



## CONTENTS

### Editorial

- 01 Samita Sen, Shamil Jeppie

### 03 Letters to the Editors

### 03 Quiz

### Articles

- 04 Pravit Rojanaphruk, *Thainess and its History: Reflection on the Problematic Nature of Nationalism with Emphasis on the Case of Recent Violence in Pattani and other Southern-most Provinces of Thailand.*
- 09 E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Africa's "Brain Gain": Whose Shibboleth?*
- 15 Shiladitya Chakraborty, *Child Labour Elimination— A New Dimension.*
- 18 Shamsiddin S. Kamoliddin, *New Data on the Descendants of the Last King of Sogd—Ghurak.*

### Contemporary South

- 22 Mwalimu George Ngwane, *The Cameroon Book Industry— Challenges and Changes.*

### Symposia South

- 25 Edsel L. Beja, Jr., *The Naming Game... Let's Try NGO.*
- 26 Edith Sanchez Amaya, *Border Lines Program.*
- 29 Sanchari Sur, *Why they still need us?*
- 30 Sonali Biswas, *My experience with reality.*

### Archives

- 32 Lara Mancuso, *CEAO Permanent Historical Archive and CEAO Photograph Archive: Two Documentation Resources in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil.*

### Across the South

- 33 Zimitri Erasmus, *"Mixing Races" Conference Report 16-21 June 2005, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.*
- 35 Sraman Mukherjee, *Revisiting Rabat: Recollections of a Workshop on Alternative Histories, Workshop on "Memories and Histories", Rabat, June 2005.*
- 37 Jishnu Dasgupta, *Beyond Boundaries, Conference on "Studying Games: Culture, Politics, Society, Media", Calcutta, 15 and 16 July 2005.*

### 38 Quiz (Answers)

### Reviews

- 39 Patricia Reinheimer, *Dispossessions and Reappropriations: Intimate Antagonisms.* Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions. Indigenous art/Colonial Culture*, Thames and Hudson, New York, 1999.
- 40 Riddhi Sankar Ray, *Two Novels from the Eastern Himalayas: Love Found and Lost.* Mitra Phukan, *The Collector's Wife*, Zubaan/Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2005. Kunzang Choden, *The Circle of Karma*, Zubaan/Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2005.

### 41 Announcements

### 45 Our Team

## Editorial

**Samita Sen**  
**Shamil Jeppie**

It is with great pleasure that we post the first number of the second volume of this e-magazine. We are increasing our circulation rapidly and receiving more responses from readers. We have also been fortunate in receiving a number of contributions on varied subjects from different regions of the South.

We have repeatedly emphasised our commitment to historicising the South through various features of this e-magazine. You will see from one particular letter to the editor (published below), that the term 'South' is not a 'settled' or a transparent category. It is important to recognise that the category remains open to critical research and investigation. Indeed, that is part of the aim of this project. A straightforward answer to the question, 'what is south', is virtually impossible. The term is drawn from, but is not coeval with, the geographer's division of hemispheres along the equator. Rather, the term is used (by us) in a historical sense, and in the context of the politics of development. In that sense, the term overlaps with a number of other development categories, the un- or under-developed countries, the 'Third World', and even in recent times, with 'post-colonial' cultures. The origin of the term lies in debates about development in the period immediately after the Second World War, specifically in the context of gradual decolonisation in Asia and Africa.

The newly independent countries considered economic development to be their main challenge and pushed, in particular within the United Nations, for an international agenda. The UN and its specialised agencies began to debate such development problems as the financing of economic development, land reform, distribution of national income, and technical assistance to hasten their development. In 1948, General Assembly adopted Resolution 198(III), to consider specific problems of underdeveloped countries. In the early 1950s two outstanding documents transformed the terms of the debate. A contribution from Don Raul Prebisch, now famous as the Prebisch document, focused on the economic development of Latin America. This document, published in 1950, recommended strategies for the development of countries on the periphery of the world economy. Prebisch further developed his structuralist approach in the *Economic Survey of Latin America* published in 1951. In the same year came a Report of the UN Group of Experts including the Schultz and Lewis *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped*

*Countries*.

Among the significant ideas promoted by the UN in the 1940s and 1950s were: 1) obstacles to economic development and recommending policies to quicken economic progress, 2) international trade in relation to economic development and the importance of industrialisation to escape the trap of exporting primary commodities, 3) technical assistance and 4) the need of a large-scale capital fund for economic development. The need for financial aid for development was elaborated and a clear intellectual link established with the terms of trade. In the context of the period, such ideas were almost subversive. Moreover, these discussions identified, in the 1950s, three issues that remain at the heart of the development debate to this day. These are: 1) State versus market, 2) external versus internal factors of development and under-development, and 3) inequalities both among countries and within countries.

In the 1950s, the Prebisch-Singer (Hans Singer's was the other significant contribution to these theories) doctrine was influential beyond Latin America in development thinking, not only because of their unorthodox recommendations but also because it was a contribution coming from the South. The centre-periphery paradigm developed by Prebisch constituted the cornerstone of development theory for many decades. These analyses included both the links between development and underdevelopment as well as the historical origins of the integration of southern regional economies into the capitalist system as producers of primary commodities. In many ways, Prebisch's structuralist approach was the most significant contribution to national modernisation theory originating in the South. It did not break with the Western model of modernity. The objective was industrialisation through the adoption of Western technologies and models of consumption.

Let us for a moment return to the issue of the terminology itself. The classical division, popularised in the nineteenth century, was between the industrialised, metropolitan economies of the 'West' vis a vis the backward, colonised countries of the 'East'. This terminology acquired a new meaning after the Second World War, when the West/East division of Europe took on global political significance within the paradigm of the Cold War. The East/West opposition further broke down in the mid-1950s, when Japan emerged as an industrialised economy. Thus emerged the division of the world into the First, Second and the Third, depending not only on economic

performance but also on political affiliation. Primarily intended as a political category, this three-fold division overlapped with an imagined gradient of economic progress. Within development discourse, political advocacy led to a series of modifications in characterisations of (essentially) economic backwardness, from 'undeveloped' to 'underdeveloped', then 'less developed' and finally 'developing' countries. Many of these descriptions were in current and parallel use in the 1960s and 70s. These terminologies also had bureaucratic implications; the assessment of eligibility for aid and other international assistance produced a plethora of classification of backwardness.

In the 1970s, a new crop of scholarship furthered the structuralist analysis of development. The spiraling levels of indebtedness at the wake of the IMF fuelled new ways of thinking about the inequalities embedded in international economic exchanges. This led to the dependency model, popularised by scholars such as Samir Amin and Andre Gunder Frank among others, which emphasised relations of dominance in economic exchanges between countries. Within this new conceptual framework, neither 'East-West' nor 'First World-Third World' oppositions were appropriate any longer. This led to the popularisation of a new geographical metaphor, already in use, North and South, to signify the division between the developed and the not so developed parts of the world. The metaphor may have been drawn from the pattern of development in Italy, divided sharply between the industrialised North and the agricultural South. Increasingly, it was felt, that the North/South distinction best expressed the opposition between 'rich' and 'poor' societies. But of course, the terms are not, and cannot be, precisely descriptive.

The Development Decade of the 1960s led to the formation of the UNCTAD, which unified the South with the establishment of the group of 77 countries. In the new international environment, development (North-South) tensions seemed nearly as serious as political (East-West) tensions. The rapid strides being made in some South-East Asian economies and the New International Economic Order reinforced the questioning of the use of the term 'Third World' as it was then current. By 1977, the battle lines were drawn when the Group of 8 and the Group of 19 met at the Conference on International Economic Cooperation in Paris. An 18-month 'dialogue' between the 'rich North' and the 'poor South', which had begun with much enthusiasm, finished with little by way of

## Editorial

promise for development or equity.

The term 'South' is not a stable one, and continues to be used in parallel or in relationship with other descriptions/categories of inequity and marginalisation in the international order. Thus, central to our understanding of 'South' are terms like colonialism, neo-colonialism, un- or under-development, the Third World, all of which signify elements of structural inequality within the global economy, the basis on which current trends of globalisation are predicated. Indeed, some historians prefer the term neo-Imperialism to globalisation, because the former signals more clearly the dominance and exploitation of peripheral or 'South' economies. This magazine is concerned with *historicising* the South, and as such with questioning and challenging the category 'South' even while asserting the value and importance of creating networks, which will help us combat the increasing dominance of a few within the global economy.

This issue opens with four **Articles** focusing on diverse themes of identity and development. Pravit Rojanaphruk discusses the way in which minorities

in Thailand have been marginalised by the application of a narrowly defined notion of 'Thainess', while E. S. Atieno Odhiambo interrogates the way in which states attempt to harness intellectuals to 'national' development efforts and in that context the myth of 'brain gain' in Africa. Shiladitya Chakraborty examines the question of child labour in the Indian context. Shamsiddin Kamoliddin discusses evidence regarding the descendants of Ghurak in the period of Islamic invasions in central Asia.

Once again, we have had to pick and choose among the various features for this issue. The section on **Contemporary South** includes a contribution on the book industry in Cameroon. In **Symposia South** we have put up a few contributions on NGOs and the experience of working in these organisations, both a positive and a negative perspective, and we would be happy to continue the debate in subsequent issues if we receive more contributions on the subject. In response to requests from our readers, we have included the section on **Archives** in this issue,

featuring the archives at CEAO, Brazil. **Across the South** features reports from three conferences, in Africa and Asia, this time. In the **Reviews** section, we have included for the first time reviews of novels, as well as academic publications.

A new feature of this issue is a quiz. We are including the answers to our quiz questions in this issue. However, we are open to the idea of transforming the feature into a competitive item, if our readers indicate their interest in such an exercise. We are also posting the first set of 'letters' we have had below.

**Acknowledgements:** Putting together this potted history of the terminology of North/South in record time was only possible because of the generous help of many Calcutta scholars: Amiya K. Bagchi and Debdas Bandopadhyay (Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata), Biswajit Chatterjee and Gautam Gupta (Department of Economics, Jadavpur University) and Ishita Mukhopadhyay (Department of Economics, Calcutta University).

The next issue will be a special one on 'Media and Culture' and we invite contributions, either in the form of articles or reviews, small features, reports on film/art journals and conference reports. We would be very grateful if those who wish to write contact us at [sensamita@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:sensamita@yahoo.co.uk) for details regarding format and style. We must have the contributions by 30 September 2005.

## Letters to the Editors

Thanks for reducing the digital size of the magazine. The downloading is quick and smooth, whereas, previously it was a rather tough job. It is much easier to handle now. Being fond of colours, I like the bright orange frame too!

I found the Articles and the Contemporary South sections of this issue engrossing, especially Satyesh Chakrabarty's paper on the Tsunami and Olarinmoye's piece. Across the South is a personal favourite as it has a strong flavour of the documentary!

Just two suggestions: Please introduce a Pre-modern South section like Contemporary South and can we have small, synoptic reviews-more like blurbs, which introduces latest publications along with the usual ones?

Also, the image quality needs to improve I guess.

Anyway, congratulations to the Editorial Team. Good show!!

**Rajasri Mukhopadhyay**  
Asiatic Society, Calcutta (India)

### Response:

Many thanks for the praises and the suggestions. We are still working on the images. We have included a couple of blurbs on recent books in this issue. We will try and do more from the next issue. You will be pleased to see that we have included a piece on pre-Modern south in this issue.  
Ed.

This is in response to the publication of the third issue of your webzine. Rajasri's article (she is a friend from school-days), written in stiff English, speaks of her thorough knowledge of ancient archaeology. Satyesh Chakroborty's essay is factual and interesting. Soma Marik's analytical writing is extremely realistic, but Prof. Suranjan Das's views on communalism could be taken into consideration.

**Abanti Adhikari**

Lecturer in History, Narasinha Dutt College, Howrah (India)

### Response:

Your comments have been forwarded to the authors.  
Ed.

I have been enjoying the e-mag very much. It has a wonderful range of material across all different kinds of borders, so it is remarkable but not surprising that you have had thousands of hits. Will the "Archive" section re-appear again in the next issue, I see it is not in 1.3? I enjoyed that in the previous issues. It is nice to see how people are going about their research and reflecting on the process and what it means to be doing it and so on. All the best,

**Meg Samuelson**  
University of Cape Town, South Africa

### Response:

Thank you. We have a section on the archives in this issue, but it is not quite what you are talking about. What we have this time is another perspective— a fascinating story of creating an archive.  
Ed.

I have read several times in your last issue the word *South*. You are committed to encourage links in South to South networks of scholars and their work on (again) southern themes. What do you mean by South? South to what and from what? Mexico is located in the southern part of Rio Bravo, the South of the US. And the US is located south to Canada. Equator is the imaginary line that divides the earth in two parts North and South. Is that the reference we ought to apply to your concept of South? What is for you the definition of southern societies?

**Roberto Herrera Carassou**, Ph.D.  
Mexico City  
e-mail: roherc@servidor.unam.mx

### Response:

Thank you very much for your insightful question. It has given us many interesting hours of research and a better understanding of the North/South terminology. We have addressed your questions at some length in the editorial. We will try also to get some articles in subsequent issues on this theme. Meanwhile, we do regard Mexico as part of the 'South', very much so. Do write for us. We will be very happy to publish your contribution, either an article or in any of the features.  
Ed.

## Quiz

All the following events took place in the two quarters of the year, April to September, though the year varies. And all of them took place in the South. We ask you to identify the event, person or the place as the case may be.

### Questions

1. This event saw the greatest number to ever watch a soccer match in the world. It also stamped the name Belo Horizonte in the consciousness of English soccer fans. Identify the event.
2. A very important day in the struggle for democracy took place in this period, involving a Nobel Peace Prize winner's release from prison. Who is this fighter for freedom in South-East Asia?
3. Which event, celebrated in literature and film, marked the final end of the Macedonian imperial dynasties?
4. On 20 June 2003, which country voted to adopt a new constitution to bring about a balance of power, and thereby end one of the worst civil wars of the twentieth century?
5. What massive natural disaster involved an explosion greatly more powerful than that at Hiroshima causing Tsunamis that killed 36,000 people?
6. This event marked the beginning of one empire and the fall of another in the Americas and came at the end of a three-month siege. What was the event?
7. Which leader returned to his homeland after twenty-seven years of exile to become President of his people, but not of a state?
8. This country, during the time frame mentioned at the beginning, became the first republic in Africa. Identify it.
9. On 5 July 1811, what did Venezuela become the first country to do?
10. General Abdul Karim Kassem organised a coup that took place in this period. Identify the monarch he deposed, and the country of which he became the leader.

**See answers page 38**

## Articles

## Thainess and its History: Reflection on the Problematic Nature of Nationalism with Emphasis on the Case of Recent Violence in Pattani and other Southern-most Provinces of Thailand



**Pravit Rojanapruk**

He is a senior writer for *The Nation*, a leading English-language daily newspaper published from Bangkok. He writes mostly on social problems. The author holds a Master of Science degree in Social Anthropology from Trinity College, Oxford. He was also a Reuter fellow at Green College, Oxford.

### Abstract

The article probes Thailand's nation building and its underlying politics. For the author, the project is linked to the construction of Thai identity, which attempts at recognising only Thai speaking Buddhists as the nation's imagined community and marginalises, among others, the Malay Muslims. This politics of recognition and marginalisation is manipulated by the Ministry of Culture, leading to a variety of conflicts, including the familial and the communal. The article deals with the nation-state and its definition of Thainess as a modern project and its limitations in relation to minority regions like Pattani.

The construction of Thai identity is intrinsically linked to the nation-building project, which began in earnest after the 1932 revolt that ended an absolute monarchy. Thainess is generally defined as being Buddhist and able to speak the language Thai.

This narrowly constructed identity makes it difficult for ethnic Malay Muslims in the deep South, who speak a variant of Malay (a recent government survey revealed that about 30,000 people in the deep South cannot speak Thai), practice a different religion and who constitute a majority in many towns, to feel Thai. The spate of violence that began in January 2004 and has included some separatist sentiments reveals the inability of Thainess to accommodate diverse identities that exist within the country.

The popular version of Thainess is widely accepted despite the fact that many different ethnic and linguistic groups have contributed to Thai culture—among them the Mon and other hill tribes, along with the Khmer, Lao and Malays. This version of Thainess is based on a myth of homogeneity, as opposed to one of plurality and diversity, which was constructed seven decades ago to create a sense of community among the people. As Cornell University professor Benedict Anderson suggested to the Thai media earlier this year, the Thai nation-state is not willing to refer to the Muslims in the deep South as Malay Muslims, only as Thai Muslims, thereby denying these people's cultural roots out of a fear that Malaysians would become involved with the conflict taking place within Thai territory.<sup>1</sup>

Looking back at how Chinese migrants and their offspring became Thai, it is apparent that over the past seventy years, these people were either willingly or unwillingly pushed by government to suppress, if not abandon, some of their identities—their names, language, costume and so on—in favour of the centrally prescribed characteristics of Thai identity. This occurred in the name of social harmony, allowing them to become accepted as Thais.

In this sense, to be Thai is to

accept the state-sanctioned notion of Thainess, and to discard one's culture, or at least let it be subsumed.

The difference between the Malays and the Chinese is that the Chinese migrants were a minority, while the Malay speaking people of Pattani and nearby areas are neither migrants nor a minority. And this is the source of the conflict and identity crisis among the Muslims in the deep South.

The situation is made much more acute and complex by the trend towards the purification of Islamic belief through the removal of indigenous pre-Muslim Hindu and animistic beliefs in order to realign local Muslims with Mecca, a process that can be described as Arabisation. Local mosques that once reflected Malay-style architecture have fallen out of favour, with the high Islamic style of the Middle East, with its domes and so on, predominating.

The recently created Ministry of Culture still try to police the notion of Thainess by telling the public what is appropriate and what is not, which is an attempt to continue the centralised, albeit ineffective, role of gatekeeper for Thainess. For example, the ministry recently attempted to ban gays from television and has tried to impose dress codes for young women during the Songkran festival. At one time, it was considered un-Thai to be communist and similar charges have been levelled against other types of behaviour.

Today Thainess is also open to manipulation from the private sector. A television commercial for a local beer asks whether viewers are Thai or not, implicitly suggesting that Thainess can be maintained by the consumption of the right brand of beer. Surprisingly, the commercial forgets that beer itself is not a Thai drink. Thainess, then, is open to competition from different parties and not just defined by the state. But will it eventually fizzle out and lose its relevance?

At a time when identity can be multifaceted, transcend national borders and be subject to re-imagination and revival, the notion of Thainess is facing a challenge. Among some Thais, for example, being Chinese is now something to be celebrated and even flaunted as

China emerges as an economic, political and cultural power.

Now that multiple identities are becoming more accepted, if not tolerated, it remains to be seen how the Malay Muslim identity will be treated by the Thai state. It appears that today, the idea that Thailand is a uniform and homogeneous community is flawed and affecting national security.

### Thainess and Nation-state as a Modern Project and its Limitations:

The discourse of Thainess and nationalism as a modern project share many characteristics with other modern projects such as modern architecture and modern history. There exist a common belief in a certain grand narrative, what is known in architecture as the 'international style' which pervaded modern architectural design throughout the world in the 1960s and 1970s, the stress on standardisation, the privileging of the centre such as history from Bangkok rather than from the periphery's point of view. History in a modern sense is ahistorical in that it tries to imagine and project the existence of the nation-state into the past and plays down the historical role of the periphery (such as Pattani or Patani as it was known earlier in English) and areas beyond its borders. In a similar fashion, modern architecture tried to abandon previous architectural styles until post-modern architecture surfaced in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The understanding of Thainess as a result of modern nation-building project is thus limited, causing dissatisfaction and is now facing competing claims from the periphery like the predominantly Malay Muslim areas in Pattani and surrounding provinces of Yala and Narathiwat.

The grand narrative of modern history portrays nation and nationalism as sacred in an almost, if not outright, religious fashion. Members of any particular nation state are encouraged and incited to shed their blood and sacrifice themselves for the sake of defending their 'motherland'.

<sup>1</sup>Interview with author, 2004.

## Articles

Blackwell's Dictionary of Anthropology stated that the nation, though an imagined community, which often commands intense loyalty, is problematic because "it is an artificial creation and because the state in which one lives may not be the nation with which one identifies."<sup>2</sup>

In Thailand, well-known historian Nidhi Eowsriwong of Chiang Mai University concluded that elementary school texts propagate a view of nation state being a big and peaceful family where no conflict exists and a place where values of the central Thai culture is considered most appropriate and the Thai bureaucracy as faultless. For Nidhi "The life pattern of good person according to [school] texts always have the love for the country as an important motivating force".<sup>3</sup>

With regard to standardisation, centralised Thai identity and high culture was created over the past century to be imposed upon the rest (similarly, in Japan one has the process called 'Samurization' during the Meiji era), despite the existence of cultural and ethnic diversity in various parts of what is today known as Thailand. The Malay Muslims in the deep South, for example, are coerced and propagandised to simply think of themselves as 'Thai Muslims'. Somehow, their Malay ethnicity and language seemed to have been dropped from official literature and does not exist on their identity cards.

As such, you can be nationalistic only if you are 'Thai' and many who are deemed as unpatriotic are often branded as 'un-Thai'.

This goes hand in hand with the control of the centrally written or Bangkok-based history, which is controlled and manipulated by the elites and later on by the upper middle classes too. Further, a different version of history emerging from the periphery's perspective is suppressed and kept away from schools. Such opposition comes not just from elites but also from ordinary people who have been incorporated within the mainstream by official Thai history.

The suppression and discouragement of history from other regional or peripheral perspectives comes with a price of ignorance and bias among the

public at large when it comes to conflict such as that of the state's relations with minority people, be it hill tribes in the north or ethnic Malay Muslims who are in fact a majority in the southern-most provinces.

There also exists a gross ignorance and disinterest among the public in general to learn about various ethnic minorities. In a recent debate on whether a sign prohibiting women from entering certain parts of Buddhist temples in the north should be abolished or not, political scientist Thanet Charoenmuang, one of the defendants of the continuation of this practice, asserted that Bangkok or the centre, has always tried to dictate to the periphery on what to do.

In the same fashion, history and Thainess as a form of nationalism, dictated from the centre, is always limited and problematic especially when it tries to grapple with differing views and identities from other parts of the nation-state.

A minority but vocal group of scholars and historians have always got themselves into trouble debating the lack of merit of the ultra-nationalistic history and the problematic nature of Thainess (see Srisakala Wallibhotama, Sujit Wonthes, Charnvit Kasetsiri, Somsak Chiamtirasakul and Thongchai Winichakul).<sup>4</sup>

As a result of the recent spate of violence in the Malay Muslim areas of southern Thailand, more books in Thai are being written about the history of the conflict and the history of Pattani itself. In one such book written by Srisakala Wallibhotama and others, the executive editor Sujit Wonthes lamented in the preface that: "Thai 'national' history does not try to be informed about historical evidence and the true historical existence of the Pattani state which has been independent for a long time. What's more, it ridicules [these] people as Khaek [outsiders] who reside on the land."<sup>5</sup>

Likewise, Thongchai Winichakul wrote in a preface of another book on Thai national history: "History seems to be a space which is dearly guarded by autocrats of all stripes and will be the last area where autocracy will withdraw itself from."<sup>6</sup>

Given such a narrow and restricted

nature of history and concept of Thainess, various ethnic groups feel they either have to assimilate or abandon their history and identity in the way the dominant groups in Bangkok of varying time see fit.

The most recent such opposition to any version of history, deviating from that of state history, is the successful opposition to the election of Dr Piriya Krairiksh to the position of President, Siam Society of Thailand, which is under the Royal Patronage of Princess Kalayani, the King's elder sister. Siam Society is the oldest 'Orientalist' club of scholars and amateur scholars interested in Thai and Asian studies with members mostly coming from the elites and the rich who often prefer to speak French and other 'exotic' languages.

Piriya was opposed from 'those high above' according to one report<sup>7</sup> due to his controversial assertion that perhaps the well-known stone inscription of the Sukhothai era, which testifies to the ancient lineage of Thai scripts, might very well be an invention at the order of King Rama IV in the nineteenth century and not something dating back to the fourteenth century as previously believed. It is interesting to note that Piriya himself comes from a prominent aristocratic family and yet faces strong opposition due to his deviation from state-sanctioned history.

This is no surprise given Thongchai's assessment on the state of Thai studies as being inward looking and separate from the rest of the academic world. In his seminal book *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation*, which was based on his doctoral dissertation, Thongchai directly dealt with the troubled notion of Thainess in the introductory chapter. He proposed that there exists a widespread assumption in Thailand today about a common identity known as 'Thainess' or *khwampenthai*. And like other nationalist discourses, "although a skeptic might doubt the validity of such a view, the notion prevails even among scholars."<sup>8</sup> It is worthwhile to quote Thongchai at some length here.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas Barfield (ed.), *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2000, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup>Nidhi Eowsriwong (ed.), *Thai Nation, Thai Country, School Texts and Monuments*, Matichon Books, Bangkok, 2004, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup>Sujit Wonthes (ed.) *Pattani State in Srivijaya*, Matichon Books, Bangkok, 2004; Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of Siam*, Silksworm Books, Chiang Mai, 1998.

<sup>5</sup>Wonthes, *Pattani State*, 2004, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>*The Nation*, 4 August 2004.

<sup>8</sup>Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, p. 3.

## Articles

"[T]he definition of Thainess has been discursively defined and claimed by the authorities of various ideological camps.... Prince Damrong Rajanubhap (hereafter Damrong), a great historian and administrator, once suggested that the three moral pillars of the Thai people were the love of national independence, tolerance, and compromise or assimilation. The Pibun government during World War II (1939-1945) initiated many ambitious attempts to civilize Thai culture. Many commissions were established to stipulate what Thai culture should be and to supervise its dissemination.... Ironically traditional clothing and the traditional practice of chewing the betel nut were prohibited, while trousers, skirts, and kissing before going out to work in the morning were prescribed.

"There are many other views about Thainess, and the definitions never end. Thailand is a nation, though not the only one, which concerns itself with the preservation and promotion of the national culture as if it might suddenly disappear. Therefore a government body has always existed for this purpose, though its name and its tasks vary from time to time. One of the present entities is the Commission for National Identity, which has had to define Thainess in order to clarify its tasks for planning, coordination, and consultation on the security of the institutions of the nation, religion and monarchy. The commission has concluded that the nation is composed of eight elements: territory, population, independence and sovereignty, government and administration, religion, monarchy, culture and dignity. The commission, however, has expressed its concern that, 'as we shall see, the meaning of the term 'national identity' is quite broad, covering all aspects of the nation to the extent that it may cause some confusion and unclear understanding. Even the eight elements as defined are not agreed upon by everyone'."<sup>9</sup>

In the end, Thongchai concluded that "[a]lthough Thainess is never clearly defined, it is supposed that every Thai knows it is there." And that "Once the un-Thainess can be identi-

fied, its opposite, Thainess, is apparent."<sup>10</sup> And thus, during the Cold War, Thongchai pointed out, to be Communist was to be 'un-Thai'.

Thongchai said "[s]ince the definition of Thainess has never been (and never will be) clear, therefore, the domain of what is Thainess and the power relations arising from it constitute an arena over which different interpretations from various positions struggle to gain hegemony."<sup>11</sup>

The narrow and problematic nature of Thainess and its linear history makes it especially hard for people like Thai Malay Muslims in the deep South to 'imagine' themselves as being part of the 'Imagined Community' of the Thai nation, to use Benedict Anderson's concept.<sup>12</sup> They do not feel accommodated in this modern nation-building process. On the contrary, this type of Thai nationalism led a good number of them to seek a competing and alternative nationalism through a struggle for independent 'Patani State' which, ironically, is also a form of nationalism based on a predominant ethnic and language group, not unlike that of Thailand today.

Those who are aware of the limitations of Thainess and the concept of the Thai nation are not only limited to those outside the corridors of power. An advisor to the current Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra had even suggested that he finds the Thai national anthem limited in the sense that it talks about Thai ethnicity without mentioning other ethnic groups in the country and thus, other people must feel left out of it.

This writer would like to dwell a little further on the limitation of the discourse of Thainess before going into the issue of the Thai Malay Muslims in the deep South.

The designation of Thainess is as something good, wholesome and patriotic and opposite to 'un-Thai'. This means that in any political debate, one must first declare oneself to be 'Thai', otherwise one cannot be patriotic. To say you do not love Thailand, for example, is equal to blasphemy. Thus anyone sympathetic to the separatist cause in the deep South is un-patriotic and un-Thai.

Secondly, while Thainess may offer space for regional cultural variations, it tends not to acknowledge 'differences', branding such as 'un-Thai'. In this sense it fails to encompass true

diversity and differences and exists in a power relation to those within the national border but are different. The only way to be Thai is to accept assimilation, act and behave more like the dominant group (or at least appear to do so). This, the children of Chinese migrants have excelled at. In this regard, Thainess is based on 'performance' and could be potentially inclusive regardless of ethnic or religious background. Certain groups within the national border, like the Malay Muslims in the south, however, do not wish to perform 'Thainess'. The present constitution, often praised as 'very progressive', outlaws any move towards separatism and insists upon the indivisibility of the national territory.

### **The Case of Pattani and How it Reflects on the Problematic Nature of Thai Nationalism**

What appears to be missing when the recent (and continuing) spate of violence flared up in January 2004 is the lack of alternative history, or history from the point of view of Thai Malay Muslims in the deep South (there may be history written in Yawi, and not Thai, among separatists, but such history is not available to the general Thai public).

What the Thai public at large have is a state-sanctioned version of the history of Thailand with little mention of the kind of atrocities committed upon the Malay Muslims in the deep South over the centuries.

Thus the recent spate of violence is not placed in context of decades, if not centuries, of suppression. In fact, it only helps in strengthening the stereotypical image of Thai Muslims (as the state calls them) as being problematic and violent, capable of killing even Buddhist monks.

Ordinary Thais, this writer included, would suddenly be thrown into a state of shock and initial disbelief upon coming into contact with the history of Pattani from a different point of view, which has been suppressed by the hegemonic Bangkok elites.

In the book *Militant Islamic Movements: Indonesia and South-East Asia* by S. Yunanto, et. al. for example, the authors dealt with what appeared to be parts of the history of Pattani missing from the consciousness and memory of the Thai public.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 4, 5.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Anvil Publishing, Philippines, revised edition, 2002.

## Articles

"As far as the Kingdom of Pattani is concerned, it was annexed into the Kingdom of Thailand after the latter was re-formed and reorganised by King Rama V in 1902.... Upon his loss of political power, Tengku Abdul Kadir Kamarudin, the last ruler of Pattani State was up against the Thai government. Eventually, he was arrested and accused upon his disobedience to the Thai government. Finally he was brought to Bangkok to Pitsanulok Province in northern Thailand where he was put in jail for 10 years. Later on Sir Frank Swettenham released him.... It stands to the fact that he was granted royal amnesty on the condition that he no more participate in any kind of political activities. However in 1915 he was found engaged in active politics and again imprisoned for another 2 ¾ years. At the end he made a final decision to take a political asylum in Kelantan State and lived there till his death in 1933."<sup>13</sup>

"As far as the Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand are concerned, they are said to have been at dilemma due to the fact that they were at a difficult time because they were made to get themselves assimilated into Thai identity by means of education, economy and polity. As a result, they rose in arms against the Thai government in form of separatist and terrorist movements..."

"[I]t was found that things went from bad to worse when the Thai government led (*sic*) by Pibulsongkram, the young military man in 1938 was strongly determined to stand in a strong support of 'ethnic Thai chauvinism' which has impinged upon the lifestyles of the Malay Muslims in the southern border provinces so much so that they were up against Thai government.... Under this situation the public policy and acts in favor of the socio-cultural integration by means of socialization was announced and publicized by the government under the leadership of Prime Minister Pibulsongkram.... Apparently he was a man, who established the so-called racist state known as nationalist state or Thai Rathaniyom to call it in Thai. The nationalist state was the independent state, which gave more emphasis on the Thai culture central part (*sic*) of Thailand, to which the culture of the Thai in other parts of the country was considered as inferior. It thereby implies that the minority groups were bound to follow cultural patterns or lifestyles of the Thai. To obtain this kind of intention, the term 'Siam', the name of the Kingdom was changed into 'Thailand' in 1939 and again in 1949 and thenceforth (*sic*) remains in use with emphasis on Thai-ness on the basis of the minority groups were bound to be socialized, and socially integrated in line with Pan-Thai or the Greater Thai Movement."

"As far (*sic*) the Malay Muslims in the southern border provinces during Pibulsongkram's regime were concerned, they were under greater negative impacts on their cultural identity. They were not allowed to dress themselves in their traditional customs; or to speak Malay language, or to use their names both personal and family after Islamic terms. More to this point is that the Islamic laws regarding family and inheritance were in use in the southern border provinces with the royal permission of Rama V were rescinded. In addition, the non-Buddhists are said to have been converted into Buddhists through socialization in line with primary education. So also was the Muslim government official through Thai bureaucratization."<sup>14</sup>

This brief history of Pattani is from a different perspective from that of Bangkok's. Needless to say, such competing perspectives of history are suppressed or omitted under the current form of nationalism. Any violence in the south is branded as 'insurgency' while local Malay Muslims may themselves call it 'war' or 'war of liberation'.

In the final analysis, it is this narrow and restrictive history and interpretation of Thainess that gave rise to separatist nationalism in Pattani, which is perhaps also as narrowly interpreted as any other modern project. Thai Malay Muslims appear to find it difficult to remember a common past and share a common identity under the current project of Thai nation building.

### The Politics of 'un-Thainess'

Time and time again, the smear of being 'un-Thai' has become a convenient rationale for dismissing and attacking fellow Thais. The label was recently employed against pop diva Tata Young and reportedly led to the break-up of a short-lived but high-profile relationship between her and tennis superstar Paradorn Srichaphan. This was partly in response to her boasting of her dalliance with the national icon at a press conference and later on television. After weeks of pressure from fans and his parents, Paradorn abandoned his 'un-Thai' girlfriend.

While this writer is by no means a fan of Tata Young or Paradorn (his rise in the tennis world being surrounded with too much jingoism) it is worth noting that branding someone 'un-Thai' is arguably one of the most convenient ways of vilifying a Thai person without having to make a credible, well-structured case against them. 'Un-Thai' behaviour is itself unacceptable by definition, because the worst thing a Thai could ever be, one supposes, is, 'un-Thai'. This is a superficial way of promoting an 'us-versus-them' mentality, it bespeaks a xenophobic irrationality that can be tapped for much darker purposes than simply breaking up a celebrity couple.

The 'un-Thai' stick has long been used as an easy method of social control by the powers that be. Conveniently shifting and morphing rules of what it means to be 'Thai', as opposed to the dreaded 'un-Thai', a dictatorial elite is able to harness common passions to its advantage. This is exemplified by extending the legitimately existing cultural respect for elders to a prescribed obedience to those in power in the state or private sector. It is regrettably easy to do this: Many Thai proverbs touch on what constitutes the "proper Thai way". They are easy to twist into a case against a more democratic and equitable culture. *One should not use*

*a stick to lift a log*, goes one such proverb. Others encourage a passive philosophy of accepting one's lot in life, e.g. *One can compete in a boat race but not in good karma*.

The beginnings of the modern debate on what is 'Thai' versus 'un-Thai' may be traced back to at least the reign of King Rama VI, who described migrant Chinese as the "Jews of the East" in his writings. He was also an important figure in the ideological engineering of Siamese nationalism, expressing fears that the Thai identity was at risk from Western threats as well as Chinese migration. A more modern and strident Thai nationalism was espoused by Prime Minister Plaek Pibulsongkram, with the ideology reaching its most ruthless manifestation on the dawn of 6 October 1979. Thousands of student protesters who opposed the return of Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn at Thammasat University were branded as 'non-Thai', which at that time meant communist and Vietnamese, in concrete terms. What followed was lynching, burning and murder of dozens of Thai students. Right-wingers found it useful to brand these students as 'un-Thai' and the more absolute 'non-Thai' as a pretext before initiating a senseless killing, the darkest chapter of modern Thai history.

<sup>13</sup>S.Yunanto, et. al., *Militant Islamic Movements: In Indonesia and Southeast Asia*, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Jakarta, 2003, p. 264.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 265, 266.

## Articles

It was 'un-Thai' at that time to be a communist or even a socialist, but those using the rhetoric of 'Thainess' didn't seem to feel that their own identities were compromised by being lackeys of the United States, with its Cold War brutalities and lies. It was apparently just fine to be influenced or even manipulated by one group of outsiders, but not another.

In such a cultural matrix, 'Thainess' is always perceived by Thais as being good, and a negation of whatever is not good— in other words, anything that is alien to Thai culture. In this context, it is easy to understand the appeal of the message in a television advertisement for

Beer Chang in which singer Ad Carabao, asks: "Are you Thai or not?" The implication is that if you drink Beer Chang, then you are 'Thai' and good, but woe be to the Thai who does not.

Such a demarcation is inconsistent and does not explain why only this brand of beer is a mark of 'Thainess' or why university education and electoral democracy are not branded as 'un-Thai'. Perhaps people should revert to autocratic rule and economic oligarchy to become 'Thai'.

What's more, the discourse leads to a misunderstanding about the very notion of culture, which is always in a flux, not monolithic but rather hetero-

geneous and hybridising. Culture is never static, or only dead culture is. The worst thing to happen to the evolution of the French language was the establishment of a government institution to police it, which is perhaps why English, which had no such albatross, is today's lingua franca.

Now that the Ministry of (Thai) Culture is doing more cultural policing, such as banning scantily clad models on ramps, the Thai people must finally begin to see that the 'Thai' versus 'un-Thai' debate and its accompanying institutions are a recipe for cultural stagnation.

Based in New Delhi (India), Red Earth is devoted to designing events such as performances, talks, and workshops and fostering artistic and cultural activity in various other ways like publications and art exhibitions. For more information on our projects, please visit our website <http://www.redearthindia.com>

The flagship initiative of Red Earth, *The Pamphlet Project* was started in October 2004. It aims to revive the literary genre of the pamphlet, using it to articulate concerns of popular culture, urban life, and the arts in India. The first issue of the project, *The Metrosexuals: Exploring the Unexplored*, is a detailed multi-faceted study of metrosexuality in global and Indian contexts. Details of the pamphlet are available at [http://www.redearthindia.com/pamphlet/issue\\_1.html](http://www.redearthindia.com/pamphlet/issue_1.html) and it can also be purchased online at the same URL. We also have a blog for the project, which may be accessed at <http://www.blog.redearthindia.com>

If you would like to join our newsletters, please visit <http://www.lists.redearthindia.com>. Besides *Red Hot*, which is the newsletter for information on Red Earth's activities, we have also recently started *Red Fort*: Red Earth's Delhi Newsletter, with listings of events and performances in and around the city of Delhi. Red Fort will eventually be a paid newsletter, but till further notice, the subscription is free.

## Articles

Africa's "Brain Gain": Whose Shibboleth?<sup>1</sup>

E.S. Atieno Odhiambo

Elisha Stephen Atieno Odhiambo is Professor of History at Rice University, Houston, Texas. He delivered the Moshood M. K. O. Abiola Distinguished Lecture at the 44<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association in Houston, Texas, in 2001. Born and raised as a Luo in Kenya, he graduated from Makerere University College in Kampala, Uganda, and, in 1973, obtained a Ph.D. from the University of Nairobi, Kenya. He taught in the Department of History at the University of Nairobi. He served as the Vice-Chairman of the Historical Association of Kenya between 1979 and 1986. He went to Rice University to teach in 1988 and stayed on.

He has published over seventy articles and reviews in academic journals. As a public intellectual, he has contributed articles in *The Weekly Review*, *Viva*, *Busara*, *Transition*, and *The Wilson Quarterly*. Some of these contributions drew undesired attention from the Kenyan authorities, leading to harassment, incarceration and eventually to flight and exile.

His publications include: *The Paradox of Collaboration and Other Essays* [1974]; *Siasa: Politics and Nationalism in East Africa* [1981]; *A History of East Africa* [1977]; *African Historians and African Voices* [2001]; *Ethnicity and Democracy in Kenya* [1999]; *Jaramogi Ajuma Oginga Odinga* [1998]; and *History and Government in Kenya* [1986].

## Abstract

The hope for Africa's graduation into an era of "brain gain" as espoused by UNESCO may be premature. The continent has still got to deal with a "brain drain" for those who have left, and with a "brain haemorrhage" for those who have stayed. The summons to participate in "nation-building" is no longer convincing, and the rhetoric of African "development" has lost its purchase. While it is true that Africa needs its intellectuals, African universities have to deal with internal structural disorders first. Similarly African bureaucracies have to weed out institutionalised corruption before they can hope for the return of the exiles.

**Definition:** The term "brain drain" is frequently used to describe the movement of high-level experts from developing countries to industrialised nations.

Article 16, From 'brain drain' to 'brain gain'. *For The Twenty-First Century: Vision and Action*, UNESCO, 1998, World Declaration on Higher Education.

The 'brain drain' has yet to be stemmed, since it continues to deprive the developing countries and those in transition, of the high-level expertise necessary to accelerate their socio-economic progress. International co-operation schemes should be based on long-term partnerships between institutions in the South and the North, and also promote South-South co-operation. Priority should be given to training programmes in the developing countries, in centres of excellence forming regional and international networks, with short periods of specialized and intensive study abroad. Consideration should be given to creating an environment conducive to attracting and retaining skilled human capital, either through national policies or international arrangements to facilitate the return— permanent or temporary— of highly trained scholars and researchers to their countries of origin. At the same time, efforts must be directed towards a process of 'brain gain' through collaboration programmes that, by virtue of their international dimension, enhance the building and strengthening of institutions and facilitate full use of endogenous capacities.

"Brain drain" is one of the most widely discussed and deeply troubling phenomena, not only in educational relations among nations, but also as an anomaly of development in Third World countries. So far, there has been no systematic or comprehensive appraisal of this phenomenon in Africa and of its possible stranglehold on African development.<sup>2</sup> I do not know who coined the term, "Africa's Brain Gain", but I have found the phrase in the UNESCO Declaration of 1998. I suspect that the wordsmith is possessed of a wry sense of humour, for otherwise the optimism behind the title would be hard to justify or to explain. We know it for a fact that: "Out of the small, but vibrant community of scholars that Africa managed to produce [in the 1960s], many have gone overseas, *forced by conditions at home* to seek a better working and

living condition elsewhere. This has resulted in a massive brain drain, while those who remained behind watched themselves become academically stagnated and incapacitated."<sup>3</sup> We also know from published statistics that: "In 1998, nearly 120 doctors were estimated to have emigrated from Ghana; between 600 and 700 Ghanaian physicians are practicing in the United States alone. This represents roughly 50 per cent of the total population of doctors in Ghana. It is estimated that about 10,000 Nigerian academics are now employed in the United States and that more than 1,000 professionals left Zimbabwe in 1997. Between 1980 and 1991, only 39 per cent of Ethiopian students returned from abroad out of the 22,700 who left."<sup>4</sup> What is more, we have read from Kenya's Minister for Planning and National

Development Peter Anyang' Nyong'o that: "To fill the gap created by the skills shortage, African countries spend an estimated \$4bn annually to employ about 100,000 non-African expatriates."<sup>5</sup> And further: "In addition to brain drain, what is called 'brain hemorrhage' has become a serious challenge... Most scientists who stayed on in their institutions became divorced from research and development activities..."<sup>6</sup>

But rather than raise it as an agenda for inter-state relations as Professor Lameck Goma did in his Dalhousie University address, my discussion will be limited to the implications of the surmise that the time has now arrived for diaspora Africans to "return to the native land",<sup>7</sup> and to take part in the imperatives of national 'development'. I am cynical of the assumption that anyone

<sup>1</sup>I want to thank Professors Kennell Jackson, Jr. (Stanford University), Francis Nyamnjoh (CODESRIA), Robert M. Maxon (University of West Virginia), Norma Kriger (Ohio State University), James Ogude (University of the Witwatersrand), Fred Owino (African Academy of Sciences), D. A. Masolo (University of Louisville), Elias Bongmba (Rice University), Gregory Maddox (Texas Southern University, Houston), John Oyaro Oucho (University of Botswana) and Dr. Ed Rege (ILRI), for their responses to earlier drafts of this paper.

<sup>2</sup>Lameck Goma, "The African Brain Drain: Investment in and Utilization of Human Capital" in Alexander A. Kwapong and Barry Lesser (eds.) *Capacity Building and Human Resource Development in Africa*, Dalhousie University, The Lester Pearson Institute for International Development, 1989, p.95.

<sup>3</sup>Damtew Teferra, "Scientific Communication and Research in African Universities: Challenges and Opportunities in the Twenty-First Century" in Damtew Teferra and P.G. Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education: An International Reference Book*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2003, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 129, 130.

<sup>5</sup>Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, Speech delivered during the launch of the Africa's Brain Gain Organization and Website, Poolside Terrace, Hotel Intercontinental, Nairobi, 2 September 2004.

<sup>6</sup>Teferra, "Scientific Communication", p. 130.

<sup>7</sup>Aime Cesaire, *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, Presence Africaine, Paris, 1956.

## Articles

in Africa cares for the thousands of its citizens who are dispersed in far-flung corners of the earth.

### Assumptions

For too long scholars have glibly observed that the African continent would be better off if all its daughters and sons in the diaspora returned to the continent, and participated effectively in its 'development'. The pertinent question is: What good would it do, if we all turned up tomorrow and reported to the various Vice-Chancellors? I approach this issue from a cynical perspective that is informed by my own age cohort.<sup>8</sup> I grew up in Africa, in Kenya to be exact, and graduated from Makerere in March 1970.

The Political Science that we learnt from Prof. Ali Mazrui and Dr. A. G. G. Ginyera-Pinyawa as undergraduates included large doses of readings on political integration. We read from the edited volumes of Eisenstadt and Rokkan, and came to value the integrative goals of African Independence.<sup>9</sup> "[2] creating *unity* among heterogeneous groups in their polity, often referred to as the process of *nation-building*; and [3] providing avenues for political *participation*".<sup>10</sup> We understood *participation* to be the very essence of democracy, and accepted Mwalimu Nyerere's prescription in a TANU publication in 1959: "The ancient Greeks lived in small towns. Each town was a complete 'nation' with its own government. They did not have kings or *watemi* [chiefs].... Authority and responsibility did not rest with a single individual or a small group of citizens, but rested with the entire citizenry together. The Greeks called this governmental arrangement 'Demokratia', that is, government by the citizens, in order to distinguish it from royal government and others."<sup>11</sup> At Makerere we read from Goran

Hyden's "Nation-Building Text", appropriately entitled *TANU Yajenga Nchi*.<sup>12</sup> We learnt from Mwalimu Nyerere that, "To plan is to choose"; and shared the vision and ambition of the Dar es Salaam Jazz Band that:

It can be done  
Play your part!  
*Rais akasema* [The President declared] it can be done  
Play your part!  
Yee! It can be done  
Play your part!

We felt as if we were *participating* in making choices "running from fully liberal capitalism through fully controlled state socialism".<sup>13</sup> We swallowed line, hook and sinker the orthodoxies of comprehensive planning, then *de rigueur* for the nation-state-in-the-making. In Kenya we followed the debates on 'development' as articulated by Minister for Economic Planning, Tom Mboya, and read the critiques of his *Sessional Paper Number 10: African Socialism and Its Application To Planning in Kenya*, offered by such luminaries as Dharam Ghai, Peter Marris and Barrack Obama in the *East Africa Journal*.<sup>14</sup>

On completing our graduate studies we could not wait, but had to return immediately to our home countries to assist in the task of building the nation. Franco Luambo Makiadi urged us to roll up our sleeves to his rumba tune, *retroussons les marches*, ushering in the post-1965 Mobutu regime in Congo-Kinshasa, which we mistakenly thought of as *regime ya seka* or *regime nouveau*.<sup>15</sup> There was hardly any reason to tarry longer in Europe or the Americas once the examiners awarded us our much-sought-after Ph.D.s.<sup>16</sup>

What happened in the decade from the mid-1970s, and into the 1980s is well-known: The atrophy of the

University Systems in Africa;<sup>17</sup> the onset of authoritarian regimes; the destruction of our erstwhile democracies and the imposition of the Ideologies of Order;<sup>18</sup> the damages of the Structural Adjustment Programmes, leading to the deterioration in the material condition and the morale of Africa's higher education institutions;<sup>19</sup> the flight into exile of the best and brightest, those lucky enough to escape the arrests, tortures and detentions.<sup>20</sup>

Many Africans of my generation, and into the 1980s, therefore, moved into exile because of the failure of the post-colonial state. One cannot refer to exile as voluntary. There might well be the desire to have our daughters and sons return to the Continent. But the political conditions that drove us into exile remain the same; at any rate the best that could be said is that there seems to be no political will to right ancient wrongs.

The 1951 Convention on Refugees describes a refugee as: "A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or return there, for fear of persecution".<sup>21</sup>

Much as we joined in the re-democratisation euphoria of the 1990s, cheering and urging for change in the political systems, the new millennium has offered no consolation. True, there have been regime changes, but the practices of governance remain very much in place, everywhere in Africa, and

<sup>8</sup>For a rationalisation of my type of cynicism see Goma, "The African Brain Drain", p. 97.

<sup>9</sup>S.N. Eisenstadt, and S. Rokkan, *Building States and Nations*, 2 vols., Sage, Beverley Hills, 1973.

<sup>10</sup>J. Isawa Elaigwu and Ali A. Mazrui, "Nation-Building and Changing Political Structures" in Ali A. Mazrui (ed.), *UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. VIII*, Heinemann, Berkeley, 1993, p. 446.

<sup>11</sup>"Msingi Ya Demokrasi", *Sauti Ya TANU*, No. 47, as reprinted in E. B. M. Barongo, *Mkiki Mkiki wa Siasa Tnaganyika*. Dar es Salaam, East African Literature Bureau, 1966, as cited in Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1990, p. 226.

<sup>12</sup>Goran Hyden, *Political Development in Rural Tanzania. TANU Yajenga Nchi*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969.

<sup>13</sup>Robert J. Berg, "Models of Social and Economic Development" in John Middleton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Sub-Saharan Africa, Vol. I*, Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1998, p. 430.

<sup>14</sup>E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Bethwell A. Ogot and the Crucible of African Scholarship, 1964-1980" in Toyin Falola and E.S. Atieno Odhiambo (eds.), *The Essays of Bethwell Allan Ogot: The Challenges of History and Leadership in Africa*, Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ, 2002, pp. xv-xvii.

<sup>15</sup>Gary Stewart, *Rumba on the River*, Verso, London, 2000.

<sup>16</sup>One of us, Abraham John Nkinyangi, left Stanford University on the same day he defended his thesis in 1980 to return to Nairobi University's Institute of Development Studies!

<sup>17</sup>Kilemi Mwiria, *University Education in East Africa. The Quality Crisis*, Kenyatta University [mimeo], Nairobi, 1993.

<sup>18</sup>E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Democracy and the Ideology of Order in Kenya" in Michael G. Schatzberg (ed.), *The Political Economy of Kenya*, Praeger, New York, 1987, pp. 177-201.

<sup>19</sup>B.K. Campbell and John Loxley (eds.), *Structural Adjustment in Africa*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1989; Adebayo Olukoshi, "Structural Adjustment Programs" in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Dickson Eyoh (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History*, Routledge, New York, 2003, pp. 533-536; Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis and Oussenia Alidou (eds.), *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles against Structural Adjustment in African Universities*, Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ.

<sup>20</sup>E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Hegemonic Enterprises and Instrumentalities Of Survival: Ethnicity and Democracy in Kenya", *African Studies*, 61, 2, 2002, pp. 223-249.

<sup>21</sup>Joanne van Selms et. al., *The Refugee Convention at Fifty: A View from Forced Migration Studies*, Lexington Books, New York, 2003.

## Articles

particularly so in Kenya.<sup>22</sup> Events in Kenya indicate that the political elites are determined to maintain Mahmood Mamdani's "centralized despotism",<sup>23</sup> not even yielding to the minimum irreducible demand for constitutional change.<sup>24</sup>

So, once again, I am led to ask: Whose optimism leads to talk about 'brain drain'?<sup>25</sup> Why should any sane African, driven into exile by forces satanic and secular, imagined and real, want to return to Africa in reverse migration? To what avail? What has changed, for whom, and where? Apart from our extended and immediate families, who may depend on us for remittances, and on whom we depend emotionally, who really needs us back home?

### The Developmental Imperative

Recent calls for the Diaspora Africans to return home seems motivated by the desire to get them involved in 'development' after the destruction of the post-colonial state. The idea of 'development' may have retained its viability. But not without qualifications.

Irene L. Gendzier reminds us that 'development' speaks to the aspirations of people throughout the world for a life of meaning and dignity.<sup>26</sup> And that is precisely the beginning of our problem. All of us, wherever we are on the surface of the earth, wish to pursue lives of *meaning and dignity*. Who in Africa seeks to provide the returning scholar with a life of meaning and dignity? Which Kenyan is impervious to the recently reported humiliation of her most celebrated novelist, Ngugi wa Thiongo, on his return to his native land by a person or persons unknown? Who would submit to his wife Njeeri's humiliation again?

But to return to the wider issue: When does the 'development' imperative become so compelling that those of us in the diaspora would yearn to participate in it? When does it begin to really benefit our people? What happened to people's *participation* in development that undergirded our enthusiasm for it in the 1960s?

The historiography of 'development' in Africa is instructive. Goran Hyden among others provides a useful summary of this literature.<sup>27</sup> The first phase of the

development discourse coincided with the Independence Era, 1955-1965. During this era [which Hyden labels as The "Big Push"], Africa's leaders were anxious to accelerate development so that people could see the benefits of their newly won national sovereignty. These leaders saw development as coterminous with modernisation, to follow in the footsteps of western industrialised countries. Central planning for development was seen as mandatory, and the "top-down" approach was adopted, with the government as the engine of change, and people's participation seen as secondary. Kenya's much lauded if under-theorised Harambee effort was part of this agenda, seen as a supplement, as it were, to government's technical expertise.

This phase was followed by the Basic Needs Approach [1965-1975], with realisation that development was not merely a linear economic model and that its alternative, 'underdevelopment', was an equally possible outcome. Development was to address the individual's basic needs. In Kenya there were "integrated rural development programs", and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Nairobi generated a lot of literature on this approach to development.

Next came [1975 to 1985] the Structural Adjustment Programs advocated by international lending institutions, including the World Bank and the IMF. The main objective was to reward rural producers and eliminate subsidies to urban consumers, and to free [rural] individuals from the shackles of government regulations, thus placing responsibility for development on individuals rather than governments. Especially heralded during this period was the notion of the "rational peasant", fortified with local knowledge, values and institutions. Development *of or for* the people was being replaced by the notion of development *with* the people.

A further paradigm shift occurred in 1985-1995, with growing emphasis on the nurturing of an enabling

environment and development *by* the people. By the beginning of the millennium we are being confronted not so much with 'development', but with other shibboleths, including 'the crisis of development', 'new social actors', 'new social movements', and 'alternatives to development'.<sup>28</sup>

This brief excursion is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, its heuristic value lies in the conclusions to be drawn from it. One of them, a salient one, is that neither the social scientists, nor governments in Africa, know what the end results of 'development' might be. It follows logically therefore that neither the home-based scholars, nor governments in Africa, are in a position to blithely invite diaspora scholars to 'come and help us develop Africa'. We can no longer merely resonate to Franco Luambo Makiadi's *retroussons les marches*. As the Kenyan Economist Silvano Ogessa Wambakha once asked in his novel, the march towards 'development' entails a safari on *The Long Road to Wapi?*

### The Relevant Questions

The role of institutions in creating an enabling environment has long been recognised by scholars of development<sup>29</sup> and that the choice of the environment is a political act.<sup>30</sup> I will first turn to the locus of my *habitus*, namely the University. It is still true that "African universities are major movers and shakers... determining the intellectual, scientific, and scholarly direction and developmental agenda of their respective countries".<sup>31</sup> This is particularly true of public universities.

What good would a return to Africa do? Do universities and research institutions in Africa have the capacity to absorb and retain the expatriate manpower were we to return to our respective countries?

Much has been made of the fact that there are enough openings in our respective universities and research institutes to absorb all the returnees. The issue is not one of openings *per se*. What is more pertinent are habits of work and the state of the physical plant or laboratory at home to which one returns. In North America we have

<sup>22</sup>E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Ethnic Cleansing and Civil Society in Kenya 1969-1992", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22, 1, 2004, pp. 29-42.

<sup>23</sup>Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996.

<sup>24</sup>Odhiambo, "Ethnic Cleansing", p. 41.

<sup>25</sup>Chosen as the theme for a conference at which this paper was originally presented.

<sup>26</sup>Irene L. Gendzier, *Managing Political Change: Social Scientists and the Third World*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo., 1985.

<sup>27</sup>Goran Hyden, "Development" in John Middleton (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Sub-Saharan Africa*, Vol. 1, Charles Scribners' Sons, New York, 1998, pp. 424-429. See also Lyn Ilon, "Foreign Aid Financing of Higher Education in Africa" in Teferra and Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education*, pp. 61-72.

<sup>28</sup>Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development*, Princeton University Press, New Haven, 1994.

<sup>29</sup>Robert Bates, *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Teferra, "Scientific Communication", pp. 128-142.

## Articles

become used to the software that makes life livable: Computers and e-mail systems that work, administrators and secretaries that are *responsible* and *responsive*, availability of funds to attend national and international conferences, sabbatical and study leave as part of one's initial contract with the University, and Chairs and Deans who are supportive of one's work. Can one simply assume that these aspects of the physical plant will be in place? Also, since we are dealing with a 'greying professoriate', such issues as medical benefits assume a cogent urgency. What happens if one gets sick? Will one get attention at the nearest hospital, and does the individual assume the employer's capacity to foot the bill afterwards? Where does one start, with the chairman of the department or the dean of the faculty? If not, how does one learn to improvise, particularly from a hospital bed?

Our discussion here hinges on institutional inertia particularly observable at Kenyan public universities. With a fixed number of 'established posts' at each level, and with the clamour for seniority at each level, will multiple professorships be created, with individuals appointed as and when they are ready to 'profess' their subject, rather than because there are openings at the next tier? Furthermore, as we are focusing on the upper echelons of the professoriate, it might be *obligatory* to open up higher echelons of appointments, if only to limit the potential rivalry between established dons and their former students clamouring for promotion in the same departments.

Of equal significance within the university system is the need to recognise the pressures of expansion<sup>32</sup> and "massification"<sup>33</sup> that have added large numbers of students to most African academic institutions in the past decade. The upshot is very large classes that individual faculty members have to instruct, making it impossible to run meaningful tutorials, and to exercise effective supervision of graduate students. The ramifications of this situation are several; among them is the need to recognise the fact that the students are getting lower quality of instruction than the senior faculty received as under-

graduates. Even the Association of African Universities admits that there has been "a general drop in the quality of higher education in Africa" since the 1980s.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, "At the University of Nairobi, only 40 per cent of the teaching force hold Ph.D. degrees; 33 per cent of the faculty at Kenyatta, 32 per cent of the faculty at Moi, and 19 per cent of the faculty at Egerton have Ph.D.s. Although the possession of a Ph.D. degree is often a benchmark qualification for most university lecturers internationally, the converse seems to hold for Kenya."<sup>35</sup> Put simply, *the vast majority of present-day lecturers should be pursuing higher degrees instead of occupying academic posts.* This detail has relevance for the returning scholars.

Should one return home to become a mere classroom teacher? Quite often African states see professors as teachers rather than producers of knowledge, and therefore as irrelevant to development and policy issues. Indeed policy matters are often reserved for 'experts', many of them our fellow colleagues coming from the West, and who for a niggardly stipend engage us as 'consultants'.<sup>36</sup> "This is particularly the case where the local professionals have superior qualification to the so-called 'international experts' yet they are answerable to them", Planning Minister Anyang' Nyong'o had the temerity to add.<sup>37</sup> What are the implications of this situation for one's own research and publishing? Indeed what institutional mechanisms are in place for research and publication in such an environment? "In the increasingly global world that is largely shaped by knowledge and information, establishing a strong research infrastructure has more than ever before become a *sine qua non* in this highly competitive world", Teferra and Altbach rightly asserted.<sup>38</sup>

What are the implications of these numbers for one's own scholarship? What can one do without the handmaiden of scholarship, a well-stocked research library, or failing that, an efficient Inter-Library Loan System? This service, more than any other, has made life tenable for most of us even in the remotest corners of the USA. Without it, perhaps there would be a rush of African scholars at

the major African Studies Centres and nowhere else; with its accessibility, one can work anywhere from Hawaii to Alaska, and from Oklahoma to Miami.

Let me hasten to add that the majority of us are not involved in cutting-edge research, on cancer, on HIV/AIDS, in cutting-edge theoretical physics, 'dark energy' cosmological research in astronomy, or in nanotechnology research in expensive laboratories. Many of us are involved in mundane 'research' in the Humanities and repetitive Social Sciences. But the point is that the few African scholars in the diaspora who want to publish have access to the relevant journals, and the intellectual capacity to do so while overseas. Even without lauding the merits of a knowledge-based economy,<sup>39</sup> it is now obvious that there is special merit to be attached to research and publications. The increasing numbers of African paper-presenters at the African Studies Association Annual Conferences has given me much food for thought over the sixteen years I have been in *forced* exile in North America.

An added pressure emanates from the need for 'Community Service', as evidenced by the involvement of the public university systems in 'Parallel Degree Programs' in such countries as Kenya and Uganda. There is undoubtedly merit in these extension programmes; but they come at a cost, to the individual faculty, regarding how much time one can spare for genuine original research and writing for publication in 'refereed, reputable, international, mainstream journals' that the academic tradition demands.

Let us now turn our gaze to the civil services in our respective countries, where the majority of our baccalaureate degree holders would be employed. The prevalent literature suggests that without an enabling environment in the corridors of power, not much is to be expected, even from well-intentioned bureaucrats.<sup>40</sup> In fact one should start with a caveat: Can any bureaucracy be 'developmental'? Given the traditional tendency of bureaucracies to conserve rather than to experiment,<sup>41</sup> whom do you turn to when you run against the impervious walls of bureaucracy? To the Permanent Secretary or to the relevant Minister?

<sup>32</sup>Joel Samoff and Bidemi Carrol, "The Promise of Partnership and the Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa", *African Studies Review*, 67, 1, 2004, pp. 67-200.

<sup>33</sup>Richard Fehnel, "Massification and Future Trends in African Higher Education" in Teferra and Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education*, pp. 73-81.

<sup>34</sup>Association of African Universities, *Strategic Plan, 2003-2010. Final Draft*, African Universities House, Accra, 2003, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup>Charles Ngome, "Kenya", in Teferra and Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education*, p. 369.

<sup>36</sup>Goma, "The African Brain Drain", p. 97.

<sup>37</sup>Nyong'o, Speech, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup>Teferra and Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education*, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup>William Saint, "Tertiary Distance Education and Technology in Sub-Saharan Africa" in Teferra and Altbach (eds.), *African Higher Education*, pp. 93-110.

<sup>40</sup>David Leonard, *Africa's Successes. Four Public Managers of Kenyan Rural Development*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1991.

<sup>41</sup>Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1990.

<sup>42</sup>Odhiambo, "Hegemonic Enterprises", pp. 167-182.

## Articles

And supposing she or he does not belong to your ethnic group, what do you do then?<sup>42</sup>

Let us reflect on the recent experiences in Kenya. Sometime in the 1990s, as President Daniel arap Moi sought to salvage his KANU regime from outward criticism, he allowed a 'dream team' of experts, some of them recommended to him by the World Bank, whose salaries were to be paid by that body. What confronted some of these individuals on assuming office in Nairobi was a series of stumbling blocks symptomatic of bureaucratic inertia. Some of their fellow Permanent Secretaries complained that since these individuals were doing the same job, there was no need for them to retain their World Bank salaries. Some civil servants questioned why they were allowed to work beyond the mandatory retiring age of fifty-five years. Some members of the 'dream team' had to forgo their late evening work habits, being forced out of their offices by 5 p.m. in the interests of 'national security'. In the end the experiment came to nought as the President dismissed them over the radio at one o'clock in the afternoon, as was his wont with all other offices in the land. This narrative serves to demonstrate the incompatibility of the entrenched work ethic in Kenya with practices obtaining elsewhere, with civil servants working late, unafraid about their personal security.

### Lands of Hope, Lands of Oz?

Aesopic Definition: *Brain Drain*. "The emigration of a large number of a country's highly skilled and educated population to countries where they can expect to find better economic and social opportunities".

A common fallacy informs the literature on African refugees and needs to be debunked forthwith. The assumption is that those of us who are highly skilled, particularly the intellectuals, wish to stay in the lands of our first refuge. Nothing could be further from the truth. Anyone who has had the opportunity to return home after a fifteen-year sojourn in a foreign land knows, from the time you step back in your country, that your time overseas has been wasted; that your genera-

*tional cohort has been developing while your homestead has remained stagnant, or suffered untold dilapidation.* The idea of foreign lands as the lands of hope and opportunity calls for a reappraisal.

The anxiety of the exile does not lessen with the passing of years. Quite the contrary. There is nothing as bad as the experience of dislocation in a foreign country *for reasons that are not of one's own choosing*. The willing immigrant scholar who has chosen where and when to go in the recent past does not share this anxiety with those of us who had to flee from our own motherlands in the 1970s and 1980s. For many of us the site for research remains the home countries, while the former might well choose to be citizens of the globalisation era and anchor their researches in postcoloniality.<sup>43</sup> For the majority of us, however, the location of our research remains the home countries. With extended exile, our research suffers because we are three or four aeroplane connections removed from the day-to-day local experiences that inform the practices of everyday life. The adage may well be true for my generation that east or west, home is best.

### The New Optimism

A google search on the internet offers some hope at the global level. World Bank, African governments, external donors, UNESCO, the African Economic Research Consortium, and the Task Force on Higher Education and Society<sup>44</sup> and other external donors have "rediscovered"<sup>45</sup> higher education in Africa. In the last two decades, the Bank in particular stressed the need for primary education at the expense of higher education. Hope, however, is tempered by the fact that great harm has been already done. There are fewer than two million students enrolled in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa out of a population of approximately 627 million.<sup>46</sup>

This means that Africa needs to go back to the drawing board and "involve herself in capacity building in human resources and infrastructure development, including infrastructure such as roads and communication facilities, and institutional infrastruc-

ture, such as financial institutions, courts, democratic structures, and educational systems".<sup>47</sup>

The question remains, however. Is Africa now attuned to define its own purposes of development, or are we simply to remain on track for "catching up with the global economy"?<sup>48</sup> What are Africa's own endogenously defined goals in this chequered drawing board of globalisation?<sup>49</sup>

Let me get back to my *habitus*, the University system, and perhaps end where I began. What do African universities need? It is obvious to me and to others that: [1] "There is an urgent need in sub-Saharan Africa to build the capacity of academic staff to meet the growing demand for education."<sup>50</sup> [2] The greater challenge is to develop and retain an academic corps competent to compete in a knowledge-based society. "These skills include problem solving and the ability to produce knowledge in the context of applications in real-life situations."<sup>51</sup>

To this I would add: [3] Need for dexterity in multi-disciplinarity and intra-disciplinarity. This will mean retooling, the ability to learn new methods and techniques of acquiring knowledge. The Americans have a word for it: They say one is a 'quick-pick' if you learn fast, and quickly. Certainly the old idea of being stuck in the same groove, teaching the discipline one learnt as an undergraduate till retirement, will not suffice. As William Saint observes: "Tertiary education in the future will be based much less on academic disciplines and more on trans-disciplinary study. Great emphasis will be placed on one's ability to learn independently, communicate effectively with others.... Media competence will become a universally required skill".<sup>52</sup> Article 9 of the *World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century* similarly reiterates, "the acquisition of skills, competences and abilities for communication, creative and critical analysis, independent thinking and team work in multicultural contexts... combining traditional or local knowledge and know-how with advanced science and technology."<sup>53</sup> At leading universities in the West there is a renewed

<sup>43</sup>Achille Mbembe, "Ways of Seeing: Beyond the New Nativism", *African Studies Review*, 44, 2, 2001 and *On the Postcolony*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001.

<sup>44</sup>Fehnel, "Massification", p. 73.

<sup>45</sup>Association of African Universities, *Strategic Plan*, p. i.

<sup>46</sup>World Bank, *Little Data Book*, World Bank, Washington DC, 2000.

<sup>47</sup>Fehnel, "Massification", p. 74.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Noam Chomsky, "Reflections on Power and Globalization" in Henry Veltmeyer (ed.), *Globalization and Antiglobalization*, Ashgate, London, 2004, pp. 139-153.

<sup>50</sup>Fehnel, "Massification", p. 79.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Saint, "Tertiary Distance Education", p. 108.

<sup>53</sup>UNESCO, *World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century: Vision and Action*, UNESCO, Paris, 1998.

## Articles

emphasis on initiating and deepening next-generation interdisciplinary programmes.<sup>54</sup> [It is a Brave New World out there, indeed! Thank God I will not live to see it!]

[4] Next, as observed by Saint and others, "The role and function of the University Library must be given particular attention during any strategic planning process." They add, correctly, the role of the library must be transformed "from handmaiden to full partner in the academic enterprise.... This implies a significant change in the job descriptions, employment qualifications, and professional status of African university librarians".<sup>55</sup>

[5] Much more needs to be known more widely. Association of African Universities has to cease being an exclusive club of *Rectors, Vice-Chancellors and Presidents* who arrogate to themselves the title of "the stakeholders", and aim at letting the ordinary faculty know about *what it can do* by way of academic exchanges, Fellowships and Scholarships, Regional Networks for Training and Research aimed at endogenous capacity building in Africa. New forums like the African Economic Research Consortium too must communicate, instead of constituting themselves as *committees of experts*.

[6] There is a need to cultivate a *critical mass* of academics in the African continent. We need to cultivate an academic culture that sustains 'a life of the mind', and encourages what Kwame Nkrumah used to refer to as a

culture of intellection.<sup>56</sup> In keeping with the new Strategic Plan of the Association of African Universities, the African University must "aspire to the strategic role of a catalyst for analytical thinking".<sup>57</sup> This aspiration is not yet evident in African universities. A visitor to the Faculty Clubs and Senior Common Rooms in Africa quite often runs into mundane bar-type gossip quite unworthy and unbecoming in these presumed centres of excellence. It is at this juncture that academics in the diaspora become relevant, for they can provide important linkage and support for the development of an academic culture in Africa.

[7] The situation is made worse by the practice of political patronage at our public universities. There is explicit patronage from appointment of the Vice-Chancellors to the lowliest cleaner. It is about time that appointments, at the senior levels at least, were open to talent and not limited to the few who are deemed to be 'politically correct' or politically connected. Among other things these politically correct people misappropriate the meager resources of the universities with impunity. For evidence from the newest public Kenyan University Charles Ngome writes: "During the 1995-1996 financial year, Maseno University lost over US\$ 666,667, most of it through rip-offs and false allowance payments. This same culture of corruption is partly responsible for the stalled projects that were begun in the mid-1980s in

most of the Universities.... In spite of such rampant corruption and the availability of evidence documenting it by the Auditor General[']s] Office, vice-chancellors, principals of university constituent colleges, and other senior government operatives [commonly referred to as 'politically correct people'] are never arrested and prosecuted for blatant theft from the public and the government."<sup>58</sup>

Need one say more, especially about some of our friends in high places? Suffice it to reiterate that "merit and respect for professionalism should be paramount in the employment and utilization of highly trained manpower... and that our governments and countries should be guided by these requirements as part of their armament for the fight against the 'brain drain'".<sup>59</sup>

[8] The challenge facing African universities is how to retain its academic faculty in face of the challenges from international financial institutions and research consortiums. Peace of mind [the *sine qua non* for academic reflection] is what even very junior North American Community Colleges can offer the African academic. Given the path we have traveled in the past thirty years, we must end with Chinua Achebe, for "The lizard that jumped from the iroko tree said it would praise itself even if no one else would".<sup>60</sup> How did we survive, almost intact, through the long nightmare of humiliation, detentions, exile and social death?<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup>Case *Prospectus*, School of Humanities, Rice University, 20 September 2004.

<sup>55</sup>Saint, "Tertiary Distance Education", p. 100.

<sup>56</sup>Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1964.

<sup>57</sup>Association of African Universities, *Strategic Plan*, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup>Ngome, "Kenya", p. 370.

<sup>59</sup>Goma, "The African Brain Drain", p. 99.

<sup>60</sup>Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*, Heinemann, London, 1996.

<sup>61</sup>Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Perspective*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1982.

Ya está en Internet el número 74 de Escáner Cultural !!!  
La revista se encuentra en: [www.escaner.cl](http://www.escaner.cl)  
Escáner Cultural  
Año 7. Número 74. Julio de 2005

## Articles

## Child Labour Elimination– A New Dimension



Shiladitya Chakraborty

He is a lecturer in the department of Political Science, R.B.C. College affiliated to the University of Calcutta. He is an avid reader of science fiction and books on wildlife. He is interested in astrology and Ayurveda and collects old coins. He loves playing chess and watching WWE Wrestling on television.

## Abstract

This article explores child labour in the Indian context. It focuses on the magnitude of child labour and the different factors behind its growth. The article highlights the various industries in which child labourers are frequently employed, the incidence of bonded labour and child labour abuse. Finally, the article shows how Government of India has tried to deal with this problem through various legislations, projects and programmes.

The root of the practice of child labour in India can be traced to the ancient 'Gurukul' system, where the disciple had to work for his Guru and attend to numerous domestic chores. The practice of child labour in India had a strong socio-religious sanction. At a later stage, when religious sanctions weakened, child labour was not regarded as socially baneful or unethical. In fact, with the slow transition of the agricultural economy to a semi-industrial and industrial economy, demand for unskilled labourers increased by leaps and bounds, which gave a new impetus to the growth of child labour. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the details of the practice and to trace its growth and development in Indian society through history. Suffice to say that the practice of child labour in India has its roots in history like any other country in the West.

The problem of child labour, as we see it today, has not been studied in a systematic and critical manner. Committees were set up as and when necessary only to comply with the directions of the ILO or other international bodies. In 1979, to assess the depth and magnitude of the problem, the Labour Ministry appointed a sixteen-member committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Gurupadaswamy. The committee in its report observed, "Extreme poverty,

lack of opportunity for gainful employment and intermittency of income and low standards of living are the main reasons for the wide prevalence of child labour."<sup>1</sup> The committee identified several vulnerable areas of the urban and rural sectors where children were generally employed. For the first time, the Committee drew a distinction between 'child labour' and 'exploitation of child labour'. It did not recommend a complete prohibition of child labour but urged regulation to ameliorate the working conditions of children employed in various trades and industries.



Today, millions of children from Below Poverty Line (BPL) families are compelled to join the labour force in India. The Census Report of 1971 estimated that there were 10.7 million child labourers in India. According to

the Census Report of 1981, the figure was 13.6 million. The Census of 1991 estimated the number of working children in the country to be 11.28 million.<sup>2</sup> However, a statement of the then Union Labour Minister on 20 March 1995 pointed out that there were 17 million child labourers in India of which 9.5 million were male and the rest female.<sup>3</sup> Thus, there is wide divergence in estimates of child labourers in India. Some of the reasons behind this are as follows:

1. Government neglects accurate collection and analysis of relevant data;
2. Individual employers are afraid of disclosing the exact number of children employed by them for fear of legal action;
3. It is difficult to collect accurate data on children working in the unorganised sector.

The Census Report of 1981 divides child labour into nine categories:

I. Cultivation; II. Agricultural Labour; III. Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Plantation; IV. Mining and Quarrying; V. Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs; VI. Constructions; VII. Trade and Commerce; VIII. Transport, Storage and Communications and IX. Other Services. The following table shows the percentage distribution of child workers in these categories as in the Census of 1981:

| Type of Workers | Industrials Divisions (refer to text for explanation of divisions) |       |      |      |       |      |       |      |       |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|
|                 | I                                                                  | II    | III  | IV   | V     | VI   | VII   | VIII | IX    |
| Urban           | 5.32                                                               | 14.73 | 3.07 | 0.20 | 39.16 | 3.27 | 15.03 | 2.45 | 16.77 |
| Rural           | 38.87                                                              | 45.42 | 6.61 | 0.25 | 5.72  | 0.47 | 0.96  | 0.10 | 1.60  |
| Total           | 35.93                                                              | 42.74 | 6.30 | 0.24 | 8.65  | 0.72 | 2.19  | 0.30 | 2.93  |

<sup>1</sup>Sahib Singh, "Child Labour-Problems and Possible Solutions", *Yojana*, 47, 5, May 2003, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>V.P. Yajurvedi, "Convergence and Elimination of Child Labor", *Yojana*, 46, November 2002, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>The Hindustan Times, 21 March 1995, quoted in Ram Ahuja, *Social Problems in India*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1997 (reprinted in 2001), pp. 218-219.

## Articles

This table shows that the majority of rural child workers (84.29%) are employed in cultivation and agricultural labour. In the urban sector, they are mostly engaged in manufacturing, processing, repair etc. Mitesh Badiwala collected much of this information in a recent compilation on which this paper has drawn heavily. A recent survey in the urban sector indicates strong preference of employers for unskilled child labour because it is cheap, flexible, non-unionised, amenable to discipline, and so on.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the best efforts of Government of India child labour persists because of a number of socio-economic factors, which cannot be completely eradicated. Scholars have identified many factors that have contributed to the growth of child labour in India. Some of these are poverty, unemployment, low wages of adult workers, absence of schemes for family allowance, migration to urban areas, traditional attitudes, illiteracy and ignorance, cheap availability of child labour and non-availability of cheap vocational education.

The main cause behind the growth of child labour in India is poverty. According to the March 1997 estimate of the Planning Commission (using the Lakdawala method) the percentage of Below Poverty Line population was 35.97 per cent or 320 million with a monthly income of Rs. 264.<sup>5</sup> In fact, poverty itself has an underlining determinant— caste. Today, even after fifty-eight years of independence, the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population in India are still the most neglected and backward communities. It is mostly from such communities that child labourers come. The combination of poverty and lack of social security network form the basis of an even harsher type of child labour, that is, bonded child labour. The Human Rights Watch defines bonded child labour as “the phenomenon of children working in conditions of servitude in order to pay off a debt”.<sup>6</sup> Their parents or their relatives usually incur the debt that binds these children to their employers. In India these debts range between Rs. 500 to Rs. 6,500 depending on the industry, age, and

skills. In fact, for the poor there are few sources of bank loans, which leads them into the clutches of the local moneylenders. Studies indicate that extreme poverty among Harijans and Adivasis makes them the most vulnerable group. Eighty to ninety per cent of bonded labourers in India belong to these communities. These bonded child workers do not get paid at the same rates as ‘free’ workers. A study conducted in the Bidi-Cigarette industry shows that while a ‘free’ worker gets Rs. 30.9 for rolling one thousand bidis per day, a ‘bonded’ child labourer gets only Rs. 9 for rolling one thousand five hundred bidis a day. That is, a bonded child workers is paid less than one-third of his non-bonded counterpart. As a result, they are never in a position to come out of their bondage.<sup>7</sup>

There is a similar discrepancy between adult and child wages. The table at the end of the page illustrates this in the context of the Delhi region.<sup>8</sup>



Abysmal poverty has given rise to a new form of child exploitation i.e. child prostitution. These days, a lot of cases have been detected, where parents have sold their children, especially the girl child, to local touts who are involved in human trafficking and prostitution rackets. Girls below the age of ten have been smuggled out of rural India to big metropolitan cities like Mumbai and Delhi where they are either sold to dance bar owners or made to work as maids in private residences. In fact, various NGOs have estimated that there are three to five lakh children engaged in prostitution all over India. It is estimated that girls as young as

seven years are brought from economically backward neighbouring countries like Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh to prostitution centres like Delhi and Mumbai.<sup>9</sup>

However, these problems should not lead us to the conclusion that Government of India is apathetic towards the problem of child labour. In fact, since independence, India has been committed to eradicate this socio-economic problem. Article 24 of the Indian constitution declares the state's intention to root out child labour and prohibits employment of children below the age of fourteen in factories or mines. Similarly Article 39(e) safeguards and protects the health and well being of children of a tender age. Over and above all these constitutional safeguards, Government of India has from time to time enacted social legislations to protect the interests of child labourers like the Factories Act of 1948, the Transport Workers Act of 1961, Bidi and Cigar Workers (Condition of Employment) Act of 1966, the Bonded Labour System Abolition Act of 1976 and so on. But the landmark legislation was the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, which prohibits employment of children below 14 years in as many as 13 occupations and 57 processes as enumerated in Part A and B of the schedule of the Act. The Act also made elaborate provisions to regulate working hours, number of holidays, and health and safety in the place of work.

An elaborate machinery has been created for ensuring meticulous compliance of the rules and strict observance of the guidelines laid down by government. A National Policy for Children was adopted in August 1974 to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. In 1975 a National Children's Board was established to promote the welfare of children, including working children. Soon after the enactment of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, the government adopted another National Child Labour Policy in 1987 to steadily eliminate child labour. The policy

|                                             | Child wages compared to adult wages |               |                   |                          |                       |           |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
|                                             | Equal                               | Equal to Half | Half to One-third | One-third to one-quarter | Less than One-quarter | Uncertain |
| Percentage according to employers' response | 39.5                                | 19.1          | 7.0               | 3.7                      | 6.1                   | 24.7      |

<sup>4</sup>Mitesh Badiwala, “Child Labour in India: Causes, Governmental Policies and the Role of Education” in <http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/Library/9175/inquiry1.htm>.

<sup>5</sup>The Hindustan Times, 16 April 1997, quoted in Ahuja, *Social Problems*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>Human Rights Watch, 1996, 2, quoted in Badiwala, “Child Labour in India”.

<sup>7</sup><http://sacssweb.org.in>.

<sup>8</sup>Child workers of Delhi region— sample study, 1983 quoted in Badiwala, “Child Labour in India”.

<sup>9</sup><http://www.thesouthasian.org/archives>.

## Articles

focused on the following measures:

1. Legal action plan like strict enforcement of the Act of 1986 and such other child labour related legislations;
2. Focus on general development programmes benefiting children like Operation Blackboard, Mid-day Meal Schemes (The National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education, 1995), District Primary Education Programme, 1994, etc;
3. Creating institutional arrangements like National Authority for Employment of Child Labour, 1994, or National Resource Centre for Child Labour, 1993;
4. Implementation of National Child Labour Projects with the objective of reducing child labour in high concentration areas through improved enforcement, rehabilitation and more integrated provisions of service. Thus National Child Labour Projects were started in 1988 involving the government and the non-governmental agencies and the community in an integrated manner.

The primary objective of all these programmes was to rehabilitate children working in trade and industries like glass, brassware, lock, carpet, slate, match sticks, fireworks, gems and bidi etc. In December 1996, the Supreme Court, in a historic judgment, directed state governments to withdraw and rehabilitate children working in hazardous industries. The court further directed individual employers to pay compensation to each child worker. In spite of such strong and elaborate measures the problem grows unabated.

Apart from policy and legislation, education plays an important role in mitigating this problem. Schools draw children away from the labour market. Education enables a child to develop a balanced personality whereby he understands his role and responsibility. Thus compulsory education for children can address problems of poverty and child labour. A noteworthy example is the experiment of the Sri Lankan government in the sphere of compulsory education, which has shown astounding success in so far as school participation rates rose rapidly from 58 per cent in 1946 to 74 per cent in 1963. The corresponding figures of child labour in the age group of ten to fourteen years show remarkable decrease from 13 per cent in 1946 to 6.2 per cent in 1963. Currently, it stands at 5.3 per cent for males and 4.6 per cent for females

(ILO Report, 1995).<sup>10</sup>

However, India is home to the world's largest number of illiterates and has earned the 'distinction' of having at least twenty per cent of the world's 'out of school' children. Moreover, the highest male-female literacy gap is also to be found in India.<sup>11</sup> A different picture is presented by the state of Kerala. It is distinguished from the rest of India for its educational system. Kerala has a male and female literacy rate of 94 per cent and 86 per cent respectively.<sup>12</sup> This has been due to the government of Kerala's special emphasis on education. The Kerala government has a per capita expenditure of Rs.11.50 on education compared to the Indian average of Rs. 7.80. Even in 1971, Kerala had a low child work participation rate of 1.9 per cent compared to an Indian average of 7.1 per cent. Thus, Weiner pointed out that "the Kerala government has made no special effort to end child labour. It is the expansion of the school system rather than the enforcement of labour legislation that has reduced the amount of child labour."<sup>13</sup>

The passing of the 86<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act, 2002, is a milestone in this direction. The amendment has made elementary education a fundamental right. The newly added Article 21A has enjoined upon the states to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the age group of six to fourteen years. A new fundamental duty under Article 51A has been incorporated in the constitution. It states, "It shall be the duty of every citizen of India who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his children or ward between the age of 6 and 14 yrs."<sup>14</sup> This shows the positive determination of the Indian government to combat the menace of child labour. Compulsory education for children adequately takes care of poverty and child labour.



## Towards a Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be said that child labour is a complex problem and it cannot be eradicated even by the most stringent legislation and its ruthless enforcement. The moot question is whether child labour in any form should be completely banned or whether it should be suitably regulated to stop exploitation of child labour. Many ardent activists advocate total abolition of child labour. Other scholars however feel that it is better to earn an honest livelihood than to be forced into anti-social activities. They argue that the exploitation of child workers should be stopped and their working conditions improved. They strongly recommend involvement of voluntary organisations to rectify the dehumanising aspects of the practice. NGOs can effectively monitor enforcement of legislations and implement various educational programmes. Government of India has accepted this view of the NGOs and has provided them with huge funds. During 2001-02, the government released a sum of Rs. 6700 lakhs by way of grant-in-aid to voluntary organisations to implement various child labour schemes.



The two most important challenges with regard to child labour are poverty and illiteracy and they form a vicious circle. Children grow up illiterate because they have to work since childhood and because they are illiterate they remain trapped in low wages and poverty. Thus the vicious circle perpetuates and the need for child labour is reborn every generation. Since "the child is the father of the man", India should concentrate on the children on whom the future of the country depends. UNICEF, in one of its reports, had evocatively observed, "the day will come when nations will be judged not only by their military or economic strength nor by the splendour of their capital cities and public buildings but by the well-being of their people... who are vulnerable and disadvantaged and by the protection that is offered to the growing minds and bodies of their children."<sup>15</sup>

All photographs courtesy google images.

<sup>10</sup> M. Weiner, *The Child and the State in India* and *ILO Report* cited in Badiwala, "Child Labour in India".

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld>

<sup>12</sup> World Bank Report, 1995, p. 113, cited in Badiwala, "Child Labour in India".

<sup>13</sup> Weiner, *The Child and the State*, pp. 175, 177. Cited and quoted in Badiwala, "Child Labour in India".

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in M. Laxmikanth, *Indian Policy for the UPSC Civil Services Examinations*, Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 2004, p. 429.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Singh, "Child Labour-Problems", p. 35.

## Articles

## New Data on the Descendants of the Last King of Sogd– Ghurak



Shamsiddin S. Kamoliddin

Shamsiddin Kamoliddin heads a research project at the Institute of History of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. He is also Professor of History and Oriental Studies at the Uzbekistan National University. His research interests include medieval history and historical geography of Central Asia, Arabic and Persian textual sources, ethnogenesis and ethnic history of Turkish peoples. He loves swimming in cold water, in all seasons, and the mountains.

Early medieval textual sources, especially those in Arabic and Persian, contain some data on Ghurak, one of the last representatives of the pre-Islamic rulers of Sogd, who had the high royal title *ikhshid*, and ruled in Samarqand during 710–738 AD.<sup>1</sup> Arabic textual sources have mention of his two sons. One of them, al-Mukhtar, was mentioned in the historical work of al-Tabari in connection with events in 728 in Sogd.<sup>2</sup> The other, Yazid, according to Narshakhi, was king of Sogd in 782.<sup>3</sup> But we know very little about his other descendants.

Ghurak is mentioned in Chinese textual sources as U-le-ga (or U-le-czya). According to “Chefu”, the ruler of Kan (i.e. Samarqand) U-le-ga had two sons: The elder of them was named Du-ge (Du-he), and the younger, Mo-tchjo.<sup>4</sup> According to “Tanshu”, in 731 Du-he was appointed ruler of Ishtikhān, and Mo-tchjo of Maymurg.<sup>5</sup> In 738 the Chinese Yard received the news of the death of U-le-ga, and his elder son Du-he was approved as king of Samarqand through a special diplomat who was sent to Sogd by the Chinese emperor.<sup>6</sup> Names of numerous ambassadors from Samarqand, i.e. from Ghurak (in 717, 724, 726, 727) and his son Du-he (in 740, 744, 750, 751, 754, 755 and 772) were recorded in the Chinese sources.<sup>7</sup> We know little

else, however.

Arabs had preserved the nominal power of pre-Islamic rulers in the early period of their conquest, liquidating them only after their military and administrative powers consolidated in the newly conquered lands. When Qutayba ibn Muslim captured Samarqand in 712, he did not kill Ghurak, but imposed a humiliating treaty on him.<sup>8</sup>

According to Sogdian numismatics, after Ghurak, the coins of Samarqand were issued by Turghar or Turkhar–Du-ge (or Du-he) of the Chinese sources. Turghar was the last *ikhshid* of Sogd, who minted his own silver coins.<sup>9</sup> There are two types of these coins: One conformed to the earlier style of Ghurak’s coins, and the other contained an additional sign in the form of the half-moon, characteristic of Chinese coins of the fourth decade of the eighth century.<sup>10</sup>

Turghar may have minted the first lot after his father’s death (exact year not known). After 738, when he received the endorsement of the Chinese emperor, he may have started the issuing of the second type of coins. During Arab conquests, rulers of Sogd and other countries of Central Asia maintained close relations with China, and repeatedly asked the Chinese emperor for

military support.<sup>11</sup> This may explain the appearance of the new sign on Turghar’s coins.

From medieval Arabic biographical literature we have found references to an ancestor named Turkhar.<sup>12</sup> In the work *Al-Qand fi dhikr ‘ulama’ Samarqand* (The Sweet in the Reference of the Scholars of Samarqand) of Abu Hafs ‘Umar ibn Muhammad an-Nasafi (died in 1142) is mentioned the name of Abu Ahmad Talib ibn ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Turkhar ash-Shirakathi an-Nasafi (died in 900), who transmitted the *hadith* from the lips of Muhammad ibn Isma‘il al-Bukhari. His son Abu-l-Hasan Muhammad ibn Talib ibn ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Turkhar ash-Shirakathi, transmitted the *hadith* from the lips of his father.<sup>13</sup> The *nisba* “ash-Shirakathi” testifies, that they originated from the village Shiirakath, situated in the region of Nasaf.<sup>14</sup>

In *Kitab al-Ansab* (The Genealogical Names) of Abu Sa’d ‘Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad as-Sam‘ani (died in 1167) we have the mention of the *nisba* “at-Turkhari”, and the biography of Abu ‘Ali Muhammad ibn Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad ibn ‘Amr ibn Salih ibn al-Hasan ibn Turkhar an-Nasafi at-Turkhari, who lived in Nakhshab and transmitted the *hadith* between tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup>G. Goibov, *Ranniye pohodi arabov v Sredn'yuyu Aziyu*, Dushanbe, 1989, ss. 144; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests of Central Asia*, London, 1923.

<sup>2</sup>Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari, “*Annales*”, M.J. de Goeje (ed.), Lugduni-Batavorum, 1964, ser. II, p. 1523.

<sup>3</sup>Abu Bakr Narshakhi, *Istoriya Bukhari*, perevod N. Likoshina pod redakciey V. Bartol'da, Tashkent, 1897, s. 32.

<sup>4</sup>Edvard Chavannes, “Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turks) occidentaux” in *Sbornik trudov Orhonskoy ekspeditsii*, випуск 6, St. Petersburg, 1903, s. 136.

<sup>5</sup>Nikolai Bichurin, (Iakinf) *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodah, obitavshih v Sredney Azii v drevniye vremena*, v 3-h tomah, Moskva, Leningrad, 1950–1953, t. 2, ss. 275, 287, 311.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>7</sup>Chavannes, “Documents”, p. 136.

<sup>8</sup>Olga Smirnova, “Iz istorii arabskikh zavoyevaniy v Sredney Azii: Dogovor arabskogo polkovodca Kutaybi s tsaryom Sogda Gurakom, zaklyuchyonnyy v 712 godu” in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, Moskva, 1957, No. 2, ss. 119–134.

<sup>9</sup>Olga Smirnova, *Svodniy katalog sogdiyskikh monet*, Moskva, 1981, ss. 43–45.

<sup>10</sup>H.G. Ahunbabayev “Noviye nahodki sogdiyskikh monet iz raskopok 1978–1981 gg. v central'noy chasti Afrasiaba” in *Istoriya material'noy kul'turi Uzbekistana*, випуск 20, Tashkent, 1986, s. 94.

<sup>11</sup>Chavannes, “Documents”, p. 136; Edvard Shefer, *Zolotiye persiki Samarkanda. Kniga o chuzhemykh dikovinkah v imperii Tan*, Moskva, 1981, s. 581.

<sup>12</sup>The writing of the name Turkhar in the Arabic scripts is *T.r.khaar*. It allows us firmly to identify it with the writing of name *Turkhar* or *Turghar* in the Sogdian scripts and with the name Du-he or Du-ge of the Chinese sources.

<sup>13</sup>Abu Hafs ‘Umar ibn Muhammad an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand fi dhikr ‘ulama’ Samarqand*, Nazar Muhammad al-Faryabi (ed.), Al-Madina, 1991, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup>Abu ‘Abdallah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Moqaddasi, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici* in M.J. de Goeje (ed.) *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, pars 3, Lugduni-Batavorum, 1967, p. 49.

<sup>15</sup>Abu Sa’d ‘Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad as-Sam‘ani, *Kitab al-ansab*, ‘Abd ar-Rahman ibn Yahya al-Mu‘allimi (ed.), Bayrut, vol. 8, 1981, p. 261.

## Articles

Both persons were inhabitants of Nakhshab. However, in their given ancestries only two upper generations, i.e., Turkhar and his son al-Hasan, are common. Further in the first ancestry we have the name 'Ali, and in the second, Salih. Is there any genealogical connection between them? For the present we can only float a preliminary hypothesis. Turghar/Turkhar, the last *ikhshid* of Sogd, settled in Nakhshab, in Southern Sogd, towards the end of his life. He may have issued the second type of his coins from there. Turkhar may have had an Islamic name Yazid,<sup>16</sup> since, according to Narshakhi, in 782 the king of Sogd was *ikhshid* named Yazid.<sup>17</sup> The name Turkhar in the Arabic script, which was fixed in the works of an-Nasafi and as-Sam'ani, is similar with Turghar/Turkhar as written on the coins in Sogdian script. The historical work of at-Tabari mentioned al-Mukhtar (The Selected),<sup>18</sup> the son of Ghurak, the king of Sogd.<sup>19</sup> We can suppose, that it was the Islamic *laqab* (i.e. nickname) of the same son of Ghurak that is Turkhar. Following Nasafi and as-Sam'ani we can presume that Turkhar settled in Nakhshab, his son and grandsons were Muslims and used Arabic and Islamic names. The name of Turghar or Turkhar is also mentioned in the historical work of Mirzo Ulughbek, the grandson of Amir Temur, according to which one of the descendants of Oghuz-khan was named Turghar-khan.<sup>20</sup>

Thus, after the death of Ghurak, in 738 or a little before, the centre of the social-political, cultural and spiritual-religious life of Sogd, including Samarqand and Bukhara, which were occupied by the Arabs, was transferred to Nasaf in Kashkadarya valley, more specifically to the Nakhshab city, the former capital of pre-Islamic Southern Sogd, situated nearby Nasaf city.

Today the ruins of early medieval Nakhshab are called Qala-i Zakhok-i Maron.<sup>21</sup> In medieval sources "the village of Nakhshab", which was situated in the region of Nasaf, is mentioned.<sup>22</sup> In this village lived one of the descendants of Turkhar.

After Turkhar moved to Nakhshab, it became the focus of anti-Arab sentiments and attracted people from neighbouring Khorasan and Tokharistan. In the fortress Kasba, in Nasaf, in the ninth century, lived the descendants of Shishpir, one of pre-Islamic rulers of the neighbouring district of Kesh.<sup>23</sup> In Rukhsin village lived one of the descendants of Devashtich, dihqan of Pendjikent, who was executed by the Arabs in 723.<sup>24</sup> In the Utshund village, in the tenth century, lived the descendant of Mahawayh, pre-Islamic ruler (*marzban*) of Marw, who surrendered Marw city to the Arabs without battle in 651.<sup>25</sup> In Nasaf and the surrounding villages also lived numerous descendants of the priests of pre-Islamic cults, who received Islam after Arab invasions. In the ninth century there were the descendants of Khushitiyar, the main Zoroastrian priest of pre-Islamic Bukhara.<sup>26</sup> According to the genealogies, there were also the descendants of Nushpir, Farankdak, Karin Raj, Mika'il, Nimrun, Dabusa and others, representatives of local cultural circles of pre-Islamic Sogd.<sup>27</sup>

The removal and concentration of Sogdian rulers in Nakhshab was, we suppose, connected with the suppression of the great anti-Arab uprising of Sogd and Tokharistan in 737. According to at-Tabari, in this year the Turkish *haqan* with an army of fifty thousand Sogdians and Turks fought Asad ibn 'Abd Allah and after numerous battles sustained a defeat.<sup>28</sup> This marked the end of the struggle against Arab conquerors in the region.

There were, however, a few sporadic battles under the leadership of rebellious Arabs or Persians in revolt against the Caliphate (Muqanna', Pafi' ibn al-Layth and others).

The Khorasanian rebel Muqanna', who headed the anti-Arab uprising, after his escape from prison in Baghdad in 769 went directly to Nakhshab and Kesh, where the local inhabitants supported him, killed the Arab governors and received his religion.<sup>29</sup> In 806, when the rebellious Arab commander Rafi' ibn al-Layth headed an anti-Caliphate (also anti-Islamic) uprising and occupied Samarqand, the inhabitants of Nasaf helped him. They asked him to help them kill the Arab governor, and he sent to them the ruler of Shash with his Turks and one of his commanders.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Nakhshab and neighbouring villages housed the anti-Arab Sogdian and local Turkish aristocracy, the representatives of the supreme clergy of the local Zoroastrians, Buddhists and other pre-Islamic cults of the larger region, including Khorasan and Tokharistan.

As to the second son of Ghurak, the younger brother of Turkhar, who is mentioned in the Chinese sources as Motchjo, it is only known that in 731, Ghurak gave him the administrative district (*rustaq*) of Maymurg, situated in the region of Samarqand.<sup>31</sup> Numerous embassies, during 713-744, from the ruler of Mi (i.e. Maymurg) with gifts to the Chinese Yard are mentioned in Chinese sources.<sup>32</sup> On his last embassy, in 744,<sup>33</sup> he and his wife *qatun*, were awarded honorary titles.<sup>34</sup> There is no other information about this son in textual sources. O.I. Smirnova identifies him with al-Mukhtar,<sup>35</sup> which, we have suggested, was the nickname of Turghar (Turkhar).

<sup>16</sup>Olga Smirnova, "Sogdiyskiye moneti sobraniya numizmaticheskogo otdela Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaja", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, випуск 4, Іосквa, Ленінград, 1951, s. 14.

<sup>17</sup>Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ja'far an-Narshakhi, *Bukhoro tarihi*, fors tilidan A.Rasulev tarjimasi, Tashkent, 1991, s. 32.

<sup>18</sup>The similar writing of the two words in the Arabic script allows us to suppose that the copyist might have made a mistake in the reading of the Turkish name *T.r.khar*, which was unknown to him, and changed it to the Arabic name *M.kh.tar*, which was more familiar. See at-Tabari, *Annales*, p. 1523.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ulughbek Mirzo, *Tort ulus tarihi*, fors tilidan B. Ahmedov, N. Norqulov va M. Hasaniy tarjimasi, Tashkent, 1994, 59-bet.

<sup>21</sup>Mikhail Masson, *Stolichniye goroda v oblasti nizov'ev Kashkadarya'i s drevneyshih vremen*, Tashkent, 1973, s. 21.

<sup>22</sup>P.P. Ivanov, *Hozhaystvo Djuybarskih sheyhov. K istorii zemlevladieniya v Sredney Azii v XVI-VXII vv.*, Moskva, Leningrad, 1954, s. 325.

<sup>23</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, p. 250.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>25</sup>Abu-l-Fadl Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Djalil as-Samarqandi, *Muntakhab Kitab al-Qand*, Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris, Arabe, inv. No. 6284, p. 74 R.

<sup>26</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, pp. 158, 201.

<sup>27</sup>as-Samarqandi, *Muntakhab Kitab*, p. 73 R; an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, pp. 87, 162, 202, 230, 282, 551 and others.

<sup>28</sup>at-Tabari, *Annales*, pp. 1593-1635, 1717-1718. Ghurak probably died in the war of 737.

<sup>29</sup>an-Narshakhi, *Bukhoro tarihi*, s. 138-139.

<sup>30</sup>at-Tabari, *Annales*, pp. 1693-1696.

<sup>31</sup>Bichurin, *Sobraniye*, t. 2, ss. 275, 287, 311.

<sup>32</sup>Chavannes, "Documents", p. 144.

<sup>33</sup>E. Shefer, *Zolotiye persiki Samarkanda. Kniga o chuzjemnih dikovinkah v imperii Tan*, Moskva, 1981, s. 582.

<sup>34</sup>Chavannes, "Documents", p. 145.

<sup>35</sup>Olga Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishia Pendjikent*, Moskva, 1963, s. 30.

<sup>36</sup>Bichurin, *Sobraniye*, t.1, ss. 268-269.

## Articles

According to Chinese sources, Mo-tchjo was also one of the supreme Turkish *khaqans*, who ruled during 691–716 in the Eastern Turkish kaganat,<sup>36</sup> and, according to runic inscriptions, used the title Kapagan-khan (i.e. The Predatory khan).<sup>37</sup> The name in Chinese characters is written absolutely identical with the name of the son of Ghurak.<sup>38</sup> The name of Mo-tchjo may be reconstructed as Mochur, and originated from the ancient Turkish name Bag Chur, which is engraved in the runic inscriptions and Tibetan documents.<sup>39</sup> The younger son of Ghurak, may have been named in honour of the above mentioned *khaqan*.<sup>40</sup> Some argue that the name Mo-tchjo should be reconstructed as Bek-chur.<sup>41</sup>

The new edition of the work of Abu Hafs an-Nasafi and its abridged version, composed by Abu-l-Fadl as-Samarqandi, provide some clues to the history of the younger son of Ghurak, who used the ancient Turkish name Banichur (or Bag-chur).<sup>42</sup> According to an-Nasafi, in early tenth century, in Samarqand lived Abu Ahmad 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn al-Marzuban ibn Turkash Baqi ibn Kashir ibn Tarkhun ibn Banichur (Bag-chur)<sup>43</sup> ibn Ghurak al-Babdashani as-Samarqandi, who was "a descendent of the king Ghurak, who ruled in Samarqand in pre-Islamic and Islamic times".<sup>44</sup> His son named Abu Salih Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Muhammad ibn al-Marzuban ibn Turkash Baqi was the *amir*, i.e. the ruler of some city.<sup>45</sup> His uncle from the side of

his father was Abu-l-Husayn 'Ubayd Allah ibn al-Marzuban ibn Turkash Baqi ibn Kashir ibn Tarkhun ibn Banichur (Bag-chur)<sup>46</sup> ibn Ghurak as-Samarqandi (died in 891).<sup>47</sup>

If the son of Ghurak was named Banichur (or Bag-chur), probably his grandson was Tarkhun, and his great-grandson was Kashir, and two following descendants were Turkash Baqi and al-Marzuban. The last of them, al-Marzuban ibn Turkash Baqi, is mentioned in *at-Tabari*, as a chief witness in a court case in 840 in the yard of the caliph al-Mu'tasim in Bagdad on the *afshin* Haydar, the prince next in line to the throne of Ustrushsna, who was accused of treason and renunciation of Islam.<sup>48</sup> He was the descendant of Ghurak in the fifth generation, and one of the *dihqans*, i.e. the local rulers of Sogd.<sup>49</sup>

From an-Nasafi, thus, we have information about nine generations of the descendants of Ghurak. They were probably of Turkish origin. During the Turkish kaganat, the Sogdian nobility was included in the supreme Turkish hierarchy.<sup>50</sup> There was close ethno-cultural interaction between the Sogdians and the Turks, a Turk-Sogdian symbiosis of cultures, and it was expressed in great numbers of marriages not only among the nobility, who aspired to establish contacts with representatives of the Turkish aristocracy,<sup>51</sup> but also among common people.<sup>52</sup>

Turghar remained a nominal king, but his younger brother suffered worse fate. Bag-chur, apparently, at first refused to accept Islam and ran away to China, probably in 744, when the last embassy from the ruler of Mi, i.e. Maymurg is recorded in Chinese sources.<sup>53</sup> He may have headed this last embassy himself, and arrived with his wife *qatun* (*khatun*). He did not return to Sogd, but on the way back he stayed with the king of Fergana. He was there for about ten years. In the historical work of al-Ja'qubi is mentioned that during the ruling of the caliph al-Mansur (ruled in 754 – 775) Banichur<sup>54</sup> arrived in Mawaraunnahr for talks with the Arabs as an envoy of the king of Fergana (who lived in Kashgar). The Arabs invited him to accept Islam, he refused and was imprisoned until the rule of the caliph al-Mahdi (ruled from 775 to 785).<sup>55</sup> Then he, apparently, did accept Islam.

From early Islamic numismatic and textual sources it is well known that a dynasty of Turkish rulers, named imaginatively Banichurids or Abu Dawudids, ruled during the ninth century in northern and southern Tokharistan. The progenitor of that dynasty, Banichur,<sup>56</sup> was a contemporary of the caliphs al-Mansur and al-Mahdi.<sup>57</sup> Who was Banichur?

Is Banichur the same as Bag-chur,<sup>58</sup> the younger son of Ghurak?

<sup>37</sup>Lev Gumilev, *Drevniye tyurki*, Moskva, 1967, s. 468.

<sup>38</sup>Chavannes, "Documents", p. 136 (He has given a different reading of this name: Me-tcho).

<sup>39</sup>Sergey Klyashtorniy, *Drevnetyurkskiye runicheskiye pamyatniki kak istochnik po istorii Sredney Azii*, Moskva, 1964, s. 35.

<sup>40</sup>The name Mo-chjo in the Chinese version can be compared with the name *Uygur* khan Moyan-chur Gele-khan (mentioned in the inscription of the "Selenga stone"), who came to the power in 747. See Gumilev, *Drevniye tyurki*, ss. 364, 373.

<sup>41</sup>Ghaibullah Boboyorov, "Turk khoqonligi davrida Sughd (boshqaruv tizimi)" in *Sharqshunoslik*, Toshkent, 2002, No. 11, s. 123.

<sup>42</sup>The writing of this name in the Arabic script in different places of an-Nasafi's work is translated differently. *Banijur*, *B. nay. jur*, *Àbu Jur* (*Àbi Jur*), and also *Ê. nar. n. k*. We suggest that all variants of the name should be read as *Bagh-jur* and identified with the Turkish name *Bag-chur*.

<sup>43</sup>In the text: *Ê. nar. n. k*

<sup>44</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, s. 292.

<sup>45</sup>as-Samarqandi, *Muntakhab*, p. 70 R.

<sup>46</sup>In the text: *B. nay. jur*

<sup>47</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, s. 323.

<sup>48</sup>at-Tabari, *Annales*, ser. III, p. 1311.

<sup>49</sup>Olga Smirnova, "Potomok Guraka na processe Afshina" in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki i problemi istorii kul'turi narodov Vostoka*, 5 -godichnaya nauchnaya sessiya LO Instituta Vostokovedeniya AN SSSR, Leningrad, 1969, ss. 70-72.

<sup>50</sup>Boris Marshak, V.I. Raspopova, "Kochevniki i Sogd" in *Vzaimodeystviye kochevih kul'tur i drevnih civilizatsiy*, Alma-Ata, 1989, s. 523.

<sup>51</sup>Chavannes, Documents, p. 135; Bichurin, *Sobraniye*, t. 2, s. 271; G. Maytdinova, "K interpretatsii jivopisi Afrasiaba VII v. n.e." in *Izvestiya AN Tadjikistana*, seriya obshchestvennykh nauk, Dushanbe, 1984, No. 2, ss. 20-27.

<sup>52</sup>*Sogdiyskiye dokumenty s gori Mug, Chteniye. Perevod. Kommentariy*, vipusk 2: Yuridicheskiye dokumenty i pis'ma, chteniye, perevod i kimmentarii V.A.Livshitsa, Moskva, 1962, s. 23-25. L.I. Chuguyevskiy 'Noviye materialy k istorii sogdiyskoy kolonii v rayone Dun'huana' in *Strani i narodi Vostoka*, vipusk 10, Moskva, 1968, s. 153.

<sup>53</sup>Shefer, *Zolotiye persiki*, s. 582.

<sup>54</sup>In the text: *Batijur*.

<sup>55</sup>Ahmad ibn Abu Jakub ibn Wadhih al-Jakubi, *Historiae*, M.Th.Houtsma (ed.), Lugduni-Batavorum, 1883, pars 2, pp. 465, 576.

<sup>56</sup>His name is given in different textual sources and monetary inscriptions in various forms: *Banijur*, *Batijur*, *B. najur*, *Mab. n. jur*, *B. yan. jur*, *Nahjur*, *Bigjur*. The reading of this name in historical literature is accepted as *Banichur*. See E. Zambaur, *Manuel de Genealogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hanovre, 1927, p. 202.

<sup>57</sup>The caliphs al-Mansur and al-Mahdi ruled in succession from 136/754 to 169/785.

<sup>58</sup>We can compare the variant forms of the writing of the name: *Nàhjur*, fixed in one of the sources with the writing of the Turkish name Bag-chur in the Arabic script: *Baghjur*. See Ispahanensus Hamzae, *Annalium*, libri X, I.M.E. Gottwaldt (ed.), t.1, textus arabicus, Petropoli-Lipsiae, 1814, p. 49. Another variant form of the writing of this name, *Mab. n. jur*, can be compared with the name of the above mentioned Uyghur khan Moyan-chur.

## Articles

After accepting Islam and being released, he was appointed ruler in Tokharistan. After the final conquest of Central Asia, in the beginning of the second half of eighth century, the Arabs annihilated almost all local dynasties. The dynasty of *karluk yabghu* ruled in Tokharistan from 618, when the supreme Turkish *khaqan* Ton-yabghu (ruled in 618–625) had handed the country to his elder son, Tardu-shad.<sup>59</sup>

The *yabghu* took active part in the struggles against the Arabs, and headed some of the anti-Arab uprisings.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the Arabs liquidated their power during the rule of the caliph al-Mahdi, and appointed their protégé Banichur (Bag-chur), the Sogdian prince of Turkish origin, as ruler. In the historical work of al-Ya'qubi is mentioned, that the *karluk yabghu* of Tokharistan had accepted Islam from the caliph al-Mahdi.<sup>61</sup>

These events might have occurred at the end of the seventh decade of the eighth century, when al-Mahdi suppressed the great anti-Arab uprising headed by Muqanna', which continued more than ten years, and spread over almost the whole of Central Asia. The supreme Turkish *khaqan* was the proximate ally of Muqanna'.<sup>62</sup> The uprising covered a part of the territory of Tokharistan. After the suppression of the uprising in 779 al-Mahdi liquidated the *Qarluq yabghu*, forced him to accept Islam, and appointed Banichur (Bag-chur) in his place. As to the *yabghu*, although he accepted Islam for appearance, in fact he still continued to be in opposition to the Arabs, and in 809 he took part in the uprising headed by Rafi' ibn al-

Layth.<sup>63</sup>

Thus, there were family connections between the descendants of Banichur of Tokharistan (i.e. Abu Dawudids) with the rulers of Samarqand. In 197/812-13, the son of Tokharistanian Banichur, Dawud ibn Banichur,<sup>64</sup> was appointed as the ruler of Samarqand and the whole of Mawaraunnahr<sup>65</sup> by the Arabs. This appointment might be connected with the final liquidation of the nominal power of the *ikhshiids* in Sogd. After that the real power in the country was handed over to the protégé of the Arabs, who was the representative of the same royal family of the *ikhshiids* of Samarqand and was the grandson of Ghurak, the king of Sogd. One of the descendants of Banichur, Dawud ibn al-'Abbas ibn Hashim ibn Banichur,<sup>66</sup> was the ruler of Balkh, and in 258/872 he fled from the city, when the troops of Ya'qub ibn al-Layth entered Balkh. He came to Samarqand, where he stayed more than one year, and then returned to Balkh.<sup>67</sup>

According to an-Nasafi, Banichur (Bag-chur) of Samarqand had a son, Tarkhun.<sup>68</sup> Banichur (Bag-chur) of Tokharistan, however, had four sons: Dawud, Hashim, Ahmad and al-'Abbas.<sup>69</sup> It is very probable that Banichur (Bag-chur) had two families, one in Samarqand, where he was married before the Arab invasions, and a second one in Tokharistan, where he married after accepting Islam. His first wife, according to Chinese sources, was called *qatun* (*khatun*). It is possible that Banichur (Bag-chur) subsequently married into family of the *yabghu* rulers of

Tokharistan. Numismatic sources testify to family ties between the dynasties during sixth and seventh centuries A.D.<sup>70</sup> A special festive reception of foreign embassies to Varkhuman, the king of Sogd (ruled in about 650-696) is depicted in the wall paintings of the main throne hall in the king's palace in the Afrasiab ruins. From what we can read of the Bactrian and the Sogdian inscriptions on the hem of the robe of the ambassador, among the guests in the central place was the emissary of Turantash, "the king of Chaghan". It is supposed that the scene is a depiction of a wedding between the Sogdian king and the princess of Chaganiyan, which was a part of Tokharistan.<sup>71</sup>

Thus the Banichurids of Tokharistan did have family relations with the Sogdian *ikhshiids*. Arabs may have replaced the *Qarluq yabghu* with his relative from Sogd. And then again the Sogdian *ikhshiid* (Turkhar?) may have been replaced in 812 by his relative (nephew) from Tokharistan Dawud ibn Banichur (Bag-chur).

Thus the Sogdian *ikhshiids* were Turkish,<sup>72</sup> or in significant degree assimilated with the Turks.<sup>73</sup> The process might have begun in the second half of sixth century, when Sogd was within the Turkish kaganat and the influence of the Turks was strong. Turks may have established their protégé in Sogd and the *ikhshiids* of Samarqand may have been their descendants. The title *ikhshiid*, which originated from ancient Iranian,<sup>74</sup> is similar to a Turkish title *shad* or *shid*.<sup>75</sup> The names of Ghurak and Turghar, as the name Banichur (Bag-chur?) also had Turkish roots.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>59</sup>Bichurin, *Sobraniye*, t. 2, s. 281.

<sup>60</sup>at-Tabari, *Annales*, ser. 1221-1226, 1546-1549 and others.

<sup>61</sup>al-Jakubi, *Historiae*, p. 528.

<sup>62</sup>T. Kadirova, *Iz istorii krestyanskikh vosstaniy v Maverannahre i Horasane v VIII – nachale IX vv.*, Tashkent, 1965, ss. 110-125.

<sup>63</sup>al-Jakubi, *Historiae*, pars 2, p. 528.

<sup>64</sup>In the text: *Banichur*.

<sup>65</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, ss. 38, 39.

<sup>66</sup>In the text: *Abu Jur*.

<sup>67</sup>an-Nasafi, *Al-Qand*, s. 39.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 323.

<sup>69</sup>Zambaur, *Manuel de genealogie*, p. 202.

<sup>70</sup>Olga Smirnova, 'Moneti drevnego Pyanjikenta' in *Trudi Tadjikskoy arheologicheskoy ekspeditsii*, t. 3, Moskva, Leningrad, 1958, s. 259, 260; B.I. Vaynberg 'Nekotoriye voprosi istorii Toharistana IV-V vv.' in *Buddiyskiy kul'toviy centr Kara-tepe v Starom Termeze*, Moskva, 1972, s.148.

<sup>71</sup>Lazar Al'baum, *Jivopis' Afrasiaba*, Tashkent, 1975, ss. 55-56.

<sup>72</sup>Novaya stranitsa iz jizni A.Z.Validi, sostavleniye, predisloviye i primechaniya P.N.Shigabdinova, perevod na russkiy yazik s kopii teksta originala A.Zahidiy, Tokyo, 2001, s. 20; K.T. Laypanov and I.M. Miziyeu, *O proishojdenii tyurkskih narodov*, Cherkessk, 1993, ss. 16-28.

<sup>73</sup>Smirnova, *Katalog*, s. 32-35; A.G. Muhammadiyev, 'Turanskaya pis'mennost' in *Problemi lingvo-etnoistorii tatarskogo naroda*, Kazan', 1995, s. 36-83.

<sup>74</sup>*The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition, prepared by a number of leading orientalists), Leiden, 1960-1986, vol. 3, p. 1060.

<sup>75</sup>Ahmat Zaki Validi Tugan, *Bashkorttarzin tarihi*, Ufa, 1994, s. 10.

<sup>76</sup>Mirzo, *Tort*, s. 59; Boboyorov, 'Turk khoqonligi davrida Sughd', s. 122.

## Contemporary South

## The Cameroon Book Industry– Challenges and Changes



Mwalimu George Ngwane

The author is a Cameroonian writer with more than seven publications. He is the Chairman of the National Book Development Council, Cameroon, an NGO, and a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of the African Book Publishing Record, Columbia, U.S.A. Ngwane is a passionate panafricanist and has shown considerable interest in democracy, development and peace in Africa. Apart from reading and writing, he likes jogging and traveling.

***"If Education is the road out of poverty, then books are the wheels needed for the journey"*<sup>1</sup>**

Richard Crabbe (Ghanaian Publisher)

### Introduction

Books represent the mirror of society; they showcase the immortal lore and mores of a people, they act as a publicity stunt for a nation since they go beyond the atavistic modes of cultural folklore. C. K. Paul once said, "books constitute the tree of knowledge which has grown into, and twined its branches with those of the tree of life, and of their common fruit men eat and become as gods knowing good and evil".<sup>2</sup>

The book sector in Cameroon poses some great concerns that necessitate a clinical diagnosis of its state and future. This diagnosis is of particular import because a man-made book famine is systemically being foisted on Cameroon's cultural landscape. For the purpose of this essay, I shall limit my diagnosis to three main areas: Professional initiative, public partnership and government responsibility. It is hoped that this will stimulate discussion necessary to provide a therapy for the dearth of a book culture in Cameroon.

### Professional Initiative

The pot of a book sector rests on the five firestones—reading, writing, publishing, marketing and purchasing. The function of authorship is to conceptualise the idea in written form, publishing reshapes it into a more readable form, targeted at a particular readership. Next, the printer manufactures bound books for distribution and marketing. In concrete terms, a book sector comprises readers, writers, booksellers, publishers, printers, literary agents, librarians, illustrators, archivists etc. Each book sector needs to be active in order to make the book chain completely functional. This does not seem to be the case in Cameroon, where book professionals have traditionally resigned to complacency and pessimism rather than take professional initiatives. Books are primarily the reserve of the civil

society and non-state actors have more stakes in building a sustainable book culture than government and the international community. The first professional initiative needed in the book industry is the setting up of associations. I am still to discover the existence of a viable readers' club, writers' association, publishers' association, librarians' club, book council etc. in Cameroon. Those that exist have been timid in carrying out literary activities needed to keep afloat the book industry. A few associations like Buea Writers Club, Douala Writers Club, National Book Development Council, African Book Development, South West Association of Librarians, South West Booksellers Association, Cameroon Publishers Association, CREPLA and the Anglophone Cameroon Writers Association have made some strides in addressing the various issues inherent in the book sector but have hardly made a national impact. Our civil service mentality (what profit is there?) and the weak base of our civil society (allergy to collective interest) have contributed to the professional inertia in our book industry. The result is that few books are published (in the conventional publishing sense), few book workshops are organised, literary awards are absent, our libraries have emptied their customers into off licenses (or pubs) and *Tiercé* (gambling), students graduate without buying a single book, no university has a press, a national book week or book fair is anathema, and the World Book Day is a non-event. Without professional interest and solidarity, without the libido and passion for books, without a coordinated and harmonised approach to overhauling the rustic wheel of the book machinery first by the book professionals themselves, the book

industry in Cameroon is in danger of succumbing to liquidation. Without prejudice to, and exclusion of, other segments of the book chain, the most important segment that needs reenergising in Cameroon today is the jerky Cameroon Publishers Association created in 1997. Philip G. Altbach observed that public sector publishing has failed and the way out is private sector publishing.<sup>3</sup> With a vibrant autonomous indigenous publishing industry, the other segments will fall in place. This of course presupposes that the publishers must individually conform to what the veteran Kenyan publisher, Henry Chakava, calls "the model publisher".<sup>4</sup>

### Public Partnership

The book industry like every sphere of our national life needs both national patronage and international partnership (institutional support). To quote the Malawian writer, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Books constitute crucial repositories of social memories and imaginations, containing the accumulated cultural capital of society, of its accomplishments, agonies and aspirations. Books therefore are not and cannot be a luxury, a dispensable dessert on the menu of development, nationhood, or human progress."<sup>5</sup> Yet the Cameroon book industry is still to receive patronage from the business elite or corporate culture. The Cameroon business elite has made books the least pocket-friendly commodity, opting instead for wares of sensational sponsorship. It is no secret that Cameroon's music industry stands tall basically because there are individuals promoting musicians. The Nigerian film industry (Nollywood) has had a stunning success due to the intervention of a nationalistic business class stamping their trademark on the country's cultural identity.

<sup>1</sup>www.bookaid.org

<sup>2</sup>C. Kegan Paul, "books and memories", *African Star magazine*, 2, 6, 1998, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>Philip G. Altbach (ed.), *The challenge of the market: Privatisation and publishing in Africa*, Bellagio Publishing network, Bellagio Studies in Publishing 7, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, 1996.

<sup>4</sup>Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "A social contract for books" in Murray Macartney (ed.), *National Book Policies for Africa*, ZIBF Trust, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1996, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

## Contemporary South

Now, compare the pitiful unpatronising attitude towards and neglect of books in Cameroon to the spontaneous and sensational sponsorship syndrome that various companies have adopted when it comes to the national soccer team (the Indomitable Lions) and other mega-mediatised socio-cultural outfits. Write a project proposal in the book domain and submit it to any of the big companies and the reply (if you do have any) begins with the screaming introduction 'We are sorry...', probably because sponsoring book publishing does not provide an opportunity for the sponsor to enjoy media celebrity. Potential sponsors including local embassies and the international community have forgotten that the book industry is an 'ideas' industry and that the progress of every nation depends on its immense intellectual/human foundation. It is indeed revolting to know that international donor response to book projects in Cameroon has more often than not been met with a slight snub. Yet it is this positive international donor response that has in the main accounted for the relative book boom in West, Central and Southern Africa. As one who has been invited to book functions outside the country, I can confirm that even though there has been a substantial increase in book production in Cameroon (due to self-publishing and vanity publishing), it is not matched by quality production. I was a victim of shame in 1999 during the Zimbabwe International Book Fair (ZIBF) where my stall of Cameroon collective exhibits paled into insignificance between the two stalls of a Nigerian and an Indian book exhibitor. These two exhibitors told me that part of their quality success came about from international and local business support. Those keen enough to watch our public and private media would notice a plethora of commercial advertisements hitting our television screens, seducing consumers to gamble their lives into winning brand new gadgets, one of which costs about fifty million FRs CFA (an amount that can produce 25 different titles of 1000 copies at 2000frs U.P.). These enterprises can enter into a book series publication with our local publishers. For example (Company A) book series on gender writing, (Company B) children's literature series, (Company C) publication on new Cameroonian writers etc. Of course this would also mean that such enterprises benefit from tax-deductible policies of government.

### Government Responsibility

Government concern for the book industry anywhere is crucial to the book development of any country. There are good reasons for the Cameroonian government to support football through the Cameroon

football federation (FECAFOOT), government should support our music through the Cameroon Music Corporation and it should continue stretching its hand in funding political parties during elections. But for the sake of knowledge, the book industry in Cameroon also craves for the government's attention. While opening the Nairobi International Book Fair in 2003, the Kenyan Minister for Education, Science and Technology, Professor George Saitoti said, "Let us strive to make publication and dissemination of information part of our culture so that we may use the medium to address our own agenda as developing nations".<sup>6</sup> No one can deny that the Cameroonian book industry has published some of Africa's best and brightest writers having international clout. Some of them include Bate Besong who won the ANA award in 1992, Calixthe Beyala who won the Grand Prix du Roman de l'Académie Française in 1996, Ferdinand Oyono and Mongo Beti whose two books were celebrated among Africa's best 100 books of the twentieth century during the Zimbabwe Book Fair of 2002. These icons of ideas are still to hear their names in the accolades of executive national discourse. People are still to be convinced that the gateway to national stardom or martyrdom is not only through the Indomitable Lions or Françoise Mbango. After all, it was Alpha Oumar Konare, Chairman of the African Union who during the Dakar (Senegal) conference on intellectuals in 2004 urged African leaders to "open their doors to African intellectuals and give them the attention they deserved so they (intellectuals) could help in the transformation of our countries into lands of freedom and transparency".<sup>7</sup> Whether they are ignored or persecuted, book professionals cannot be avoided.

As I see it and like I did mention in a memorandum written to the Prime Minister in 1999, the way forward for government's responsibility in building a sustainable book industry in Cameroon is through the convening of a national book forum by the Ministries of Culture, Education and Commerce. This forum should address two issues: The creation of a book development council (whose goals would be far loftier than that of what is now called the Copyright Association of Literature and Drama) and the drafting of a book policy for the country. The idea of book development councils worldwide was conceived by UNESCO after the Second World War under the slogan "Peace through Education". The goal for these councils was to coordinate

and stimulate the activities of government and private sector agencies in the development of a book industry for each country so that more and better books of all kinds may be available at the lowest possible prices for readers of all ages. Unfortunately, UNESCO's initial financial support to the early-created book councils waned away and most book councils in Africa ran out of steam. Indeed during a consultation on the way forward for book councils organised by ADEA/UNESCO in Harare (Zimbabwe) in 1999, all of us saw two sustainable trends in government responsibility towards book development councils in Africa. The first trend was in Ghana, where the Ghana Book Development Council (GBDC) created in 1978 started functioning as an operating agency under the Ministry of Education and Culture. GBDC therefore enjoys total government financial and institutional support like our G.C.E. Board in Cameroon. GBDC is the umbrella book organisation that coordinates all book sectors and book activities in the country. No doubt Ghana is home to a vibrant book industry and of a popular international book fair that is arguably second only to ZIBF in Africa. The second trend was in Zimbabwe, where the Zimbabwe Book Development Council (ZBDC) was created in 1992. It is an independent body of book related organisations but whose board includes representatives from the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education. The ZBDC has a secretariat headed by a Director who acts as a link to all related members. While the government provides some financial support, ZBDC has the autonomy to secure international and national funding. It is therefore clear that those book councils that took off solely as NGOs without government support died at birth. The other issue that a national book forum should address is the drafting of a national book policy. A national book policy ensures that "books (not just textbooks) become an effective instrument of educational development, social growth, cultural preservation and meaningful communication at national and international levels".<sup>8</sup>

What all of these indicate is that our government (Ministries of Culture, Education and Commerce) now has a range of choices. They may invite clients (private and public) to a national book forum. While this is being considered, the government needs to (possibly through its Culture Committee in the Assembly) enact an art policy that extends tax-deductible

<sup>6</sup>George Saitoti, "The challenge for African Book Professionals", *African Publishing Review*, 12, 2003.

<sup>7</sup>Momodou Musa, "Leaders Must Work with Academia", *New African magazine*, 435, December 2004, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup>*Formulating the National Book policy*, Report of the UNESCO/APREB sub-regional consultation on National Book Policy and National Book Development Councils in South Asia, Afro-Asian Book Council, New Delhi, 1993, p. 19.

## Contemporary South

support to private corporations, which patronise book initiatives. Functional municipal libraries should be part of local government policy and a certain number of books written or published by Cameroonians should be bought by a national library scheme and distributed to the municipal libraries nationwide. For these libraries to be functional their authorities should organise book events like children's book week, mobile reading campaigns, book bazaars etc. Cameroonian publishers in particular and other book professionals should, through the Book Development Council, benefit from interest free loans from banks and literary subventions, copyright dues, and periodic grants from government institutions. Indeed an enabling book environment in most African countries has not only produced knowledge for national growth but has broken the barriers of our continental masculine society to produce women's voices that hold their own in the realm of

international scholarship. I am thinking of Veronique Tadjo of Cote d'Ivoire, Ama Ata Aidoo of Ghana, Yvonne Vera of Zimbabwe, Mariama Ba of Senegal, Assia Djebe of Algeria, Nawal El Saadawi of Egypt, Buchi Emecheta of Nigeria, and Bessie Head of South Africa, all of whose books were selected among Africa's best books of the twentieth century. Mention may also be made of the Nobel laureate of literature, Nadine Gordimer of South Africa, the 2003 Caine Prize winner, Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor of Kenya, and the 2003 Noma Award laureate, Elinor Sisulu of South Africa. Such female literary grains exist in Cameroon waiting for favourable conditions to sprout into a bumper harvest.

### Conclusion

Often one hears the lame excuse that Africa's oral tradition deprives it from the culture of the written word. We said the same thing about a film culture until Nollywood took all of us

by storm. Another flimsy excuse is that with the annihilation of our purchasing power due to external greed and internal graft, books have become too luxurious a commodity. True as it may be for a teeming lot concerned with bread and butter issues, it is not the case with an elite obsessed with the ostentations exhibition of obscene opulence.

Education is an arm of development and as efforts towards achieving basic education for Africa in general and Cameroon in particular intensify, an enabling environment to read and write will continue to be emphasised as a right for everyone and as the vehicle for actualising this aspiration.

Finally, books are like any other industry, with a market that is constantly growing and which could generate jobs. And in these melancholic moments of a structurally adjusting and Sino invaded economy, a revamped indigenous book industry in Cameroon could as well be another national lifeline.

A manual has been produced in Cameroon.

Produced by the non-governmental and Pan African Association AFRICAphonie, the student's reader and teacher's manual on Peace education are fallouts of a workshop organised at the Norbert Kenne Memorial Peace House in Yaounde from 13-17 October 2004 on the theme "Designing Curriculum and training of teachers for Peace education in Cameroon".

According to the Executive Director of AFRICAphonie, Mwalimu George Ngwane, the aim of producing the reader and the manual is to convince policy makers to include, against a backdrop of student indiscipline and school violence, peace education as a subject in secondary school curriculum in Cameroon.

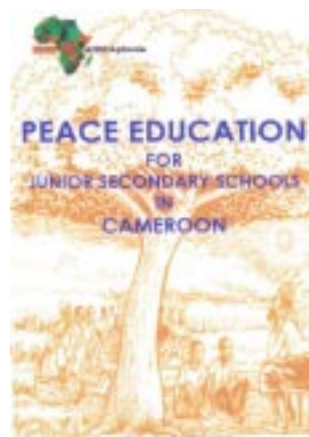
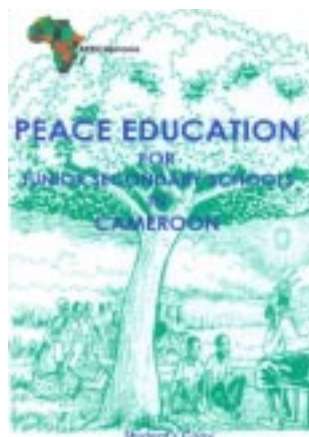
AFRICAphonie believes that Peace education will enable students to among other things know their civic responsibilities in order to function well in society.

The student reader has 64 pages divided into 10 chapters with concepts of Peace spanning from the individual, family, society, national, global to cosmic levels treated.

A concise and practical Teacher's manual of 28 pages has also been produced that will permit the teacher to use various pedagogic methods like role play, group work dynamics, electronic exploitation and interactive/integrated communication in the classroom.

The reader and manual, being the first in the country's history, are a step in this direction.

Mbapndah Ajong, Development Secretary,  
AFRICAphonie ([www.Africaphonie.org](http://www.Africaphonie.org))



## Symposia South

## The Naming Game... Let's Try NGO

Edsel L. Beja, Jr.<sup>1</sup>

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

Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) refers to a wide range of organisations with varying meanings, character, and objectives. They are involved in various developmental and social issues. NGOs form a sector that is part of civil society. But what appears to be a singular sector at one glance is actually, upon closer inspection, a complex network of organisations and institutions. The differences in size, function, and focus— that could be geographic in nature (from international to regional, national, or community level of issues) or sectoral (example, agrarian reform, environment, women)— reflect a high degree of heterogeneity. This reality poses a challenge to anyone who attempts to make NGOs a subject of inquiry or to get them involved as partner organisations in some undertaking. What will follow next is an attempt to classify (or name) different NGOs into a typology. Okay. Now say “NGO!”

Basically NGOs are of two types. The first is called Membership Organisations and the second, Agencies (or Institutions). Under Membership Organisations are two sub-types, namely: Professional, Academic and Civic Organisations (PACO) and the

People's Organisations (PO). PACOs include church organisations, teachers associations, and the like, while the POs include trade unions, peasant associations, and rural cooperatives.

Furthermore, POs can be Government-Run or Initiated People's Organisations (GRIPO) or Genuine, Autonomous People's Organisations (GUAPO). (!Claro que si! Muy guapo!)

Under the second type of NGOs, the agencies are four sub-types: Funding Agency NGOs (FUNDANGO), Traditional NGOs (TANGO), Development Justice and Advocacy NGOs (DJANGO), and Mutant NGOs (MUNGO). The FUNDANGOs (Nahh, they do not accept online movie tickets reservation... but sounds like, eh?) provide financial support, for instance, and are linked to grassroots organisations like microcredit financial organisations. TANGOs undertake charity, welfare, and relief activities, with poor households as their main beneficiaries. Of course, it is possible for GUAPO to (be a) TANGO. (Shall we dance?) As for DJANGOs, their work is mainly organising community and sectoral groups and providing basic services like legal assistance. Finally, the MUNGOs. These are the organisations that emerged in re-

sponse to the large inflow of developmental funds sometime in the early 1980s. The supply of large funds actually led to further mutations and three ‘sub-subtypes’ of MUNGOs have emerged. One is called the Government-Run or Inspired NGOs (GRINGO) that are set up by politicians (or state agencies) to provide social services and development-related activities to local communities, but they mainly serve to re-channel government funds for the politician's personal interests. Another is the Business Initiated or Organised NGOs (BINGO) set up by business groups primarily as tax dodges. Imagine a politician-cum-businessman setting up an agency, say, a Dummy NGO... that's DUNG-O, for money making activities. (It does not smell right, huh?) So GRINGO is making money? BINGO! Finally there are the paper-NGOs that mysteriously disappear once funds have been received. They are not real NGOs. Rather, they are Fly-by-Night NGOs. They COME N'GO.

...Shall we continue this naming game?

## References:

- Edsel L. Beja, Jr., *Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations in Policy Making: the Case against the Lifting of the Export Ban on Lumber in the Philippines*, unpublished M. Phil. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1999.
- G. Clarke, *The Politics of NGOs in Southeast Asia*, Routledge, London, 1998.
- E. Edwards and E. Hulme, *Making a Difference. NGOs and Development in a Changing World*, Routledge, London, 1992.

<sup>1</sup>I would like to thank Sandi Chan for comments. All errors are mine. Email: ebeja@econs.umass.edu

## Symposia South

## Border Lines Program



Edith Sanchez Amaya

Edith Sanchez Amaya has worked as a researcher in many Non Governmental and Non Profit Organisations such as the International Relations Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the U.S.A., ([HTTP://www.IRC-ONLINE.org/index.php](http://www.IRC-ONLINE.org/index.php)), from 1991 to 1994, and also in Mexico City with the Peoples Team (DECA, Equipment Town) ([HTTP://www.equipopueblo.org.MX](http://www.equipopueblo.org.MX)). In addition to being an investigator she has published several articles on Mexico-United States relations, mainly in subjects related to trans-border problems. She is a co-publisher of the Directory Cross-Border Links, has written articles on various issues in the magazine Border Lines ([HTTP://americas.IRC-ONLINE.org/borderlines/1992/bl1.HTML](http://americas.IRC-ONLINE.org/borderlines/1992/bl1.HTML)) and has worked as an assistant for the book, *The Challenge of Cross-Border Environmentalism* (1993). She has participated in national and international encounters of Non Governmental Organisations: The Coalition for Justice on the Maquiladoras (Assembly plants, at El Paso and Brownsville, Texas), with the Network of Health and Environment in Sonora, and with the Southwest Network of Environmental, and Economic Justice in the States of Chihuahua and Texas City Juárez. She is member of the Program Frontier Internship in Mission and has participated in different meetings of the Program in Yaundé, Cameroon, Africa (1999), Amman, Jordan along with the visit to the Royal Institute in 1997, Nanjin, China (1996) and Quito, Ecuador (1993). She is part of the network "Social Change Across Borders", Transnational for Organizing Social Justice ([HTTP://lals.ucsc.edu/summer\\_institute/](http://lals.ucsc.edu/summer_institute/)). She participated in the Summer Institute, which brought together grass root leaders from the Americas in 1999 and at the "Capstone" (2003). The primary strength of the Institute has been the building of transnational networks and relationships; organisers and participants seek to solidify and deepen these connections with a culminating event, "Capstone". The intention is to encourage continued reflection about the transnational trends that affect community organising for social justice.

Her principal interest is in promoting programmes of communitarian and economic development in marginalised or unprotected zones as well as to fortify the bonds among transborder organisations.

## Cross-Border Links: Where the Action Is

Since the beginning of 1991 when the United States and Mexico decided to push full-steam ahead with the free trade agreement, cross-border links have strengthened and diversified. Environmental and labour organisations are cropping up at grass root levels, and journalists and academics are launching new research projects on border conditions. Churches and private foundations are turning their attention to the long-ignored border region. The calendar is filling up with binational conferences related to different aspects of U.S.-Mexico relations. In government, both at local and national levels, new committees, councils, and programmes are seeking to manage the rapidly changing relationship with Mexico.

A variety of new organisations have been created, while pre-existing non-governmental groups have readjusted their priorities to include projects related to free trade, the border, and binational relations. On both sides of the border, groups are seeking collaborative relationships with their foreign counterparts.

Some of these new cross-border activities smack of opportunism, and as such are probably a fleeting phenomenon that will die out when the free trade mania fades. For the most part, however, the new interest in cross-border affairs reflects a new understanding of the social implications of economic integration. Moving away from knee-jerk nationalism and seeing the United States and Mexico as bound together in a common future, these activists believe that their own destinies and those of their communities depend on the direction binational relations take. From

displaced Chicano workers in California packing sheds to binational influential business coalitions such as the Border Trade Alliance, citizens are banding together with their foreign counterparts in an attempt to shape the course of regional economic integration.

The most advanced binational efforts are being made by coalitions of environmentalists, academics, social justice groups, and business people. Boosted by their wide membership bases and binational links, such groups as Citizen Trade Watch Campaign of Washington and Southwest Voter Research Institute of Los Angeles are becoming skilled at combining grassroots educational work with analyses and campaigns. Southwest Voter Research Institute brought together Latin politicians, entrepreneurs, and labour leaders at a regional conference earlier this year to discuss the implications of free trade.



Author and her two children. She is a single mother and works at the Woman Institute in Mexico City

As might be expected, the most interesting events are the cross-border debates and these are occurring within binational and trilateral (including Canada) networks of activists opposed to current free trade proposals. Environmentalists have found themselves being criticised for

their narrow focus on natural resource issues without adequately addressing such concerns as the impact of cross-border trade on public health and occupational safety. At the same time, trade unions have found themselves forced to move beyond traditionally protectionist positions to examine trade and investment issues from the perspective of environmentalists and workers on the other side of the border.

Networks such as the Mobilization on Development, Trade, Work, and the Environment (MODTLE), the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Solidarity Action Network, and the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC) have organised important strategy sessions to discuss the overall objectives and character of the binational relations movement. Through this networking, these and other groups are forging alternative proposals for economic integration. This, they say, will promote broad-based and environmentally sound development in all countries.

Some organisations have defined strategies about the paths they wish their projects to take or the political situations they wish to influence. For example, top-ranking officials of the Mexican government will probably pay close attention to discussions and policy recommendations presented at the November 1992 binational symposium of the academic network PROFMEX, given that leading U.S. academics enjoy close relations with the Saline administration.

Groups such as the New York-based Mexico-U.S. Dialogos or Washington DC's Development GAP, for example, have educated people with political influence as members. Similarly, the AFL-CIO, representing a number of unions, and the American

## Symposia South

Work Education Center are attempting in a different way to build consciousness of international work solidarity between Mexican and U.S. workers. Members of an automobile workers' union in U.S.A., the United Car Workers, for example, have offered support to the Ford workers in Mexico who are on strike.

Many of the U.S.-Mexican groups, whether located on the border or not, are also actively involved in lobbying to influence national policy. The Border Ecology Project, for instance, raises awareness on both sides of the Arizona-Sonora border. The organisation has been extremely influential at the national level and carries on steady, although combative, dialogue with U.S. government officials responsible for border environmental initiatives.

Along the border, the twin cities often have joint economic development commissions. At the national level, high-powered, government-sponsored corporate groups, such as the Mexican Business Coordinating Council NAFTA (COECE) in Mexico and the numerous Industry Sector Advisory Committees in the United States, make certain that binational trade negotiations respond to the demands of big business. Key to binational business association is the Mexico-U.S. Business Committee, which is sponsored by the Council of the Americas in Washington.

### The Border is the Prototype

Cross-border relations are developing throughout North America. But in the borderlands these links are nothing new. Some towns even have joint Lions Clubs and baseball teams, while San Diego and Tijuana host joint City Council meetings. To address common problems, such as public health, crime, and pollution, border towns have adopted a wide variety of transboundary programmes.

Shared problems, family connections, and constant economic interaction give the border or borderlanders a sharp sense of interdependence. In many ways, border communities feel closer to their cross-border neighbours than to Washington or Mexico City, or even to their state capital. Living next to the boundary has created a regional identity, which, as Catherine Denman of the School of Sonant in Hermosillo observes, may not necessarily exclude national identity but does inculcate a sense of membership of a region. This regional identity does help to illuminate ways in which people are bound together as members of classes or by common problems even though their homes lie in different countries. Moreover, this identity militates against traditional attitudes of blaming problems on the other side.

Throughout the borderlands there is widespread resentment directed at the state governments for ignoring the region's poverty, public health problems, and infrastructure needs.

The federal governments want to control all binational political relationships, comments Geoffrey Bogart of the San Diego Mayor's Office of Binational Affairs. There is a widespread feeling that the federal governments view the borderlands as wasteland. Expressing this sentiment, Ruben Garcia, director of the Pasós Annunciation House, a service centre for undocumented immigrants, complained: The governments in Mexico City and Washington want to sacrifice the border area for the good of other states; they want to make the U.S. into a garbage dump and give the U.S. over to a future of selling tacos to the truckers.

The common identity is the basis of a model for international cooperation that could be instructive for non-border groups seeking to establish cross-border partners. In the Step, for example, Annunciation House works on both sides of the border, as does the Step Interreligious Sponsoring Organization (EPISO). In both the Step and Juárez, EPISO organisers are working with the residents of popular colonies to seek potable water and other basic services. Some groups like the Texas Center for Policy Studies are working in similar vein. Because of the involvement of this Austin-based centre, policymakers in Mexico City and Washington as well as international lenders like the World Bank have been forced to respond to issues of deforestation.

All of this is not to say that nationalist tensions do not exist along the border. They remain as a dark undercurrent that threatens to worsen problems of urbanisation, environment, health and crime. The lack of adequate public services accentuates these problems in this rapidly growing region.



Edith is second from the right. Photograph was taken in February 2005 at the State of Oaxaca, Mexico, at the Congress of the Binational Indigenous Oaxacan Front (Frente Indígena Oaxaqueño Binacional)

New cross-border links are being forged by the free trade negotiation teams and by environmental agencies of each country. Initiatives by the White House and the Pines (home of the Mexican president) are certainly drawing the United States and Mexico closer together but many outside governments feel that what is being formulated is nothing other than a corporate bill of rights.

U.S. and Mexican governments have not ignored voices critical of the North American Free Trade Agree-

ment (GASOLINE). In Mexico, the government's response is typical of the way state politics function in that country. Leading academics, intellectuals, and left-of-centre politicians have been brought on board the Saline bandwagon, leaving prominent opponents of free trade isolated and with little influence. But the government has not completely closed its door to the popular coalition opposing GASOLINE. As Carlos Heredia of the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade (RMALC) explains: Mexico's GASOLINE negotiating team does not know what will be the outcome of the treaty in the U.S. Congress. Until they have an agreement with the U.S., they must be seen to be listening to dissenting voices.

In the United States, the Bush administration attempted to assuage the fears of the environmental community not only by incorporating some green language into the treaty but also by launching a multidimensional public-relations effort. Earlier this year it published an Environmental Review of free trade with Mexico and an Integrated Border Environmental Plan, both aimed at demonstrating to ecological Congress that free trade would not be the nightmare that radical environmentalists were predicting.

One government effort to silence border critics is the Border Progress Foundation. Designed in the offices of the Environmental Protection Nongovernmental Agency (EPA), the foundation plans to channel funding to health and environmental projects along the U.S.-Mexico border. Activists are concerned that the new foundation may be intended to reduce the effectiveness of autonomous groups by targeting funding organisations supportive of official U.S. and Mexican border policies. To the extent that health and environmental projects become institutionalised, we citizens' groups are going to have less space.

### New Links, New Questions

Governmental transboundary relationships among agencies and nongovernmental groups are becoming common and complex. They are expected to multiply as the U.S. and Mexican economies and cultures become intertwined, especially along the border.

This process of forging cross-border links merits close examination. Within this rapidly changing dynamic lies, to a great degree, the future of both nations and the welfare of both peoples. Models of cooperation need to be highlighted, but the contradictions involved in north-south relations should not be glossed over. Questions need to be asked about the nature and objectives of new cross-border initiatives to better evaluate their effectiveness.

Do the Mexican and U.S. representatives participate in an equitable way in these binational relationships? What lessons are to be learnt from

## Symposia South

the Canadian opposition to free trade? What problems do the cross-border groups and coalitions face in their own development? What is the state of relations between governmental and

Non Governmental Organisations along the U.S.-Mexico border? Will this flurry of activity disappear after the fate of GASOLINE is decided? Subse-

quent issues of BorderLines will address these and other questions about the character and impact of cross-border links.

### The Capstone

Social Change Across Borders, Summer Institute brings together grassroots leaders from throughout the Americas. Completed its fourth Institute in 2002. Primary strength of the Institute is the building of transnational networks and relationships. Organisers and participants seek to solidify and deepen these connections with a culminating event. The "Capstone" of the previous years, also provides space for continued reflection about the social transnational trends that affect the community organising for justice.

The Capstone, held in June 2003 at UCSC, brought together past participants to share their Institute experiences, some recent and others five years ago, and also refreshed their understanding of the changes in transnational organising since the Institute's inception in 1998. It sought to open up space for participants to think about how to apply the lessons learnt to their own workplace and communities.

### Three Essays Collective

New title available from 1 June

*The Wrongs of the Religious Right: Reflections on Science, Secularism and Hindutva* by Meera Nanda

#### About the Book:

Meera Nanda's book is an impassioned plea for secularisation of mentalities. She compares the secular polities of India and America to argue that, faced with the current right wing assault, secular constitutions alone cannot guarantee secularism. She examines how India's major ecological movements have been reframed by Brahminical Hinduism with some unintended but crucial help from those within these movements. Her work shows the interconnections between the Hindutva scientism and national chauvinism, a factor crucial for its middle class support and its 'reactionary modernism'.

P. 120, demy 8vo, 2005, 81-88789-30-5, paperback, Rs. 150, 81-88789-31-3, hardcover, Rs. 350.

#### About the Author:

Meera Nanda is a John Templeton Foundation Fellow in Religion and Science (2005-2007). She is the author of *Prophets Facing Backward: Postmodernism, Science and Hindu Nationalism* (Rutgers University Press, 2004), *Postmodernism and Religious Fundamentalism: A Scientific Rebuttal to Hindu Science* (Navayana, 2003) and *Breaking the Spell of Dharma and Other Essays* (Three Essays, 2002).

Three Essays Collective, P.O. Box 6 Palam Vihar, Gurgaon, Haryana 122017, India.  
Tel.: (91-124) 5074079 and 2369023; Mobile: 09868126587, 09868344843  
[www.threeessays.com](http://www.threeessays.com)

## Symposia South

### Why they still need us?



**Sanchari Sur**

After completing her Post Graduate degree in Social Work from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, with specialisation in Urban And Rural Community Development, she joined an organisation operating in rural West Bengal, which works for Community Based Rehabilitation of the disabled. A year later, she joined the Health Unit of CINI-ASHA, and had to handle Adolescent Sexual Health Initiatives. Her brother being a hearing impaired child and both her parents being involved in the functioning of a rehabilitation centre for the deaf, she personally enjoys working with challenged people. Presently, she is with the Bengal Chamber of Commerce as a Secretarial Assistant.

*We have chosen this path of struggle  
So that lives are no longer flooded  
with tears  
So that no dusks are dark and no  
nights are scared  
So that no new dawn brings a fresh  
flood*

While still pursuing our Masters programme in Social Work, we were often made to sing this particular song in Hindi, which was primarily meant to motivate us on our way to serve humanity. While we can vouch for the push it gave to us to change the world, the jolt that reality gave us was far stronger. My own jolt was pretty severe.

When I studied volumes about what causes people to suffer, the problems seemed all so obvious and changing their situations seemed possible with sincere effort. And of course, professional Social Workers, like me, trained from premier institutes, were in a good position to change the lives of the poor and the oppressed. In the field it all changed... I felt like the monkey trying to climb a slippery post!

We had acquired a strong theoretical background in Social Work. We were, however, ill prepared for practical life. Even as a student one question haunted me time and again: If so many people are truly and honestly trying to change the scenario why do we still have poor people? Why do they still have problems? Why do we need to try the same reforms for ages and yet get nothing but cupboards full of notes, workshop and seminar reports and bills? Why do we spend days sitting in air-conditioned rooms discussing how problems can be solved? Why can we never put

these discussions into PRACTICE? We have so many government as well as Non Government Organisations trying to bring about the much-desired change. Given the number of years they have been working, should we not have reached a point of almost materialising our dream of a Welfare State?

My answer then and my answer now after a stint of two years in professional social work remains the same: The problems persist because we don't want them to be solved! Does this sound harsh or even absurd? And yet, can the most diligent social work professional deny the truth of this comment? At one level, this is a simple truth: What would we do if there were no more problems to solve? Where would our bread come from?

Even the most sincere social worker, whether s/he accepts it or not, does have to face the question of personal livelihood, especially those dedicated to 'professional' social work. So, why not, for once, be honest to ourselves for the sake of the people, whose lives we vow to change for the better? Why do we all go about beating the bush and pleasing foreign donors? It must be accepted that organisations focused on medical and psychiatric social work will have to continue, since the problems they tackle are at the level of the individual, and cannot really be 'solved' at the societal level. But in the hardcore Development Sector, years of intervention should have yielded some results for the 'target' groups. Do they not end up just satisfying the donor's sense of philanthropy and strengthening the infrastructure of obscure NGOs

working in the most backward parts of the country? It takes little effort to register an NGO where salaries are drawn for 12 field workers when in reality there is just one local worker, hired cheap, to keep track of the data to be presented to demonstrate accountability. Do we have the right to question what happens to the rest of the money? We are demanding information and transparency from Government. There is a strong NGO movement behind the demand for 'right to information' legislation. Do NGOs not have a similar obligation? Dedicated and sincere activism sounds good, but what a shame to see these virtues directed only towards one's own pocket.

Why are these questions regarding NGO funding and their operations being raised with increasing frequency? What is the cost in terms of disillusionment of young workers, with or without professional 'training'?

Can we give one sincere try to change the conventional practices and actually take a step forward rather than imitating a 'Moon Walk' on the podium? If it is not done today, fifteen years from now some other disappointed, disillusioned professional social worker might be writing another bitter piece. But how shall we go about it? Articles will be written and forgotten, while the poor still remain poor, while child labour still haunts our society, while people still die of malnutrition. Can we respect the verses mentioned above and channelise all our efforts to truly follow the path of struggle to bring about a new dawn that does indeed has a bright new face? Or was it all an unrealisable dream after all?

## Symposia South

## My experience with reality



Sonali Biswas

She did her graduation in Political Science from Bethune College, Calcutta and has worked in a nationalised bank ever since. She has been an active member of the bank employees' movement, and has retained a close contact with trade unions over the years. As of now, she is also working with an NGO called SERA (Socio Economic Research Academy), which works among the tribal population in Bengal, setting up schools and medical centres. In her free time, she enjoys reading and surfing the net.

This article is not meant to be an exercise in theorising. I offer a vignette, a few quick reflections of my experiences as a field worker in a fledgling NGO. Fresh from a long career as a political worker, particularly in trade unions, the shift to the field as it were, meant new dilemmas and even a sense of a dual identity. My observations follow from this personal vantage.

The organised left parties and left theorists in India have been engaged in a raging debate about the role and functioning of NGOs. In the 1980s, when the NGO movement started in India, grassroots and middle strata political activists like me were not really concerned while our (left) parties adopted a combative stance, which appears, retrospectively, orthodox and conservative. Recently, however, there has been a qualified acceptance that NGOs have evolved as an important force in the development process.

The shift in the leftist perception of and even their official position on the NGOs has also been shaped by various international events. The media coverage of the 'Battle of Seattle', where mostly NGO activists along with trade unionists practically brought to a halt the WTO conferences played an important role in this reshaping. And it conveyed the message 'We, the People can do so' worldwide. Later on, the World Social Forum raised the slogan 'Another world is possible' denying the all-encompassing claims of globalisation. The presence of NGOs was observed and felt more at the time of the WSF's Mumbai Meet.

Coming to India, the stark realities of our country today are:

- Even after 57 years of India's independence majority of its people live in dire poverty. Still today, people die of hunger!
- India is the abode of the largest number of illiterate people.
- Health for all remains an impossible dream.
- There is neither electricity nor safe drinking water in almost 80 per cent of India's villages.
- The benefits of economic growth in India have not reached millions of

people and the recent reforms have only widened the gap.

- Justice— social, economic and political— remains an unrealised dream.
- The greatest drawback of India today is the status of Indian women and the Dalits as the constitutional provision of equality has proved to be a sham.

On the other hand corruption has become the order of the day. Political parties are concerned only about vote banks in order to attain and then remain in office. They do not work for the redressal of basic issues like the life and livelihood of the people. Power, in the crudest sense, has become the Holy Grail. High-sounding objectives are no doubt given pride of place in election manifestos of all political parties, but they remain empty phrases.

In such a situation, civil society institutions come forward to fill the gaps left, or even created, by politics. But these efforts are hindered by the fragmented state of society, torn as it is by political strife and partisan conflict. Even in Left-ruled West Bengal, the situation is not different. Here too, people are steadily losing faith in the political process.

In this backdrop, some NGOs are acting as the only source of real hope for the people. The instances of people like Sarita, Mahesh and Satyendra Dubey, all of whom were murdered by the mafia backed by various political parties, have further served to increase popular faith in the NGOs. And the Narmada Bachao Andolan has created a history of popular struggle more tangible than any that the left parties can provide.

While the NGOs cannot obviously be viewed as a panacea for all our ills, the work that some of them are putting in is undeniable. There are a number of sincere individuals working in or associated with NGOs. Many of them are moved by a genuine desire to give some immediate assistance to needy people. They have also had some success in their specific, often limited, contexts.

After a lot of thinking and brainstorming sessions, I, along with a few like-minded persons, many of whom are also political workers, took the decision to take up some develop-

mental work within a formal organisation in rural areas mainly among the tribals who are the poorest of the poor, on the basis of three basic needs— **education, development and rights**. So we formed a voluntary organisation called Socio-Economic Research Academy (SERA). SERA has started pre-primary schools for the children of the Lodha Sabar— a denotified tribe in Jhargram and for Santals and Oraons— scheduled tribes in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal.

My first day is indelibly etched in my mind. We were in Jhargram. We came across a sick old woman of the Lodha tribe who was near death and no medicines were available. Her son, an alcoholic like most of the men of the tribe, was peacefully having a drink. He appeared least bothered about his mother's condition or her treatment. Moreover, there was no hospital or health centre within a radius of twenty kilometres. We took her to a doctor and had her treated. Later on, we opened a pre-primary health check-up centre to provide the bare minimum health care services to these needy villagers. The sight of the same woman today marching ahead of everybody to take part in every activity of SERA emboldens us.

I want to share another experience with you. As is well known, alcoholism is one of the greatest menaces of tribal society. As a result of the awareness campaign launched by us, some Santal women of one of the villages in Murshidabad mobilised all the women in a strong campaign against this evil. They demolished all the unlicensed liquor shops, threw the pots outside the village and forced the owners to leave the area. Of course, it was not easy. The women had to fight against all sorts of pressures, particularly from political parties, the mafia, police and the local Panchayat, all having a stake in the illicit liquor trade. But their determined spirit won in the end and now they have formed self-help groups with the money they have saved by curing their husbands of alcoholism. SERA stood by them and ensured that they were protected and helped to build up public opinion in their favour through the media.

There are examples of failures too. In another village of Murshidabad, women of the same tribe, inspired by their counterparts, decided to take a similar programme of action. It

## Symposia South

created a real sensation among the rural women, meetings were organised, people were mobilised, and a date was fixed for 'action'. Then the local women's organisation of a leftist political party expressed their willingness to take part in the movement. Everybody agreed. On the day of the programme, the women from the political party came along with the party's festoons and banners. Immediately, women belonging to other political parties raised questions. It had been decided earlier that there should not be any festoons of any political party, since the women activists belonged to different parties or to none at all. They had come together to tackle a common problem. There was a tremendous quarrel, party bosses came to interfere, dimensions shifted, the programme had to be abandoned and the movement was placed in jeopardy.

This is symptomatic of the situation in this area (one from which generalisations can be made). The

tribals, unless affiliated to the locally dominant party, do not get Scheduled Tribe cards, ration cards or Below Poverty Line (BPL) cards. But, some people who are better off and are not eligible for the BPL card get hold of these due to their closeness with politicians, particularly of the ruling party.

On a more positive note: In the adult education centre that we run in one of the villages of Murshidabad, among the tribals, the ratio of students is 80 female and 18 male ranging from 16 to 60 years. And their enthusiasm is tremendous. Some of them— the adult male students— have given up alcohol and with the money saved they buy and read books. Isn't it amazing?

Of course, NGOs too have problems. I stress that I do not see NGOs as the only alternative but it is an agent of social change and can be seen as a new form of struggle. Many of our erstwhile revolutionary left parties have adapted themselves to a

parliamentary system of democracy. Perhaps as a result, many political workers, those committed to the revolutionary process, have come to set up NGOs. This work also is done with great conviction. So we hope that one day the left parties will stand by the side of the NGOs.

Despite a long stint as a Trade Unionist, I had never experienced such living and vibrant masses in such close proximity, or had seen, from such close quarters, their daily struggle for survival. They are the same masses who come to metropolitan Kolkata to throng the Brigade Parade ground at the call of political parties— whom we, the middle class, middle strata job-doers of party bosses, saw from a distance.

In my work with SERA, I feel, I first experienced the real life of the masses and heard the stories that remain untold in the politics of the ballot.

India Foundation for the Arts (IFA), Bangalore, makes grants nationwide for research and documentation, arts education and extending arts practice, and raises funds from corporations, trusts and individuals to support its work.

Please visit IFA's website (<http://www.indiaifa.org/>) for more information on the organisation.

George Jose Programme Executive India Foundation for the Arts (IFA) L-1 Tharangini, 12th Cross, RMV Extension, Bangalore 560 080 Karnataka India.

<http://www.indiaifa.org/>

## Archives

## CEAO Permanent Historical Archive and CEO Photograph Archive: Two Documentation Resources in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil



**Lara Mancuso**

Lara Mancuso is the coordinator of Sefhis Regional Resource Center at CEO, UFBA. She received her Ph.D. from the Center for Historical Studies, El Colegio de México, and her current research is on popular Catholicism in Latin America. (mancuso@ufba.br)

In May 2005 the Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO) completed the organisation of two documentation resources: The Permanent Historical Archive and the Photograph Archive. Both collections refer to the foundation, administration and activities held in the Center from 1959, when it was established, to 2003.

Such an endeavour was the result of almost a year's hard work, during which a team of seven people dedicated themselves relentlessly to clean, organise and register countless documents and 3,000 photographs that had been lying under a staircase with no proper care, order or technical treatment. Depending on the support of assistant-librarian Clarissa Matos Macedo, with the voluntary cooperation of Carlos Roberto Miranda da Silva, and four young, enthusiastic undergraduate students from the Federal University of Bahia—Ladjane Alves Souza, Regina Natividade da Silva, Cláudio Robertos dos Santos Almeida and Jeferson Henrique dos Santos Conceição—librarian Isabel Ângela dos Santos Matos coordinated the enterprise.



Graduation ceremony of the first course CEO offered on Japanese language. Professor Ryuishi Watanabe and the four students – Elias Valois dos Chagas, Antônio Vieira Machado, Fanny Gomes Reinell and Maria Angélica Alves Gomes (17 June 1966)

Isabel Matos is the coordinator of the Documentation Center of the Research Company for Mineral Resources (CPRM), for Bahia and Sergipe states, in Brazil. She studied Library Sciences at the Federal University of Bahia, and has done several consultancy projects, such as organising the photography archive Zelia Gattai, in the Jorge Amado Foundation, and the library of the Institute of Historical and Artistic National Patrimony (IPHAN-BA). (isabel@sa.cprm.gov.br)

When the team first arrived in CEO, documents were lying inside paper boxes and plastic bags, full of dust, open to dampness, and were gradually being damaged by insects. At first, they cleaned everything, tried to identify what they had found and catalogued the material. Then they selected and separated essential documents from disposable papers. Selected material was put inside white envelopes with tags, stored in proper archive boxes with labels, and placed on shelves.



Before...

Then, the classification process started. The written material was split into four documental series, according to CEO's structure and operation. Under 'Direction', statutes, decrees, agreements, reports and projects are kept. 'Administrative' contains data regarding workers, real estate, the bookshop and office accounting. 'Correspondence' refers to official mails between CEO and the Federal University of Bahia, other national and international institutions and of a number of people involved with the Center. Finally, 'Events' contain documentation concerning conferences, seminars, congresses, book releases, exhibitions and several courses held in CEO.



After...

Photographs were submitted to a similar process. The team had a hard time identifying places and people portrayed, and trying to set an approximate date for each picture. According to Isabel, cataloguing visual documents was a very problematic task. Even though they interviewed CEO's former directors and staff in order to properly classify such material, and carried on a meticulous effort to match written and visual sources, some photographs remained with no reference.



Cláudio showing the trash he gathered

Material gathered in the Permanent Historical Archive and the Photograph Archive are useful for researchers working on topics related to the African diaspora, ethnic and racial relations in Brazil and history of anthropology in Brazil. A glimpse at a few documents reveals "mãe Estela"—one of the most famous *mães de santo* (the highest rank in Afro-Brazilian religious hierarchy) in Bahia— as a student at a Yoruba course. Pierre Verger (1902-1996), French ethnographer and photographer who lived most of his life in Brazil and Africa, participated in CEO. The documents detail the Brazilian representatives at the II International Africanist Congress, held in Dakar in 1967.

The organisation of these collections is an important step towards consolidating CEO as a documentation and research centre of excellence within and outside Brazil. These will soon be open to the public. Catalogues and a few pictures will also be available online at CEO's homepage. Come visit!

## Across the South

## “Mixing Races” Conference Report

16-21 June 2005, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town



Zimitri Erasmus

She was the convener of this conference on “Mixing Races”. Zimitri is a senior lecturer in Sociology at the University of Cape Town. Her research interests include the changing workings of ‘race’, processes of creolisation and qualitative methodologies.

An exciting conference entitled “Mixing Races” was recently hosted by the Sephis Programme (Amsterdam, The Netherlands) and the University of Cape Town (South Africa). It was sponsored by Sephis, The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, The Western Cape Government (South Africa), The University of Cape Town and the French Institute of South Africa. Delegates from various regions in the South met at the University of Cape Town. This was an historic exploratory meeting with conversations focussed on creole/coloured/mestiza identities in a global comparative perspective. It was the first such conference in South Africa.

This five-day conference had two objectives: To facilitate comparative research initiatives, and explore various cultural and political implications of ‘racial mixing’ and culture crossings in different contexts in the South.

These objectives were successfully met. Conversations among scholars from South America and South Africa are in process with further meetings proposed for November 2005 and June 2006. Similar conversations are in place with scholars from Malaysia and among those doing research on processes of creolisation on islands in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans.

Drawing on census, survey, archival and some qualitative data, the conference papers provided a wide range of expositions of the workings of ‘race’, ‘ethnicities’, ‘racial mixing’ and culture crossings. The Brazilian case highlighted changing intersections of ‘race’ and class, reflected in a respondent’s description of his life at one point as a time “when he was black”. It further highlighted practices of not naming ‘race’ and racism in a context that emphasises skin colour. The case of Colombia highlighted political implications of the shift from a discourse of mestiza nationhood in which whiteness was valorised, to processes of re-indigenising minorities which entail ministerial provision of specific characteristics for those deemed ‘indigenous’ today as well as popular re-inventions of tradition. The South African papers highlighted changing meanings of ‘race’ among working

class women in a social world increasingly shaped by consumerism, alongside reactionary discourses among some middle class cultural commentators against what they refer to as ‘race traitors’. Scholars doing research in Malaysia focused on conditions that foster the emergence of particular communities through intermarriage and processes of creolisation among Arabs in the Malay world. The latter case pointed to language and translation as significant processes of creolisation. Furthermore, racialised gendered politics, embedded in perceptions of *douglarisation* in Trinidad and Tobago, and expressed in calypso and chutney-soca songs were examined. Scholars from Cuba highlighted different processes of racial formation in Cuba and Haiti as well as ways in which different economies of slavery shaped gendered and racialised demographic patterns and processes of nation formation in these contexts. These examples provide just a glimpse of the issues discussed at the conference.

Significantly, these discussions opened important questions for current debates on the meaning of the concept creolisation. Is creolisation a global process? How do we begin to distinguish between new cultural forms emerging from abrupt shifts and processes of domination (slavery, dislocation because of war etc.) and those emerging from profound yet cumulative changes in the global system? Is it indeed necessary to make such distinctions theoretically, politically, historically, and culturally? How can one make such distinctions without necessarily claiming monopoly over one term or another and without reproducing homogenising practices? If creolisation and cultural interconnectedness are indeed universal phenomena in an increasingly globalising world, how do we account for simultaneous demands for ethnic separateness and processes of re-indigenisation?

Professor Françoise Vergès’ (England & Réunion Island) keynote address helped provide answers to some of these questions. Her address facilitated agreement among scholars on the meaning of the concept

‘creolisation’. She distinguished between creolisation as a process located geographically and historically, and claims of creole identities and/or uses of ‘creole’ as a category. She argued not all contact and cultural exchange resulted in creolisation thus challenging ideas that the world is creolising and called for located accounts of specific conditions for the emergence of processes of creolisation. Professor Daniel Yon (Canada) argued for ‘locatedness’ to be extended to the political histories of the Oceans and suggested scholars “use Oceans as a tool with which to think”.

Despite the focus on culture crossings and challenges to notions of purity in the call for papers, the conference title raised important questions about the notion of ‘mixing races’ and its implications for reinforcing fixed meanings of ‘race’ and ideas of ‘purity’. This conversation highlighted the need for scholars to pay close attention to the role of the state as well as popular movements and particularly academic scholars themselves in creating and re-creating ‘race’, ethnicities and other forms of bounded categories. Two important lacunae in the discussions were noted: Too little focus on gendered dynamics and a lack of focus on ‘métis’ subjectivities. Further conversations focused on ‘race’ as a concept present in some languages and not others, giving rise to a need for scholars to develop a meta-language for cross-regional conversation.

Among the highlights of this conference was the public panel discussion on the politics of ‘race’ in the South today. It drew an engaging audience of more than two hundred people on a cold Friday night in Cape Town. During this discussion some scholars had the opportunity to engage with the Premier of the Western Cape Government, Mr Ebrahim Rasool.

The Western Cape is among the wealthier provinces in South Africa. Significantly, it was the only province ruled by white local government up to 2004 when the ANC won the local elections. This shift has meant a constant tension between the hopes

## Across the South

of some white South Africans to hold onto 'race' privileges and those of their black fellow citizens for access to basic material resources, such as housing and employment. Like other provinces, the Western Cape is historically marked by deeply ingrained historical racial inequities in access to material and social resources inherited from apartheid. This province is also marked by particular intra-black racial antagonisms, in a context of white dominance, manifested in struggles over basic social services. It is in this political context fraught with tensions arising from the intersection of 'race' and class that the Premier has been instrumental in putting 'race' on the agenda in the Western Cape and working towards making this province a "Home for All". During this discussion Premier Rasool noted ways

in which privileged South Africans often use 'race' for narrow gains while poorer citizens often use 'race' as a refuge through which to fight for recognition. Professor Mandal (Malaysia) cautioned against Malaysia as a post-colonial success story noting the insidious nature of racism in this context. Professor Vergès alerted the audience to the new racialised monster, namely, the "Muslim terrorist" and to the racialisation of "disposable people". Dr Meintjies (South Africa) questioned ways in which 'African' is currently conceptualised in this country. Professor Schwarcz (Brazil) noted the silent racism of Brazil. Her list (from a recent survey) of one hundred and thirty six colours (among them purple) by which Brazilians identify themselves, set the audience laughing and thinking. Professor Zambrano

warned that we cannot talk about the politics of 'race' in the South without examining North/South relationships and noted the position of women as a point of control over 'race'.

In closing, Dr Shamil Jeppie left us with an important question to ponder: As scholars who focus on flows, exchanges, and translations in conditions of inequality, violence and loss, how do we address ways in which the new science of genetics and the increasing dominance of evolutionary psychology shape debates about historically located political processes?

In addition to stimulating intellectual debate briefly reported here, the food was good, Adamu provided excellent dance tunes on the Saturday night and the heaters kept delegates warm. Overall, delegates felt the meeting was a great success.

### A Dictionary of Common Trinidad Hindi

Compiled and edited by Kumar Mahabir, Ph.D.

An important reference book for libraries, schools and offices

It is without doubt that Hindi in Trinidad and Guyana has contributed scores of words to mainstream Caribbean English. Today, Hindi/Indic lexical items are being used regularly by calypso and chutney singers, writers, journalists, broadcasters and politicians. This illustrated dictionary represents a record and inventory of 1,212 words and calques used in everyday speech by younger Indians and older non-Indians in multi-ethnic Trinidad.

"The appearance of this dictionary is fundamental to our education and, therefore, promotes mutual respect and understanding both in intra- and inter-group relations."

Dr. Ron Ramdin,

Indo-Caribbean Researcher/Historian,

The British Library India Office Collections, U.K.

"The dictionary is compact with reliable special entries on local life and culture. It is an up-to-date coverage of today's 'Trini-Hindi.'"

Dr. Raj Kumar Daffu,

Visiting Professor of Hindi,

The University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago.

First printed 1990, third edition 2005, illustrations by S. K. Ragbir, 5½ x 8½ xxvi + 80 pages, ISBN 976-95049-3-9, paperback TT\$ 45 or US\$ 12.00 (includes handling and postage).

### Chakra Publishing House

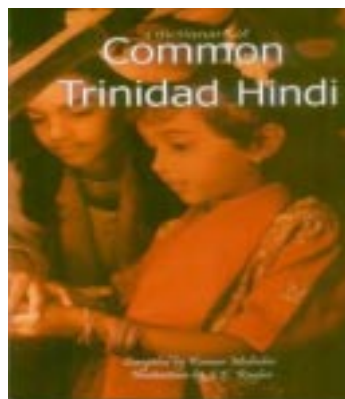
Swami Avenue, Don Miguel Road,

San Juan, Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies.

Tel: (868) 674-6008; Tel/fax: (868) 675-7707

E-mail: mahab@tstt.net.tt, dmahabir@gmail.com

Website: <http://www.geocities.com/chakrapub/index.html>



## Across the South

## Revisiting Rabat: Recollections of a Workshop on Alternative Histories

### Workshop on "Memories and Histories", Rabat, June 2005



**Sraman Mukherjee**

He is doing his Ph.D. at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, on the intellectual history of Archaeology on a Ford Foundation scholarship. A student of Presidency College and Calcutta University, he is an avid reader who digs into almost anything he gets. He cultivates an interest in classical music, Rabindrasangeet— the finer things of life, among which he does not include computers. Sraman is also a shopaholic and an excellent cook. His intellectual interests include cultural politics, the Bhadrakal, histories of circulation, gender and sexuality.

What is 'alternative history'? How do we use material culture and archaeological sources for writing 'alternative histories' of the South? What are the prospects and limitations of the histories produced around material evidence? To what extent do these histories challenge the unquestioned hegemony of written culture in reconstructing the past? And what are the nuances involved in the production of meanings around objects belonging to different and changing contexts of political, cultural and social significance systems?

Let me begin with a single album entry. The photograph shows the participants of the workshop on 'Memories and Histories' posing in front of the camera. The caption reads like this: "25 June 2005. Terrace, Helnan Chellah Hotel, a cool Moroccan evening. Cocktail Reception, closing ceremony." The success of the workshop is written on our faces.



25 June 2005. Terrace, Helnan Chellah Hotel, a cool Moroccan evening. Cocktail Reception, closing ceremony

The frame not only snaps our joys and hopes. It captures the essential mood of this piece— a personal recollection of participation in the workshop dealing with the problems of using material culture and archaeological sources for writing 'alternative histories' of the South, in the South, outside the tutelary gaze of the First World, particularly the West European and North American academia.

#### Alternative Histories and the South

"The first methodological anchorage of the idea of alternative 'histories', is that its sole enunciation sends us to the plurality of meanings that history can have, according to who are the subjects that 'make' it, narrate it or suffer it."

Silvia Rivera Cuicanqui, 'Alternative Histories: An Essay on Two Bolivian "Sociologists of the Image"', in *(In)visible Realities: Internal Markets and Subaltern Identities in Contemporary Bolivia*.

As archaeologists, anthropologists, museum practitioners and historians descended on Rabat, we experienced a sense of the collective at two levels. The first and obvious factor was the shared legacy of a colonial past and post-colonial present, their struggles and challenges. At the workshop, we had a first-hand experience of the intellectual and political connections between the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America outside the restrictive framework of academic journals, scholarly monographs, television and newspaper reports and the webs of cyber information. In her introduction of the themes and modalities of the workshop, Dr. Nayanjot Lahiri, the convenor of the workshop, remarked that the uniqueness of the programme lay not only in challenging the hegemony of written culture and its highly selective reconstruction of the past, but also in its efforts to study material culture through regionally worked out categories in the South, outside the purview of North scholarship.

This brings up the second and deeper level of collective consciousness that we experienced in Rabat. The disquiet with the overarching tutelage of written cultures in the histories of the South and with the dominance of North American and West European scholarship in the study of material culture as sources of alternative histories forged an instant bonding between participants from diverse political, cultural and disciplinary backgrounds. None of us at the workshop wanted to do away with the written word. However, all the participants wanted material objects— photographs, pottery, sculptures, architectural styles, rock paintings, cartographic representations, musical instruments, grave goods, clothes and museumised objects and archival objects— to be considered as equally legitimate and not complementary aids for writing histories. We were united by a passion to unearth from material evidence the stories of those marginalised in textual sources.

The workshop, however, was not about an uncritical appreciation of material culture over the written word as more authentic historical sources. It is, in fact, the claims of scientificity of material evidence in reconstructing the past that repeatedly came up in the numerous sessions. Thus we could experience the South not only in its commonalities, but also in the rich diversity of its political, cultural and

intellectual trajectories. The papers and the discussions covered a wide range of themes and disciplinary practices.

At one level, the discussions centred on theoretical interventions in archaeological practices. While Dr. Nayanjot Lahiri's opening lecture focussed on emerging archaeological theories outside the dominant Anglo-American theories, Dr. Nick Shepherd made a powerful plea for developing a truly postcolonial archaeology in the South outside the fetters of dominance by First World academics. Using colonial photographs of archaeological fieldwork in South Africa, Shepherd aptly demonstrated how the dominant colonial discourse marginalised and silenced voices of indigenous participation in archaeological practices in colonial Africa. Seeing the photographs, I could immediately relate to the situation in colonial India where marginalisation, silencing and selective incorporation of indigenous participation in archaeological practices were worked out at different, changing levels and contexts under the larger rubric of colonial hegemony. In fact, the connection between political, cultural and intellectual colonisation, the evolution of modern disciplines and pedagogic institutions and the need for intellectual and cultural decolonisation are some of the topics touched upon repeatedly in the course of the workshop.



The discussions at the workshop were not confined to theoretical issues alone but also dealt with real objects of material culture around which identities were (and continue to be) produced and articulated. While Dr. Moustapha Sall's paper examined pottery as the signifier of cultural identities and interrelationship among the Sereer and Diola societies in Senegal, Dr. Nd'eye Sokhna Gu'eye Ka's presentation of pottery production in the Senegal River Middle Valley examined the changing and complex response to economic, cultural and political forces of globalisation by women potters from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Visual research methods came up as an important topic during the workshop,

## Across the South

particularly in Analyn Ikin V. Salvador's presentation on the problems of the study of the representation of the Igorots of Philippines through their practices of body tattooing, teeth blackening and photographs of the same. Glass material was used as interesting evidence in the study of the chronology of an Indian archaeological site in the Pampas of Argentina in Virginia Giselle Pineau's presentation. R. Kumaran's paper looked at the cultural politics of self-assertion among the Dalits of Tamil Nadu by reading the complexity of meanings produced around material objects of everyday use by these depressed caste groups, particularly around the museum instrument '*parai*'.

The institutions and categories of colonial knowledge formation and the plurality of meanings produced around objects in colonial and postcolonial disciplinary practices came up time and again during the workshop. Thus, Barbara Ann Wanless's paper on the nuances of the construction of an essentialised 'Bushman Identity' through the Fourie Collection forced us to reconsider critically the polemical edge of colonial pedagogic institutions, the museum and the archive. Laurie Salloum is a passionate advocate for preserving the history of the Ottoman Empire in Lebanon by turning the ruins of the Akkar Palaces into museums. Cartographic representations of Uzbekistan as an alternative historical source came up in Dr. Zokirjon Saidboboev's paper. Edith Maria del Socorro Ortiz Diaz's presentation addressed the nature of precolonial and colonial circulation in Mexico by tracing the ancient roads along the Sierra de Juárez in Oaxaca. In the workshop 'Art' (with a capital 'A') came to be problematised as a category of material culture and archaeological evidence. Dr. Kokunre Adetokunbo Eghafona Agbontaen's paper sought to unmake the western category of Benin Art and resituate the objects in their original context where they were used by the indigenous population as mnemonics recording Benin history. My paper traced the politics of colonisation, nationalism and territorial self-fashioning around the archaeological production of ancient Indian (sculptural) Art in colonial (eastern) India. The shifting meanings of objects (stone sculptures) in the different realms of production and articulation of memories and histories by the Nasa community, and the changing responses of the archaeologists to this project, was well brought out in Dr. Gestobal Gnecco's presentation of the archaeological site of La Candelaria, in South West Colombia.

The politics of the present in the reconstruction of the past from material culture and archaeological evidence came up in Dr. Alinah Kelo Segolye's insightful presentation on the use of multiple texts and multiple

pasts in writing African archaeologies and in Joseph Mangut's paper on the aspects of historical archaeology of the Ron people of the Jos Plateau, a centre of present ethnic strife in Nigeria. The different meanings of heritage, within and outside the specialised academic community and the role of the present in the construction of heritage, were problematised by Dr. Lahiri's presentation on the changing meanings of conservation, preservation and management of monuments in precolonial, colonial and postcolonial India and in Dr. Ibrahima Thiaw's presentation on archaeological evidence and the memories of the Atlantic slave trade produced around the (in)famous 'slave warehouse' on the Gorée Island in Senegal. Alongside material objects, the written word also made its presence in Rabat, particularly in Dr. Lahiri's paper on the possibilities and the problems of using archaeological evidence and documentary sources, in conjunction and isolation, for writing histories.

The need for incorporating self-reflectivity of knowledge production in modern disciplinary practices, the idea that, as writers of history, we are also engaged in the 'making' of histories and the responsibility of the researcher to go beyond the charmed niche of fellow academics and reach out to the larger community encouraged and animated debates during the workshop. Thiaw's reflections on the problematic relationship between the archaeologist and the non-specialist in Senegal, Segoye's passionate account of the multiple use of archaeological sites as sites of learning and sites of healing in Botswana and Lahiri's paper on the plurality of meanings of heritage in India reflected the efforts of academics to move beyond their specialised areas and incorporate the multiplicity of so-called 'non-academic meanings' in disciplinary practices.

At Rabat, we had a wonderful peer group, an inspiring group of resource persons, Nayanjot, Alinah and Ibrahima, a very competent coordinator in Sokhna as well as a friendly SEPHIS representative in Dr. Asef Bayat. However, it was our Moroccan co-hosts, Dr. Fatima Harrak and Dr. Khalid Balou from the Centre for African Studies, University Mohammad V-Souissi, and the local resource persons, Dr. Youssef Bokbat, Dr. Abdeljahl Bouzouggar, Dr. Mustapha Nani, Dr. Fatima Ait M'hand and Dr. Sashar Mabrok who, by their warm hospitality and interesting presentations on different aspects of Moroccan pre, proto and historic cultures, made the workshop a memorable experience.

The discussions and exchanges were not only restricted to the conference room but also extended to breakfast, lunch and coffee breaks where we talked about films, politics, cuisine and arts. Here was the South, in its commonalities and diversities,

which we all lived and experienced in Rabat.

The tours within the city of Rabat—the archaeological museum, the Oodayas, the Medina, the Chellah, the beach, the Hassan Tower, the tomb and the unfinished mosque—gave us a rich view of the melange of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial cultures in the city. All along, Khalid was a helpful guide and a friend to look for. The icing was our last and



final daylong trip to the Towers of Fes, Meknes and the Roman site, Volubilis. Memories of the exotic Medina of Fes, the Roman mosaics in Volubilis and the grand gates of Meknes continue to haunt me in my dreams.



### For the South, Of the South, In the South

"One must, I think, begin with the basic fact that we in the South are relatively ignorant of each other's histories. All of us in our own separate ways know our 'Europe' better than I know Bolivia or some other academics in Coohabamba know Nigeria. Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued provocatively that it is not us or our respective countries but Europe that is the subject of all our histories."

Shahid Amin,  
*Alternative Histories: A View from India*

The workshop was an enriching learning experience. Not only did it succeed in challenging the hegemony of written culture in histories of the South, but also worked out new categories and theories for studying material culture of the South outside the domination of the First World academy. There was a strong urge in the workshop to return the histories of the South to the people of the South, not only to the academic, but also to the non-specialist public by taking up issues crucial to their self-positioning. Let me return to the group photograph I began with. It is an image of success, of hope and above all an image of the lived experience of South-South intellectual, political and cultural commonalities and diversities. CODESRIA and SEPHIS made such exchanges and comparative study possible in Rabat. Hope their good work is kept up in the future.

## Across the South

## Beyond Boundaries

Conference on 'Studying Games: Culture, Politics, Society, Media', Calcutta, 15 and 16 July 2005



Jishnu Dasgupta

He is currently teaching history in Behala College as a part-timer. He holds a fellowship in sports studies at Calcutta University. He is working on the politics of Bihar, for his doctoral thesis.

Jishnu has been actively involved in student politics since his high school days. His interests have now widened to a variety of public engagements. He is an organiser par excellence and a true Calcuttan in his passion for protest marches and street demonstrations. When he has some time, he reads, particularly the novel *The Godfather*, and wanders through the lanes and bylanes of old Calcutta.

How does one begin to write a report of a conference that one not only participated in, but also had a hand in organising? And one where there can be no reference to the wonder that we normally find in visiting some far away place— with some exotic locations thrown in: This conference was in Calcutta, my hometown. I cannot even exult on the South-South interaction (as Sraman has done) for all the participants from the South were people I have known for years. What then did we learn during those days?

On the thirteenth of July, at about five in the morning, as I turned in for the 'night', it was pouring. The streets would have been waterlogged but for the fact that it was still fairly early in the monsoons and the sewerage was as yet unclogged. But I was nervous. The conference was to start on the fifteenth, at least officially, but for those involved with the organisation of the event, it started that day. And it started at that ungodly hour. For it was then that the first two guests (Prof. John Macaloon and Prof. James A. Mangan) were to arrive at the airport to start a four-day stretch of long and hectic activity. It rained at the start and again at the end of the day, when the third foreigner (Prof. Brian Stoddart) landed, but the day was otherwise quite dry.

I met Profs. Macaloon and Mangan at the lobby of the Taj Bengal hotel soon after they arrived. Sitting peacefully in one corner were two elderly academics, immersed in a deep conversation. What is surprising about that? Nothing, on the surface of it. But it sort of symbolised what was to happen over these four days— much contestation yet the opening up of areas of agreement. This was fascinating for those aware of the long and hard-fought debate between the two in their chosen (sub)discipline— sports studies. Mangan had floated the notion of the 'imperial games ethic' to explain the adoption of metropolitan games by the colonised, whereas Macaloon has emphasised the subversion of dominant 'games ethics' by subjugated peoples in a variety of contexts.

On the fourteenth, the 'official' proceedings began. After rounds of the usual media interviews, the first session started at the Eden Gardens.

An unusual location. Well, again, not quite. For the Eden, along with its fine cricket ground and the offices of the Cricket Association of Bengal, also houses the CAB Centre for Academic Excellence. It was at this Centre that we had long and incisive chats about the future of this fledgling discipline in South Asia, the varied experiences of sports and its politics across the globe and the struggles of the discipline to gain a firm foothold. The centre has one of the finest collections on sports history, and many of the participants in the session had their first look at rare volumes they could only have heard of. I myself had an unforgettable experience. I got a chance to step onto the hallowed turf of Eden Gardens. The chat, however, was not a 'cricket-cricket' one, to use Ramchandra Guha's terminology. Rather, there was an analysis of the changing character of crowd violence in the stadium, underlining the changes in the nature of support for the game.

In the evening, the scene shifted to the American Centre in Chowringhee, the heart of Calcutta's business district, for a panel discussion on 'Governance in Sports'. Macaloon, in his keynote address, underlined the need to examine issues of governance in order to understand sports and also the influence of wider social, political and economic processes on sports governance. K. P. Singh Deo, former Union Minister and head of the Rowing Federation of India, provided what was hoped would be an insider's view of the issue for his proposed 'interlocutors'. But the retired Brigadier went on to give an insipid defence of his kind, the sports administrator. Stoddart wove into his talk his vast experience of studying sports administration, particularly in the context of Australia and the role of government policies in building sports into the national psyche. Suman Chattopadhyay talked of the issue of politicking in sports organisations and federations, particularly in the sub-continental context. After the discussion, a documentary was screened on the corruption involved in the process of selecting the city to host the Olympic Games. Prof. Macaloon took issue with the film, and in a rebuttal, talked at length of the investigation

undertaken by the IOC into such acts of corruption and the efforts to root out such elements.

The conference 'proper', titled 'Studying Games: Culture, Politics, Society, Media', was held in The Centre for Social Sciences, Calcutta University, on the fifteenth and sixteenth. Brian Stoddart delivered the keynote address. He underlined the issues of nationalism and sports in contexts as varied as his native New Zealand, the Caribbean and Australia. He also provided a brief summary of his own journey from a social historian of the politics of India to a sports historian, thereby showing how the discipline had evolved. John Macaloon did something similar. He shared his understanding of how the discipline evolved in the USA. We learnt of a whole generation of scholars (to be), spending their youth in the shadow of the Vietnam War, many of whom were College Athletes, joining in the protest marches. This led them to investigate their own activities as sportspersons. The experience of the war and the protests against them continues to inform the work of scholars of his generation.



In the second session, held that afternoon, Kaushik Bandopadhyay talked of the 'Great Event' of Indian Soccer— the victory of Mohan Bagan in the IFA Shield of 1911. This event, significant as *the* victory of a 'native' club over a top regimental team, was heralded as a great victory of nationalism. This, despite the club officials (as well as colonial authorities) seeking to project it as merely a sporting act, with nothing to do with 'politics'. Dealing with the growth of baseball and cricket in the US and India respectively, Dr. Boria Majumdar analysed how the differing contexts of national identification and

## Across the South

the definition of the 'other' (England in both cases) led to the differing trajectory of sports in the two countries. In the US, after the War of 1812, there was a felt need for a national game with no connections with the 'Mother Country' and so the thriving tradition of cricket, particularly in Philadelphia, was gradually marginalised. Instead, baseball rose to the stature of the national game and the myth of an 'Immaculate Conception' was invented, ignoring its historical roots in the British rounders. Conversely, a yearning for beating the imperial masters at their own game greatly enhanced the appeal of cricket in India.



In my own paper, at the start of the last session (16 July), I sought to delve into the complex relations between the market, communalism and nation-building in India at a time when the game has become a signifier of the nation. Arguing for a

disaggregated understanding of cricket, rooted in the entrenched history of the game, which sat only imperfectly with the socio-economic-political currents with which it shared time and space, I tried to put forward the open-endedness of the game that conflicts with any mechanical and deterministic understanding of its politics. Chandrima Chakraborty talked at length about the question of gender subjectivity in the very popular and much acclaimed film, 'Laagan'. She analysed the gendered roles assigned to the characters in this film, which was set in a colonial rural context. The film drew on the emotive themes of cricket and nationalism, which were set within a narrative, constituting the film's 'surface' text— a victory of a team of the subaltern colonised in a game with the masters. In his concluding address Mangan talked of the development of publishing in this sub-discipline. He focused on the early difficulties in the West, and the problems and prospects that it has in India.

Earlier, on the evening of the fifteenth, there was a discussion at the Crossword Bookstore on Majumdar's book, *Twenty-two Yards to Freedom*. The issue of the scholar's freedom in the case of official histories, one which has sparked much debate around the book was dealt in detail, as were several other critical ones surrounding the social history of sports. At the end of all this, there was an award ceremony held to mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the International Journal of the History of Sport.



Through the three days and more, we learnt of the similarities and dissimilarities of sports in various contexts. We covered various areas— the role of aggressive cricket shots in the Caribbean as an assertion against racism and colonialism, sport as an arena of underclass assertion for the Blacks in the US and for Muslims in India, of nation-building around cricket, baseball, rugby and soccer, the gendered subtexts of these discourses... and the list is endless. For some, it was 'conventional' social history, with sports history serving as an entrypoint. Others came from a cultural studies perspective. To others still, it carried portents of a sub-discipline, separate from, though linked to, these methodologies. In all, it was a delightful journey into the variegated and contextual histories of sport, where, to slightly alter Neville Cardus's famous statement, one or two simple facts punctured beautiful generalisations.

## Quiz

### Answers

1. The soccer World Cup held between 24 June and 16 July 1950 in Brazil.
2. Suu Kyi, who was released after six years of house arrest on 10 July 1995.
3. The suicide of Cleopatra VII, Queen of Egypt (30 August 30 BCE).
4. On 26 May 2003, Rwandans voted to approve a new constitution that instituted a balance of power between the Hutu and the Tutsi.
5. On 27 August 1883 a massive volcanic eruption on the island of Krakatoa blew up most of the island and resulted in tsunamis that killed over 36,000 people.
6. On 13 August 1521, after a three-month siege, the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán fell to the Spanish conquistadors, marking the end of one empire and the rise of another.
7. Yasser Arafat returned to Palestine after 27 years in exile on 1 July 1994.
8. Liberia became the first African republic (26 July 1847).
9. On this day, Venezuela became the first South American country to declare independence from Spain.
10. General Abdul Karim Kassem brought about a military coup, overthrew the monarchy in Iraq, killed King Faisal II and became Iraq's leader.

## Reviews

## Dispossessions and Reappropriations: Intimate Antagonisms



Patricia Reinheimer

Currently a doctoral candidate in Social Anthropology in the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social (PPGAS), Museu Nacional (Post-Graduate Program in Social Anthropology, National Museum) Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro UFRJ (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro). Having had a long relationship with fine arts, she chose to focus her doctoral research on Brazilian modernism and the ways in which artistic discourses draw upon the idea of racial mixture to construct Brazilian nationality symbols. In her free time, she loves dancing specially Brazilian and Latin rhythms. She also enjoys going out with friends for nice and usually long conversations.

Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions. Indigenous art/Colonial Culture*, Thames and Hudson, New York, 1999, format: 9 1/4 x 6 1/8 inches, pp. 304, 183 illustrations, 20-in color, Softcover, \$24.95, ISBN 0-500-28097-5

*Possessions* continues, to a certain degree, in the path of other Thomas works dealing in varied ways with themes such as colonialism and visual culture in the Pacific. In this book Thomas deals with the ways in which colonial nationalism has been evoked and exhibited, examining references to indigenous themes and patterns in the fine arts, design and decoration in Australia and New Zealand. He also explores how it is possible that these references have simultaneous native and national connotations. The term "native" is itself analysed from the point of view of its re-valuation as an element used in the construction of national symbols, being that in this process, it ceases to refer to indigenous cultures and is instead re-formed as a signifier which points to the settler culture.

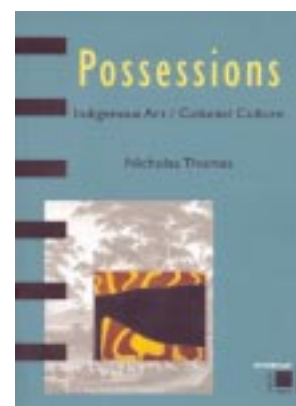
Thomas uses the art produced by the interactions between settlers and indigenous peoples, as well as that produced by Europeans relating to indigenous art, to question such notions as "primitivism" and "modernism" in the contemporary art world of New Zealand and Australia. The author refutes the idea that colonial modernist primitivism was rooted in theoretical politics of comparison based upon notions of simplicity and vigour of native life, instead treating it as more of a loan of visual forms.

The aesthetic dimension is here shown to be important for the appreciation and meaning of indigenous art, because the works themselves have attributed respect and recognition to the art, artists and indigenous culture itself in the widest sense. Among other questions that Thomas raises, he seeks to understand how interest in art has been an important dimension in attracting support for and understanding of indigenous political

claims. *Possessions* delineates two important interpretative axes: 1) how art as a language can also be used as a tool for claims in different dimensions of the social sphere and 2) how classifications of art history do not embrace the amplitude of meanings which indigenous art can create.

These relationships are not examined from a global or European point of view in Thomas' work, but from that of a peripheral country which is nonetheless not part of the so-called Third World (p. 9). This indicates a classificatory system to which Australia and New Zealand pertain. However, Thomas does not make it clear if the processes of construction of distinctive national identities have constituted part of the social actors' strategies for entrance into the international political arena, neither does he clarify the implications of that classificatory system for the construction of the identities in question.

The appropriation of themes and elements attributed to indigenous cultures or to other ethnic minority groups as a way of constructing national symbols was not limited to New Zealand and Australia. In Brazil, the participation of the native's image in the process of national symbolisation has been occurring since the middle of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Brazilian modernist art movement used the ritual of anthropophagy in order to justify foreign influences in its cultural representations. However, the participation of the natives in Brazilian artistic modernism was almost exclusively restricted to incorporation of the anthropophagy notion. In New Zealand, differentiation in relation to the colonising metropolis seemed far



more important and for this reason, the appropriation of elements and themes of indigenous cultures was emphasised. In Brazil, however, emphasis was placed upon appropriation of European "modernity" through the use of themes such as industry and technology.

National symbolisation drew upon the idea of racial mixture in the Brazilian case, but the New Zealand and Australian cases could also be thought of as partly the result of the incorporation of an external attribution. This was a strategy used in the construction of cultural particularity which could then be inserted in an international market in which the value of "non-exotic" nations was guaranteed by notions such as modernity, civilisation, technology, science, development and so on. In this sense, the attempt to formulate an identity that would not use the paradigm of the racial formation would be frustrated by the demands of a market of nationalities that reserved for certain states the exotic niche. Thomas, however, is silent regarding the possibilities of using or attempts to use racial mixture as an axis around which New Zealand and Australian nationality could be constructed.

## Reviews

## Two Novels from the Eastern Himalayas: Love Found and Lost



Riddhi Sankar Ray

Riddhi Sankar Ray was born and educated in Calcutta, and took his master's degree in history from the city university. He is at present a junior research fellow with the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

Mitra Phukan, *The Collector's Wife*, Zubaan/Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 349, Rs. 295, ISBN 81-86706-83-6  
Kunzang Choden, *The Circle of Karma*, Zubaan/Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 316, Rs. 295, ISBN 81-86706-79-8

In terms of choice of protagonist and perspective, *The Collector's Wife* and *The Circle of Karma* have something fundamental in common, in that they are both about a woman's experience of the vagaries of life. Reading them, it is also quite apparent that, if nothing else, both the authors are thoroughly familiar with the worlds they choose to describe. And that is how it should be: Mitra Phukan (*The Collector's Wife* is set against, and pervaded by, the backdrop of a turbulent Assam) is a "well-known Assamese writer and contributes regularly to English dailies in Assam"; she is also involved with the North East Writers' Forum and edits their journal. Kunzang Choden (*The Circle of Karma* is, to a large extent, about the mind, as also the aspirations, of traditional, rural Bhutan), on the other hand, is "one of Bhutan's foremost writers", and has not only penned a number of short stories but also published collections of Bhutanese folk tales.



Mitra Phukan's is a story about an episode in the life of a District Collector's wife, the tragic denouement of which turns her world upside down with a touch of utter finality. Rukmini Bezboruah, part-time lecturer in English at a local college—quiet, urbane, sensitive, and eminently respectable as a human being—lives with her husband (Siddharth) in Parbatpuri, an unquiet district town in an especially troubled region of Assam. Her marriage, more than a decade old now, and indeed her life (as far as we can tell), have been on the whole uneventful, neither madly passionate nor bitterly unhappy, and deprived of a desirable but not yearned-for motherhood—largely a

matter of going through the motions of being a model bureaucrat's wife. A word about the husband here in passing: "Minutely just, unfailingly upright", he has been drawn up with the best traditions of the *steel frame* in mind. But what the couple seemingly lack by way of a demonstratively 'romantic' attachment, is compensated by mutual respect and admiration. Rukmini, at any rate, never really complains, or has any profound regrets. When the narrative opens, Rukmini comes across as a spouse for whom Siddharth, because of his preoccupation with work, has little or no time. It is into this staid scene of measured existence that there enters an attractively frank and pleasantly affectionate sales employee of a corporate concern, lonely and peripatetic because of his job, with whom Rukmini effortlessly develops a refreshing friendship, replete with an (anticipated) indiscretion on a rain-washed day. In the end, however, she loses both her friend and husband to the workings of political extremism and insurgency, whose lurking presence throughout the novel culminates in the death of the two men in her life—the one as hostage for ransom, the other as head of district administration. In the meantime, however, much water had flown: Rukmini, now pregnant with her friend's child, had discovered Siddharth's 'affair' with a colleague of hers, and a subsequent rebuilding of bridges of understanding between them was underway when tragedy struck.

The fictional element apart, *The Collector's Wife* should also be pleasant reading to anyone interested in state, society and politics in modern India. First, the author conveys a sense of being born out of the colonial past at least insofar as life in the *mofussil* is concerned. Second, it directly concerns regional and ethnic demands for a more exclusive identity, the periphery's struggle against the centre, as also its inherent contradictions and ambiguities—issues central to the history of independent India, and the post-Cold War world at large.

*The Circle of Karma* is a biographi-

cal novel about Tsomo; it is about growing up to be a woman in a traditional, 'pre-modern' society, and her attempts at coming to grips with *her* changing world, a continuing journey, across new lands, which serve to define a whole geography of emotion and experience. At another level, it is also the story of a human life and the human condition, of loves found and lost, the works and days of hands, as it were. No flags of finality, no full stops here; life goes on, taking inscrutable and intriguing courses, fundamentally inexplicable. The end of all religion is perhaps to explain why we are the way we are, to make some meaning out of this chaotic journey from birth to death, and through death, to make the best of a bad job. Buddhism (as also Hinduism, if there is such a thing), which profoundly informs and influences this novel, relies heavily on the notion of *karma*, involving as it does the undying soul and a changing body, to explain the vagaries of human existence. The blurb quite rightly notes, "The first novel by a woman to come out of the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan, *The Circle of Karma*... is rich in detailed descriptions of ritual life." Indeed, the imaginative reader may well find him/herself wondering whether it is not for humans to *live* largely, if not only, through form and ritual.



*The Circle of Karma* tends towards being that rare thing, a 'historical novel', to most readers of English fiction presumably, in that it describes a mentality, a sensibility and a way of life wholly different from theirs. The reader would have been better off had a glossary been appended to the novel, though.

## Announcements

**MULTIDISCIPLINARY GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ETHNIC AND AFRICAN STUDIES**

Federal University Of Bahia, Brazil (UFBA)  
College of Philosophy and the Humanities  
Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO)

**CALL FOR PAPERS**

International Workshop on Labour History  
Association of Indian Labour Historians (India), SEPHIS Programme and  
International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam)  
10-12 November 2005, Delhi, India

**M.A. PROGRAMME**

MIREES  
Interdisciplinary Master in East European Researches and Studies  
An Interdisciplinary Masters Programme for Area Experts

**MISSION STATEMENT**

WUNRN  
U.N. Human Rights Study on the Status of Women  
From the Viewpoint of Religion and Traditions

**VISITING FELLOWSHIPS**

The Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Edinburgh

**SCHOLAR RESCUE FUND**

The Institute of International Education

## Announcements

---

### MULTIDISCIPLINARY GRADUATE PROGRAM IN ETHNIC AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Federal University of Bahia, Brazil (UFBA)  
College of Philosophy and the Humanities  
Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO)

#### Introduction

The Center for Afro-Oriental Studies of the College of Philosophy and the Humanities of the Federal University of Bahia offers a Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies. The programme invites applications from students interested in the African context and in Afro-American populations, especially in processes of ethnic and racial identity formation.

It is a unique course in Brazil that caters to an increasing demand for specialists in the field. This demand has increased considerably since the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and cultures have been included in schools and universities curricula. Those who graduate with us can work in national and international organisations, research institutes, NGOs, private institutions and in schools and universities.

The multidisciplinary approach is imperative as it is not enough to study Africa and ethno-racial relations within the classical disciplinary tradition. That is, research should not be compartmentalised in conventional academic fields. A comparative perspective is therefore mandatory to fully explore ethno-racial studies and analyse the African presence in Latin America. In addition, multidisciplinary approach can foster exchanges between academic communities in Latin American countries, mainly those with a significant population of African descent, and in Africa, mostly within the Portuguese speaking countries.

#### Research

The Graduate Program in Ethnic and African studies has two research fields, which are inter-related and supplement each other.

Ethnic Studies include research about Afro-Brazilian and Afro-American populations, taking into consideration their relationship with ethnicity theories. It stresses race relations, the so-called "black cultures", and Afro-American populations in Latin America. It also focuses on the relationship between native American and other racial segments. For example, in Latin America the ways natives and *mestiços* have been defined are deeply associated with the ways in which the black population and *mestiçagem* (mixing) processes have been historically conceived.

African Studies focus on Africa and emphasises ethnicity, identity, gender and race theories. Africa and African Studies have had a great influence on western contemporary social theories, especially on the Social Sciences and the Humanities. In fact, these issues should have been taken into consideration within the modern university system. Unfortunately, such relationships have not yet been sufficiently acknowledged. Our Program intends to think about these problems and to stress how important Africa is for the making of western social theories.

Both research fields stress the comparative approach, as it enables to clearly conceive of general traits as well as particular specificities regarding ethno-racial problems in Latin America and in Africa. Contrasting also helps to consider what connects and what isolates different nations and regions. The Afro-Latin world and Africa can, and often should, be taken as parts of a whole, with no fixed cutting lines.

#### The Course

The programme offers a Master's and a Ph.D. degree in Ethnic and African Studies. Students have to take two mandatory and three optional classes. They are expected to participate in the meetings on their respective research field, and also to participate in other academic events. The programme will try to create opportunities for both Master's and Ph.D. students to do field research abroad, in Africa, Latin America or the Caribbean.

##### Mandatory classes:

1. Ethnic and race relations theories
2. Methodology training seminar

##### Optional classes, Ethnic Studies:

1. New historiography of slavery
2. Color and class in contemporary Brazil
3. Iconography and images of African Diaspora
4. Ethnic identity and slavery
5. Ethnic identity and literature
6. Music, identity and ethnicity
7. Black organizations: strategies and power relations
8. Language, ethnic identity and power
9. Racial and ethnic relations: comparative perspective

##### Optional classes, African Studies:

1. Africa and the Humanities
2. Black Africa: colonialism, modernization, race and gender
3. Africa, the sciences & colonialism: theoretical issues
4. Africa: paradigms of colonialism and African strategies
5. Africa: tribe, ethnicity and nation- concepts and history
6. Religions in Africa
7. International flows of the ideas about "race" and ethnicity

#### Faculty

##### Associate Faculty

Angela Lühning (Department of Music Composition, Ph.D. in Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin)  
Carlos Eugênio Líbano Soares (Department of History, Ph.D. in History, UNICAMP)  
Florentina da Silva Souza (Department of Vernacular Languages, Ph.D. in Literary Studies, UFMG)  
Jeferson Bacelar (Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. in Anthropology, UFBA)  
João José Reis (Department of History, Ph.D. in History, University of Minnesota)  
Jocélio Teles dos Santos (Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. in Anthropology, USP)  
Livio Sansone (Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. in Anthropology, University of Amsterdam)  
Luis Nicolau Parés (Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. in Anthropology of Religions, University of London)  
Maria do Rosário de Carvalho (Department of Anthropology, Ph.D. in Anthropology, USP)  
Ubiratan Castro (Fundação Palmares, Ph.D. in History, Université Paris IV)  
Valdemir Zamparoni (Department of History, Ph.D. in History, USP)

##### Assistant Faculty

## Announcements

---

América Lúcia Silva César (Department of Vernacular Languages, Ph.D in Applied Linguistics, UNICAMP)

Cláudio Pereira (CEAO, Ph.D in Anthropology, UNICAMP)

Paula Cristina da Silva Barreto (Department of Sociology, Ph.D in Sociology, USP)

Scholars in Residence

Ângela Figueiredo (Ph.D in Sociology, IUPERJ)

Lara Mancuso (CEAO, Ph.D in History, El Colegio de México)

Contact us at:

PÓS-AFRO,

Praça XV de novembro, 17,

Terreiro de Jesus, Salvador, BA, 4002510.

(71) 3321-2564

posafro@ufba.br, www.posafro.ufba.br

---

### CALL FOR PAPERS

An International Workshop on Labour History

Association of Indian Labour Historians (India), SEPHIS Programme and

International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam)

10-12 November 2005, Delhi, India

The workshop is being held to discuss the possibility of a new framework for global labour history. There is an urgent need for reconstituting the older frameworks which had evolved around fixed binaries of space, time and social relations. A more meaningful way of comparison would be to focus on sites, forms and relations of labour that habitually straddle the classical divides of labour history. Papers to be presented at the workshop should focus on the following themes:

1) Legalities: For a new global labour history there is a need to rethink notions of law, legality and labour moving beyond earlier distinctions between legal/illegal, crime/labour, regulated/unregulated.

2) Mobility: With increasing attention now being paid to circular mobility, cross border labour migration and the history of mobile work sites, mobility is brought back to the centre of labouring experience.

3) Solidarities: Themes which transcend the organic models of community and associational forms of class, comparisons of transient and temporary solidarities, forms such as social networks forged at workplaces and neighbourhoods at both the global and the local level are expected to be dealt with in the papers under this rubric.

4) Relations of Gender: What seems important today is not just the visibility of women and women's work, but the interrogation of received ideas such as male working class formation and notions of masculinity implicit in traditional notions of solidarity.

Contact us at:

Association of Indian Labour Historians,

42 Deshbandhu Society, 15 Patparganj, Delhi 110092, India.

International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

---

### M.A. PROGRAMME

MIREES

Interdisciplinary Master in East European Researches and Studies

An Interdisciplinary Masters Programme for Area Experts

The MA Programme MIREES (Interdisciplinary Master in East European Researches and Studies) represents a unique offer in the field of post-graduate training, combining an interdisciplinary programme with a strongly professionally oriented approach.

By including an intensive language course, with a wide choice of languages (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Finnish, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak and Russian), MIREES provides its students with considerable insight, hence the qualification of "Area Experts".

Thanks to the "Europe and the Balkans" International Network, the Area Experts will have the chance to be inserted into managerial careers in public and private institutions engaged in their geographical area of interest.

For more information visit our website: [www.eurobalk.net](http://www.eurobalk.net) (University of Bologna)

---

### MISSION STATEMENT

WUNRN

U.N. Human Rights Study on the Status of Women

From the Viewpoint of Religion and Traditions

The Women's United Nations Report Program and Network (WUNRN) is a non-governmental coalition to implement the conclusions and recommendations of a United Nations Study on Freedom of Religion or Belief and the Status of Women from the Viewpoint of Religion and Traditions (E/CN.4/2002/73/Add.2). This study is a major, universal, comprehensive U.N. approach to intolerance and discrimination against women based on religion and traditions.

To strengthen the nexus between women's rights and freedom of religion or belief, it is important to build on the Juridical and Factual Aspects of this study by research, plans of action and practical projects. WUNRN, together with The Tandem Project, is committed to this objective through support for the dignity and fundamental rights of women everywhere, and by the promotion of tolerance and the end of discrimination against women based on religion and traditions.

For further information, visit: <http://www.wunrn.com>

---

## Announcements

---

### VISITING FELLOWSHIPS

The Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Edinburgh

The Centre for South Asian Studies, University of Edinburgh, invites applications from Indian citizens, resident and pursuing their careers in India, for a Charles Wallace visiting fellowship in 'Contemporary History'. This covers a broad field including political activism, journalism, historiography, historical anthropology and research addressing cultural, political, social and economic change in India in recent decades.

Applications should include a C.V. and a letter describing the work that will be carried out while the applicant is resident in Edinburgh. Two persons who know the applicants work should be asked by the applicant to send a letter of recommendation to the Centre's convenor, either by e-mail (to) or by post to:

Professor R. Jeffery,  
Centre for South Asian Studies,  
University of Edinburgh,  
Adam Ferguson Building,  
40 George Square, Edinburgh, EH8 9LL.  
South.Asian@ed.ac.uk

---

### SCHOLAR RESCUE FUND

The Institute of International Education

The Institute of International Education's Scholar Rescue Fund provides fellowships for scholars whose lives and work are threatened in their home countries. These fellowships permit scholars to find temporary refuge at universities and colleges anywhere in the world, enabling them to pursue their academic work and to continue to share their knowledge with students, colleagues, and the community at large. When conditions improve, these scholars will return home to help rebuild universities and societies ravaged by fear, conflict and repression.

#### How the Scholar Rescue Fund Works:

Academics, researchers and independent scholars from any country, field or discipline may qualify. Preference is given to scholars with a Ph.D. or other highest degree in their field; who have been employed in scholarly activities at a university, college or other institution of higher learning during the last four years (excluding displacement or prohibition); who demonstrate superior academic accomplishment or promise; and whose selection is likely to benefit the academic community in the home and/or host country or region. Applications from female scholars and under-represented groups are strongly encouraged.

Universities, colleges and research centres in any country may apply to serve as hosts. Applications and nominations should be made to the Fund's Selection Committee. Institutions interested in hosting a particular scholar should submit a letter with the scholar's application. Fellowships are awarded to institutions for support of specific individuals, to be matched in most cases by the institution or third-party. Fellowship recipients are expected to continue their work in safety at the host institution—teaching, lecturing, conducting research, writing and publishing. Fellowships from 3 months to one calendar year will be considered with up to 25 fellowships awarded annually. The maximum award is US \$20,000. Applications are accepted at any time. Emergency applications receive urgent consideration. Non-emergency applications will be considered according to the following schedule:

#### 2005 Fellowship Deadlines:

Review cycle: Winter 2005

Received by: 1 January

Decisions by: 1 March

Review cycle: Spring 2005

Received by: 1 April

Decisions by: 1 June

Review cycle: Fall 2005

Received by: 1 September

Decisions by: 1 November

#### To apply or to learn how your institution might host an SRF scholar contact:

IIE Scholar Rescue Fund Fellowships,

809 U.N. Plaza, Second Floor,

New York, New York 10017, USA.

Tel: (USA) 1-212-984-5472.

Fax: (USA) 1-212-984-5401.

E-mail: [SRF@iie.org](mailto:SRF@iie.org)

Website: <http://www.iie.org/srf/home>

---

## Our Team

### Editors:

Samita Sen  
sensamita@yahoo.co.uk

Shamil Jeppie  
sjeppie@humanities.uct.ac.za

### Editorial Assistants:

Sudeepta Ghose  
sudeeptaghose@rediffmail.com

Jishnu Dasgupta  
jishnudasgupta@gmail.com

Riddhi Sankar Ray  
riddhisankarray@rediffmail.com

### Designer (D.T.P):

Pradipta Saha  
pradiptasaha@rediffmail.com

### Administrative Assistant:

Joyanti Sen  
sachetana@vsnl.com

### Correspondents:

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

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

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

Sarfraz Khan,  
Area Study Centre,  
University of Peshwar, Pakistan.  
ascrc@psh.paknet.com.pk

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

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

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

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

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