

SACH

SOUTH ASIAN COMPOSITE HERITAGE

MAY—JULY 2015 ■ VOLUME—1 ■ ISSUE—39

Editorial Board

Arshad Karim

Al-Bilal Falahi Tanzeem Nawjawanwan Regd
Kahber Pakhtunkhwa, **Pakistan**

Kalipada Sarker
CCDB, **Bangladesh**

Dr. Richard Devadoss
Cornerstone
Chennai, **India**

Nobo Kishore Urickhimbam
Centre for Social Development
Manipur, **India**

P. Bala Murugan
India

P. Lalitha Kumari
Asmita Resource Centre for Women
Secunderabad, **India**

Sharifa Sidiqqi
India

Shruti Chaturvedi
Institute for Social Democracy
Delhi, **India**

Suramya Smriti Kujur
Delhi, **India**

Coordination by

Institute for Social Democracy
New Delhi, **India**

E-MAIL
notowar.isd@gmail.com

WEBSITE
www.sach.org.in / www.isd.net.in

This issue of SACH brings to our focus the realities of the present times. We are witness to varied shades of culture. The culture of co-existence. The culture of hatred and violence. The shared culture which reflects itself in the food habits, in language, literature which is common across identities. The culture of spreading and strengthening the deep rooted biases, prejudices for different communities. The agenda of marginalizing and terrorizing a community on the basis of its religion. The culture of respect for diversity on one hand and that of discrimination on the other.

There is this constant push and pull between the dividing forces and the forces that connect us, unite us. We have always found ways to weaken the dividers and strengthen that which binds us. That is how we have survived so far and will continue to survive.

Black Rain : From Hiroshima To Nagasaki

by **TERENCE GEORGE CRADDOCK**
(*Spectral Images and Images of Light*)

We dropped the Bomb
though we apologized.
Said we're sorry
in solid cold cash.
Couldn't do better
radiant improvised.
Skin-graft surgery.
Medical emergency aid.
Is ground funded in cash.

Memory dedication burns
racial inflamed scorch scar.
Black ash devastation falls
assassinated civil public facts.
Japanese superb marshal arts
somatic sate skilled disciples.
Mystic mind merge mystify.
Discipline defensive army warriors
can't demoralize kamikaze deny.

Black belt grade girths
achieved attainment ties.
To confront such expertise.
Still technologists terrifies.

You can manpower marshal
but cannot defensively defeat.

Even simple sifted atoms
which compose forfeit feet.
When atoms shattered split
winds shall suffuse blow.
On howling burning heat.
Shock wave will atomize melt
mash reinforced concrete.

Know we dropped A bomb
all past pristine history now?
Predominant today weren't
awakened alive witness;
too see you take that bow.
Shame all shame encircle;
tremble shamed in defeat.
Values alter change fuse;
within tremendous heat.

Shame aroma smacks in air
aftermath stench salting burnt;
charred human pork meat.
Yet won't feed radiant few.
Burnt beyond recognition;
embroiled in nuclear stew.
Reel foul hooked x-ray life.
Salve immune sago cells;
release pain porous life.

Black Rain ash rotten fell
cross ashen horizon's ruin.

Split Flash instantly
vaporize every brain.
Leave agonized maimed
survivors. Blind insane.
Bring sun descendent glory
golden sun emperor down.
Bring sun ascendent glory
nuke we shall do induce upon.
Japanese royal imperial crown.

There is no place to civilians go;
no place civilians; to safely run.
Today if proud city shall see
rise birth; of two flaming suns?
Modern math creation shall burn
scorch; innocent shelter earth.
History culture in shock seconds
rent vaporize; regenerative birth.
60% flash flame burns 30% fallen

debris dead. Still we have only.
Just extermination begun. 'Little Boy'.
'Fat Man'. Mere three days later.
Rise another Los Alamos sun. Burns.
Radiation sickness. It will cell tear.
Entire archaic governments apart.
Until military men are propped up.
With illusion of mighty atomic heart.
Unbombed cities saved pristine intact.

Reserved for accurate assessment
Army Air Force Agreed no kamikaze;
to leave cities Hiroshima Nagasaki
off nightly bombing raids target list.

J. Robert Oppenheimer
'I am the destroyer of worlds'
at Target Committee at Los Alamos;
recommended large urban targets.
Blast Fall freed Black Rains
unleashed howling demons.
Escalation of repetitive nightmare;
froze innards civilian city organs.
Republic reap... thermonuclear weapons.

Amassed never to perpetrate.
Potential nuclear winter;
chills fuse dark fusion fate.
Escheat heritage flash feint;
disintegrates in abstained debate.
Growth opportunities lost;
in resource miscarried aggregate.

Political clouds previously;
obscured target judgement.

Sorry. For the Black Rains.

Remember scientific intent.
Several Japanese cities left
deliberately untouched;
by American predator night
bombing. Allowing a pristine
city control environment;
to measure scientific damage
caused by experimental;
terror weapon atomic bomb.

We dropped A bomb;
woe we occupation apologized.
Said we're appeasement sorry;
salve solid cold clinical cash.
Couldn't care cope do better?
Impoverished. Skin-graft surgery.
Miser misappropriated medical aid.
Immersed grounded funded cash.
America super power new world order.

Miser test observations memory burns;
racial rabid nuclear flu; graft scar.
American weapon of unleashed; mass
destruction; echo intimidates.
Radio Report Radio Tokyo
August 8 1945 described;
destruction observed in Hiroshima;
'Practically all living things,
human and animal, were literally seared to death,'

Hiroshima primary target;
first nuclear bombing mission;
August 6 1945; B-29 Enola Gay
to bomb city; B-29 The Great Artiste
carried what instrumentation?
Historic photography aircraft;
recording weapon deployment;
resulting mushroom cloud
explosion; B-29 Necessary Evil?

Sorry. For the Black Rains.

"The atomic bomb
was more than a weapon
of terrible destruction;
it was a psychological weapon. "

Former U.S. Secretary of War,
Henry L. Stimson 1947. (Final definitive score?)

What was judgement in heaven?

Saying no to Ghettos

Praful Bidwai

INDIA

Meet Rahul, a journalist with extensive experience of working for Indian and foreign media. During his many years in Delhi's market for rented housing, Rahul was a welcome prospective tenant for landlords, particularly in South Delhi's well-appointed colonies.

Welcome, that is, until he returned with a contract containing the agreed terms, which revealed his surname, Jalali. On seeing it, most landlords would freeze and invent excuses about why the flat in question couldn't be rented to him: it was already promised to someone else; they are vegetarians; the idea of a meat-eating tenant doesn't appeal to them; whatever...

It didn't matter that Jalali is a Kashmiri Brahmin surname – and an expression of the syncretic culture of the valley, just as Muslim surnames like Pandit are.

Such anti-Muslim prejudice was recently revealed twice, even more blatantly, in Mumbai. First, Zeeshan Ali Khan, a 22-year-old management graduate, was refused a job with a big diamond-polishing firm on the ground “that we hire only non-Muslim candidates”. Second, Misbah Quadri, a 25-year-old communications professional, was evicted from a flat she had rented in north-central Mumbai because she's a Muslim.

When the email reply to Zeeshan went viral, the company, Hari Krishna Exports (HKE), claimed that the human-resources manager who wrote it was unfamiliar with company policy. Although this stretches credulity, the HR manager probably internalised what has become part of normalised discourse or commonsense in sections of Indian society under Hindutva's sway, including stereotypes about what kinds of jobs go to whom.

Zeeshan's case is one of those rare instances where religious prejudices get expressed so openly. Even rarer, the police booked HKE under Section 153-B of the Indian Penal Code, which deals with hurting religious sentiments. More

remarkably, two of Zeeshan's Hindu classmates decided not to take up a job with HKE.

Misbah was told by the apartment builder's representative that it was his “policy” not to have Muslim tenants. She then tried to live with two Hindu women in the building as their “guest”. All three were thrown out. This is obviously a fit case for bringing serious charges against the builder. But it's not yet clear how the police will proceed against him.

Past experience in such cases isn't inspiring. In October 2013, in another revolting instance of religion-based discrimination, the real-estate portal '99 acres' carried an advertisement by a broker: “Excellent brand new 2BHK fully furnished flat with cross ventilation, natural light. Cosmopolitan society, no Muslims, with car parking on immediate sale, fifth floor interested please call...”

Amidst the uproar this caused, the wording of the notice was modified. The portal apologised and promised to introduce checks and balances. There was no prosecution.

The widely prevalent exclusion of Muslims from cooperative housing societies in Indian cities has produced great perversities. Even Muslim property-brokers recommend flats to prospective Hindu clients in ‘good buildings where there are ‘nice’ people and ‘no Muslims’.

Gujarat – Hindutva's laboratory, it bears recalling – has predictably carried religion-based discrimination to further extremes. Muslims have fled from Ahmedabad's inner-city areas affected by the butchery of 2002, and moved into Juhapura, a western suburb. Juhapura's population has doubled to four lakhs, but it has abysmal municipal facilities and bus services. It's a ghastly ghetto.

The segregation process is being carried right into primary schools in Ahmedabad. Of the 456 schools run by the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation, only two are English-medium schools: at Shahpur and Dani Limda. At Shahpur, where most students are Hindus, the uniform is saffron. At Dani Limda, where students are predominantly Muslim, the uniform is green.

Segregation and sordid forms of ghettoisation of Muslims are now common in virtually every Indian city, as documented in Christopher Jaffrelot and Laurent Gayer (eds) *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation*. Many other studies, including the Sachar committee report, also show that these ghettos are starved of schools, milk booths, government dispensaries, banks, municipal amenities and civic infrastructure. Even pizza-delivery boys won't deliver there.

Segregation excludes Muslims from civic life, and effectively, from citizenship. This is as unacceptable and egregious as segregation in the American South until the 1960s, which disenfranchised and discriminated against Blacks in countless ways.

Dr Martin Luther King's civil liberties movement had to wage a prolonged, bitter struggle to achieve de-segregation. Coercion had to be used to compel the White mayors of southern cities to have common buses for all children. Many kinds of anti-discrimination laws had to be enacted to promote a modicum of equal rights.

India too needs a similar struggle to stop and reverse growing segregation. So does Pakistan, where anti-Shia, anti-Christian and anti-Hindu stereotypes and prejudices prevail.

In India, the Sachar report (2006) and its follow-up committee under Amitabh Kundu have made some excellent recommendations pertaining to these issues. The Kundu report was submitted last September to the government, which still hasn't made it public. But parts of it are available and contain thoughtful suggestions.

The Kundu committee builds on the Sachar idea of a 'diversity index', which measures the representation in institutions of groups of diverse social, gender, religious, caste, ethnic and linguistic orientation, and covers education, employment, housing, healthcare and development schemes. Public and private institutions with higher diversity are to be given larger grants, incentives and preferential treatment.

The committee notes that communal violence, and state inaction against it, "harms the bedrock of constitutional equality and ruptures the social fabric. It ... subdues the democratic voice, and discourages active citizenship among minorities..." Therefore, the state must encourage

educational and cultural programmes to promote equity and diversity in all spheres; and counter efforts to "segregate social and cultural spaces".

Equally important is the enactment of a comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation to prohibit and punish discrimination based on disability, sex, caste, religion and other criteria, in state and non-state spheres, through "legally mandated civil remedies."

India has only two laws that punish discrimination: against disabled people, and against the abuse of Dalits/Adivasis. Their logic must be extended to other categories including religious and ethnic-social groups. India is one of the world's few democracies with immense diversity, difference and inequalities, but without a proper anti-discrimination law or an equal opportunities commission.

Reservations for Dalits and OBCs are only one of several tools to address widespread systemic discrimination. A diversity index and anti-discrimination law together "can help build a more equitable society and a deeper ... notion of equality" that goes beyond "group-specific quotas".

However, this won't happen under the deeply communal Modi government without a special effort. The government's minority affairs ministry is headed by Najma Heptullah who started her innings by saying that Indian Muslims are too numerous to be called "a minority". Her deputy Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi doesn't understand the difference between slaughtering cows and killing bulls/buffaloes. He recently said those who want to eat beef should go to Pakistan.

A special initiative must be launched by civil liberties groups, and conscientious citizens cutting across religion, to file criminal complaints against companies like HKE and the Mumbai builder.

They should also petition the Supreme Court to seek clarification that the spirit of the constitution's anti-discrimination and equal-treatment articles applies to non-state institutions too. That will prepare the ground for the legislation India sorely needs.

The writer, a former newspaper editor, is a researcher and rights activist based in Delhi.

Courtesy : <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-320755-Saying-no-to-ghettos>

How India Changed the English Language

For hundreds of years, words have flowed along the routes of trade and empire. Rahul Verma follows some of their remarkable journeys.

Rahul Verma

INDIA

They are in there, often unnoticed. The words that have become part of everyday English. Loot, nirvana, pyjamas, shampoo and shawl; bungalow, jungle, pundit and thug.

What are the roots, and routes, of these Indian words? How and when did they travel and what do their journeys into British vernacular – and then the Oxford English Dictionary – tell us about the relationship between Britain and India?

Long before the British Raj – before the East India Company acquired its first territory in the Indian subcontinent in 1615 – South Asian words from languages such as Hindi, Urdu, Malayalam and Tamil had crept onto foreign tongues. One landmark book records the etymology of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases. Compiled by two India enthusiasts, Henry Yule and Arthur C Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: The Definitive Glossary of British India* was published in 1886. The poet Daljit Nagra described it as “not so much an orderly dictionary as a passionate memoir of colonial India. Rather like an eccentric Englishman in glossary form.”

The editor of its contemporary edition – which has just been published in paperback – explains how many of the words pre-date British rule. “Ginger, pepper and indigo entered English via ancient routes: they reflect the early Greek and Roman trade with India and come through Greek and Latin into English,” says Kate Teltscher.

“Ginger comes from Malayalam in Kerala, travels through Greek and Latin into

Old French and Old English, and then the word and plant become a global commodity. In the 15th Century, it’s introduced into the Caribbean and Africa and it grows, so the word, the plant and the spice spread across the world.”

As global trade expanded through European conquests of the East Indies, the flow of Indian words into English gathered momentum. Many came via Portuguese. “The Portuguese conquest of Goa dates back to the 16th Century, and mango, and curry, both come to us via Portuguese – mango began as ‘mangai’ in Malayalam and Tamil, entered Portuguese as ‘manga’ and then English with an ‘o’ ending,” she says.

But the movement of South Asian words into English did not always follow a simple East to West trajectory, as Teltscher highlights with ‘ayah’, a word I’ve always understood to be an Indian nanny, or domestic help – how my extended family in New Delhi use it today. “Ayah is originally a Portuguese word, which means governess or nurse, and it’s used in this way by the Portuguese in India and is absorbed into Indian languages, and then via India comes into English.”

The *Hobson-Jobson* glossary describes an unusual journey for the word ‘chilli’, recorded as “the popular Anglo-Indian name of the pod of red pepper”. According to Yule and Burnell: “There is little doubt that the name was taken from Chile in South America, whence the plant was carried to the Indian archipelago and thence to India.”

SCENTS AND SENSIBILITIES

Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Malayalam, Portuguese and English words pinballed

around the globe in the 16th and 17th Centuries, revealing how languages evolve over time as culture is made and remade, and people adapt to conditions around them. This is neatly illustrated by three words – shawl, cashmere and patchouli – that travel hand-in-hand from India into 18th-Century English.

“Cashmere is what we associate with wool and its origins are in Kashmir and the wool produced by Kashmir goats. It was closely associated with shawl, a word which originates in Persian, and travels into India via Urdu and Hindi and then enters English,” explains Teltscher.

“Shawl enters English in the 18th and 19th Century because it becomes a desirable luxury garment for women in high society – if you had a brother working for the East India Company, you would want him to send you a beautifully embroidered shawl. Patchouli is linked to shawls because the perfume was used to deter moths while shawls were being transported and as a result this heady, heavy perfume became popular in Britain,” she continues.

But Patchouli soon lost its aspirational edge. “As the 19th century moves on, Patchouli becomes associated with racy, decadent French women and prostitutes. So Patchouli goes from something royalty might wear into being beyond the pale, and then in the 1960s it becomes associated with the hippie movement,” says Teltscher.

THE RIGHT CLIMATE

London-born, Bristol-based author Nikesh Shukla feels India’s significant contribution to everyday English reflects the symbiotic nature of Empire. “It was inevitable with colonialism that Britain would imbibe the local culture and it would have a lasting effect because colonialism flows two ways. Look at the things in British culture that have come from the Commonwealth that Britain calls its own like tea, and language is part of that too,” he

says.

Shukla, whose recent novel *Meatspace* explores social media and smart-phones, believes that empire reshaped the English language in the same way as technology is now. “One way of looking at it is these Indian words disrupted the English language because they just didn’t exist in English – for example veranda. The climate’s cold here so you wouldn’t have a veranda, or pyjamas – loose fitting cotton trousers, which again are perfect for a hot climate,” he says.

“Today, words such as wifi, internet, Google, email and selfie have become universal, there aren’t other words for them, so they have infiltrated English and languages all over the world. Social media has also changed the way we talk, the meaning of a word such as ‘like’ has completely shifted, also ‘following’, or ‘lol’ – the new disrupter of the English language is technology, but I love how empire was a major disrupt to English through exposing Britain to so many cultures and languages,” he continues.

Shukla’s favourite Indian-English word – Blighty – shows how language is constantly evolving. “It’s usually used by expat Brits referring to Britain and the homeland as in ‘Good ol’ Blighty’ but it comes from the Urdu word for foreigner or European, ‘vilayati’. So it’s been subverted and used as a homage by the British and eventually has become part of the English language,” he says.

India’s influence on English points towards how language is perpetually in motion, and highlights the importance of former colonies in the making of the modern world. “It’s so fascinating to look at words,” says Teltscher. “It opens up these unexpected rhythms and paths of travel, and extraordinary, unlikely connections.”

Courtesy : <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150619-how-india-changed-english?OCID=Scroll>

A Reminder of How Deep Today's Subcontinental Rift Runs

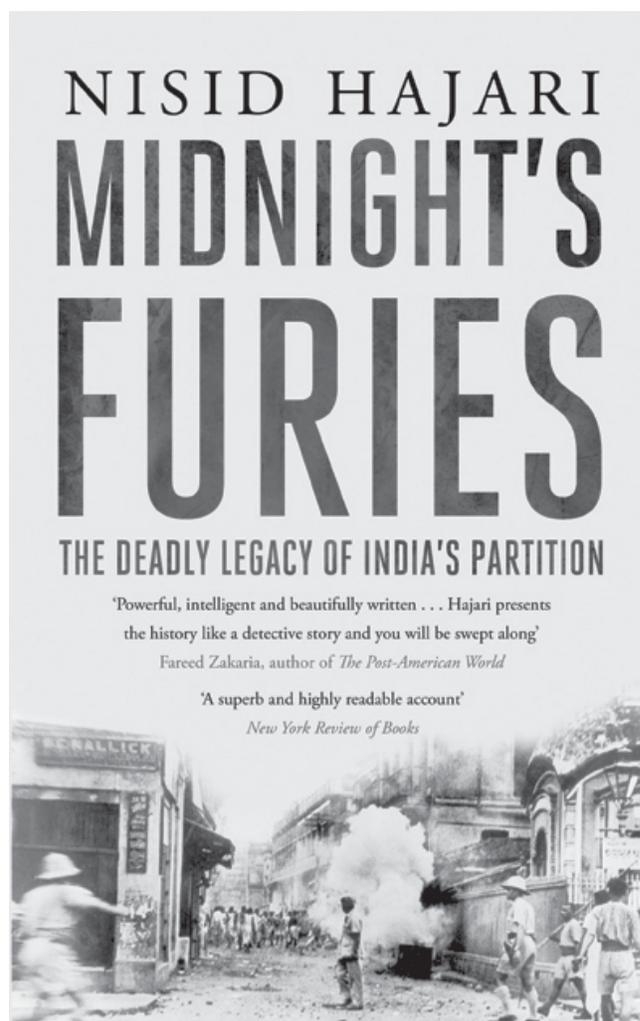
Shivshankar Menon

INDIA

Nisid Hajari, the Asia editor of Bloomberg View, has written a dramatic and fast paced account of developments in India in 1947 and 1948, concentrating on the Partition riots, the process and personalities involved in Partition, and the mayhem that accompanied that separation. Hajari also describes events related to the more complex and disputed episodes of Partition — the accession of Junagadh, Jammu and Kashmir and Hyderabad and the use of force by both Pakistan and India. He has a riveting story to tell and he tells it well.

Midnight's Furies: The Deadly Legacy of India's Partition is an impressive work in many respects, with deft touches showing the nature and character of the leaders involved and how they appeared to their contemporaries. At a time when anyone in either India or Pakistan with memories of Partition is already 70-years-old or more, a narrative like this is useful to inform subsequent generations, who are now the overwhelming majority of our population, of the facts of the past – a past that has been so heavily and contradictorily mythologised in both countries.

The strength of this book is in its narrative strength, its marshalling of facts, and its objectivity in presenting them. It even manages to maintain, for the most part, a conversational tone despite the grimness of much of what it describes. For those of us born after those events, it goes some way to set the basic narrative straight. And Hajari's fine ear for dialogue seldom lets him down: "You are heading for disaster, I wish you Godspeed!" shouted Jinnah to Khizar Hayat



Tiwana, while slamming the phone down on the disobedient Punjab Chief Minister.

It is also an accessible reminder of how confused and bewildering the march of events that led to and resulted from Partition were to all concerned, whether ordinary people or their leaders, and of the speed and simultaneity of major developments. The story is clearly and well told of how Partition-related communal riots spread west — from the organised violence in Bengal of the Muslim League's 16 August 1946 Direct

Action Day to the Punjab to Delhi in September 1947. It is a useful reminder of what communal passions once aroused can do to society and to people's lives, and of how the instigators of communal violence and hatred have no control over the course of events and their outcomes. This is a lesson that each generation in India seems to have to learn for itself, even though the searing experience of Partition should have sufficed for several generations.

If anything the story is almost too coldly told, for it is hard to read of such brutality by all the communities involved without moral outrage. Hajari has made a tremendous effort to be even-handed in his treatment of Muslim, Sikh and Hindu leaders and groups involved in the violence. No one comes out well in this story of brutality and violence. It may well be too soon to come to definite historical judgments on the events of Partition which are still playing themselves out. But it seems unlikely to me that even-handedness is an accurate reflection of the reality of those troubled times. While a journalist tells all sides of a story, without judging them, a historian should go further. For instance, it is one thing to describe the violence, But I have yet to see a satisfactory answer to how order returned after such carnage and mayhem in both Punjabs and Bengal, or in Lahore and Delhi.

Hajari chooses to tell the political story of Partition primarily as a quarrel between Jinnah and Nehru. He ends his narration by saying that Nehru's long battle with Jinnah had ended with Jinnah's death and the action in Hyderabad. Indeed, personalities are given free and full rein in this telling of events. This has the advantage of heightening dramatic effect by bringing two very different but commanding figures to centrestage in the story. Hajari is also often critical of Gandhiji and Nehru and seems to consider them as responsible as Jinnah for Partition even though he never actually says so. Here again

the moral equivalence that Hajari establishes between these leaders is something that will irk many. He has managed to do so even though we live in a time when the legacies and consequences of Partition are still with us in so many ways.

Interestingly, the British come out relatively unscathed in Hajari's account, with little mention of their agency or responsibility, probably because most of his sources are British. For instance, Olaf Caroe as Governor of NWFP had a direct hand in the demonstrations and attacks on Nehru during his visit, and in ensuring that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's ANP lost the referendum and power, thus making possible Pakistan's creation. But these facts find no mention in the book. There are good reasons for the British version of events to prevail in collective memory. Indians involved in significant events have not recorded them with the same meticulous care and detail or flair as even minor British officials, the archival practices (or lack thereof) of both the Indian and Pakistani governments have been limited and sporadic, and leaders have been routinely deified in the sub-continent. Unless this changes, we must be prepared for widespread illiteracy about our own history even among the educated, and what they know will be what outsiders write about our history. Which is one more reason to be grateful to Hajari for his book.

Hajari has done us all a service by reminding us of how deeply the roots of so many of our present preoccupations, particularly in Pakistan, go back to the formative period of Partition. Pakistan's paranoia that India is determined to eliminate her, the dysfunctional nature of Pakistan's politics, the outsize political role of the Pakistan Army, Pakistan's use of insurgents and jihadis and tribesmen as state policy, the use and abuse of religion in politics, and her active seeking out of external powers as patrons for her anti-Indian obsession, can all



be traced directly back to Partition. Even today, as in 1947, it is in Pakistan's interest to argue, as Jinnah did in letters to Attlee, that the subcontinent is the most dangerous place on earth and a threat to international peace and security that requires intervention by the big powers. Well before Pakistan is formed Jinnah is offering Pakistan to the Viceroy as a permanent foothold for Britain in the subcontinent, and a way of keeping 'the Hindus' from meddling in the Middle East.

For India as well, the ever-present risk and dangerous consequences of communal polarisation, the hostile relationship with Pakistan, the long running distraction of the Kashmir issue in international fora, the wars with Pakistan, cross border terrorism from Pakistan, the encouragement of the Khalistan movement by Pakistan (what would Master Tara Singh have thought of that?) — all are foreshadowed or have their origins in the events surrounding Partition.

The seeds planted then have borne deadly fruit for decades, and show no signs

of dying out. Hajari's account of the seminal period from 1946 to 1948 is therefore redolent with resonances when read today.

One would have wished for more analysis after the ten narrative chapters, though Hajari does weave his own analysis into the narrative. Hajari does draw some conclusions in an Epilogue. One is left hoping for more, that the conclusions that he alludes to in the Epilogue would be spelt out in detail. But perhaps that is another book, for a less fevered time.

All in all this is a book that I would recommend as a good, readable introduction to a critical period on our history, well written and with enough colour to interest a new and younger generation of Indians and Pakistanis who need to get away from the myths that they have been fed about Partition. This book could help to start that process.

Shivshankar Menon was India's National Security Adviser from January 2010 to May 2014

A Page from My Diary

My Personal Composite Heritage

Mahnaz Rahman

Aurat Foundation, PAKISTAN

My friend Rukhsana Afridi had participated in students politics during her college days. In her BA final year she was elected vice president of students union of *Government College for Women*, Frere Road, Karachi. One of her uncles Meraj Muhammad Khan was a famous student leader of the left; another uncle Minhaj Berna was leader of journalists and fought for the rights of journalists. Both belonged to different Communist groups. Her father Wahaj Afridi used to write songs for movies and worked for film magazines under the pen name of Dukhi Prem Nagri. One of her cousins, baby Tabassum was a famous child star of the Bombay film industry. Wahaj uncle did not allow his daughter to participate in students politics in Karachi university, so she motivated me to contest the election of vice president of Economics society. This was sensational news : *how come a girl was going to contest election for such an esteemed post which was meant for boys only*. Islami Jamiattalba (IJT) had never fielded a female candidate for such posts as a matter of policy but just to defeat me they changed their policy and fielded a female candidate against me. Our election campaign became the talk of the town. Rest of the details have been given in the previous chapter.

After MA Final examinations, I went back to Shikarpur and my life turned upside down. All the activism and romance of university and cosmopolitan life of Karachi came to an end. It was as if I had woken up from a dream.

“Whatever I saw was a dream, whatever I heard was a fiction”

Shikarpur was a small backward city and people were very conservative. There was no social life for womenfolk. We had to go to Sukkur for shopping and the only entertainment was to be able to watch a movie in Shalimar cinema of Sukkur. During those days “Digest magazines culture” was at its peak and my father used to buy each and every digest magazine published

in Pakistan. I used to finish each magazine the very day I got hold of it and then waited for some other magazine to arrive. Life was really boring and there was no question to get a job in that small city. My parents were well-off and I did not need job for the sake of money but I did want to spend my time doing something useful and constructive. Besides that I believed in Lenin’s saying that women’s emancipation lies in economic empowerment. As I had nothing to do, I started to pour my frustration in the form of writing a piece regularly for monthly *Harem*. This magazine had a limited but loyal readership and my writings became an instant hit in that small group, most of whom were themselves good writers and poets. Khursheed Alam, a senior journalist and a respectable figure in left circles had also started writing for *Harem* by the pen name of Khawer. He liked my piece very much and soon after we started corresponding with each other on a regular basis. He became my mentor.

At that time Yahya Khan was ruling the country. His political reign was marked by these significant features:

a: Legal Framework Order 1970

b: Dissolution of One-Unit

c: Holding of Pakistan’s first free elections on adult franchise

d: Success of Pakistan Peoples Party in West Pakistan and of Awami League in East Pakistan that confirmed the drastic political differences between the two wings of the country.

e: The war of 1971 and the division of Pakistan into two independent states.

I was cut off from my progressive friends and was not capable of analyzing the political situation on my own and neither had I access to any progressive literature. Among dozens of the digest magazines that my father used to bring home, only Urdu Digest used to give a political analysis of what was happening in (then) East Pakistan. This magazine represented right wing and supported Jamaat-e-Islami and its militant student wings in East Pakistan. A common citizen in West Pakistan had no idea what was

happening in East Pakistan. Media was state owned and people looked up to BBC to know the real situation. The news of 1971 war came as a shock to many of us in West Pakistan.

I remember vividly that I was offering Asr prayer in my room and my father was listening to the All India radio in the other room and I heard Indira Gandhi delivering a speech about the dismemberment of Pakistan. I prostrated and started crying loudly.

Forty three years later my friend Ali Ahmad Khan had this to say to the correspondent of daily Dawn: "It was inevitable. When the Awami League swept the 1970 elections and the assembly was not called to session, what else could have happened," he posits.

He is clear in his convictions. For him, the bloody separation was caused by the actions of those in the west.

"Admiral Mohammad Ahsan, the last governor of East Pakistan, recalls that when Yahya Khan came to talk to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, he asked the admiral 'What are these six points'," Khan recalls.

"The admiral offered to send for the document, but Yahya refused, saying 'No, no, I'll manage'. This shows there was a lack of seriousness to engage with the people of East Pakistan."

He says that some in his family have ostracized him for supporting the creation of Bangladesh and the Bengalis' right to self determination.

"What happened to me on a personal level was painful, but it was inevitable. When a force denies people their basic rights such a reaction was to be expected"

Bhutto's *Peoples Party* had won majority seats in West Pakistan. Khalid Hasan writes about the charges levelled against Z. A. Bhutto for his role in the crisis of 1971 which resulted in the emergence of Bangladesh

A charge against Bhutto that does not go away is that had he not declared at a Nishtar Park Karachi public meeting, addressing Mujibur Rehman, "Uddhar tum, iddhar hum." (You stay there, we stay here), Pakistan would have remained united. These words are said to have set the seal on Pakistan's dismemberment. The truth is that these words were never said by Bhutto. It was Abbas Athar, news editor of the Lahore Urdu daily Azad, who ran the Bhutto speech under this provocative though misleading

headline.

Abbas Athar was a past master at thinking up such startling headlines. This infamous headline appeared in Azad on March 15, 1971. What Bhutto had said was, "If power is to be transferred to the people before a constitutional settlement, then it is only fair that in East Pakistan, it should go to the Awami League and in the West to the Pakistan People's Party, because while the former is the majority party in that wing, we have been returned by the people of this side."

During that period, my father bought a house in Karachi and I shifted to Karachi with my siblings and grandmother while my parents remained in Shikarpur. For me being unemployed and having nothing to do was quite frustrating. To find a job seemed a hard nut to crack and now looking back, I realize how frustrating it must be for boys because society does not expect or pressurize women to find a job but it does expect young men to earn and support their families. This is the reason that some young unemployed men commit suicide. But then I did not think like this and went through a phase of self-pity and frustration. I used to write long letters to my political mentor, Khurshid Alam. He once told me about Aziz ul Haq. According to him had Aziz lived, he would have been proved to be the Mao Tse Tung of Pakistan. But he died an unfortunate death, this is what one of his close friends has to say about it:

"Before his death, Dr. Aziz-ul-Haq had started crusading against the Pakistan Peoples Party after Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto came to power and began his authoritarian rule. Bhutto had started reining in the radical elements of his party and the leftist Mukhtar Rana's imprisonment and disqualification as member of the National Assembly was part of it. Mukhtar Rana's sister, Zarina Rana decided to contest in the by-elections to fill her brother's National Assembly seat. Dr. Aziz-ul-Haq along with Rabia Sumbal and others went to Faisalabad to canvas for Zarina Rana. It was very late when they returned and Rabia Sumbal was afraid to go back to her home. Therefore, Dr. Aziz-ul-Haq had to sleep on his driving seat while Rabia Sumbal slept in the back seat of the car. Outraged, her husband Saeed Ahmad came and shot both of them and then shot himself. Both Saeed Ahmad and Dr. Aziz-ul-Haq died on the spot while Rabia Sumbal

survived.

It was the gloomiest day of my life: I had lost a friend, an intellectual guru and for nothing." (Dr. Mazur Ejaz)

During my association with the left movement, I never thought about feminism or gender issues. I was of the view that if we succeed in bringing revolution, all of our problems would be solved. There will be justice in the society and state will be responsible for fulfilling the needs of the citizens.

Now when I think about the left in retrospect, I find the banning of communist party in the beginning as the most unfortunate incident in the history of Pakistan. Had the communist party been allowed to participate in mainstream politics, the fate of Pakistan would have been different. The communist party was banned on the pretext of the Rawalpindi conspiracy case. It was said that General Akbar, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Atta Husain, Major Ishaq, Zafrullah Poshni and some others were planning a coup against the government but technically there was no viable legal justification for it. The group met at the residence of General Akbar to discuss the possibility of a coup but the plan was rejected as it was not realistic and practical. The government, on the other hand, tried to prove in the court that a conspiracy to stage a coup was hatched.

Though the party was banned, leftists kept on working either by going underground, or by becoming member of a political party (such as NAP or Mazdoor Kisan Party) or from the platform of trade unions. They constantly remained under the fear of being arrested and tortured by state agencies. But the underground work changed their psyche as well, and they became suspicious of everyone: every other person in their eyes belonged to the CID or some other state agency. They could trust no one. However, the beautiful gift that we got out of this whole episode was the poetry of Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Habib Jalib that kept the torch of revolution alive in our hearts, especially the following poem of Faiz has become the anthem of all progressive elements in Pakistan:

We shall see/certainly we, too, will see/
that day that has been promised us
When these high mountains
Of tyranny and oppression/ turn to fluff
And evaporate
And we oppressed

Beneath our feet will have
this earth shiver, shake and beat
And heads of rulers will be struck
With crackling lightning and
thunders roar.

When from this God's earth's (Kaa'ba)
All falseness (icons) will be removed
Then we, of clean hearts—condemned by
zealots those keepers of faith,
We, will be invited to that altar to sit and
Govern—

*When crowns will be thrown off—and over turned
will be thrones*

We shall see/certainly we, too, will see
that day that has been promised us
Then God's name will remain (Allah will
remain)

Who is invisible and visible too
Who is the seer and and is seen
Then will rise one cheer——I am God!
Who I am too
And so are you
Then the masses (Khalq e Kuda) people of
God will rule.

Who I am too
and so are you
Then will rise one cheer——I am God!
Who I am too
And so are you

(Faizpoem, Translation by **Maniza Naqvi**)

At personal level, I was going through a frustrating and futile phase of my life. I was not made of the stuff that traditional girls are made of: I did not have it in me to become the ideal housewife. I wanted to change the world. I wanted to bring revolution in the society. But practically I was doing nothing and one day I received the letter of my mentor Khurshid Alam. He told me that the *Mussawat* newspaper is going to be published from Karachi and famous Urdu writer Shaukat Siddiqui had been appointed its editor. He had told him about me and wanted me to go and meet him.

My parents had also shifted to Karachi. As a result of Bhutto's nationalization policy, vanaspati ghee factories were also nationalized and my father was transferred to Karachi. Bhutto's policy of nationalization proved to be a failure as in place of the industrialists and capitalists, came the menace of the bureaucrats.

To be continued...

IS THERE A UNIVERSAL RIGHT TO PEACE?

Pallavi Gupta

INDIA

INTRODUCTION

During its twentieth session the United Nations came up with a draft declaration on the right to peace prepared by the Advisory Committee of the Human Rights Council. The negotiations are still on and while most states agree to the common goal of peace building there are differences of opinion. After 2 previous sessions in which no consensus had been reached, the mandate of the Working Group was to finalize the draft UN declaration on the right to peace according with the Human Rights Council Resolution 20/15. The third session of the open-ended working group took place from 20 to 24 April 2015 in Geneva, Switzerland. All United Nations Member and Observer States, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations with ECOSOC consultative status, and other relevant stakeholders were called to be part of the open ended public meetings of the working group.

Before looking into the draft declaration let us look at the definition of peace. The United Nations (UN) Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), states that lasting peace is a prerequisite for the exercise of all human rights and duties. It is not the peace of silence, of men and women who by choice or constraint remain silent. It is the peace of freedom – and therefore of just laws – of happiness, equality, and solidarity, in which all citizens count, live together and share².

As per UNESCO and Culture of Peace—Promoting a Global Movement, Peace is defined as follows: “a growing body of shared values, attitudes, behaviours and ways of life based on non-violence and respect for fundamental rights and freedoms, an

understanding, tolerance, and solidarity, on the sharing and free flow of information, and on the full participation and empowerment of women. While it does not deny the conflicts that arrive from diversity, it demands non-violent solutions and promotes the transformation of violent competition into cooperation for shared goals. It is both a vision and a process, a vast project, multi-dimensional and global, which is linked to the development of positive alternatives to the functions previously served by war and militarism.”

The draft charter for the United Nations Declaration on the right to peace is guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), International Covenants on Civil, Political Rights (ICCPR) International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

In the UNESCO definition there has been a shift, from “right” to peace to the culture of peace which is broad and encompassing. Moreover, legally can states guarantee the right to peace to all individuals in the world? The pervasiveness of war, the everyday accumulation of arms and the culture of intolerance reduces the demands for a right to peace to mere rhetoric.

In a UN meeting on the Right to Peace, several democracies expressed concerns that trying to define such a right would possibly be dangerous to human rights, that it is too vague, that in fact the Right to Peace cannot be recognized as either an individual right or as a collective one, and that it does not reflect any international principles enshrined in the UN Charter³.

However, before assuming that war is the answer let us explore the linkages between peace and human rights.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE

Human rights and Peace are closely connected and both are critical for existence. We have several human rights instruments that work towards reiterating the need to establish peace in society.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in its preamble recognizes the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family are based on the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. Article 28 of UDHR states that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms can be fully realized.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) have several provisions that form the core of right to peace like right to life, health, education, etc. One would have hoped to see that they are enforced to prevent further unrest. However, in practice, one sees greater human rights violations when peace is threatened. 1984, the George Orwellian book is an apt reminder of the way peace building initiatives work. Winston Smith, a minor party worker, in 1984 is made to believe that in the totalitarian state “war is peace”. Often our definition of peace emanates from such an understanding. Peace and war in many ways serves our desire for justice. Like the saying goes ‘many battles are being fought to bring an end to war.’ Therefore, the promise of peace, with the co-existence of violence is a strange contradiction of our times.

As Ranabir Samaddar⁴ states, “Peace is also contentious politics; behind the innocent tale of peace are the suppressed stories of contention and war. This is true for all varieties of peace – ‘social peace’ that the industrialists and neo-liberals want; ‘peace after state-formation’ that the leaders of both India and Pakistan wanted in their respective countries in the late 1940s after the British

handed them the power to rule; and, of course, ‘peace after an accord’ when the state wants to disarm the rebels ...”

DRAFT DECLARATION AND THE CHALLENGES

Building peace requires a strong political will. In the inter governmental working group on right to peace, where over 40 States, at least 20 international NGOs together were unable to arrive at a consensus on the codification of this right.

The present draft on right to peace is based on the principles of gender equality, non-discrimination, social justice and women’s participation in peace making. It contains four articles and a rich preamble. This is the present version in the hope that states would be willing to accept it. However, the initial draft adopted in April 2012 by the Advisory Committee⁵ defined the essential elements of the human right to peace as follows: right to human security; right to disarmament; right to peace education and training; right to conscientious objection to military service; right to resistance and opposition to oppression; the duty to regulate the conduct and responsibilities of both private military and security companies and peacekeeping missions; the right to development; the right to environment; the right of victims of human rights violations to truth, justice, reparation and guarantees of non-repetition; the rights of people belonging to vulnerable groups; the rights of refugees and migrants; and the establishment of a monitoring body to control the implementation of the future Declaration which, in our view, should be a working group of independent experts on the human right to peace, to be appointed by the General Assembly.

As evident, the present draft raises several concerns. It lacks any reference to disarmament as a prerequisite to the achievement of peace, it was weak in its measures for compliance and it did not even acknowledge the human right to peace, it

merely created the notion of the entitlement to “enjoy peace”⁶.

Some states refused to recognise the right to peace and others felt that a draft declaration without the right to peace appearing in it defeated the very purpose which it set out to achieve. While there was discussion on terrorism, importance of conflict prevention, addressing root cause of conflict in the new draft, no consensus was arrived at.

WAY FORWARD

Alfred de Zayas, Independent Expert on the Promotion of a Democratic and Equitable International Order, in his statement in 2013 stated that “Attention must also be given to the remedies available for violations of the right to peace, including the punishment by domestic courts and eventually by the International Criminal Court of those who engage in aggression and breaches of the peace. Impunity for aggression remains a grave concern of all of humanity. Moreover, the Declaration on the Right to Peace should be user-friendly and in itself justifiable, so that individuals and peoples can invoke its provisions”.⁷

The phrase *si vis pacem, cole justitiam* – ‘if you want peace, cultivate justice’ is a forgotten axiom of today’s time. This text is engraved below the foundation stone of ILO building in Geneva. It highlights that social justice and development are preconditions for peace.

Bard Andreassen⁸ in his work argues that peace (absence of violence) is a major prerequisite for development. Poverty emanates from traps of violence which are linked to weak institutions, clientelist politics, and governance structures that give scope for calculated violence of neglect, that is the deliberate failure of the government and state officials to carry out their duties in order to benefit from the ensuing disorder and distress. His work also highlights how structural violence⁹ hampers any effort to achieve peace.

This also resonates in the remarks UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon made at the Security Council on post-conflict peace building, “Building peace is about much more than ending war. It is about putting in place the institutions and trust that will carry people forward into a peaceful future”¹⁰.

The larger question is the commitment to peace. Rule of law and social justice will enable us to meet the desire for peace rather than war. Central to this is the recognition of human dignity and access to justice for the most marginalised.

-
1. Pallavi Gupta is a PhD scholar at Council for Social Development, Hyderabad. She is a trainer and consultant on women’s rights, gender and socio-legal issues. Contact her at pallavigupta28@gmail.com
 2. www.unesco.org/education/pdf/MAYOR2_E.PDF
 3. UN Watch Link <http://blog.unwatch.org/index.php/category/right-to-peace/>
 4. Samaddar Ranabir (2004) “In Life, In Death”, in *Human rights and Peace* ed Ujjwal Kumar Singh, Sage, pp 26
 5. Doc can be accessed at A/HRC/20/31, of 16 April 2012
 6. <http://www.wilpfinternational.org/un-states-refuse-to-recognise-the-human-right-to-peace/>
 7. For the complete statement issued visit link <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=13030&LangID=E#sthash.yEnmQj0t.dpuf>
 8. Andreassen Brad (2015) “Traps of Violence”, in *Promoting Peace Through International Law* by Cecilia Marcela Bailliet, Kjetil Mujezinovic Larsen, Oxford University Press.
 9. Structural violence is part of the vocabulary of peace studies. It is based on the work of Johan Galtung, the pioneer of peace studies.
 10. <http://www.un.org/press/en/2009/sgsm12376.doc.htm>

I Want Everyone to Know the Prophet's Story, Says Author of First Marwari Biography

Ayush Ranka

INDIA

Rajeev Sharma is a Marwari and Hindi writer from Rajasthan who has recently published his retelling of Prophet Muhammad's story in Marwari. He has previously written several books but his choice of subject for his latest book has left some in Rajasthan, the state where the language is widely spoken, intrigued. The Wire caught up with the young author to ask him a few questions about him and the book.

Tell us something about your reasons for having written a book on the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Why were you interested in this subject?

It was about 15 years ago, when I was in 9th standard, that I started a library in my native village. While reading books is considered a major task in schools, I have always been very interested in reading. Because of my deep interest in reading I got an opportunity to read many books of a diverse nature, ranging from comics to mythological books. During that time I found a pocket book depicting the life of Prophet Muhammad. It was when I was reading that, that I realised he spent his whole life struggling against negativity, but despite all the sad events in his life, his belief in God was as strong as a rock.

Apart from finding the book, two other incidents shaped my interest in the Prophet. I am from a Hindu-Brahmin family, but have always tried to protest against bad rituals and the ways of these so-called godmen, which ultimately only benefit them. In my village there was a priest who also worked as a moneylender. He would give out loans to villagers on sky-high interest rates. At times, the interest would have risen to lakhs, when the principal was only a few thousand rupees. Seeing him ruin the lives of people in the village, I was reminded of how Prophet Muhammad was one person who had clearly said that taking interest was a sin. He

said it was motivated by evil.

Another time I had heard the story of a girl who was born in our family. When she was barely 5 years old, the family fixed her marriage because in the eyes of priests, marrying a girl before 12 years of age was a dharma vivaah! As luck would have it, at the time of the marriage itself her groom died. The priest then decided that the girl would live her life as the man's widow. This incident always made me sad, and again I found resonance in the life of Prophet Muhammad, who had married a widow.

Do you feel that Muslims and Hindus in India do not read enough about each other's cultures and beliefs?

Yes, that is true. Some people consider each other's holy books as untouchable and most do not bother knowing about each other. Studying or knowing about some other religion or prophet and following their goodness doesn't mean that you are going to change your own religion. I firmly believe in Prophet Muhammad, and I accept that he was a prophet of God. While I try to follow his teachings, I am as Hindu today as on the first day of my life. Youngsters should be motivated to study more about different religions, their teachings, and their beliefs. My younger brother read about Islamic banking in a finance journal and motivated me to write a book on the life of Prophet Muhammad.

How did you come across information regarding the Prophet? What is the source of the information in your book?

I studied lot of books to research his life. Some of them were authored by writers from Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and even India. The Internet is also a good source of information.

Have you always been interested in the history of Islam and the life of the Prophet, or was there any incident that pushed you towards reading about this subject?

No, I was not always interested in Islam and the life of Prophet Muhammad. Like many others, my knowledge was limited to the basics. There wasn't a single Muslim home in my village, and so exposure to the religion and its practices was limited. When I started my library and read a book on the Prophet, I decided to read more, and realized that my thoughts resonated with his writings. I wanted everyone to know his story then.

What do you think about the incidents of violence that take place between Hindus and Muslims in the country?

The reason for violence between Hindus and Muslims is simply misconceptions about each other and a sense of superiority regarding our own beliefs. All of us read religious books but rarely do we implement their messages in our life. The reading is akin to reading for examinations – for marks and not for knowledge. If you read the Quran, you will find words of peace and kindness. Hindu books clearly preach that the world is our family and we know Jesus was praying for even the forgiveness of those who were crucifying him. These religious messages are what people should preach and practice in today's world.

Have you faced any problems because of the subject of your book? What were the sort of objections that you faced in writing the book?

As I completed this book and was preparing to publish it on my blog, I was not scared or confused because I knew I was writing the truth. There is no need to be scared of saying the truth. My family members were fully supportive of the idea and people liked the book more than I had expected.

While I received messages praising the book from all over the world, I did receive some hate mails. People are calling for me to be shot or hanged, and some have even suggested I join the ISIS! Those e-mails really disappointed me. Was this the reward for writing about the Prophet? While interestingly none of the hate mail came from Muslims, I believe that those who post these messages are against the idea of peace, and cannot belong to any religion, because no religion in the world is opposed to peace.

The book is available online for free currently.

Are there any plans to publish the book? How has the response been so far?

The response so far has been overwhelming in the e-format, but I think the book should get published in print too. I haven't yet looked for a publisher but if a good publisher is ready then I would like to get it published.

Have you previously written other books in Marwari or translated works to Marwari? What were the subjects of these books?

Yes, Marwari is my mother-tongue. My first composition in Marwari was the translation of the Hanuman Chalisa. I have translated the stories of Tolstoy, letters written by Abraham Lincoln and teachings of Jainism among other things. I have also written several books in Hindi, all of which are available on my website.

What is the state of the Marwari publishing industry?

The situation is quite bad. It is difficult to even find bookstores that sell Marwari books in the entire state of Rajasthan. Marwari books are generally unavailable, and the younger crowd assumes they are for people of past generations. This can be corrected though, if books were more easily available.

From starting it to finally publishing it online, what was the most difficult aspect of writing such a unique book?

Writing and publishing the book have surprisingly been the easier parts. The problems for me started after the book was online. While some relatives assumed I had converted to Islam, others suggested avoiding topics that were related to other religions. A lot of people talk about this behind my back, but after a while you learn to laugh about it.

Are there any plans to write another book? Will the subject of the next book also be related to Islam?

Yes, I would definitely like to write more books. I want to write about the teachings of the Quran, which I think would be useful for everyone. I am also planning to write a book on Prophet Muhammad's associates and people close to him. I want these books to be available in English and Hindi, too, along with Marwari.

Courtesy : <http://thewire.in/2015/06/26/i-want-everyone-to-know-the-prophets-story-says-author-of-first-marwari-biography/>

Eating Habits of Seraj

Tej Singh Thakur

ISD, INDIA

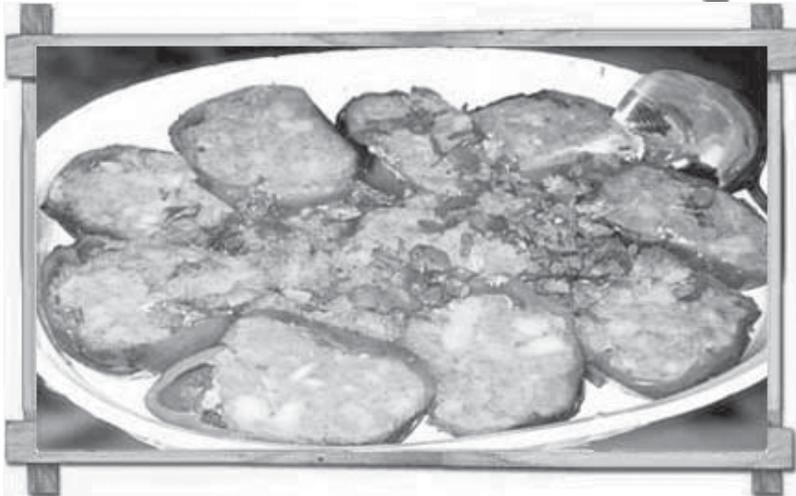
Seraj is a very small region in Himachal Pradesh. Its people are known as Seraji. Seraji are very simple as far their eating habits are concerned. Food habits are formed by the production in particular region, supply of eatables and finally climate of that area plays vital role in this process. Since most of the Seraj region are situated in very cold area therefore production of food grain is limited. In past also when road links were almost nil in those times, people were dependent on their own production or cultivation around 10-15 miles nearby their homes. Stories are told that people use to bring salt from Drang, and Gud, pluses from Balh in Mandi for special occasions. System of exchange was barter at that time but for salt it was money or physical labor system (since Salt mine was under Raja of Mandi and one had to pay tax for that. It can be either in cash or in form of labor). Seraj is an area inhabited by villages only (baring now two or three semi village towns have developed, they are small local trade centers now). Till now these villages are interdependent therefore even in harsh conditions there is no death in this entire region related to starvation as the region practices old food habits based on survival. These habits were habits of whole world in past, who used to live in similar geographical conditions. It is very sad to mention here that pressure from modern forces of market has ruined some of these habits in this region and most of our old crops which were grown here are vanishing. So our old eating habits now get place only on selected occasions or traditional celebrations. Old people here still love to have those traditional dishes but youth is running away from these practices. To remember these old habits, their documentation is a must.

Mutton – mutton eating is most probably oldest habit of this region and majority of inhabitants of the region are non-vegetarian.

A very interesting thing is that Brahmins (the so-called upper caste) of the region in quite a good number are also non-vegetarians and are considered to be very good cook. Mutton is eaten as community feasts in houses. Till six months back mutton was a must in most of the community feasts related to local deities. Now due to Hon'ble High court's order, cutting animals in public and religious places is prohibited. But this has not stopped Serajis from eating mutton in community feasts. Now they bring it from meat shops instead of cutting goats at home. There can be many presumptions why Serajis use to cut goats in community feast as part of their culture. One and most strong reason behind this seems historical rather than religious. Almost all households in Seraj 70-80 years back use to have goats and sheep in their houses. Apart from agriculture this was also one of their occupation. This was the reason that they have made a custom to cut goats in religious places on special days. It was mandatory for all households in rotations. In other domestic rituals in many parts of this region, it was compulsory. 50 years back there were very few trade centers in Seraj and there was no slaughter house in whole region. Still people use to eat mutton at that time by cutting goats at home as that was only way out to provide mutton to family as well to the guests who come to attend functions. The mutton cooked in community feasts used to be less spices with curry. Non-vegetarians use to get mutton curry only with rice or Roti while vegetarians use to get two or three types of pluses and vegetables with ghee or sweet dish. This mutton curry is called Deuli meat and is a favourite dish in feasts. Apart from this mutton is cooked in various varieties in Seraj from dry to barbequed. This was cheapest option for people in past when there were very less pulses and vegetables production in this region and every one use to have goat and sheep in plenty.

Chicken now a days is another non-vegetarian item but down the line 40-50 years

back, it was not known to this region, instead there was bird's meat. People use to go for hunting and get bird's meat. It is said that when British government officials used to go to Shimla through this region, all best hunters of this region were called to Shojha and Khanag where they use to bring best kind of birds killed for the officials and they were cooked in pure local ghee. Now hunting is banned in Himachal so nobody goes for hunting in forests. In lower parts of Seraj, fishes are also part of eating



habits because these are besides streams.

In the occasions of festivals few people cut goat at homes to celebrate. It is some time by a single household or by four or five households together. When it is together then it will be called Goth. In Goth cost and meat is divided equally. This shows that Seraji society was based on collectiveness which it is still carrying on such practices.

Roti-roti is eaten in all parts of Seraj. Since rice was produced in few pockets of Seraj and was not enough to fulfill the need of area so it could not become major eating habit of region. Although rice was eaten on special occasions and on special days in the past as well. For example, on Maghi day cooking rice was must in this entire region as a tradition but still major eating habit is eating Roti. Nowadays Rotis are prepared of wheat but in the past they were made of Barley. In lower part and mid Seraj where Maize is cultivated, Roti of Maize is cooked. Eating Roti of barley and maize with fried curd or simple curd is fascinating. Rotis are also made of millet but

now it can be seen very rarely on special occasion in few houses. Baked roti is used which is called Baturu. These are cooked in oil on some special occasions and during Shivratri festival. Roti cooked with ghee for religious purposes is called Luchi.

Cakes (Childa) - Barley cakes and porridge was food of this region in past. There is famous Seraji saying "having porridge in the morning, day will end in ease'.

Cakes are easily cooked. They are called Childe in local dialect. They are like plain dosas of south but are fried from both sides unlike dosa from one side. These are now food of old and ill people which is easy to chew and to digest. These are of two kinds one is simple, other one is baked. Baked one are called Sajeda childe. Its combination for eating is best with boiled curd or curd mixed with grinded seed of cannabis (growing cannabis is now ban and not in use any more) with pinch of salt. These cakes were cooked for guests and also for religious activities only of wheat. These cakes were of many types of grains but most of them are now not being sown. So present generation knows only wheat and barley cake. Some 30 years back it was made of Kathu, Gangdi, Kodara, Sarhara (local names) and many more. One time's great food is now considered inferior one by young generation. This cake (childa) is severed to all masked men at Khamarda in Khabal during a religious ceremony in Faguli festival of Bahu.

Momos (Sidu or Sida) - momos are special food of Himachal; these are prepared

for guests, special persons and on special occasions. These are cooked by steaming stuffed wheat flour. Mostly this flour is fermented before cooking. These are sometimes stuffed with many varieties of vegetables or crushed seed even small pieces of meat then mixed with spices and salt of choice. This is eaten with Ghee. Kids love eating it with curd. Nowadays, people eat it with various sauces. On 20th day of Ashad of Vikrami calendar these are cooked in most of the area particularly Mohni area cooks it as religiously. It is also cooked on 15th day of month Poush in upper Seraj and night of this day is considered as longest night in this area. It is also cooked on the 1st day of month Chait in the region because children celebrate Chetru bith. On other days cooking of sida /moms depends on the choice of household. When village deity goes on tour of far villages then Deulis of that deity also cook sida on the way. One can find many road side stall selling it when one comes to Himachal. Tourism department have also Sida in its menu. A stall of sida or sidu can be seen easily in all big functions now a days.

Curd and curd gravy (Chhahi and Zol). This is oldest and easily cooked dish of Seraj. It is available easily; it is made of curd with frying and putting little turmeric and salt. This is called dish of poor and necessity. With Childa it was best food of past years of Seraj.

Vegetables : Although majority of Seraji population is non-vegetarian but still daily meals in Seraji house hold do not contain it. Dal and Bhajji/pulses and vegetables are cooked in Seraji houses for daily meals. Since Seraj is a mountainous region and there were no roads few decades back thus there was no supply of vegetables from outside world. Therefore locally grown vegetable were eaten and given to relatives. For example, upper Seraj people use to give potatoes and green mustard leaf vegetable (which is called Mith Sag) to lower Seraj relatives and they use to give chilies, Mash and Bagagun (which is called Shagotris) to their relatives of upper Seraj. Kathu, Gangdi were other famous vegetables of Seraj.

Dry fruits collected for winter are also part of local food habits. Fried grain (modi) is cooked in winter mostly in nights. Few dishes which are now talk of past due to new law, for example curry of Cannabis seeds and its fried power mixed with salt called Bhangru is now no longer in menu. These are few not all which Seraji love to eat and make a shared heritage of all Serajis.

Seraji people use to eat those things which they use to grow; they were self dependent people not only in the respect of food grains but also in their needs. It was saying that apart from Salt from Drang and Gud from Balh, Seraji never bought eatables from outside. Even they use to wear woolen cloths weaved by themselves. That is why Kullu Shawals and caps are world famous. With the change of time and advance communication, with growing market economy, eating habits of Seraji have changed like their life style. Now old lifestyle and eating habits can be seen in few functions and festivals. This composite heritage of this region has a great relevance in present day because it is stable and nitrous. It save region from famines. It is linked with identity of this part of world. Even young generation of Serjis do not want to eat it at home but love to eat it out side in big restaurants and also claim it as their own. Wherever Seraji finds it or finds someone having it he feels oneness with him/her. These eating habits connects this region and reminds people of this region of their past which was self dependent. It was based on the principal of good food for good health. It was and will remain backbone of Seraji culture. It is becoming main attraction for tourism in this region. It is improving economy this way. This is also giving Seraji new idenity. It links them to their old times. More importantly this is good for health. It proves that traditionally people of this region use to take healthy food which was produced by themselves. It also teaches us about self depedency. It reminds that simple food can lead to a healthy life. Any kind of food is not inferior or superior in nature. It is only state of mind of its users.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH POETS

Christopher Caudwell

...Continued from previous issue

IV

The atmosphere of a period of reaction such as that which followed the Puritan Revolution is of good-humoured cynicism. A betrayal of the extreme "ideals" for which the battle had been fought appeared prudent to the majority. Unrestrained liberty and the free following of the spirit, excellent in theory, had in practice been proved to involve awkwardnesses for the very class of whom it was the battle-cry. The bourgeois illusion went through a new stage, that of the Restoration.

Such a movement is cynical, because it is the outcome of a betrayal of "ideals" for earthly reasons. It is luxurious because the class with whom the bourgeoisie, having taught it a sharp lesson, now allies itself again – the landed nobility – has no need of thrift to acquire capital. It is collective because there is a return to the public court life and the play. It is not decadent in any real sense; true, the bourgeoisie has allied itself with the old doomed class – but it has breathed new life into that class. Webster, expressing the decadence of the court, gives way to Dryden, expressing its vigour. And Dryden, with his turn-coat life, so different from Milton's rectitude, exactly expresses the confused and rapid movement of the bourgeoisie of the time, from Cromwell to Charles II and from

James II to William III. It is a real alliance – there is no question of the feudal régime returning. James II fate in the "Glorious Revolution" clearly shows the bourgeoisie have come to rule.

The poet must return from his study to court, but it is now a more cityfied, sensible, less romantic and picturesque court. The court itself has become almost burgher. The language shows the same passage from study to London street, from conscious heroism to business-like common sense. The sectarian bourgeois revolutionary, a little inclined to pose, becomes the sensible man-of-the-world. This is the transition from Milton to Dryden. The idealisation of compromise between rival classes as "order" and "measure" – a familiar feature of reaction – leads to the convention of the



Augustan age, which passes by an inevitable transition into eighteenth century nationalism, once the Glorious Revolution has shown that the bourgeoisie are dominant in the alliance.

The self-valuation of this age as Augustan is in fact singularly fitting. Caesar played the rôle of Cromwell, and Augustus of Charles II in a similar movement in Rome, where the knightly class at first rebelled against the senatorial and, when it became dangerous to go farther, entered on a road of compromise and reaction.

Elizabethan insurgence, the voice of primitive accumulation, thus turns into its opposite, Augustan propriety, the voice of manufacture, Individualism gives place to good taste. In its early stages bourgeoisdom

requires the shattering of all feudal forms, and therefore its illusion is a realisation of the instincts in freedom. In the course of this movement, first to acquire capital, and then to give capital free play, it leans first on the monarchy – Shakespeare – and then on the common people – Milton. But because it is the interests of a class it dare not go too far in its claims, for to advance the interests of all society is to deny its own. It must not only shatter the old forms which maintained the rule of the feudal class, but it must create the new forms which will ensure its own development as a ruling class. This is the epoch of manufacture and of agricultural capitalism. Land, not factories, is still the pivot.

This epoch is not only opposed to that of primitive accumulation, it is also opposed to that of free trade. Capital exists, but the proletariat is as yet barely in existence. The numerous artisans and peasants are not yet proletarianised by the very movement of capital: the State must therefore be invoked to assist the process. The expansive period of capitalism, in which the rapid expropriation of the artisan hurls thousands of free labourers on to the market, has not yet arrived. The vagrants of Elizabethan days have already been absorbed. The bourgeoisie finds that there is a shortage of wage labour which might lead to a rise in the price of labour-power over and above its value (i.e. its cost of reproduction in food and rent).

Hence there is need for a network of laws to keep down wages and prices and

regulate labour in order to secure for the bourgeois class the conditions of its development. It now sees the “impracticable idealism” of its revolutionary demands for liberty. Order, measure, law, good taste and other imposed forms are necessary. Tradition and convention are valuable. Now that the feudal State has perished, these restraints ensure the development of bourgeois economy. Free trade seems the very opposite of desirable to the economists of this era. The bourgeois illusion betrays itself.

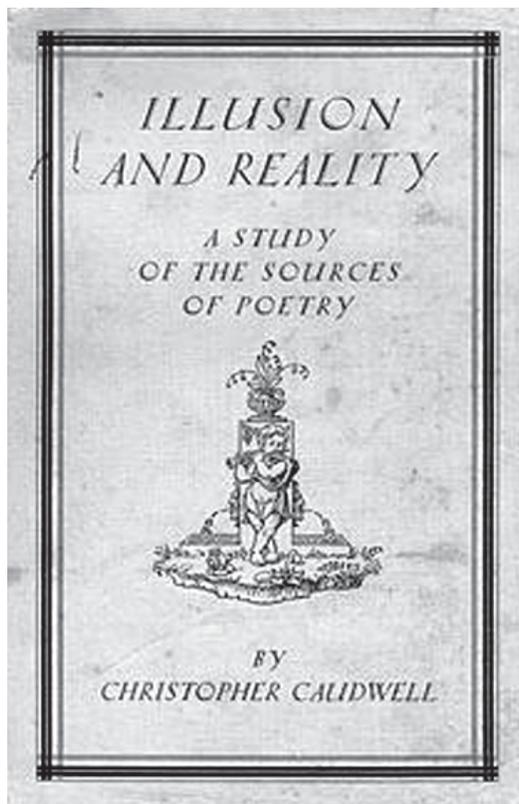
V

Therefore, during the eighteenth century, bourgeois poetry expresses the spirit of manufacture, of the petty manufacturing

bourgeoisie, beneath the wings of the big landowning capitalists, giving birth to industrial capitalism. The shattering expansion of capitalism has not yet begun. Capitalism still approximates to those economies where “conservation is the first condition of existence” and has not yet fully entered into the state where it “cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the means of production.” Capitalism is revolutionising itself, but like a slowly-growing plant that needs protection, instead of like

an explosion in which the ignition of one part detonates the rest. By the compromise of the Glorious Revolution, the Whig landed-aristocracy were prepared to give that protection because they had themselves become bourgeoisified.

It was only when the separation



between agricultural and industrial capitalism took place as a result of the rise of the factory that the cleavage between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie began to have a determining effect on the bourgeois illusion. While the woollen-mill was still no more than a hand-loom and an appendage of the agricultural capitalist's sheep-farm there was no direct antagonism between the classes: it was only as the woollen-mill became a cotton-mill, depending for its raw material on outside sources, and when sheep-farming developed in Australia and provided wool for English mills, that there arose a direct antagonism between agricultural and industrial capitalism which expressed itself ultimately on the side of the industrialists as a demand for Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Pope's poetry, and its "reason" – a reason moving within singularly simple and shallow categories but moving accurately – with its polished language and metre and curt antitheses, is a reflection of that stage of the bourgeois illusion where freedom for the bourgeoisie can only be "limited" – man must be prudent in his demands, and yet there is no reason for despair, all goes well. Life is on the up-grade, but it is impossible to hurry. The imposition of outward forms on the heart is necessary and accepted. Hence the contrast between the elegant corset of the eighteenth-century heroic couplet and the natural luxuriance of Elizabethan blank verse, whose sprawl almost conceals the bony structure of the iambic rhythm inside it.

Pope perfectly expresses the ideals of the bourgeois class in alliance with a bourgeoisified aristocracy in the epoch of manufacture.

It is important to note that even now the poet himself has not been bourgeoisified as a producer. He does not produce as yet for the free market. Almost a court or aristocratic official in the time of Shakespeare, poet is a parson's or scholar's occupation in the ensuing period, and even as late as Pope he is dependent on being patronised, i.e. he has a "patriarchal" or "idyllic" relation to the class of whom he is the spokesman in the time of Pope.

Such an "idyllic" relation means that the poet writes non-idyllic poetry. He still sees himself as a man playing a social rôle. This was the case with the primitive poet; it remains true of Pope. It imposes on him the obligation to speak the language of his paymasters or co-poets – in the primitive tribe these constitute the whole tribe, in Augustan society these are the men who form his patron's circle – the ruling class. Johnson – dependent on subscribers – bridges the gap between the poet by status and the poet as producer. Thus poetry remains in this sense collective. It talks a more or less current language, and the poet writes for an audience he has directly in mind, to whom perhaps he will presently read his poems and so be able to watch their effect. Poetry is still for him not so much a poem – a self-subsisting work of art – as a movement from writer to reader, like the movement of emotion in a publicly-acted drama or the movement of a Muse in the minds of men. Hence he realises himself as playing a social rôle: inspirer of humanity or redresser of the follies of mankind. He has not yet become a self-conscious artist.

To be Continued...
Courtesy—Illusion and Reality

Published by : Institute for Social Democracy, New Delhi
for
Peace in South Asia

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH :

Al-Bilal Falahi Tanzeem Nawjawanwan Regd
Palai Khap Thana District Malakand,
Kahber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan PC 23000
Mobile : +92(0)3013017898

Asmita Resource Centre for Women
Teacher's Colony, East Marredpally,
Secunderabad 500026,
Andhra Pradesh, India
Phone : 040-27733251, 27733229, Fax : 040-27733745
E-mail : asmitacollective@sancharnet.in

CNI-Synodical Board of Social Services
CNI Bhawan, 16, Pandit Pant Marg
New Delhi - 110001, India
Phone - 011-23718168
Fax - 011-23712126
Email - cnisbss@cnisbss.org
Website - www.cnisbss.org

Centre for Social Development (CSD)
Palace Compound (west)
Imphal 795001, Manipur, India
Phone : 0385-2230004
E-mail : secycsd@sancharnet.in

Christian Children's Fund of Canada
India Liaison Office
Vinoth Vetri
Flat F2 (First Floor)
New No 37, Old No 73&74
Govindan Street, Ayyavoo Colony,
Aminjikarai, Chennai - 600 029, India.
Tel : +91 44 2374 0742 / Direct: + 91 44 2374 0743
Fax : + 91 44 2374 0741
Email : vmuniasamy@ccfcandada.ca
Website : www.ccfcandada.ca

Christian Commission for Development in Bangladesh (CCDB)
88, Senpara, Parbatta,
Mirpur-10, G.P.O., Box 367
Dhaka-1216, Bangladesh
Phone : +88-02-8011970-3
Email : ccdb@bangla.net, ccdbhope@bangla.net

Church's Auxiliary for Social Action (CASA)
4th floor, Rachna building 2,
Rajendra Place, Pusa road,
New Delhi-110008, India,
Phone : 91-11-25730611, 612, 25080758
Fax : 011-25752502, 25733763
Email : indrani@casa-india.org

Cornerstone
31, Teeds Garden IV Street,
Perambur, Chennai-600011, India
Phone : 91-44-45058270
Email : richidev@yahoo.co.in, cornerstonetrust5@gmail.com

Deenbandhu Fellowship
Deenbandhupuram via Vemgal Raja Kuppam
Distt.- Chittoor
Andhra Pradesh – 517599, India

Brot fur die Welt-Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst
Evangelisches Werk fur Diakonie und Entwicklung e.V.
South and Middle Asia Desk
Caroline-Michaelis-Str. 1
10115 Berlin, Germany
Tel.: +49 30 65211-1303
Website : www.brot-fuer-die-welt.de

Institute for Social Democracy (ISD)
110, Numberdar House, 62-A,
Laxmi Market, Munirka
New Dehli 110067, India
Telefax : 91-11-26177904
E-mail : notowar.isd@gmail.com
Website : www.sach.org.in, www.isd.net.in

Maleya Foundation
North Kalindipur
Rangamati – 4500
Bangladesh
Phone : 0351-61109
E-mail : maleyafoundation@yahoo.com

Peoples Action for Development – PAD
No. 4/124, Roachpalayam, VEMBAR - 628 906,
Thoothukudi Dist., Tamilnadu, India
Telephone: 04638 262388
Email : info@padgom.org, padgom@gmail.com
Website : padgom.org

Taangh Wasaib Organisation
House number 43, street 1, Gulshan-e-Bashir
Sargodha, Pakistan
Phone : 0092-451-215042
Fax : 0092-483-215042
Mobile : 0092-300-9602831
E-mail : twasaib@yahoo.com, rubinaferoze_bhatti@yahoo.com

Tariq Zaman
Res. Add : House # 271/B Railway Road Bamus City,
N-W.F.P Pakistan
Phone: 0092-333-9747161, 0092-928-613417
Email: zamantariq@gmail.com

Trinamul Unnayan Sangstha
Marma Samsad Bulding.
Pankhaiya Para
Khagrachari-4400, Bangladesh
Phone: 0371-61179
E-mail : trinamulcht@yahoo.com

United Mission to Nepal
PO Box 126
Kathmandu, Nepal
Phone: (00977 1) 4228 118, 4268 900
Fax : (00977 1) 4225 559
Emails : umn@umn.org.np (General enquiries)

FOR LIMITED DISTRIBUTION ONLY