India and Europe in the Past and the Present: Images and Representations

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Abstract

India is an ancient land, a land that has been home to many. It is steeped in myth and has no “trace” of “attestable history” before the 13th century. It is also a many times colonized land that has experienced/suffered hegemonising social intrusions due to expropriations of the land and territory of its indigenous peoples. It is a country that has had its map drawn many times over with the imperial British Modern European Coloniser finally partitioning it.

This land is known for its diversity. Its peoples speak many languages, practice different cultures, cultures that are exuded due to inhabiting differential terrains that makes it also a traveller’s paradise.

A reading of the history of this ancient land in the times we indwelled-in and are indwelling-in reads no different from the lines that begin Dickens’s opus, “A Tale of Two Cities”, containing within it India’s success story as well as India’s strife, voices that sang and continue to sing in euphoria as well as voices screaming silent shrieks of disgruntled masses of a time past, a time present, discordant.

The questions that need to be answered are as to ‘how may one privilege the future when the past is unavailable, erased, or available only as nostalgia, myth, and mere memory? When the present impinges on the past in particular ideological ways? When destinies are

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2 Refer in this context to the way in which Jacques Derrida uses’ trace.’ As explicated in the Internet Encyclopaedia on Philosophy. “In this respect, it needs to be pointed out that all of deconstruction’s reversals (arche-writing included) are partly captured by the edifice that they seek to overthrow. For Derrida, ‘one always inhabits, and all the more when one does not suspect it’ (OG 24), and it is important to recognise that the mere reversal of an existing metaphysical opposition might not also challenge the governing framework and presuppositions that are attempting to be reversed (WD 280). Deconstruction hence cannot rest content with merely prioritising writing over speech, but must also accomplish the second major aspect of deconstruction’s dual strategies, that being to corrupt and contaminate the opposition itself.” Jacques Derrida, Jacques, in Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, http://www.iep.utm.edu/derrida/#SH3d

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tied irresistibly to a colonial centre, Europe in general and Britain in particular? The paper will be an exploration of some of these questions.

**Keywords:** Total Social Facts, Tension, Contrapuntal harmony, Organic Intellectual, Grim Prose of Power, Janus-faced, Residual Dominant Emergent Structure of feeling, Interstices, Mimesis Hyphenated Identities, Hybridity, Integration, Alignment and Transindividuation, Chronotopes, homology, hegemony, colonial, postcolonial Diaspora

### 1. Lead-In

This paper is in four parts. Part-I begins with a lead-in providing the frame-work, a kind of notes to a method informing the structure of the paper. This is followed by a general introduction to the ideas and arguments that are sought to be unfolded in this paper. Part –II deals with the first part of the entitling *India and Europe In The Past and The Present* which is followed by Part –III that addresses the specifics of *Images And Representations* and which is actually a mutual compliment to the earlier part. Part- II is largely a text borrowed from what is generally known history and in this it has borrowed heavily from known historical texts and information available on public domain, while Part-III looks for references to the world of Images and Representations predominantly from Indian Cinema and English Literature though their scope may be extended to others, both from the realms of art and the aesthetic i.e., other forms that impact total social facts. Part- IV is an open-ended conclusion that show-cases a world order even as it tries to take more than a casual look at the state of affairs in the country to which I belong.

### General Introduction

Call it carrying coal to Newcastle, or brand it a cliché or term it a platitude, I begin this paper with the statement, whatever I say about India is true and whatever I say about India could be equally factually untrue. There are a few important reasons for this and these are so evocative of the lines of a Shelley or a Yeats as they highlight a dominant European influence on my country, the former an inherited colonial legacy and the latter celebrating a fraternity with ‘others’ colonized. There are sufficient reasons to believe that such influences were mutual and in the instance of the latter, the Irish poet, a dynamic one.

I am referring to Shelley’s first lines in the poem *Ozymandias* that dates the age of my country

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“I met a traveller from an antique land”

and to Yeats’s *To Ireland in the coming Times* which defines its characteristic

“A Druid land, a Druid tune!”

both though not referring to India per se may be teased out here as aesthetic deflections.

Having explained the evocation I would like to list few of the important reasons that underscore the opening statement and the use of the said evocations to reiterate the same. These mutually contradictory strains that are bound together in “tension” are believed to be able of producing that contrapuntal harmony.

1. India has had its origins in the ‘myths of time’ and is steeped in legends of gods, demons and daimons walking the land.

Before the 13th century with no “attestable history” being available, India may be understood more as Vedic India, Brahmanic India, Upanishadic India, Epic India, Puranic India, Bhakti India and the like. The process of writing History began with

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6 Tate amalgamates the disparate experiences of the objective and subjective analyses of poetry as contained in the terms extension and intensity. His tension removes the qualifying prefixes that usually seem to effect heterogeneous trajectories. Refer for details Abrams, M.H.: *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, Bangalore, India: A Prism Books Pvt. Ltd. 1993
7 “… Yet just as human beings make their own histories, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. No one can deny the persisting continuity of long tradition, sustained habitations but there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their separation and destructiveness … It is more rewarding – and more difficult – to think concretely and sympathetically, contrapuntally about others, than only about ‘us’. But this also means not trying to rule others, not trying to classify them or put them in hierarchies” Refer, Said, Edward. 1994 *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, London: Vintage: 335. And for the for actual use of the word contrapuntal harmony refer, Rajeswaran, Sridhar, July 2003, “The Words of a Dead Man are Modified in the Guts of the Living”: Do Touchstones valorise Girish Karnad’s Writing?, Ed. Balram Gupta, Ed.), *Journal of Indian Writing in English*, Gulbarga, India: Vol. 31, No. 2: p. 6
8 Bhabha has used these words in the context of the nation. Refer Bhabha, Homi K.: ‘narrating the nation’ in *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, London, 1990, pp. 01-07
the Mughals in the 13th century actually and this too was a lopsided re-presentation of facts. The terms used here are predominantly Hindu and it is used with no ulterior motive but only as an analytical category for convenience. Having recorded this it needs to be pointed out that Jainism and Buddhism had their origins right after the Hindu epic period, The Jews were here at different times, with the earliest group arriving 2100 years ago. The next arrivals were in the 11th and 12th centuries and later the 16th and the 17th centuries\(^\text{10}\). Christianity had arrived in India with one of the apostles and Islam too found its way to India almost immediately after its origins thanks to trade routes. Such trade routes were also responsible for the Chinese links – Fa Hian and Hsuan Tsang being the two early Chinese visitors. Fa Hian arrived in the 5th Century and Hsuan Tsang in the middle of the 7th Century and interestingly while the former found packed ‘viharas’ and towering ‘stupas’ of Buddhist establishments in the north-west of then known India, the latter records its devastation, thanks to a deemed golden age and the subsequent iconoclasm of succeeding groups\(^\text{11}\).

\(^{1A}\) This period also has historical evidence arrived at later by looking at the tools and instruments of History, a wide range that includes archaeology, numismatics and great bodies of literature and philosophies that show how peoples lived and what their faiths were. These tools of history and other disciplines that served as an aide in creating knowledge made periods and dates decipherable. It also showed different chronological timescales. Further, it also unconcealed the great knowledge centres of yester years. Taxila\(^\text{12}\) and Nalanda\(^\text{13}\) are in this context points in study.

2. India is a many times traversed land that has experienced cultural exchanges and has participated mutually in them. The Greek world and India’s encounter with Alexander is noteworthy as this relationship, we are told, was also forged mutually in cultural terrains\(^\text{14}\).

10 “The Bene Israel ("Sons of Israel") lived primarily in the cities of Bombay (now Mumbai), Pune, Karachi (now in Pakistan), and Ahmadabad. The native language of the Bene Israel was Judeo-Marathi. They arrived in India nearly 2,100 years ago after a shipwreck stranded seven Jewish families from Judea at Navagaon near Alibag, just south of Mumbai. For details refer, [http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/India.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/India.html)

11 Ibid p. 158


2A.
India is also a many times colonized land that has experienced/suffered politically hegemonising social intrusions due to expropriations of the land and territory of its indigenous peoples, a term applied to groups of peoples who have through the passage of time been made mutually inclusive as well as collectively excluded by certain quarters. This is due to political changes which makes groups isolated, marginalized, minoritised, majoritised, majority minoritised or minority majoritised through the “continual grim prose of Power”. The same script apportions onus on to the victim stating that decisions were out of volition or valorises it stating how such action actually has accorded the group a reified new status. If there are objections to the use of the term indigenous people then one could substitute it with the term inhabitants but then this could create a problem in the context of the marginalized, the minorities and other syncopated/amplified groups of inhabitants tagged above who too have rights to claim this space of India as their home too. One must remember that some people read the arrival of the Aryans, as the first colonisers of the land. Then there were many others. Greeks - Bactrian/Indo-3rd CBC, Sakas- 2nd CBC, Parthians-2nd CBC, Kushanas - YUE-CHI (or YuEH-Chih)- 1st CBC, Kshatrapas -1st CBC, Hunas- late 5th early 6th CAD, Muslim invasion of Sindh-711 AD, followed by Ghazni and Ghori -11th and 12th AD. There were other brief sojourners from within and outside of the known borders and boundaries of India; it is a country that has had its map drawn many times over with the imperial British Modern European Coloniser finally partitioning it. Usually it is a practice to read, the Aryans and then the Mughals and then the modern European colonisers, as important moments, i.e., chronotopes in a single catastrophic strain, and this researcher follows suit impelled by the need to mark the major difference between earlier colonisations and the European colonisation, which was that, European colonization was imperialistic and land had given way to Currency as Capital.

3.
A land consisting of people who worship at different altars, faith that covers all the major religions of the world population of 7 billion living today. Zoroastrians,

16 Bhabha, Homi K.: ‘narrating the nation’ in Nation and Narration, Routledge, London, 1990, pp. 01-07
17 In conversation with Archaeologist Dalal, Kurush of the Extra Mural Studies department, University of Mumbai, 11th February 2015. For a better understanding it would also be useful to just look at the entry ‘Sind’, “Index” in Majumdar R.C., Raychaudhuri H.C. Kalikinkar Datta.: An Advanced History of India, Op.cit. p. 1141
18 This is also responsible for the plurality of the Indian Diaspora per se, which resulted in that a seminal insider/outsider perspective being made available to the old homeland. For details refer Bharucha Nilufer’s Real and Imagined Worlds, Salman Rushdie as a Writer of the Indian diaspora, ibid.
Hindus, Jews, Christians, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, to mention but a few. There is also the healthy tradition of rationalism.

3A While living harmoniously following many a faith there is also the classification of people into ‘pseudo- secularists’ and fundamentalists. Increasingly the level of tolerance to reactions against dominant groups invites this tag that progressively tends to replace the continual “grim prose of power”\(^{19}\) with the cutting edge of political double speak in itself “Janus-faced”\(^{20}\).

4. A secular democratic republic, the biggest in the world consisting of 1.3 billion people (approximately) with all the apparatus and institutions of ‘civilized’ society in place (‘civilized’ highlight by single quote), it is a modern nation state with the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Executive intact.

4A. It is a land of opportunities but also a land of hierarchical class differences, a land of equality but also a land of inequalities that suffers ‘sharing’ problems in the spaces of the private, the public and the national, a land unified but also a land that is fragmented, a land with definite external political lines but with over-arching cultural frontier zones, a land with rich cultural harmonies thanks to its institutions of language and literature but in spite of this a land known for its linguistic hegemonies and divides. A land reeling from the malady of caste created and controlled by overarching ancient codes but yet one which has forged "Organic intellectuals"\(^{21}\).

\(^{19}\) Bhabha, Homi K.: ‘narrating the nation’ in Nation and Narration ibid.

\(^{20}\) Bhabha states, “To encounter the nation as it is written displays a temporality of culture and social consciousness more in tune with the partial, over determined process by which textual meaning is produced through the articulation of difference in language; more in keeping with the problem of closure which plays enigmatically in the discourse of the sign” …He takes issues here with the “politics of difference” that ensemble of ideas and events which emerge from with the recesses of a proclaimed national culture. “The most progressive from such positions – take a discursive conception of ideology – ideology (like language) is conceptualised in terms of the articulation of elements.” Bhabha opines that such positions, informed by Volosinov’s notions of the ideological sign as multi accentual, Janus faced, may not withstand any other arrangement, since in the heat of political argument the doubling of the sign can often be stilled. His project then is “to explore the Janus - faced ambivalence of language itself in the construction of the Janus- faced discourse of the nation” ibid, p. 3.

In short a nation state that at one level is indicative of the Gramscian belief that the sum total of a nation is always larger than the sum total of all its parts and simultaneously with splintered residual, dominant and emergent groups whose structures of feeling are negated or appropriated, to re-cite Bhabha by the continual “grim prose of power” forcing one to seek cultural bonds in “intersections/interstices of space” The issue is how does one do so when part of the country is not your own and your own not part of certain peoples who belonged with you once. The reference here is to the partition of India and the creation of new countries in 1947.

A reading of the history of the times we indwelled-in and are indwelling-in reads no different from the lines that begin Dickens’s opus, A Tale of Two Cities, i.e., “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us”, Containing within it India’s success story as well as India’s strife, voices that sang and continue to sing in euphoria as well as voices screaming silent shrieks of disgruntled masses of a time past, a time present, discordant. Here we are then at the crux of the problem- ambiguities. On the horns of a dilemma and that was the reason behind the opening statement that whatever one says about India could be correct or equally factually incorrect.

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22 Key-words and Key concepts used by Raymond Williams. Refer “Chapter II section 8&9 Cultural Theory” in Williams, Raymond : Marxism and Literature, Oxford University Press, New York, 1977, pp. 121-135

23 Cultural effects, Bhabha opines, need to be studied by interventions, so that, the ambivalent margin of nation space establishes cultural boundaries, which will of rote prove that it contains different “thresholds of meaning that must be crossed erased and translated in the process of cultural production”. These thresholds of meaning are due to the fact that culture is never unitary or unified. The boundaries are frontiers. Janus-faced, the problem of “outside/inside” must always itself be a process of “hybridity” “incorporating new people in relation to the body politic, generating other sites of meaning ….. producing unmanned sites of political antagonism and unpredictable forces for political representation.” This in effect produces those in-between places - due to the incomplete signification of an “irreducible excess of syntax over the semantic” – which are actual mediation sites. Bhabha believes that Fanon’s national consciousness has meaning only in this sense. To sum up then, cultural crossroads form a new transnational culture, “where the other is never outside or beyond us it emerges forcefully within a cultural discourse when we thing we spoke intimately and ingeniously between ourselves.” Op.cit. pp. 1-7


The questions that need to be answered are as to “how may one privilege the future when the past is unavailable, erased, or available only as nostalgia, myth, and mere memory?” When the present impinges on the past in particular ideological ways?

The reiteration of the essentiality of a past does not at any point obliterate its metaphysics. Yet, in this very dichotomy a point of contiguity may be located - a conjunctive that even while stressing the importance of history, chooses to dispossess the past of those certain purchases which the present has sought to credit it with. A present, which in the context of a constant deferral of actual meaning, endless procrastination of larger political purport, has aggravated - appropriated, rewritten sites of meaning, which, even in the original instance, were premised on suppression, elision, of unwritten others.

It is precisely this need to rub knuckles against the grain and re-possess the value and worth of that which has hitherto been marginalised which begins the action of liberation. The past then becomes history, the future hope and the present achieves a dialogical ordering of mutually contradictory strains – a new ordering temporally and spatially encompassed and which is made to instruct the notion of a radical collective/community.

“Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future”

“Natural and supernatural with the selfsame ring are wed.
As man, as beast, as an ephemeral fly begets, Godhead begets Godhead”

The present as action is then, the liberating agent which can forge moral links through cracks and discontinuities: as practice it is poised to blast open the

26 “Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and fully realise their horizons in the mind’s eye.” Bhabha, Homi K: ‘narrating the nation’ in Nation and Narration, Routledge, London, 1990, pp. 01-07
27 “The philosophic individual cannot reshape a mechanised world nearer to heart’s desire by the ‘eternal’ ideologies developed over two thousand years ago in a bullock-cart country”. Refer Kosambi, Damodar, Dharmanand.: An Introduction to the study of Indian History, Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., Mumbai, 1998. p. xiii
28 “For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything in everything: nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy... this process in the thinking brain. Dialectics is ‘the science of the general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human thought’ ”Quotes are actually Engles’s words as cited by Lenin in Lenin V: “Karl Marx”, Lenin Collected works, vol. 21, op. cit.
continuum, since it perceives here less a sequence and more a catastrophe; as agent it seeks to tie enslaved ancestors to liberated grandchildren.\footnote{31} Unable as it is to ground itself in linear time, it looks backwards to the future and forwards to history\footnote{32}. It is then the need of the hour to study those different other sites of (elided) meaning historically, redefine the present continuously so that the future writes a positive story by itself. In short liberate the past as present for the future, as a monad that is dialectic at stand still, as an image in which the past and now, flash into a constellation.’\footnote{33}

2. India and Europe influences in the Past and the Present

“It’s the present with its uncertainties
That tired, tormented and bogged him down.

The foot suspended in limbo
Between floor-boards and platforms
Muddled the past, faded the future,
To encapsulate Life in mere torments of re-lived pains and veiled
Futures –

Static moments
That signalled frozen inaction
Hung
Frame after frame
Frame after frame

In a bizarre collage
Where, each ‘image’ was absurd;
Every dream, a nightmare

And Living Time, an eternal frustration”\footnote{34}


\footnote{32} This is how the angel of history is pictured. His face is turned towards the past. Where most can perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is called progress. Refer to Benjamin, Walter: ‘Thesis on the Philosophy of History’ ibid.

\footnote{33} Ibid.

\footnote{34} Sridhar Rajeswaran,: “Space” in the \textit{Journal of Indian Writing in English (JIWE)}, Vol. 28, No 1, Jan 2000, p. 37
The first part of this paper had established the diversity of India, its pluralized society as well as the ‘hyphens in its hybridities’ 35 and the attempts both at pluralisation and polarization – aims that may be defined as attempts at ‘integrating and aligning a transindividuating consciousness’ 36 as well as to the contrary, attempts aimed at containing difference within the sameness of the self.

In this part I seek to build on it and read certain important moments in History as regards India and Europe, the influences imbibed and the pressures resisted/succumbed to. Like India Europe too is with its forbears and countries within it and ideas and ideologies within it too, are part of a larger ‘chronotopic’ 37

35 These modes of re-inscription, Edward Said argues, are available - rather are made available by insurgent intellectual labour, enable scholars to read history - both the western archive which, in a sense, splits to allow such labour to emerge in the first place and the resisting text which re-writes, supplements, hybridises, resists and challenges. Such texts adumbrate, according to Said, three great topics: One: the restoration of the imprisoned nation to itself, Two: an alternative conception of human history, which does not merely react to imperialism but works to mix with and transform the history created by imperialism, so that it would “acknowledge marginalised or suppressed or forgotten histories”, The hybridity is however not a merely textual effect on the form of various competing lines of force that criss-cross the discursive terrain enabled into existence by colonialism. This hybridity, as Said demonstrates through a brilliant reading of CLR James, the black revolutionary historian and man of letters, posits a double history, whose chronos is essentially coeval but which comprises an uneven articulation of the elements which constitute the doubleness in the first place Said, Edward: Culture and Imperialism, Vintage, London, 1994, p. 50, pp. 279-81. Also refer footnote 12.

36 Raymond Williams states, Integration may be achieved through collective authorship: “…in which, even while individual projects are being pursued, what is being drawn on is trans-individual, not only in the sense of shared (initial) forms and experiences, but in the specifically creative sense of new responses and formation.” But what ultimately matters is creative practice, where the act of creation is actually an instance of contact, “often humble, with some other (‘external’) source of knowledge. This is often mystically described. I would myself describe it as a consequence of the inherent materiality (and thence objectified sociality) of language.” Williams, Raymond: ‘Authors’ in Marxism and Literature, Oxford University Press, Oxford. New York, 1985, p. 195.

37 See Bakhtin, M.M.: The Dialogical Principle, Tzvetan Todorov (Tr.), Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, for the explication of this term. For a deflection in the context of postcolonial strategies refer to Edward Said who explicitly shifts his critique from a concern with the historical logic of colonialism to its geographical logic, effects a movement from chronos to topos, producing as it were, through his arguments a ‘chronotope’ which is roughly equivalent to, is infact the coeval of Benjamin’s ‘monad’. The objective correlative which aptly symbolises the chronotope is a critical entity that Said prises out of Gramsci’s essay, ‘Some Aspects of the Southern Question’ (a study of how Italian nationalism systematically underdeveloped the South of Italy and derived its discursive power from such a process, that was political, economic and cultural). Said takes up Gramsci’s argument that the Italian south testified against itself - so evident in the philosopher Benedetto Croce’s alignment with cosmopolitan European ‘high’ culture
movement. A point is in order here. The references here are largely through deflections of history books and a couple of sites from the public domain and wherever verbatim quotations are used they are duly acknowledged, otherwise the referential texts find place only in the bibliography.

Here too consistent with the first part, the predominant influence of a dominant centre in the very structures used to enunciate an idea is decipherable.

At the outset one must also understand that societies fulcrumate on Heraclitus’s “There is nothing permanent except change” and change is announced and later finds enunciation because of shifting and sifting constitutive conditions. These underpinned larger spatio-temporal realities in turn cartograph the landscapes of memory with post-memory making it a memory of landscapes. So in trying to understand complex societies that have suffered intrusions other than the ones sought to be located i.e., India and its link with Europe, sufficient attention needs to be placed on other influences that are not necessarily European in general and/or belonging to the dominant European in particular i.e., Britain. These influences that have stretched over long periods of time are resultants of the dynamics of change in positional and ‘constructural’ conditions which in turn dialectically impact the very structures which are being influenced and/or those that are exerting their influences. This in its own way thus creates political barbed wires, boundaries and cultural frontier zones in the spaces of the nation and in the spheres of the private and the public where the cultural nation and the modern State coalesce. It is this and the disparagement of local life – and notes that such testimony which “supported and occluded the north-south discrepancy for so long in Italian history” was interrupted only when a fissure opened up within the cultural structures to jut forth a new class of ‘organic’ intellectuals. These intellectuals served to delineate the inscription of power within culture and also represented, in their work, the possibilities of cultural re-inscription. Said, Edward: op.cit. p.50

38 The site which has proved useful other than the history books has been India.heritage.org/history/history.htm


conjoining which may be said to create the hyphens in the hybrid too which praxiated moments actually are the only ones that could possibly negotiate. Though the term hyphen and hybridity is more in vogue in post-colonial studies to depict the condition of the colonised, I prefer to extend its scope here to the sphere of the coloniser too in order to highlight the complexity of the problem that confronts the formulation of, evolving negotiation strategies, as interaction between them is a given and is inevitable. The moment the contact is made a cultural connect needs to be established and this is the space that needs negotiation, a condition which is pivoted on axes of self and other operating mutually as well as in contrapuntal/contradictory movements. The deflected sensibility of the Frankfurt School could prove useful in helping us to understand it spatially. The analytical categories that could prove helpful in our understanding of how spaces/spatiality works could be achieved by reclaiming public and private spaces for a redefinition of nation spaces and which may be said to be translatable into a problem of negotiation and inter-action.

Between an emergent (‘private’) moment and a dominant (‘public’) one.

Between a cultural national moment - homologous to the ‘private’ and a modern national one – the moment of the ‘public’.

The point is the emergent as well as the cultural-national gets inscribed into/onto sexual and social relationships while the dominant and the modern-national are crystallised into political and economic institutions. These I would guess better still at least speculate are equally applicable to both coloniser and the colonised and all forms of self and other relationships that entails an otherness, points touched upon later too. A mere look at the institutions of culture, the language and literatures written in English and its forbears will prove this point.

A third factor may be of consequence here i.e., what one perceives as the west per se. Here one would like to refer to Tufail Ahmad the Director of The South Asia Studies Project at the Middle East Media Research institute, Washington DC

In a post, entitled, “Western influence in India” He begins by saying that

As India begins its 64th year as a republic, it is also being transformed as a western country, with the organising principles of its politics and society rooted in the European Enlightenment. In Indian imagination, the West is viewed as a geographic concept, covering mainly the United States, Britain and parts of Europe. However, the reality is otherwise. Several countries, notably Australia,


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New Zealand, Japan and South Korea, are situated in the east, but in terms of their values and politics is firmly part of the West.  

He goes on to state that “French author Guy Sorman traces the conception of the West to 25 centuries ago when the Greeks perceived themselves as Western, as opposed to the Persians, who were seen as Orientals.” To continue, “It was also in ancient Greece that man began imagining himself as a rational being, realising that individual endeavour, rather than inherited beliefs, shape human life. The ideas of rationality and enlightenment travelled through the Romans to Britain and later to America and India. The very word ‘India’ came from Indus, used by Greeks to denote the territory beyond river Sindh.”

Though he goes on to talk about countries like Russia as not being part of the West they are not referred to here as India’s link with the erstwhile USSR and its impact on Independent India may be read differently, as opposed to the ones purported in the article if my reading of it is right and hence it is not touched upon.

European influence in modern times may be said to begin with the arrival in Calicut of Vasco da Gama in 1498. This journey from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa to the beyond of Cape Comorin, other than maritime adventure and missionary zeal was also underscored by economics as the Portuguese were interested in the trade of spices and cotton specifically. It has been earlier pointed out that India and its peoples revelled in trade and trade routes. It is useful to recollect here John Donne’s famous lines in Sunne rising, “both th’ Indias of spice and mine” The Portuguese influence extended to cultural spheres in earnest almost immediately. The modern state of Goa in the west of India is a point in study. However this influence waxed and waned in concordance to their shifting fortunes in Europe for the one and the losses they suffered in India for the other.

44 Ahmad, Tufail: http://www.newindianexpress.com/columns/article1444355.ece, Published: 01st February 2013 07:30 AM, Last Updated: 01st February 2013 07:30 AM
46 Ibid
47 http://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/sun-rising
48 “The Iberian powers…. The gold that underwrote European currencies and trade throughout the Middle Ages came across the Sahara from the riverine goldfields of West Africa to Morocco… As a consequence, the economic trends of the medieval world placed Europe at a disadvantage in that it was a net contributor to the wealth of the Muslim world”. So it is very evident that there already was, a seven hundred years ago (Portugal –1249, Spain 1492) the intent for imperialism. Also evident is Europe’s incurable lust for a control - colonial expansion, over otherness. An oculus mundi blinded by its “own inner demons – Europe’s fears, anxieties and disowned self”. Sardar Zia, Ashis Nandy and Merryl Wyn Davis: Barbaric Others - A Manifesto on Western Racism, Pluto Press, London, 1993. pp. 6-7.
The ever newly forming power equations in the Centres i.e., Europe coupled with their fluctuating fortunes in India also impacted their presence in what would eventually become the spaces which they sought to colonize or were in the process of colonising or succeeding in doing so.

The loss to Spain in 1580 and the leasing of the city of Bombay comprising seven islands in 1674, as part of the dowry given to the Portuguese princess Catherine de Braganza, who married Charles II of Britain, for a measly sum of 10 pounds are note-worthy of mention49. Mangalore too is a point in study as a place that was razed twice. It was set ablaze once by the Arabs due to trade practices and once by Haider due to adventurous trade policies again and an equally adventurous conversion agenda50. In today’s Bombay/Mumbai there is a Portuguese Church on the main arterial road on the Western Express Highway in a place called Poisar in Borivilli where one sees a Magadheshwara temple with its defaced idols sealed by lime by the Portuguese and a Church built on top of it. One cannot here fail to recollect Che Guevara’s eloquent passage in the Motor Cycle Diaries which talks about the Church of Santa Domingo super-imposed on the structures for Inti the sun god51. It has since been cleaned/cleansed of historical debris and both Church and temple co-exist side by side today underpinning the secular nature of the indwellers in this maximum city of India.

If this was the Portuguese, the French followed in the 17th century, arrived hammer and tongs with trade on their lips and a sword on their hips. French companies saw the light of day in Surat –Gujarat, in Masulipatanam – Andra Pradhesh and by the end of the 17th Century the programme for colonial plunder was well charted out - Francis Martin was the culprit and the fateful year 1672.

The Armenians arrived from the east of Turkey in the 16th century but they came to settle here. Though trade was the underscoring factor the wealth they amassed was meant to stay in India. They located themselves in a place called Chinsurah in Calcutta which also later became a Dutch colony. By funding for the British East India Company’s project Calcutta, they became the under-belly of the over-arching later-day larger colonial enterprise. In the context of diaspora studies the Armenians constitute India’s oldest Modern Colonial expatriate community.

49 In this context it would be very edifying to view Madhusree Datta’s documentary on Bombay. Datta, Madhusree. (Director): Seven Islands and a Metro, Majlis Productions, 2006, India.


The Dutch too were interested in Indian spices and their trade outposts were set in Jakarta, Indonesia. It is obvious that that India was integral to their plan as was Ceylon and South Africa. With the passage of time their expansion made them plant their feet in Cochin (Kerala), Bheemunipatnam (Andhra Pradesh) and Nagapatnam (Tamilnadu) and of course Bengal, as has been pointed out earlier. Their focus of attention included also ships and ports. Though not interested like the Portuguese, the French and the British in a colonial agenda their influence on India cannot be easily written off.

More than the French and the Portuguese it was the British who exerted maximum influence. Having arrived at the beginning of the 17th century they stayed for over three centuries and a half. From being a group of traders, to becoming Colonial Masters, they came armed with an idea of plunder and stayed to ravage. They appropriated. They expropriated, they mind-bent and they ruled. The devolutionary logic of colonialism actually defeated them when the slave became better than the master and the Empire wrote back. The fact is by then Slave and master had traits that were inured to each other. The British amalgamated, the British divided and ruled, the British defeated other colonizers and carried their wars fought in the European mainland to the colonies52

The British infact proved the stickiest of all bubble gums. British occupation of India began with the forming of The East India Company with Dutch money on the last day of the year 1600, the policy of your enemy’s enemy being your friend53 working in their favour as they had a score to settle with Portugal and Spain on the European mainland. The Mughal Emperor Jehangir received them with an eye on their ships. Each and every kingdom in India started falling after that. The British formed alliances to beat local resistance and also to settle scores with their European adversaries. Intrigue and duplicity confused and treaties and acts made “the confusion worse confounded”54.

Greed and grab that had underscored the wishes of the progeny of Great Akbar an unread visionary who tried a fusion religion called ‘Din i ilahi’ (Divine faith) and abolished sectarian taxes were done away by an educated bigot Aurangazeb and

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52 In 1756, war broke out between France and Great Britain, and Colonel Robert Clive of the British East India Company and Admiral Watson of the British Navy bombarded and captured Chandannagar (a.k.a Chandernagore) in March 1757.

53 In his Arthashastra: Book VI, “The Source of Sovereign States”, Kautilya writes, “The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror’s territory is termed the enemy. The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror)” Refer Kautilya: “The Source of Sovereign States”, Arthashastra, Penguin, India, 1992.

after his fall the Mughal Empire collapsed and the new Empire that was to be governed by the British came into being. The death knell being the invasion by Nadir Shah the Persian who plundered ravaged and took away the Peacock throne and the Kohinoor Diamond which is today in the possession of her Majesty the Queen of England.

Endless battles – On June 23rd 1757 at Plassey, between Calcutta and Murshidabad, the forces of the East India Company under Robert Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Bengal, a battle won by the payment of a bribe to Mir Jafar, one of the Nawab's trusted lieutenants. Battle of Wandiwash in the 1700s when the French and English fought a series of battles for supremacy in the South with ultimate victory to the British, the Battle of Buxar in June 1763 when Adams a Major obtained for the British a victory over Mir Kasim the Nawab of Bengal and then appeared Warren Hastings the newly appointed Governor of Bengal, the year 1772. His arrival saw actual imperial intrusion with the British parliament joining the general chorus of plunder. His contribution to the general pool was the Rohilla War in 1774. What followed were the four Mysore wars, and the neutralization of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The fall of Tipu and Srirangapatna in 1799 was a real loss to resistance. History tells us through numerous examples how the British approximated, decimated, neutralized resistance either through bribes, intrigues, and divisionary politics or through treaties and later acts. It was the Doctrine of Lapse of Dalhousie that gave a fillip and in 1857 paved the way for genuine resistance with the Sepoy Mutiny, since repossessed by India as its First War of Independence. The resistance had begun in earnest.

Echoes that had believed in renaissance and reform both to alleviate the miseries of the larger Indian peoples reeling under their own major contradictions of discrimination in the name of class, caste and gender had too begun. Freedom movements looked to the outside worlds and they forged bonds with major resistance groups that were reeling under colonial hegemony. New fraternities were established. Reading History against the grain had proved that whatever be the name of the colonizer they had only a singular agenda. Bonds were forged to fight this imperial hegemony. Gandhi armed with a knowledge from Britain tested his theories in Africa, replicated Tolstoy’s ideas in India taking a leaf out of the annals of renaissance reformers simultaneously. 1915 saw his return to India, 1920 his induction, 1930 he became proactive, 1942 he led the Quit India movement and in 1947 gave us the freedom at midnight, 1948, like the starch on his collars he was deemed superfluous perhaps and shot! Hey Ram!

55 In the words of M.K. Naik for instance, “an age had ended and an other began”. Even with the movement in history becoming, from a middle class movement to a mass emotion Naik.
M.K., A history of Indian Literature, Sahitya Akademi, New-Delhi, pp. 115
A brief history of postcolonial India would choose the chronotopic moments of 1947 which gave us freedom but also left us the legacy of partition that saw a million deaths and large scale migration of about 12.5 million people across the eastern and western borders of India\(^{57}\), what was then known as West and East Pakistan. Gandhi’s assassination in 1948 is also linked to this division. In 1950 India declared itself a democratic republic, in 1961 experienced the Chinese aggression, 1965 and 1971 saw two wars with Pakistan. It is an established fact that all the three wars were inherited thanks to the new borders designed by the imperial master. India then began the long process of a redefining of India, but its own internal strife thanks to policies that could not satisfy the needs of the peoples that indwelled in its internal boundaries, made this a gargantuan task. The rest as we know today is nothing but an extension of the struggle for a freedom as redefining to put it euphemistically.

A freedom with a price, a country partitioned, friends became foes and borders did not take into account cultural frontier zones. “Trauma”\(^{58}\) of partition which even today haunts Indians to a passion is a by-product. It must be noted here that there were two sets of wars that influenced India. One set being the First and the Second World Wars and the second set the wars to impel the colonial master as well as wars to clean its own cattle-sheds of internal hegemonies of caste and violation of gender by patriarchal institutions, the legacy that continues to affect India’s peoples even today. Not to forget the linguistic and religious divides in a diverse country with peoples being of an antique land with a druid tune, to repossess the idea spelt out earlier. It must also be remembered that the historical fact of colonisation also resulted in new dispersals/dislocations thus paving the way for newer cultural formations, when peoples were injected into various societies, all over the colonised world. The new structures that emerged due to such juxtapositions of peoples in new zones and in newer contexts with different social facts, and which generically falls under the banner of people living in a diaspora are paid greater attention to in part-III that follows.

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\(^{58}\) It is useful to recollect Bhabha’s use of ‘trauma’ here. Refer, Copjec, Joan. (Ed.): ‘Homi K. Bhabha’, “Anxious nations, nervous states” Supposing the Subject. Verso. 1994, 201-17
Expropriation of the expropriated is not a mere process of re-appropriation but a combative space and the 'bard of memory' joins the general choricity of rage and protest. While this indefatigable logic of colonisation impels the physical presence of an alien order the fact of having indwelled together for over 300 years while creating hegemonies also homologises even as the “war of position” is fought in cultural spaces in terrains that are dialectical. Recollect the idea stated earlier and the knowledge from Frankfurt school leaned upon for an enabling understanding of culture after colonisation – this in addition to, Fanon’s remarkable inputs on the subject. If it is true of a shared space of 300 years it is equally true of other groups who colonized and who became part of the spaces they visited or arrived at with the intent to stay.

In the course of 5000 years India has seen multiple colonisations beginning with the Aryan settlers through the Mughals to the arrival of the modern European

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59 In this context for a clear understanding refer Mishra, Vijay.: The Literature of the Indian Diaspora: Theorizing the Diasporic Imaginary Routledge Research in Postcolonial Literatures, London, 2014

60 In this context refer to Spivak’s two categories of representation - representation as speaking for and re-presentation as in art and philosophy, to challenge the belief “that theory is not a radically subversive force”. Refer p-73. As found in Maxwell, Anne: ‘The Debate on Current Theories of Colonial Discourse’, Kunapipi, Vol. 13, no. 3, 1991.

61 The context of colonialism is structured by alienated space, deferred liberty and a forced erasure of memory. Fanon explicates at length on this with reference to Algeria. The economics of colonialism require this former as necessary ideological conditions for its exploitative plunder to continue. But paradoxically, these in turn become the sites of native struggle and resistance to the coloniser. Expropriation of land causes the peasant to rebel and forces the poet to re-map his country’s contours. The absence of liberty brings the masses onto the streets and the poet’s voice joins the general chorus of rage and protest. The stubborn presence of the coloniser causes public memory to resonate with intimations of a lost and forgotten time when all was well, and the poet now becomes the bard of a memory forced into forgetfulness, as he attempts to reclaim that past. The relationship between the poet and the people is however not one of simple identification or affiliation. The use of the word poet here is as a symbol for culture. But it must be remembered that Fanon’s own understanding of reappropriation, was not merely a question of expropriating the expropriators and activating the code in reverse but a transformative act that changes the code. Refer for an in-depth analysis of Fanon Rajeswaran, Sridhar and Varadarajan Geetha, “Colonialism and Culture: Understanding Fanon, Locating Said,” in Singh K. Avadesh, (Ed.) Critical Practice, Vol VII, No. I, January, 2000, pp. 5-20.

imperial colonizer to whom land had ceded place to capital, points already highlighted. Having said this, they also having arrived brought the world to one’s door steps and Macaulay’s partisan and highhanded Minute notwithstanding there were mutual exchanges. Mimic men of colonial texts all over the colonized world aped, became hyphenated, became hybrid and became postcolonial peoples, became the empires that wrote back. It is also equally true that the mimic men influenced the centre and shifted knowledge from the world of Europe and History to that of the earth and its geography – what is generally known as a movement from chromos to topos. It is useful to refer here to Heidegger’s ideas on the relationship between the Permanent Earth and the transient worlds within the criss-crossing terrains of which he locates life as well as art.64.

In the context of Diasporas, the old ones were due to prospects of trade and the trade routes that bridged Asia with Europe, Africa, China, and the Arab Worlds. The caravan routes, the silk-routes, the spice routes and the maritime routes were making the world come alive in your pocket long before the internet or the mobile phone. Mandvi in Kachchh Gujarat, in the west of India, bears testimony to this fact even today with its sailing ships. Copious are the literary re-presentations in Modern times in fictional/re-memory writing that revisits a time past to chronicle the lives of such peoples. Modern Imperialistic Colonisation created through indentured labour the new Diasporas.

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63 Refer, Bharucha, Nilufer, “From Macaulay’s minute to the Millennium: An overview of Indian dram in English” in Bernhard Reitz and Heiko Stahl (Eds.): CDE Studies, What Revels are in Hand? Assessments of Contemporary Drama in English in Honour of Wolfgang Lippke WVT, Trier 2001, pp. 239-255

64 Heidegger is a useful input in this context. The world, “the self-disclosing openness of the broad paths of the simple and essential decisions in the destiny of a historical people” rests on the earth but constantly tries to surmount it. As such, it constitutes the realm of history. The earth, “the spontaneous forthcoming of that which is continually self-secluding and to that extent sheltering and concealing”, which tends to draw in the world, even as it juts out through it, constitutes the other of history, the ground on which history unfolds. Refer to ‘The Thinker as Poet’ and ‘The Origin of the Work of Art’ in Heidegger, Martin: Poetry, Language and Thought, Albert Hofstadter (tr.), Perennial Library, 1975


66 There are many words used here in the context of diaspora which have come to represent keywords and Key concepts in diaspora studies, footnoting acquired and deflected sensibility will mean a tremendous addition at least in terms of length. Please refer for a comprehensive understanding other critics already cited and Lal, Brij, V. (Ed.): The Encyclopaedia of the Indian Diaspora, Editions Didier Millet &National university of Singapore, Singapore 2006
This modern European colonisation for matters of convenience may be looked at as colonial, post-colonial Diasporas, the comma between them establishing continuities and the hyphen in the postcolonial referring to both the gaps and the bridges that constituted the ruptures and the concomitant hyphenated, hybrid identities. The movement from the hyphen to the hybrid is held by this researcher as a progress from mimesis to hybridity, unlike certain other scholars from certain schools who look at them as negative and positive aspects. Such a belief is consistent with the way colonialism and post colonialism are read as regards the ambit of its influence and its impact on the colonised societies i.e., India here. To elaborate, the term Post Colonial does not refer merely to a temporal condition, to a time after colonialism nor does it describe a critical perspective, which some theorists hold to be radically different from a colonialist perspective of cultural products. Though their perspectives have accommodated and made allowances for Difference/‘differance’ in the colonising West and the colonised Others, they have paid insufficient attention to the fact that colonial exploitation, even as it works on a logic of difference, urges a notion of oppression which is sufficiently generalised to appear homogeneous - this, notwithstanding the fact that colonial exaction grounded its effects in extremely heterogeneous conditions. Returning to

67 For a deflection refer, Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Frederic Jameson, Aijaz Ahmad, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Benita Parry, Nilufer Bharucha and a galaxy of others. It is not necessary to single out particular texts as they wrote in the context of colonial postcolonial studies.

68 Derrida explains, “Différance is an attempt to conjoin the differing and deferring aspects involved in arche-writing in a term that itself plays upon the distinction between the audible and the written. After all, what differentiates différance and différence is inaudible, and this means that distinguishing between them actually requires the written. This problematises efforts like Saussure’s, which as well as attempting to keep speech and writing apart, also suggest that writing is an almost unnecessary addition to speech. In response to such a claim, Derrida can simply point out that there is often, and perhaps even always, this type of ambiguity in the spoken word - différence as compared to différance - that demands reference to the written. If the spoken word requires the written to function properly, then the spoken is itself always at a distance from any supposed clarity of consciousness. It is this originary breach that Derrida associates with the terms arche-writing and différance. Of course, différance cannot be exhaustively defined, and this is largely because of Derrida’s insistence that it is “neither a word, nor a concept”, as well as the fact that the meaning of the term changes depending upon the particular context in which it is being employed.” Jacques Derrida, Jacques, in Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. http://www.iep.utm.edu/derrida/#SH3c

69 With the onset of colonialism and the arrival of a new and more sophisticated form of exaction and rule - founded on Capital and industry - older injustices and hierarchies were strung together into a form of servitude which the colonised solely attributed to the coming of the coloniser. This perceived homogeneity enabled the oppressed to resist not merely the coloniser, but earlier forms of tyranny as well...Post Colonial (Post colonial, post colonial), then, would be used to describe a critical trajectory that has emerged after the fact of colonialism but which is still bound to it, both by the persistence of colonial exploitation and because the colonial condition is where it all starts from.
the context, colonialism dislocated and dispersed peoples through forced indentured labour to begin with. It is to these groups of peoples also, the term diaspora in its ‘originary’ connotation is actually apt. What is referred to here is the use-value/association of the word diaspora to the Jews in the denotation of the dispersion of the Jews from Israel. The indentured labourers were needed for labour and developmental projects in the new lands. These people were the cheap labour to replace the slaves.

Cheap labour enjoyed no humane inducements over and above what was accorded to the slaves let alone labour fructifying into work. Their existential conditions may be termed worse as they were girmit, already accounted for through an agreement, the word girmit being the corruption of the same. (Such an agreement was contracted with the indentured labourers who were sent/ dislocated/dispersed

This operation assumes an internally contradictory historical and critical position, and one, that is perpetually sought to be breached. In this sense, the metaphor delineates products of a differentiated colonialism as well as post colonial peoples, who are structurally as well as epistemologically linked. Refer Rajeswaran, Sridhar, “Historicising the Colonial, the Postcolonial and the Diaspora of India - A Method”, in Mandal, Somdatta. (Ed.) The Diasporic Imagination: Asian American Writing. Prestige Vol.3, New Delhi. 2000, pp. 49-77.

For details, refer, Bharucha, Nilufer, N.: “From the Jahaji to the Jetsetter: Old New and Transnational Indian Diasporic literature and Cinema” in Bharucha Nilufer N. Indian Diasporic Literature and Cinema, op.cit.

I am standing on certain great shoulders to understand labour in the context of indentured labour, deflecting and reflecting upon their inferences. There is a constant return to labour and life in Camus, with work alone providing the certainty This becomes clear in the Myth of Sisyphus essay but a word of caution he context in which it should be grounded is another essay My Summer in Algiers. See Camus, Albert ‘Summer in Algiers’ in The Myth of Sisyphus and other Essays, Justin O’Brien (Tr.), Vintage International (original edition: 1955), 1983, pp. 141-154. This researcher opines that Camus could be located in the tradition of Marx and Engels. What is referred to here is Marx and Engels’s observation of the nature of work under Capitalism. In this context an interesting motif in the work of the great French symbolist poet-Baudelaire may be also considered. Baudelaire, like Camus, visualises a moment of deferral of purposeless drudgery... Unlike Tiresias and like Sisyphus, the gambler suggests, rather intuits for Baudelaire a moment of grace and heroism  - See Benjamin, Walter: ‘On Some Motifs in Baudelaire’, in Arendt, Hannah (ed.), Walter Benjamin Illuminations, (tr. Henry Zohn), Jonathan Cape, London, 1970, pp. 179-180. Having said this it must be noted Camus’s appropriation (not naturalisation obviously thanks to the overwhelming existential angst to be salubrious to him) of Marx’s notions of labour must be contrasted to the master’s own definition of it. Though Marx resorts to the self-same metaphor of Sisyphus to describe the state of labour under an evolving Capitalism, his use of it is different and serves to underscore not only Marx’s radical deployment of the category but also Camus’s ideological humanism. From Marx, Karl Selections from ‘Das Capital’, in Great Books of the Western World, Volume 50, Encyclopaedia Britannica Ltd, Chicago 1993, p. 207.

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to Fiji) Skilled and semi-skilled labour was also what was fished for by the imperial masters under the auspices of developmental work or ‘civilizational’ compunctions. The binaries of Nature /Culture, of the raw / the cooked, the lack / supplementhad already been established and the steam of the engine of progress and the spinning ‘genie’ of the fabric needed fuel both raw and human. Reverting to the point at hand, the coloniser’s ‘innate sense of morality’ coupled with the ‘wisdom to preserve ethnic purity’ (single quotes to inform the irony obviously) resulted in a forced dislocation of women folk. Even if these motley groups had a choice they did not exercise this for various reasons, reasons ranging from illiteracy to poverty and to all other kinds/forms of sufferance they had to endure thanks to the economic disparities and the hegemony inflicted upon them by the upper caste groups in the space they called home where they were already actually un-homed.

The next requirement of white colonial imperialism was determined by the need of fodder for the cannons and thus emerged new groups of peoples in uniforms. The petty bourgeoisie followed suit everywhere, every time. Having crossed the kālapani the coolies who had lived seamless time in strange spaces cast anchors in new spaces, spaces that had grown on them like a chronic ache one learns to live with. India’s peoples have carried with them such backpacks and millstones of their own mini-Indias to distant lands forlorn and today they constitute over a 25 million spread all over the world in approximately 100 countries. They are there in Mauritius, they are there in Fiji, they are there in Africa, and they are there in the Caribbean, they are there in all former colonies and they are there in latter day Commonwealth nations, and they play ‘cricket’. The irony is that although they contributed to the new land they weren’t really wanted there. The onus for their predicament is attributed to being of their own making but this may not necessarily be the sole reason. They were after all impacted by imperial colonialist logic, which premised on creating hierarchies, prevented mutual correspondences between peoples who had arrived there and the native indwellers, the local children of the soil, the First nation Peoples, if one is permitted to borrow a term from Canadian Studies.

It was irrefutable truth that Interaction and negotiation of spaces were governed by principals of isolation and seclusion and bonds were not formed but only binds

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72 For an understanding of these critical terms refer to Lechte, John: Fifty Key Contemporary Thinkers - From structuralism to Postmodernity, Routledge, London & New York, 1995.

73 I am deliberately misspelling to accommodate the parable of the genie in the bottle that consumed the first person who set it free. This genie needs to be read in the light of the word raw that follows it, though this statement is more in a humourous vein.

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retained and worse still allowed retention and these by the laws of causality are always ever ready to split at the seams. In the absence of homologising strategies colour brown was added to the Manichean opposites of white and black. Colour brown complicated issues further in some instances when it fell into the trap of liking hierarchies, not realising that the privileges it enjoyed was denied to the local children of the soil. The fact that they did not fight the imperial masters or forge hands with the children of the soil a.k.a. the children of a lesser God literally, until it was too late perhaps is a historical blunder for which they were to pay a very price. In this context Gandhi and his South African experience is the only note-worthy ‘Experiments with Truth’ but is not elaborated here as it would be baffling to think about Gandhi in terms of just a paper.

The ‘Wretched of the Earth’ slowly became enemies and the white coloniser, the secluded royalty more equal than them both got deified by the brown who thought the land of the white, its surrogate mother. It is useful to recollect at this juncture that in the home left behind colour was a ‘total social fact’ which played a dauntless role in determining social structures in what may be generically termed, governed by class, caste or Varna systems. So during the latter-day process of decolonisation when the determination of their own new nation spaces in the Postcolonial era took place the colonial diaspora descendants became unwanted. The unwanted in turn capitalised on their mind sets of an established comfort zone with the surrogate mother, real or deluded it does not matter, and with the passage back home being unpalatable or unavailable sought succour at the bosom of the centre and if such a bosom was not available tried to nestle in the wings, i.e., the spaces of the commonwealth. There is a point in order here. Nascent Independent

75 In this context refer to Prophet Mani. “The most striking principle of Manichee theology is its dualism, a theme gleaned from the Persian religion of Zoroastrianism. Mani postulated two natures that existed from the beginning: light and darkness. The realm of light lived in peace, while the realm of darkness was in constant conflict with itself. Some scholars argue that its influence subtly continues in Western Christian thought via Augustine of Hippo, who converted to Christianity from Manicheanism, which he passionately denounced in his writings. Because Manicheanism is a faith that teaches dualism, in modern English the word "manichean" has come to mean dualistic, presenting or viewing things in a "black and white" fashion.” Source: http://www.theopedia.com/Manicheanism


77 What is sought to be stated is the enormity of the task of trying to speak about a man. The issues are larger with Gandhi and his life and his writing like for example Writing Meaning, Writing amidst Historical Turmoil, writing in History, Writing History, in short being History is the issue. For details refer Rajeswaran, Sridhar: “Gandhi and the Indian Renaissance: A Reading against the grain” in Singh Avadhesh Kumar( Ed.) in Indian Renaissance Literatures, ed. A.K. Singh, Creative Books, Delhi, 2003. pp. 237-251

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India though in spirit had developed a project to legalise the return of the diasporic, the British offer to grant them a status arrived earlier and ironically, the Independent India project too existed only in spirit and not on legal terms. In fact it continues to do so with the details being presently ‘sought to be’ ironed out at the time of writing this paper. It is not all simple bonhomie as regards the ‘new intent’ as the one significant consequential reasons behind the new governmental thrust is also the value of a differential currency – black or white is the question? To get back to the argument, these people who wanted to leave the shores of their adopted countries had by then after all heard and seen their own peoples from their own old: home-unhome/new homelands i.e., the postcolonial diasporics included now perched in the new paradises. They had heard of the new Shangri-La, the Land of Opportunities, the Land of the Brave and the Free and the Land of plenty, in which in silken comfort, thanks to the underwriting by the Dollar which went a long way, they could prosper. It is sad that this turned out to many not as a sleeping dream but a sleeping-waking somnambulistic nightmare as recent news from across the Atlantic clearly spells out.

To continue where one left off, Modern Imperial colonisation which may be read thus as being in two phases began the second with the Sun setting over the British Empire and with Great Britain becoming an Empire of the past. This is not however to state that the fascination for Blue blood has vanished from the lands they had conquered. Such a fascination exists in even those who were denied citizenships. Perhaps they are able to compartmentalise and lock-safe in their hearts the chagrin of thrashed expectations or are forced to due to the over-whelming presence of a hegemony of sorts. It is an unequivocal and undeniable fact that the peoples of colour brown in general still continue to reel under the differential treatment accorded to them in Britain as well as in many of the commonwealth countries. In addition, there is also the resurgence of a discomfort thanks to new ideologies and new expectations from both sides as regards the very Centre. Further, in this context, I am singling out Great Britain as it became India’s principal coloniser, as well as for reasons of being the land which gave me Caliban my tongue to curse with. To continue, end of colonisation had also its freedom determined by the Two World Wars.

The aftermath of the losses suffered and the requirement of newly skilled labour meant a need for human resources from the colonies, as after all by now they had had a social structural familiarity with the Centre. Indian doctors and nurses found their way into England, this time as Citizens of India and not as mere subjects. The US which had denied a level playing field to immigrants from India in the

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78 tongue in cheek if one is allowed a pot-shot in a good vein I would like to refer here to Michael Jackson’s song black or White, he knew the peoples were all one and the same
79 You taught me language; and my profit on’t/I, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you/For learning me your language! Refer Caliban’s retort in ShaKespeare’s Tempest Act I Scene II www.opensourceshakespeare.org/

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beginnings of the 20th century was doubly quick to capitalise on India’s brilliant human resources, ensuring a brain-drain to their gain and to the Home country’s loss. Theft does have many euphemistic synonyms after all! This particular diaspora too played into the hands of such ‘project opportunities’ advancing reasons such as resources, scope, satisfaction, affixing to itself an entire array of self-gratifying tags while being strangely silent about the fact of exchange-rates, which has drawn immense criticism from people back home. It is needless to iterate thus that the constitutive conditions of the applicability of diaspora in the original sense of the term to at least a majority of these peoples who constitute the Postcolonial Diasporas of India thus needs redefining, this notwithstanding exceptions to the rule. With Britain/Europe – the intimate enemy, things were different though one cannot deny the underwriting by the pound or the Euro that still goes a long way. The same may not be said about emigration to the lands across the Pacific or the Atlantic in the post colonial era. But those are beyond the purview of this article which focuses only on the relationship between India and Europe, and that too with specific reference to Britain. Consequent to which the representations referred to are to those which pertain to English Literatures though cinematic re-presentations are popular Bollywood, an apocryphal term actually. A point is in order here. The first wave of resistance in the beginnings of the 20th century also had forged hands with other colonised lands and in this context the Irish-India link is important. What is interesting is these bonds were formed by an underscored feeling of community by women who cut across borders and boundaries80 – historical truths written out of history with impunity by old cranky men81 points which too unfortunately cannot be elaborated here82.

81 Reference here is to de Valera’s patently misogynistic Constitution of 1937. Articles, 16, 40,41,45 especially. de Valera's new constitution was far removed from the liberal-democratic ethos of the 1922 document, being imbued with all the reactionary values of Catholic social teaching, particularly in its insistence upon the primacy of women's role within the family. It echoed many Papal encyclicals, all of which de Valera had studied in detail as he formulated what was to be the climax of his political career. He had refused to admit women into Boland's Mill in 1916 and had disregarded the contribution made by women during the Civil War, finding women activists an anomaly he preferred to ignore in favour of a vision of an Ireland, ‘whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose villages would be joyous with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths, the laughter of comely maidens’. Now as president, he took the opportunity to ensure that women, whether they liked it or not, would give priority to their duties as wives and mothers. He had never wanted women in the public sphere and he was going to enshrine these prejudices within the constitution. His attitudes were so well known that no one was taken in by his protestations of concern for women's well-being. There were several clauses in the proposed constitution which made specific reference to women and which, had sinister implications: Ward, Margaret: Unmanageable Revolutionaries, op. cit., pp. 238-45. ibid.
To sum up then, all these diaspora journeys have been marked with new mini - Indias outside which is composite containing in addition to India their own experiences in their new spaces which they again carried like tortoises or snails in a shell they called home – a new home, old homes “imaginary”\(^8^3\), homes forgotten, homes sought to be forgotten, homes left behind, un-homed homes left behind, the many homes or none, real and imaginary, part of memory or fictionalised post-memory whatever! Further at times with the passage of return assured it is only a retention of a homing interest and at other times not wanting to retain one. The newer mini - Indias of the peoples of postcolonial diaspora in mind-sets is different though, for various reasons, as is their relationship to the mother country which is on different terms of reference. Much can be said about it but it would be foolhardy to try doing so in this essay as opposite and opposite positions fraught with inconsistencies but with tenable arguments on both sides will emerge, to put it mildly.

With utmost humility one would like to stress that the comment on the Indian Diaspora, in this paper, has two major omissions and commissions that are notable. This is with reference to my limited knowledge on the subject. It looks at it only generically and reads inferences that may said to have lent themselves to integration and alignment. The constitutive conditions of their specific trajectories are not dealt with and a certain amount of homogenising of heterogeneity been resorted to. Further it does not mention the difference in perspectives that emerge due to multiple Diasporas, multiple generations occupying specific time and space slots simultaneously\(^8^4\). This is I hope forgiven, because it is not a paper on diaspora but a paper that may not ignore the diasporic contribution.

As far as the Indian Diaspora is concerned it may be summed up in general particular terms as a movement from roots (roots as in being rooted in the homeland of birth, being un-homed within it notwithstanding) to routes (as in uprooted or dislocated as in indentured labour for instance), routes to roots (roots here as in casting anchor in the new homeland) in the new land, and then to aerial roots (roots that are and aren’t as in transnationals or in cyber coolies\(^8^5\)) has been its progress.

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\(^8^2\) For details refer Rajeswaran, Sridhar: Chapter I The English Cup Irish Coffee Black sugar; Post colonial perspectives on the poetry of W.B.Yeats, National Publishers, New Delhi, (Hardback), 2009

\(^8^3\) In this context for a clear understanding refer Mishra, Vijay. : The Literature of the Indian Diaspora: Theorizing the Diasporic Imaginary op.cit.

\(^8^4\) The Canadian diasporic space is a point in study in this context. If one were to study the Sikh diaspora from The Punjab in India it will live purposes to what has been purported here.

\(^8^5\) “Yes. They exploit our young and force them to be exiles in their own land. Let me begin by acknowledging the credit or the blame for first using the term cyber coolies, in my rejoinder to Susan Sontag in the Times Literary Supplement. Sontag had, in her
India and Europe in the past and in the present have mutually imaged and shown re-presentations, incidentally my entitling for this paper. The relationships have gone through the entire gamut. Our destinies have been tied together, may be due to a cruel travesty of history or vice versa. We have together walked the stretches of the colonial/imperial and the postcolonial/post imperial. We have seen participation in all movements, revolutionary, aesthetic and structural. We have been bearing witnesses as History as well as been punished by art. We have seen modernity we have seen postmodernity. We have seen all of this together, may be at times through the prism of each other inconsistencies but it is difficult now to look at the other without seeing a part of oneself in it. The story started with three revolutions in the 18th century continued through three more and two world wars and into what some believe is ‘post- post- worlds’. It is safe to conclude that mutual exchanges in the areas of knowledge have become a common platform.

Two hundred and fifty million people speak the English language in India and it would be impossible to even just mention the writers who are part of it or merely the words contributed by Indians to the English language.

The Moderns could do nothing without the Indian experience. Germans began their translation projects of the Vedas and gave India much more in return. Ireland and India, colonies of Britain had a shared fraternity. Tagore and Yeats, Eliot and Upanishads are inseparable. The lists of ties are endless. I would have used Yeats’s classic lines, “How can we know the dancer from the dance?” but the question may arise who is the dancer and what is the dance?

Shakespeare is translated in almost all the Indian languages, adapted even today, in cinema the last four being that of Macbeth, Othello, Romeo and Juliet and Hamlet which are now known in India in their new avatars as Maqbool, Omkara, Goliyon article ‘The World as India’, hailed call centre workers in India as the harbingers of a Brave New World, where everyone would speak English, be paid munificent salaries, and dream the American dream. On the contrary, I argued that the Indian call centres were brutally exploitative places, paying a pittance by American standards to glamoured young men and women, who were in return obliged to work through nights, adopt an American accent, name and identity, and live an existential lie” Refer, Trivedi, Harish: http://times of india.indiatimes .com/home/sunday-times/all-that-matters/Are-call-centres-turning-us-nto-cyber-coolies


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Ki Raasleela: Ram-Leela and Haider\(^88\) respectively. It is not merely Shakespeare as far as cinema goes. Many an Indian film has borrowed the music, the sensibility of Europe even as it gave it the Bollywood masala, the crossover films, the art films, as well as the cinema of the diaspora.

There have been many novels and novelists whose destinies too have been tied together. India would not have had Indian writers in English but for Britain. Cornelia Sorabjee is a point in study as is Bhikaiji Cama, one aligned with the centre and another with a colony. The friendship between R.K. Narayan and Graham Green is legendary. *Swami and Friends*\(^89\) saw the light of day instead of being dropped in the river Thames, thanks to Greene, a relationship that lasted a lifetime and will be remembered for an eternity, perhaps. Mulkraj Anand, Manohar Malgaonkar, Gandhi, the ties with the centre are endless, extensive connects, intensive links. In the context of Diasporic Indian film makers and crossover film makers the relationship is as early as the formative years of film making. In today’s context the list would be incomplete if one were not to mention the following writers and film makers. This list too is just the tip of the iceberg. It is not merely texts written in English or films made in English and Hindi that share the link but texts and films made in many Indian languages. All re-presentations and imagings valorise connects and are of representative merit. In some the memory of the lost home is meant to be, in some recollected nostalgically and with the passage of time, in some it came to exist as a myth – Ram and his *vanvas* and a promise of return thanks to the story(orally) of Ram they carried with them. To V.S. Naipaul it is the Hanuman house in his *House for Mr. Biswas,*\(^90\) To Ananda Devi it’s a necessity to repossess Draupadi\(^91\) (though she writes in French), to Totaram Sanadhya it is the story of the haunted lines, *Bhut Len ki Katha*\(^92\) and to Sam Selvon it is *Lonely Londoners*\(^93\) and *Moses Ascending*\(^94\) and *Moses Migrating*\(^95\) to mention but a few.

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\(^88\) *Maqbool* is a 2003 Indian crime drama film adapted from Shakespeare’s Macbeth and is directed by Vishal Bhardwaj. *Omkara* is a 2006 Indian crime drama film adapted from Shakespeare’s Othello, and is directed by Vishal Bhardwaj. *Goliyon Ki Raasleela: Ram-Leela,* (English: A Play of Bullets: Ram-Leela) is a 2013 Indian crime drama film adapted from Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet and directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali. *Haider* is a 2014 Indian crime drama film adapted from Shakespeare’s Hamlet and is directed by Vishal Bhardwaj


\(^92\) Sanadhya, Totaram.: *My twenty-one years in the Fiji Islands ; and, The story of the haunted line*, Fiji Museum, Fiji, 1991


The Postcolonial Era has Joseph Anton\textsuperscript{96} Salman Rushdie, \textit{Buddha of Suburbia}\textsuperscript{97} Hanif Kureshi, \textit{Transmission}\textsuperscript{98} Atima Srivatsava, \textit{Wicked old Woman} Ravinder Randhawa,\textsuperscript{99}

In the area of film-making there is an entire galaxy of film-makers. Here too, the list is a select list of few linked to Britain mainly and to Europe, again mainly Indian and a few South Asians. This is because the land as we know is a 5000 year old land with its newer boundaries created by the Colonial masters. Nikhil Advani of \textit{Patiala House}, Zoya Akhtar of \textit{Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara} Gurinder Chadha of \textit{Bhaji on the Beach} and \textit{Bend it like Beckham}, Aditya Chopra of \textit{Dilwale Dulhania le Jayenge}, 1995. / Damien O'Donnell of \textit{East is East}, Sarah Gavron & Sharon Garvin of \textit{Brick Lane}, Karan Johar of \textit{Kabhi Kushi Kabhi Gham}, Jag Mundhra of \textit{Provoked}, Mira Nair of \textit{Mississippi Masala}, Vipul Amrutlal Shah of \textit{Namastey London} & \textit{London Dreams} 2009, to mention but a few.\textsuperscript{100}

\section*{5. Conclusion}

What is the world today? What has it not seen in the past century? A million deaths in a Siberian cold winter, imperialistic colonisation programmes\textsuperscript{101}, crucifixion of

\textsuperscript{97} Kureshi, Hanif.: \textit{Buddha of Suburbia}, Penguin, U.K 1991
\textsuperscript{99} Randhawa, Ravinder.: \textit{Wicked old Woman}, Interlink, U.S.A. 1987,
\textsuperscript{101} It is useful to refer to Rosa Luxemburg’s classic the Junius pamphlet in this context. Her perspectives on wars and colonialist practices are a point in study. “– a very restless ocean, full of sharp conflicts and temporary alliances, of tension and relaxation, threatening every few years to break out into a war between European powers”. Junius Pamphlet., p. 129. Also “They were competing in their expansion toward the non-capitalist countries and zones of the world. As early as the 1880’s a strong tendency toward colonial expansion became apparent. England secured control of Egypt and created for itself, in South Africa, a powerful colonial empire. France took possession of Tunis in North Africa and Tonkin in East Asia; Italy gained a foothold in Abyssinia; Russia accomplished its conquests in Central Asia and pushed forward into Manchuria; Germany won its first colonies in Africa and in the South Sea, and the United States joined the circle when it procured the Philippines with “interests” in Eastern Asia. This period of feverish conquests has brought on, beginning with the Chinese-Japanese War in 1895, a practically uninterrupted chain of bloody wars, reaching its height in the Great Chinese invasion, and closing with the
gender on the altar of nationalisms/nationalist struggles, aggrandising genocides, world war II, building of walls instead of bridges, partitions, cold wars and neo-colonial hegemonies, barbaric other uprisings, banishments of the children of the soil from cities of salt, pesticides in valleys of flowers, oil for civilisation and concomitant clashes, engineered collapses of labour along with instrumented fallings of stock exchanges, big brothers bumbling, Bamian Buddhas blasted, Kandahar killings, nine elevens, Peshawar massacre, ISIS beheadings, revenges, recriminations, and reparations, suicides, murders, death, mayhem and destruction and significantly a state of insecurity where your best friend is an enemy, in the back-drop of which do advancements, setting foot on the moon and realising progressions in the arenas of health, wealth and prosperity, pale into insignificance?

The world order leaves much to desire even as India my country rides a new wind of change. Mental barbed wires constitute new boundaries. Invisible to the eyes lie friendship. Internally, externally and globally these lines impact existence. Prisoners without names in cells without number we haunt each other with our frozen smiles during strange meetings and stranger silences gnaw the entrails behind turned backs. Personally my journeys to Europe have left me with different images. I had looked at it differently. It had looked at me differently. We have learnt to look at each other. Just when I thought I had established a spatial comfort there is a new thing which seems to have cropped up. I am now excluded by my own. Peoples who once upon a time felt I was part of them have fragmented the whole. I am no more the South Asian, but with specific tags, mutually inclusive collectively exclusive. The old tag is “more honoured in the breach than in the observance”. I have been questioning this thanks to an on-going interest of over a decade and a half and have seen the transformation in perception from oneness to otherness within the other per se. Well! That is a new story, Memories of Another Day. What an irony even the last lines have to do with Europe...

103 Timerman, Jacobo: Prisoner without a Name Cell without a Number, University of Wisconsin Press, 2002.
105 Memories of another day is the title of a Harold Robbins Novel, Robbins, Harold.: Memories of Another Day, Author House, U.S.A., 2010
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