with which the house is thatched. As a result of these excessive exposure, it had its adverse effects on the nutritional status of women. Using BMI < 18.5 as the criteria for Chronic Energy Deficiency (CED) 60 percent of the women in the tribal hamlets were found to be suffering from various degrees of CED, which in turn has its impact on child survival. The study is of the view that intervention strategies can be successful only if it takes into consideration the correlation between poverty and fuel pollutants.

Keywords: Oxidation, Indoor Air Pollution, Anthropometrics, Malnutrition, Body Mass Index, Biomass Fuels, Acute Respiratory Infections Smokeless Chullas.

Introduction

Indoor pollution can be traced right from the pre-historic times, when man started to lead a settled life either inside caves or in newly constructed shelters made out of thatched roofs. Fire became an indispensable element in life for cooking, keeping him warm and even as a protection from animals. As per the estimates available, 90% of the rural households still follow

the traditional way of cooking with the help of unprocessed biomass fuels in the form of wood, dung and crop residues. As a result of this, women who are responsible for cooking and her children are more exposed to these poisonous fumes.

Though the proportion of global energy derived from biomass fuels fell from 50% in 1900 to around 13% in 2000 yet it is surprising to notice that there usage has increased among the poor

(Nigel et.al. 2000). One of the important reasons cited by various research studies is poverty, which acts as the barrier towards the adoption of cleaner fuels. Moreover the slow pace of development ensures that it will take a longer span of time till all the households can depend on cleaner fuels for their cooking purpose. Notwithstanding the significance of exposure to indoor air pollution and the increased risk of Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI) in childhood, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and lung cancer, and the health effects have been somewhat neglected by the social researchers and policy makers.

Review of Literature

From the review of literature, it can be observed that majority of the research studies had opined that the exposure of indoor pollution, and especially to particulate matter, from combustion of biomass fuels has been widely associated with the incidence of Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI) and eye infections (Hazeltine and Bull 2003). The adverse effects of indoor pollution is more prone in developing countries and is considered as a public health hazard especially among women and children (Joshi 2006). The extensive list of indoor pollutants includes numerous exhaust vapours, particulate matter, gases, organic chemicals, spores, allergens, micro-organisms and various other substances. The ambient indoor atmosphere is further aggravated by the burning of biomass for cooking purposes. These excessive uses of biomass can add to the burden of industrial pollution and can affect human well-being even in non-urban areas (Capistrano 2005). It is also pointed out that the levels of pollutants vary dramatically by location and over time, depending on changing meteorological factors such as wind speed and wind direction which makes it difficult to analyse the health effects of individual pollutants (Kjellstrom et.al. 2002). In a developing country

like India, it is opined that the indoor combustion of biomass fuels accounts for 3.5 per cent of the national burden of diseases and over 0.4 million deaths are attributable to solid fuel use (Jindal S.K 2007).

Objectives

The study tries to analyse the extent of indoor pollution in the tribal hamlets of Trivandrum district and its effects on the nutritional status of women and children.

Study Area

Kerala is geographically divided into three parts— lowland, midland and the highland (Figure 1). The study area is limited among the tribal communities in Trivandrum district of Kerala. The tribal population is considered as the guardian of nature which leads a content life giving due respect to the forces of nature. Traditional stoves are considered as the most popular one in these areas. Studies have shown that the efficiency levels range between 5 – 10 %. These stoves are considered as the most poisonous ones due to the incomplete combustion of biomass fuels.

Methodology

Fifty households lying in the reserve forest area of Trivandrum district are selected for the study. The study used both primary and secondary data sources for the study. The secondary data provided by Sredha, an NGO which is involved in pollution studies was used for analysing the extent of indoor pollution. Body Mass Index (BMI) is a simple but objective anthropometric indicator of the nutritional status. The Belgian Statistician Adolphe Quetelet developed the formula for BMI in the 19th century:

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Figure 1 : Satellite Map of Study Area



Source : Terra Metrics and Europa Technologies

Over the years nutritionists have developed more refined ways to interpret BMI values. Now, different BMI values can convey whether a person is underweight, ideal weight, slightly overweight or obese. The table below is the most complete one used for the analysis of BMI.

Table 1: Reference Table of BMI

Value of BMI	Status of Nutrition
39.99 – 35	Dangerous State
34.99 – 30	Obese
30 – 25	Maximum Limit
25 – 18.5	Normal
18.5 – 17	Grade I Malnutrition
17 – 16	Grade II Malnutrition
Less than 16	Grade III Malnutrition

Findings

Kanikkar, popularly known as Kani are found in the Agastyarkutam peaks of Western Ghats and the other high ranges in Trivandrum.

They are short in stature and brown to black complexion. Their head is long, forehead receding and the brow ridges prominent. The language spoken by the kannis exhibits features of Malayalam and Tamil and the Kannis call it as *Malampasha*, which means “language of the Hills”. In certain cases, the houses were constructed close to each other and while in others, they are scattered. Bamboo and reed are the chief building materials used for construction. The plinth is slightly raised, and the floor generally rectangular. A long open veranda in the front is a special feature. The main room may be portioned into two or three chambers. Like any other tribe, they are also engaged in the collection of Minor Forest Produce. But now one can witness houses constructed of mud and brick with tiled, asbestos or terraced roofing. This trend had further intensified with the Peoples Plan Campaign under which the Panchayat started the liberalised distribution of funds for construction of houses.

The mean age of the respondents selected for the study is 31.14, which means that we were able to get information from a matured group.

Though the tribal community is said to be a close-knit family yet we were able to notice that there was a sizeable group which had adopted the nuclear family system. Thus we can conclude that the nuclear family system, which is one of the basic features of the modern life, had started making inroads even into the tightly knit tribal communities. From this study, we observe that the tribal communities are educationally backward. It was found out that a higher number of tribal communities had got basic education while the numbers dwindled as we go upward. Majority of the population surveyed had an educational status ranging between middle and high school. Moreover, with respect to the general situation prevailing in Kerala, here too the women folks are more educated than the men.

Table 2: Main Source of Employment

Type of Employment	No. of Respondents
M F P	24
Agriculture	9
Unskilled Labour	7

Income is an important determinant in assessing the status of the households. Information on annual income of the tribal households was collected during the study. The study observed that majority of the population belonged to the income group of less than Rs 500, which is less than sufficient to sustain a family of four persons. In these households the husband is the sole breadwinner, whereas in other families where both the husband and wife were employed, they were able to have a monthly income somewhere between 500 – 1000. In this study, we also tried to gauge the extent of occupational diversification in the tribal hamlets. It was found out that about 22 percent of the households reported only one occupation as their major breadwinner, while 78 per-

cent of the households had more than one source of income i.e., they had a main and a subsidiary source of income. Hence, it can be concluded that occupational diversification can be observed in these tribal hamlets.

Table 3: Monthly Income of Households

Monthly Income	No. of Respondents
Less than 500	21
500 – 1000	17
1000 – 1500	9
Above 2000	3

It can be observed that the income group less than 500 and the 500 – 1000 income group has a sizeable proportion while only a minimal number of family represent the other groups. It was observed that majority of the families spend about 80 percent of their income on food while there was only minimal or no expenditure on health and education. Hence the tribal communities can be characterised as those families which lacked access to proper health facilities. Failure to obtain necessary medical treatment for acute or chronic medical conditions, or increased exposure to infection owing to poor personal hygiene all can have an adverse effect on the life and livelihoods of these communities. In a way all these tend to complete the cycle of poverty for these communities.

Nutritional Status of Women and Children

The status of women in a society is a significant reflection of the level of social justice prevailing in that society. Women’s status is often described in terms of their level of income, employment, education, health and fertility as well as the roles they play not only within the family but also in the community as well (Stuart 2001;

Basu 1993). The cultural norms that particularly affect women’s health are attitude towards marriage, marriage practices, marriageable age, values attached to fertility and sex of the child, pattern of family organisation, her status in the society, decision making capability and the ideal role demanded of women by social and cultural conventions. All these determine her place in the family, her access to medical care, education, nutrition, and other health resources (Basu 1993). The tribal women, constitute as in any other social group, about half of the total population (Tanuja et.al. 1993). However, the importance of women in the tribal society is more important than in any other social group in India, because of the fact that the tribal women, more than woman in any other social group, work harder and the success of the family depends on her. She is not considered as a drudge or a beast of burden but is found to be exercising a relatively free and firm hand in all aspects related to her social life.

The tribal women marry at an early age. The mean age at marriage is 15 years, which is lower than the national average of rural women, which is 17 years. Almost 21 percent of them had given birth to their first child when they were between 14 – 16 years of age. The average number of children born per tribal woman is three which when compared to their nutritional status is a much higher one. The study also observed that the gap between each birth is 2.2 years, which is less than the gap stipulated (3 years) by the health authorities. Child bearing imposed additional health needs and problems on women, physically, psychologically, and socially. The complications of pregnancy, childbirth and illegally induced abortions in areas where environmental and health conditions were adverse had resulted in further aggravating the health status of the women folks in these hamlets.

Anthropometric Index of Tribal Women:
It is known that weights before and during

pregnancy can have a direct bearing on the birth weight of the offspring. Women among the less privileged communities are malnourished and their dietary energy intake is not adequate enough to compensate their heavy physical workload. Height was measured with the help of tape to the nearest 0.1 cm and weight was measured using *Kurups Scale*. Body Mass Index was calculated using the formula mentioned above. Knowledge and practice of tribal women on maternal nutrition was collected with the help of an interview schedule. Weight, height, body mass index which affect maternal as well as child health when checked against Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) standards, is lower for all categories i.e. pregnant women, non-pregnant women, lactating, and non-lactating women.

Table 4: Details Regarding the Maternal Weight

Weight (in Kgs)	No. of Respondents
Less than 40	31
40 – 45	13
45 – 50	5
Above 50	1

The Table 4 shows that majority of the women studied had weight below 40 kg. This low weight causes toxemia, malnutrition, low-birth-weight baby, parental mortality, and poor lactational performance. Nutrition also affected lactation and breast-feeding, which were the key elements in the health of infants and younger children and a contributory factor in birth spacing (Basu 1993). Generally, these tribal women belonged to the lower socio-economic strata due to which they were not able to increase their food consumption during lactation period. Since low maternal weight is an indicator of maternal nutritional status, one can assume that poor energy intake in pre and post pregnancy stages has a greater impact on the weight of the future generations (Taneja and Saxena 1998).

Table 5: Details regarding the Maternal Height

Height (in cm)	No. of Respondents
Less than 140	14
140 – 145	16
145 – 150	10
150 – 155	6
Above 155	4

ICMR reported that the height of Indian reference women was 151 cm, but in this study as followed by various other studies, 145 cm is considered as the minimum standard prescribed for a woman. The distribution of tribal women according to height is given in Table – 1.5. If less than 145 cm is taken as a cut-off point for short stature then more than half of the tribal population (59%) can be categorised as suffering from malnutrition. Prenatal mortality and prematurity rates were found to be high among short statured women. But if you take the standard prescribed by this study, it was observed that 41 percent of the population had better height standards.

BMI is now being increasingly used as a measure of nutritional adequacy in adults, and is considered to be a better indicator of chronic energy deficiency. It is also a good index to assess the current forms of malnutrition in a community. BMI values indicated higher prevalence of various forms of malnutrition among the women.

Table 6 : Classification based on Maternal BMI

BMI Values	No. of Respondents
0.00 – 16.0	10
16.0 – 17.0	14
17.0 – 18.5	11
18.5 – 20.0	12
20.0 – 25.0	2
25.0 – 30.0	1

The Table 6 shows the distribution of BMI of tribal women. Using BMI less than 18.5 as the criteria for Chronic Energy Deficiency (CED) 60 percent of the women were found to be suffering from various degrees of CED. It means that the situation in the tribal context is very delicate and dangerous in terms of women’s health, which in turn has its impact on child survival. Various studies had pointed out that the incidence of low birth weight (2500 gms) was highest in the CED – Grade III or severe group (<16.0 BMI), and gradually declined as the BMI status of mother increases. It was also reported that the incidence of low-birth-weight, which is an indicator of “Intrauterine Malnutrition”, is higher among mothers with a low BMI status (Taneja and Saxena 1998).

Pollution in the Tribal Hamlets

Out of the houses surveyed, majority of the respondents lived in thatched houses, which is typical of the tribal culture. We also noticed the emergence of terraced houses in these areas, which were constructed by the funds provided under the Peoples Plan Campaign. Majority of the households did not have any separate kitchens. Generally a corner of the household is earmarked for cooking purposes. Food is cooked with simple triangle shaped arrangements made out of pieces of rock. The emission of large amount of smoke conveys that there is imperfect outlet which finally results in an increased emission levels in the house. It was also observed that only 2 percent had made provision for smoke outlet in their house. Indoor air pollution is a greater threat to health than outdoor air pollution. The use of biomass fuels, such as wood, dung, agricultural waste and coal, as cooking fuel is the principle cause of indoor air pollution. The smoke from biomass fuels is a complex mixture of aerosols, which contain significant amounts of carbon monoxide, suspended particulate matter and hydrocarbons. The “Rule of 1000” states that a

pollutant released indoors is 1000 times more likely to reach people’s lungs than a pollutant released outdoors, since it is released at close proximity.

Figure 2: Fire Triangle



Fire triangle illustrates that for oxidization, there is a need for three elements, heat, fuel and an oxidizing agent which is normally oxygen. The most prominently used and abundantly available fuel in the forest area is Biomass. Biomass fuel is any material derived from plants or animals, which is deliberately burnt by humans. The study noticed that cow-dung which lies in the lowest rung of the energy ladder is not used in the tribal hamlets as the source of fuel. More over as the study area is located in the midst of dense forest; there is abundant supply of plant residues and wood. The study also noted that the fires in traditional stoves and the smoke associated with them often have considerable practical value in the tribal hamlets. It is considered as a tool for insect control, which had various scientific justifications as well. During rainy season, the smoke is used as a source for preserving the dryness or even drying the collected wood for future uses. Normally the tribal hamlets

are thatched with fresh palm leaves, which are then dried from the smoke produced during cooking. It is believed that artificially dried leaves last longer and is durable than dry leaves.

Table 7: Grading of Pollutions in Households

Grades of Pollution	Percentages
Mild Pollution	19
Moderate Pollution	33
High Pollution	48

Source : Sredha, Trivandrum.

For a proper analysis of pollution, one should not only consider the level of pollution found in the house, but also the duration of exposure as well. This can be measured either directly through personal monitoring or indirectly by combining information on pollutant concentrations in each environment where people spend time with information on activity patterns. The study observed that on average tribal women spend about 5 hours during the daytime and another five hours in the nighttime for cooking purpose. Pollution intensity during the nighttime is very high due to low level of air circulation and further enhanced by the moisture content in the air. Because of their customary involvement in cooking, women’s exposure is much higher than men’s. Young children are often carried on their mothers’ backs while cooking is in progress and therefore spend many hours breathing smoke.

According to WHO estimates, the smoke from household biomass (made up of wood or crop residues) stoves within a three-hour period is equivalent to smoking 20 packs of cigarettes. The study also quoted that pregnant women cooking over open biomass stoves had almost a 50 percent higher chance of stillbirth. Moreover, studies had shown that the incidence of anaemia among the tribal communities is very high. Anaemia makes a

person more susceptible to carbon monoxide toxicity, which is one of the main pollutants in the biomass smoke. All these along with the inaccessibility of modern medical facilities further aggravate the nutritional scenario in these areas.

We also found households were animal, fowl and human beings living under one roof. Only less than one percent of the sample taken for study had separate sheds for animals. Dilapidated, crowded housing has long been cited as one of the factors responsible for the socio-economic status gradient not only in the child health but also on the family as well. These conditions lead to increased illnesses and other injuries. Moreover, it also has adverse effect on the intellectual development of the children. About 83 percent of the house surveyed did not have ventilation and in any construction plan regardless of the fact that it is traditional or modern, cross ventilation is suggested which will ensure free flow of fresh air. Poor housing and overcrowding combine to make the population living in such settings especially vulnerable to communicable diseases. Damp housing also harbours household mites and encourages the growth of mould, making the inhabitants susceptible to respiratory problems, especially wheezing. Damp housing is also thought to contribute to rheumatism and arthritis, although the evidence is not conclusive.

Intervention Strategies

The main aim of any intervention strategy is to reduce indoor pollution without any adversely affecting safety, efficiency and environment. Exposure can also be reduced by means of improved stoves, better housing, cleaner fuels and behavioural changes. Finally the acceptance of the intervention strategy will depend solely on the cost/affordability factor of the new methodology. Though one can observe large-scale strategies being adopted in various countries like India and

China whereby improved chullas were distributed to rural and impoverished communities, yet due to lack of effective monitoring had resulted in the slow death of these programmes.

The Government of India through Agency for Non-Conventional Energy and rural technology (Anert) had tried to popularise the concept of energy efficient chullas. This programme is being under taken by the Agency for Non-Conventional Energy and Rural Technology (Anert) in Kerala. As in any other new programme, the easy way to achieve the acceptance of the population is to the supply them at a reduced price. With this view in mind, the government had adopted the subsidised programme. Self Employed Workers (S.E.W.s) were given training by these agencies for undertaking the installing of these chullas in households. The study observed that due to the euphoria created by media and the SEWs some of the households had accepted the chullas. But when the utilisation was analysed, it was found out that only 7 % of the households are interested in using the chulla. There was also lack of optimum utilisation, which had even negated the very objective of not only protecting the health of women but also in protecting the environment as well. It is suggested that proper follow up along with the awareness of the products should be provided to the tribal community which looks suspiciously towards alien products.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Indoor air pollution is a major public health hazard particularly among the poorer sections of the society. The greatest contribution to this burden results from childhood acute lower respiratory infections. The incidence of the adverse impact of indoor pollution should take into consideration the number of pollutant related diseases like Acute Respiratory Infection, Tuberculosis, Bronchitis, Asthma etc.

To eliminate this silent-killer, government and other non-governmental organizations should encourage the use of improved chullas through a government-subsidized programme. Through the People's Plan Campaign, the governments impart awareness regarding the advantage of cross ventilation in the construction of houses. In the tribal areas, kitchen should be separated from house and stove should be kept at a raised platform to reduce the exposure by leaning over fire. It is also suggested that effective drying of fuel wood, good maintenance of chimneys etc can go a long way in reducing the adverse effects of indoor pollution.

Though the initiatives towards reduction of exposure related diseases had given us only mixed results, yet the effectiveness can be further enhanced through imparting the awareness to public towards silent killer – Indoor-Pollution. The intervention strategies should take accounts various aspects like household energy supply, energy efficiency, affordability and finally its effect on the environment. Effectiveness of theses intervention strategies can only be judged through a grassroots level study involving various stakeholders. Finally, it is also necessary for the policy makers and planners to have a clear understanding of the correlation between poverty and fuel pollutants before they embark on any intervention strategy.

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New Discourse in Gender and Local Governance: A Comparative Study on Sri Lanka and India

D Parimala

Those societies which have given equal access to women and men in economic and political opportunities have progressed much faster than those which denied such access. Gender equality is a necessary condition for sound human development.

Mahbub ul Hug

Abstract

Since women's wider participation in politics is essential for the strengthening of democratic processes and the polity, political movements of different sections of the people have an important responsibility to ensure that women are able to participate in the arena of active politics. So without reservations no political party will voluntarily make any substantial increase in the number of women candidates.

Introduction

The last four decades of the previous millennium were the 'assertion of the subordinated masses'. People across the world started their fight against all kinds of oppression and assert their rights in every spheres of life. The most significant progress of this assertion was the gender empowerment. For the first time in history, women as a community organized themselves to demand their rights in socio-cultural, political and economic domain. Since the 90's, the South Asian countries started the simultaneous process of globalization at one hand, and development and governance on the other to address the issue pertained to the empowerment of women as well as the oppressed sections of the society.

Moreover, women's empowerment is not and can not be separated from the empowerment

of marginalized people. Centuries of women's struggles are and should be linked to working class movements, human rights movements, ecology movements, peace movements and movement for democratization and decentralization of the society.

The empowerment process begins with a method of understanding development to address the various issues like devolution of power, representation of gender and subordinated social groups, especially on decision-making, implementing bodies/institutions. The understanding of any problem with the gender point of view is a method of approach to life and politics. It is a way of asking questions and searching for answer. It is because; women are applying their personal experience to transform the social relation. The existing discourses on development have three gender perspectives approaches – women in

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development, women and development and gender and development. For a better understanding of these approaches, we would discuss them briefly.

Gender and Development (GAD)

Among these approaches, GAD had contributed immensely to gender analysis. This is an organized approach for examining factors related to gender in the entire process of development programme. As for gender is considered a 'social construct' and is determined by the societal structure. Indeed, it understands the gender values and practices, to know how societies are organized; how they function and their potential for social change or transformation. Gender analysis is an insight into power relations – man/women, privileged/deprived and urban/rural dichotomies.

Primarily, GAD recognizes the differences and also makes difference in management of resources, approach, perception and budgeting. In this pattern, women draw connections between their personal experiences and political generalities, about the oppressions of women, while reflecting on their personal experience to develop those generalities. They came to understand their experience, their past, in a way that transforms them for a change. By working out the links between the personal and political, and by working the links between daily life and social institutions, they have begun to understand reality as a social process, the product of human activity.

Here, the question is not merely concerned with a fair/equal representation but is intended to change and transform the oppressive social system through political participation. Emergence of this dialogue lay down the foundation for the emerging new approach to perceive the development process.

Governance

World Bank defines governance as an "exercise of political power to manage a nation's affair." Governance as a concept has become familiar in the recent past, particularly during the transitional phase of globalization. Governance is defined as "a search of ways and means of managing the affairs of the state." Also explained as "a reflection of the role of the state in giving directions to the development of the country and the political regime which they derive from the role which the state assigns to itself." It is essential to differentiate between "Government" and "Governance." Government refers to formal structures; Governance refers to the political management of civil society as a whole and includes Government. The main point of dissent amongst the students of governance is about the role of the state. Some have wished to retain the primacy of the state action; others emphasize the importance of the citizen and the civil society in governance.

The crisis of governance today emanates from two basic sources at the national level- the over extended role of the state; and the incapacity of the institutions of governance to perform all the necessary functions. There are (a) excessive public corruption (b) poor public services with respect to power, water supply, sanitation, law and order, etc. (c) low credibility of the political class and the civil services.

Good governance generally implies citizen's participation in decision making and implementation processes. Good governance could be ensured through decentralization and greater citizen's participation in managing everyday affairs, federalism and multi-level democratized governance with devolution of powers to the lowest levels of elected bodies. The affair of the state thus must be so organized that the common citizen derives the maximum benefits.

There are five important features in the discourse of governance (i) Accountability (ii) Transparency (iii) Public Participation (iv) Legal protection of citizens rights (v) People friendly civil service. Emphasis must also be laid on increasing transparency in government, which will help in reducing corruption.

Gender and Governance (GAG) in Development Discourse

GAG is composition of both (GAD & WAD) discourses. It is a new discourse that has been emerging through various interventions made by the state, civil society and the International community at different levels. It illustrates the intricacies of Gender and (local) Governance in terms of development, and their significance.

A handful of women in the region have achieved fame, as political leaders. In recent years, political parties in India have also come alive to the strengths of the women's movement and of increased female voter turnout during elections. National as well as regional political parties across South Asia have also had women leaders in top party positions (see table 1). Nonetheless, political parties have not necessarily given adequate number of positions to women in their hierarchies. Women account for only 9.1 per cent of the membership of all executive bodies in the major political parties of India. Recently, the Indian National Congress is reported to have decided to reserve one-third of the executive positions in the party hierarchy for women. South Asia also has the lowest rates of women participation in their governing structures. For example, in South Asia:

- Women occupy only 7 per cent of the per cent of the parliamentary seats;
- Only 9 per cent of the cabinet members are women;

- Only 6 per cent of positions in the judiciary are held by women;
- Only 9 per cent of civil servants are women;
- Only 20 per cent members of local government are women.

(Figure shows, in the decision making forums in South Asia, Women share the smallest piece of the pie.)

The Major objective of the paper is to identify the inter – linkage between the emerging development discourse in the context of gender and local governance; to understand the grass root democracy and the decentralization of power and help documenting the best practices promoting good governance and women's political participation; to analyze the constraints and problems faced by men and women in the electoral process in Sri Lanka and India.

The role of women participation in the entire governing institution in South Asia: particularly in India and Sri Lanka;

Women hold the top positions in major political parties of the region, yet these powerful positions have not translated into positive outcomes for the majority of South Asian Women. Most political parties do not even maintain data of their female membership and few women are granted party tickets for elections. In some countries women are more visible in local governance structures than in any other governing institution. Most gains have been made in India, where one third of the seats in panchayats are reserved for women. However, gender bias pervades at all levels of governance in South Asia, which may be one of the reasons for the region's governance crisis.

Governing institutions

Decision-making has traditionally been regarded as a male domain in South Asia. Often using customs and traditions as a tool, women have been sidelined from most of the decision-making processes. While the past few decades have witnessed an improvement in the status of women, *especially for the urban middle class women who have a degree of freedom in making decisions*, for the majority of South Asian women such freedom remains an elusive dream. This lack of liberty is a tradition that is rooted in the home and the community, where male members maintain strict control over decision—making and follows through to the highest levels (of national legislatures and parliaments).

Parliaments

Female participation in South Asian parliaments is abysmally poor. Despite the fact that four out of seven South Asian countries have had female Prime Ministers or heads of state at one time or another, female participation in Parliaments remains very low. The 7 percent participation rate of women in the parliaments of South Asia is one of the lowest in the world. The other countries where female representation is as low or lower than that of South Asia are the Arab Countries.

Over the past decades, there has been some progress, but it is uneven. For example in India the number of women in the Lok Sabha (lower House of Parliament) has increased from 22 to 48 in the past fifty years, but it represents less than 9 percent of the total strength of the Lok Sabha. In Sri Lanka today, women constitute 4.9 percent of the Parliament. Pakistan and Bhutan at 2.6 percent and 2 percent respectively, are at the lowest rung of women's Parliamentary representation.

While one of the first South Asia female Prime Ministers was Indira Gandhi, the women of

the India have only recently seen a shift in the attitude of politicians towards them, as an electorate and as election candidates. Female representation in the Lok Sabha has remained around 7 to 8 percent during the past four elections. After the general elections of 1984, the proportion of women in the Lok Sabha rose sharply from 5.1 percent to 8.1 percent only to decline to 5.3 percent in the election of 1989. Since then, the number of women in the Indian Lower House of Parliament has been increasing steadily. However, it remains much lower than 33 percent, the critical mass of women required for meaningful decision – making strength, as expressed in the Convention for the elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

India has never had reserved seats for women in its national legislature, and without reservation or some other affirmative action policy, it will be a long time before 33 percent of parliamentary seats are occupied by women. There has been a lot of debate on this issue and the consensus of women's groups is in favour of reservation. India's successful experience at the grassroots level has helped to strengthen the case for reservation. But the Bill for reservation has not yet been passed by the parliament.

The major problem is not with reservation itself but with the rules and regulations for it. Currently, 50 percent of the constituencies return the same candidate to the Lok Sabha in successive election. The reservation bill proposes rotation of reserved seats that would undermine the chances of winning of political candidates. It is mainly because of this reason that there is such strong opposition to the Bill. Other possible drawbacks are discussed below.

Sri Lanka has no specific constitutional guarantees for women's representation in governing institutions. The constitution states that there should be no discrimination on the basis of

gender, and no reservations have been made for women in the Parliament or local governing bodies. In Sri Lanka, both the president and Prime Minister are women. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, has been the President of the country since 1994. In 1999, she was reelected to the office. Sri Lanka has the honour of being the first country in the world to elect a female Prime Minister. In 1960, Sirimavo Bandaranaike was elected as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1956 to 1959) propelled her into politics. Her party won the general election in 1994 as well, and she is currently finishing another term as Prime Minister. Despite this, at 4.9 percent, the proportion of women in Sri Lanka's Parliament remains well below the world average. Today, Bangladesh is the only South Asian Country that can boast a proportion of female parliamentarians at par with the world average.

It is the only country in the world where the both leader of the parliament and leader of the House are women. From its very inception the Bangladesh Parliament has had a policy of encouraging women's participation in public policy – making. According to clause 65 of the Bangladesh Constitution, fifteen seats were reserved for women candidates who were to be indirectly elected by members of Parliament. This clause did not exclude women from contesting direct election for the 300 general seats. The provision for reservation of seats for women was made given the social impediments against women contesting elections openly with men. It was expected that due to Clause 65, the rate of women's participation in public affairs would increase and that eventually there would remain no need for the clause.

There is a need for a critical mass to be created at all levels of governance, so that women are given the opportunity to voice their needs and

concern; to contribute to policy. Reservation is only a stepping stone and the first step toward election through direct franchise. It is not the end, but the means to an end, and one that may be the only way to ensure the future of female political empowerment in South Asia.

The experience of female parliamentarians in South Asia has been mixed. Their limited representation in national and provincial legislatures has meant limited participation as well. There are many laws and practices across the region that continue to discriminate against women and are justified in the name of culture or religion. Such discrimination has been allowed to exist because women parliamentarians continue to be a minority. Further, guided more by party ideologies than specific women's issues, female Parliamentarians' opinion have also differed on various issues. In some instances, national issues have taken priority over women's issues. For example, in Sri Lanka, while there have been several initiatives for women's development, women's issues have not received the attention they deserve because of the continuing civil strife in the country. However, it would be incorrect to say that female parliamentarians have not been vocal about women's issues. There are instances of female parliamentarians taking up women's issues even when the initiative was not forthcoming from their parties. Aided by women's lobby groups, they have played a very crucial role in advocating women's rights. It is in large part due to their efforts that women have had some form of representation in the governing bodies, and that women have been protected from some of the more discriminatory practices.

In the Indian Upper House of Parliament, the *Rajya Sabha*, female representation declined between 1980 and 1999 from 12 per cent to 8.5 per cent. Currently, there are 20 women in the *Rajya Sabha*. While the Deputy Chairperson of

the *Rajya Sabha*, Najma Heptullah, is a woman, women face increasing competition from male politicians for nomination to the *Rajya Sabha*, especially since political parties prefer to give seats to their important members who have lost in the general elections. More often than not, these important members are male.

Similarly, women politicians in Pakistan have faced a hard time being nominated to the Senate. Since members, of the Upper House of Parliament are nominated through an electoral college composed of members of the national and provincial assemblies, women have very little chance of being elected, given the underlying patriarchal attitudes. In 1977, 3 of the 63 members of the Senate were women. This was the highest number of women in Pakistan's Senate. Ironically, after the 1988 election when there were 24 women in the National Assembly, only one woman was elected to the Senate. In the election of 1985, no woman had been elected to the upper house. Similarly in Sri Lanka, while the Upper House of Parliament was abolished in 1971, only 6 women were elected to it in the twenty-five years of its existence.

In Nepal, by contrast, there are proportionally more women in the Upper House of Parliament than the Lower. Women have fared better in the National Assembly (Upper House), whose members are elected by the in 1960 to 12 in 1999, overall female representation remains particularly low at only 5.3 percent.

Cabinet

Female representation in South Asian cabinets is also negligible. Currently, only 9 percent of Cabinet Ministers across South Asia are women (see table 8.2). A problem faced by female Ministers all across South Asia is that they are seldom appointed to Ministries that are normally

considered high powered or influential. Social welfare related Ministries are generally assigned to women Ministers. For instance in 1999, the only woman member of the Council of Ministers, Nepal's highest executive body, was a State Minister who held the portfolio of the Ministry of Women and Social Welfare.

In India, the first woman Cabinet Minister was Mrs. Indira Gandhi who was appointed Minister for Information and Broadcasting. In 1966 when she became the Prime Minister, no woman was appointed to her cabinet. During her time as Prime Minister, the two significant contributions made for women were the introduction of Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (1972) and the Equal Pay for Equal Work Ordinance (1976). In 1969, a woman was appointed to the Ministry of Social Welfare, she was India's second female Cabinet Minister. Since then women have been consistently present in the Indian Cabinet through the social welfare portfolio. Women ministers have also been appointed to urban development, external affairs, and youth and sports portfolios.

In Pakistan, only six women have been appointed to cabinet in 53 years. Of these, two were appointed after the 1997 election, as Minister for Women's Development and Youth Affairs and Minister for Population Welfare and a third as Special Advisor to the Prime Minister. Currently, Pakistan has a woman Minister for Education.

Few women have been appointed to the Sri Lankan cabinet. From 1960 to 1994, there was consistently only one woman in a cabinet of more than twenty men. At present, there are four women in the cabinet, including the President and Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. The other two female cabinet ministers have been given charge of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Ministry of Social Services.

In Bangladesh, two women were appointed as State and Deputy Ministers within the cabinet after independence in 1971. Over the years, while professionally competent women such as Barrister Rabeya Bhuiyan who has held the post of a State Minister for Women's Affairs, have been appointed to the cabinet, they have been given fairly low-profile portfolios in the Children and Women's Affairs Ministry or the Cultural Ministry. However, by virtue of being Prime Minister, both Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina have retained control over Defence, Information and the Cabinet Division during their respective governments. Currently, of the four women in the cabinet, two have been given important portfolios of the Minister of Agriculture and the Minister for Environment. Both these women have had long political careers and extensive grassroots experience, which has enabled them to influence policy.

No South Asian woman has yet held a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or a Ministry of Finance portfolio. Since women ministers are generally assigned less influential portfolios, they have little influence in decision-making. The tragedy of the female parliamentarian or cabinet minister is that even women in influential positions, have tended to focus on "national" rather than women-specific issues.

Provincial Level

In the three South Asian countries with state or provincial legislatures, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, women have generally fared better in the national legislatures as compared to the sub-national. The overall female representation in provincial or state legislatures remains less than that in the national assemblies (see table 3). In India, however, female representation in some states such as Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, is either higher than or at

par with the national level. For instance, in Kerala women currently occupy 9.2 per cent of the seats in the state legislature. Similarly, in Delhi (National Capital Territory) female representation is as high as 13 per cent. However, in the remaining states, the average proportion of women is about 5 percent. In some states such as Gujarat, Bihar and Orissa, it is as low as 2 or 3 percent.

In Pakistan too, the proportion of women in provincial legislatures is very low. Prior to 1990, when seats were reserved for women in provincial assemblies, the number of women legislators had reached as high as twenty-seven in the four provinces combined. During the next election, with the removal of the quota for women, however, the number of women plummeted to only five, declining further to three in the following elections.

Provincial councils were established in Sri Lanka nearly twelve years ago in response to the escalation of ethnic violence. The third phase of election for these councils was held in 1999. Women hold between 2 and 3 percent of the seats in these provincial councils. However, given the constitutional structure of these councils, one of the major disadvantages has been the ease with which seats can be transferred to other people. While this is not common practice, after the elections of 1999, two of the successful female candidates stepped down to give their seats to their husbands. On the positive side however, these elections also saw a greater number of women contesting provincial council seats. Nearly two hundred women announced their candidacies for the 1999 elections as compared to only twelve in the previous one. Furthermore, a woman's group also contested elections as members of an independent group. Despite the fact that they failed to win even a single seat, it illustrates that increasingly women are realizing that if there is to be any solution to their issues and concerns, they must participate in the decision-making process at every level.

Local Governance

Organization at the grassroots level allows people to contribute significantly to the governance of their communities. For women, successful grassroots experience has, meant a chance to form a coherent voice, to be heard and to make a difference in their communities. Across South Asia, the experience of women in local government has varied, with some countries being more successful than others in attaining greater female participation.

Sri Lanka's current system of governance consists of three tiers – the Muncipal Councils, Urban Councils, and the Pradeshiya Sabhas. While the total membership of these councils exceeds three thousand, less than 3 per cent are women. In the last local bodies' elections, held in 1997, only one woman was elected Mayor of a Municipal Council.

In the province of Jaffna. Unfortunately, in 1998 she became the victim of political assassination. In the Urban Councils, while there are currently two female Vice-chairperson, women occupy none of the 36 posts for Chairperson. At present, three of the Chairpersons and two Vice-Chairpersons in the Pradeshiya Sabhas are women.

Despite this, women represent only 1.72 per cent of the total membership of the Pradeshiya Sabhas. Recently the government has put forth a recommendation for fixing a quota of 25 per cent for women in local government.

Female participation in political parties: In Sri Lanka, the main political parties also have women's wings, but membership in these wings remains low. Funding and infrastructure for these wings are minimal. Women related activities of these wings remain sporadic and confined mostly to mobilization of women for political purposes.

Similarly, the Indian Constitution embodied itself to bring a socio-economic and political transformation. The initiatives of empowering women and the subordinated masses are reflection of its democratic spirit and commitment. Especially, the 73rd 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts provide for an opportunity for women's entry into political spheres. These Amendment Acts provide for a 33% reservation of seats for women in the governance of local bodies (Rural and Urban) with aspirations of good governance and fair representation in the development process at grass-root level. The most significant aspect is that the gender representation in the decision-making has been taken into account. Good governance needs both participatory and equal/fair representation at every stage of policy-making and implementation. It is also the central component of democracy. Although the Acts have enabled around 7.95 lahks women to participate in the PRI as member, sarpanch and chairperson throughout the country for more than five years.

It is well established that constitutional support and legislative measures are necessary for bringing about social change, but they cannot achieve the goal single-handed. Conscientious efforts are required to strengthen and consolidate them for meaningful empowerment.

The Growth of Indian Women Performance of Involvement in Public Decisions

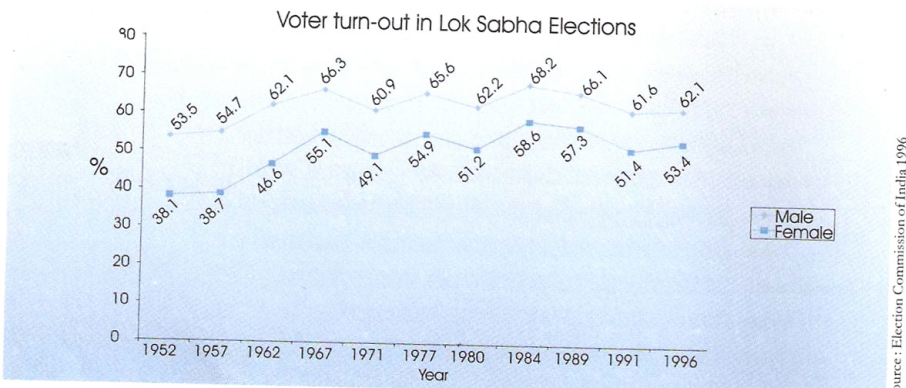
India has a proud record of democracy – there have been 13 occasions since Independence when the country has gone to the polls to elect a new government. Women gained voting rights at Independence, and over the years, the number of women voters has shown a steady rise. While the participation of women remains lower than that of men, the gap has reduced from 16% to less than 10% in the last four decades. In the 1999 Lok Sabha elections, 58% of women voters exercised their franchise.

Table 1: Women Leaders of Political Parties in South Asia

India	SoniaGandhi (Indian National Congress) Jayalalitha (AIADMK) Lakshmi Parvathi (NTR Telugo Desam Party) Mayawari (Bahujan Samaj Party) Mamta Banerjee (All India Trinamool Congress)
Pakistan	Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan People's Party) Ghinwa Bhutto (PPP-Shaheed Bhutto)
Bangladesh	Shaikh Hasina (Awami League) Khaleda Zia (Bangladesh National Party))
Sri Lanka	Sirimavo Bandranaike (SLEP)
	Chandrika Kumaratunga (SLEP)
	Sirimani Athulathmudali (DNULF)

Source: Gopalan 2000; Guhathakurta 2000; GOP 1999; and Javawardena 2000

Figure 1: Voter turn-Out in Lok Sabha Elections



Source: Election Commission of India

A large number of women participated in India's freedom struggle, many in positions of leadership. However, women's participation in political life has been declining steadily since Independence. Increasing violence in public life is the reason, offenly quoted to explain this

decline.

The representation of women in the Lok Sabha has basically remained stagnant, after a high of 8.09% in 1984. The stagnation is even more visible in most of the State Assemblies.

Table 2 : Women’s Presence in the Lok Sabha

Year	Seats	Women MPs	% Women MPs
1952	499	22	4.4
1957	500	27	5.4
1962	203	34	6.8
1967	523	31	5.9
1971	521	22	4.2
1977	544	19	3.3
1980	544	28	5.2
1984	544	44	8.1
1989	517	27	5.2
1991	544	39	7.2
1996	543	39	7.2
1998	543	43	7.9
Average	527	31	5.9

Source: Election Commission of India

Table 3: Representation of Women in State Assemblies (% Women MLAs)

State	1952	1960-65	1970-75	1979-83	1993-97	1998-99
Bihar	3.6	7.9	3.8	3.7	3.4	-
Uttar Pradesh	1.2	4.4	5.9	5.6	4.0	-
Rajasthan	0.0	4.5	7.1	5.0	4.5	7.0
Kerala	0.0	3.9	1.5	3.2	9.3	-
West Bengal	0.8	4.8	1.6	2.4	6.8	-
Andhra Pradesh	2.9	3.3	9.1	4.1	2.7	9.5

Source: Election Commission of India

Women’s low participation in politics does not seem to have any direct correlation to literacy, if one were to go by the figures for Rajasthan and Kerala, which have the lowest and highest literacy rates respectively. Women’s overall social position also does not seem to be a determinant – Kerala and Manipur, with strong social traditions of

women’s equality, have less than 10% women in their legislatures.

In spite of the fact that most of the national political parties have stated in their manifestoes that they support reservations for women in Parliament, but very few women candidates are actually nominated.

In the 1999 elections, out of a total of 4,000 candidates, only 280 (6.5%) were women. In a significant number of cases, women candidates complained that they were fielded in “losing” constituencies where the party was in a weak position and male candidates were reluctant to contest. However, an analysis of the results of the 1999 general election shows that women have a definite “winning edge”.

Apart from political parties and Parliament, women are also seriously under-represented in other spheres of decision-making. In a country like India, this seems paradoxical – on the one hand, women have moved into the professions and civil services in far higher numbers than in other South Asian countries. On the other hand, their entry into the upper echelons seems to be restricted by a glass ceiling.

Table 4: Party-wise Representation

Party	Women Contestants (as % of total contestants)	Women Elected (as % of women candidates)	Men Contestants (as % of total contestants)	Men Elected (as % of men candidates)
BJP	7.4	60.0	92.6	53.2
Congress	11.0	28.0	89.0	24.8
Other Parties				
Fielding women candidates	7.2	22.2	92.8	17.3
Independents	4.0	1.3	96.0	0.3

Source: Election Commission of India

Table 5: Women in Decision-making

Institution	Women	Men	Women as % of Men
Executive bodies of political parties			9.1%
Cabinet Ministers	8	76	10.5%
High Court judges	15	488	3.1%
Civil Services			6.8%
Executive bodies of trade unions	6	108	5.6%

Source: South Asia HDR, 2000

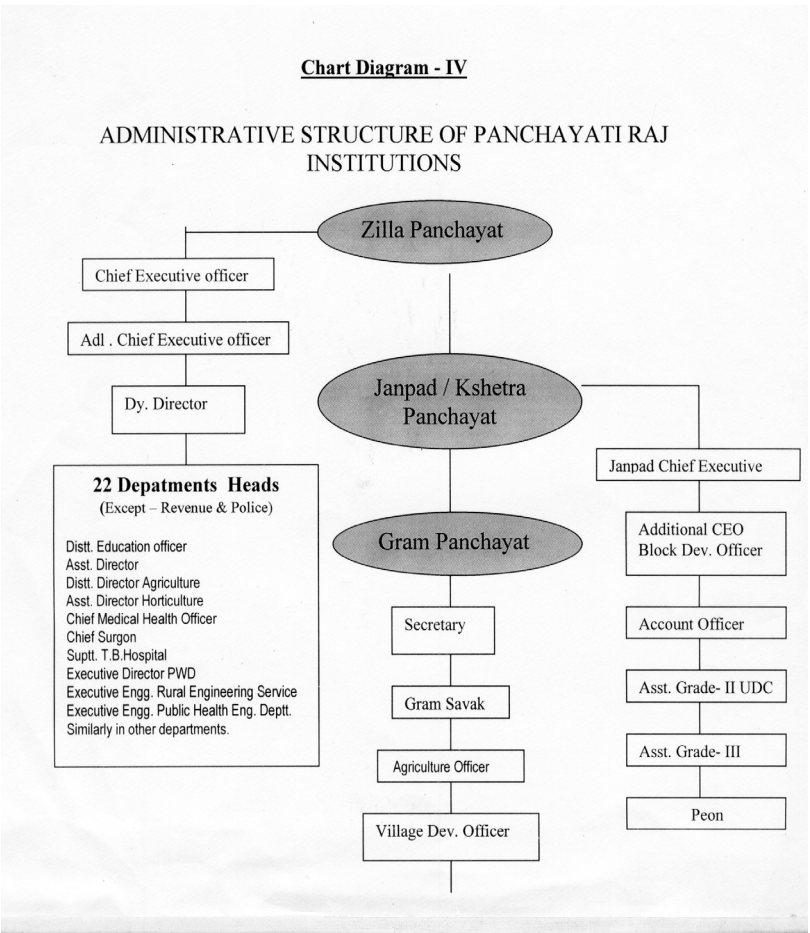
Reservation for Women

The Constitution (81st Amendent) Bill, drafted in 1996, proposes the introduction of reservations for women in the Lok Sabha. The Bill has the support of a wide range of women’s groups and women politicians across party boundaries, but has faced equally strong opposition on a number of counts.

One objection is that a quota system would benefit women from the privileged classes and

castes, and further marginalize women from oppressed groups. The rotating lottery system envisaged for the reservation of seats has been criticized on the ground that it violates basic principles of democratic representation by forcibly unseating one third of candidates. This system also implies that no politician would be able to seek reelection twice in succession from the same constituency, thus making it difficult for elected representatives to nurse their constituencies and build a strong political base.

Figure 2: Structure of the Local Governance in India



An alternative approach that of party-based quotas, has been proposed by an independent coalition, the Forum for Democratic Reforms. This would involve an amendment to the Representation of the People Act, 1951, to make it mandatory for political parties to nominate women candidates in one third of the constituencies, including reserved constituencies. Parties failing to meet this obligation would be penalized by withdrawing recognition to two male candidates against a shortfall of every women candidate. The alternative Bill also proposes amendments to Article 80 and 171 of the Constitution to allow for reservation for women in legislatures and the Rajya Sabha.

Local governance in India and Constitutional Amendment Acts of 73rd and 74th

The Indian Constitution embodied itself to bring a socio-economic and political transformation. The initiatives of empowering women and the subordinated sections of the society are the reflection of its democratic spirit and commitment. Especially, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts provide for an opportunity for women’s entry into political spheres. These Amendment Acts provide for a 33% reservation of seats for women and marginalized people in the governance of local bodies (Rural and Urban) with aspirations of good governance and fair representation in the development process at grass-root level. The most significant aspect is that the gender representation in the decision – making has been taken into account. Good governance, being the central component of democracy needs both participatory and equal/ fair representation at every stage of policy – making and implementation.

Although, the Acts have enabled around 7.95 lakhs women to participate in the PRI as members, sarpanches and chairpersons throughout

the country for more than five years. It is well established that constitutional support and legislative measures are necessary for bringing about social change, conscientious efforts are needed to strengthen and consolidate them for meaningful empowerment. The question is whether an intervention like the constitutional amendment is able to contribute to women’s empowerment or if the patriarchal structures, manifested in the household and the state, will continue to dominate.

The reservations in Panchayats have provided a possibility for erosion of traditional (gender, caste, class) roles and hierarchy but it is a long and difficult process. Women in India not only have to fight for their right to be more than proxy members but also to break the barriers of gender based division of labor, illiteracy, low level of mobility, seclusion, lack of training and information, which continue to exist. Women’s low self-esteem at the household level and their new role in local politics where they are now expected to function as leaders that create a contradiction between women’s role at home and in Panchayats.

The Panchayati Raj Act provides for –

1. It provides for direct election to all seats of the Panchyats at the village level, to the body at intermediary. (Block samiti and Zila levels).
2. Provides fixed tenure of 5 years, with the next elections to be held within a period of 6 months.
3. It provides for a compulsory three- tiers system in all the states, except where the population does not exceed 2 million people.

The Act is most significant for reservation for women, SC& ST this provision may be summarized as –

1. Not less than 1/3rd of the seats will be reserved for women (including that of SC & ST) and

- these may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies of a Panchayat.
2. In proportion to the total population of the area, seats will be reserved for SC & ST. There would be reservation for women in these seats allotted to SC & ST.
 3. Not less than 1/3rd of the total no. of seats for the offices of the chair persons at each level would be reserved for women rotated among different Panchayats at each level.

If utilized fully, as many as 8,00,000 women including those belonging to SC&ST can become panches and sarpanches.

New Discourses

Women are coming forward, contesting reserved seats (33%) in local elections. There has been steady increase in number of women contestants. The women empowering has improved in India the following ways:

1. Their participation in setting the agenda for their own and others development rather than merely getting on such agenda.
2. Their socio-political advancement.
3. Increase in their number and participation in decision making positions and political roles.
4. Combine multiple strategies that go beyond politics into social and psychological, cultural and familial, economic and careerist and policy making and implementing levels.
5. Strategies should aim to reach beyond women – to men.
6. Ending their insulation by domestication.
7. Breaking their isolation imposed by social-cultural bass cades.
8. By unifying them though common interests.

9. By organizing them a basis of mutual trust.
- The low participation of women in elections both as voters as well as candidates is due to :**
1. Women are not independent voters.
 2. Majority of them are illiterate.
 3. Majority of them make their choice on the basis of suggestions from male members of the family – husband & sons.
 4. Women lack information and political awareness.
 5. Women are not politically conscious.

The political parties are reluctant to give tickets to women because:

1. Party’s imperative to select a winnable candidate.
2. Gender bias is society.
3. It is assumed that patriarchal attitude of majority of voting electorate would vote for a man rather than a woman.
4. In India, caste, religion, traditional patterns of voting and personal strength of candidate are important factors for selecting a candidate for elections. And women who are new entrants seldom find place in the overall matrix of these criteria.
5. Women have lack of finances and experience, and cannot finance their campaigns.
6. Political parties assume that women are generally unaware of the happenings beyond their local areas, of their legal lights and responsibilities and dynamics of the political process.
7. Women lack mobility and interaction with male counterparts, since all economic, financial,

- commercial and political negotiations conducted outside the home are by males.
8. Opposition within parties – they feel that most women do not qualify on merit.

As mentioned earlier, it has been observed that women are linked normally to welfare issues (called women’s issues) than development. India is one of the first countries to enact legislation to create opportunities for women’s political

participation at the grassroots. The 73rd and 74th Amendments have resulted in the entry of nearly a million women into panchayats and local bodies. At the national level, more than a third of these women are chairpersons of panchayats at different levels. There are some surprising variations across States, however. For instance, West Bengal does not have a single woman as chairperson of the Zilla Parishad, and has a lower proportion of women chairpersons at other levels as well.

Table 6 :Women in Decision-making Positions in PRIs

State	% Women as GP Chairpersons	% Women as PS Chairpersons	% Women as ZP Chairpersons
Andhra Pradesh		33.76	30.00
Himachal Pradesh	36.62	31.94	33.33
Karnataka	33.33	33.71	35.00
Madhya Pradesh	38.66	26.80	37.78
Manipur	33.13		50.00
Uttar Pradesh	33.81	41.29	30.26
West Bengal	4.62	3.00	0.00
INDIA	40.10	33.75	32.28

Source: Government of India

- There have been several studies and assessments of the impact of women’s entry into panchayats. The results seem mixed. A number of factors continue to constrain women’s participation in panchayati raj.
- “No confidence” motions are being used to overthrow women chairpersons who assert their control over panchayats. The vice-chairperson, who is invariably a man, then takes over the chair.
 - Women members are also vulnerable to violence, which is used as a means to restrict their participation.

- Lack of political experience and public skills have fettered women’s potential.
- Women have to constantly struggle against attempts at co-option by powerful men.
- Women’s participation is hampered by their dependence on their wages, and the fact that they have to carry the burden of household work and survival tasks.

Claiming Political Space

It has taken time for women to translate their numerical strength into active participation, but wherever this has happened, the results have

been startling. Women have prioritized issues of health, education and access to basic services, and have often been able to ensure a significant change in living conditions for the entire community. The all-women panchayats in Maharashtra, Gujarat and West Bengal have been recognized and commended for their exemplary work. In many areas, elected women have built strong networks with women's groups and have been able to spearhead significant changes in the functioning of panchayati raj institutions.

An increasing number of Indian women are pushing against the "glass ceiling" in the corporate sector, challenging the norms and procedures that perpetuate their exclusion from the highest levels of decision-making.

In the sphere of governance, Karnataka has made a significant breakthrough with an all-women team at the top – the Governor, the Chief Secretary and the Mayor of Bangalore are all women. The recent appointment of a women Foreign Secretary is another welcome sign of change.

Women in Local Government Politics in Sri Lanka

The recognition of the right of every citizen to participate in public decision is a basic element of democracy, which to being effective, requires the needs and interests of all members of the society are respected and represented. Women in South Asia are marginalized in decision making and leadership by a variety of processes that begin in infancy. In contrast to boys, girls are encouraged to play passive roles and given little opportunity to make decision or develop leadership skills outside the family context.

The early system of local government was characterized by the delegation of authority to local political institutions and the decentralization of

administrative arrangements through a hierarchical system of local government structures, reaching down to the smallest unit of the village. There was no system of representative government. Initially the colonial powers used the traditional local government structure as convenient administrative tool. But from 1965 onwards the British began to set up local bodies, where the elective principle was gradually introduced.

At the time of Independence in 1948, they bequeathed to Sri Lanka a system of local government consisting of 4 types of authorities i.e. Municipal Councils, Urban councils, Town Councils and Village Committees (later known as village council), based on the principle of elections. Universal adult franchise was known to Sri Lanka since 1931.

In post colonial Sri Lanka, the successive governments have been called upon to address the demands of ethnic minorities as well as to deal with the task of raising the living standards of the people throughout the country. Provincial Councils were established in 1987, but elections held in 1989 could not be conducted in the predominantly Tamil ethnic areas of the North and East. In 1993, elections were held in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka but in the North it remains outside this framework.

The Municipal and urban councils have been allowed to continue but the Town and village councils were brought under a common system of Developmental councils in 1980. This scheme was specially faulted for its abolition of village councils, often considered to have been the training ground for future politicians of national standing. Another area of concern was the absence of an institutional framework for village-level mobilization for socio-economic development. District Development Councils were critiqued for the lack of adequate arrangements for the supply of Local utilities.

The main concern of Municipal councils and Urban Councils is public health, environmental sanitation, public works etc.

Pradeshiya Sabhas

They play a catalytic role in the developmental strategies of the government and it is responsible for formulating policy and approving plans and programmes submitted by organizations such as the

Gramodaya Mandalas for the development of the area.

A major criticism of the above system was the absence of government at the village level i.e. absence of people's participation through their representatives in any assembly below provincial level.

The above criticisms resulted in a four-tiered structure of local government in 1981.

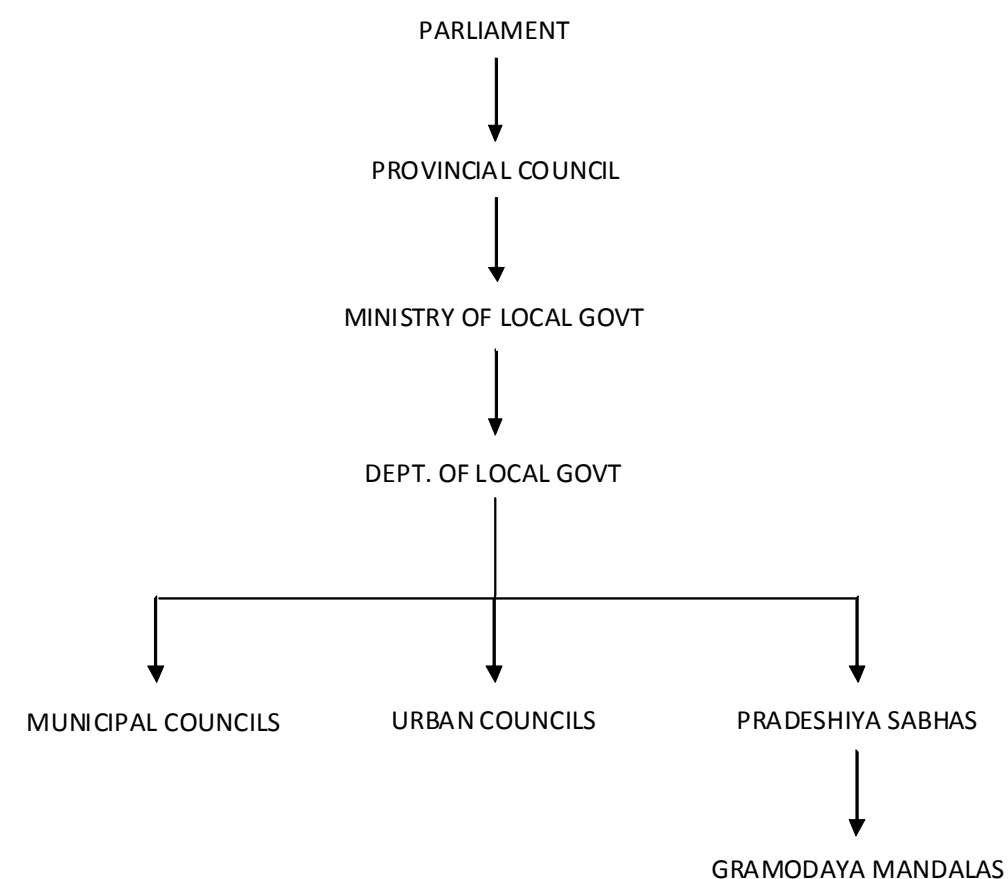


Table 7: Status of Women’s Participation in Politics (India and Sri Lanka)

INDIA	SRI LANKA
1. RAJYA SABHA (Upper House)-There has been decline in percentage of women members from 12% in 1980 to 10.3% in 2004.	1. Upper House was abolished in 1971 but there were only 6 women members in 25 years of its existence.
2. LOK SABHA (Lower house) - In 2004, women were 8.8% of the total number of members.	2. Women's representation in the lower house has declined from 5.5% in 1989 to 4.4% in 2004.
3. CABINET – First women cabinet minister was Mrs. Indira Gandhi (as Minister for Information and Broadcasting). In 1966, when she became Prime Minister, no woman was appointed to her cabinet. In 1969, a woman was appointed to the Ministry of social welfare. Since then, women have been consistently presenting themselves in the Cabinet thorough less influential portfolio like social welfare and have never been assigned important portfolios like finance.	3. From 1960 to 1994, there was consistently only 1 woman in a Cabinet of more than 20 men. In 1999, there were 4 women in the Cabinet, including the President and Prime Minister. The other two female cabinet ministers had been given charge of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Ministry of social services. At the recent elections in April 2004, there were 337 women candidates but only 9 were elected to the Parliament.
4. STATE LEGISLATURE/PROVINCIAL LEVEL – Women representation in Kerala is 9.2%, in Delhi it is 13% and 5% in Himachal Pradesh (in 1999). So, female representation is higher in these states than at national level. In Gujarat, Bihar and Orissa, women presentation is 2-3%.	4. Women hold 2-3% seats in provincial councils. Greater number. Of women are contesting now, 200 women contested in 1999 and 337 women in 2004. There was also an independent group of women in 1999.
5. LOCAL GOVERNANCE – 73 rd and 74 th constitutional Acts were passed in 1992. 33% reservation of seats in local bodies (rural and urban) called SILENT REVOLUTION.	5. Local Governance works at 3 levels (consist of three tiers) Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and Pradeshiya Sabhas. While total membership of these councils exceeds 3000, less than 3% are women. In the local bodies elections in 1997, only one woman was elected Mayor of a Municipal Council. Cabinet has approved in principle, the reservation of 33% of seats in local authorities for women.

In South Asia, Women participation in parliaments of South Asia is only 7%.

Women form about 50% of Sri Lanka’s population and they are more disadvantaged than men. Sri Lanka was the first country to elect a woman Prime Minister Bandaranaike, in 1960. She was re-elected to the post in 1970 and later served the legislature as leader of the opposition. Her daughter, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, who became PM in 1994 has set another record by making Sri Lanka the only country which has elected two women Prime Ministers.

These events may suggest that ‘Women in Politics’ in Sri Lanka are safe and well. However they are only symbolic of the potential of Sri-Lanka Women-situation of the ground is somewhat depressing.

The Major Constraints to the Women’s Low Participation in Politics

The barriers have largely to do with the culture of politics in Sri Lanka which tend to marginalize women.

1. Women have reached near parity in educational attainment. However, there is a hidden curriculum in schools where gender role stereotypes are inculcated. In vocational education there is a gender differentiation of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ skills for the two sexes. As a result boys and girls grow up with notions of separate spheres which do not augur well for participation in public affairs.
2. The dominant ideology that prevails in society, dictated by the main religious traditions of the country and its cultural ethos, supports the subordinate status of women. The belief that women belong to the private sphere of the home and family and that should operate in

the public sphere of political leadership is very pervasive. Women in politics are perceived as deviant from cultural norms.

3. One of the factors which deters women from facing the hosting is violence, this can be both physical and mental. Character assassination of the rival candidate has been part and parcel of the Sri Lanka election scene and very few women can withstand such pressure.
4. Patriarchal norms have socialized women to prioritize their domestic roles and most women place motherhood, wife-head & home-making above public office. There is a class factor that becomes evident in the combination of roles. The affluent in society have access to domestic help and they are not burdened as much by multiple roles.
5. The work of a politician can be very time consuming, and multiple roles are a severe impediment to women & participation in politics.
6. They have limited access to economic resources unlike the men who are familiar with the world of finance which they dominate. Political, social and professional networking among them makes necessary for women to depend on men for financial arrangements. The cultural prejudice against women in politics limits their ability to raise funds.

Access to training and apprenticeship in politics is not available to those women who operate outside powerful family networks. Although women’s wings of political parties claim to conduct training programs for would-be politicians, they seem to get activated only on the eve of an election.

Let us consider the situation in other South Asian countries:

Bangladesh

Prior to 1975, there were 300 seats in the National Parliament out of which 15 were reserved for women. Post 1971, 30 seats out of 330 have been reserved for women. The Pourshava and city corporation Ordinance (1998) reserves 1/3rd of the total seats for women at the local level. National policy for advancement of women was adopted in 1997.

In 2004, percentage of women in the Parliament was 2%. Every political party has a women's wing to encourage women to join politics at the national and the local levels, NGO's, women's organizations and civil society organizations have been active in this regard. Gender training is conducted in the National Institute for Local Government for women commissioner, government officials etc.

Bhutan

There has been an increase in the percentage of women representatives. In 2003, 14 of 99 selected representatives were women and one of the six advisory councilors was a woman. There is no quota for women candidates at the National level. There is no quota for women candidates at the Local level. Women, children and gender constitute an important area in the 9th five year plan, 2002-2007. Percentage of women in the Parliament in 2004 was 9.3%.

Maldives

Women are eligible for candidature to all elected and public bodies except for the Head of the state. Women are next represented in the Maldives Chamber of Commerce. There is no quota for women candidates at the national and local levels.

Gender Management system was introduced in 2001. Percentage of women in the Parliament in 2004 was 6%.

Nepal

A democratic constitution was put in place in 1991 under which it is mandatory to nominate at least 5% of women candidate for the House of Representatives, the lower House and at least 3 women in the upper House. In 2004, percentage of women in lower House was 5.9% and 9 women (15%) in the Upper House. The Government of Nepal passed the local self-Governance Act in 1999 which foresees at least 20% representation of women in local bodies. The Tenth Plan, 2002 envisages 20% of female participations in decision making at all levels.

Pakistan

33% of seats are reserved for women in the National Assembly.

17 out of 100 seats are reserved for women in the senate. The Devolution power plan reserves 33% of seats for women at the local level. In the six provinces, 17% quota for women is applicable. Election law Quota was passed in 2002 and Devolution power plan was adopted in March 2000. In 1990, women constituted 2% of the National Assembly, and this went up to 20.8% in 2004.

Local Government Need Reform in Sri Lanka

Local government (LG) is an important institution of governance in Sri Lanka. Perhaps more than any other tier of government, it affects the lives of people at a personal, day-to-day and grassroots level. Sri Lanka's LG has a proud and long history. Some of the institutions of local government such as the Colombo and Kandy Municipal Councils have histories that date back to mid nineteenth century. They were the nurseries that nurtured incipient democracy and self-government in Sri Lanka under British colonial rule.

Local government in Sri Lanka would however appear to have been, in the post-independence period, to use a widely quoted observation, 'in the doldrums'. The Central Government has always operated its policies and programmes through the administrative apparatus rather than the elected local bodies. The local bodies have been restricted in their scope to the provision of a few services and facilities only, and are not empowered to undertake significant measures for the economic organization and upliftment of the areas with which they deal. Around two-thirds to three fourths of their revenues are expended on meeting administrative costs, leaving them dependent on grants from the Central Government for development activity.

LG in Sri Lanka has been the subject of several official reviews. The structure has also been reformed periodically, the latest being the abolition of village committees and town councils that were replaced with Pradesheeya Sabhas. However, many reforms suggested by successive investigative commissions have not been implemented. In order to understand the current malaise in local government and the possibilities of overcoming it, it would be necessary to understand the political and other resistance and blocks to local government reform.

Following parameters should to be taken into consideration to make reforms:

Political and Structural Reform

- Pradesheeya Sabha/UC/ MC structure to be replaced by City Corporations with enhanced powers.
- Outdated boundaries (2001 Census can be used to redraw boundaries).
- The relationship between LG and the Central Govt, and LG and Provincial Governments.

- Inadequate powers for local bodies (for example – a lack of involvement of local bodies in development planning for their areas of authority)
- Reform of system of elections (there is very broad agreement that the current proportional representation (PR) system with the entire LG area considered as one common electorate must be replaced with the wards system that existed before PR was introduced in the early 1980s; more women representation in LG)
- Achieving a much more satisfactory gender balance than what prevails at present in the representation on LG bodies.
- Administration-civil society-citizen interaction (new mechanisms to give the civil society/citizen a greater voice in the conduct of LG affairs)

Functional Reform

- Poor quality and inadequate urban services
- Needs-based and resources-based planning and plan implementation capacity
- Environmental issues in LG (Technical capacity in Sri Lanka's LG to tackle environmental problems is woefully inadequate)
- Administrative reform that would improve efficiency through use of e-government

Resources

- A variety of funding problems related to taxation powers; central and provincial grants, examples of these problems include: poor cost recovery; outdated property tax system, perverse incentive in scheme of grants from the Centre and the Province – current revenue grants are linked to revenue gaps and not to revenue performance; insufficient funding for infra-structure development.

- Ineffective management.
- Human resource development (low level of skills and training are considered major stumbling blocks to make better performance in SL LG sector).

The Resources for Local Government and Devolution of Administrative Authority

For both men and women of the villages to participate in self-government, the requisites should be:

- o Local governments should be endowed with sufficient political and administrative power, authority and scope.
- o Financial resources and areas of jurisdiction need to be widened and assured.
- o Democratic decentralization in planning, administering, and monitoring devolution of power and self-government.
- o Local governments should not be merely reacting to the ways in which the programmes are being currently implemented by the local level bureaucrats, with orders/instructions coming from officials at district level and above.
- o Transfer of some of the development programmes that are being currently administered by the state though the block level. i.e. Jawahar Rozgar YoJana (JRY) has been transferred to the local governments with 80% grants going to the local government.

Strategies for Action

1. Creating awareness for their growth & development.
2. Continue (or create) quotas at sub national and national levels.

3. Increase women's engagement in developmental decisions and conflict resolution.
4. Strengthen mechanisms for legal and political literacy.
5. Encourage decentralization as gender sensitive.
6. Enabling women wherever they have been elected to perform their roles effectively as members/chairpersons etc at different levels.
7. Mobilizing rural women to participate in the Panchayati Raj election in great numbers, as both candidates and as voters.
8. Providing mechanisms like committees where women can participate, not merely in matters relating to mother and child welfare, but also in other developmental areas and decision making/management details.
9. Giving Political Education –
 - a. Education on polities, legislation and the day to day procedures of the broader political and panchayat system. Information about their constitutional rights and duties, powers, developmental policies and programmes.
 - b. Specific orientation or training in carrying out their functions, particularly their relationship with village, block and higher level bureaucracy.

10. Political Training

11. Providing support services like:

- a. Resource centre. A common meeting ground whereas educative and informative material on various issues from one's body to the body-politic are provided. It could act as the resource center for skill training,

non-formal education, child care and general relaxation.

- b. Political literacy and Training manual – formations of grass-root level organizations, NGO's, govt. can play a role – to provide political education and training.

Recommendations

The broad principles on which state policy should be formulated have been spelt out in the above section of the Women's Charter.

1. The state should introduce laws and regulations to make the principles of the Women's Charter a reality.
2. The state should take affirmative action to make the nomination process at local government elections more equitable by stipulating at least 40% of the candidates to be women.
3. Political parties need to be sensitized to train and nominate more candidates for local government elections. NGO's and the Women's Bureau should play an active part in such awareness raising programmes.
4. School curricula and vocational education which bolster gender role stereotypes should be changed, so that girls can grow up with the necessary confidence to take up public roles.
5. Attitudinal change has to be brought about among both men and women regarding the eligibility, capability and desirability of women in the political decision-making process. A long-term strategy should be worked out by the Committee on Women's Affairs. Women's organizations should play a major role in this endeavour.

6. National NGO's should spread out more and more to the villages in order to engage women at the grassroots level in their activities. This will motivate more women to take up decision-making roles and to contribute to the political processes at local level.
7. Men and women should be sensitized regarding a more equitable distribution of work in the domestic sphere to free up time for women to have the option of engaging in public affairs.
8. Infrastructural arrangements which can ease the multiple burdens of women should be augmented, i.e. creches day care for the very old and the very young and homes for the elders.
9. Rural hospitals should be upgraded and developed in order that women's domestic work will be reduced by the institutional care of the sick.
10. Women should be provided with easy access to fuel and water, the collection of which is today the most time-consuming tasks for rural women. Rural electrification should receive speedy attention.
11. The state should ensure that elections are held in a non-violent and secure atmosphere.
12. Effective steps should be taken to minimize alcoholism in the society. Both domestic violence and election related violence stem from excessive consumption of intoxicants.
13. There should be controls in respect of election expenditure so that women can compete on equal terms with men for political office.
14. The *Gramodaya Mandala* system should be revamped to make it more representative, while retaining some of its healthy features

such as formal association with local-level voluntary associations. They can be co-opted with voting rights. Local-level women leaders can make a contribution to political decision-making in this way.

Conclusion

Since women’s wider participation in politics is essential for the strengthening of democratic processes and the polity, political

movements of different sections of the people have an important responsibility to ensure that women are able to participate in the arena of active politics. So without reservations no political party will voluntarily make any substantial increase in the number of women candidates. Since the major change has taken place at Panchayat level. There is a positive assessment of women’s role at panchayat level in spite of the tremendous barriers which prevent their full participation.

Glossary for India

<i>Panchayati Raj (PR)</i>	:	A three-tier system of local self-government <i>in rural</i> areas, where the lower tiers at the village and block levels are controlled by the upper tier at the district level.
<i>Gram Panchayat (GP)</i>	:	Local government body of the PR system at the village level.
<i>Panchayat Samiti (PS)</i>	:	Local government body of the PR system at the block level (a block comprises 60-100 villages).
<i>Zilla Parishad (ZP)</i>	:	Local government body of the PR system at the district level holding control over the two lower bodies.
<i>Taluka</i>	:	a sub-division of a district.
<i>Maratha</i>	:	a dominant agricultural caste of Maharashtra. Among the sub-castes are the Maratha Kashtriyas claiming association with the warrior group e.g. Shivaji Maratha; Maratha <i>Kunbi</i> (agricultural <i>landowners</i>) and those belonging to the artisan and service sectors, e.g. shepherds gardeners, barbers, washermen.
<i>Jagirdar, Izzar</i>	:	Names denoting persons who were given possession of large portions of land.
<i>Sabhapati</i>	:	Chairman of the PS.
<i>Upsabhapati</i>	:	Vice-chairman of the PS.
<i>Sarpanch</i>	:	President of the GP.
<i>Upsarpanch</i>	:	Vice-president of the GP.
<i>Mahila Mtandal</i>	:	A Women’s Association.
<i>Shibir</i>	:	A Camp
<i>Beedi</i>	:	A locally produced cigarette with tobacco rolled in a dry leaf.
<i>Gram Sevika</i>	:	A village-level woman worker in charge of activities for woman and children.
<i>Mukhya Sevika</i>	:	A block-level woman officer in charge of activities for women and children, and for co-ordinating the work of gram sevikas.

<i>Sharada Utsav</i>	:	A religious festival specially celebrated by women in rural areas.
<i>Huldi Kum Kum</i>	:	A joyous get-together of women who greet one another by applying colored powder on each other’s foreheads as a sign of welcome. (kum kum means ‘Bindi’).
<i>Bhajan</i>	:	A religious song.
<i>Griha Kalyan Kendra</i>	:	A welfare centre to promote activities among rural women. A nursery school.
<i>‘Ho manner bai’</i>	:	A phrase in Marathi meaning a ‘yes’ woman.
<i>Shudra</i>	:	A person belonging to a low caste.
<i>Swaraj</i>	:	Hindi word for ‘self-government’.

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The Configuration of Masculinity in M. Mukundan's 'The Dance'

H Kalpana

Abstract

'The Dance' utilizes the archival Indian response to aestheticism, and eroticism as well as issues of body, and gender. Classical Indian thought as depicted in the Indian temple architecture and display had always seen gender as a unified notion and had located its functionality only in terms of the work men and women carried out. In erotic displays man and woman were not distinct and revelled as equal sharers of pleasure. Similarly performance of any kind had no divisions or distinctions. In a way 'The Dance' configures not only this classical androgynous Indian mind but also adopts the postmodern concept of body.

Studies and theories of feminism and in the recent past masculinity has highlighted the fact, that in the past two decades, gender studies has become an umbrella term to accommodate the studies in gender. Disappointingly, most of these studies are from the Anglo-American perspective, and another frustrating issue is the location of masculinity itself from an Anglo-centric attitude. The need of the hour is to use this critical theoretical tool to probe into a reading of Indian literatures and see how the foregrounding and arrangement of masculinity occurs in a fictional text. Of course, time and space restraints may not allow one to do a full-fledged study but one hopes through this essay to analyse and interpret the representation and the configuration of masculinity in M. Mukundan's short story, 'The Dance'. The article is tripartite with section one introducing briefly the complexity of the masculinity theory, leading to a critical analysis of Mukundan's 'The Dance' in section two and concluding with a final section which implements Connell's theory of social

structure of masculinity as explained in his seminal text, *Masculinities*.

1

Any study of masculinities leads to a number of questions with regard to not just the definition but also the derivations of masculinity. Masculinity is the key theory to read maleness in the academic field and yet its abstractness and diffuseness make it a problematic theory. *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Post-feminism* points out that [m]asculinity, in its definition of what is characteristic of or peculiar to men, has recourse to simple biological determinism, essentialising biological distinction, between the sexes." (270). In other words, the concept explains how dynamics of gender, sexuality, social roles and identifications are complex as well as the fact that though maleness is biological, masculinity is cultural. Beynon argues that "men are not born with masculinity as part of

their genetic make-up; rather it is something into which they are acculturated and which is composed of social codes of behavior which they learn to reproduce in culturally appropriate ways." (2) According to Beynon, masculinity, moreover, can differ based on field settings such as prisons, schools, etc. (2). One also needs to comprehend that the masculine need not always be associated with only men and women too sometimes could don the garb of the masculine based on the cultural/social/economic background that they may come from and vice-versa.

One knows that gender studies has been part of social science research and yet due to the politics of both feminism and queer studies till recently gender studies has found it difficult to accommodate such studies of men and women's relationships. Similarly, most social science research one notices has a favorable position with regard to male values. In such a case, one of the queries is how can a researcher hope to study masculinity, which is already a part of the dominant discourse. It is also to be noted that this sense of dominance is perceived as being homogenous for all masculinity is simply ascribed to the Anglo/European American model. It is, hence, essential to understand that masculinities may have a greater and broader scope as a system of scientific study or knowledge. This factor could also be the reason that a large body of work that focused on masculinity, had titles such as theorizing, constructing, deconstructing, rethinking, unmasking etc (*The Making of Masculinities; Constructing Masculinity; Dislocating Masculinity; Constructing and Deconstructing Masculinities through Critical Literacy; Unmasking Masculinity: A Critical Autobiography; Rethinking Masculinity Philosophical explorations in light of feminism*). These titles interestingly reflect studies in sociology, anthropology, philosophy etc and not so

much in literature. Although feminism has enlarged and embedded to some extent the lives of women through literary discourses, masculinity as yet seems to be more open to studies of culture and living, and has not been part of literary studies. Besides, masculinity has been employed to study beliefs, representations of life or differences between men and women or discussion of macho personalities rather than for studies of literary richness.

Masculinity studies, as most researchers, know does not mean to state that patriarchy is correct nor that macho-ness is correct. What masculinity studies tries is to rationalize and legitimize the value of patriarchy. Secondly, masculinity studies have, like femininity, developed in various cultures due to diverse changes in time and place. It is disturbing to note, that masculinity too is normally shaped, in all developing nations based on the images percolated from the developed nations. Connell substantiates this, when he points out.

On a global scale, the most profound change is the export of the European/American gender order to the colonized world. There is every reason to think this trend is accelerating. As the world capitalist order becomes more complete, as more local production systems are linked in to global markets and local labour brought into wage systems, local versions of Western patriarchal institutions are installed. (199)

He furthers this premonition with the idea that, "there is a prospect of all indigenous gender regimes foundering under this institutional and cultural pressure".(199) It is consequently interesting and pertinent to deal with indigenous productions and view how masculinity is shaped in the texts. Most often studies in Indian literature may provide a notion of masculinity that is different from the theoretical ideas put forth by Anglo-

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American and European scholars. It is also true that 'the category men' in the rich countries is not a homogenous group capable of deliberating and choosing a new historical direction. Definitely differences exist and yet most theories do not attempt to accommodate such differences. This definitely is recognized when Connell states "the meaning of masculinity, the variety of masculinities, the difficulties of reproducing masculinity, the nature of gender and the extent of gender in equality" (202) are to be taken note of.

2

'The Dance' is a postmodern narrative highlighting the lives of three men, Sreedharan, Agni/Baleshan and Patrick Rudolf. Sreedharan, a 48 year old man who has opened an email account, on hotmail, narrates the story. As the story progresses, Sreedharan informs us that earlier in the course of his work he had changed different places and occupied different addresses. However, this is the first time he has an address that is as simple as this: "But this time the new address in a single line, *sreedhartp@hotmail.com* was special." (16) Sreedharan also is not a great communicator and had always neglected writing letters to his friends/relations but now that he has an email id he thinks things would be different: "Rather the Hotmail address would. After all, didn't hot mails connect the White House and the Kremlin, when American warships set sail for Cuba, didn't Nikita Khrushchev use it to immobilize the Americans, long before Sabeer Bhatia connected the whole world with his Hotmail?" (16) Sreedharan's wishes are not fulfilled and he does not get any email from his kith and kin but gets a lot of junk mails which he cherishes for he thinks that "someone in some part of the world has thought about him." (17). He receives one fine day a test message from a person named 'Agni' and also learns through this email that messages received on the computer need not contain signatures.

Despite Sreedharan's attempt to place Agni in his repertoire of familiar names, he is unable to place him but due to the excitement of a new name, he replies and eagerly awaits a response too. With the advent of the computer Sreedharan also reveals to the readers that his life had now been totally enslaved by the computer, "Now it's the computer even before he brushes his teeth, has his coffee. Check inbox. Check yahoo news." (17)

A fortnight later, Sreedharan gets a reply from *agni@aol.com* who begins to narrate his story in fragments. As per the story, Agni @ Baleshan is a dancer who is an extremely dark man initiated by his father to the neighbouring 'kalari' where he commences to learn 'kalaripayattu'. The 'gurukkal' who teaches Agni is not only an expert 'kalaripayattu' expert but also an expert 'Kathakali' dancer,

... Without our knowing how or when, even as we learnt the flexibility of the body, concentrated on the adi and the tadavu, those techniques of offense and defense, those navarasas, along with the hand movements and mudras, the deeper significance of mind-body passed from him to us. 'Dance with your body as a whole,' he'd say often, 'not with your limbs alone.' Was it surprising then that we, the disciples, quite often felt the rhythm of the dance in our body. (21).

Day by day, the young man begins to venerate his body but as he grows up into an adult, he also realizes that he has no qualification to secure a job. Agni also mentions about his intimacy with Raji and the kinship he has with her. He becomes in the eyes of his father and the villagers a 'good for nothing fellow.'

Why don't you stay in the kalari itself, you wretch! Why do you come home? and what do you do except eat and fatten yourself? The food of four people fills your stomach. Twenty five

and look at you! Not a single paisa for the family yet. Will applying oil on the body and practicing in the kalari fill the bellies of your brothers and sisters? (23)

He then narrates his depressed dismal life in the village: "...I was already calling myself all sorts of names for being such a good for nothing, when people at home and the village begin cursing me. I felt like running away." (23) Once while practising he had abandoned his body from all shackles and had felt that his body "danced as if mesmerized making circles and squares and rectangles." (22) During this session of his dancing he noticed that a foreigner was watching him. This was Patrick Rudolf who was visiting Kerala from Europe. Later on, Agni forgets about this incident but one day he receives a cheque with a note in it: "The television people call me the fire of modern dance. Will you join me? I will make you a Lightning of Dance-Patrick Rudolf." (24). Agni decides to leave and his only feeling of misery is the parting from Raji. She is, however, nonchalant and simply states that she is going to anyway marry someone who is far richer and better looking than Baleshan. Thus Agni moves to Europe and becomes a part of Rudolf's dance team.

He learns in Europe that Patrick Rudolf's dance troupe lived and existed as a community and resorted to a communal lifestyle: "The dance troupe spent its days and nights in a spacious flat with a sitting room, a bedroom, eating, drinking, discussing, listening to music was done in that flat." (30) The dancers discussed not just techniques of dancing but also scientifically analysed body movements and its implications. Agni, gradually, begins to understand the meanings of words such as tempo, choreography, etc. and thus establishes himself amidst a new world of dancers and choreographers. (32) In the beginning, Rudolf does not allow him to participate in any of the programs, and he gets very upset with this seclusion. Rudolf,

conversely, points out to him that he is teaching him ideas of western dance and music and when he is ready he can start dancing. (33) Sreedharan gets caught up in the lifestory of Agni and even takes steps to find out on the net about Patrick Rudolf and his troupe. He also unconsciously begins to sympathize with Raji and empathizes with the various women that Agni describes now and then in his story. Sreedharan felt that "Agni was an expert storyteller. When he read what Agni had written about Imelda, he felt that Imelda would come running and sit on his lap." (37) He also gets to know of the homosexual relationship that develops between Rudolf and Agni. Agni furthers his story by narrating through the serial email various bits of his story, such as Rudolf's attempt at an opera, the failure of the opera, the breaking up of the dance troupe, Rudolf's disappointment, Rudolf's and Agni's trip to USA, their honeymoon in US, their travel back to Europe, the letter from Raji, the ignoring of it and the resurgence of the dance troupe. Agni also reveals that inevitably as days progress he had begun to love, Theresa Morena, a co-dancer. Agni in this new relationship wishes to move away from Rudolf and when Rudolf's troupe is invited for a programme at the Vienna dance festival, Agni who had always shared Rudolf's room desires to have a single room for himself. This is the first break in the relationship of Agni and Rudolf and after this then their relationship takes a downward plunge steadily. It worsens when Agni's photograph is published in a very renowned dance magazine:

Herbert Brosse's *Dance Magazine* is an authority on modern dance. It has shaped most of the famous dancers of the day. Patrick Rudolf had preserved all the issues of that magazine. In many old issues of the magazine, there were studies of his art, interviews with him and his photographs. But his photographs had never appeared on the cover. (54)

Knowing Rudolf's state of mind, Agni accepts a position in America and

contemplating on that momentous decision, he relives his whole life and makes two profound statements: "...In the kalari while sitting on the floor swabbed clean with cow dung, there was Raji's body for company. After leaving home I had Rudolf. Now Theresa. As I saw Raji, I see Rudolf and Theresa. As bodies." (57) He also mentions that it is only he who has changed while the town into which he had entered was still the same. Seeing the immigrants in the street he makes his second philosophical statement:

The only similarity between them and me was the colour of the body. They used their body like a polythene bag to fill with food. I created magic with mine. Perhaps it is my knowledge and capacity to convert similarities into differences and differences into similarities that helped me rise in life (58).

Rudolf ultimately commits suicide, as he learns that he has AIDS, and this affects Agni who realizes that he too may have contracted the same and he returns home. When he comes back he finds that the space of the 'kalari' is now transformed into a multi-storeyed shopping complex. He also meets Raji who is married to a businessman and has a daughter. Agni reveals to Raji that he has been infected with AIDS and he also puns on the word, "...But the name has a beauty. Doesn't aid mean help?" (72) Agni also narrates to Sreedharan at the end of his story that even after living abroad for a number of years he is still not beautiful: "I'm still crow black. Touch me and the finger will be blackened," (73) He then sends him a photo which to Sreedharan's disappointment turns out to be only an emoticon. Thus the story ends on a note of mockery.

'The Dance' is a male story-foregrounding continuously the male body at different spheres—private and public as well as transgressing boundaries. To analyse the story, some of the key concepts from Connell's theory of social organization of masculinity are utilised. The definition of masculinity in the story is neither essentialist nor positivist in nature. 'The Dance' does not draw on Sreedharan's/Agni's/Rudolf's essential maleness and instead positions the plot into exploring the body as a mere representation. Similarly it defies the positivist definition, because the story does not describe the pattern of men's lives in a given culture. It does not attempt to trace any structure of masculinity either in India/Europe. 'The Dance' to some extent seems to adopt the normative definition of masculinity of what men might be. (70). Normative definition of masculinity expects certain norms of masculinity and attempts to relate men with these patterns. This norm homogenizes Sreedharan and Agni as members of society who can earn a living and thereby take up the masculine power position of 'bread winners'. A good way to read the story is to utilize Connell's description of the semiotic approach to masculinity which renders the whole discourse exciting and challenging: "Semiotic approach abandon the level of personality and define masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinity is in effect defined as non-feminist." (70) In 'The Dance' the masculine is just a symbol and is not connected to the being. As stated by Connell "The idea that one symbol can only be understood within a connected system of symbols applies equally well in other places" (71). Thus, Agni's awareness of his male body is triggered by his performance, while Sreedharan's male body is located in the space of a normal middle aged officer. Both their masculinities are positioned by the interlinked symbols of their locations and

may tend to change in other locations or geographical boundaries.

The story's endeavor, to tell us the lives that the three men—Sreedharan, Agni and Patrick Rudolf—subsist indicates the practices that they adopt to live their lives and effects of these practices on their experiences, relationships and personalities. Sreedharan is an employed middle aged man who is having a regular, possibly a transferable job and who in an attempt to kill his boredom gets hooked to the computer. On the other hand, Baleshan/Agni starts his story by proclaiming that he is a name in the internet. He also subtly understates that the Internet provides him invisibility. So one assumption that can be made is that Agni may not even be a male.

My name's Agni. You know that. Is it my real name? A pet name? Isn't it complete?...After all, it is the Net that brings us together. One mistake, be it in case, punctuation, spelling and the Net will clam up. Do cast off all doubts. What you see is what you get. Trust me I'm Agni. The truth of the Internet (19).

Patrick Rudolf when located by Sreedharan on the Net is described as "The Fire-flame of Modern dance." It furthermore explains that Patrick is the only son of a German father and an Austrian mother, who grew up in Montpelier, the Dance City and that he was the first European to perform at the Kennedy centre (23). In 'The Dance' the everyday conduct of life atleast in the case of Agni, is organized and structured by the public stage where the bodies become symbols of an aesthetic environment: In one of the emails written to Sreedharan, Agni describes to Sreedharan about one such performance:

The next item was a solo dance by Rudolf to music he had himself composed. He had not used a single violin or any electronic instrument.

The instruments used were African, made of human bones and animal horns. The rich flowing music remained in the background for the whole ten minutes that Rudolf danced. In his skin tint leotard Rudolf appeared to be naked. The dance revealed the beauty and vitality of the male body. In the expression of the dance mind had been discarded and Rudolf was nothing but the body. The spectators watched spell bound. (44)

Gender, at least, in the case of Agni and Rudolf, is emphasized through the body, the body color, the movements of the body and the role of the bodies. The story illustrates this factor by using words such as liberated body; free-flowing bodies; and the black body. 'The Dance' also locates the act of performance as an exploration:

Like Lucinda, Rudolf not only specialized in a deliberate economy of expression and movement to fully explore what made dance, dance, but like her, he was trying to create a kind of geometrical architecture onstage. By exploring movement and space, the duo had actually managed to bring to life the latent beauty of diagonal movements (33).

Sreedharan too discusses his aging body at various times referring to the black patch beneath his eyes, his graying hair, etc. It must be noted at this juncture that Connell's theory of social structure works only partially and when the story is analysed by his three fold model of structure of gender, namely power, production and cathexis then there are problems. According to Connell, the axis of power is dominance and subordination. In the story although to some extent one can discuss this in the relationship between Patrick, a European and Agni, an Indian the equality of colour in performance overcomes this. Actually, the story significantly highlights this aspect, "Amidst a swirl of dancer bodies, my body stood out clearly, the darkness which no one wanted is now an asset. To

appropriate black, I had to borrow the eyes of white men.” (44)

Once again adopting production relations where gender divisions of labour plus economic consequences of gender division are discussed the story complicates the issue for production, labour and economy in the fictional piece are aesthetic or artistic values and statements like salaries/wages lose their meaning. Therefore, ‘The Dance’ proclaims that Agni who is jobless and seen as a burden suddenly becomes a man who is paid for his body and the performance of the body but not in his country but across the border in other lands. ‘The Dance’ also repeatedly tells you that there is no gender division of labour, in a dance troupe for all the members of the troupe are important. Even a single dancer missing will not help the dance to go on. Similarly, together the troupe acts as a union, but if it disintegrates then once again there is no union production. ‘The Dance’ points out, that the dancers and other artists were unionized, and had fixed themselves a minimum salary (33). In addition if one were to employ the notion of Connell’s cathexis, ‘The Dance’ does discuss homosexuality but this is not discussed as an act of coerciveness. The story, alternatively, implicates that Agni’s break from Raji is not melodramatic/sentimental and similarly Agni’s desire for Theresa is only for a certain period of time. Similarly, Sreedharan’s own infatuation of nude girls and soft porno on the net is only a pastime. Thus the fiction proves that desire here is momentary and is based on the particular second.

The story, thus, in a way overcomes western models of gender. In the western models of gender, the male is a voyeur of women but in ‘The Dance’ the voyeur is Sreedharan, a male, who gets sucked into the lifestyle or living of a AIDS victim. The autobiography of the AIDS victim is itself possibly an illusion as one cannot

connect the name Agni with a face, name, or identity. Moreover, Agni in the story adopts the role of a performer—a public performer enacting roles for the aesthetic appeal of a western audience as well as a private performer performing on the net—a story telling for the benefit of Sreedharan. Agni also shapes his masculinity as the story proceeds. He reveals himself as a physically fit man gaining pleasure from both hetero- and homo-sexual relationships.

The male body in ‘The Dance’ instead of displaying macho-ness/sexual vigour, as depicted in western academic studies reveals alternatively, a distancing from the corporeality of the body. The body, at no point in the story, is defined either by acts of daily biological functions/sexual desires. What is depicted in western feminist studies as objectification and possession, the gaze, the female body and desire are all substituted here by using maleness and masculine figures. In a way the story deconstructs the western feminist patterns. It also deconstructs notions of hegemony and patriarchy by simply thrusting away hierarchal structures and reveals all relationships be it Agni and Raji, Agni and Rudolf, Agni and Theresa, Agni and Melissa, Agni and Sreedharan as horizontal and parallel relationships. Quoting John Berger’s *Ways of Seeing* Fiona Carson in the section on ‘Objectification and Possession; mentions “A man’s presence was promise of power, whereas a woman’s presence implied self-conscious display, her sense of self split between the surveyor and the surveyed.” (121) In ‘The Dance’ one notices that in fact the man’s body is a sense of self-conscious display and yet the story also reveals that the body is no longer divided between the surveyor and the surveyed and is part of the single body—be it Agni/Patrick.

‘The Dance’ utilizes the archival Indian response to aestheticism, and eroticism as well as issues of body, and gender. Classical Indian thought

as depicted in the Indian temple architecture and display had always seen gender as a unified notion and had located its functionality only in terms of the work men and women carried out. In erotic displays man and woman were not distinct and revelled as equal sharers of pleasure. Similarly performance of any kind had no divisions or distinctions. In a way ‘The Dance’ configures not only this classical androgynous Indian mind but also adopts the postmodern concept of body. The body is no longer a puritanical being and is a place of liberation and freedom as revealed by Agni’s story. As Fiona Carson explains, the ideal body is sinewy, strong, androgynous and physically fit; conveying the hub of western cultural values such as independence, self-sufficiency, toughness, competitiveness, youth, and self-control. (127). Finally, however, ‘The Dance’ is able to configure the complexity of the body but in the process it appropriates the Indian dark skin into the European public space and renders magnificently not just a postmodern fluidity but also a postcolonial metaphor. Accordingly Mukundan’s story is able to transcend boundaries and position the Indian male in an alien land and yet at the same time is able to recover masculinity through the dark skin. ‘The Dance’ also develops a sense of intrigue and mystery by having identities that are fluid and dynamic and this diffuseness makes Agni invisible to us and Sreedharan as the story teller could also become inauthentic. To conclude, ‘The Dance’ de-genders notions of masculinity and recomposes it through a re-embodiment of newer subject positions for men. Thus, Mukundan ultimately leads us to a complexity of masculinity and also to a new

configuration of what could be masculinity with an Indian essence.

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Ramayana Story in Palm Leaf Pictures

Lalu S Kurup

Abstract

The Sanskrit literature that flowered after the vedic age were classified in to three major divisions - Ithihasa, Purana and Kavya. In ithihasas, Ramayana belongs to Parikriya. Like writing, Ramayana is the major theme of drawing also. Large number of illustrated palm leaf manuscripts which holding the story of Ramayana prove this. In Kerala, these valuable works were preserved in two major repositories - the Hill Palace, Ernakulam and the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram. The features of citraramayana, including author, date, content, style of drawing and all other details were briefly discussed here.

Introduction

Sanskrit literature that flowered after the vedic age was classified into three major divisions – Ithihasa, Purana and Kavya. According to

“Itiha aste asminniti ithihasah
purva vrttanta prachina kathayathoktam.”¹

Ithihasa means the written story that happened in an early time, in a proper order. In ‘Amarakosa’, Prathama Kanda defined epic as,

“itihasah puravruttam”²

From epics, the Indian concept of dharma, artha, kama and moksha were derived. The Indians find the values and ethics in their daily life from these poems. The definition of Tharantha Bhattacharya justified the above statement.³

In ithihasas, Ramayana belongs to Parikriya.⁴ Though Ramayana was created in India, the epic sails and reaches Java, Cambodia,

Thailand, China and Mangolia. Ramayana gave inspiration to the literary growth of India to a great extent. The story of Ramayana was re-produced in Mahakavyas, Attakkatha, Thullal, Kilippattu, novels, short stories, dramas and screenplays. Like the process of writing, Ramayana is a creative work involving drawing also. Large number of illustrated palm leaf manuscripts that holds the story of Ramayana proves this.

The Telugu version of Ramayana of the early 18th century is preserved in Hyderabad State Museum. Figures, costumes and ornaments in the manuscripts are adopted by the artist from the post Vijayanagara tradition. The Pahari Ramayana miniature series are less complex technically but there is delicacy in the outline and scheme of colours used. The drawings of Udaypur Ramayana believed to be drawn in the middle of 17th century are preserved in Bombay Wales Museum and Rajasthan Oriental Research Centre. The illustrated Ramayana manuscripts shelved in Kanoria private

collection in Patna and Varanasi Bharat Kalabhavan are also well known. There is no doubt that, these works took years for their completion.

During the colonial rule in India, valuable illustrated manuscripts including Ramayana found their way abroad and we were bereft of these priceless treasures. Some of them are found in the Freer Gallery, Washington and the British Library. By applying modern preservation techniques, IGNCA documented these manuscripts in 1386 slides. In Kerala, these valuable works are preserved in two major repositories - the Hill Palace, Ernakulam and the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the Kerala University, Thiruvananthapuram. The peculiarity of the palm leaf works in the Hill Palace is that, it only consists of the images of major characters in the Ramayana. The Citra Ramayana housed in the ORI and MSS Library of the Kerala University differs from all the above palm leaf works. The features of this work, including the author, date, content, style of drawing and all other details are briefly discussed here.

Citraramayana

Citraramayana is one of the rare palm leaf manuscript works which is shelved in codex no. 12308 in the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the Kerala University. This invaluable work which consists of 98 folios and each folio having a size of 34 cm in length and 5 cm in breadth was added to the collection in 1934. Except the last folio in this work, all the others were drawn on one side. The edges of some folios were damaged due to climatic conditions and insect attack. Some images were also damaged and lost their clarity. Folio number 34, 61, 62, 63 and 95 were some of the folios which were partially deteriorated.⁵ For drawing these pictures, the artist depended both Adhyathma Ramayana and Valmiki

Ramayana. It is estimated that, the artist used Valmiki Ramayana for drawing 96 sequences and Adhyathma Ramayana for the remaining 222 pictures. With the financial support of the Government of Kerala, in 1997, the publication division of the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library published this work in printed form.

Author of Citraramayana

It is very clear that, the author of this work was a skilled artist and was also interested in epics. He does not mention his name in any portion of this work. There was a colophon at the end of this work. It runs as follows:

“tasyaiva balakavi bimbali bhusurasya
sishyo asti ko api charanayudha nasadesyah
Kayasthakanvayabhavassa edekhakari
yasaiva pustakavarasya guorniyogat.”

This states that, he is the disciple of a Brahmin called Balakavi of Vadakkumkur, that he belongs to a Kayastha (scribe) family of Kozhimukku, and that he did the work at the direction of his preceptor. He does not reveal his personal name, but refers to himself as a native of Kozhimukku. This place is at Kuttanadu in Alappuzha district of Kerala. We can assume that, the artist also has drawn some other works. His style of drawing of Manthara and Hanuman in citraramayana were same in another pictorial work Rupaprasna.⁶

The Date of Citraramayana

Usually in palm leaf manuscripts work, details including the name of author, year of writing and various statements are found in the last part. Such colophon was also found in this work. But unfortunately, the upper portion including the date was damaged. We can read the remaining part as ‘ezhutittirtha pustakamidam’, which means, ‘the

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Figure 1: Jadayu Encounters Ravana



writing of this work was completed on⁶. Someone had added a caption note that, Kollam (Malayalam Era) 629 Makaram 7 that is A.D. 1453 and states that the information is gathered from the colophon of citraramayanam. Vasudevapothuval also agree with the year.⁷

Style of Drawing

In Kerala, the tender leaves of palm tree are cooked in a mixture of water, milk and turmeric paste. Then dried in shade and the process is repeated until they attain the expected yellowish colour and flexibility. The leaves in this work also come under these processes. For scribing images, iron stylus was used. The speciality of scribing on palm leaf is that, there is no chance for rubbing off or altering a line once incised on a palm leaf.

The artists followed an out-line drawing for the completion of the work which gives direct appeal to the imagination of the viewers. The line work is supposed to intensify the emotional appeal of each character in the story. We can see its extreme level in the portrait of the anger of Lakshmana, duel between Bali and Sugriva, war between Ravana and Jadayu (Figure 1), Sita's bereavement, fear (Figure 2) and application of Nagastra (Figure 3).

Figure 2: Sita in Fear



Figure 3: Meghanada binds his enemies with Nagastra, the Coiling Serpent Missile

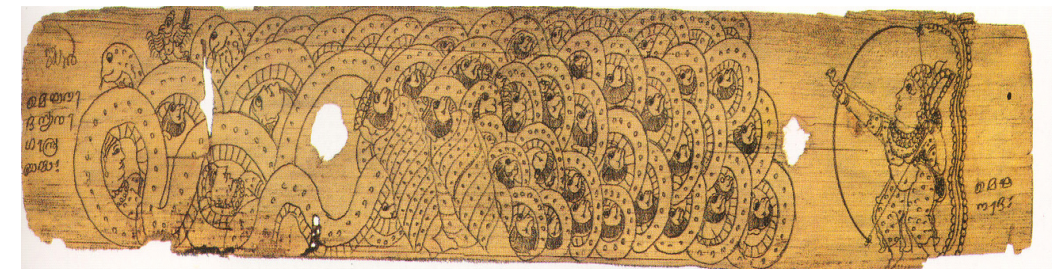


Figure 4: Sumitra bestows her blessings on Lakshmana



In Citraramayana, the artist beautifully pictorised the essence of Valmiki Ramayana,

“ramam dasaratham viddhi
mam viddhi janakatmajam
ayodhyamadavim viddhi
gaccha tata yatha sukham”

(Figure 4)

From this work, it is very clear that, the artist was greatly influenced by Kathakali and mural arts.

Landscapes in Citraramayana

Without nature, man's life becomes very difficult. His life's journey begins and ends in nature. Nature which became a part of happiness and sorrows of human life can be seen in Ramayana, Sakunthalam and Mekhadutam. The artist of Citraramayana portrays the same nature in the source text. We can see the beauty of nature in more than 80 sequences of this work. The scenery which depicts the journey of Rama to

Midhila and Dandakaranya were portrayed. The garden of Lanka (Figure 5) and the trees and climbers in Citrakuda (Figure 6) were also beautifully pictured.

Figure 5: Hanuman destroys the garden of Ravana

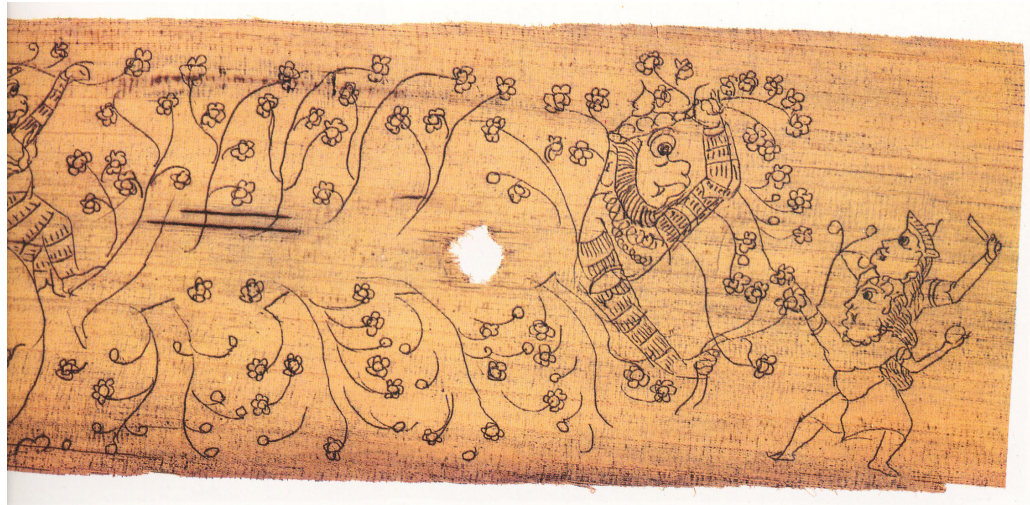


Figure 6: A scene of Mount Citrakuda



Captions in Citraramayana

In Citraramayana, the author gave notes to 114 pictures. For writing these notes, Malayalam and Sanskrit were used. The first 22 notes were written in Malayalam and the others were in simple Sanskrit. From this, it is very clear that, the author

of these captions were not the same person. The writing style too clarify the above statement (Figure 7 & 8) The letters in the notes were more or less same to modern Malayalam script. It shows that, today's concept of the origin of modern Malayalam script was not so correct. Dr. Vijayan in his article also favours this statement.⁸

Figure 7: Writing Style-1



Figure 8: Writing Style-2



From Figures 7 & 8, the difference of writing styles is very clear.

Kerala in Citraramayana

Though Citraramayana followed the style and story of Adhyatmaramayana and Valmiki ramayana, a number of factors in the day to day life of Kerala influenced this work. We can see locally used boats of Kerala, traditional ornament box, drum and oil-lamps in this work. The work followed the hairstyle of women in Kerala.

Conclusion

Though the scholars have different opinion about the author and the date of Citraramayana, they unanimously admit its glory. This work is a wonder in pictorial art and it opens up more than one new field of enquiry for scholars. Therefore, it is very clear that the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the Kerala University took a priceless effort for publishing Citraramayana in printed form.

Notes

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- Based on the Importance of hero in theme, ithihasa was classified into two category - Parikriya and Purakalpa. If an ithihasa contain only one hero it belongs to Parikriya and more than one belongs to Purakalpam.
- The major sequence among these folios were the death of Jadayu, Rama’s entry to Lanka and ordeal of Sita.
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Indo- Pak Relations; Post 9/11 Policy Alternatives for India

Sudhir Kumar Singh

Abstract

The post cold war equation has changed the very dynamics of the international system. Although the US has sustained its uni-polar power status but there are efforts to bring the international system into the multi-polar world. This scenario has provided a new impetus to India to enhance its profile into the realm of international politics. Till very recently Indian foreign policy has been obsessed with Pakistan and China. Although they are our important neighbours and we are simply unable to change the destiny of the geography. For the compliance of post cold war reality India needs to decentralize its attention towards all regions of the world. Our vision must be guided by the Kautilayan view that national interest is the basis of international system and we know that it keeps changing frequently. Although since early 1990,s India has initiated this policy at several fronts but many still remains out. As far as Pakistan is concerned either military or democracy will be the mode of governance, adverse attitude of the ruling elite would be sustainable phenomenon in foreseeable future. China has revised its India policy at some extent but they are also compelled to sustain its old policy. The fact of the matter is that India has been successful to contain the nefarious design of both countries therefore India at least from its own should not initiate any adverse policy and must promote friendship. India must focus on certain neglected areas to cope with the demand of the hour. Energy security, Indian Diaspora, Maritime Security, Third World Unity, UN Reforms must be new focal attention of Indian foreign policy. The article is intended to focus of this reality.

The international geo-political environment has always acted in Pakistan’s favor in a sense that whenever it comes under severe crisis some thing happens globally and Pakistan corrects its system on the sole basis of external largesse. In 1979, Soviet Union’s intervention in Afghanistan to consolidate the position of its puppet communist regime, provided golden opportunity to General Zia ul Haq to legitimize his illegitimate regime after overthrowing an elected government of one of the most popular political leaders of Pakistan, Zulifikhar

Ali Bhutto in July 1977. Again in September 2001 terror attack on New York and Washington and Pakistan’s support for the US led coalition war against terror has poured huge largesse to Pakistan which strengthened another military ruler General Pervez Musharraf, who entered into power after toppling another democratically elected Prime-minister, Nawaz Sharif in October 1999.

It is pertinent to mention here that in 1979 the Soviet forces’ entry into Afghanistan was the

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peak of Cold War and the US was hell bent to prevent the expansion of its rival [USSR] at any cost. That animosity of the US against the communism is called containment of communism. To counter this aggression, the US sponsored forces started their struggle against the invading Red Army. They formed the Mujahedeen forces and recruited the fundamentalist' youth right from Morocco to Indonesia. Through that process, they have sowed the seed of present wave of international terrorism, which remained one of the core agenda of the international system even at the outset of the 21st century. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1990 has remained one of the important factors of the demise of the Soviet empire. After the withdrawal of the Soviet forces, Afghanistan and Pakistan had emerged as the den of international terrorism, which had been often categorized as the breeding grounds of the international terrorism too. Afghanistan became an extended backyard for Pakistan. It led to the emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan in tacit understanding with Pakistan to sustain the leverage of the *Doctrine of Strategic Depth* in Afghanistan against India. Pakistan provided all round support to the Taliban to nurture its interests. One of the core concerns of Pakistan in Afghanistan has been the issue of Pakhtunistan. When Pakistan emerged as an independent nation and approached the UN for plebiscite in Kashmir, Afghanistan was the lone country to oppose this demand on the plea that Pakistan has itself violated it in the case of Pakhtunistan therefore Pakistan has no *locus standi* to demand the plebiscite in Kashmir. Since the inception of Pakistan every stable government of Afghanistan has kept the demand of Pakhtunistan alive. In the early 1990s, Taliban came into being in tacit understanding with the government of Pakistan. It is significant that even Taliban did not put the seal of its approval on the Durand Line as the legitimate boundary

between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Virtually the Taliban eliminated the boundary between both countries and instead strengthening the process of right of self-determination of the Pakhtun community happened. They even united the community on the common bond of political Islam from across the Durand Line. This situation has taken an ugly violent trend and after 9/11, it has become a severe problem in Southwest Pakistan in particular and in rest of Pakistan in general and now entire Pakistan is in the grip of heroin and Kalashnikov culture. Despite this harsh fact President Musharraf declared in a press conference in May 2000.¹

“He gave the clearest articulation to date of the reasons for Pakistan’s continued backing of the Taliban. He explained that in view of the demographic and geographic pattern, Afghanistan’s minority ethnic Pathuns have to be on our side. This is our national interest. Pastuns are represented by the Taliban at the moment, and Taliban cannot be alienated by Pakistan. He insisted that we have a national security interest there.”

One thing in international politics has remained stable right from the Kautilaya to Morgenthau that foreign policy has been decided on the basis of convergences of interest and the commonality of ideology and idealism bonds has practically not remained relevant. This was vindicated in Afghanistan war, in which, China came openly in favor of the US against the USSR because of the divergences of interests despite the fact that both had the same ideology. Thus, Pakistan has been one of the beneficiaries from the largesse of the Chinese from one side and the US from another side despite their ideological differences on various aspects of international politics. Although China has been anti-US almost since its inception, it cooperated with the US led

struggle against Soviet forces in Afghanistan in 1979, because the expanding Soviet influence had created havoc within Chinese corridor of power. It is the classic example where commonality of ideology could not keep two ideological countries together and had put them against each other merely because of their divergences of interests. This incident vindicated the fact that only convergences of interests are the driving force in the realm of foreign policy.

Since its inception, Pakistan has remained hostile to India. Just within a few months after partition, Kashmir became an apple of discord between two newly emerged countries and till now it is one of the most contentious issues between both countries. In addition, there is plethora of other issues which kept bilateral relationship thorny between both countries like infiltration, terrorism, Sir Kirk, Siachin, Tul-bul Navigation Project and other water disputes etc. Since the inception of both countries both have fought three full [1948, 1965 and 1971] and one half war [1999] but strangely India was not the initiator of any above mentioned war. Right from the days of partition, Pakistan termed Kashmir as unfinished agenda of partition and there is hardly any international platform where Pakistan forgets to chant the mantra of Kashmir. There is a question often asked in case of Indo - Pakistan relationship that after the resolution of Kashmir issue, the bilateral relationship between both countries would be normal. In a nutshell Pakistan claimed on Kashmir merely because it is lone Muslim majority area of India and we are aware of the fact that almost same number of entire population of Pakistan, Muslims are living in India. Therefore any probable sacrifices on Kashmir front by India will ensure the process of balkanization of India and it is not possible for any government in India to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan. India has acquired Kashmir after the acceptance of the instruments of

accession by then Maharaja of Kashmir. Despite Pakistan knowing this fact, it is the compulsion for the Pakistani ruling elite to keep the boggy of Kashmir alive to sustain their power and privilege.

Another angle in Pakistan and India relationship has been lack of democratic culture in Pakistan since inception. Due to sudden demise of both M.A.Jinnah and Liaqut Ali Khan, representative democracy could not prevail in Pakistan and turn cotters and all anti-democratic forces captured the corridor of power. Out of 60 years of the existence of Pakistan, army has ruled for 33 years and the democratic forces have ruled for 28 years only. Even democratic forces have remained failed to yield any result conducive to democratic values and they have also remained unsuccessful to resolve conflicts with India. The military or civilian rulers both have argued that Kashmir is an integral part of Pakistan therefore it could be merged with Pakistan. Whenever any regime either military or civilian comes under threat of losing power they have opened the front of Kashmir and that has proved the biggest stumbling block into the bilateral relationship between both countries. After the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in December 2007, elections took place and PPP led coalition has already ruling the country after the gap of 8 years of the military regime. It was the maiden coalition government where the PPP, its arch rival PML-N, ANP, MQM and some other small parties were allies. In 2006 when both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were away from the country they agreed on some of the common agenda of democracy, which there regime if voted to power would implement and that is often cited as the Charter of Democracy [COD].² Even this COD has given prime importance to Kashmir issue, an issue that in the long term is bound to keep the military’s importance intact and therefore this democratic regime is not supposed to solve Kashmir issue as PPP supreme Asif Ali Zardari

has indicated just after February 2008 elections. One must not forget that present wave of Kashmir tango had started during the first regime of Benazir Bhutto in 1990. Significantly new Prime Minister Gillani has also retreated that there is no question of the compromise on Kashmir.³ Interestingly the day when the new Prime –Minister got confidence in the National Assembly, the leader of the opposition, Pervez Ellahi cautioned the Gillani government that any compromise on Kashmir front would not be tolerated.⁴

In 1988, after the sudden demise of military dictator General Zia, elections took place and Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan People's Party emerged victorious and formed democratic government. But before military allowed her to take over as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, she gave three assurances to the military and all three were related overtly or covertly with India.⁵ The first assurance was that Benazir will not change Unique Afghan Policy, second was she will not change Kashmir policy and third was that she will not change Nuclear Policy.

In February 1997, Nawaz Sharif came to power with two third majority. In his electoral manifesto he had promised that he would establish cordial relationship with India. To ensure his assurances get implemented he invited his Indian counterpart Atal Bihari Vajpayee to Pakistan. Prime Minister Vajpayee led a Bus trip to Lahore in February 1999 and inked the agreement popularly known as *Lahore Declaration*. Within a few months after Lahore Declaration Pakistani army officially intruded into Kargil and that resulted into mini war between both countries. It was widely estimated throughout the world that both Nuclear power could use nuclear arsenals during the war and Kashmir could turn as the Nuclear Flashpoint of South Asia but it could not happen. Nawaz Sharif has openly alleged that the then Chief of the Army

Staff, General Pervez Musharraf was responsible for Kargil conflict and even he was not intimated in advance about Kargil operation. Even after the electoral mandate of the February 2008 elections, he has repeated his demand that accountability of the Kargil conflict must be fixed and Musharraf must be hanged for treason.⁶ According to Bokhari, former Naval Chief of Pakistan Army, "Musharraf decided to remove Sharif in 1999 because of the apprehension that the Prime-Minister would institute an enquiry into the Kargil issue."⁷ This would clearly have undermined the power of the army chief.

Since then Kashmir remains a hot spot in terms of terror activities supported by cross border forces. Pakistan has already announced that it will extend its moral support to the war of the independence of the Kashmiri people, which India termed as terrorism. An observation of the Pakistani media vindicates the fact because Pakistan termed the terrorists as freedom fighters. This rivalry has poisoned the development of South Asia since last 6 decades. It has manifested itself in 43 militarized confrontations, four of which has escalated into war.⁸

We were debating on the point that after the resolution of the Kashmir issue, Indo –Pak relationship will be cordial. There are varieties of opinion about this situation. According to eminent Pakistani strategic analyst, Dr. Ayesha Siddika, even after the resolution of Kashmir issue the relationship will not remain cordial between two traditional rivals.⁹

On other fronts both countries have concluded a successful treaty on Indus water. Composite dialogues are going on variety of issues despite derailment efforts after Kargil misadventure and attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001. After February 2008 general elections, a new democratic system as a mode of

coalition has already entered into the corridor of power. Despite the departure of the military into their barracks it is certain that they will play an important role at least in the realm of foreign policy especially on India and Afghanistan front because it is connected with their survival. Dr. Ayesha Siddika has argued in her famous book on Pakistans' military¹⁰

"Today, the military's hegemony in Pakistan is a reality. It is important to note that this hegemony is three dimensional; the military has penetrated into society, politics and the economy. Also it has grabbed the intellectual discourse and the imagination of the people through promoting its own people or luring others to conform to a classical realist paradigm in analyzing domestic or external issues."

Since the inception of both countries, despite three and a half year war, India never attacked Pakistan. In and around from any quarter there is hardly any potential danger for Pakistan than what is the relevance of a stronger army. Pakistani army is not only a professional army but largest commercial group in Pakistan. In addition, Pakistani army has ruled more than the civilian rule and even during civilian regime the army has played important cards however overtly. Pakistani army has perpetuated the thesis that country is under severe threat from India therefore the sustainability of Pakistan is only possible when army shall remain as an important and intact institution. Army has taken the maximum amount of budget for its maintenance and procures more sophisticated weapons and this has reduced the possibility of the establishment of the concept of the welfare state in Pakistan.¹¹ Just after independence in India literacy was 18 percent and it was 16 percent in Pakistan but today after 60 years of independence it is almost 73 percent in India but only 37 percent in Pakistan despite the

fact that Indian population is more than six rounds larger than Pakistan.¹²

Poverty is rampant in Pakistan and law and order machinery has hardly any respect as an influential instrument of the government. The lack of official educational infrastructure has propelled the Madrasa system, which has become recruitment ground for the younger generation of terrorists.

Either democracy or military regime will prevail in Pakistan, in both version of governance it is ample clear that army will be one of the strongest institution. The very survival of the dominance of the Pakistan army is based on anti India megalomania and it is going to be sustainable in foreseeable future also. The Chinese have adopted the encirclement policy against India exclusively in South Asia since 1960s and its utility has accelerated into new international scenario especially after post 9/11. The growing Indo-US bonhomie has sent alarm bell within the Chinese ruling elite. Therefore, despite all tall claims of cordial relationship between India and China, China has accelerated its traditional policy of the encirclement of India within South Asia.¹³ Needless to say that they have used Pakistan as a pawn to fulfill this desired goal. The Chinese investment in Gwador in Baluchistan for the development of port is an important step in this direction. Gwador is situated at the mouth of the Persian Sea and will provide a watching post for the Chinese to keep surveillance on Indian naval movements as well as on US naval movements in the Gulf. This will also provide an important land route to Central Asian Republics developed by Pakistan and China through Afghanistan. Baluchistan's strategically located interface with sea has emerged as new obsession for the Chinese to fulfill their vested strategic interests particularly to ensure energy security. Likewise Chinese have invested

enormously in many other projects in Pakistan keeping this motto in mind. The Chinese have already taken Koko Island from Burma to keep a vigil eye on Indian Navy movements in the Indian Ocean especially in the Andaman Island. The US has been one of the important suppliers of weapons and other logistic to the Pakistani army and despite bonhomie between India and the US in the name of war against terror, the US has provided huge largesse to Pakistan. According to Hussian Haqanni newly appointed Ambassador of Pakistan into the United States, this largesse was around 10 billion \$.¹⁴ The US has also declared Pakistan as an important Non -NATO ally.

In this prevailing scenario what are the alternative policy options for India to deal effectively with Pakistan (?). Here it is pertinent to mention that the end of the cold war and again post 9/11 scenario has changed the contours of international system. In this fast changing international system many foes have turned as friends and vice-versa. Since a long time it has been debated that India has the potential as an emerging power. Now in contemporary world it has been accepted at international level that India is very close to being a global power. For this purpose, our energy appetite will increase in foreseeable future. Presently India is the fifth largest energy consumer after the US, China, Japan and Russia but according to gamut of opinion India will be number three energy consumer in 2020 pushing Japan and Russia to fourth and fifth place.¹⁵ Pakistan is situated at the round fare of all important energy routes traverses through Southwest Asia. Therefore for the energy security too, Pakistan is extremely important for us. Of course, we have to do hard work for the realization of India as a global power right from the out set of the present century. A sustainable effort is the demand of the hour for this purpose. But in the reshaping of Indian foreign policy, we have to do

hard work into decentralization of our attention in all the sectors of the globe. Till immediate past, our foreign policy has been obsessed with Pakistan and China which needs to be decentralized to all important horizons to realize India as a global power.

In this fast changing international system how India should deal Pakistan (?). Since 1989 when present wave of terror had been perpetuated by the tacit understanding of Pakistan, India has lost enormous manpower as well as resources in counter terrorism. Recent terror related arrests [2007 to till August 2008] in many parts of India have revealed that Pakistan propelled terror groups are hell-bent to destabilize India. We have seen that our parliament has been attacked, which is the sacred temple of our democracy. There are ample proof that Pakistan based terror groups are trying their level best to spread the virus of hatred and create communal frenzy across India to harness maximum benefits. From North to South and East to West throughout India, Pakistan supported network is in existence. Various crackdown efforts of these networks have revealed that this network is indigenous and only taking necessary instructions from beyond the border. They are hell bent to disturb the secular fabric of India and create hurdles in India's desired goal of sustainable development.

Pakistan is already working as a tool of wider Chinese design to encirclement of India within South Asia. Even Pakistan is not cooperating properly into the reconstruction process of Afghanistan despite the fact that it has radicalized the violence within Pakistan and in the year of 2007, probably first time Pakistan has surpassed India in terms of causality in terror related violence. Entire Pakistan is flooded by suicide attacks and not a single person is safe. The assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in December

2007 is an ample proof of this Hobbesian state of affairs. The terror groups are without any work after their elimination from Afghanistan and they have converted Pakistan as the new theater of their nefarious activities. Since 1979, Pakistan has been sustainable in pursuing Unique Afghan Policy to achieve Strategic Depth in Afghanistan against India but recent experience has proved that Taliban and other terror groups have achieved Strategic Depth against Pakistan within Pakistan. The ample proof of this argument is growing Taliban and Al-Qaeda tentacles in Southern Afghanistan adjoin to Pakistan border. They are eliminating Shias and other sectarian minorities within Pakistan. According to General Tariq Majid, the Army Chief of general Staff [Pakistan] "we are not fighting America's war in FATA. It is in our own interest. We are fighting this war because, unfortunately, there have been fallout effects in Pakistan from the instability in Afghanistan."¹⁶

In this severe adverse attitude of Pakistan, one could hardly foresee any improvement in foreseeable future. At unilateral level, India has already taken number of steps. In 1971 war, India had captured 90,000 troops and 90,000 square KM fertile lands of Pakistan and it was the golden opportunity to settle the Kashmir tango forever but India did not exploit this opportunity merely on the anticipation that it will weaken Pakistan and in due course of time Pakistan will realize this generosity and extend the hands of friendship but instead of this Pakistan has adopted the policy of bleed India at thousand places to revenge Bangladesh defeat. India conceded this generosity to Pakistan because democracy was strengthening its roots in the leadership of Zulifkar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto was undoubtedly a towering democratic leader who propelled the slogan of *Islamic Socialism*. [Roti, Kapra aur Makan] Even Bhutto was sustaining anti-India front; when Bhutto was away from

power in the later part of first military dictator Mohammed Ayub Khan [1958-1967] according to eminent strategic thinker J.N. Dixit¹⁷

"He kept writing secret memoranda to President Ayub Khan asking him to initiate military action to separate Assam and North East parts of India from the rest of India by using East Pakistani territory as a springboard for the military operations involved."

This attitude of Bhutto was due to the domestic compulsions to sustain the hatred generated by the March 1940 Muslim League Resolutions popularly known as *Two Nation Theory*. Subsequently these compulsions have been harnessed by all successive military as well as democratic rulers for their parochial pursuits to strengthen their hold over power by singling out India for gamut of misdeeds prevailing in Pakistan.

Again in February 1999, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee led a Bus Trip to Lahore and visited Minar - a - Pakistan and thus gave recognition to the formation of Pakistan. He extended the hand of friendship on many fronts but repulsed through Kargil operation in the middle of the same year. After February 2008 general elections it has been revealed that Kargil operation was already in operation much before the Vajpayee February 1999 visits to Lahore. The Pakistani army through this operation demonstrated that it could not tolerate India as a friendly neighbor because it will erode its excuse to sustain traditional monopoly over Pakistan.

On regional cooperation front within SAARC India has already unilaterally extended designation of most favored nation under the provisions of SAFTA to Pakistan within the framework of SAARC. But Pakistan has not only reciprocated it till now. These kind of lethargic tendencies have pulled the leg of the progress of

the SAARC and it is the basic reason which kept SAARC under developed. It is vindicated with the fact that within SAARC internal trade could not cross the level of 4 percent and it is negligible 3.4% despite the fact that potential is of many rounds. In ASEAN the volume of intra trade is 38%, in NAFTA it is 37.3% and within EU it is 63.4%.¹⁸ Needless to say that South Asian countries constitute over 40% of the global poverty and need enormous resources to eliminate the menace of poverty but unprecedented defense expenditure has prevented both India and Pakistan to do that.

However through diversification of economic relationship, India has done well in the sector of economic development and since last one decade Indian economy has sustained the annual GDP growth rate of over 6% and since last few years over 8%. It is abnormal growth given the fact that developed world is growing with much slower annual rate. In comparison the economy of Pakistan which was considered till 1960s' on par with South Korea has performed with the average rate only. Between 1999 to 2005 annual GDP growth rate of Pakistans' economy was 5.20%, which was below Indian growth.¹⁹

Concluding Remarks

In August 2008, President Musharraf has resigned from Presidency therefore it is a natural apprehension that what will happen in post Musharraf era. The exclusive answer is that during and after Musharraf one thing is candidly clear that non state actors are not going to stop their agenda to destabilize India while using nefarious designs. Even in this different scenario what are the steps India must take to tackle Pakistan in the prevailing international scenario. This is an important problem for the policy makers in the South Block. Given the prevailing scenario it would be conducive to Indian interest not to allocate undue attention to Pakistan and must decentralize

their focal attention towards all important regions of the globe. India being an emerging power of the international system and an engine of growth of Asia in 21st century with China needs to be careful for all important stakes. It did not mean that India should forget Pakistan. India must sustain the composite dialogue process with Pakistan. It is also an open secret that after January 2004 Islamabad Summit there is almost peace across the border. Some positive signals have been given by the leader of Pakistan People's Party, Asif Ali Zardari after the formation of the democratically government after 8 years of the military dictatorship in March 2008.

However, we are aware about the sustainability and credentials of democratic governments in Pakistan and the clout of the army even during democratic rule. There is very little hope that military would allow the democratic leaders to settle Kashmir with India in an amicable manner. According to Brig. [retd.] A. R. Siddiki [Pakistani army]

“that the use of tribals that had gone into Kashmir to take control of the Kashmir valley led to the first war between India and Pakistan, thus sealing the fate of Kashmir and turning Pakistan into a military dominated state.”²⁰

It is an issue which kept both traditional adversaries bitter against each other since last six decades. Post cold war changes have even not influenced this relationship as they have influenced other parts of the globe. One of the basic reasons behind the situation is promotion and protection of anti-India megalomania by the Pakistani army. They have mentioned their dominance over their system and if cordial relation with India would be established the army would lose its power and privileges. According to eminent Pakistani strategic analyst Dr. Ayesha Siddika, Pakistani army's

corporate interests are huge and its corporate offshoots have the annual turn- over of over 20 billion dollars.²¹ Additionally India bashing approach of the army has enabled it to utilize maximum amount of resources and therefore the concept of welfare state has no resources to be realized. It is the basic hurdle which did not allow any democratic regime to sustain its rule for its full term after Zulfikhar Ali Bhutto [1972-1977]. This anarchy in the governance of Pakistan is overtly related with its thorny relationship with India. Despite all adverse role of the Pakistani state since last six decades, it is an open secret that a stronger and vibrant Pakistan is in the larger interest of India therefore despite gamut of provocations India must try its level best to sustained cordial relationship with Pakistan. It will also provide leverage to India at the international level and Indian image as a responsible global power would be further highlighted.

As I have already mentioned earlier that Pakistani military will probably not agree for cordial relation with India because of the simple fact that it would jeopardize its dominance over the system. Pakistani military has direct connections with the Jihadi groups and it is vindicated several times. As far as war against terror is concerned the Pakistani army is not going to surrender its bargaining chip of foreign policy and that is terror and since last many years they have used it exclusively against India and to some extent against other countries. It was vindicated with the fact that even seven years after this war, Taliban is resurging and posed severe threat on the survival of the Karzai regime in Kabul. Pakistani army has used terror as an instrument of foreign policy and since last few years there are frequent terror attacks across India and it is going to remain sustainable in foreseeable future too. In this situation why they get rid of the terror network, which has provided them leverage against India and legitimacy to the supremacy of

the Pakistani army therefore neither military nor democratically elected government is able to control the terror outfits because they gain legitimacy from each other activities. It is further vindicated with the statement of Hussain Haqaani, who had been adviser of Benazir Bhutto during her both stints as prime minister[1988-1990 and 1993-1996] and with the installation of the Gillani government he has become the Pakistan Ambassador to the United States. According to him²²

“During the decade following the American threat to declare Pakistan a state sponsor of terrorism, Pakistan repeatedly promised to crackdown on Islamist militant groups operating from its territory. Each time some measures were taken to create the impression that the task of uprooting the Jehadis was a difficult one and that the Pakistani government was struggling with the problem... The official explanation also featured the difficulty of the mountainous terrain along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan ... [and that US pressure] would throw Pakistan into the hands of the mullahs. That argument was first made in 1993 and continues to be made today.”

As Haqaani has mentioned that export of hatred will remain as an instrument of Pakistan's covert official foreign policy therefore my argument is that since India has sustained the onslaught of terror leashed out by the groups based on the Pakistani soil therefore India need not worry and continue this business of pursuance of peace with Pakistan despite periodic provocations. India must strengthen its security apparatus in a better and comprehensive manner to deal with the situation. In the meanwhile India must do everything to

ensure the normalization of bilateral relations. Being an elder brother it is the duty of India too. India has to play an important role into the international level. Post cold war and 11th September changes have taken place but it must be realized within South Asia particularly between India and Pakistan for the elimination of poverty of 40 percent poorest of the poor of the planet who lives in South Asia. At least India must continue this agenda.

Afghanistan has also to play an important role in India -Pakistan relationship. We are aware about the fact that Pakistan- Afghanistan never had cordial relationship due to gamut of factors but most important among them is the issue of Pakhtunistan. Since the inception of Pakistan, this has been an apple of discord between both countries. The 1979 Soviet intervention into Afghanistan provided an opportunity to Pakistan to divert the attention of Pakhtu and Baluch nationalism. The Mujahedden movement which coincided with Afghan war [1979] emboldened Pakistan to divert these dissents as Islamic harbingers of new brand of Jihad movement which later culminated as the Taliban movement. This policy was embedded by the Doctrine of Strategic Depth against India by dominating Afghanistan and was not inseparable from the tacit understanding to undermine Pastun Nationalism by supporting Islamists. It remains a foundation of Pakistan's foreign policy till today. Pakistan had used Afghanistan during the Taliban era as an extended arc of influence and this new leverage had been widely used for the promotion and protection of terrorism. The 1998 US attack on Khost [Afghanistan] first time revealed this nefarious Pakistani design. Through this process Pakistan has used terror as an instrument of foreign policy. This network has expanded the tentacles in Kashmir in particular and rest part of India in general. This nefarious policy of Pakistan has been

elaborated by eminent French scholar Oliver Roy. As Roy has noted

“Pakistan's Afghan policy was absolutely in line with its policy on Kashmir; first and foremost the use of international militias composed of Islamic volunteers; direct support for the Muhajeeden ; the same religious network to train volunteers , the same implacable denial that they are interfering . These are often the very organizations that are found in Kashmir helping the Taliban, such as Harkat-ul-Ansar. So it was indeed a policy of aggression on all sides that Pakistan pursued.”²³

Two external dominant actors are important in India –Pakistan relationship. One is the US and another is China. The changing dynamics of power equation in post 11th September 2001 scenario has influenced the role of these external powers. It is vindicated by changing Chinese attitude towards India- Pakistan conflicts. Kargil episode is a watershed for this change. China has invested enormously in Pakistan and has been treated as an all weather friend of Pakistan. During both 1965 and 1971 war, China issued stern threats against India in favor of Pakistan but during Kargil crisis [1999] despite the fact that both Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif and COAS General Musharraf visited China to garner Chinese support. The Chinese have not only declined to extend support to Pakistan but advised Pakistan to settle all bilateral issues with India in an amicable manner.²⁴ Another important factor has been the changing role of the US. We are aware of the old popular fact that Pakistan is ruled by the AAA. The meaning of this triple AAA is Allah, Army and America. Since the Kargil war the US too has changed its traditional perception about Pakistan. It is vindicated by both President

Clinton and President Bush visit to Indian sub-continent. Both spent few days in India but stayed few hours in Pakistan. The US has also indicated Pakistan that they should not expect their support when they will fight against India. India needs to perceive indo –US relationship not from the prism of Pakistan but in a different way. The post 11th September international system has pushed India and the United States in a different situation and at this stage they need each other bitterly therefore both the countries need to understand inherent mutual benefits of this special relationship. The Nuclear deal has additionally vindicated the bonhomie between India and the United States. This relationship has not been confined within strategic affairs but diverse areas of cooperation both bilateral and multilateral levels are involved and could be rightly cited as comprehensive relationship.

Of course, Pakistan has the nuisance value but even it is decreasing day by day. In the important front of war against terror it has been established by the US agencies that the notorious ISI has passed the crucial information to the terror outfits on several occasions and therefore awakened the efforts against terror. This is vindicated that with adjoin to the Durand Line terror is increasing very sharply in southern Afghanistan since last few years. The increasing causality of the US led NATO forces within Afghanistan since last two years vindicates this argument.

Few experts of Indo-Pak relationship have been optimistic about the democratic regimes. Currently democratic regime is in power in Islamabad and Musharraf has already resigned and Asif Ali Zardari has been elected as new president of Pakistan. He urged all democratic forces to come forward and support him in the mission to bring complete democracy in Pakistan.²⁵

Former Prime-Minister and opposition leader Nawaz Sharif has termed this election as the “*Triumph of Democracy*” therefore if the PPP led government, which has both prime-minister and president, should have smooth future. This government could be both positive and negative for India given the future scenarios. Here it is pertinent to mention that either democracy or military mode of governance the attitude of Pakistan as far as India is concerned is not going to change. Of course the common Pakistani masses wished an ideal bi-lateral relationship with India but the existing ruling elite is hell-bent not to allow any real reconciliation between India and Pakistan. It is due to very simple algebra that in case of good relationship between both countries, the traditional monopoly over the system will be under threat.

At this delicate stage of international politics where nations are redefining their policies. It is in the larger Indian national interest to promote peace and reconciliation process with Pakistan. Even if as estimated it may not be able to break much of the ice despite of potential reality. It will be an eye opener for all international power interested in South Asia and within South Asia it will create new atmosphere of cooperation and will serve wider interests of Indian foreign policy.

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The Female World in R.K. Narayan’s *The Guide*:
A Study of Ambivalent Gender Relations

Romika Batra Sukhija

Abstract

One finds the divided self of a woman struggling to find fulfillment in a society that attaches much importance to archetypes and women are expected to tread the beaten path. No doubt, her desires and the subsequent efforts she makes to satisfy them are consequential in demystifying all her sweet and rosy notions about this world. She finally comes to a realization that one has to face reality however unpleasant or painful it may seem to be. Yet the effort to question the status quo and break the mould that society has set for her makes it creditworthy and is highly symptomatic of the women’s aspirations in our society.

The last century has seen rapid and radical changes at virtually all the fronts – cultural, political, familial, sociological, economic and technological. It witnessed a broadening of the horizons; a blurring of the boundaries. Especially the second half of the last century has seen an explosion and exposure to ideas, thanks principally to the role of media – electronic as well as print. These changes obviously had a direct bearing on the social psyche of the nation. Individual is at the centre of all social dynamics, as it is largely believed. These changes therefore made tough demands on the individual to revise and modify his lifestyle, to rebuild a more suitable and functional set of standards and value systems and to frame a new and broader outlook. Taking a cue from this scenario of reshuffling and readjustments, of shifting values and patterns, literature has not remained untouched either. It has taken a serious note of all the happenings and mirrored them faithfully in art form.

R.K. Narayan, one of the finest and most popular of Indian writers in English, has to his

credit a sizeable body of work – more than a dozen novels and short stories – which makes him one of the most respected novelists of the British Commonwealth. He has left behind a devoted readership throughout the world. The location of his novels is the South-Indian town Malgudi, an imaginative version of Narayan’s home town – Mysore. This fictional world of Malgudi is symbolically India in microcosm.

Broadly speaking, Narayan’s fictional world is circumscribed by a traditional Hindu society where men rather than women hold a superior position. In his novels, Narayan’s immediate concern is with the oddities and eccentricities of male characters. Women are generally confined to home and hearth. Accordingly, in most of his novels, Narayan has presented a nearly stereotyped and predictable image of women. These women characters are not ambitious and are wholeheartedly committed to domesticity. They strongly believe and follow the traditions as a way of life and come across as

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unimaginative in their outlook on life. In essence, women are largely denied the real flesh and blood treatment.

However, in three of Narayan's novels viz. *The Dark Room* (1938), *The Guide* (1958) and *The Painter of Signs* (1976), the women protagonists come alive vividly and each one of them represents a quest for identity in her very own way.

Out of the three novels which have woman characters holding the central stage, *The Guide* emerges as the most vibrating, authentic and real in the sense that it is only in this novel that the character of a woman protagonist –Rosie- comes out to be a live character. In fact the character of Rosie though delineated in late 50s is as relevant today in the context of Indian society as ever even though we have stepped into the next century.

This paper discusses the polarity and ambivalence in the two facets of Rosie's personality symbolized by Rosie and Nalini.

We are living in an age of multi consciousness and the human values, standards and conventions are being redefined to suit the requirements of the changing lifestyles. The whole world is being reduced to one global village. The blurring of the boundaries is phenomenal and India too has joined the race by extending itself to many powerful nations of the world in all most all the spheres – culture, trade, economy, science, technology etc. Incumbent upon this multi dimensional growth, the definitions and concepts regarding women have also undergone drastic changes. And the correlation between this multifaceted development scenario and that of the image and status of women is quite natural and conspicuous.

Women who were denied the right to education not too long ago are today holding

responsible positions. Education played a key role in bringing awareness amongst women. Equipped with a better knowledge and understanding of their own selves and the world around them, they made themselves pivotal to the growth syndrome through their productive contribution to family and society. Consequently, the recent times have seen them come to the forefront and hold responsible positions. All this could be made possible with one instrument of power i.e. education. It is education that made them awakened to their individuality and they strove hard to gain it within the society which still upheld the age-old, orthodox approach regarding the role and status of a woman. It is this duality that a woman has to face at every step of her life.

Rosie in *The Guide* voices this polarity in the most realistic manner. Rosie's predicament in the prevalent social set-up is a critical one. Rosie in relation to this change in social attitude towards women is the representative of a new class of women who had the opportunity to be released from the conventional confinements to join college and universities in order to acquire formal education. Rosie in *The Guide* is a master's degree holder, an acquisition which does not fail to impress even Raju's mother who otherwise can't bear her sight. Rosie's education has definitely enhanced in her the awareness of her individuality. But on the other hand, it pits her against a society which is still very orthodox and has certain well defined attitudes towards women. On the top of all this, she belongs to a class which has traditionally been looked down upon as a low community – the community of temple dancers and hence does not deserve equal status with the higher caste despite everything else. In Rosie's own words:

I belong to a family traditionally dedicated to the temple as dancers; my mother, my grandmother and before her, her

mother... you know how our caste is viewed? We are viewed as public women.¹

But despite the fact that she has been born into the despised caste of dancers one can clearly see in her a strong urge for self-fulfillment and a constant effort to seek her individuality. Against her social background of being a child deprived of father, Rosie endeavors to assert her individuality in her ambition to perfect her art of dance. She inherited this liking for dance from her family. As a young girl she used to dance in temples. The tradition runs in her veins. Her greatest ambition is to become a famous dancer, a dancer in a totally different sense, not in the sense her mother was the dancer. She wants to be a dancer on the grounds of aesthetics and the pursuit of art. But in order to remove the stigma of her caste, she marries a gentleman scholar much higher in status, wealth, position and intellect. For unexplained reasons his real name is not mentioned in the novel. He is referred to as Marco because of his appearance. Rosie steps out of her family tradition to gain the reputed position of a wife. For this she even decides to sacrifice her passion for dance. Moreover, she hopes that the status of a respectable wife will make her join the mainstream and enable her to channelise her individuality and self-assertion. But being a child deprived either of father or grand father, she is oblivious of the inherent responsibilities that marriage demands especially from women in our social set up.

Her peculiar passion for the perfection of dance as an art form, though temporarily dismissed, reasserts itself when Rosie, much to her dismay finds that Marco is far from being what she strove to find in a husband. Contrary to her expectations, Marco is a man of unusually dry and dull demeanor whereas Rosie wanted a warm and caring husband. Failing to find self-fulfillment through

marriage with Marco all her attention is drawn towards dance which she feels is the only way to realize herself as an individual. And herein lies the crux of duality of her predicament. On the one hand there stands a compelling need to join the mainstream of society which can accomplish only through marriage. On the other hand she is held a captive to her inner urge for dance though knowing it fully well that she can not afford to be a dancer and a respectable wife at the same time.

This polarity is rendered very credibly by the novelist. Her tragedy could have been averted if she had made compromises and strangled the human in herself for her husband's sake which perhaps would have led to equally drastic and unnatural consequences. The comments of K R Srinivas Iyengar are quite relevant in this context:

She [Rosie] breaks the family tradition to earn the ideal status of a married woman, but marriage and its imperative bindings and discipline have been alien to her family. Her subsequent life becomes a battle ground between her divided selves. She fails to reconcile the two situations.²

Marco strongly disapproves of Rosie's interest in dance. But Raju is shrewd enough to notice the creative talent in Rosie. The moment she sets foot on the Malgudi Railway Station, she enquires of Raju if he could manage to show her the dance of king cobra. After much inquiry and manipulation, he manages to get hold of a snake charmer who could display the dance of king cobra to her. There, Rosie's gesture of swaying her whole body to the tune of flute is enough for Raju to see in her the germs of a great artist. Raju starts taking interest in her field and they come closer to each other.

Raju becomes aware of the imbalance in Rosie-Marco relationship. He therefore takes advantage of the rift in relationship between them and makes a tactful endeavour to win the lady's favour by praising her art. He gives her assurances and promises to make her the top most artist of the century. Rosie, already frustrated in her relationship with Marco and deprived of her most dear love of dance, tells Raju that a vacuum is created in her life. Raju attempts to fill this vacuum in Rosie's life. He takes her around the town, sits and chats with her when Marco is busy in wall-gazing some 50 odd miles away in his cave study. He gives her what she has been pining for. His hold on her affection is tightened. Both Raju and Rosie, being two of a kind, come closer to each other, though for mixed reasons. It shall be an oversimplification of the fact to conclude that it is only love that brings them together. A close dissection of Rosie-Raju relationship reveals many complicated reverberations. It is not a simply passionate love affair between the two individuals though truly enough Raju is adequately enamoured by Rosie's charm at the first sight and his interest in Rosie is totally amorous. As for Rosie, she finds in Raju a patron, a friend, a companion. But on the whole, there is love constituted on a practical arrangement that caters to their respective psychological, existential and human requirements, if not in the beginning then surely enough in the later stages of development. It definitely shows an absence of the element of passion in it. Rightly observes William Walsh in this context:

Their relationship, both at the beginning and later, when she breaks off with Marco and comes to live with Raju, appears to be much more one of feeling than sensuality, a temperamental rather than a passionate union. Sexual passion, in fact, is not a theme which Narayan anywhere develops very convincingly in

his work. He seems to think of it as something too private and holy to be allowed to appear publicly in art.³

Therefore it is fairly true that their relationship is far from being a simplistic sensuous union of two human beings in love with each other. Rather it is a strange amalgam of varied reasons and compulsions which pits them together. Later, Raju's love for Rosie becomes calculative. It is far from being pure and selfless. It is partially a strong desire to possess her and partially his infatuation towards her that drives him crazy. At the same time, somewhere at the back of his mind is the idea of monetary benefit that he can derive through Rosie once she is established as a dancer. Raju, though a romantic, is practical-minded enough to utilize Rosie and her art to make money. He is aware of the lucrative aspect that Rosie's dancing can open before him. Therefore he tells Sait while asking for a fresh loan from him:

'She is a gold-mine... If I had money to start her with - Oh!' My vision soared. I said to him 'You know 'Bharat Natyam' is really the greatest art business today. There is such a craze for it that people will pay anything to see the best' (p. 162).

As for Rosie, she confides in Raju mainly because she finds in him all those characteristics that are missing in Marco. Raju beams with life, vitality, enthusiasm unlike Marco who is thoroughly dull and drab. Moreover, she finds in Raju an ardent admirer of her artistic talent. After being dismissed by Marco, she returns to Raju not because she is physically attracted towards him, but simply because of the fact that he is the first man in her life who has complimented her on her talent as a dancer whereas her husband Marco is extremely put off by her dance and discourages her by calling it 'street acrobatics'.

It is widely acknowledged that cordiality and equality, especially in marital relationships, rest mainly on understanding and respecting each others' feelings. It requires efforts from both sides. If the effort is missing on the part of one partner, it becomes incumbent on the other to show extra concern, patience and understanding in order to save the marriage from breaking. But if the spouses fail to make an earnest endeavour in building an emotional footing with each other, the marriage is bound to get shattered. This effort of understanding each other is grossly missing in Rosie-Marco relationship. Neither Rosie nor Marco makes any earnest effort conducive towards creating healthy marital environment. Narayan has given many hints bringing to light Marco's impotence as a husband. In fact, the marriage of Marco and Rosie is a marriage of convenience. If Rosie marries Marco for gaining social respectability, Marco chooses Rosie, a girl of low caste, as a life partner "out of a desire to have someone care for his practical life" (p. 113). Marco is an art historian and a critic who is all the time engrossed in studying Asian art, particularly painting. He is writing a book viz. *The Cultural History of South India* which claims much of his time and attention. He has come to Malgudi especially for collecting material for rewriting the whole history of art. He is so much devoted to his intellectual pursuits that he ceases to be a practical man. In the words of Raju:

'All practical affairs of life seemed impossible to him; such a simple matter as finding food or shelter or buying a railway ticket seemed to him a monumental job (p. 113).

Rosie, perhaps, would not have minded his love for dull and dreary objects, had he responded to her with warm and throbbing heart. His uncaring, unsympathetic attitude disappoints

her. According to Marco: "If a man has to have a peace of mind, it is best that he forgets the fair sex" (p. 71). When he goes in the caves, he gets thoroughly engrossed in his study and completely forgets the world outside and its inhabitants.

Another pertinent question that strikes the mind is why Marco marries a girl like Rosie who belongs to the family of temple dancers whereas he himself is an affluent academician enjoying a respectable position in society. He could have easily married a girl from a high status family. It is obviously not a zealous social reformer in Marco that compels him to take such a drastic step. Neither is he that much broadminded to have no itch in having a socially outcast woman as his wife. In fact, Marco needs someone who could look after the daily chores of his personal life and decorate his house as a showpiece, as it happens in a typical bourgeois family. He wants someone as a wife who could enjoy all the physical comforts and luxuries supplied to her but won't dare to make any further claim on it. Marco does not marry a girl of equal status because he fears that such a girl won't remain subservient to him. This aspect of Marco's character becomes clear from the dialogue between him and Rosie. Seeking Marco's permission to dance, she says:

'I think I'd be very happy if I could do that I have so many ideas. I'd like to try. Just as you are trying to—Oh! You want to rival me; is that it? (p.137)

This shows Marco's acquisitiveness. Rosie is undoubtedly exploited at the hands of Marco who is totally unconcerned with the human being in her. He takes her presence for granted. She is like one of the belongings for him who has no right to think or aspire. Marco's words uttered in praise of the cook Joseph mirror his expectations from his wife. He finds Joseph as a wonderful man and says about him:

I don't see him, I don't hear him but he does everything for me at the right time. That's how I want things to be (p.127).

Here too, Raju accurately observes about Marco, when he says: "How happy he would have been, I ought to have had Joseph for a wife" (p.127). If Marco does not fit in Rosie's image of a husband, Rosie too is far from being what Marco expected a wife to be. As Raju observes:

...unfortunately his choice was wrong- the girl herself was a dreamer if ever there was one. She would have greatly benefited by a husband who could care for her career (p.113).

There is no denying the fact that Rosie has tremendous talent as a dancer which is craving for expression and recognition. Not to speak of exercising her wish to give an outlet to her art, the possibility of which is apparently remote, she even has no one with whom she can share her feelings. This creates an emotional void that breeds monotony in her. She suffers from a feeling of being cornered and neglected. In the light of this argument, it can be derived that Rosie's interest in Raju depends to a large extent, on human need for communication. She shares nothing in common with Marco and therefore there is no possibility of communication with him. And sadly enough it is only the subject of dance on which Rosie can talk with authority. Rosie can not find peace unless she is practicing dance and Marco can not be at peace unless she is silent over it.

Not getting the desired emotional response from Marco makes Rosie turn to Raju for emotional and moral support. Marco's apathy towards her makes her feel subjugated. She sees in Raju, a patient listener and a sympathizer and confides in him by revealing the past history of her life as well as the intricacies of her relationship

with Marco. This mutual trust that develops between them allows Raju to come near her. To quote from the text:

I placed my hand on her shoulder and gently stroked it. 'I am really unhappy to think of you, such a gem lost to the world'. She did not push away my hand. I let it travel and feel the softness of her ear and pushed my fingers through the locks of her hair (p.86).

Narayan actually attaches great value to the basic humanness of his characters. They are not capable of great sacrifices or eloquent philosophizing. They are ordinary, down to earth human beings, prone to vices and incongruities of sundry sorts. They participate in the act of living with complete involvement and drifting through the journey of life, they undergo the process of trial and error and acquire a first hand experience of life and eventually emerge as mature and wise human beings. This very fact about them makes them the claimant of receiving sympathy both of the writer and the reader. Some similar views are expressed by S K Girdla who comments:

An analysis of Narayan's characters reveal a definite journey of the self from innocence to experience and then to wisdom. There is a movement towards ripeness and when this stage is reached, the truth is realized and life again is reunited to its moorings.⁴

Seen from this perspective, Rosie's predicament arouses sympathy and compassion. Hers is also a journey towards ripeness. She is actually exploited at the hands of two men – Marco and Raju. Marco takes her too much for granted, ignores her presence and tries to suffocate the individual in her. Raju, on the other hand, tries to possess her and at the same time he manoeuvres

to draw monetary benefit out of her dance. Weighed in this light, her involvement with Raju is rendered in benevolent manner. Underneath all her apparently unethical acts, there lurks a certain essential naiveté which draws pity rather than harsh judgment. Musing on this particular aspect of Rosie's character, Prof. C D Narsimhaiah remarks:

...especially the way he takes care to preserve Rosie from inner taint, Narayan seems to be affirming what has been hailed in the Indian tradition as the Feminine Principle in life.⁵

Therefore, the account of Rosie-Raju relationship and the pressures under which it finally breaks is objective and credible.

In fact, Rosie comes to Raju in an extremely miserable and desperate condition. She has no where to go and nobody to turn to after she is mercilessly thrown out by Marco from his life. When Marco comes to know about Rosie's liaison with Raju his aristocratic morality doesn't allow him to keep terms with his wife anymore. Rosie is ready to make the biggest sacrifice to ensure her place as a wife in Marco's life. But Marco adopts a stern and indifferent attitude towards her and neglects her presence. He would not eat the food that is touched by Rosie. As she later tells Raju:

I followed him, day after day, like a dog, waiting on his grace. He ignored me totally. I could never have imagined that one human being could ignore the presence of another human being so completely. I followed him like a shadow leaving aside all my pride and self-respect (p.151).

But Marco puts on his helmet and spectacles and walks past Rosie as if she did not exist. After the completion of his work he leaves

for Madras. He buys only one ticket and goes alone leaving Rosie in lurch without any support.

Rosie, however, at no point of time shows a blatant disregard for the traditional role of a wife. She is fairly aware of the responsibilities of a wife in an Indian social set-up. Her statement at the Peak House Forest Bungalow at dinner, when Raju picks up a dish and tries to serve food, bears testimony to this. She says: "No, no. Let me serve you both, and I will be the last to eat, like a good housewife." (p.77)

On the whole, it is a strategy for survival, a mode of finding refuge from the painful and irrevocable situation that life had ushered her into. She, therefore, is divided between her commitment to Marco as his wife and her responsibility towards herself as a human being. There is a constant tussle between her ambition and her husband. One can not accommodate the other. At moments she realizes that Raju is trying to possess her and take advantage of her loneliness and depression. At such moments of realization she refers to Marco as: "After all he is my husband. I have to respect him. I can not leave him there..." (p.119). During such moments she opens up to the assets of Marco. Her desperate comments in this connection reveal the crisis of consciousness she is undergoing. She says:

After all...After all...Is this right what I am doing? After all, he has been so good to me, given me comfort and freedom. What husband in the world would let his wife go and live in a hotel room by herself a hundred miles away?... (p.120).

Thus Rosie, a modern, educated and ambitious girl conforms to the Indian womanhood and is aware of the respectful place of the husband. Though she has a fancy name, there is a streak of traditionalism in her.

However, after being forsaken by Marco, Rosie, immensely dejected with this sad and unwanted development comes to see succour from Raju who is surprised as well as delighted to see her on her threshold. Till this juncture, Raju's interest in Rosie is amorous and not affected by monetary considerations. With the arrival of Rosie, he gets peace of mind. He consoles her saying, "you are in the right place. Forget all your past. We will teach that cad a lesson by and by... First I will make the world recognize you as the greatest artist of the age." (p.153).

However, Rosie's entry into Raju's house generates tension in the family. His mother doesn't accept her. She calls Rosie a "real snake-woman". (p.154). The mother is a typical traditional Indian woman who is obsessed with the thoughts of caste, family, position and has blind faith in obedience to husband. Rosie, who was unable to share her husband's love for the archaeological ruins now seeks fulfillment in the company of Raju. Raju provides Rosie the vitality which was missing in Marco and thus keeps her happy. Their relationship, according to the yardstick of feudal and bourgeois concepts of morality appears to be illicit. But the novelist's point is to show a contrast between Marco's cold intellectualism and Raju's complete absorption in the world of dance and music that opens a new lease of life for both of them. Raju, formerly a tourist guide, now becomes a career guide for Rosie. He tells, "My guidance was enough. She accepted it in absolutely unquestioning faith and ignored everything else completely" (p.167). Rosie also devotes herself wholeheartedly in acquiring perfection of her artistic talent and she is altogether disinterested in her earlier romantic passion.

After consistent hard work, Rosie is now well prepared to give a show of four hours. Raju decides to launch Rosie's dancing career with a

new name for her. Both of them work on a variety of names and after four days' hard thinking, they decide for 'Nalini' which sounds to them more poetic and appealing: "This name had significance, poetry and universality, and yet was short and easily remembered" (p.176). With an attainment of a new name, Rosie too enters a new phase of life. Rosie's professional life starts with her first dance performance in the annual function of the Albert Mission School. Along with her career, Raju's status also changes and he becomes Rosie's impresario whose main interest is in occupying the front seat in the hall and receiving a warm welcome at the performance. But the most eagerly awaited job at the end of every performance is "pocketing the most important thing, the cheque" (p.193). As William Walsh too opines:

From being primarily personal it becomes primarily functional or official. Rosie has great talent as a dancer and...as she succeeds...Raju's status changes. He is less the lover and more the manager, trainer and agent. Rosie or Nalini as she becomes in the theatrical world – blooms into a great artiste and Raju thrives as a successful entrepreneur. They enjoy a period of immense success, and the money, parties, drink and acclaim that go with it.⁶

But the intoxication and the resultant enthusiasm generating from the unmitigated success gradually starts wearing away. Rosie becomes painfully conscious of the fact that despite her success she has not gained anything substantial. The truth seems gradually to dawn upon her that even the realization of her ambition was not all that her inner being craved for. Rosie now discovers that Raju was no better than Marco. He was rather another variation of Marco. The realization troubles her. Her husband used to treat

her as a commodity without caring for her earnestness of art while Raju also treats her as a commodity by using her as a means to mint money. His eyes are always on the cheques that Rosie brings and he scarcely cares for her personal feelings. He makes her work like a machine and allows her no time even for a little sight seeing. He tries to possess Rosie. He wants to monopolise her. According to his own confession: "She was my property. This idea was beginning to take root in my mind" (p.189). And then, "I liked her to be happy but only in my company" (p.190). He does not like to see her enjoy other peoples' company. He wants to keep her in a citadel. Therefore, despite her taste of success, she feels cramped.

Due to this change in Raju's outlook and partially the inevitable professionalism that creeps into her love for art makes her sad and unhappy. Weariness descends on her gradually and she wails:

Do you know the bulls yoked to an oil-crusher – they keep going round and round and round in a circle, without a beginning or an end (p.202)

She realizes that she has become a prisoner of her own ambition. She laments:

I feel like one of those parrots in a cage taken around village fairs, or a performing monkey, as he used to say...(p.203)

Thus, throughout her appearance in the novel, there is a continuous polarity and conflict within Rosie/ Nalini: the tension between the life of passion and the need for respectability represented by her own family of dancers and her husband Marco respectively. And later the ambivalence between her need to dance and the inevitable commercialism of her performances which make her repudiate the life of a dancer, the pull between the need of her life and the call of

her art. There is well defined oscillation between Rosie's sincerity towards her art and a feeling of betrayal caused both to Marco and herself if she indulges in it. And this very tussle is decidedly the gist of Rosie's predicament in the novel. Rightly observes William Walsh:

The complex association of sincerity and self-deception is indeed the organizing theme of *The Guide*: how these conditions grow out of one another, how they co-exist, disagree, supplant and in the long run re-attract one another.⁷

With her disillusionment with Raju after the forgery incident, she decides to return to Madras, though she is starkly aware of the fact that life will be dull and boring there. Raju is informed in jail that "She [Rosie] has settled down at Madras and was looking after herself quite well" (p.230).

The moot question that knocks one's mind over and over again is regarding the return of Rosie to Madras bidding adieu to her life of a high-profile professional dancer. She left at the point when her career was at its peak. This can be viewed as the third turning point in her life – the first turning point was her marriage with Marco and the second one is her coming to Raju after Marco leaves her and the professional phase of her life thereafter. With this third turning point she completes the circle and comes back from where she had started.

In Rosie, therefore, one finds the divided self of a woman struggling to find fulfillment in a society that attaches much importance to archetypes and women are expected to tread the beaten path. No doubt, her desires and the subsequent efforts she makes to satisfy them are consequential in demystifying all her sweet and rosy notions about this world. She finally comes to a realization that one has to face reality however

unpleasant or painful it may seem to be. Yet the effort to question the status quo and break the mould that society has set for her makes it creditworthy and is highly symptomatic of the women’s aspirations in our society.

In fact the character of Rosie though delineated in late 50s is as relevant today in the context of Indian society as ever even though we have stepped into the next century.

Notes

1. R.K. Narayan (1958, rpt.1994): *The Guide* Indian Thought Publications, Mysore, p.84. All the subsequent references from the text are from the same edition hereafter denoted with page number in parentheses in the text.

2. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar (1973): *Indian Writings in English*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, p.89.

3. William Walsh (1982): “Arrival,” *R.K. Narayan: A Critical Appreciation*, Heinemann, London, p.123.

4. S.K. Girdla (1984): “Narayan’s World,” *R.K. Narayan: His World and His Art*, Saru Publishing House, Meerut, p.45.

5. C.D. Narasimhaih (1968): *The Swan and the Eagle*, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, p.153.

6. William Walsh (1982): “Arrival,” *R.K. Narayan: A Critical Appreciation*, Heinemann, London, p.124.

7. Ibid., pp. 114-15.

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Imperial Hegemony and Subaltern Resistance in Mizoram

K Robin

Abstract

Paucity of historical sources has made us oblivious with regards to the great historical events; the resistance movements which freedom fighters staged in Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills. It is in this context that this paper attempts to bring to light the role of Ropuiliani, a lone woman, who participated so hard in the resistance movement against colonial rule in the Lushai Hills (Mizoram) towards the close of the 19th Century. Ropuiliani was the architect of Mizo freedom movement and was the daughter of the Northern Chief Vanhnuailiana and a wife of Vandula, Chief of South Mizoram. She had been known for taking active part in the freedom movement against the British since 1872. She was captured by Capt. Shakespeare along with her son Lalthuama in 1893 and both were transported and imprisoned in the Chittagong jail. As an iron lady, she preferred at her old age to remain in prison till her death than to serve alien master. She subscribed to an example of the highest standard of patriotism in which the whole ‘mankind’ shared in history. That the colonial administrators did not spare her, and this showed that she joined hands with other freedom fighters in upsetting the Imperial designs in varied forms. It is therefore most significant that a woman like Ropuiliani could curve out a name for herself and stood her ground as a defiant leader burning the flame of patriotism, thereby becoming a symbol of defiance by a series of actions against the British so much so by compelling the authorities to accord her the status of a State Prisoner till she breath her last in early January 1895.

Lack of historical sources has made us sightless about the momentous historical episode; a subaltern confrontation against the Imperial authority, that shook the entire Mizoram, the then Lushai Hills. It is in this context that this paper attempts to bring to light the role of Ropuiliani, a lone woman who represented the subaltern consciousness by staging obstinately a movement of total struggle against the colonial rule in the

Lushai Hills (Mizoram) from about 1871 till she died in 1895. Inevitably, her social standings as well as circumstantial factors compelled her to play a forward role in the resistance movement against the alien British regime. Despite the fact that all possible pressures was brought to bear upon her, Ropuiliani, due to her sheer will and determination was able to maintain and burn the torches of nationalism amidst colossal convolution.

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Evidently though the colonization of North East India was accomplished at a date much later than other regions of India, 'the colonial penetration started as soon as the company secured the *Diwani* of Bengal in 1765' (Bhattacharjee 1986:5). Apart from its strategic significance, the huge resources and commercial prospects of North East region was ample to draw the attentions of the Europeans to the region. The British officials were clearly aware of the commercial prospects of the North East and were very keen to explore the territories beyond the regions of the Bengal frontiers (Bhattacharjee 1986:5).

"The British penetration into the North East was basically guided by their interest to promote trade and commerce. The economic resources of Assam or the Ahom state, particularly, tea, coal and oil had attracted the attention of the British. Moreover, the rapid advancement of the Burmese and their occupation of Manipur, Cachar and Assam and a threatening attitude towards Jaintia and Bengal had prompted the British to declare war against Burma in 1824. After the war, and by the treaty of *Yandaboo*, the British extended their sphere of influence in Manipur, Cachar and Jaintia, while the annexation of Assam brought them in the heart of North East India. The hill areas bordering the valley of Brahmaputra were now exposed to the British penetration, and the routes to Bhutan, Tibet, China and Burma also passed under their control" (Bhattacharjee 1986:49).

In the meantime, the Assam valley appeared to be more and more attractive for commercial exploitation because of its budding tea industry, mineral resources and large variety of timbers. The foothills along the valley of the Brahmaputra were also found to be rich not only in timber but also in rubber, ivory and other raw materials. Moreover, the agricultural land in the

valley was highly fertile, and it was capable of generating huge supplies and yielding handsome revenue. These prospective commercial opportunities immensely thrilled the British authority and thereby prompted quick annexation. Therefore, in the light of these developments, it became imperative for the British to protect the valley, particularly, the mining areas and the plantations from 'marauding' frontier tribes, and it is in this situation that the British came in contact with the Mizos, formerly known as the Lushais, so-called 'marauders'.

Beginning from the early first half of the 19th century, particularly from around 1820's, on numerous occasions the Mizos made an inroad into the adjoining territories 'plundering and raiding' the frontier areas. The British government in turn felt need to secure peace of the frontier to enable the tea planters and their labourers to pursue their occupation in safety (Woodthorpe 1978:6). Therefore, in their bid to prevent the tribe from pouring in swarms plundering and looting their protected subjects and territories, messages, presents and annual payments were made to the chiefs, but this could not, in any case, prevent tribal raids. This compelled the British government to change their attitudes by abandoning their policy of conciliation and pacification and virtually a party of troops, under Captain Blackwood, proceeded on the 1st of December 1844, to avenge the raids (Woodthorpe 1978:4). When the British troops arrived at the hills, they started burning houses and destroying grains, and ultimately, Chief Lalchhokhla, head of the raiding party was sentenced and transported for life imprisonment (Woodthorpe 1978:12).

However, these actions of the British could not really quell and deter the Mizos from committing further raids. In 1849, there was report of new raids made in Sylhet, Tipperah and Cachar. In order

to avenge and punish these outrages, another expedition was launched and this time, Colonel Lister, political Agent in the Khasia Hills was entrusted with the task and the thus his troops entered the hills and on the 14th January 1850, arrived at Moolla village followed by burning and destroying of properties (Woodthorpe 1978:13).

The expedition of 1850 brought about significant changes in the policy of the British Administration. In this regard, Colonel Lister was clearly of the opinion that unless more practical and more realistic approaches in their dealings with the frontier tribes are made, then, the fate of their subjects in Cachar and Sylhet would be very precarious. "To make a permanent impression on the tribes, Colonel Lister recommended the obligation to have a force of not less than three thousand men and also recommended the formation of a *Kookie* levy to be employed as scouts in the jungles, to collect information concerning the Lushais, and the events which were occurring on the other side of the frontier" (Woodthorpe 1978:14). Accordingly, the Government approved his recommendations, and the *Kookie* levy was raised in June 1850.

At this point, the Mizo chiefs were now convinced that the British were hell bent on meddling in their internal affairs so as to subdue and to occupy their only resources which was their land. More so, the aggressive attitudes of the British forces now confirmed their skepticism towards them and therefore, the Mizos were equally determined to repel the rising tide of British Imperialism. Thus, frontier raids became more acute than ever. It appears that between 1854 - 1862, the Mizos raided the plains 19 times in which 107 persons were killed and about 186 persons taken as captives including Mary Winchester, a minor white girl (Hluna 2005:34).

The hostile attitude of the Mizos was indeed the main contentions of the British Government, so much so that the Governor General of India, though seemed reluctant, was compelled to order an armed invasion by sending forces into the Hills (Lewin 1977:526). Accordingly the British Government launched a full scale attack on the Mizos in two columns between 1871-1872. The first or the Chittagong column was placed under the direct command of General Brownlow and Capt. Lewin, the Superintendent of the Chittagong Hill Tract. The second column was led by Brigadier General G.Bourchier and Mr. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. The expedition rescued Mary Winchester and compelled over 60 villages to surrender and about 20 villages were completely burnt down (Hluna 2005:35). In this way, the Lushai expedition and armed invasion of 1871-1872 brought about a situation where relative 'peace' ushered in the southern areas bordering Assam as well as the Chittagong Hill Tracts for nearly a decade and half.

However, the prevailing peace and normalcy ushered by the expedition of 1871-72 was upset in the 16th year when Hausata, the Southern Pawi chief killed Lt. J.F.Steward along with his two English body-guards and one *sepo*y on the 3rd February 1888 at the Chittagong Hill Tracts (Hluna 2005:35). This incident compelled the Government to undertake heavy retribution by sending an armed expedition comprising more than 4600 strong from three columns, viz, Bengal, Assam and Burma in 1889-90. This mass scale expedition was called the Chin-Lushai Expedition. The expedition succeeded its task of punishing the 'offenders' and ultimately established the British authority in the Mizo Hills. It was soon followed by the imposition of House tax of Re 1/- and 10 seers of rice from every family. In addition, every household was forced to contribute 6 free labours annually (Hluna 2005:35).

The imposition of Tax and Forced Labour was strongly opposed by the Mizo chiefs and it further escalated existing tensions and hostilities between the two camps. It was in these backgrounds that Ropuiliani's household also got caught up in a long-drawn-out struggle against the superimposition of alien authority.

Ropuiliani was the daughter of Lalsavunga, chief of Northern Mizoram, born in 1806, she was married to Vandula, one of the popular chief of southern Mizoram. As a result of the first military expedition of 1871-1872, the British resorted to heavy punitive measures in the form of Tax and Forced Labour and also divided the territories into many petty areas with specific boundaries and allocating them to chiefs loyal to the British. This was bitterly resented by some of the chiefs of which Ropuiliani's husband Vandula was no exception.

In a bid to exercise their hegemony, the British tried hard to induce all the Mizo chiefs to their side by making them collaborators and loyal allies. In this regard, they were quite successful and many chiefs including Seipuia, the brother of Vandula, began to submit themselves to the dictum of the new authority. Meanwhile, the British also tried hard in persuading chief Vandula, husband of Ropuiliani, to give in as well. Despite all odds, Vandula defied the alien rule and chose to remain independent and thus the British considered him as their grave enemy. Throughout his reign, Vandula opposed the British and never succumbed to their pressures (Reid 1976:57). However, towards the evenings of his life, he decided to divide his villages among his sons- Sangliana, Thahulha, Dotawna, Lalthuama, Savuta and Hrangphunga, and ultimately died in 1889 defying the British till his last breath (Reid 1976:57).

When the eldest son Dotawna died leaving behind his minor sons, his aged mother Ropuiliani

ruled as regent and as chieftainess. On assuming power, Ropuiliani encouraged all her sons, particularly the youngest and favorite Lalthuama, not to submit to the foreign invaders. Even though the British exerted more and more pressure on Ropuiliani and her folks, she stood her ground and even refused to talk with them. She followed the policy adopted by her late husband and therefore confrontation with the British became a foregone conclusion.

Ropuiliani considered the advent of the British into Mizoram as a calamity. Therefore, under these circumstances, she was not willing to tolerate the foreign intrusion. She accused the British of trying to colonize Mizoram and hated their levying of taxes, demands of rice and forced labours and therefore, rebuked all efforts of negotiations with the British.

When the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-1890 established a military camp at Lungleh, and Darzo in the vicinity of her son Lalthuama's village, Ropuiliani reacted sharply by instigating her allies Zakapa and Dokapa to confront the British, leading to the murder of C.S. Murray, a British Political Officer and his companion Mr. Taylor. The British also suspected Ropuiliani and her son Lalthuama of having a hand in the killing of Lt. Stewart in 1888.

All along Ropuiliani and her son lalthuama defied the British and refused to comply with their terms of dictations. She would yell from her heart that:

"We are chiefs from ages, paid taxes to nobody; no nation had ever imposed on us forced labours, our citizens would never contribute any labour or tax to foreign people, we will drive the foreigners from our land" (Hluna 2005:38).

She charged all those chiefs that submitted to the British as shameful act of cowardice and cried to them:

"Even if you all surrender, I am here the daughter of Lalsavunga, the brave ruler of the North who will never surrender to the foreign rulers. I will call the sons of my brothers from the North, and will surely push back the foreign invaders from our land and free our nation" (Hluna 2005:39).

The above statements clearly exhibit her determination to upset the Imperial designs despite the fact that most of the Mizo chiefs by then had submitted to the British authority. In such circumstances, the British charged Ropuiliani and her son Lalthuama as conspirators and nerve centre of estrangement and stimulating the Northern chiefs for new insurrections (Shakespeare 1977:104).

In the summer of 1889, when the British Political officer Mr. Lyall convened chief's Durbar at Lungleh, all the chiefs of Southern Mizoram except Ropuiliani and Lalthuama attended the Durbar. When the chiefs were summoned for the second time in January 1892, again Ropuiliani defied the British and instead sent a village elder to represent her. Between 24-26 December, a chief Durbar for the third time was again convened at Lungleh where 32 chiefs attended. This time also Ropuiliani and her son refused to attend the same. The continued defiance of the British authority by Ropuiliani and her son had greatly annoyed the British and Capt. John Shakespeare reported that:

"Her influence is distinctly hostile to us...it is clear to me that all Lalthuama's obstinacy and troublesomeness has been due to the

influence of his mother...and she has great influence over the rulers of her other son's Villages" (Lalsangzuali Sailo 2005:71).

What may be noted was the fact that despite her repeated defiance, the British often made friendly advances in order to pacify her. It appears that the British even sent her husband's brothers Seipuia and Lalluauva to persuade ropuiliani to come to terms with the authorities. However, all these efforts proved to be futile as she remained stubborn and defiant and repeatedly rejected their offer for truce. Therefore, the British administrators were convinced that capturing Ropuiliani was the only option left so as to prevent imminent threat to their rule in the hills.

Amidst the increasing hostility and tension, the British demands for tributes from the chiefs continued unabated. They made regular demands of tributes in the form of labour, rice, fowls, guns etc. On one occasion the British demanded tributes to Ropuiliani's village through an interpreter or *Rashi* by the name of Satinkhara. This action of the British greatly enraged her and voiced her anger wishing that somebody would just get rid of the interpreter. One of the village warriors Hnawncheuva immediately acted in response to the call of her highness Ropuiliana and ultimately executed the *Rashi*/ interpreter. This added more fuel to the fire and the ongoing tensions between the two parties was escalated yet to another higher level.

In early August 1893, the British administration decided to carry out raids on Ropuiliani's village. The raid was led by Capt.J.Shakespeare, R.H.S.Hutchinson, and Mr.Pugh along with 80 riflemen and ascended upon and taking Denlung village by surprise (Shakespeare 1977:104). On entering the village, the British announced the terms of fines to the

chieftainess and her son Lalthuama. Their fines consisted of 30 guns, 10 pigs, 20 fowls, and 100 mounds of rice, which was to be delivered at their camp in Lungleh (Reid 1976:193). It was with great difficulty and after stubborn resistance, however, that the party captured both the mother and son and their subjects virtually disarmed (Shakespeare 1977:104). Thus, with the capture of Ropuiliani and her right-hand man and son Lalthuama, the people were virtually left without a leader.

The raiding party soon returned along with their captives to Lungleh, but what may be noted was the fact that Ropuiliani refused to walk on foot and urged her captors to make alternative arrangements. Accordingly, she was carried on a palanquin in majestic style and with her front facing towards her village compelling considerable adjustment for the tired carriers (Kyndiah 1994:110). On reaching Lungleh on 12th August 1893, they were locked in a Guard Room. Ropuiliani was offered peace to return to her village if she submit to the British power and remain loyal ally of the British. Time and again, Ropuiliani was adamant and refused the offer. Instead of yielding to their continued demand and pressures, Ropuiliani preferred to remain rebellious and even persuaded her visitors in prison to rise against the alien rulers.

In view of her stubbornness, and repeated defiance of the administration, the British authority considered it unsafe to confine her within Mizoram and therefore decided to deport her away as her presence could disturb the alleged 'peace' in Mizoram as Capt. John Shakespeare puts it, "...the presence of these two persons in the hills is mischievous even in confinement" (Lalsangzuali Sailo 2005:75). Finally, they were deported to the Chittagong Jail (Bangladesh) as state prisoners on 8th April 1894. As per the instructions of the Lt. Governor, four additional staffs were employed

in the chittagong jail for the royal prisoners and they should be:

"Warders and not of police constables, on a salary of Rs.7 debitable to the Imperial Grant for Refugees and State Prisoners under the Head 25. Political." (Lalsangzuali Sailo 2005:76).

In prison, Ropuiliani's health started to deteriorate following an attack with dysentery, her appetite began to drop resulting to immense lost of weight. On seeing her condition and fearing embarrassment for Ropuiliani being a State Prisoner, the Chittagong jail Superintendent wrote a letter to the Commissioner advising her release:

"She is very old and feeble. It is evident that she is slowly dying in the jail. In consultation with Capt. John Shakespeare I now recommend that she be released from detention under Regulation III of 1818. On her release she would be conveyed back to Lungleh and detained there in as much comfort and freedom as is possible. Her age and infirmity preclude all ideas of her escaping" (Lalsangzuali Sailo 2005:78).

However, before she was released, Ropuiliani's health gave away and she breathe her last in early January 1895 laying on a prison bed. Three days after Ropuiliani's death on 6th January 1895, R.W. Murray, Jail Superintendent, wrote to the Chittagong Magistrate J.D. Anderson reporting the Queen's death:

"...State Prisoner Ropui Lieni, Lushai Chieftainess died on 3rd sustain of sheer old age. She was attacked with dysentery for a few days in a mild

form in the month of August. This weakened her very much and no doubt tended to fasten her end, although she had quite recovered from the actual attack" (Lalsangzuali Sailo 2005:79).

It is very difficult to accept that she died of 'sheer old age' as alleged by the administration. It is more logical that her health succumb to overwhelming pressures imposed upon her by the British and that she had to deal with wearisome invaders with their ceaseless demands and forcing her people to servitude. The trauma she suffered incessantly took a mighty toll on her mentally and physically leading to her demise while fighting for her honour, land and people till her last stand.

What seemed to be evident was the fact that with her death, the general movement against the British rule also collapsed. It now became easier for the British to subdue other Mizo chiefs. Now that their leader was no more, the people in general also discarded the idea of resistance. Messages were sent to the villages informing people to surrender their guns, and from Ropuiliani's village alone 100 guns were extorted and the entire collection amounted to as many as 500 guns (Sangkima 2005:122).

From all these accounts it became apparent that Ropuiliani was the architect of Mizo resistance to colonial rule. Her character exhibits the greatness of mind for she could wield strong influences upon other Mizo chiefs, more so because the period coincide when Mizo chiefs fought their alien enemies alone as inter-clan feud in the form of war was very common which resulted in impracticability to stage joint confrontation against the British. It was also a time when the chiefs were not accustomed to the idea of making common and formidable alliance with their neighbouring chiefs. Therefore, in this

background, Ropuiliani's role became even more significant and formed a part and parcel of the freedom movement and hence belonged to the galaxy of freedom fighters.

As an iron lady, she preferred at her old age to remain in prison till her death than to serve alien master. She subscribed to an example of the highest standard of patriotism. That the colonial administrators did not spare her, all showed that she joined hands with other freedom fighters in upsetting the Imperial designs in varied forms.

The remarkability of Chieftainess Ropuiliani was her unshakeable ambitions, her dignity and principles, unassailable and charismatic authority which made even her contemporary Mizo chiefs considered her a symbol and leader in the resistance movement against the foreign rule. Though deeply grief-stricken and yearning for her homeland and her people, she refused to surrender to the British till the end. Her character indeed showed a rare kind of exceptional qualities and hence proved to be truly a 'Queen'. It may have been perhaps for these reasons that even her captors look upon her with great regard and respect that instead of putting her with other inmates like a scandalous criminal, she was accommodated in the European ward of Chittagong Jail so much so that even the status of a 'State Prisoner' was accorded to her. For her alone the post of four personal guards was temporarily created and all these clearly were manifestations of respect, admiration and esteem held by her captors.

To conclude, Ropuiliani's heroism and her struggles against the empire is still alive in the memories of the Mizos. It inspired one of the greatest female singers to compose a song in her memory, thereby forging a subaltern solidarity, that is, a woman highlighting the role of another woman.

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