



## **INDIAN OCEAN: A ZONE OF PEACE**

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After hundred and fifty years of British naval domination the Indian Ocean is now assuming new strategic significance. The littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean are deeply concerned about the frequent movements of nuclear powered sub-marines and warships of the two Super Powers. With the Commissioning of the U.S. Communication base in Diego Garcia on March 20, 1973, "The United States...became the first of the two Super Powers to establish a military base on foreign territory in the region..."<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Lee Hamilton, Chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Foreign Affairs sub-committee on the Near East and South Asia, the Nixon administration asked the Congress for \$ 30 million for the build-up of U.S. naval facilities in Deign Garcia. Great Britain had agreed to the U.S. Plan of expansion of the Diego Garcia base.

With the already existing Anglo-American bases in the Indian Ocean Diego Garcia symbolised the growing strategic interest of the American Navy in the Indian Ocean presumably to counter any extension of Soviet naval influence into the region. The Soviet Union had no base in the Indian Ocean, although the Soviet naval presence was noticeable since March, 1968. The Soviet Union had no base in the Indian Ocean but they were watching the developments there carefully. France with its few bases was also determined to make its presence felt in the Indian Ocean region.

Thus, the great power rivalry had lead to the militarization Indian Ocean. In the eyes of the littoral powers, attract weapons, and bases whatever they may be

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<sup>1</sup> International Herald Tribune (Paris) June 19, 1973.

called, will attract bases from the opposing parties. If either of the Super Powers established a naval base in the Indian Ocean, it will only be a matter of time before the other follows suit". The Indian Ocean was not in any way critical or vital to the security of the United States, and the Soviet Union too was not in a position to threaten or disrupt the Western oil routes or trade and commerce carried on across the Indian Ocean as has been alleged by Britain. Yet the Anglo- American policy worked up the bogey of a Soviet threat and to accelerate their programme of establishing naval bases at important strategic islands in the Indian Ocean. The cumulative effect of this policy was to bring the Soviet navy into the Indian Ocean. "One of the immediate dangers of this apparent trend is that the Indian Ocean area which has been relatively free in this respect is in danger of becoming a satellite of the security system of the major powers - both as a launching area as well as a target area for nuclear systems. Another likely result of this development is that there will be an intensification "cold war" politics which will in itself lead to a number of consequences.<sup>2</sup> What frightened the littoral States more was the immediate prospects of an arms race and the potential conflicts were also likely to arise from such a rivalry than an ever- growing and intimidating presence of nuclear weapon system in the Indian Ocean. The naval politics of the major maritime power was to involve some of regional powers, but also to threaten the security of the littoral States opposing such powers. The American gunboat diplomacy at the final phase of the Indo-Pakistan war for - the liberation of Bangla Desh in December 1971, cannot be forgotten. "A grave threat to India did arise out of the activities of the U.S. Seventh Fleet and an implicit nuclear threat was held out by the presence of the nuclear powered carrier USS Enterprise with nuclear weapons on board, in the Bay of Bengal."<sup>3</sup> The Indian Ocean littoral States had been known for their endemic political instability and economic backwardness for long time. "The Indian Ocean area is a region of low solidarities or community interests. Although it forms a geographical and historical entity, there are few cooperative links between countries in the region and these are either bilateral or sub-regional."<sup>4</sup> Therefore, in the event of conflicts or crisis in this region leading to a local war, the increased naval presence of big Powers whose land forces had only partly been withdrawn, were likely to terrorize the regional countries by their interventionist policies.

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<sup>2</sup> "Ceylon's Memorandum on Indian Ocean Security" in Devendra Kaushik, *The Indian Ocean: Towards a Peace Zone* (New Delhi, Vikas Publications, 1972) Appendix II, p.185.

<sup>3</sup> India in World Strategic Environment, Annual Review, Vol.II West Asia and Indian Ocean, 1970-71 (New Delhi; Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 1973, p. 716).

<sup>4</sup> Ceylon's Memorandum on Indian Ocean Security, op. cit.

The Indian Ocean for several centuries has attracted the interest and attention of maritime powers from outside the Indian Ocean region and the emergence of independent states in Asia and Africa has in no way diminished the interests of the big maritime powers in the Indian Ocean. At the same time, the newly independent countries of the Indian Ocean region have recognised the importance of the Indian Ocean being free from the tension and rivalries of the big power as a condition for their own development and further progress. The adoption of Non-alignment as the policy of a large number of newly independent countries has influenced them in their desire to transform the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace as a necessary condition for maintaining and preserving their political independence and sovereignty.

The proposal to declare the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace can be traced to the Cairo Conference of the Non-aligned states in 1964. At that Conference it was recognised that the concept of a zone of peace is inherent in the concept of Non-alignment which requires that the land territories, airspace and territorial waters of Non-aligned states be closed to big power conflicts and rivalries. At the 1964 Non-aligned Conference the participating States favourably viewed the establishment of atom-free zones in various parts of the world including Asia. It was agreed that a nuclear-free zone be adopted for the Indian Ocean as the Southern Atlantic. In September 1970, at the Lusaka Conference the Non-aligned countries went a step further and called for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, which would be not only free of nuclear weapons but also one from which great power rivalries and competition would be excluded. It was felt that the intrusion of big powers' rivalries into the Indian Ocean could result in the loss of political freedom in Asia as in the 18th century. The Non-aligned countries were of the view that there should not be a recurrence of this situation. The object was to contain the activities of foreign powers and ensure that they do not make the Indian Ocean a battle ground for their rivalries.

The proposal was taken a step further when the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in January 1971, suggested at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference that the Indian Ocean be declared a "Zone of Peace". At the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka proposed formally to that body to declare the Indian Ocean a "Zone of Peace". Speaking at the General Assembly Mrs. Bandaranaike said, "The proposal should not be regarded merely as part of a scheme of collective security confined to the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, it is intended as a direct tangible contribution to the disarmament decade and to the strengthening of conditions for world peace".

Continuing her address, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka drew attention to the existing circumstances in the Indian Ocean, which were specially conducive to the adoption of the Declaration.

The aim of the proposal, as distinct from its implications, was the establishment) in the Indian Ocean area of a nuclear free zone, where peace would be ensured by the exclusion from the zone of big power rivalries as well as elimination of bases as seen in the context of big power rivalries. To be more specific this would mean, firstly, the countries of the region both littoral and hinterland states, as well as countries outside the region militarily active in the region would have to assume certain commitments if any stable agreement materialised. As far as the countries in the region were concerned, they would have to commit themselves to a policy of de-nuclearisation, which would entail permanent renunciation by them of nuclear weapons and the assumption of an obligation to deny the use of their territories and their territorial waters and their airspace to nuclear weapons belonging to other states. On the part of the nuclear powers, their contribution would be the assumption of an obligation not to deploy nuclear weapons in the peace zone area.

Secondly, the creation of a peace zone pre-supposed also the renunciation by states of the region of the threat or use of force against any other State in the region and the affirmation of their resolve to settle their disputes with one another by peaceful means and without resort to force. The right of self-defence, of course, was re-affirmed.

Thirdly, the freedom of the high seas was to continue to be guaranteed for peaceful purposes, including commerce & merchant shipping and the passage of warships across the Indian Ocean would be permissible, provided that their presence was not a threat to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the littoral and hinterland states or prejudicial to the good order or security of these states.

Fourthly, it implied that the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace sought the elimination from this area of all foreign bases and military installations as well as a stop to the establishment of new bases and a limitation on the enlargement of existing bases. The United Nations General Assembly at its 26th session in 1971 adopted a Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a "Zone of Peace". 61 countries voted in favour and none against, whilst, 55 member states abstained. Of the big powers, USA, USSR, Britain and France abstained while China voted in favour.

The Declaration sought to define the concept of a "Peace Zone" and the essential elements of it were described in operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of Resolution 2832 (XXVI)- which ran as follows:

"(2) Calls upon the great powers, in conformity with the declaration, to enter into immediate consultations with the littoral states of the Indian Ocean with a view to:

- a) Halting the further escalation and expansion of their military presence in the Indian Ocean;

- b) Eliminating from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of great power rivalry;
- (3) Calls upon the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, the permanent members of the Security Council and other major maritime users of the Indian Ocean, in pursuit of the objective of establishing a system of universal collective security without military alliances and strengthening international security through regional and other co-operation, to enter into consultations with a view to the implementation of this Declaration and such action as may be necessary to ensure that:
  - (a) Warships and military aircrafts may not use the Indian Ocean for any threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of any littoral or hinterland state of the Indian Ocean in contravention of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
  - (b) Subject to the foregoing and to the norms and principles of international law, the right to free and unimpede of the zone by the vessels of all nations is unaffected;
  - (c) Appropriate arrangements are made to give effect to any international agreement that may ultimately be reached for the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace".

The idea of a 'peace zone' in the Indian Ocean area was the outcome of fears generated by power rivalry and the establishment of naval bases in the Indian Ocean. Apparently the western countries justified these developments as a reaction to the Soviet penetration into the Persian Gulf area, Middle East and the Indian Ocean. The Soviet presence constituted a threat their vital oil supply lines and the commercial, trade and navigational routes. However, all the evidence available so far indicated the "any apprehension that the Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean could constitute a threat to non-Soviet shipping.... do not seem to be well-grounded. It would not be logical for the Soviet Union to act in that way and risk its unimpeded use of the oceans throughout the world".<sup>5</sup> The real interests of the West in the Indian Ocean was due to its "special significance to the Super Powers with regard to the latest technological devices in military strategy, both underwater and in the air, including satellites (such as the British American skynet communication system). Ships are part of this strategy of threat-deterrence, vigilance and in such context conventional bases such as Simons town are likely to

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<sup>5</sup> World Armaments and Disarmaments: SIPRI, Yearbook 1972, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972, Stockholm, International Peace Research Institute), p. 553.

lose much of their importance".<sup>6</sup> On the other, hand, the Soviets perceived it as an out flanking strategy of the Soviet Navy by the West by "creating suitable checkpoints to keep it under Surveillance in peace and war and generally to maintain the Indian Ocean as a sphere of their influence as in the past."<sup>7</sup>

The Afro-Asian nations of the Indian Ocean area viewed it with grave concern because the power rivalry was bound to create tension, and even pose a threat to their independence.

Hence, at the Lusaka Conference of non-aligned nations in September, 1970, the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean was formalised. The Lusaka Declaration inter alia stated: "The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace: Adoption of a Declaration calling upon all States to consider and respect the Indian Ocean as a zone of Peace from which great power rivalries and competition as well as bases conceived in the context of such rivalries and competition either army, navy or air force bases, are excluded. The area should also be free of nuclear weapons".<sup>8</sup>

One of the problems arising from the "Peace Zone" proposal was the geographical limits contemplated in the concept. Then Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike's view was that "... the concept of a zone of Peace is inherent in the concept of non-alignment which requires that the land territories, air, space, and territorial waters of non-aligned States must be closed to great power conflicts and rivalries. All areas under the jurisdiction of non-aligned states should, therefore, by definition be zones of peace". What was apparent in this definition was the attempt to include land areas around the Indian Ocean within the purview of this definition. The object of extending the scope of a peace zone concept to the land areas was to bring all militarization, arms build up including nuclear weapon programme within its ambit. This was implied in Ceylon's Memorandum submitted to the Singapore Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers on January 21, 1971 which says: "A parallel corollary of a peace zone is that regional states bordering the Indian Ocean will themselves refrain from action prejudicial to the concept of a peace zone. Their defence requirements, therefore, would have to be measured against their obligations not to compromise the concept of a peace zone."<sup>8A</sup>

However, Sri Lanka became agreeable to limit the zone of peace to the Indian Ocean only with the important rider that it would also be simultaneously a nuclear free zone. After presenting Ceylon's Memorandum on the Indian Ocean at

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<sup>6</sup> Bieter Braun, "The Indian Ocean in Afro-Asian Perspective", *The World Today* (London), Vol. 28, No.6, June, 1972, p. 251.

<sup>7</sup> Dev Murarka, *The Straits Times*, January 19, 1971.

<sup>8</sup> Indian Ocean Region, Op. Cit., Appendix H (P. 75).

<sup>8A</sup> *The Straits Times*, January 22, 1971.

the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference at Singapore, she requested the Heads of States "to give serious consideration to accepting, in principle, a formulation acceptable to every body on the maintenance of the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace" and a nuclear-free zone". Similarly, on 12 October, 1971, she stated before the U.N. General Assembly, "I propose that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace". The U.N. Resolution No. (XXVI) of 16 December, 1971 designated "the Indian Ocean, within limits to be determined, together with the air space above and the ocean floor subjacent thereto ... for all time as a zone of peace".<sup>9</sup> This resolution was adopted by 61 votes, none against and with 55 abstentions. Among the nuclear powers only China supported the resolution. All other nuclear power abstained. At the 27th session of the U.N. General Assembly, under Resolution No. 2992 (XXVII) of 15 December, 1972 an adhoc committee, consisting, of fifteen<sup>10</sup> nations, was set up to study the implications of the peace zone proposal "having due regard to the security interests of the littoral and hinterland states, the Security Council members, and all the principal maritime users of the Indian Ocean to strengthen the move to declare the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace". The resolution was adopted by 95 votes, none against and with 33 abstentions. China again supported the resolution. All other nuclear powers abstained. This time, practically all the littoral States supported it.

The objectives of declaring the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace" were several. Ceylon's Memorandum and the U.N. Resolution 2832 (XXVI) of December 16, 1971, outline these aims in detail. The intention was to persuade the littoral states as well as the outside powers using the Indian Ocean especially for military purposes, to accept certain restrictions. The Prime objective was to prevent the militarization of the Indian Ocean. Mrs. Bandarnaike declared in the U.N. General Assembly on 12 October, 1971: "There are no nuclear powers nor any major nations among the littoral States of the Indian Ocean. They are in fact, geographically remote from the area, and have no reason to consider the Indian Ocean as critical or vital to their security and strategic interests. The military and naval forces of the great powers in the Indian Ocean have not yet assumed significant proportions and the adoption of the Indian Ocean proposal would not involve us in the necessity of making elaborate provision for the dismantling of existing military bases and installations as would be the case in other areas".<sup>11</sup> As a corollary to this, all armaments race, offensive or defensive, within the peace zone were to be prohibited. Warships, ships, carrying warlike equipments and

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<sup>9</sup> General Assembly, Official Records, 2022nd Plenary Meeting, 15 December, 1971.

<sup>10</sup> The 15 nations are: Australia, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tenzania, Yemen and Zambia.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

submarines while passing through the Ocean should not halt except for emergency reasons. No maneuvering by warships of any nation, no naval intelligence operations and no nuclear weapon tests of any kind be permitted. It also implied the elimination "from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations, logistical supply facilities, the disposition of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destructions and any manifestation of great power military presence in the Indian Ocean conceived in the context of the great power rivalry".<sup>12</sup>

The prevention of the extension of the Super Power nuclear arms into the Indian Ocean was clearly a part of the objective to demilitarize the Indian Ocean because it was a potential threat to the territorial integrity of the littoral States, as evidently proved by the intrusion into the Bay of Bengal, of the USSR Enterprise in December, 1971.

It is evident from Ceylon's Memorandum that the peace zone as conceived by her was far more idealistic than that of the any other littoral states. For, one of the purposes of the peace zone, was the eventual evolution of an "Indian Ocean Community in which problems of security will be dealt with by orderly and institutional means for promoting peaceful change". Perhaps, the most important objective of Sri Lanka in establishing an Indian Ocean peace zone was to make it a nuclear - free zone as well, presumably by pressurizing the only near-nuclear power in the area namely India, not to exercise its nuclear option and not to become another nuclear power. Another objective was "to stabilise the Indian Ocean as a power vacuum so that the abrasive conflicts of the "cold war" do not enter into it and the region could concentrate on the solution of its major problems of security, under development, etc."<sup>13</sup> Finally, "it should receive universal acceptance and be fitted into the larger design of world peace and security and of general and complete disarmament".<sup>14</sup>

### **PEACE ZONE AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SEA**

The major objection to the peace zone proposal was that, it would amount to a gross transgression of the freedom of the sea and the existing body customary and conventional international law of the sea. This kind of criticism came mainly from the outside powers who were the principal users of the Indian Ocean. According to them, "a group of states in any given region cannot establish a separate legal regime for the high seas in that region".<sup>15</sup> Some nations expressed misgivings that it would even interfere with navigation and trade, fishing, installation of submarine cables and pipelines as well as overflights. Some also

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ceylon's Memorandum, Op. Cit.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. Bandarnaike's Speech at the U.N. General Assembly on October 12, 1971.

<sup>15</sup> World Armament and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1972, op. cit, P. 551.



opposed it because it was against the spirit of the defence arrangements in the region.<sup>16</sup>

The protagonists of the peace zone proposal admitted that "the freedom of the high seas will be subject to important voluntary limitations".<sup>17</sup> But they argue that such outmoded concepts should be modified "to accommodate the needs and realities of the world today. One may go so far as to say that the principle of the freedom of the high seas does not adequately serve the fundamental interests of all nations alike, but is clearly weighted in favour of the interests of the dominant user nations. This inequality must be redressed".<sup>18</sup>

As a disarmament measure, the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal was much more gradiose than anything that had been attempted so far. It "goes much further than did the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America (The Treaty of Tlatelolco), the Organization of African Unity's declaration of Africa as a nuclear-free zone or any other suggestion for zonal denuclearization, in that it provided for the exclusion of both nuclear and conventional weapons. It called for total demilitarization and neutralization of the Indian Ocean".<sup>19</sup> According to one study, "the exclusion of all foreign naval powers is one which is widely held in those Asiatic countries which fringe the Ocean".<sup>20</sup> It went on to assert that "the expressed desire of many a riparian State that this Ocean would now remain a benign, unclaimed and innocent highway, freely accessible to all, is almost too idyllic to contemplate".<sup>21</sup> This was a distorting approach of the Indian Ocean states which mainly opposed the militarization of the Ocean.

### **INDIAN OCEAN: A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE**

Apart from treating the Indian Ocean as a peace zone, let us discuss whether it was feasible to make it a nuclear-free zone? A move to establish a nuclear-free zone in one of the oceans was a recent development. So far, the attempt had been to create nuclear-free zones on territories and not in the oceans. The Rapacki Plan of October, 1957, had its application to Central Europe as the area to be declared a nuclear-free zone from which the conventional forces also were to be withdrawn. Similar plans for the Balkans, Middle East and Northern Europe also figured in the discussions since 1957. The U.N. General Assembly adopted Res. 2033 (XX) at its- twentieth session on 3 December, 1965 endorsing the declaration on the denuclearization of Africa adopted by the Heads of States of the Organization of Africa Unity in 1964. The Latin-American nuclear-free zone became possible

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 552

<sup>17</sup> Cylon's Memorandum, op.cit.

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Eandarnaike's speech at the U.N. General Assembly, 12 October, 1971.

<sup>19</sup> World Armament & Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook, 1972, Op. cit., P. 550.

<sup>20</sup> The Indian Ocean: A Conference Report, 1971, Op. Cit, P.49.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, page 3.

because there were "no opposing sides" none to speak, no balance of power problems, no confrontation of east-west power blocs, and no nuclear weapons or bases within the area".<sup>22</sup> The Tlatelolco Treaty of 1967, known as the "Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America", had defined the Latin American nuclear free zone as "the whole of the territories" of Latin America (Article 4). According to the Treaty, "territory" had been defined to include not merely the land territory but also the "territorial sea, air space and any other space over which the State exercises sovereignty" (Art. 3). Geographically, the Treaty had application to the Latin American States which extended upto the territorial waters. In Latin America, claims to territorial waters varied from 12 miles to 200 miles as asserted by states like Peru and Chile. The basic difference between the Indian Ocean nuclear-free zone proposal and Tlatelco Treaty was: the former applied to the ocean (excluding the territorial waters) the air space above it and subjacent waters where is the latter was applicable to the land mass. The Mexican Representative, Mr. Robbs, in 'his' statement to the 'Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on February 26, 1970, Observed: "It necessarily implies in fact, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons in the territories of all states parties to the treaty under which the zone is established".<sup>23</sup> In Latin America there were no nuclear powers, in the Indian Ocean littoral also there were no nuclear powers. Similarly, there was at least one near-nuclear power in each area. In the case of Latin America, both the Pacific and Atlantic oceans were nuclear zones. The Super Power rivalry and the transit of nuclear weapons beneath the oceanic waters were also taking place. However, in regard to the Indian Ocean, the area was gradually becoming a focal point of Super Power rivalry and another nuclear zone. Hence, the littoral states were justified in taking a unified stand to opposing the power rivalry in the Indian Ocean and in declaring the area a peace zone through the U.N. Resolution.

The nonaligned countries accepted the principle of nuclear-free zone at the Cairo Conference, 1964. Among the Commonwealth countries, Sri Lanka was the foremost champion of a nuclear-free zone in the Indian, Ocean. A comprehensive definition of this zone embraced even the land areas of the Indian Ocean littoral. But, most of the countries which supported Sri Lanka's initiative including India had so far been very cautious in their approach in regard to the question of nuclear-free-zone in the Indian Ocean. The Lusaka Conference, 1970, did not go beyond the concept of a peace zone. The U.N. Resolution of 16 December, 1971, likewise

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<sup>22</sup> CCD/PV. 453, P.P. 13-17.

<sup>23</sup> Alfonso Garcia Robbs, *The Denuclearization of Latin America*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (1967), P. XV.

reiterated the idea of a peace zone and made no mention of the nuclear-free zone although the presence of nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean in the context of the great power rivalry had been considered a threat to the security of the littoral states.

Any attempt to declare the Pacific or the Atlantic oceans as nuclear-free zones was impracticable to have nuclear-free zones in these oceans as the vital interests of the super powers are involved there. The nuclear powers were so close to these oceans and the Polaris and Poseidon submarines and their Russian versions with nuclear warheads too were there. But in the Indian Ocean, the situation was different. The Super Powers were situated far away and their national security was not directly threatened or involved except when the introduction of American SLBM system into the Indian Ocean assumed a definite threat to the Soviet and Chinese territories. Hence, the local initiative to prevent the Indian Ocean partaking the character of the Atlantic and the Pacific was understandable. Probably the next step was to convene a conference of the littoral states to consider this question, in the same manner as the Geneva Conference of non-nuclear powers in 1968. They could on the basis of a general consensus get another resolution on the nuclear-free zone adopted at the United Nations. Subsequently, an international treaty on nuclear-free zone was negotiable on the basis of the U.N. Res. 2028 (XX) (19 November, 1965) establishing the principle of an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and duties between the nuclear and non-nuclear powers.<sup>24</sup>

There were, indeed, formidable problems about such a treaty taking shape. First is the uncertainty about India, the only near-nuclear power, becoming a party to such a treaty. It was often alleged that India refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) because of her nuclear ambitions. But how far was this allegation true? The ENDC records (Eighteen Nations Disarmament Committee) showed that India refused to sign because the Super Powers flouted the principles embodied in the U.N. Res. 2028 (XX) regarding non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and especially that the NPT "should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligation of the nuclear & non-nuclear Powers", by demanding the non-nuclear powers to give up their "nuclear option without accepting any corresponding obligation on their part to stop the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons." These were weighty reasons which led to India's decision to keep her nuclear option open. Under the climate of detente which resulted in the SALT Agreements if the Super Powers were prepared to examine the proposal for a nuclear free zone on the basis of the U.N. Res. 2028 (XX), it was quite likely that India could be willing to be a party to such an international treaty

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<sup>24</sup> S.A.D.R. Twentieth Session. Supplement No. 14 (Ap. 6014) (New York).

declaring the Indian Ocean a nuclear - free zone. All the littoral states of the Indian Ocean including India might be prepared to sign an international treaty declaring the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free peace zone, provided the nuclear powers were also willing to accept the U.N. Res. 2028 (XX) as the basis for negotiating, such a treaty. Otherwise, it was most unlikely that India could give up her nuclear option. Because, by entering into a regional agreement without effective commitment by the nuclear powers, India, unlike all other littoral States was bound to lose her bargaining power. In absence of a nuclear power undertaking, India would have been left with no other option but to strengthen herself militarily as a dominant regional power and become a full-fledged nuclear power. If the developments in the Indian Ocean in those years would lead to the emergence of a sixth nuclear power, the Super Powers alone were to be blamed for that. It would, indeed, had been a dismal outlook for the humanity.

would the nuclear power oblige? Would they be prepared to accept restrictions on the freedom of the sea in violation of the customary law of the sea, in the Indian Ocean alone, while they had not done so in the case of other oceans Even in regard to territorial nuclear-free zones, they had their reservation. In case of the Tlatelco Treaty, United Kingdom was the only nuclear power which had signed both the Protocols of the Treaty. The United States though ratified protocol II in 1971, insisted on the transit of nuclear weapons through the nuclear - free zone because of the strategic interests of the United States in the Western Hemisphere.<sup>25</sup> Hence, the U.S.A. had not so far signed protocol I of the Tlatelco Treaty under which extra-continental or continental states were "internationally responsible, de jure or de facto, for territories lying within the limits of the zone established by the treaty ....".<sup>26</sup> The Soviet Union also had some reservations about the Treaty. One was the "clause concerning nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes" and the other "the absence of the prohibition to transport nuclear weapons through the territories of the contracting parties".<sup>27</sup> The Soviet Union also "objected to what it viewed as excessive limitation on the freedom of its navy to move or be stationed in inter-national waters".<sup>28</sup> In its declaration on 14 November, 1972 China virtually accepted Protocol II, though without formally signing it. France had signed Protocol II some years ago.

The attitude of the nuclear powers indicated that regional nuclear-free zones were not readily acceptable to them if it is incompatible with their over-riding military balance at a particular regime or area and detrimental to their global or

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<sup>25</sup> World Armament & Disarmament : SIPRI Yearbook, 1972, op.cit. p. 543.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p.544

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 545

vital national interests. At the time of the voting of the proposal for a peace zone in the Indian Ocean, all the nuclear powers except China abstained. This is the crux of the problem about a nuclear - free zone in the Indian Ocean. However, "it may undermine the credibility of the avowed positions of nuclear weapon powers and also adversely affect the prospects for the establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones on other continents or areas."<sup>29</sup> The strategic scenario & more particularly the undersea militarization technology indicated that the trend was towards the deep ocean. The view had also been reinforced by SALT agreement which make it clear that "Nuclear ballistic missile marines will remain the strategic second strike weapon systems, of the United States and the Soviet Union for the foreseeable future".<sup>30</sup> Now after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Super Power Politics has been replaced by Sole Power politics. As in reality the U.S.A. does not want this, the prospects of Indian Ocean being a zone of peace are very bleak.

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<sup>29</sup> World Armament & Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook ,1972, op.cit. , P. 547

<sup>30</sup> Prospects for Arms Control in the Ocean, SIPRI Research Report No.7, Oct 1972, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Stocholm: Alqv it & Wiksell, 1972). P.20.



## **MADRAS NATIVE ASSOCIATION: A PIONEER POLITICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH INDIA**

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The growth of Madras during the nineteenth century was remarkable. The Dawn of the metropolis created a new middle class and an elite group. The elite took the first step in introducing modern party system and heralding a new political consciousness. The resistance to British supremacy for the first time manifested in the Madras Presidency be it at the political, social and religious level in 1844. The Madras Native Association, the first political organisation in South India, played a vital role in awakening public consciousness among the commercial and professional elite of the Madras Presidency. This paper attempts to explain the genesis, growth and decline of the Madras Native Association (M N A), after the formation of the Indian National Congress.

South India was the earliest venue of missionary activities in the subcontinent and it invited evangelical enterprises. A new era in Christian endeavour began in the wake of the Evangelical revival which was sweeping the West during the closing years of the eighteenth century. In South India this new drive was spearheaded by five societies namely the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London Missionary Society, Church Missionary Society, Wesleyan Mission and the Fee Church Mission of Scotland. After 1813, when the restrictions of missionaries were removed, an expanding network of mission stations, schools, and printing houses were established in the various

districts of the Madras Presidency. When the Madras Government discouraged official connections with religious institutions, Sir Peregrine Maitland resigned from his position as the Commander-in-Chief, in protest. This further encouraged the missionaries, and they were victorious. In 1841, three Hindu students of the Free Church Mission's school at Madras city embraced Christianity, thereby causing 'a panic' among the Hindu community. These were the two immediate causes for the rift between the missionaries and the representative sections of the Hindu community in Madras.<sup>1</sup>

In mounting their agitation against the missionaries, the Hindus of Madras were not aided by any political association. However, the instincts of corporate action were present among them and they were well aware of the advantages of organised political protest. Madras city life was so hectic and challenging that the Hindus found it necessary to read just their relationships with one another. When the Hindus first migrated to the city, caste bodies emerged to regulate the activities of their members and protect their traditional rights from encroachment by rival groups, However, the rapid changes that overtook Madras, following the establishment of British power in the area, coupled with the slow erosion of certain traditional institutions and habits, called for relationships other than those based on kinship and caste. An early example of this new kind of relationship was the Hindu Literacy Society. Founded during the 1830s, this body admitted members from different Hindu castes and occupations. Within its ranks were found Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins, Hindu pundits and merchants. This society help periodic meetings and arranged lectures, on the country's history and literature, and took and informal interest in current issues. Though not exactly a voluntary association, it was nearest to the one to be found in Madras during the first half of the nineteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

The Hindu Literary Society became somewhat inactive during 1840s, at a time when the anti-missionary agitation was reaching new heights. The agitation, among other things, had resulted in a heightened sense of Hindu communal solidarity in Madras. There were appeals for a voluntary association to give effective direction to this new born Hindu consciousness. Some Hindu leaders notably Srinivasa Pillay and Lakshminarasu Chetty, however, favoured the idea of reviving the Hindu Literary Society, hoping thereby to instill new vigour and purpose into its activities. In March 1846 a meeting was held in Madras to revive the Society. Srinivasa Pillay, while calling for unity among the Hindus, argued that failure to achieve it would be a great bar to their political advancement. This attempt to breathe new life into the Society failed, but failure only underlined the need for a new political association which would give expression to the growing Hindu solidarity in Madras<sup>3</sup>.

Since 1840, major steps were taken by the Hindus. The first step was the starting of schools to offset the danger of exposing Hindu youths, to missionary influences. For this a building was rented in Blacktown, and the school named after Pachaippa, was formally opened in January 1842<sup>4</sup>. Just then, there was in existence a news paper called the Native Circulator edited by Narayanasamy Naidu. Lakshminarasu Chetty purchased the above mentioned paper and the press; he changed its name to Crescent and secured the services of one Harley as editor. The first issue of the Crescent was published on the 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1844. The object of the paper was stated to be “the amelioration of the condition of the Hindus<sup>5</sup>”. Lakshminarasu Chetty was a very active leader of the Hindus in the 1850s.

Chetty disapproved the policies of the local government, especially the European officials, who made themselves conspicuous by their pro-missionary proclivities. An issue which seemed to confirm Hindu fears about official hostility towards their religion was the publication of the Lex Loci Draft Act (the law of the land) in January 1845. Later three more clauses were additionally added to this Act which were favourable to the missionaries. Before the introduction of this act, if one wanted to embrace another religion he had to lose his properties, caste privileges and even his family. But this Act worked against the traditional practice<sup>6</sup>. To Lakshminarasu and Hindu friends, the legislation was confirmation of their fears that the government was throwing its support behind the missionaries in subverting Hinduism. A public meeting was convened in Madras in April 1845 to declare Hindu opposition to the proposed legislation and was presided over by Lakshminarasu Chetty. The meeting approved of a memorial to the Indian government charging with a “breach of faith” stating that the three “obnoxious clauses” were a palpable invasion of their ancient rights and a direct attack upon their ancestral and inalienable law. The memorialists demanded their exemption. Moreover, this was the first known Hindu gathering in Madras which had all the trappings of a modern political protest meeting. The credit for all this went to Lakshminarasu Chetty, who was perhaps the first to adopt the western forms of political protest southern India<sup>7</sup>.

The memorial reached the supreme government in due course and was accorded proper consideration. It was later informed that the enactment which gave room for proposing a memorial would be amended and that the objectionable portion of it would be expunged from the Act. This decision arrived at by the local and supreme governments was however, enacted five years later exclusively under the head “Caste Disabilities Removal Act of 1850”. Such an enactment provoked the Hindus to a renewed protest against the government, it criticised the government for its shameful duplicity, profound stupidity and insulting tyranny<sup>8</sup>. This awakening resulted in the Hindu’s realisation of the need



for a collective body to protect their social and religious rights. The initiative to form a political organisation came not however, from Madras but from Bengal, where the British Indian Association was launched in October 1851. Madras was among those invited to co-operative, either by forming a branch body affiliated with the British Indian Association or by having an independent association with broadly similar objectives. This invitation was discussed in February 1852 at a large meeting of the native inhabitants of the presidency and it was decided to form a Madras Branch of the British Indian Association. The constitution of the parent body was adopted and a committee of management was elected to discharge the routine matters of the branch association.<sup>9</sup>

It becomes evident that this association was constituted mainly by those Hindus who had led the opposition against the missionaries in the 1840s. They were mostly merchants, traders and other affluent members who were interested in Hinduism. The dominating figure of this association was Lakshminarasu Chetty<sup>10</sup>.

Relations between the British Indian Association and its Madras Branch ran into difficulties from the start. The Madras leaders found their freedom of action unexpectedly impeded by the leaders at Calcutta. The Madras branch, perceiving that there were many important points in which a joint interest could not be taken and others in which there could not be joint concurrence, deemed it expedient to withdraw from its status as a branch association subordinate to that of Calcutta, and constituted among themselves an independent society. The new body called the Madras Native Association was inaugurated at a meeting in July 1852, with the view of bringing before Parliament the immediate grievances of their own presidency<sup>11</sup>.

The immediate task before the MNA was to present its case in a formal petition to the British Parliament. For this purpose it engaged in the two fold task of collecting funds on the one hand and gathering data on the other. As for the former it was estimated that 50,000 rupees would be needed and in August 1852 an appeal was made for subscriptions. Where the latter was concerned, it could utilise the data that had been collected since February 1852 when the Madras Branch had elicited information for transmission to its parent body in Calcutta. From July 1852, the MNA was largely occupied with 'condensing the mass of their information and researches into a petition.' The document was completed by December 1852 when the meeting was convened to seek public approval before sending it to England<sup>12</sup>.

Then it submitted the petition to the British Parliament. The association demanded the following things for the active consideration of the government: (1) Excessive taxation to be modified. (2) Method of collection to be reformed. (3) Construction of roads and bridges. (4) Better irrigation (5) Better

provision for the education of the people (6) Reduction of the public expenditure and (7) Formation of a local government<sup>13</sup>.

The MNA was sharply critical of the Company's rule; it dealt in detail with the shortcomings of the revenue and judicial system in the Madras Presidency. Some of its harshest criticisms, however, were reserved for the religious policies of the Indian authorities. The MNA objected strongly to the Caste Disabilities Removal Act and charged that its implementation stretched even beyond the principle on which it was professedly framed. It also took exception to the diversion of State funds to missionary schools under the grants-in-aid system, contending that such a policy would tend to distinctly identify, the State with missionary work. The British Parliament was also asked to legislate, disallowing the Indian authorities, enactment of laws which caused insult and outrage to the Indians and their religions<sup>14</sup>.

The tone of the petition of the MNA against the British authorities was viewed severe by some of the members of MNA themselves; they also disapproved of the interference of MNA in the British government's religious policies. This faction was led by Srinivasa Pillay and they later decided to break away from the MNA. After their break with the MNA, they formed the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society in Madras on November, 1852. The programme of this body included the promotion of widow remarriage, the encouragement of female education and the uplifting of the depressed castes. His closest ally was M. Venkataroylu Naidu, a pleader of the Sadar Court, who shared many of Srinivasa Pillay's ideas on the regeneration of India. In July 1853 Venkataroylu Naidu started his own paper the Rising Sun, mainly to focus discussion on the social problems affecting the community. In the same year he assumed charge of the Hindu Progressive Improvement Society. Schools were established for children of the depressed castes, scholarships were given to the needy students and support was obtained for social legislation, like the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856. Two societies, called as the Hindu Reading Room and the Hindu Debating Society, were founded and they attracted students from the various educational institutions in Madras. Venkataroylu Naidu died in 1863, and with him died many of his projects including the Rising Sun<sup>15</sup>.

The MNA was not adversely affected by the secession of Srinivasa Pillay and his friends. But their secession strengthened the hand of the faction led by Lakshminarasu Chetty which then pressed for political and economic reforms in South India. By the early 1850s Lakshminarasu Chetty was known to members of Parliament through his correspondence and the memorials he sent to Parliament. In 1852 it had called for a full scale inquiry into Indian affairs before the charter of the Company be renewed. In October 1853, Danby Seymour, Chairman of the Indian Reform Society and member of the

British Parliament visited India to make an on the spot investigation. He made a tour to South India, accompanied by Lakshminarasu Chetty. They visited Cuddalore, Tirunelveli, Kumbakonam, Coimbatore, Calicut and Mangalore and enquired into the grievances of the people. Seymour had collected enough evidence regarding how the land holder was assessed and how defaulters in the payment of government revenue were subjected to torture. Seymour noted down all that he had seen and with a set of implements of torture nearly and safely bounded up, left for England<sup>16</sup> In 1854 when the subject was brought up for discussion in the House of Commons, Seymour asserted that to his knowledge, "... Torture was inflicted on the natives of India not only in criminal cases under inquiry but also in the collection of revenue." Sir Charles, the President of India Board could not deny the accusation. A commission was appointed in September 1854 to enquire into the tortures and the evidence was submitted to the government in April 1855. Lakshminarasu Chetty sent another petition with further evidence<sup>17</sup>.

Two reforms resulted from the recommendations of the Torture Commission:

1. The Magistrate-Collector was freed from police supervision.
2. There was a further rejection of Indians from positions of administrative responsibility and a corresponding strengthening of European supervision<sup>18</sup>. But the reform was not a complete success.

The MNA started lot of branch associations in the mofussil. Local leaders in Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Tirunelveli were persuaded to start branches as a means of helping the MNA with funds and information. In south Arcot the Collector intervened to put an end to collecting money for MNA. In 1854 a more effective way was found to undermine political activity in the mofussil. The MNA showed no perceptible signs of abdicating its role as the watch dog of Hindu interests in South India. Petitions were regularly sent to the British Parliament. Public meetings were held from time to time, they discussed local grievances. Addresses were presented to important dignitaries enumerating the demands of the associations acknowledging their services to the country<sup>19</sup>.

Also a continuing watch was maintained on the activities of local officials. One such incident involved a Tahsildar accused of torturing some weavers in Chingleput district to realise arrears in loom tax. The MNA claimed in a petition to Parliament in January 1856 that the Tahsildar had acted on the strength of an order issued by the Collector. This incident was discussed in the House of Lords while the Madras Board of Revenue initiated its own enquiry which ultimately led to the dismissal of the Tahsildar and the censure of the Collector. This, however, was not the kind justice which the MNA was seeking. It had only wanted to demonstrate that what is going on in the country is against the findings of the Torture Commission<sup>20</sup>. Lakshminarasu Chetty never

instigated the people to act disloyally to the Paramount Power. He only adopted constitutional methods like convening public meetings and submitting memorials and petitions. He declared: "We believe that by a mild and firm representation of our grievances to the superior authorities we shall obtain justice and redress"<sup>21</sup>.

The government displayed its dictatorial ways by considering Lakshminarasu Chetty to be a seditious person and by policing his activities with suspicion. Then MNA's attention was turned towards the religious riots in Tirunelveli in 1858. Tirunelveli, the centre of intensive missionary operations since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had long been bedevilled by religious fiction between the Hindus and Indian Christians. During 1840's and 1850's Tirunelveli was scene of religiously motivated agrarian unrest and occasional communal violence. In December 1858, amidst a general state of tension in South India created by renewed missionary agitation against the policy of religious neutrality, the decision of the European magistrate in Tirunelveli town sanctioning a Christian burial party of use a street occupied by the higher castes led to a Hindu demonstration in which ten Hindus were killed and nineteen wounded. The Madras government, while accepting the report of the magistrate, took the view that the Hindus were covertly incited by some of the native officials in the resistance and ordered the prosecution of those suspected of rioting<sup>22</sup>.

Dissatisfied with official handling of the Tirunelveli riots and anxious to counteract the renewed agitation of the missionary party, the MNA convened a public meeting in April 1859 to draw a memorial for submission the Secretary of State for India. This meeting attended by Muslim and mofussil leaders blamed the missionaries for the Tirunelveli riots. It was claimed that the magistrate's decision to reverse the old ruling disallowing Christians the use of the street occupied by the higher castes was the result of missionary pressure. The MNA was equally critical of the way in which the Tirunelveli investigation had been handled. The MNA evinced great anxiety over the continued official involvement in missionary activities, and cited various instances where leading European officials in South India had been active participants in such activities. Opposition was renewed to certain missionary demands, especially the introduction of the Bible in schools and the extension of the grant-in-aid system. Official reaction to the memorial was mixed. Governor Sir Charles Travelyan wanted the memorial to be accepted as a genuine expression of the native mind in aiming their grievances. Travelyan believed that a firm and authoritative declaration upholding the policy of neutrality would put end to the fears<sup>23</sup>.

In 1855, when the ruler of the Tanjore principality died without leaving a male heir, the Indian authorities decided to annex it and pension off his widow and two daughters. Attempts on the part of the Madras officials to claim the property of the ruler led to a protracted legal battle. The publication of

Queen's proclamation of 1858 revived hopes of a possible restoration of their kingdom and J.B.Norton was engaged as agent to fight their cause in England. On the eve of his departure to England in February 1860, the MNA presented him with an address which condemned the annexation of Tanjore as an act of spoliation. In April 1860, the MNA embodied its views in a formal petition to the British Parliament. The Tanjore issue proved to be the last occasion that the MNA formally memorialised the British Parliament<sup>24</sup>.

After the Revolt of 1857, Lakshminarasu, as the President of Madras Native Association, drew up a memorial to the government, praying for the continuance of its policy of religious neutrality. Meanwhile a change in personnel of the Madras government, the rising popularity of Lakshminarasu Chetty and the administration of the European and the native communities for the self-sacrifice he had made on behalf of his country led the Madras government to change its attitude towards him. The government of Madras recognised the meritorious services he had rendered to his countrymen, and made him a C.S.I. (Companion of Star of India) in 1861. After receiving this, the activities of MNA declined and petitioning was stopped. In 1863 LakshmiNarasu Chetty was appointed as a member of the Madras Legislative Council. John Bruce Norton, alluding to this appointment in his address in the Pachaippa's hall, in 1864 said that 'the government had selected the man who would have been called to the post by the unanimous suffrage of his fellow countrymen'<sup>25</sup>.

Since 1862, the MNA was described as 'practically defunct'. Thus, after a decade of fairly active political existence, the MNA lapsed into obscurity. The first cause for the decay of the MNA was the attainment of power by its president. Secondly it lost its mass support. Third was the decline in the importance of the Hindu commercial elite in the civic life of Madras. Propelled into prominence in the 1840s on the crest of the anti-missionary sentiment prevailing in South India, this elite had given institutional expression to its power by organising the MNA. However as anti-missionary feelings slowly subsided during the 1860s<sup>26</sup>, the influence of this elite also waned and rival group emerged to provide an alternative focus of leadership in the Madras Presidency. Members of the later group were products of the Madras High School who had achieved distinction in the services of the British Indian administration and mostly they were educational and professional elite. To understand the influence that this group wielded, it is important to have some idea of its educational background as well as the strategic position that it occupied in the Government. Finally, by this time Lakshminarasu Chetty had ceased to be wealthy. The Crescent, with its highly paid establishment had considerably drained his resources, the family trade was almost a losing concern and his son, to whom Lakshminarasu chetty had for some years entrusted the management of his firm had brought it to ruin. The Crescent was

given up continued poor for the rest of his life. He died in 1868 and the same fate awaited the MNA too not long after<sup>27</sup>.

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## **INDO-TIBETAN FRIENDSHIP SCENARIO OF UTTARAKHAND PROVINCE**

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Asia is very much important in the history of world and India is famous for friendship among world. Human civilization firstly originated in Asia. Probably, all religions were originated in Asia. Asia is renowned in world's history for its religion, culture, science and politics.

Asia consists of all natural phenomena, weather and geographical conditions. Various races and languages with various cultures exist here. But there is something - Unity in Diversity which makes difference its people from the people of Europe, Africa and America. Ancient Indo-Aryan had relation with China and they have business contacts in far countries too.

### **Tibet the spirit of India :**

Generally, we think of India's contacts with Tibet with effect from the advent of Buddhism there. According to the Tibetan tradition, these contacts go further back in history. Tibetan chronicle's and scholars like Bu-ston suggest that the Tibetan race stems from the descendents of a Military General Rupali belonging to the Kaurva army. According to the Tibetan legend, Rupali fled to Tibet after the defeat of the Kaurvas at the hands of the Pandavas in the epic battle of Mahabharata and was followed by a large numbers of his followers.

For centuries past Tibet had flourished as a repository of an ancient culture thriving under the silence and solitude of firmament, away from the tumult and turmoil of the world. Tibet was known to mankind not for its wealth and weaponry

but for the heights of its spiritual glory and depth of the philosophical thought. Religion had keynote of this culture.

Buddhism went to Tibet directly from India. Being the land of the noble master, the Buddha, India, represents to the Tibetans mind, the birth place of all that is noble in thought and deed. Tibet's religion, philosophy, art, poetry all shows a deep Indian influence. Buddhism was spread not only in India, but in Central Asia, Afghanistan, China, Japan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Tibet etc., and a religious-cultural unity was established between large parts of Asia.

Asia has been divided in 6 divisions :

1. East Asia - China, Korea, Japan, Pacific Ocean.
2. South-East Asia - Burma, Vietnam, Malaysia, Kambodia, Laos, Siam, Indonesia, Philippines etc.
3. North Asia - North states among USSR.
4. Middle Asia -Tibet, Singkiyang, Outer Mongolia.
5. Indian Part - India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka (Ceylon).
6. South-West - Turkey, Arabian State and Persia (Iran).

The soul of God, Mountain King Himalaya is situated in North. Famous poet Kalidasa also considered Himalaya as a norm to measure the earth, soul of God. Kalidasa has narrated his heart's expression about Himalaya like this :

"Astuttarasyan Dish Devatma,  
Himalayon naam Nagadhiraja,  
Purvaparo toy Nidhi wa gahya,  
Sthita Prithivya eva mandandah."

Himalaya consists five parts - Nepal, Mumaon, Garhwal, Punjab and Kashmir.

The system of reincarnation, originally is Indian, and familiar to the Tibetan since the advent of Buddhism is Tibet, came into popular vague in their country largely from the time of Gendun - Dubpa, the first Dalai Lama.

The basis of this belief and practice is the age old Indian philosophy of rebirth, which does not see death as an end, but as an occasion for the soul to assume a new cloak after the previous one no more remains fit to serve it. However, the word Dalai Lama is not an Indian word. Dalai is the Mongol translation of the Tibetan word "gyamtso" which means Great Ocean.

### **The Monastic Tradition :**

Tibet imbibed its monastic tradition, too, from India. Buddhism was the first monastic religion of the world. Monasteries are sprinkled throughout the length and breadth of Tibet as a monument to its connection. Scenes from the life of the Buddha taken from the Jataks pointed in frescoes are reminiscent of Ajanta



paintings of India. However, the direct inspiration of the Tibetan painter came not from Ajanta, but from the art of the Pala Kings of Bengal.

Sanskrit and Pali works from India have been translated into Tibetan by very experts, one of each language. It is probably true that the Mahayan literature from India was properly catalogued and preserved for the first time in the Tibetan language.

### **Cultural Heritage of Tibet :**

The culture of Tibet is a glowing example of how the stream of Indian consciousness crossed the Himalayan frontiers and flowed into far-off lands, transforming them body, mind and soul into an eternity of love, peace and compassion through a community of ideals and Institutions.

While India is forgetting those ancient links with Tibet, Tibetans everywhere adore India as the root of all that is noble and good and worthy of emulation in the history of human civilization.

Today, there is too much grudges and dissatisfaction about the problems related with their cultural, pollution and security among all the peoples of India from Laddakh to Arunachal state. Indians are terrified by Chinese militarization, atomic tests and garbage. Due to China's policy whole Himalayan area is feared by serious political disturbances. Arms cooperation to Pakistan, interference in Burma, powerful naval forces and Purulia Arms Case is a great challenge for India's security. There may be any party in Government (Central) but the problem of Himalayas and security is responsibility for all.

Dalai Lama said, "Tibet and India not only share age-old religious and cultural ties but the interests and the future of the two countries is also closely linked with each other."

In the words of Shri Jai Prakash Narain :

"Tibet Lost Forever?

No, a thousand times no,

Tibet will not die, because there is

No death for the human spirit."

In India, India-Tibet Friendship Society (ITFS) is dedicated to promote friendship between Indian and Tibetan people. Their objective is to protect and enrich-

- a) The cultural heritage
- b) Economic interests,
- c) Political freedom,
- d) Environmental setting and
- e) Civilization identity of India and Tibet.

ITFS is expression of age-old affinity between India and Tibet. The present phase of India-Tibet friendship was inaugurated by organizing All India Tibet

Convention (Calcutta: May 30 - 31, 1959, Delhi: April 9 - 11, 1960) under the leadership of Shri Jai Prakash Narain. It was furthered by Himalaya Bachao Sammelan inspired by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in 1960.

In contribution of Sardar Patel, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Shri Rajgopalachari, Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri M.C. Chhagla, Nijalinggappa and Chaudhary Charan Singh have been invaluable in the growth of this unique relationship. In 1989, at Delhi an International Conference on Tibet and Peace in South Asia has been the most significant milestones of friendship in the 1980's.

But it received a rude shock in December, 1991 when the Tibetans and Indians were subjected to police brutalities, imprisonment and repression to prevent them from demonstrating for freedom of Tibet during the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Li Peng. A deep feeling of shame and revulsion overwhelmed the Indian people as expressed in the judgment of our Supreme Court it brought all the friends of Tibet in India together in a national convention of New Delhi and thus was born Indian-Tibetan Friendship Society in 1992.

Dalai Lama has declared Strasberg Peace proposal in European Parliament which is a dream of earth for humanity.

The main five points are:-

1. To change whole Tibet in a peace zone,
2. To give-up the demographic migration of Chinese in Tibet,
3. To have a respectful attitude towards human rights and democratic freedom of Tibetans.
4. To protect and develop the Natural Resources of Tibet and to stop the manufacturing of atomic instruments, arms-weapons upon the land of Tibet.
5. To arrange serious discussion upon the inter-relation between China and Tibet.

India did not hesitate to deplore China's invasion of Tibet when the People's Liberation Army forced its entry into Tibet in 1949. In a note dated October 26, 1950, the Indian foreign office told the Chinese foreign office how it looked at the event :

"In the context of world events, invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable and in the considered judgment of the Government of India, not in the interest of China or peace." If India had treated Tibet as an integral part of China, it would certainly not call the entry of Chinese forces into Tibet as an invasion. May, it treated Tibet as a full-fledged country as is evident from a note the Government of India had sent to the Tibetan Government, soon after attaining independence.

"The Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that it is the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis

until new arrangements are reached that either party may wish to take up. This is the procedure adopted by all other countries with which India has inherited treaty relations from His Majesty's Government."

This attitude of India towards Tibet was not only will merited but one that had many precedents. Only a few months before India's Independence, Prime Minister's initiative in his capacity as Prime Minister of the interim government an Asian Conference was organized in New Delhi to which Tibet was invited as a participant along with other countries of Asia and its flag was flown with other participating nations.

Reacting to the Chinese betrayal Dr. Rajendra Prasad said at the GandhiMaidan in Patna on October 24, 1962 :

"Freedom is the most sacred boon. It has to be protected by all means - violent or non-violent. Therefore, Tibet has to be liberated, from the iron grip of China and handed over to the Tibetans." Even before the Chinese invasion of India, there had been voices galore in India to protect Tibet's freedom and the Tibetans right to self-determination. Acharya Kripalani said of Tibet in the Lok Sabha on May 8, 1959 :

"It was a nation which wanted to live its own life and it sought to have been allowed to live its own life. A good government is no substitute for self-government." In All India Convention on Tibet on 30 May, 1959, Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan concluded :

"Tyrannies have come and gone to Casers and Cgars and dictators. But the spirit of man goes as forever. Tibet will be resurrected."

From, the time the Dalai Lama sought refuge in 1959 in India, he has committed himself to the secular education of his people and to the establishment of representative, democratic institutions which would foster the pride and self-confidence that his people require for surviving in today's world without losing their heritage. Tibetans are resettled in many countries all over the world, but mainly in India where the government of India allocated large tracts of land for resettlement and provided facilities for schools, hospitals and social welfare; their Buddhist faith, in fact, originated in India.

Dalai Lama made the announcement in January, 1960 in Bodh Gaya (Bihar) where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, thus emphasizing the historic, cultural and religious links between Tibet and India. The Assembly of Tibetan people's Deputies is located in a township above the hill town of Dharmsala in the Dhauladhar range of Himalayas in North India. A group of spirited Tibetans from Sarnath, near Varanasi, came to Dharmsala in July, 1972 and persuaded to convene a People's Representative Convention.

With reference to tibetan's settlement in Uttarakhand few words are to be said - The Central Himalaya is called 'Uttarakhand Himalaya'. The word

'Uttarakhand' was born after a new political and administrative process. Uttarakhand is situated in between East of Nepal, West of Himachal Pradesh, Tibet (China) in North district. At present it is divided in 'Garhwal' and 'Kumaon' two Mandals, but its Geographical, cultural and economic structure is same. E.T. Atkinson described it - "From ocean to Himalaya and Tons Yamuna to Kali Sharda all North-Hill area of Uttar Pradesh is same from the geographical, historical and cultural point of view.

Newly State 'Uttarakhand' was born on 9 November, 2000. Tibet freedom is a question upon the world map. Indo-Tibetan- Friendship- Society (ITFS) is very much active in Uttarakhand, too. This Uttarakhand has been renamed 'Uttarakhand' state. Its capital is Dehradun.

Dalai Lama - Dharamguru of Tibet, when left Tibet in 1959 after Chinese invasion, that time Tibetans refugees were entering in India. They were few in numbers at that time. After 1959 they came in large numbers to India. Shri Dalai Lama stayed at Birla House in Mussoorie from April, 1959 to 1960. After that time he is governing his exile government in Dharamsala (Himachal State).

Param Pawan Shri Dalai Lama has established Tibet Home Foundation Institution in November, 1962 in Mussoorie, which is dedicated to orphan, semi-orphan, Tibetan children. Dalai Lama stayed in the house in 1960 in 'Happy-Valley'. In 1959 so many Tibetan families with small kids came away with Dalai Lama. But at that time there was a problem of education and health of Tibetan children before him. Because children were suffering from Malaria, fever and so many diseases because of change of cold climate to hot climate of India. Several Tibetan died. Therefore, God father and Mother were employed for caring of children and 3 homes with 75 children were opened in Tibet Homes Foundation.

Tibet Homes Foundation celebrated its 38 Founder's day and got too much success in far decades. This home is taking care of about 2000 children and 300 aged persons now. Yet, today also Tibetan are tortured by Chinese. So, Tibetans are sending their children for shelter in India through difficult routes of Himalayan Mountains. Now there are about 30 Homes in this which started its foundation in 1960. There are 11 small Homes, a girl's senior hostel, a senior boy's hostel, a vocational training centre and a senior-secondary school to fulfill the educational needs of children. All children residing in Homes have to go in Tibetan School Homes. This school is affiliated to Delhi Central Education Board. The school provides opportunities for all developments and students take part in all International-School activities and competitions.

Vocational Training Centre :

This centre gives three types of vocations to children: Shanka Painting, oil painting, and sewing etc. About more than 100 students used to take training in this centre. The students get livelihood and it helps in keeping alive the Tibetan cultural

heritage. Students from here are getting scholarships also for higher studies in India's various universities. Today, more than 127 students are getting higher education. This home is registered under Registration Act 1860. Its President is Dalai Lama and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Sucheta Kriplani, Smt. Luxmi Menon, Richen Dorma Tauring, Sering Dolma yabsi and Dechin Dolma Yapsang were 'the founder members'. The financial assistance is given by foreign aid for all of the Institutions. Children Village :

Tibet Home Foundation has opened a branch of Rajpur, Dehradun for needy children joining Mussoorie. This is called 'Children Village'. It has a Montessori School and 14 Homes. There is a hostel and secondary school outside of the Village. All Tibetan children used to go in these schools for their educational needs. Now this school is upgraded for higher education.

Happy Valley Temple :

After escaping from Tibet in 1963 Tibetans started construction of a Buddha Temple which was completed in 1964. Tibetans are today also Tibetan Citizens. They have to be registered every year in local CBI Department. They have to take permission from this department for going to another place from here.

Dhandup Ling : In Dehradun and Mussoorie they have communal colonies such as -Happy Valley Rajpur, Sahastradhara, Clement Town, Manduwala, Herbertpur etc. In 1964 Acharya Vinoba Bhave has donated about 100 acre land in Bhoodan Movement and Dhandup Ling Colony was founded. Previously it was called 'Tibetan Nehru Memorial Foundation'. There is also a school dispensary and handicraft centre and a child-rearing centre too. There are 3 temples of separate sects of Tibetan Buddha Religion.

Tibetan Women Centre :

In January, 1995, a Tibetan Women centre was founded in a old hired building. Its purpose was to help women for their economic and social development by giving them employment. In 1973, United High Commission for refugees has built many buildings by purchasing 9 Bigha land. Woolen Carpets, bags, purses, belts etc. are made here. There is a 'showroom' also.

Old Age Home :

An old age home was opened for shelter of Tibetan Citizens and now there are 3 Homes conducting by Tibet Homes Foundation. Two shelters are in Rajpur and one in Mussoorie having 50 old aged persons. The persons who cannot get shelter in Home, they are getting economic assistance. The Institution takes care from every sight of these aged persons to do efforts to bring smile on their lips in this fading evenings of their life.

Shakya Study Centre :

There is a great famous study centre of Shakya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, founded in Rajpur in 1972. A new colony was created in 1977 in Herbertpur on 160 acre

land. Here Khera camp is situated in Lakhanwala, Bhauwala and Vikasnagar. A Cooperative Society was also started on 20 November, 1978 to help refugees in getting financial assistance for agriculture and handicrafts. A Dikling Colony was started in 1982 at Sahastradhara Road in Dehradun. This area consists three temples. There is a hospital and dispensary too.

In 1989, a training centre of Handloom was inaugurated. In 1984, Indian Government gave permission for purchasing land to Tibetan Dharamsala Government and distributed Rs. 8,000 to per family to make houses. A Tibet Administrative Officer is also employed in this.

**Registered Refugee Numbers :**

Dikling	-	about 3,000
Dhondu	-	about 2,000
Rajpur	-	about 5,000
Mussoorie	-	about 3,000
Lakhanwala	-	about 5,000
Manduwala	-	about 2,000
Khera Camp, Vikasnagar	-	about 200

**Conclusion :**

It can be said while concluding Indo-Tibetan Friendship that Buddhism is a symbol of peace and non-violence. But what happened on 9 July, 2013 in Bodh Gaya (Bihar) India. Prime Minister dr. Lamsong Sangey of exiled Tibetan Government came on three days on tour in Mussoorie on 10 July, 2013. He told that Bomb Blast in Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya (Bihar), India is a very tragic story. Buddhism believes in peace and non-violence. Tibetan community has full faith upon Bihar and Indian Government. Mahatma Gandhi also gave slogan of peace and non-violence in India to get freedom. Dr. Sangey said that due to Indians only Tibetan community are loiving in India. They are trying to learn the qualities of democracy from here and do studies Buddhism in Nalanda University (Bihar), Sarnath University, Varanasi (U.P.), Jawahar Lal University (Delhi), Shakya Institutions, Dehradun (Uttarakhand) etc. He also said that Buddhists in Laddakh are Indian citizen and according to Indian law they have some human rights. Therefore, they are demanding for Buddha Maths in Laddakh area.

Labsang Sangya addressed the students of Tibetan Foundation and Central School for Tibetan) CST) in Mussoorie. He was welcomed by peoples in Tibetan culture. So, it can be said that history cannot be changed by forcibly attacking on my nation. India Government should take priority to remove Chinese weapons and barracks for maintaining Tibetans of Tibets peace zone and which can be done only by an International adjustment.

Myanmar is trying for Democracy. Laskar and JUD are making their soft target to India. But India should make counter game plan and take hard strategy.

Surely, the day will come to make Indo-Tibet Friendship stronger without hindrances of China. It will make Tibet free one day. Jai Tibet, Jai Uttarakhand.

Dalai Lama His Holiness often cites a favourite verse, found in the writings of the renowned eight century Buddhist saint Santideva:

"Far as long as space endures,  
And for as long as living beings remain,  
Until then may I too abide,  
To dispel the misery of the world."

This can be concluded for Indo-Tibet Friendship by words of Katiyar :

"Kaljaya Sabhyata,  
Waqf ke toofan se kabhi, Nasht nahi hoti.  
Vansanugat pidhiyon ki rakta mein Bhi ghul i ati hai.  
Itihas ke dhamniyon mein,. Satat prawahit hone ke liye  
Manushya ki mukti ki tarah, Merl bhi mukti sunischi hai.  
Jiske liye satat jari hai, Aur rahegi  
Meri Ahimsak mukti sadhna."

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## **WRITING LOCAL HISTORY: A JOURNEY THROUGH POTHUKAL PANCHAYATH, MALAPPURAM DISTRICT**

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Pothukal Grama Panchayath is located in Nilambur Block of the Nilambur Taluk in Malappuram District, Kerala. During the British period, Nilambur were the part of Eranad Taluk under Malabar. Pothukal Grama Panchayath came into force on First October, 2000.<sup>1</sup> Till 2000, Pothukal were the part of Chungathara Grama Panchayath. Pothukal panchayath formed when joining together with undeveloped Western areas of Chungathara and Edakkara Panchayath.

Its boundaries are shared by Edakkara and Moothedam panchayath at the East, Chaliyar and Nilambur municipality in the West, Moothedam at the South and Chungathara and Edakkara panchayath at the North. The total area of Panchayath is 77km<sup>2</sup>. It renounced as the first complete hygiene Panchayath in Kerala. These are water rich by Chaliyar and its tributaries included *Neerpuzha*, *Pandipuzha*, *Vaniyampuzha* etc. The broadest spot of Chaliyar is in the Panchayath, the place known as *Velumbianpadam*. 81% of the total area is forest. Bhoodhanan Irupoolkundu forest which is has the biggest jack fruit tree of Kerala is situated in the boundary of Pothukal Panchayath.<sup>2</sup>

From the establishment of Nilambur *kovilakam* (local rulers and landlords of whole areas of Nilambur), probably from the 18<sup>th</sup> century AD onwards, Pothukal areas were under the control of Nilambur *kovilakam*. At the time it was Hilly Forest area only inhabited some tribal groups. 'Tribal peoples likes *Malamuttans*, *Kattunaicker*, *Cholanaicker*, *Paniyar* were early inhabitants of Pothukal.<sup>3</sup> Later slowly developed settlements of other peoples.

The two types of Migration that is early one from other parts of Malabar areas during end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century reached Hindus and Muslim community (Internal Migration of Malabar) and 2<sup>nd</sup> one is from Tiruvitamkur to



Malabar areas(external migration from Travancore to Malabar) between 1945 to 1970s and 80s.This two types of Migration caused to emergence and also helps to fast settlements. The Panchayath witnessed the power of settlement in connection with Bhoodan movements in 1960s. This resulted cultural synthesis of all religious sects.

Pothukal is an agricultural based economy. The *Krishibhavan* running for helping the farmers. In addition, seed Garden complex at Munderi working for Agriculture sector. 'Seed Garden complex Munderi was established in the year 1979 under the World Bank aided programme named special Agricultural development programme (SADU). Under this scheme, emphasis was given for coconut cultivation in the state. After the completion of SADU scheme in 1987, the farm brought under Kerala Agricultural Department.'<sup>4</sup> 'This seed garden complex at Munderi is the biggest seed garden complex in Asia'.<sup>5</sup>

Place name History is interesting and important source material of the study. Many factors leading to origin place names in any areas. Place name originated the connection with geographical peculiarities, climatic condition, nature of soil, important events, mythical stories, historical events etc.

One of the story is behind the origin of name 'Pothukal came from the relation to the Brahmin settlement. 'The earlier period Pothukal was an area of Brahmin settlement. In the nearest of the Chaliyar river there belonged a huge stone for conducting their Sanskrit study (known as *Oothu*) and other customs. The huge stone known as '*Oothukallu*' (*kallu* means stone). Later transformed name in 'Pothukal'.<sup>6</sup> Another argument said that huge stone where enter of study of '*Quran Oothu*' of Muslim community.

The origin of place names of Munderi and cleantrack is related to geographical feature of particular places. "In 1888 British Government purchase 1000 acres land from Nilambur Kovilakam in the areas of Pothukal for planting Rubber. The area featured 'Mount area, clean rock', So they called same name for particular place. Later it changed 'Munderi, cleantrack, respectively. Rubber plantation started the company named 'The English and scout Joint whole sale cooperative society of India'. We can say that these names are the contribution of British, other place near to Munderi Britishers called 'Up and Gap' later it locally known as 'Appankappu'.<sup>7</sup>

Another place had a big white silica stone called '*Thamburatti kallu*' (Queen stone). The place later known as the same name, the place located in Western part of Munderi. Later this white stone was demolished and given to excel glass company in Alappuzha in early 1990s for the raw material of glass manufacturing'.<sup>8</sup>

One of the place named '*Anakkallu*' which means elephant stone the name originated through where consist a giant rock approximately size of an elephant,

natives called the stone is *Anakkallu*. Later the place known as *Anakallu*. Another place name is '*Neerpuzha mukkam*', the coming from the name river *Neerpuzha*, the tributary of Chaliyar. When passing through definite place Neerpuzha joint to chaliyar, the joining place locally known as '*Mukkam*'. So the place known as '*Neerpuzhamukkam*'.<sup>9</sup>

Another place located in Pothukal panchayath named '*Kodiri*'. Today it is an area of reserved forest. The name gave by the climatic condition of that place. It is a fog covered region, the bold show is called '*koda manju*'. The area known as '*Kodiri*'. "This was location Britishers cached Pallur Rerappan the Soldier of Pazhazi Raja. At the time the area was under the control of Nilambur kovilakam. It caused top worse the relation between Britishers and *Kovilakam* due to Britishers believed *Kovilakam* definitely help to *Pazhazhi Raja*'s gurilla war."<sup>10</sup>

'*Poolapadam* is another place name formed relation with the name of a crop, that is Tapioca crops were cultivated larger area, in local Malappuram *Malayalam* slang '*poola*' means 'tapioca'

"In the part of Bhoodhan movement, Nilambur *Kovilam* gifted 1000 acres of land to landless. The words land and Donation said in Malayalam '*Bhoomi*' and '*Dhanam*' respectively. These two terms joint together and the particular village known as Bhoodanam"<sup>11</sup>

We can see some place name start or ended by common words. Such as *kulam* (pond), *Paara* (Hill), *Kallu* (stone), *Padam* (field), *Poyil* (one of the feature of soil) etc. For example: *Mutukulam*, *Nettikulam*, *Anakallu*, *Pothukal*, *Thamburattikallu*, *Poolapadam*, *Velumbiyampadam*, *Kavalapara*, *Kodalipoyil*, *Narangapoyil* etc.

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century there were only certain communities lived in Pothukal areas. *Cholanaikans*, *Kattunaiker*, *Paniyans*, *Malamuttans* were lived even today. "At early time who where lived within the dense forest settled in caves, known as '*kallu arakal*' that is rock shelter and also shelter build under the tree"<sup>12</sup>

The main tribal groups of the area are *Paniyans*. The *Paniyans* is the largest tribal group in Kerala. They lead primitive life style. They collected food materials, ginger, fruits, flowers, honey, Pepper, yam, bamboo, rice, bees' wax, herbal plants, turmeric, edible nuts, potatoes etc from forest. Those live Harmony with the forest, later they became changed to slaves or bonded labour of *Nilambur kovilakam* (Local Landlord and also rulers of Nilambur area). "These groups are the major contributors of agricultural growth and forest wealth collection for *kovilakam*"<sup>13</sup>

Each tribes follow special kinds of traditional cultural patters leading to their own way of life. This is evident in their ceremonies, faiths, customs and life style.

The tribal group *Paniyans* manually submitted before kingship than other tribal groups.

Only six months in a year *Paniyans* engaged in agriculture for *Nilambur kovilakam*. Rest of the time they engaged Filter the liquid gold, mow Bamboo trees, collect wild products. Working as a elephant Mahout at timber mill, gave training to elephant and working man of elephant seizer. Elephant the important wealth from Nilambur forest like woods.

“*Paniyans*, the largest tribal group in the area, they were expert in ‘elephant seizure’ (*Anapidutham*). At first they understand the regular paths of elephant within the forest. These regular travel paths of elephant known as ‘*Anatharakal*’. They make big ditches in the route then covering pits are called ‘*Varikuzhi*’. Later elephant fall into the ditch, the *Paniyans* exported elephant from the pits with enthusiasm. Later brought to training centers of elephants. These training centers known as *Anapandhi*.”<sup>14</sup> In Nilambur area had approximately four training centre. One of them existed in *Neerpuzhamukkam* it included in todays in Pothukal panchayath. After completing training course elephants used in timber mills for pulling wooden timber, temple festival etc.

“*Guruvayoor keshavan*” the famous elephant was catch at the spot Mutukualm. The place situated in Pothukal panchayath”<sup>15</sup>

During the British period Nilambur were the part of Eranad Taluk of Malabar. We can see that two types of Migration witnessed Malabar. The early migration were from other parts of Malabar. The early migrants were come from Malappuram, Manjeri, Mongam, Wandoor etc to the various parts Nilambur including pothukal areas. Most were Muslims they arrived at work for field, wood working and small trading purpose. All of them are good hard workers.

The wood business of Nilambur is very famous because of the dense forest products. Huge quantity of trees cut down and exported to various parts. “During the late 19<sup>th</sup> to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century the Chaliyar river was extensively used as a water way for carrying timber in and around Nilambur forest to the timber mills to Kallayi and Farooque. The contribution of Muslim community too valuable when the wood works and History of Nilambur”<sup>16</sup>

After the Independent slowly lost the importance of timber mills. *Nilambur kovilakam* and government authority leasehold forest areas to the Mavoor Rayons company. During the 1960s the industrial hose of Birla established a factory named ‘Gwalior Rayons’ at Mavoor for producing pulp and fiber for cloth making. “The company Authorities reached at Nilambur for collecting Raw material. They hold forest areas purchasing lease contract in different area at Nilambur. One of crucial place is Pothukal. They cleared forest and planting Bamboos and eucalyptus trees for Raw materials of cloths”<sup>17</sup>

Later Birla groups Gwalior Rayons factory at Mavoor, closed by ecological damage caused by pulp factory through the Chaliyar agitation movements lead by K. A. Rahman's Chaliyar action committee.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> type of migration to Malabar from Travancore region, that is outside Malabar probably from 1930s. The most of the migrants were from Christian community. Their purpose of migration was better livelihood. "The journey to Malabar become as the emigration. After 1945, there was a massive migration from Travancore. Migration created large scale changes in Nilambur in the field of cultural, economic and religious".<sup>18</sup> "The large plantations owners of Nilambur were Germans during British period. Their best plantation located at Munderi. Later it sold to M.C. Pothan during the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War period. From Munderi to Palunda road known in between locals in the name of Pothan, old people called 'Pothan road' due to the rout use for the transportation facilities of plantation. He planted Rubber and cardamom later full area converted to Rubber."<sup>19</sup>

The migration form Tranvancore in 1950s to Pothukal panchayath. "The migration to Munderi area start when M.C. Pothan (Rubber Estate Owner) sell his Rubber plantation bit by bit."<sup>20</sup>

"Approximately near 50 families coming from Chengannur and Tiruvalla Region reached at Muttukulam in 1956 they collectively buy land from *Nilambur kovilakam*."<sup>21</sup> The migration made a significant impact upon the social, cultural and demographic aspects. Migration had both positive and negative side effects. Migrants introduced commercial crops, create agricultural based profitable economy, shift uncultivated land, Forest and waste land to cultivated one, new pattern of agriculture, Religious, Educational improvements etc.

At the same time some negative effects also. Encroachments of forest areas for cultivation and settlement lead to deforestation, decrease number of wild animals and the most important one is create a section of landless in native society. Because the new migrants became land owners, they buy land in low rate from *Nilambur kovilakam*, if the already existing people majority were landless.

"A new power group formed as a political power in Eranad by the migrant, plantation owners, *kovilakam Thampurans*, settled migrants and other local landlords. Under the authorities of this power, the troubles were experienced landless native citizens. They included small farmers of big landlords, tribal groups and other ordinary man. They were landless section and face pathetic condition throughout their life"<sup>22</sup>

Pothukal panchayath witnessed many land struggle and donation movement for the landless. Through this movement some villages of this Panchayath became populated one. Especially mention Bhoodhan movement and land based struggle under the leadership of comrade kunjali for landless.

#### A) Bhoodan Movement: A Historical Sketch

During the late 1940s and early 50s Acharya Vinoba Bhave had been nothing the breakdown of India's economy. Bhoodan movement accepted Gandhi's concept of *Sarvodaya*. Vinoba Bhave started the land gift programme for landless millions. The idea of Bhoodan came to Vinoba as a relation during his Telangana tour in 1951. Bhoodan has its immediate origin in the solution to the problem of securing land for India's landless peasant.

Sri Vendra Ramachandra Reddy was the first donor and initiator of the great land donation movement. In 18 April 1951 at Andhra Pradesh (now Telangana) at a village called Pochampally in the Nalgonda district of Telangana. He donated 100 acres of land to Telangana peasants. Later it spread other parts of India.

Bhoodan movement reached at Kerala. Bhoodan movement in the Malabar region was headed by Sree. Vishnubaratheeya, Shakara Rao Dev, K. Kelappan and N. P. Manmadan.

“As a part of Sarvodaya and Bhoodan movement, K. Radhakrishna menon, he was the convener of Kerala. Sarvodaya mandal Kozhikode Branch Nilambur kovilakam assigned thousand acres of land to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for the fulfillment of Bhoodan movement. Vinoba Bhave never visited Bhoodan area of Nilambur due to his unhealthy situation. E. Ikkanda Warrior (First and last prime minister of the state cochin), A. C. Ponnunni Raja, K. Kelappan, Jayaprakash Narayanan and his wife Prabhavathi Devi visited the particular location”<sup>23</sup>

“In the part of Sarvodaya movement Vinoba Bhave received 1000 acres of land from Nilambur kovilakam to distribute landless.”<sup>24</sup>

Nilambur had a crucial role in the historic movement Bhoodanam and Shanti gramam were the land the part of historic movement in Nilambur area, the name Bhoodanam and Shanti grama came this village after this movement. It located now in Pothukal panchayath.

Narayanan Nambiar, who was the person dedicated his life for the activities of Nilambur Bhoodan movement. He was appointed as for the activities of Nilambur Bhoodan Movement. For the activities he reached at Nilambur and settled permanently here. Nilambur kovilakam assigned thousand acres of land to the Bhoodan movement. Approximately 112 members of *Kovilakam* were the signatories agree to leave land to this movement. “Before distributing land they took well planning. For this they form ‘*Grama Sabha*’ for making decisions and find act landless ordinary and peasants. For the convenience they divided *grama sabha* into two and named, Vinoba Dana Gram & Santhi Gram

E. Ikkanda Varior settled here for the work of land distribution process. The gifted area was thick forest and High range area, it was full of trees and big rocks. Their first duty were clearing forest to change a settlement area. The

1000 acres of land was distributed to 57 families and extended half acres of land was assigned to library. Ten acres land was assigned to Bhoodanam LP School”.<sup>25</sup>

The Nilambur Bhoodan movement was inaugurated by India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru in 1955. Nehru inaugurated the historical event by assigning four acres of land gifted on to *Adivasi Moopan* (tribal headmen) named Chairman muthan. After that the villages officially known as Bhoodan colony and Shanti Gram<sup>26</sup>

“The Land gifted place of here known as the same name of movement, the place known as Bhoodan colony. In any other place of India related to this movement we can not see the exact name and address. Here’s address is: Bhoodan colony, Bhoodan post, Nilambur”<sup>27</sup>

A flag post build in 1955 by using teak tree to reveal the memories of Bhoodanam movement and related visit of First Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at Nilambur Chettiyarangadi. The area known as ‘Nehru square’. But later flag post destroyed for the name of personal interest. The flag post was restored later. In every Independence and Republic day raised flag by congress committee.<sup>28</sup>

Nilambur Bhoodan movement had some Negative points. The place situated in a High range area, inside the forest region. So it was not a good piece of land for all cultivation crops. It destroyed trees and wild animals and it completely a successful movement in the area. Anyway Bhoodan movement created a revolutionary change to shift the unpopulated and cultivated area to populated and cultivated areas.

#### Land Based Struggle

In the late 1940s migration from Travancore to Malabar became wild spread. The emigrants acquired land by cheap rate from traditional landlord’s of Eranad. Slowly they began to commercialization of agriculture. It reached at peak level, they produce cash crop such as rubber, pepper, cardamom etc. Some citizens reached at Malabar area to know about the potential of the uncultivated lands and formed large plantation estate in different parts of Malabar. These changes affected in economic and social life of Malabar. The most obvious change was visible in the power centers of society.”<sup>29</sup>

“A new power group formed as a political power in Eranad by the migrant plantation owners, *Kovilam thampurans*, settled migrant land owners and other traditional *jenmis*. Under the authorities of this power, the troubles were experienced landless native citizens. They included small farmers, traditional occupational workers, tenants of big landlords, tribal groups and other ordinary man. In eastern Eranad the rights of whole land belongs to *Nilambur kovilakam*. They had difficulties to look vast area of land directly. So *kovilakam* delivered land to lease in a particular geographical areas. These groups grew to local landlords of respective areas. They did not directly engaged in

cultivation. They used local tribal peoples for cultivation, they were became actual cultivators. They were landless section and face pathetic condition throughout their life.”<sup>30</sup>

Struggle for land from largest landlords to landless people under the Communist party. Their way of struggled entirely different from Bhoodan movement communist party struggle is; they captured wide areas of land kept by the landlord or they cultivated the waste lands without the permission of the authorities and government. Majority of the land of this region belonged to the Nilambur kovilakam. Communist party commonly held violence based land capturing and distribution. Then main leader of land based struggled in Nilambur area is comrade Kunjali.

During the 1960s held surplus land struggle (*Micha Bhoomi Samaranbgal*). In Nilambur areas also witnessed the land struggle of other areas of Kerala.

“The First biggest struggle and encroachment of land were held in Pottikkallu – Thollapd Kai near Nilambur during the period of 1960s. The second biggest struggle were took in poolapadam now situated in present day pothukal panchayath. There was on important reason to select Poolapadam as a strike centre. It is due to the particular locality there was a person named Alex had a record of transfer of 250 acreas of land from Nilambur kovilakam. But he unable to capture these area even had proper records. Comrade Kunjali directly know him, Kunjali arrange a meeting and held discussion with Alex, then forward a suggestion in front of Alex, it was an agreement to handover this land to landless peasants. He promised this suggestion. This land encroachment of pesants opens a safety doors due to the presence of documents. In addition 65 acres land acquired by strikers and build huts here. This was an undocumented land encroachment process. So it faced strong opposition from landlords and authorities. The landlords acquired legal safety. Police strongly intervened and evict farmers from the lands by using force. From the 65 acres only 25 acres of land can be retained, 10 acres of land purchased by providing a small price. From rest of the land the strikers to withdrew. However, the struggle achieved considerable degree of success.”<sup>31</sup>

Through the movement the unpopulated areas such as Poolapadam, Vellimittam, Murukanjiram, Pathar, Muttippala etc concerted to populated areas. Before it covered dense forest, virgin hilly tract, mountains etc. And large number of landless became shift to land owners. In this movement led by Kunjali.

“But later in Poolapadam, an unexpected objections took from the particular section, that from nexlite. The leadership of nexlite leader Chandi, he try to evict the already settled farmers from their land and establish a new immigrants to this land. But this movement was succeeded in front of the response of farmers.”<sup>32</sup> The next biggest land struggle at Thalapalapotti near Munderi

located in present day Pothukal panchayath. The same reason taken when select Thalappalapotti as a struggle center like Poolapadam. One of the person named Poola Bappu, who had land document provided from Nilambur kovilakam. But cannot unable to capture and use it by many reasons. He agreed 50 acres of his land handover to landless. In addition strikers acquired 100 acres of in surrounding of this place. This movement held in 1968. Police strongly attacked strikers, arrested the participants, destruct huts, evict farmers from the acquired land at one side, on the other side they migrate once again to acquired land, recreate huts. Unfortunately, the farmers of Thalappalapotti did not get land document like other places. They did not get landowner of particular place. Later they evicted once again permanently.”<sup>33</sup> However, these struggles changed many ones to Land owners.

#### Contemporary scene

When reaching at 2019, here had so many changes reflected in every field. From the early stage we move longly by accepting so many changes. The life style of people was very simple in early times because they were mainly farmers. Now when saying generally, people spread in the fields of business, farming, traditional occupation and service sectors.

When considering primary sector, that is farming even today all section people directly or indirectly engaged in agriculture. Due to their strong tradition of migration and other factors. Even today panchayath records speak base goes to strong agricultural tradition. And we can see the change are visible from food crop cultivation to cash crop cultivation to cash crop cultivation aiming profit in market. Main cash crops are Rubber, coconut, arecanut etc. And also concentrate to spices. In 1970s, the quantity and production of Paddy rice has declined substantially. The Rubber cultivation is the highest, especially after migration.

For promoting financially and other way to farmers working Krishibhavan at Pothukal Panchayath compounds. In addition seed garden complex at Munderi in Pothukal Panchayath. It gave limitless opportunity to farmers and create job vacancy to people. Peasants organizations and other related initiatives encourage farming. Banks also hold a great support to peasants. Even though we can see integrated farming wide spread. It gave equal importance to food crop, spices, cash crops and animal husbandry.

Nilambur is also known today in the name of Nilambur forests. The Nilambur's tourism area is connected to most of the forest field, resources and other geographical peculiarities. Teak museum, Canolly plot, chaliyar mukku, canolly plot, Nedumkayam reserved forests, Aadyanpara waterfalls, Kakkadam poyil etc were best examples. Pathar waterfalls are one of the small tourist center included in Pothukal panchayath. Population growth increased when deforestation is equally increased. Even though 81 percentages of land kept in reserved forest area in



Pothukal panchayath respectively under Nilambur north forest division. These forests are situated on the western slop of the western ghates and rich water resources like chaliyar, the fourth place in length among the 44 rivers in Kerala and by its tributaries.

One of the way of Chaliyar river originates from the Elampalari hills, which is located near the meeting point of Malappuram, Wayanad and Nilagir districts. The Malappuram district point include in Pothukal Panchayath place, Munderi. "The Munderi forest area has been declared care unit of elephant by Central Government."<sup>34</sup> Now the evergreen Nilambur forest act as habit of various tribal groups included *Cholanaikkar* and *Kattunaicker*. Other tribal groups also existed in these areas. And took a view to rich varied flora and fauna.

nearest of forest standing threat from Mavoist and Naxalites. They visit the locality regularly and ask for food and shelter from tribal."<sup>35</sup> The dense forest of these area act as both shelter and hiding place of theirs. And they propagate their ideas and principles in between tribal, plantation workers, poor peoples etc. Many events are reported in Medias about this.

In 2019, August 8 the large portion of *Muttankunnu* (Mountain) come crashing down and it became a big tragedy, covering the areas including Bhoodanam, Kavalapara, Pathar, Ambuttanpotti and surrounding places. It cause to lost lives of more than 60 peoples. In addition the surviving peoples lost their property, house, fields and endured other difficulties. We know the information through the Medias. When conducting a indepth study about flood and landslide of these areas based on geography and human exploitation on nature, it was not just nmatore's fury. Natives said that the landslide was a result of the negligence of authorities, who failed to take preventive measures, and the greed of private landowners owning strips on strips on the hilltop. There was a mud slip in the region a year ago after a few individuals who possess large chunks of land on the hilltop razed a portion of it to create a rubber plantation. This resulted the loss of carpet of grass and other foliage on the hilltop as they used earthmovers and JCBs to level the land.<sup>36</sup>

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## **MUSIC IN MALABAR: CULTURE AND AESTHETICS**

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Malabar region with its physicality and culture has been a hub of trade, art and cultural interactions since ancient times. Malabar featured many historic ports making it the favourite of overseas trade. Even the Portuguese traders first landed in India via Malabar. Situated in the northern region of Kerala, it has also been part the historical, cultural and political events of Kerala. In the case of arts, Malabar still gives prominence to its folk art forms and rituals such as Theyyam, Oppana, Mappilapattu, Kolkali, Yakshagana, Poorakali, Mangalamkali etc. Most of the art forms in Malabar act as an enviable cultural symbol. For instance, Kolkali is a folk dance from the Malabar region of Kerala. Folk songs with rhythmic steps comprise this art form. Duffumuttu is a group performance popular among the Muslims of Malabar. The performers beat on a shallow round percussion instrument called Duffu. The leader of the group sings the lead while the others form the chorus and move in circles. The songs of Duffumuttu are often tributes to martyrs, heroes and saints.

Similarly, Yakshagana or music of the celestial beings is considered to be a four hundred years old dance opera. It is a popular theatre dance drama that combines dance, music, dialogue and costumes. The stories are often taken from Ramayana and Mahabharata. Though this classical dance drama originated in the state of Karnataka, it is prevalent in Kasargod district, Kerala. The themes of Yakshagana are taken from the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. The story is narrated to systematic singing in chorus accompanied by percussion instruments. Poorakali is a ritual dance performed by men during the nine day Pooram festival in the Bhagavati temples in Malabar. The dancers themselves are singers and they keep rhythm by movements of the foot and clapping the hands. Songs are based on mythology are in praise of Goddess Saraswathy and Lord Ganapathy. Yet another

art form is “Pakshipattu” or “Song of the Bird” which included folk songs covering subjects like religious rites, medicinal cures, and historical events of the region.

The Malabar region also has a great music tradition which is deeply rooted in the culture of the region. Traditional art forms which produced standard musical forms have great significance in the history of music especially from Malabar region. The heritage of Kerala music culture lies in its rich tradition of folk and semi classical and light genres. The Vadakkan pattu, in praise of heroes and Thekkan pattu are noted among the folk music.

This paper tries to explore the music culture of Malabar and the influence of native music forms like Mappilappattu and other music genres from the region, on popular music genre. To trace the influence, two pioneering music directors from the Malabar region, K. Raghavan master and M.S. Baburaj and their music contributions have been taken into consideration and the paper focuses on how it changed the music culture and aesthetics.

While tracing the history of music in Malabar, one can find that Carnatic music plays an inevitable role not because of its presence in its original form but because of the influence especially in the matter concerned with the raga. There are plenty of songs which has been influenced or directly taken from major kritis or ragas from Carnatic music. But Carnatic music was the monopoly of the South especially Travancore and Palakkad where the aristocratic Brahmin community preserved it as their divine art form. The class, caste conflict always prevails in this artform and due to the same reason it never became the music of majority in Malabar. Hindustani transcended these barriers to a great extend and this form got more popularity and influence in the region.

The Malabar region with a large Muslim population had developed a signature music stream based on the Hindustani style. The stream consists of a variety of forms like Gazals and Mappilappattu and also music for authentic Muslim dance forms such as Oppana and Kolkali. Gazal, a lighter version of the Hindustani genre was the heartbeat of Malabar from 1900s. The streets and durbars of Kozhikode floated in the twilight of mehfiles. The migrant population of North Indian musicians was great worshippers of this genre which helped the exotic music cast its magic over the land and its concentration on the Muslim population. The Urdu lyrics broke linguistic barriers with the Quran reading while the ethereal romance ingrained in the tunes tugged at all hearts alike. The first generation of migrant singers lived amidst the music loving people of Kozhikode for the sheer gratification they received as musicians. Mangeshkar Rao and the Dilip Chand Jogi are some of the earliest musicians to camp in the streets of Kozhikode. Later, Vincent Master played both Harmonium and Sitar to the listening soul of Kozhikode and taught the basics of Gazals to many. MS Baburaj was his devote student. Gul Muhammed and his son KG Sathar was familiar voice in Gazal

gatherings for a while. Vincent Master and Baburaj combination produced many hit songs from the movies like *Murappennu* and *Bhargaveenilayam* (1964). The sound track consists of seven songs mostly based on Hindustani. The songs include: “Vaasantha panchaminaalil”, Pottathaponninkinavu kondoru”, “Thamasamendeveruvan” etc.

The Mappilappattu with some lyrics and music are the contribution of the Malabar region which typically reflects the native style of the region. It has created a rich aesthetic perception in the audience of Malabar and they acclaimed it as a popular artform. The poetry forms a main part of this stream of music, which is primarily in Malayalam with the use of Arabic words in between which is known as Arabi-Malayalam. The songs also use words and expressions acquired from different dialects such as Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Tamil, Sanskrit and Kannada but the grammatical syntax is always based in Malayalam. Mappila songs have a charm of their own as their tunes sound a mixture of ethos and culture of Kerala as well as West Asia. They deal with diverse themes such as religion, love, satire and heroism. Mappila songs or Mappilappattu are a folklore Muslim song genre rendered to lyrics within a melodious framework, Ishal in colloquial Mappila dialect or Malayalam laced with Arabic by the Mappilas of the Malabar region in Kerala. Mappila, in general is a member of the Muslim community of the same name found predominantly in Kerala. Mappila songs have a distinct cultural identity while at the sometime remain closely linked to the cultural practices of Kerala.

The cultural and aesthetic influence of Mappilappattu on popular music is unavoidable factor while tracing the cultural and aesthetics of music in Malabar. Mappila songs have been popular in Kerala over seven centuries. The earliest Mappila song was *Muhyidheen Mala*, written by Khasi Muhammed of Kozhikode. It was written in 1670 and tells the story of a Sufi saint Abdul Khader Gilani. The first printed and published Mappila song book *Kappappattu* or *Ship Song* was written by Kunjhai Musaliyar. It is considered as a philosophical treatise on the meaning of life. Some commentators say that he was trying to make a ship out of Man. Mappila songs were basically devotional. Later, it began to deal songs praising spiritual personalities of Islam, lives of Sufi saints, stories about prophet Nabi, Islamic folk tales, Islamic history, Mappila history and certain fictional songs and evolved genres like “Kissa”, “Padapattu”, etc. By mid 19<sup>th</sup> century there was also rise of romantic ballads with the songs written by Moyinkutty Vaidyar. His songs had deep imagination, beautiful metaphors, creative comparisons and a variety of Ishals.

The traditional music from Malabar has created great impact on the popular music and it is explicitly visible in the music of directors like K. Raghavan Master and M. S. Baburaj, the pioneering music directors from Malabar region. In the

beginning, film songs were imitations of Tamil ballet songs or a replication of popular Hindi songs. But *Neelakkuyil* released in 1954 was a game changer. The songs penned by P. Bhaskaran and composed by K. Raghavan became instant hits. Many of the KPAC theatre songs were products of their associations. They were the ones who introduced the rhythm of Mappilapattu into Malayalam popular music.

A recipient of Padmashri Award in 2010, Master was renowned for his simple, soul stirring music in 1950. Master's early tunes for *Neelakuyil*, the movie that won President's Gold Medal the same year, stopped every Malayali in his tracks. Many regard "Kayalarikathu", the song composed by Master and written by P. Baskaran as heralding a distinctive modern sensibility in Malayalam. In a career spanning six decades, Master scored music for 405 songs spread over 65 films. Prominent among these movies are *Nirmalyam*, *Uttarayanam*, *Unniarcha*, *Ramanan*, *Nagaram Nanni* etc. Master's last score was 2 years ago for the movie *Balyakalasaghi*, based on the eponymous novel written by Vaikom Muhammed Basheer. In 1950 he was transferred to Kozhikode where he teamed up with writer Uroob (P.C. Kuttikrishnan) and the poet P Bhaskaran, an association that proved a turning point in his career.

After the glorious days of composing by Raghavan master creating songs enriched in folk music, there were only a few composers who cared and dared in composing folkish songs which are wealthy with lyrics depicting the beauty of the land. The beauty of a folk enriched song lives within its simplicity and the effect, and the life of such songs are tremendous. Even today the songs of Raghavan Master play across the lips of young generation because it's easy to hum and its lines are simple enough for a common man to appreciate its beauty.

Master's songs are often termed as the native songs having its essence rooted in culture. The rhythmic components which he took directly from Mappilapattu exposes this.

"Cheril ninnu balarnnuponthi

Hoori ninude kayinal

Naiychor vachit thinnuvan kothi eere und nejilai" (*Neelakuyil*)

The aesthetic beauty of the song lies both in its music and rhythm and also its musical language which is a typical representation of the Malabar slang.

"Kanninal ente karalinuruliyil ennakachiya nombaram

Ghabhil arinjapol innu njammalu kayaruvpottiya pambaram" (*Neelakuyil*)

Producer T.K. Pareekutty forced Raghavan master to sing this song which is another milestone in the history of music that a music director from Malabar itself sang the song without losing its aesthetic sense. He recollects the experience in his autobiography *Madurami Jeevitham* that the song gave him a platform to explore a great career in music.

"Vanbezhum ninte purika kodiyaude ambukond njarambukal  
Kambodinjoru sheelakudayude kambipole valunjupoi" (*Neelakuyil*)

The rhyme, rhythm and alliteration and language of the common folk with music easily accessible to them make it different from his other songs and his contemporaries. There are certain other songs too which reminds people of the traditional Mappila songs. They are "Maanennum Vilikilla", " Kuyilinethedi", "Ellarum chollanu", "Nazhiyuri paalukond" etc. "Manatge mazhamukil" is in the form of typical Vadakanpattu. In an interview allowed to the media he acknowledged his debt to the deep rooted culture of Malabar that the ritualistic forms like Theyyam, Thira and Kolkali has greatly influenced his musical career. Almost all the songs composed by him are a perfect blend of folk and native tunes.

Being a learned Carnatic musician, Raghavan Master made use of the popular ragas of Carnatic music too. For example,

“Sreemahadevan tante srepullorkudamkond  
Omana unnide nevor padunnen” (*Nirmalyam*)

The song mentioned above is a blend of both carnatic music and folk song (Pulluvanpattu) which is composed in the raga “Aarabhi”. Another song from the film *Neelakuyil*,

“Kadalsuvanjiyileri kadalum kadannukeri  
Kaliyadum ilamkattil cherukalupaya paari”

is a direct representation of a Tyagaraja kriti in the raga “kappinarayani”.

The other prominent musician, M.S. Baburaj was born on 9th March 1929 in Kozhikode. His father was Jan Muhammad Khan, who was a Hindustani musician from Bengal. One of his greatest achievements was the introduction of Hindustani strains into popular Malayalam music. He successfully composed melodies based on the Hindustani ragas and blended Malayalam lyrics into them. Most of the lyrics were written by eminent Malayalam poets like P. Bhaskaran and Vayalar. He began his career in 1951 composing music for a drama titled *Inquilabinte Makkal* and has given music for many dramas including *Kandam Bacha Kottu* by T Muhammad Usaf and, *Nammal Onnu* by Kerala Kalavedhi. In 1957 he composed music for the Malayalam film *Minnaminungu* by Ramu Kariat thus entering the Malayalam film industry. He worked with P Venu and composed classic songs like "Anuragaganam pole", "Ezhutiyataranau Sujata", "Kalichiri maarata penne" for the film *Udyogasta*.

He introduced the music industry of Malayalam by his stormy, fresh, Gazal inspired tunes. He introduced Yaman Kalyani raga (“Kanmani Niyen”), Bheemlass (“Thamasamenthey Varuvan”) and other typical ragas of the genre. His songs paved way for a mass appeal in Malayalam hearts for the soothing melody of Gazals. Baburaj- P Baskaran- Yeshudas combination produced many of the most popular Malayalam tunes of the 1960s and 1970s. His audio cassette

*Baburaj Padunnu* gave Kerala rejuvenated taste of Baburaj's music with his unique style of soulful singing. His music filled the wedding houses in Malabar region. Similarly, the influence of Carnatic music upon him produced songs like “Ikkarayanente tamsam” (“Valachi” raga), “Oru pushpam matramen” (“Desh” raga), “Pranasakhi” (“Sindhubhairavi” raga), “Akale akale neelakasham” (“Charukeshi” ragam) etc.

In addition to the Hindustani access, Carnatic music also got prime importance in Malabar recently. In association with the Malabar Maholstavam, the annual cultural fest of Kozhikode, the Tyagaraja Aradhana Trust has been conducting five day music festival which includes Pancharatnakritis and Divyanamakritis. Thureeyam Sangeetotsavam at Payyanur is another music festival meant only for Carnatic music where experts from the field perform their concerts. These musical genres enrich the heritage of music culture in Malabar and its reception elevates the aesthetics of music.

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## **THE SAGA OF SERVICE: A CASE OF THE EARLY LEADERS OF SIS IN MALABAR**

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The Malabar Rebellion (1921-22) created untold miseries to the people of Malabar belonging to both Hindu and Muslim communities. The scenario presented two pictures of acute suffering. On the one side, there was the huge mass of refugees estimated about 25000 ranging from high caste Namboodiris to lower caste groups. They were in fact up-rooted from their home villages and came to relief camps, set up in distant places like Kozhikode. It was a mixed assortment of men and women, whose houses set to fire, their wealth and earnings looted, and women and children met with atrocities. Following the rebellion, several attempts were made and programs chalked out by various agencies and organizations in order to alleviate the distress of the people. Of the various agencies who conducted relief work in Malabar, special mention must be made of the work done by the Servants of India Society. The Society rendered commendable services in the area of distress relief first, and later extended their sphere of work to other fields like rural reconstruction, education, flood relief, rehabilitation of the destitute, running orphanages, eradication of social evils, literacy campaigns, library work, establishing communal harmony and general social reform. The early leaders of the Society were farsighted enough to provide proper sense of direction to carry out the above programs in the true spirit of voluntary service, quite in tune with the ideals of the Servants of India Society, especially as insisted by its founder and First Member Gopal Krishna Gokhale. A galaxy of dedicated leaders including G.K. Devadhar, R. Soorya Narayana Rao, A.V. Thakker Bappa, V.S. Sreenivasa

Satri, V.R. Nayanar and Mrs. V.R. Nayanar were truly instrumental in perpetuating the legacy of the Society in Kerala, in perfect tune with the nationalist movement, especially in Malabar. The aim of this paper is to present in brief the life and activities of two of the early leaders of the society, A.V. Thakker Bappa and V.S. Sreenivasa Satri in the historic context of the rebellion.

A very important personality who energized the social reform work of Kerala was Amirtlal Vithaldas Thakkar ( A.V. Thakkar Bappa). In 1914 he joined the SIS after resigning from his job as an overseer in Bombay Municipality.<sup>1</sup> He was born on 26 November 1869 at Bhavnagar in Sourashtra in an ordinary family as the Vidaldas Thakkar and Mulibai.<sup>2</sup> He soon engaged himself in the famine relief work in the western Province, and other activities like co-operative work, education of the Bhangis, probation and welfare of Khadi workers. His work among the Bhils was much admired. He founded the Bhil Seva Mandal in 1922 to elevate the condition of the Bhils and other aboriginals of India.

As the SIS was opposed to political works like Satyagraha, Bappa chose to work in the area of Harijan service, which was quite in tune with the ideas of the Society. When Gandhiji established the Harijan Sevak Sangh in 1932, Sri Bappa was chosen as its general secretary. He travelled with Gandhiji in 1933-34 throughout India to convey the messages of the Sangh and to organize its units in various parts of the country. Its Malabar Branch was formed in 1932 itself.

In 1935 Bappa visited Kerala to gain a firsthand knowledge of the condition of the life of Harijans and other depressed classes there.<sup>3</sup> In 1941 he visited Calicut. In his speech given as reply to commendation given to him he exhorted that a good amount of work remains to be done among the “thottis” and the tribals. He further gave suggestions to reconstitute the Malabar Branch of the Sangh at a meeting held at Payyannur presided over by V.R. Nayanar and attended by members like K.A. Damodara Menon, P. Sankunni Nambiar, M. Chathayan and Swami Anandathirtha.<sup>4</sup>

Bappa's next visit was in 1943, when the condition of Malabar quite distressful due to cholera. He inaugurated at Goplapuram a building meant to accommodate the children of cholera victims. He asked the teachers of the Gopalpuram school to take special care of the orphaned children. He then proceeded to Mutton near Pazhayangadi and inaugurated an orphanage for the Muslim children. The Muslims of mutton accorded him a grand welcome. He reminded the people that more than thirty thousand people lost their lives in Malabar due to cholera. Again, with Nayanar he proceeded to Mathamangalam near Payyanur. He attended the annual day celebrations of the Ayurvedic dispensary, which was working there in one year nearly 10,000 people were

give treatment from this dispensary. He arrangements for the education of Paniya boys of thalolkadu area . he also distributed dhotis to the harijans and paniyas who gathered there. Another meeting was held at Mathamangalam elementary school in which M Chadayan, Swami Anandhathirtha and KG Nambiar spoke Thakkar Bappa and party than stayed as the guests of Vengayil Nayanar Memorial Paniya Colony built at Chelod near Nilambur. He was accompanied by his secretary, Ram Saran DMRT honorary Secretary, L.N. Rao and Shyamji Sundardas. He was satisfied with the work done there.

Thakker Bappa was a man who devoted his entire life for the cause of the downtrodden.<sup>5</sup> He was inspired by the ideals and principles of Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahathma Gandhi. When he decided to associate himself with the SIS Gandhiji rightly described him as a lone of Harijan Sevak Sang to the SIS. Besides under taking extensive work for the service of Harijan and depressed classes throughout India, Bappa was actively involved in redressing the grievances of the people during the nationwide famine of 1943. Famine was extremely acute in Karnataka, Malabar, Kochi, Travancore, Orissa, and Bengal. He toured to these places and helped in setting up relief operations. Bappa was the secretary of the Kasturba Memorial Fund organized in 1994 for the welfare of women and children. He worked closely with Mahathma Gandhi during the Navakhali riots to mitigate violence. In Kerala he was particularly interested in the work of the Harijan sevak Sangh, the SIS and the DMRT. He was a great inspiration to the people when he visited Malabar several times in these connections Bappa's long and dedicated life came to an end on 19 th January 1951,.

Another very important personality who energized the social reform work of Kerala was Sreenivasa Sastri who born on 24 September 1869 as the son of a school teacher at Kumbhakonam of Thanjavur district. After graduation he worked as teacher at schools at Mayavaram, Salam and Madras. In 1902 he became Head Master of Triplicane high school , madras.<sup>6</sup> he was very much attracted to the principles and objectives Gokhale's SIS. On 15<sup>th</sup> January 1907 he joined the Sis. Recalling the moment of taking the now of the Society, Sastri wrote "Gokhale's deportment was solemn and inspired me with something like awe. As I pronounced the phrases of each vow after him.

I was seized with terrible misgiving as to my being able to keep them in a tolerable degree.<sup>7</sup> In 1907 Sastri attended the Surat Congress and was an eye-witness to the 'split between the' extremists" and the " moderates" He also had very close contact with Gandhi. Botgh Gokhale and Gandhiji admired his organizational skill, oratorical brilliance and integrity. He worked as the member of the Madras Legislative Assembly from 1913. In 1916 he was elected to the central Legislative Council. In 1916 when Gokhale died he was

Elected as President of SIS. Sastri formed an organization called National Liberal Federation in 1918. He supported the recommendation of Montague- Chelms Ford reforms (1918). His view of the nationalist movement and his attitude to the British were very moderate. He soon became a great Spokesman of Congress moderate camp. He did not support the civil Disobedience movement initiated by the Congress in 1920. He was member of moderate delegation to Britain to apprise the government of conditions of India.

In the mid 1920's Sastri visited Kerala. He was given a very cordial welcome everywhere. Through speeches and writings he exhorted that India should attain self-rule by continuing as a part of British Empire. Because of such a 'liberal view he could not agree with the political programs of the congress like civil Disobedience. He made appeals to the people Malabar to make contributions to the SIS to be used to renovate its presses Aryabhushan and Dyanaprakash which were destroyed in fire. At Ernakulum he was accorded a cordial welcome.<sup>8</sup>

Sastri's scholarship, political wisdom, patriotism were all appreciated by the people and the press. However, the press in particular was critical of some of his positions which were opposed to Congress programmes on the ground that what the country needed in those days were active political work rather than mild exhortations, advices and acrimony. The Mathrubhoomi voiced this view in particular in an editorial. In a modest criticism, the paper pointed out that, though very able. Sastri could not frame a programme of action suitable for the existing conditions. It said, "when the people of the country are directly involved in a struggle for the total freedom of their country, Sastri does not side with them, but chose to devote his life making futile speeches to them in his capacity as a feeble member of an empire's council in which the people at large have no significant role and recognition". The editorial found fault with Sastri for having supported the government in its anti- Congress measures through persecutions, and asked him to rise up to the occasion in a fitting manner . following the report of Simon Commission in 1930, when British Government summoned in London a Round Table Conference to consider the question of the Indian constitution Sastri was one of the Indian delegates to attend the same.<sup>9</sup>

Sastri's last visit to Malabar was in in 1993. He came to Calicut to speak on the occasion of the 18 the death anniversary of Gokhale. This time he stated that it was necessary to work for the realization of united Indian nation irrespective of communal considerations. He remanded that Gokhale never exhorted for separate consistency and disproportionate representation. He pointed out that after Gokhale. They were looking for Gokhale's statements in his speeches and other records to justify their own programmes and policies.

Those who were suspicious of him in his life time, both within and outside the government now began to recognize him as a model for the respect to opposition and statesmanship. His consideration for the Muslims was highly acclaimed. He argued that administrative reforms would never lead to responsible government, what is ultimately required is the right to government. However, reforms would contribute to the furthering of the necessary condition for such a desire. Both he and Gokhale supported the Minto-Morley reforms on these grounds

During 1921-32 periods Sastri visited several countries within the British Empire. He was also elected as a member of the privy Council. In 1927 he took charge as the Agent of India Government in south Africa. He was interested in the education of Indians in South Africa. He started a collage for them and prepared a housing project. In 1929 he returned to India. During 1935-40 he was vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University. He passed away on 17 April, 1946 while addressing a gathering at Madras.<sup>10</sup> It is hoped that this account would also contribute to understanding some aspects of local history, which were not properly considered, in the context of the emerging trends in the field vis-a-vis the historiographical considerations on micro history as they hinge on reimagining Malabar.

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## **CONTRIBUTION OF ADMIRAL KUNJALI MARAKKAR TO CALICUT NAVY**

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The advent of Portuguese to Malabar was the beginning of political, religious and naval colonization. They destroyed the culture of free trade and monopolized sea trade. Portuguese people dominated native people by their navigational and technological skills. They were huge warship. They could make better cannons. In initial stage of war history, they had an upper hand because of their skills. By that time King of Calicut the Zamorin had a strong and effective Navy. The Navy of Calicut fought a lot of wars with heroic and bravery. Kunjali Marakkar as chief admiral of navy. Zamorin offered him swords, ships and services to fight the Portuguese. Kunjali-1 appoints the best sea men to navy. Kuttiali was the captain of Tanur naval barrack. He was efficient and intelligent. But it is challenged when Kunjalis coming to the war field. In the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Muslim/ Mappila semen were very much acquainted in naval operations and sea fighting. Their ships were small and lightly armed and can sail in high speed and were a big obstruction for Portuguese shipping. Admiral Kunjali Marakar was also from mappila community and was the Commander of Calicut Navy. Admiral Kunjali and his Navy fought against Portuguese nearly about four decades. In memory of this gallant Admiral and who achieved so much for the cause of his country, the Indian Navy of today has commissioned an establishment at Bombay known as I.N.S KUNJALI. Along the Malabar coast naval power was most

remarkable, on the name of Calicut also one naval base is established as INS Calicut in Ezhimala.

Most of the European countries were very anxious to trade with the East. They believed that India was a country which provided them a lot of spices needed for their food. So quite a lot of efforts were made by different countries of Europe to find a sea-route to India. They knew that the country that discovered first would monopolize and thus would become rich beyond all measures. Thus England, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal bearer rivals of one another in the field of corranerce. The advent of Portuguese to Malabar was not only a commercial journey; it was also the beginning of political, religious and naval colonization. They destroyed the culture of free trade and monopolized sea trade. Their main religious and commercial enemies were Muslims. Portuguese people dominated native people by their navigational and technological skills. Their ships were not commercial ships. They were huge warship. They could make better cannons. The German engineers helped them to make cannons. Portuguese were very well aware about the weakness navy of India and wanted to building up a naval empire. They also wanted to make an oceanic trade policy and laid down the foundation of European sea monopoly over the Eastern sea which over 400 years<sup>1</sup> In initial stage of war history, they had an upper hand because of their skills. From the history, the Moghul Empire in the north, the Deccan Sultanates, the Vijayanagar Empire and the King of Calicut, the Zamorin<sup>2</sup>, were the major rulers in India, but there were other smaller Rajas of Cannanore, Cochin etc. The period from 1400 to1700AD was the prosperous period of Zamorins. The rulers of this kingdom enjoyed much prosperity of its rnaritime trade and consolidated considerable political authority and power throughout the middle ages in the history of Kerala. At the very beginning the sea route was established by European. Portuguese had a lot of contribution to India which mainly went for two people one was Vasco Da Gama who was a well experienced and intelligent Navigator and other Albuquerque, the creator, by terror and the sword of a brief sea-borne Portuguese empire in Asia.<sup>3</sup> Under the patronage of Zamorins, Calicut developed before long into a major sea port on the Kerala coast. The Arabs and the Chinese were among the most important of the foreign national who traded with Calicut. In the cornmercial rivalry between the two foreign nations the Zamorin's syrnpathy lay with the Arabs. Impelled by considerations self-interest the Arabs also helped the Zamorin with ships, horses, and soldiers in his wars with the neighboring chieftains. The war between Portuguese and the Calicut Navy was in Indian Ocean, Admiral of Calicut navy was unable to show the fire-power and when concentrate that was too late. When the battle came to the side of Calicut, the Portuguese went away; “Though the honors of the battle was with the Calicut Navy”, but according to K. M. Panikkar, “the failure of Kasim to destroy the Portuguese fleet and his inability

to chase da Gama invalidated the success of his victory.”<sup>4</sup> With Calicut as the base the Zamorin embarked on a series of campaigns to bring the nearest principalities under his suzerainty. But it is challenged when Kunjalis coming to the war field. The Zamorin’s ability in the constant attempt at disputing Portuguese naval power in the Indian waters during eight long decades is primarily attributed to the efforts of the hereditary Admirals, the Marakkars. Mohammed Kunjali Marakkar, the first Admiral of Calicut, who was Muslim by Birth, was himself an knowledgeable and clever navigator, Kunjali I, enlisted a band of daring, sturdy seamen, and constructed a formidable base at Ponnani<sup>5</sup> which is in between Cochin and Calicut.

Zamorin appointed Kunjali Marakkar as his chief admiral of navy. He offered him swords, ships and services to fight the Portuguese. Kunjali-1 appoints the best sea men to navy. Kuttiali was the captain of Tanur naval barrack. He was competent and intellectual. Pachachi Marakkar was another captain.<sup>6</sup> Kuttiali reformed the whole system with tactic and expertise. He comprehend that ships of Calicut were no match to the Portuguese vessel which were fixed and well equipped. The heavy and large Portuguese vessels were slow and took more room for movement and needed high wind for fast progress. Kuttiali on behalf of Kunjali built a large number of fast moving boats called ‘paraos’<sup>7</sup> rowed by 30 to 40 rowers and could be easily navigable. Being small and fast, these paraos became a difficult target for enemies. His Menon hillocks kept a watch over the sea and signaled the movements of enemy ships. Portuguese could not make such communication system.<sup>8</sup> Kuttiali revived naval force and Portuguese were forced to follow trade convoy system for their merchant trips. accordingly they lost their superiority in Indian Ocean. On the Order from Admiral Kunjali ,in 1523 Captain Kuttiali with eight pepper-loaded ships with an escort of 40 vessels sailed to the red sea before Portuguese can trace them . Kuttiaali was assisted by his brother junior kuttiali. Meanwhile, the old Zamorin was dead and the new Zamorin was even more aggressive to Portuguese. Even though there was no open war, there was an undeclared war on the sea, viceroy Vasco da Gama (1524) had sent several expeditions to Malabar. He sent martin a fouso De souza to stop kuttiali’s naval activities. Portuguese fleet also confronted with Junior kutiali in a pitched battle. Malabar sea men. Menezes hanged Balia In September 1528; the Portuguese attacked Zamorin’s port and blocked the river- mouth in order to bottle-up several Malabar ships. But Malabar sea men resisted and destroyed several Portuguese ships and killed Portuguese team. Kunjali-I and his team could cut the sea communication between Goa and Cochin. Thus the trade got diminished. Maritime trade of west coast was in the total control of Malabar sea men. In 1531, Zamorins fleet under Kunjali Marakkar II, son of Kuttiali who had served under Kunjali I as Captain. He was an expert in naval warfare. The Portuguese had stories invading



countries like Sri Lanka, Lakshadweep and Ormuz, in Persia. Kunchali-1 attacked Portuguese crew at Sri Lankan shore. Building a naval command in Sri Lanka, Portuguese could block Zamorin's ships travelling towards Red sea. Zamorin and sea men of Kozhikode tried to make a Trans – national alliance against Portuguese. Zamorin tried to seek military assistance from Gujarat Sultan. Portuguese captain Manuel de Souze invited sulthan for treaty and killed him. Egyptian sulthans tried to build an international Muslim alliance against Portuguese. But they became a challenge to Portuguese in that area. In Malabar Egyptian alliance, there were other partners like sulthan of camps and Adil shah's partners and of Konkan and Karnataka. But there was an absence of strong alliance. It was weak. Even though Malabar sea men didn't get any military assistance in proper time. It did not affect their vigour and vibes. In 1531, the Portuguese captured some ships of Zamorin on the way to Gujarat and took many prisoners including Ali Ibrahim, Maarkkar and kutti Ibrahim. This failure wounded Zamorin the compromised and gave permission to Portuguese to construct a fort at Chaliyam. Chaliyam was in the territory of king of Tanur. It's construction completed in March 1532. Chaliyam fort was in strategic position. Kunjali -II attacked Portuguese settlements in Coromandal coast and Ceylon. They established a space at kotta and supported. Kunjali-II resorted to the tactics of attacking the enemy in two different directions. This combat continued till Portuguese were forced to face the incoming fleet of Sulaiman pasha. In February 1538 Zamorin and sulthan of Gujarat requested the help of Sulaiman from Turkey. Sulaiman tried to besiege the fort to Diu, and failed. Old Zamorin died and new Zamorin was compelled to make a treaty with Portuguese. Kunjali-II attacked Portuguese ships. In 1533, Kunjali -II attacked the Portuguese settlement at Punnakayal on the Coromandel Coast invited and requested by Viswanath Nayak, the Vijayanagar governor of Madurai during 1555 – 1559. The Portuguese destroyed so many native ships and killed all crew. Kunjali-II out pitched battles. In 1588, in an engagement between Portuguese and Kunjali II, native ships were lost. In 1599, Portuguese fleet under Gon alo marmanaque had blocked the Malabar Coast and caused too much damage. Kolathiri declared war with Portuguese and besieged the fort of St. Angelo at Cannore. Kunjalis crew blocked the assistance from Goa. These events made trade in north Malabar impossible. To take revenge Portuguese destroyed properties that came to Calicut. During the period of Kunjali-III war technologies and ammunitions were improved.<sup>9</sup> To build the fort, Egyptian and Turkish architects helped Kunjali-III. Mughal emperor sent his sculptor. After building the fort, Pattu Marakkur engaged with Portuguese several times. Velliyamkallu and Iringal para were good signal centers. Velliyamkallu is called 'Sacrifice rock' because Muslims killed so many Portuguese there. Kunjali-III could not expel Portuguese from Goa. But he could prevent their activities in Malabar Coast. But the Portuguese

continued their attacks on Malabar Coast. Kunjali and his fleet kept retaliating. In 1575 after led by Portuguese Joao Dacosta attacked Malabar Coast with two galleys and 24 other vessels. They captured several Malabar vessels and set the towns of Parapangadi, Kappad and Nileswaram <sup>10</sup>. In 1578 Portuguese sent Rui Goncalo de cammara to negotiate with the Zamorin for permission to build a fort at ponnani. Zamorin denied it. Portuguese bombarded the coast nearby villages. The Portuguese and Kunjali -III engaged. In 1582 – 83, the Portuguese captured 50 rice loaded Calicut ships coming from kanara coast. This led to famine condition. Here Captain Kutti Moosa took complete mastery over the Coromandel Coast. Meanwhile, Kunjali III fought against the Portuguese shipping from Dabul to cope Cameron on the west coast<sup>11</sup>. Kunjali-III had brilliant war strategies and good leadership qualities. Kutti moosa and kutty pokker were employed in his navy. Kutty poker had the experience of working with kunchali II. He was from ponnani. He was petrolling the sea to save native ship from Portuguese attack. He was appointed to attack Portuguese at Chaul port for Nizam<sup>12</sup>. Kutty moosa's area was eastern coast in Arabian Sea. Portuguese could not win his army. So, they withdrew to eastern coast. He reached there too to chase Portuguese from there. He had several of these craft deployed at strategic points such as at entrances to rivers, and had others hidden away near narrow channels. He placed on vantage hill features look-outs to give early warning of the approaching enemy. His "war padaos" then converged on the Portuguese ships, set fire to their sail's and rendered them ineffective. Portuguese ships were very large and capped for holding big guns while Calicut Navy had small ships with small gun fitted in the vessels, so that for balancing the Calicut navy, Admiral Kunjali needed heavier guns with larger If Calicut Navy was not able to fight against the big ships of Portuguese but Admiral Kunjali harassed and was a big obstruction of Portuguese as he was an initiative, courage, navigational skill and persistence, they bear comparison with the great figures of naval war-fai-e.<sup>13</sup> Kunjali-III had got the assistance of foreign experts to design and construct new ships in European model and gave training to his navy in advanced methods of naval war fare. They began to build new ships, ammunitions and war weapons. German engineers helped them to build new big guns. Kunjali built a new Malabar Coast where native ships can travel without fear of Portuguese ships. The Portuguese ships could travel only with envoys accompanying them. They did not get any help from foreign rulers like Egyptian king and north Indian sultans. Thus they made a self-reliant self-defense method.<sup>14</sup> Portuguese king wrote letters to viceroy to make plans to destroy Kunjali III fort, and to divide Zamorine and Kunjali 3.<sup>15</sup> At that time Kutti moosa destroyed several Portuguese vessels. His fleet sailed down to Sri Lanka and made an alliance with the king of Jaffna pattanam In 1595, Kunjali III died. His nephew was appointed as Admiral of Kozhikode. In 1553, Portuguese replaced their guns and ships and modified with

new and capable number of galleons. In 1564, Portuguese ships attacked on Kunjalis feet near Cannanore and which was severely damaged. After that again three squadrons were organized under command of Concalo Marmanaque. The squadrons were positioned properly along the west coast and were selected precise sectors of operations<sup>16</sup>. His real name was Muhammed Kunjali. After taking the position of Kunjali Marakkar, he strengthened the fort. These processes made Portuguese fearful. The Portuguese planned Machiavellian strategies to win. They arranged some people to spread rumours about Kunjali among people. They imported some priests to spread lies. He had got a local assistant called varakkal Adiyodi.<sup>17</sup> They spreaded so many rumours that Kunjali was going to make a Muslim empire and Kunjali had declared himself as defender of Islam and made Zamorin panic.<sup>18</sup> Kunjali-IV was very popular and as he became known from the Cape of good hope to China. He had captured many Portuguese vessels and he assisted the enemies of the Portuguese like Rani of Ullal when she fought against Portuguese. He helped Sulthan of Bijapur during the siege of Chaul earlier in 1570.

## **CONCLUSION:**

These conflicts as traced in the earlier chapters continued over a century, in which the House of Kunjali Marakkars came to be prominent house of admirals in the 16th century. This trading house gradually turned to be the defender of freedom of the Arabian Sea. Its role in offensive and defensive capacity was praiseworthy and it inculcated the spirit of freedom in land and sea. Therefore the House of Kunjalis under the flag of Zamorin came to be the symbol of sea-resistance against the Portuguese. The native encounters both offensive and defensive against the Portuguese had considerable impact on the maritime history of Malabar. These contacts were well exploited by the Kunjalis in designing strategy of warfare, construction of vessels and innovation of new techniques like, surveillance, naval blockade and convoying cargo vessels escorted by arms soldiers. The saga of Kunjali Marakkar teaches one vital lesson of history and that is the freedom of the sea which finally maintains the freedom of the land also. Therefore this 413th year of martyrdom of Kunjali Marakkar IV has a meaningful message to this nation. "The freedom of sea is the absolute freedom of a nation"<sup>19</sup>. In memory of this gallant Admiral and who achieved so much for the cause of his country, the Indian Navy of today has commissioned an establishment at Bombay known as I.N.S KUNJALI<sup>20</sup>. Along the Malabar coast naval power was most remarkable, on the name of Calicut also one naval base is established as INS Calicut in Ezhimala.

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## **Literary Historiography under eastern and Western EyEs: A CompArAtive Study of orientAl and Occidental Historiographic Model s**

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“The lamp of History destroys the darkness of Ignorance” – Mahabharata.

The appellation, ‘History’ is derived from the two Greek words ‘histor’ (to judge) and ‘historein’ (to narrate) and the Latin word, ‘historia’ (enquiry). Owing to which, the English term, History refers ‘to judge, to narrate, to enquire’ as well as ‘judgment, narration, enquiry in the past’, which in turn elevated its position as one of the fourteen human sciences. This analytical vision, in fact accounts for the judgmental tone of the Western historical inquiries. But what about Literary History? Does it refer to the Literariness of history or the History of literature? If so what is the criteria to canonize such a literariness and, what about the ideological rhetoric underlying such a history? Considering the fact that the power-acquisition commenced in the west has been always an output of the claim of being on the right side of History, Literary History as a ‘subject’ emerged with the rise of literature as a means of social domination, an idea being propagated by Rene Wellek in his “The Rise of English Literary History. Literary History, in such a context, can be described as an apparatus of canon formation by means of drawing and re-drawing the boundaries of fields of literary production in terms of what is socially acceptable (totems) and unacceptable (taboos). The expression, ‘literary history’ again is subject to interrogation as it constitutes two mutually exclusive realms. For instance, if a narrative is literary, it ceases to be history, and if it is historical, it ceases to be literary .This sheds light on the two fold structure of literary history as a discipline which encompasses two different, often interdependent, systems of signs: a) the system of signs that literary texts form and

(b) the system of signs that represent the past. In other words, Tradition as it was. And a narration about the past. History thus becomes an interaction between facts and narratives, between the course of history and the discourse of history.

The purpose of literary history is quite adequately explained by Thomas Warton in his “Preface” to *History of English Poetry (1774-1790)* as the means to show its readers “the progress of our national poetry from a rude origin and obscure beginnings, to its perfection, in a polished age”. In order to evince such an evolution, the role of inclusion and exclusion of events in historical narratives is unquestionable. Literary Historiography, being the politics of writing history of literature thus avers the critical examination of historical sources so as to select and reject particulars being reflected in language and society, which culminates in the synthesis of Order, Discourses and Traditions in literary productions with reference to Time and Space dynamics. The Eternal Time and the Infinite Space has always been a concept of enquiry in Indian philosophy right from Bhartrihari’s metaphors in *Kalasa-muddesha* to the Jain philosophy of ontological and the epistemological abstractions about Time. Bhartrihari, who likens time to a bird rather who uses captive birds to allure other birds, to the air entering the human body, to a road on which durations walk, to a current or a stream or a fountain, subdivides past, present, and future in 11 fabrications. Out of which, the five categories of cognition related to the past are *samanya* (the general past), *Adyatan* (the past related to the current day), *Anadyatan* (that not related to the current day), that which combines the *Adyatan* and *Anadyatan* and finally, *Paroksha* (the unknown past). A clarification which is crucial to understand the bifurcation of Indian literature into five categories- *Sutras*, *Mantras*, *Shastras*, *Aksharas*, and *Prakrits*. *Rajasekhara*’s configuration of History as History “of a Single Hero” and that “of Many Heroes” which echoes the illustration of *Ramayana* as *Parakriya* and *Mahabharata* as *Purakalpa* sheds light on the multiplicity and plurality of histories. In such a contest, a single apparatus of historiography to trace the Orders, Discourses, and Traditions in the afore mentioned literatures on a nation like India, which has been a melting pot of different languages and multiple cultures across ages would be an injustice to the very discipline. Here lies the relevance of tracing the historiography of Regional literatures for the perusal of the totems and taboos prevalent in particular spaces at particular points of time. To be more precise, in the words of *Ganesh Devy*, “Just as every nation with a modern state- structure liken to acquire an independent military force, every society in possession of printing technology like to have a literary history of its own.” The proposed study would intend explore the historiographical models prevalent in Oriental and Occidental systems of thought. Thus the study intends to compare and contrast the politics of history writing which is employed by Western and Indian Historiographers. Wider objectives are given as under-

1. To compare and contrast the Western and Indian conventions of literary historiography.
2. To identify the representation and acknowledgement of totems and taboos in Mainstream as well as Regional Literatures in India.
3. To understand the politics of inclusion and exclusion in the context of history writing.
4. To interrogate the progress, periods, and canons in the history of Occidental narratives.
5. To critically evaluate the dynamic relationship between Orders, Discourses and Traditions in Indian conventions of literary history.

The conventions of Literary Historiography assume the primacy of Western models with 'linear' time operative over the 'cyclical' notions of the Non-western societies, which in turn persuade the Oriental historiographers to adhere to the Occidental approaches. However as Romila Thapar observes in *Time as a Metaphor of History*, "the characterizing of societies in such terms would be an inadequate explanation of centrality or otherwise of history... it seems more appropriate to enquire into how a society uses a particular category and what is being intended by that use." Moreover, the literary histories in India ranging from Sisir Kumar Das' *A History of Indian Literature* in three volumes [500-1399; 1800-1910; 1911-1956] to the *History of Regional Literatures* like F E Kaey's *A History of Hindi Literature* [1920], T. Graham Bailey's *A History of Urdu Literature* [1932], etc. have excluded certain narratives challenging the nexus between Regional literary histories and National political histories. However these don't attempt to address the inadequacy that chronology, periodization, generic categorization and addressivity would embark in the inter-lingual plurality and socio-political orientations of Indian literature. Juxtaposing the published histories of Indian literature as a whole and that of the Regional literatures written by Indian and Non-Indian writers would help to trace how and when did the notion of History assume its strict chronological protocol and positivist truth claim. Comparing and contrasting Oriental and Occidental historiographic models, in order to place Sect-formation over Canon-formation, Orders, Discourses and Traditions over progress, periods and canons in the Indian conventions of literary historiography would fill the current research gap.

### **Western Conventions of Literary Historiography :**

Institutionalized study of literature turns literary history into the means of raising powerful and persuasive myths about literature, privileging some areas of creativity and repressing or concealing others. As mentioned before, the European configuration of time operatives as cyclical in non-western societies, in fact, reflects the unequal power position of cultures. European ideals have always paid special attention to the dichotomy between imagination and reason as evident in

Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Milton's twin poems, *L'Allegro, Il' Penseroso* etc. This was in tune with Thomas Warton's *Historiography* which essentialized the notion of fundamental principles in order to showcase the progress from 'rudeness to elegance' or from 'barbarism to refinement', as observed by Rene Wellek in his *The Rise of English Literary History*. This, in fact, triggered the western ideals of comparing and contrasting the simple, untainted and barbaric imagination with the sophisticated, urbane and reasonable one. While imagination found expression as myth in Milton's poetry, it was attributed to human characters in Pope's poetry, and later on, as landscapes as in Thomson's *Seasons* wherein Geography symbolized human mind. The roots of the discourses like *Savageology* and *Orientalism* is quite explicit here which outlines the 'Climate theory of warm imagination' proposed in William Jones' *Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from Asiatic Languages* [1772], wherein he comments on the active imagination of poets in warmer climates, citing the example of the 'naturally' excellent poetry of Hafiz . According to Rene Wellek, "Sir William Jones praised the climate of Yemen in recommending Arabian poetry and spoke of the immoderate heat of the East as disposing the Eastern people to a life of indolence, which gives them full leisure to cultivate their talents. He made the alternative suggestion that the sun has a direct physical influence on the imagination." The mild climate of the South and the East and the rigors of the North and the West was detrimental to the growth of literature to the extent that "The Turks, Arabs, and Indians re described as taciturn people ,who, when they open their mouths and 'give loose to a fiery imagination, are poetical and full of metaphors."

Western approaches to literary history are crystal clear in R.S Cranes *Critical and Historical Principles of Literary History* [1967]; Gyorgy Lukacs' *Notes on the Theory of Literary History* [1910]; and Hans Robert Jauss's *Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory* [1970]. While Cranes aesthetic argument embodies the established line of historiography; Lukacs' text, with its Marxist leanings, represents the counter discourse of European historiography; and Jauss's text, propounding the reception aesthetics represents both a cross between Crane and Lukacs, as well as the more recent theoretical trends in literary thought, observes G. N. Devy. The nexus between Crane's *Historiography* with Liberal Humanism that of Lukacs with, Marxist critical thought not just evinces the synthesis of literature and history, but also the complementarity of language and culture. Crane's model observes literary criticism to expose the philological or grammatical mode and the dialectical mode as two misleading modes of interpretation. While the former mode merely connects parts of a work with comparable parts of other works, the latter one fosters a bipolar scheme of perception by dissociating form and content. Thus Crane further stratifies history as 'atomic history ' which is the ' historical history of literature , 'organic history '



which embodies the causation and succession of literary events and finally, 'narrative causal history' which disengages the complexities of historical changes more poignantly. The focal statement of Crane historiography; "... in any history founded on the principles of artistic synthesis the central though by no means exclusive emphasis would be on the constructional aspects of literary works considered from the point of view of the problems faced by writers in the process of making poems, dramas, or narratives of different kinds. The collective enterprise of historians in this mode would consequently have as its ultimate purpose the writing of a narrative –causal history of the various literary arts in terms of four things..." Thus Crane's Historiography is an attempt to establish the primacy of practical criticism over philological criticism even in the realm of literary history by focusing on formal ends, materials, new devices and techniques, and finally, the actualization of these formal elements in literary production. However, this notion of universality would shrink once it comes out of the umbrella of Western or European Literatures.

Ian Fairley's recent English translation of Gyorgy Lukacs' Notes on the Theory of Literary History [1910] not only acknowledges form as a psychic reality, but also affirms that art exists only through form. Lukacs states, "Within the field of literature, the concept of form has no mutually exclusive opposite, there are only ever degrees of form. That which literary history and criticism in practice call 'formless' is, at most, only badly or unsuccessfully formed." While Formalists consider form as an essential hypothesis related to the inter-relationship among constituents of art, Lukacs' theory approach form as a means of communication. Having labeled form as a truly social constituent of literature, Lukacs' tries to substantiate two aspects of its sociological relevance; form is sociological because 'it mediates between the creator and the recipient', and also because 'the materials (such as language) that it forms is socially determined. The non-temporal dimension makes the form aesthetic wherein, the historical dimension makes its sociological. Lukacs' historiography thus states the purpose of literary history as the formation of an organic unity of sociology and aesthetics. This culminates in pursuing the 'constant within the variable' and the 'variable within the constant' since aesthetics symbolizes constants and sociology symbolizes variance, in order to seek 'what is constant, regular and recurrent within the highly complex mesh of the literary works, its influence and effects encompassing the basic traits of the historiographical models proposed by both Crane and Lukacs, H.R Jauss comments on the 'reception of literature' which completes the process of its becoming 'literature.' The reception – aesthetics proposed by H.R Jauss, puts forth seven theses as follows;

A] Literary reception should be given priority over literary production.

B] Literary works can be judged advantageously within the context of an

“objectifiable system of expectations”

C] Objectively reconstructed horizons of expectations help judge the degree of literary influence and quality of reception.

D] Reference to the past and the present horizons of expectations brings in view the hermeneutic difference between the past and the present understanding of work.

E] Reception aesthetics unfolds the meaning of a single work in its historical sequence, as well as the meaning of the ‘literary series ‘

F] Reception aesthetics can be strengthened by help from diachronic linguistics so as to create a new reception historiography.

G] The social function of literature manifests itself in its genuine possibility only where the literary experience of the reader enters into the horizons of expectations.

To sum up, the Liberal-humanistic and Formalistic notions of literary history have concentrated mainly on the idea of literature as a language put in forms, a ‘play with signs’. The Marxists, Freudians, Structuralists, and others have concentrated on the notion of literature as a web of meaning, a ‘represented structure of signified’. Reception aesthetics looks at literature as a process of reception, a ‘possibility and practice of signification’. It is this historiographical triangle of concepts of literature which forms the basis of the European discourse of literary historiography. What use is Crane’s historiography to literatures that, one perfectly justifiable ground, have not developed externalized concepts of critical evaluation and classification? Would it be possible to use Lukacs’ concept of sociological form in cultures that have been forced to accept literary forms developed in alien sociological conditions as universal and ideal forms of literature? How far can Jauss’s theory of reception aesthetics go in communities that have thought of literature as an expression of a supernatural agency, and therefore have not preserved any records of the creators, creations and receptions of literary works? Would it ever be possible to write a history of any literature with reception aesthetics at its center? More importantly, as Schiller raises the question, “What is and Toward What End does one Study Universal History?”

### **Indian Conventions of Literary Historiography :**

The question whether India has her own model of Literary Historiography which would stand the test of time is a relevant one here. By the way of ranging literary discourses before 1850s, what did we have, if it was not history? If so, how just it was to focus on the varied nuances of Regional literatures across time? In order to comment on the nature of such a consciousness of history, one should relegate from the singular ‘history’ to the plural ‘histories’. The classification of Literature into five categories as 1.Suta Literature 2.Mantra Literature 3.Shastra Literature 4.Akshara Literature and 5.Prakrit Literature was neither based on the binary notions of primary and secondary, simple and complex, natural and

aesthetics, nor based on any other hierarchical structures. For instance, the complexity of Mahabharata is equivalent to many other works of Akshara Literature. Many of the Tamil lyrics can be as spontaneous as the songs in Vedic anthologies. The philosophical musings in Prakrit works can be as prolific as that of the Shastras. This sheds light on the alternativity of Indian literatures existing parallel to each other which is quite contradictory to the European binaries of 'Self-hood' and the 'Other'. Several forms of history writing emerged in the Pre-colonial India right from Kalhana's Rajatarangini in the 11th c. to Krishnaji Sohoni's Peshavyanchi Bakhar in the 19th c. However, tawarikh and tadjirahs being embodiments of biographical criticism and history marks the turning point as it provided Encyclopaedic information about scholars, schools, poets, saints and men of letters in an anecdotal style. The emergence of new languages in the 17th and 18th C. resulted in the disintegration of literary communities which was being reflected in the conventions of literary historiography. For instance, literatures in modern Indian languages showed signs of becoming more literate, urbane, highbrows and to some extent institutionalized or patronized. During the 20th c., Sri. Aurobindo's Foundations of Indian Culture offered an authentic model of historiography which deflected away from William Jones lopsided appreciation of the past and challenged Macaulay's thoughtless negation of the Indian literary traditions. "The greatness of the ideals of the past", says Aurobindo, "is a promise of the greater ideals of the future." He further commented on the inevitability of indigenous perspective to acknowledge the principle of evolution since 'civilization' and 'barbarism' are relative terms which later on account for the debate between the advocates of 'tradition' [ sanatana or purana ] and that of modernity [ nutana or adhunika].

Post-colonial Indian approach to literary historiography can be analyzed by indicating the positions taken by historians and writers with reference to their encounter with literary culture in modern India. The eight positions are:

- 1] Literature as a 'universal entity' being echoed in Sri. Aurobindo's Future Poetry.
- 2] Literature as a strictly 'regional entity' being reflected in Dattatraya Punde's anthology, Vangmayctihasci Sankalpana.
- 3] Literature as a 'web of divergent trends, styles' etc. being propagated in Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak's Subaltern Studies, 'Daya Pawar's 'Preface' to Kondwada , Kumkum Sangari's Of Ladies, Gentlemen, and the Short-Cut, and Salman Rushdie's 'Commonwealth Literature' Does Not Exist.
- 4] Literature as 'national convergence of trends, styles' etc. being indicated in Sujit Mukherjee's Towards a literary History of India (1975), Some Positions on A Literary History of India (1981) and Sisir Kumar Das' A History Of Indian Literature (500 – 1399 ; 1800- 1910 ; 1911 – 1956 ).

5] 'Heterodox modernity' as a new literary tradition as depicted in U. R Anandha Murthy's 'Why Not Worship In the Nude.'

6] Modernity as a manifestation of 'preconditioning tradition' as evident in Bhalachandra Nemade's 'The Marathi Novel; 1950 – 1975.'

7] Literature as a 'perennial recurrence' as suggested by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in 'Recollection ; Indian and Platonic', ' The One and the Only Transmigrant', and 'Kha and Other Words Denoting " Zero " in connection with the Indian Metaphysics of Space.'

8] Literature as a specific 'temporal occurrence' an evident in Rajeev Patke's 'Canons and Canon Making in Indian Poetry in English'.

In such a stratification, Language, Sociology/ Ideology, Culture and Philosophy emerge out as the parameters in the 20 th c. Indian approach to literary historiography as demonstrated by G.N Devy in *Of Many Heroes; An Indian Essay In Literary Historiography* (1998), thereby advocating the primacy of sect-formation over canon- formation, style communities over style periods, the order-discourse- tradition trio over progress.

### **Conclusion:**

Western and Indian attitudes to language and literature have always been exclusive and even contradictory at times. For instance, language is perceived as a 'body' or 'corpus' which resulted in its anatomical study in terms of the origin, progress, and demise in the Western or European cultures whereas the conception of the same in Indian culture is equivalent to an 'ever present energy' or a 'mysterious being'. Similarly, the Western idea of reader as an 'advisor/ commentator' differs from the traditional Indian idea of rasika as an 'audience' to the more recent 'vachak' referring to 'someone who participates in the language act'. The thin line between mythology and literature in Indian domains of thought, as in the case of the Epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana, and that between the aesthetics and history of literature with that of the performing or visual arts, such as invoking gods through painting, dance, and music before the narration of tribal epics or stories, underscores the dichotomy between the Indian and the Western systems of thought. Traditionally, Indian literature never attempted to dichotomize canonical and non-canonical, written and oral, high-brow and low-brow literature in qualitative terms. The mutually interdependent marga (dominant/mainstream) and the desi (marginalized/subaltern) literatures were hedged by the European notions of progress, period, and canon. Western strategy of equalizing imagination with savagery or barbarism, further led to the denial of literary status to all non-secular and sectarian literary works.

As Sujit Mukherjee observes, the inclusion of the modern Indian languages in academia, blindly imitating the pattern of English literature courses is questionable. If Anglo- Saxon and Teutonic speeches form the roots of English

language, Indian languages should look back to Sanskrit for parentage. England with her uni- language literary culture could easily fit into the Western/ European models of historiography, wherein the application of the same in India's multi-lingual literary culture wouldn't serve the purpose. As Navram Singh points out in his *Itihasa Aur Alochana*, 'periods' in literary history would only offer 'fragmented images of the past; not its continuous flow', thereby 'distorting the historical reality.' Moreover, a large bulk of prolific Indian literatures will have to be left out, while a large bulk of imitative ones would be included, if Indian literature follows the canonized pattern of Western historiography. The exclusion of Salman Rushdie's *Shame* in Tariq Rahman's *Pakistani Literature in English* (1991) avers that 'literary history is more of a strategy than a logical coherent order.' Since European cultures show a general argument on the identity between language, culture, and nation, Nation emerged out as the prime focus for modern literary histories in course of time. On the other hand, culture should be looked upon as the defining category in case of Indian literatures, which would eventually focus on the varied nuances of Regional literatures, thus re-examining the totems and taboos which have defined the literary Orders, Discourses, and Traditions till date. While Literary Historiography in the Western domains resembles a manageable 'garden', the complexity of the discipline in India's multi- cultural domain would resemble a mythical Naimisharanya. Apart from that, dealing with a 'strange' topic, as the very term, 'queer'ness, suggests, would historically trace a thousand 'Once Upon a Time' narratives with a tentative/ inconclusive ending.

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## The Idea of PakisTan aT 1940

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India always remained a place of interest for the foreign invaders and traders due to its enormous wealth. The British came to India as traders, They gained large share of profits; The situation in India was suitable for them to gain control over large territory because the entire nation was factionalized making their rule suitable and easy to gain profit. The British were the main factor for the growth of communalism in India. The communalism using the religious sentiments though politically motivated; was the main reason for the partition of India. The strongest arm of the communal triangle was the British rulers. They were neither the true friends of Muslims nor the foes of Hindus; they were the true friend of British imperialism acted on the tested and tried maxim of "DIVIDE ET IMPERA". Lord John Elphinstone, Governer of Bombay (1853-1860), wrote in a minute, "divide et Impera was the old roman motto and it should be ours." Sir John Seeley, another eminent British civilian wrote, "The existence, side by side, hostile creeds among the Indian people is one of the strong points in our political position in India." Until the seventies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it settled the imperial interest to support the Hindus and they did it. The early British economic policies and educational policies benefited the Hindus more than the Muslims. The British looked upon the Muslim as chief conspirators in the revolt of 1857. The British government deliberately adopted the policy of suppressing the Muslims. However a change in British Policy is perceptible towards the 1870s. The Hindus politically more advanced than the Muslims, demanded rights, introduction of representative government etc. The Hindu posed a serious threat to the stability of British rule in India then the politically, economically and educationally backward Muslims. This marked the beginning of a change in the working at the grassroots of British policy, W. W. Hunter's book, *The Indian Musalmans* (1871) described 'The Muslim too weak for rebellion' and pleaded for a change of official attitude

towards the Muslim community'. The British in this way started influencing communalism, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who previously supported unity between 'Hindu and Muslims' by saying two eyes of a beautiful bride, i.e. 'INDIA' later on he went on establishing the doctrine of Hinduphobia to serve his interest for his community, In this regard he said in his speech, 16 March 1888 where he maintained

<sup>1</sup> that Hindu and Muslims were not only two nations but as two warring nations who could never lead a common political life, should ever British quit India. Apart from the reasons, there are certain other reasons responsible for the partition like the growing disharmony between the masses formation of religious reform movements, communalism in other respect like writing of History communal overtones. But far and more responsible reason for partition that led to the partition was the formation of Muslim league. Though not only from the sides of Muslims but for in response other section of societies as to serve their religious interest by political means formed their groups like Hindu Mahasabha. The Muslim league was formerly inaugurated on December 30, 1906 with the aim to protect Muslim interests, to promote the feeling of loyalty towards the relations between Muslims and other communities. Though in the late 30s of 20<sup>th</sup> century Muslim league again continued its activity, By 1934 M. A. Jinnah believed Congress as pro Hindu party even on the matter of talks the league put a condition always for negotiation to claim herself as Hindu party (for Congress). Though being a nationalist party Congress refused to be called as Hindu party. The two nation theory was given firstly by the poet and political thinker Iqbal. Inspired by the spirit of Pan Islamism Iqbal declared at the Allahabad session of the All India Muslim League held in 1930, "I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement. I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into single state. Self government within the British empire, the formation of consolidated north west Indian Muslims state appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims at least of the north west India". The idea was taking place in the mind of young graduate at Cambridge, Rahmat Ali, He visualised the area and coined the name Pakistan in 1933. Rahmat Ali was the first to invite attention to the Hindu-Muslim differences resulting in his propounding the two nation theory. On 28 January 1933 he issued a declaration entitled 'Now or Never': Are we to live or perish forever'? which he addressed to the world: "India was neither a country nor a nation. Its heterogeneity was a proven fact. The

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<sup>1</sup> A new look at modern Indian history, B. L. Grover & Alka Mehta, S. Chand publications, 2016, Growth of communalism and partition of India, page no. 427.



Muslims were a separate and distinct nation. 'Our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living on the rest of India'. The ideals which moved the Muslims were different from those which inspired the Hindus. These differences extended to the minutest details of their lives. 'We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different'. To force these Muslims into an Indian federation would sound 'the death-knell of the Muslim nation in India forever.' What would this mean to Islam and the World? He reminded his readers that these 30 million Muslims of 'Pakistan' counted for about one-tenth of the entire Muslim world. Their homeland constituted an area four times that of Italy, three times that of Germany and twice that of France. In population, they were seven times as large as France or Italy. Therefore, they 'deserve and most demand the recognition of a separate national status by the grant of a separate Federal Constitution from the rest of India'. The Indian Pakistanian problem is not an inter-communal issue and will never be solved on inter-communal lines. It is an international problem and, therefore, will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone.<sup>2</sup> In 1942 Jinnah explained to professor Coupland that, 'Pakistan would be Moslem state or states comprising North West frontiers province, the Panjab, the sind on one side and Bengal on other. The demand became more prominent in the Lahore session of Muslim league and they demanded their state in memorandum to the cabinet mission. Later on the most important event, the Direct action day happened after which riots started, seeming inevitable and logical the Congress accepted the demand of partition, which got its final shape by Atlee's statement on February 20, 1947 of "Divide and Quit" policy. Then the Indian independence act came, that contained the provisions of partition and other provision related to the further administration. That act contained various important provisions related to the transfer of power and partition of the British India. Two states were partitioned the first was the Panjab and the second was the Bengal both respectively became the part of West and East Pakistan.

"An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for, other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions. - 18th July 1947"<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Origin and Development of the Idea of Pakistan Abridged Version of History of Partition of India , K.K.Aziz, publication Muslim Deeni Mahaz, 2016, chapter one- two myths, page no. 17

<sup>3</sup> Indian Independence Act, 1947. ro & ii GEO. 6. CH. 30.

The partition further happened on the provisions of the Indian Independence Act of 1947. There were many consequences that were faced by the citizens of the then India. First and foremost the mass exodus that happened leading the migration of communities from Pakistan to India and vice versa. The migration has had many dire consequences, major influx happened in Punjab region both the sides saw the bloodshed. Because of based on religious basis, the riots took place. Again the major problem was the settlement of refugees. After partition, massive population exchanged occurred between the two countries. Based on 1951 census of displaced persons 7,226,000 Muslims went to India from Pakistan while 7,249,000 Hindus and Sikhs moved to India from Pakistan. The census failed to identify those Muslims who migrated from Pakistan to India. "Once, H C Shourie, who was the Rehabilitation Commissioner of Refugees in New Delhi, told me that several Muslims families from the NWFP region of Pakistan came to India in 1947. It is surprising that the reverse migration, albeit small but very significant, hardly gets any attention from historians".<sup>4</sup> Apart from migration and refugee crisis there are some instant and long term causes that are affecting both the nations even the whole world. These problems are affecting from the time of partition to the day till today. One of the important consequences was the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by Nathuram Godse. Nathuram Godse stated that he killed Gandhi for showing too much leniency towards Pakistan while disregarding the interests of Hindus. Later on Godse was hanged and effect of killing of Gandhi ji by Godse was manifested in the section of the society from which Godse belonged. There are also some effects manifested on the politics of post independent India specifically in the region of Maharashtra.

From partition communal violence broke out resulted in killing of millions of innocent people from both the religions. Some long term effects are also seen such as the Kashmir problem, inter country water dispute, growth of militant terrorism. India and Pakistan has already fought four wars respectively in 1947, 1965, and 1971 and in 1999. The first war was just fought after the independence, kabbalis supported by Pakistani troops attacked but they were forced to go back leaving the portion of land behind, the next war was fought in 1965 between both the nations resulting in victory of India, after which the Tashkent accord was signed. The remarkable war of 1971, was fought in the time of Indira Gandhi the daughter of Pt. Jawahar lal Nehru, in this war a new nation was created as Bangladesh, liberating it from the atrocities of the Pakistan. The recent war was fought between India and Pakistan in the month of June- July of 1999. When Pakistan breached the accord and captured the heights of Kargil- Drass- Batalik sector. Failing in all such

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<sup>4</sup> The new Indian express, when muslims left Pakistan for India, by Vivek shukla, 14 August 2017

attempts of direct confrontation Pakistan adopted the policy of provoking terrorism in the valley region. Since then the series of talks are carried on that were started from the time of Congress and Muslim league. The Congress working committee issued a statement on September 14, 1939 expressing its views on the situation created by war. It said that "Issue of war and peace must be decided by the people of India. The committee cannot associate themselves or offer any cooperation in a war which was conducted on imperialistic lines and which was meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere." The committee invited the British government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are; in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these are going to apply to India and to be given to effect in the present. Do they include the treatment of India as free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people?<sup>5</sup> After this the assurances given to Congress were not good enough drawing the Congress to resign in its seven ministries. Leaving the state of Assam, all the provinces went under control of the Governor under section 93 of the act of 1935. M. A. Jinnah made the occasion as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving. In late 1939 he had asked Muslims to celebrate the resignation of Congress ministries which held office in eight out of eleven provinces as a day of deliverance and thanksgiving, a few months later he demanded the partition of India and the creation of a separate country for Muslims.<sup>6</sup> To mitigate all this discontent, the then viceroy Lord Linlithgow, in January 1940, declared that Dominion status of the Westminster variety as soon as possible after the war' was the goal of British policy in India, so they denied what in 1935 was to be given after the war. Then there began a series of talks and other meetings all trying to find a conciliation between the British government and the Congress or between the league and the congress.

The war in Europe, after the crushing of Poland was in a state of quiescence until April 1940, when Hitler suddenly invaded and overran Norway and Denmark events thereafter took a quick and dramatic turn Holland and Belgium surrendered, France collapsed, and the British expeditionary forces had to retreat from Dunkirk. The sudden disaster brought about a change of Government in Britain. In May 1940 Winston Churchill replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister, and L S Amery succeeded the Marquess of Zetland as Secretary of State for India a month later, Parliament passed the India and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act providing 'In the event of a complete breakdown of communications with the United Kingdom' for the transfer to the Governor-General of powers normally

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<sup>5</sup>A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 413

<sup>6</sup> My memories of Jinnah, R. C. Mody, page no.- 1

exercised by the Secretary of State In India there was a certain amount of pain, but chiefly among the propertied classes. The attitude of the political parties was generally one of sympathy for the cause of Britain and her allies Congress leaders proclaimed that advantage should not be taken of Britain's position to press the demand for independence 'I am of the opinion,' said Gandhi, 'that we should wait till the heat of the battle in the heart of the allied countries subsides and the future is dearer than it is'we do not seek our independence out of Britain's rule, that is not the way of non-violence' Nehru expressed his antipathy towards Nazism and he, too, declared that England's difficulty was not India's opportunity.<sup>7</sup> The August offer offered to effect that (a) notwithstanding differences among political parties the expansion of the Governor General's executive council and the establishment of an advisory war council should no longer be postponed. (b) the government reaffirm their desire to give full weight to minority opinion (c) subject to the fulfilment of their obligations like defence, minority rights, the treaties with the states and the position of the all India services; the British government concurred that the framing of the new constitution should be "primarily the responsibility of Indian themselves and should originate from Indian conception of the social, economical and political structure of Indian life" (d) as it was not possible to settle constitutional issues at a moment," when the commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence," The British government "will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of war with the least possible delay of body representatives of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree"; (e) in the interval, it was hoped that all parties and partnership in the British Commonwealth of nations.<sup>8</sup> This was an important event in regard to naturally accepting the inherent right of Indians. Dominion status was explicitly promised. However this offer was rejected by Congress Gandhi believed this offer has widened the gulf between the nationalist Indian and the British. 'It is dead as door nail' was said by Nehru. However the league was in favour to accept it. The league said that partition is the only solution left. Though L. S. Amery referred that strife is between elements of India's national life. The year 1942 opened with an appeal to the British Government by a group of prominent Indians for a bold stroke of far-sighted statesmanship, so as to transform the entire spirit and outlook of the administration in India.

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<sup>7</sup> The transfer of power in India , V P Menon ,Orient Longmans, 1957, page no. 86

<sup>8</sup> A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, The Transfer of power to India, page no. 413