

The South Asia File

Kosla Vepa

Research by

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0.0 Preface

This work is dedicated to the revitalization of the Saraswati River valleys and the guardian deity of knowledge, the Goddess Saraswati who protects us all from the state of Avidya or lack of knowledge

It is by now widely recognized that the 200 years of Colonial rule coupled with almost 600 years of domination by Islamic sultans and Padshahs, prior to the arrival of the British, has had a profoundly adverse impact on the material well being of the Indic populace and has altered the political map of the Indian subcontinent. A sustained holocaust of enormous numbers of people in the tens of millions, the eventual impoverishment of the populace and the creation of a Sunni Islamic center of power in the subcontinent were the most visible or well known aspects of this period.

What is less well appreciated is the equally profound impact this had on the mind of the Indic. The colonial overlord changed the way the Indic looked at himself by myriad different ways. He rewrote the history of India, refashioned the legal system, reinvented the social hierarchy, institutionalized a vastly expanded Caste system, and divorced him from the language of his ancestors, all this in the space of less than 200 years. This presentation is a narrative of some of these efforts both during the colonial period as well as the years after independence. It is a singularly fascinating story, albeit not as well publicized, of how the shaping of the Indic mind and the Indic society has gone on for the last 2 centuries to the point where it touches the lives of most Indics today. I am confident that this narrative will be as fascinating to others as it was to me, when I first became aware of it.

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The presentation will be divided into 3 parts

Phase I Pre Independence (till 1947)

- ✳ Primarily a British Endeavor

Phase II Post Independence (till 1998)

- ✳ Primarily orchestrated by Britain during the 50's and 60's with USA playing an increasingly dominant role especially after 1971

Phase III Recent initiatives

- ✳ Essentially a development initiated by ABV's 'natural allies' speech at UN. His predecessors Rajiv , PVNR and even Gandhi, tried but were unsuccessful in overcoming hostility of entrenched foreign policy mandarins in the US State Department

1.0 Introduction

India regards herself as a Civilizational power. Such a viewpoint is not new. Both Arnold Toynbee¹ and Samuel Huntington² have remarked on the Civilizational power of India. It is a common thread running through the early writings of Nehru continuing on to the viewpoint of Jaswant Singh, the erstwhile Minister of External Affairs³. What does it mean to be a Civilizational power? Simply, it means that for a large part of its history spanning several millennia and except for an interregnum of 8 centuries of foreign domination, India has exerted considerable influence on the cultures and civilizations of most of Asia. To those who infer such an influence to be mostly a historical curiosity with no relevance to the present, I would draw attention to the equally widespread acceptance of Indian movies (this industry is commonly referred to in the subcontinent as Bollywood) throughout the world. In addition, a new phenomenon which has arisen in the world is the ubiquitous presence of highly skilled and even more highly educated Indian technologists, engineers, doctors, software engineers and the increasing dependency of the West, in particular the US, on Indian technological manpower. Truly few would have anticipated, even as late as 2 decades ago, the extent to which the Indian Diaspora has spread to the four corners of the globe.

¹ **Arnold Toynbee** A Study of History

² **Samuel Huntington** The Clash of Civilizations

³ **Jaswant Singh**, National Security, Lancer Publications

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It is clear that India occupies a unique position in this planet both in a geographical sense as well as in a Civilizational sense. It has been our observation that the uniqueness of the Indian civilization and history is also accompanied by a unique set of threats to her security. It is our contention which we plan to develop in this essay, that these threats to her development as a viable and powerful nation state are very real and that indeed her very survival as a nation state and a civilization is in question if not in jeopardy, if she chooses not to address these threats in a coherent manner.

While developing the thesis as set forth above, it is the purpose of this essay to review the history and civilization of India with particular relevance to those issues which impinge on the security of the civilization and the state, and to analyze the nature of the threats that the modern federal republic of India faces during the coming decades.

At the core of the opposition to India amongst many quarters in the world is the notion that Indian nationhood is a nebulous entity. Churchill is reported to have remarked with his characteristic contempt for anything Indian that India is merely a geographical expression and that it is no more a country than the Equator” Be that as it may, foremost in this cacophony of naysayers is of course Pakistan which makes no secret of the fact that it considers the Indian nation an anomaly and would dearly love to see it broken up, even if in the process it endangers its own survival as a nation.

If that were the only opposition to Indian nationhood, life would be relatively simple for those in India who are entrusted with the responsibility for framing Indian foreign policy. Alas, such is not the case. There is a whole gaggle of disparate entities keen to see India dismantled. Not least amongst these is the powerful anti Indian lobby in the US State department and the US Senate who make no secret of their distaste for a strong India. More pernicious is the left secular lobby in India that barely hides its extraterritorial leanings towards Chinese and other ideological moorings and would not mind sacrificing the notion of the nation state called India in order to achieve power in the remnants of the subcontinent.

There are many reasons why this topic is of significant interest not only to residents of the subcontinent and the Indian Diaspora but also to the very influential and diverse set of India watchers throughout the world. These are also the reasons why certain state and non-state entities have gone to great lengths to devalue the durability and robustness of the Indian Republic and continue to attempt to prevent it from assuming its logical place in the family nations.

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First among these reasons is that India is an extraordinarily free and open society. It can be asserted with reasonable certainty, that few countries can boast of such freedom of action and thought as there is in India. India has a vociferous, argumentative, and cacophonous free press, very much like that in the US and arguably acts in a far more unfettered manner than the established press in leading capitals such as Washington and London. Such freedom of the press offers opportunities not only for the unhindered expression of views, but also to plant seeds of misinformation among the millions of Indian residents. As with much else, the perception of the West about freedom of the press in India is dichotomous at best. On the one hand full advantage is taken of the freedom of expression to peddle cliché ridden misconceptions of India and the Indic civilization, while only grudging recognition is given to the presence of any freedom of expression and only rarely is it quoted in the western press

Second, India is a large country not only because the size of its population but also because of its geographic location. The Indian sphere of influence could potentially encompass a vast area between the straits of Hormuz and the straits of Malacca. There is a certain amount of fear as well as envy that one day, one of the most poverty-stricken nations in the world will transform herself into a powerful economic nation. It is rare to find acknowledgement, in the Western press or even in the English language press in India, that such a transformation is indeed under way, barring the unavoidable reference to the growing economic clout of the Indian Union..

Third, India is a new kid on the block. It is a natural human tendency to limit the membership of an individual when he or she seeks membership in a particular group and prevent the expansion of an existing club. As an example there is great reluctance on the part of the UN Security Council Permanent five to expand the club of those who possess the veto power, a veto power that puts these countries beyond the reach of international condemnation. Any number of reasons have been given until fairly recently to prevent the entry of India into these exclusive clubs, but it is clear that the main reason for exclusion of the nation with the worlds second largest population is primarily based on considerations of exclusivity and 'why should we upset the cozy apple cart' where we and we alone (the UNSC P5) will decide what is good for the rest of the world.

Fourth, as far as the West is concerned, India does not fall easily into the category of a friendly subservient nation. For starters, the majority of her population do not subscribe to a Abrahamic faith (Christianity, Islam and Judaism). The West understandably has always felt more comfortable with nations that 'look and feel' like themselves; this, in spite of the fact that hitherto the major conflicts of the world have almost always taken place between protagonists of the same religion and culture. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of terrorist acts against the US are committed by persons almost none of whom are Hindu, there is an undercurrent of hostility to the

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Hindu faith which is assiduously fanned by various church groups and which is far in excess of the animosity felt against Muslims even after 9/11/2001.

Fifth, even when individuals adopt what is clearly a practice derived from Hindu traditional texts such as Hatha Yoga, there is a special attempt made to divorce such practices from their native origins. Increasingly, the reference to its Indian origins is omitted when discussing a subject such as Yoga. In fact few in the west are aware that the decimal place number system in universal use today was developed in India and that it was only in the 14th century that Europe gradually adopted such a system in place of the far more cumbersome Roman numeral system which was in widespread use till then. It is also little known that the subject of Grammar as it is taught today is the result of the work of the greatest Grammarian of all time Panini, who is reputed to have completed this work several hundred years before the birth of Christ.

Last but not least, it is a widespread misconception among India watchers to mistake India's diversity as a weakness and seek to exploit the resulting heterogeneity of India for purposes that are less than noble. Ethnic diversity and cultural diversity are two different aspects of any society. While the Indian subcontinent has always been home to a ethnically diverse population, due to geographical, climatic and other reasons, India possesses and always has exhibited a cultural uniqueness that is unmistakable. Many have been the philosophers, journalists, and essayists that have remarked on the unique nature of the Indic civilization. Even as far back as the Greek invasion of Alexander in the 4th century BCE, observers not native to the subcontinent, have remarked on the propensity of the Indian to concern himself with the larger ontological issues relating to the nature of humankind and the place that the human species occupies in this universe. One must assume that such questions occupy ones mind only if other needs in the hierarchy⁴ are met and that the Indian savant of antiquity was able to focus on such issues only because he was otherwise prosperous and had the time, inclination and the intellectual curiosity to pursue his inquiries.

A question that often occurs to the authors, and I am certain we are not unique in this respect, is to ask why the Indic civilization which had reached such lofty levels several millennia ago, has sunk to such depressed levels today. I am sure the answers to this question are manifold, but we

⁴ Abraham Maslow, <http://www.ship.edu/~cgboeree/maslow.html>.

Incidentally the similarities between Maslow's hierarchy of self actualization and the path to self realization prescribed in Vedantic darshanas (Weltanschauung, worldview) have been remarked by quite a few scholars and observers. There is reason to believe that Maslow had studied Raja Yoga in the process of developing his psychological theories. <http://www.vmission.org/docs/VS/2004/mar/>

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have attempted to peel the layers of the onion to understand why we are where we are today. If we come across as placing the responsibility for such a transformation on others such as the British and the Islamic invaders, who marauded the land for over 7 centuries, that certainly is not the intent. The responsibility for being at the current state of affairs clearly lies with the people of the subcontinent, but we feel it is an obligation even a duty to seek the causes of this transformation and let the chips fall where they may. Civilization is a precious good, in the words of Will Durant, and its fragile structure and delicate fabric can easily be disturbed leading to extinction of cultures as we have seen repeatedly throughout History. The Indic civilization may have survived one onslaught but may not prove to be resistant to future such onslaughts should they occur. It behooves us therefore to seek to understand the nature of the threat(s) that the civilization faces as she enters a new millennium.

From diagnosis comes the hint of a cure, so that the Indic civilization can once again join the comity of nation states with her head held high and play a significant role in the future advance of the planet and the species which inhabit it. We believe the stakes are too high. A failure of the Indic civilization to resurrect herself will have disastrous consequences for humanity in general and the one and quarter billion who inhabit the subcontinent in particular. Success in achieving the desired goals cannot be presumed and needs to be earned every step of the way. Hence, our desire to share these insights with others in the subcontinent as well as those who belong to the Diaspora. The jury is still out on the nature of the recovery and the extent to which the Indic civilization will resurrect herself.

A word on terminology. We have used the word Indic as the qualifier for our civilization .By Indic we mean all the people who derive their heritage from the Indian subcontinent. Does the term include the Indian Muslim ? The answer is yes, But much will depend upon the Indian Muslim himself. He should have a sense of ownership and belonging to the civilization of the subcontinent. If he does well and good. If he does not it is his choice.

The following is a synopsis of what we believe are the causes of where we are today and is a presentation made under the aegis of the India Research Foundation on January 27,2006 in Milpitas, California

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A typical viewpoint amongst the Pakistani elite

I am against the imperial streak in the Indian psyche. The 1947 riots had a deep impact on my mind...About 5% to 6% Brahmanas dominate India.” “India will give its land when it will be divided into many pieces. India will have to be broken up. If India does not give us our land we will go to war and divide India...believe me, India is so fragile. India has such weak joints that if we want we could strike these weak joints then India will dismember. ... Jinnah was right when he invited Ambedkar to join Pakistan. Where are the lower classes? I am an Islamist. Islam is the final destiny of mankind. Islam is moderate, Islam is progressive. Islam is everything that man needs. It is not necessary to become a Muslim but it is necessary to adopt the principles of Islam. Naseem Azavi and Iqbal’s writings have influenced my thinking.”

◆ **Hamid Gul, Director General Pakistan ISI in the 90’s**

⁵ The point to note here is that by 1857, most of the area in the Indian subcontinent with the exception of Hyderabad state was not under Islamic rule. The Muslims in India numbered around 10 million , mostly concentrated in the provinces of Avadh and Bengal. The relationship with the Hindu had reached a modus vivendi and was one characterized by mutual tolerance and even respect for each other’s fighting abilities. There was considerable intermarriage with Hindu women which altered the basic outlook of the Nawabs. While they were convinced of the superiority of their Islamic traditions they developed a grudging respect for their Hindu cohorts. Bahadur Shah the last of the Moghals was a far cry from his Turkish forefather Jalaluddin Mohammad Babar. His primary language was Urdu while Babar spoke only Chagatai Turk and he had a feeling for Hindustan his native land that was nowhere exhibited by his ancestor. So, the question is how this hubris and arrogance developed among some of the Muslims of the subcontinent by 1947. To assume that this was a consequence of Hindu misgovernance overlooks the fact that the land was under the total suzerainty of the Brits. He had completely disarmed the populace, who were forbidden to own or carry firearms. The British control over the land was total. Nothing transpired without this knowledge or approval. So, how did this transformation take place

In the following pages we seek answers to some questions that stand out

- ✱ How did this viewpoint come about and who or what nurtured such a weltanschauung
- ✱ When did this begin and what was the genesis
- ✱ What were the motives
- ✱ If there was a concerted effort, could it be termed a conspiracy
- ✱ How was it executed
- ✱ Why is it important to study this topic
- ✱ Where does that leave us now

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2.0 Pre-Independence (till 1947)

The redefinition of India began almost immediately after the British gained control of vast tracts of land as a consequence of winning the Battle of Plassey and control of Bengal. The fundamental motive for the British coming to India in the initial years was profit through plunder. India was one of the richest countries in the 17th century. But by the time they left, India was unquestionably one of the poorest.

Sir Penderel Moon⁶

" The British conquered the country with the assistance and connivance of Indians themselves, and then ruled it for over a century with their collaboration and tacit consent. The empire was from start to finish far more of a joint Anglo-Indian enterprise than either party has usually been inclined to admit. As early as 1795 one of the company's servants, Sir John Shore, wrote 'Our dominion of India has been established and is maintained by the natives themselves' "

⁶ While this may be an overstatement, there was a grain of truth in this. The 1857 Great Rebellion was thwarted by Indian rulers such as Scindia and the Sikhs. So, India was once again betrayed by the lack of unity. The more the instances of such lack of unity the greater became the arrogance of the Brits and the associated contempt for the people over whom he ruled. Just as is the case today it was rare to hear a British leader say anything complimentary about the Indians, while he went about systematically fleecing them.

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In the initial decades after gaining of control of Bengal⁷, the British never felt secure, surrounded as they were by a vast sea of natives. This was even more so, especially after 1857. We need to recall that they were after all less than 100,000 in number and in all likelihood in the neighborhood of 20,000 at any given time (before the 1857 uprising) spread over a vast area of the subcontinent. As they learnt more about the subcontinent, the rationale for not leaving became ever so complex. Very soon after 1857 the goal of prolonging British rule in India and extending control of the Indian subcontinent as long as feasible became an end in itself.

Most in England like Moon⁸, believed that the British Raj was in large part a Anglo Indian enterprise, and that Britain conquered India in 'a fit of absentmindedness' (quote attributed to Sir John Seeley). Seeley⁹ went on to declare that nothing as great was ever done by Englishmen as the conquest of India, which was "*not in the ordinary sense a conquest at all*", and which he put on par "*with the Greek conquest of the East*", pointing out that the British who had a "*higher and more vigorous civilization than the native races*" founded the Indian Empire "*partly out of a philanthropic desire to put an end to enormous evils*" of the "*robber-states of India*". That the original motive was plunder, as exemplified by Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, was quickly shoved under their newly looted Persian Carpets and the rationale for staying on in India was given a new and noble higher purpose.¹⁰

⁷ What we have stumbled on is a series of actions by the Brits that make a coherent and logical narrative only if we assume that the Brits had developed a worldview (weltanschauung) about the subcontinent that was consonant with these actions.

What then was this worldview

⁸ It must be remembered that the average Englishman was surrounded by a sea of natives. At that time it was still uncommon for British women to travel to India. So he was bereft of female companionship (of European women). After 1830 he segregated himself from the natives. It is not surprising that he set about systematically to develop the means to make himself secure and thereby prolong British rule

⁹ Seeley, Sir John Robert (1834-1895), *Expansion of England* (1883).

¹⁰ Another theme that recurs in the book (*Conquest and Dominion of India* by Sir Penderel Moon) is the change that occurred in British goals in India: first it was the unabashed aim of getting rich, then it was transformed into the idea of ruling well, and then finally it was thought judicious to settle on the ennobling concept of civilizing the unwashed and uncouth hordes of the subcontinent. The Mutiny changed all this, and whatever excuses were thereafter offered, the truth was simply that Britain kept India because it made her a world power. The main theme in the latter part of the history is the Indian demand for self-government, and 'the cautious, tardy British response' with grudging reforms that only alienated Indians. Moon rescues from obscurity such men as Thomas Adams, who really won Bengal for the British. He shows that expansion was not always profitable for the East India Company (under Wellesley, who conquered more territory than any other governor general, the company's debts almost doubled). He explains that in

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2.1 The Nature of the Colonialist Enterprise

“The freebooters of the 18th century were giving way to the bureaucrats of the 19th century. Ironically, it is highly debatable which of the two, freebooters or bureaucrats, were the most dangerous to the people of India. Treasure can be replaced. Cultures, once tampered with, are nearly impossible to reclaim” remarks a present day commentator Kevin Hobson, in his essay on “Ethnographic mapping and the Construction of the British Census in India “

2.2 The Plan to Create an alternate Center of Sunni Islamic Power

- ✦ The plan to create an alternate center of Sunni Islamic Power was mooted by an Englishman by the name of William Skawen Blunt in the 1800's. He laid the foundation for what became the British policy towards the Islamic world**
- ✦ Award special privileges to the Islamic Ummah within the subcontinent**
- ✦ Encourage the extinction of the Indic civilization in its ancestral homeland thereby cutting off the Indic from the source of his tradition**
- ✦ Britain set about methodically and systematically to execute the plan during the ensuing several decades**

1917 conservative ministers in Britain agreed to promise India "responsible government" because, ignorant of dominion history, they thought they would be able to interpret the phrase to mean whatever they wished.

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A key ingredient in British Policy towards India was the emasculation of the Indic civilization. The motivation for this sprang from the methods that the Europeans practiced and honed to a level of sophistication especially in the newly discovered Americas. Pizarro and the Incas, Cortes and the Aztecs, reconquista in Spain, elimination of native American traditions in North America, were some of the instances they were able to accomplish these goals. An additional factor especially after 1857 was the pressure from Missionaries to eliminate Pagan religions in all British dominions. This would ensure that the Indic was cut off from his own traditions. Let us recall the words of Friedrich Maximilian Mueller

Hinduism was dying or dead because it belonged to a stratum of thought which was long buried beneath the foot of modern man. He continued: " The worship of Shiva, Vishnu, and other popular deities was of the same and in many cases of a more degraded and savage character than the worship of Jupiter, Apollo or Minerva. 'A religion', he said ' may linger on for a long time, it may be accepted by large masses of the people, because it is there, and there is nothing better. But when a religion has ceased to produce defenders of the faith, prophets, champions, martyrs, it has ceased to live, in the true sense of the word; and in that sense the old orthodox Brahmanism has ceased to live for more than a thousand years." (Speech at the Christians Missions in Westminster Abbey in 1873).

We will have more to say about Max Mueller later in this essay. Just as the justifications for ruling India were altering as their stay lengthened so did the goals they set for themselves and for India and the plan to create an Islamic Ummah was the consequence of at least a few iterations, as they peeled the layers of the onion namely the riddle that lay behind the history of the subcontinent

2.3 The chronology of events is significant and critical to the analysis

If any one event could be given precedence in the hardening of British resolve to craft a long term plan to enhance and perpetuate their power in the subcontinent it was 1857 and the events thereafter. The 1857 Great Rebellion, was the turning point. The Brits were astonished at the extent of the unity inherent in the uprising and realized they could not hold India against a united populace. Until then the Muslim sultans and their cohorts were held in great contempt. Henceforth the plan to create a rival Sunni power in the subcontinent and to emphasize and exploit the diversity of India and to create tectonic faults in the landscape took on an added urgency. The underlying assumption - control of the Indian subcontinent was essential for the

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well being and prosperity of Britain. What is noteworthy, is not the fact that they would craft such a plan, but the nature and grand scope of the plan to change the very nature of the civilization of the subcontinent

2.4 Why was control of India important to the Brits?

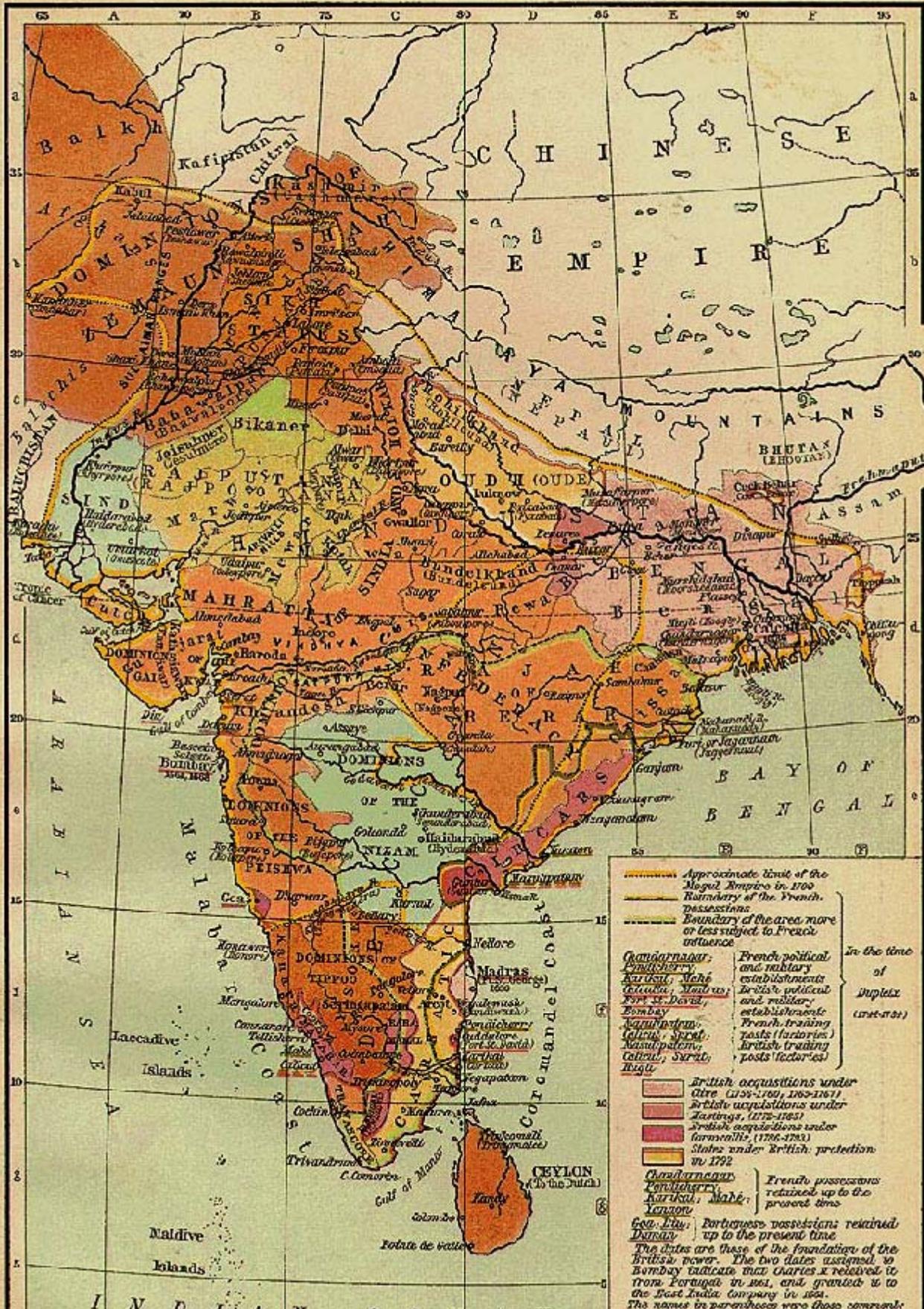
The British Indian Empire bolstered Britain's self image as the legitimate successor to the Roman Empire. This was the age of enlightenment, yet there were precious few to ask themselves the crucial question why Britain needed an Empire in the first place. In one fell swoop, the King (or Queen) of England became an Emperor with sway and absolute sovereignty over vast lands and a huge proportion of the population of the globe. Britain became a world power despite the loss of the Americas and could claim global interests by virtue of its possession of India. For example, Britain could dictate to China to purchase opium grown in India in order to pay for imports from China. India was a heaven sent opportunity for Britain, the Crown jewel of the British Empire and formed the rationale for domination of other parts of the globe.

2.4 The Premise behind the Plan unveiled

In retrospect, it cannot be said that there was much that was surprising about the plan, once they had decided on their fundamental premise. To quote Sir John Strachey (Finance minister 1874): "The existence side by side of these (Hindu and Muslim) hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better classes of Mohammedans are a source of strength and not weakness." They constitute a comparatively small but an energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours." Sir James Caird of Thanjavur, 1879: "there was no class except Brahmans, which was so hostile to the English." Sir John Strachey again "this is the first and most essential thing to learn –that there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing according to European ideas any sort of unity ,physical, political about India¹¹

¹¹ Note – the British public were sold on the notion that any kind of nationhood that India could aspire to was purely a consequence of the British conquest and dominion of India and the implication was strong that what Caesar giveth Caesar can take away. The plan was breathtakingly simple – work ceaselessly but circumspectly to see that there was no unity and then on the day of reckoning one could say 'see there is no unity, I have to divide the country accordingly'

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 India, 1700—1792.



Approximate limit of the Mogul Empire in 1700
 Boundary of the French possessions
 Boundary of the area more or less subject to French influence

Chandernagour, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe, Tuticora, Madras, Fort St. David, Bombay	French political and military establishments	In the time of Duplex (1757-1762)
Nagpur, Gwalior, Allahabad, Benares, Mysore, Tanjore, Travancore, Cochin, Ceylon (to the Dutch)	British political and military establishments, French trading posts (factories), British trading posts (factories)	
Chandernagour, Karikal, Mahe, Yanam	French possessions retained up to the present time	
Goa, Diu, Daman	Portuguese possessions retained up to the present time	

The dates are those of the foundation of the British power. The two dates assigned to Bombay indicate that Charles II received it from Portugal in 1661, and granted it to the East India Company in 1662. The names in parentheses were those common to

2.5 The Subtext

Exploit the ethnic diversity of India and encourage the notion that India was not one cultural entity with common traditions

Assert that everything good in India came from somewhere else, that India was just a compilation of continuous invasions.

With the exception of a few martial races, that the Indic was incapable of defending himself
Reinvent the caste system as a watertight system of stratified castes whose only interaction with one another was exploitive in nature

Denigrate and ridicule the higher castes as the source of social stagnation and exploitation – this was truly a masterstroke –

killed two birds with one stone deflected attention from themselves (the true exploiter) and placed it on the Brahmana.

A tried and true tactic through the ages –destroy those in leadership positions among the competition and/or denigrate them endlessly

2.6 Caste and the census of India

- ✦ No indigenous equivalent to the word Caste in India. The English word Caste was derived from Portuguese word Casta which meant race, breed or lineage. Quite distinct from Varna
- ✦ The Brits institutionalized the word Caste, using the decennial Census of India as a tool for ethnographic mapping and conjured up 100's of new castes
- ✦ the Census acted as a catalyst for an increased consciousness of caste as caste status became an increasingly significant factor in attaining material status.
- ✦ See for instance Nicholas Dirks 'Castes of Mind'

Caste and the Colonialist Enterprise

Caste (as we experience it today in India) is neither an unchanged survival of ancient India nor a single system that reflects a core cultural value. Rather than a basic expression of Indian tradition, caste is a modern phenomenon – the product of a concrete historical encounter between India and British colonial rule

Nicholas Dirks *Castes of Mind, Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*

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H. H. Risely, Commissioner of the 1901 census, also bared his underlying British prejudices in an 1886 publication which stated that race sentiment, far from being:

a figment of the intolerant pride of the Brahman, rests upon a foundation of fact which scientific methods confirm, that it has shaped the intricate grouping of the caste system, and has preserved the Aryan type in comparative purity throughout Northern India

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¹² “In any case, the British administrators were, understandably overwhelmed by these figures and felt obliged to find a way to compartmentalize chunks of population into manageable groups. The most obvious way to do so was through the use of India's unique caste system “**Ethnographic Mapping and the Construction of the British Census in India** [Kevin Hobson](#)

This is a relatively charitable explanation. The more plausible one is that they needed an idea of the diversity of India in order to exploit it for the prolongation of their rule by use of an important dictum that went back to Roman times and to Julius Caesar, namely *Divide et Impera* (divide and rule).

¹³ When you examine this statement, it reveals

1. Dislike of the Brahmana – that he is intolerantly proud (meaning the Brits who had completely segregated

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2.7 Englishmen who Shaped Indic Thought

There were of course more than a few influential Englishman in this endeavor, but we have selected 3 who were especially successful in leaving a mark and initiated the processes which shaped Indic thought. These three gentlemen were in my view largely responsible for the worldview of the elite Indian of Modern India and in turn were also responsible for shaping world opinion of the Indians themselves. The language that we speak converse in, discuss, learn our technology from in India is in large part due to the initiative of Macaulay in his now famous minute on Education

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Colonialism and its forms of knowledge

The command of Language and the Language of Command



Sir William Jones learning Sanskrit from Indian Pundits

3-Feb-06 India Research Foundation © Kaushal Vepa 38

themselves into ghettos called cantonments, were the only ones entitled to be proud)
2. That he believes in the racial purity of the Aryan
3. That the caste system was based on race

2.7.1 Sir William Jones (1746 - 94)

The real pioneer of Indology was Sir William Jones (1746-94), a true scholar, gifted linguist and founder of the Royal Asiatic Society. Jones was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court and was a confidante of Warren Hastings (1732-1818.) Jones ostensibly became an ardent admirer of India. He wrote, "I am in love with Gopia, charmed with Crishen (Krishna), an enthusiastic admirer of Raama and a devout adorer of Brihma (Brahma), Bishen (Vishnu), Mahisher (Maheshwara); not to mention that Judishteir, Arjen, Corno (Yudhishtira, Arjuna, Karna) and the other warriors of the M'hab'harat appear greater in my eyes than Agamemnon, Ajax and Achilles appeared when I first read the Iliad" (Mukharji S.N., Sir William Jones: A Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitudes to India, Orient Longman, 1987). However, he remained true to the Biblical dogma of Genesis which he took to be a literal account. His chronology for ancient India, including the dating of Chandragupta Maurya to the period of Alexander's invasion of India was dictated at least in part by the Biblical dogma. Jones may not have had an ulterior motive in doing this. All the same, his disinclination to go against his scriptures renders his conclusions suspect. In 1786, while delivering his third lecture, Sir William made the following statement which aroused the curiosity of many scholars and finally led to the emergence of comparative linguistics. Noticing the similarities between Sanskrit and the Classical Languages of Europe such as Greek and Latin he declared:

"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could not possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family..." (Jones, Collected Works, Volume III : 34-5).

Thus began the study of Indo European languages as one family. Such a study falls under the rubric of a field known as Philology. Wikipedia defines Philology as "**Philology** is the study of ancient texts and languages. The term originally meant a love (*Greek philo-*) of learning and literature (*Greek -logia*). In the academic traditions of several nations, a wide sense of the term "philology" describes the study of a language together with its literature and the historical and cultural contexts which are indispensable for an understanding of the literary works and other culturally significant texts. Philology thus comprises the study of the grammar, rhetoric, history, interpretation of authors, and critical traditions associated to a given language. Such a wide-

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ranging definition is becoming rare nowadays, and "philology" tends to refer to a study of texts from the perspective of historical linguistics.

Thus inadvertently Sir William set in motion a chain of events beginning with the search for a proto Indo European Languages or PIE for short. The puzzling observation here is that it never occurred to him that possibly Sanskrit itself could be the grand ancestor to all the languages of the Indo European languages. Till then Europeans had assumed that the oldest language related to the European languages was Hebrew. Given the anti Semitic feelings that were always simmering underneath the surface in Europe, there was general relief that the roots of their heritage lay elsewhere than in Hebrew, but Sir William may have realized that the notion of the unwashed millions possessed the linguistic technology (in Pannini's Ashtadhyayi) to explain the grammars of their own language would perhaps be equally unacceptable. Whatever the case may be, there are two major disservices that he did to the Indic Civilization. One was the possible misdating of Chandragupta Maurya by several centuries and the other was postulating the assumption of a PIE, which implied a Urheimat (an ancestral home) from where the Indo Europeans fanned out to the 4 corners of the Eurasian landmass. By so doing he laid the seeds for a fractured historical narrative for the Indics, which was not supported by any Indian legend or folklore. In short he saddled the Indics with perpetually having to refute dual falsehoods—a false chronology and an imposed 'Aryan Invasion or what has been light heartedly called the Aryan Tourist theory

2.7.2 Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59) was one of the most brilliant men recruited by the East India Company and also credited with a prodigious memory is best known for introducing English education in India. He is also remembered for drafting the Indian Penal Code, which remains pretty much intact to this day. Though not a missionary himself, he believed that Christianity held the key to the problem of curing India's ignorance. Although he confessed to have no knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic, he did not hesitate to belittle the religious works of the East.

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¹⁴ To further this end Macaulay wanted a competent scholar who could interpret the Vedic scriptures in such a manner that the newly educated Indian youth would see how barbaric their native superstitions actually were. Macaulay finally found such a scholar in Friedrich Max Mueller.

The history of western (missionary) scholarship in Oriental Studies in India can be traced to William Carey, the pioneer of modern missionary enterprise in India. Carey was an English oriental scholar and founder of the Baptist Missionary Society. From 1801 onward, as Professor of Oriental Languages, he composed numerous philosophical works, consisting of 'grammars and dictionaries in the Mahratti, Sanskrit, Punjabi, Telugu, Bengali and Bhatanta dialects. From the Serampor press, there issued in his life time, over 200,000 Bibles and portions in nearly 40 different languages and dialects, Carey himself undertaking most of the literary work.' (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1950, Vol. 4, p. 860). Carey and his colleagues experimented with what came to be

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I have traveled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation. Macaulay was the British version of Allauddin Khilji whose goal was similarly to break the self esteem and the will of the people in 1300 CE, but who used the much more direct and brutal method of heavy taxation

If an individual comes right out and says I wish to break the will of the people and destroy their self esteem, just so that he can make it easier to dominate the subcontinent. there is not much left to say. We can only presume Macaulay was a bundle of contradictions. Furthermore, these were the cream of the crop of western civilization; we can only surmise how much more worse the rest of the officials were in the service of the East India Company. So destructive was Macaulay's introduction of English as the medium of instruction to the vast population of India, that by the time the beginning of the 20th century rolled around, the literacy rate had plummeted to 11%.

In October 1944, Lord Hardinge, Governor General of India promulgated a resolution that all Government appointments in India should give preference to English speaking candidates. This along with Macaulay's minute on education was responsible for the adoption of the English language in India and for all practical purposes it became the language of commerce, government and university education and remains so even to this day almost 150 years after the death of Thomas Babington Macaulay.

2.7.3 Friedrich Maximilian Mueller (1823-1900) was born in Dessau and educated in Leipzig, where he learned Sanskrit and translated the Hitopadesa of Pandita Visnu Sarma before coming to England in 1846. Since he was penniless, he was cared for by Baron von Bunsen, the Prussian Ambassador to England who basked in the childishly pleasant and ubiquitous thought of converting the whole world to Christianity. It was in London that Max Mueller met Macaulay who was still on the look out for his 'right man'. Mueller was first commissioned by the East India

known as Church Sanskrit. He wanted to train a group of 'Christian Pandits' who would probe "these mysterious sacred nothings" and expose them as worthless. He was distressed that this "golden casket (of Sanskrit) exquisitely wrought" had remained "filled with nothing but pebbles and trash." He was determined to fill it with "riches - beyond all price", that is the doctrine of Christianity (Richard Fox Young, Resistant Hinduism, Vienna, 1981, p. 34).

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Company to translate the Rg Veda into English. The company agreed to pay the young Mueller 4 Shillings for each page that was ready to print. He later moved to Oxford where he translated a number of books on Eastern religion. His magnum opus was his series The Sacred Books of the East, a fifty volume work which he began editing in 1875. It goes without saying that by the end of his career, Mueller had amassed a comfortable sum of money. It is ironic that the man who has Bhavans named after him all over India and is treated with so much veneration there, probably did the most damage to uproot Vedic culture. At the time of his death he was venerated by none other than Lokamanya Tilak as 'Veda-maharishi Moksha-mula Bhatta of Go-tirtha' (Oxford).

Although Max Mueller is on record as extolling India's ancient wisdom, his letters (printed in two volumes) tell an entirely different story. Excerpts from his letters are quoted in the appendix. Here is a sample.

**"Large number of Vedic hymns are childish in the extreme; tedious, low, commonplace."
"Nay, they (the Vedas) contain, by the side of simple, natural, childish thoughts, many ideas which to us sound modern, or secondary and tertiary .
The Vedas are like the twaddles of idiots and the ravings of madmen. Their downright absurdity can hardly be matched**

Letter to his wife , Oxford,Dec 9,1867

"...this edition of mine and the translation of the Vedas, will hereafter tell to a great extent on the fate of India and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It (the Rg Veda) is the root of their religion and to show them what the root is, I am sure, the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last three thousand years"

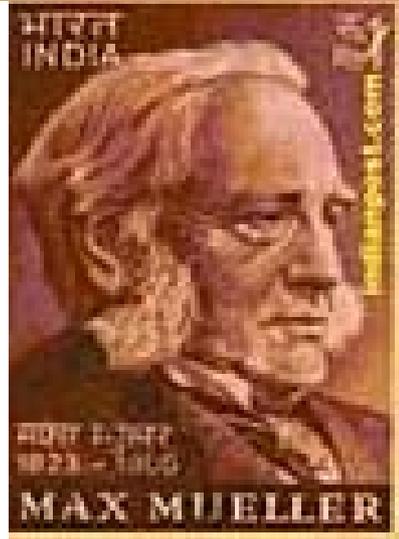
See Appendix B for his real views along with the politically correct version as exemplified by the Indian Postal Department

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T.B. Macaulay



T. Macaulay



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2.7.4 Englishmen, Europeans who studied Sanskrit, Indian History, and Indology

Sir William Jones (1746-1794) the founder of Indology, largely responsible for postulating a Proto Indo European language for which no speakers have been found and for misdating the chronology of ancient India

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859) decreed English to be the medium of instruction, drafted the Indian Penal Code

Roberto Di Nobili(1577-1656), Jesuit Priest, posed as a Brahmana, posited a counterfeit Veda, called the Romaka Veda

Abbe Dubois, Jean Antoine (1765-18) went to India to convert the heathen returned discouraged that it was very difficult too accomplish

Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836)

Translated the Bhagavad Gita in 1785

Henry Thomas Colebrook (1765-1837)

Studied Sanskrit from the Pundits and wrote on the Vedas

August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845)

Lecturer in Sanskrit, Bonn University

James Mill (1773-1836). Completed The History of British India in 1817

Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899), Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford

Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), member of Asiatic Society of Bengal

Frederick Eden Pargiter (1852-1897) published 'Purana texts of the Dynasties of the Kali age'

Sir Mark Aurel Stein (1862-1943), Archaeological Survey of India

Arthur Barriedale Keith (1879-1944) published 'The religion of and philosophy of the Vedas' in 2 volumes in 1925, Canbnot be regarded as a authentic or reliable translation

Morris Winternitz (1863-1937), wrote History of Indian Literature

Sir John Hubert Marshall, (1876-1958) director general Archaeological Survey of India

Edwin Bryant (Ph.D Columbia, 1997)

Heinrich Zimmer (1890-1943) author of Philosophies of India "Indian philosophy was at the heart of Zimmer's interest in oriental studies, and this volume therefore represents his major contribution to our understanding of Asia. It is both the most complete and most intelligent account of this extraordinarily rich and complex philosophical tradition yet written."

Hermann George Jacobi (1850-1837) was the first to suggest that the Vedic Hymns were collected around 4500 BCE based on Astronomical observations made by the Vedics

Friedrich Maximilian Mueller (1823-1900) translated the books of the east. His private views of these books were vastly at variance with his public pronouncements

Rudolf Roth (1821-1893) studied rare manuscripts in Sanskrit

William Carey¹⁵ (1761-1834), Missionary

Colonel Colin Mackenzie (1753-1821)

Collector of Indian Manuscripts

Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860)

First Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford U

wrote on the Puranas

Franz Bopp (1791-1867)

Did detailed research leading to postulation of Proto Indo European (PIE)

Colonel Boden who endowed the Boden Chair of Sanskrit

Studies in 1811 with the purpose of debunking the Vedas

Robert Caldwell (1815-1891) Collected Sanskrit manuscripts, a British missionary

Vincent Smith (1848-1920), author of Oxford History of India

Arthur Anthony McDonell (1854-1930), brought 7000 Sanskrit

manuscripts from Kashi to Oxford University

Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928), interpreted the Vedas

Sir Robert Erie Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976)

Alexander Basham

Alain Danielou (1907-1994)

Joseph Campbell (1904-1987) follows in the tradition of Heinrich Zimmer, albeit he uses the word myth much too liberally

2.7.5 The Boden Chair of Sanskrit Studies at Oxford University

An interesting personality who championed the cause of Oriental Studies, with profound implications for the future of India was a Lt. Col. Boden of the Bombay Native Infantry who bequeathed his estates of about 25,000 Pounds to the University of Oxford to enable them to found a Chair of Sanskrit which the University named after him. In his will dated August 15, 1811, Boden stated most explicitly that the special object of his munificent bequest was to promote the translation of the scriptures into Sanskrit, so as **"to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion"** (Preface to Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Sir Monier-Williams, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, 1899, p.ix). It would not be out of place to state that Sir Monier-Williams mentions in this Preface, "he (Monier-Williams) has made it the chief aim of his professional life to provide facilities for the translation of our sacred Scriptures into Sanskrit". It may be mentioned that Prof. H.H. Wilson, the eminent Sanskritist and first occupant of the Boden Chair, wrote a book, "The Religion and Philosophical Systems of the Hindus." Explaining the reasons for undertaking this work, he said, "These lectures were written to help candidates for a prize...for a best refutation of the Hindu Religious System." To think that the man who wrote these words held one of the most prestigious professorships at Oxford! Monier Monier-Williams, the second holder of the Boden chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University and whose Sanskrit-English dictionary is still used, wrote in its preface that "the Boden chair of Sanskrit was set up by Colonel Boden to promote the translation of Christian Scriptures into Sanskrit, so as to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian religion." He told the Missionary Congress held at Oxford on 2 May 1877, **"The chief obstacle to the spread of Christianity in India is that these people are proud of their tradition and religion." His dictionary, he hoped, would enable the translation of the Bible into Sanskrit and "when the walls, of the mighty fortress of Brahmanism are encircled, undermined, and finally stormed by the soldiers of the Cross, the victory of Christianity must be signal and complete."**

One can begin to see why under this constant barrage of anti-Brahmanism by the colonial overlord for almost 2 centuries, that many Indics have internalized this fear and loathing of Brahmanas to such a degree, leading to such grotesque legislative remedies as the Draconian anti Brahmana quota based affirmative action programs which are now in place in the country. It becomes increasingly clear why even conservative groups in countries such as America support such programs even though they would oppose them vociferously in their own country. So much for ideological consistency

2.8 Discovery of Saraswathi Sindhu civilization

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The Discovery of Harappa by Daya Ram Sahni (1921) and of Mohenjo Daro, by Rakhal Das Banerjee(1922) was the final confirmation of the existence and history of Indian civilization¹⁶. Prior to the discovery of these archaeological sites, there was generally no acceptance that India had any Civilizational heritage to speak of much less an ancient one. The prevailing mood is well described by Max Mueller in this passage in 1883.

“They would not have it, they would not believe that there could be any community of origin between the people of Athens and Rome, and the niggers of India. The classical scholars scooted the idea and I still remember the time when I was a student at Leipzig and begun to study Sanskrit, with what contempt my remarks on Sanskrit or comparative grammar were treated by my teachers...No one ever was for a time so completely laughed down as Professor Bopp, when he first published his comparative grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, and Gothic. All hands were against him”

The notion that the British had something in common with the rickshaw puller of Calcutta much less a common linguistic heritage was not accepted with alacrity by almost all the academic community. The very notion that the humanity that they came across in the streets of India could teach them something was met with incredulity. Memories are short and the fact that Sir William Jones learnt Sanskrit from the pundits of India was already a dim memory. However, the findings at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro forced Europeans to revise their views. But such acceptance was

¹⁶ The discovery of the SSU in 1922 by Rakhal Das Banerjee was a momentous affair. Overnight the antiquity of India shot back in time by about 3 millennia. This was long before Stonehenge or anything comparable in Europe. The question was how to handle this new knowledge so that the resulting theory would further their political aims and prolong their presence in the subcontinent instead of shortening it. Thus was born the variant of the AIT that is current today

It was preceded by the discovery of seals of great antiquity. In 1856, six miles from the river Ravi, in the foothills of the Himalayas, railway construction workers came upon a small crumbling hill of fire-baked bricks. These they quickly appropriated for the railway line's ballast. Along with the bricks, certain steatite (soapstone) seals were found. Archaeologists, notably Sir Alexander Cunningham, quickly confirmed their antiquity

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not unqualified. There was still the matter of degree of antiquity relative to the antiquity of the European civilizations.

One observation that was immediately obvious was that the Vedics (I prefer the use of this term rather than the ubiquitous Aryans, for the simple reason that there is no such ethnic group called Aryans) who had been dated as around 1200 BCE had no extant archaeology till then, and that the newly discovered Harappans who were older than 2500 BCE had no written records. The obvious explanation, using Ockham's razor was that the 2 were one and the same. But that would never do, for by so doing, India would instantly be credited with having an unbroken civilization going back 6000 years. So, the invention of a new theory began, the so called Aryan Invasion Theory. While space constraints prevent us from going into detail, we will touch upon the basic postulates of the theory and what it sought to accomplish. The entire controversy is well documented by Edwin Bryant and Laurie Patton in the Indo Aryan Controversy¹⁷

2.9 Colonialist perspective of Indian History lingers today in the invasion theory of Indian history

The invasion theory of Indian History was first postulated by Hegel (1831) that India lacked historical agency and that India was a **cultural cul de sac** from which nothing worthwhile ever emanated. The Aryan Invasion Theory (which has now morphed into Aryan Immigration or Influx Theory), based largely on linguistic conjectures and postulates is a narrative that was force fitted to Hegel's postulate. In one brilliant master stroke, the Brits killed several birds with one stone.

What were the Basic Postulates of AIT – that a race of nomadic Aryans came thundering across the passes of the Hindu Kush mountain range on horse drawn chariots and overcame the sedentary urban civilization of the Indus river valleys who happened to belong to the Dravidian race and then shortly thereafter in short order decided to compose the entire gamut of Vedic Literature from the Vedas, puranas, the smritis, the Brahmanas the Upanishads and the Itihasas of India. If this is what really happened, the transformation from Central Asian Nomads to the intellectual speculations inherent in the Vedic literature must surely rank as one of the most rapid transformations in human history

See for instance <http://www.boloji.com/architecture/00002.htm>

¹⁷ Edwin Bryant and Laurie Patton "The Indo Aryan Controversy". The book contains an up to date bibliography

What did the postulation of AIT accomplish

- ✘ **Postulated a discontinuity between the Vedics and the Saraswathi Sindhu Civilization, and assigned a much more recent date to the Vedics and hopelessly confused the issue of the precedence of the Vedics.**
- ✘ **Ergo, the Vedics became aliens to the subcontinent and became associated with the mythical Aryans, with all its 20th century fascist connotations**
- ✘ **To top it off, the caste system was now associated with these marauding Aryans**
- ✘ **The conclusion was inescapable –the Brits were simply a latter version of the Aryans to have conquered India and had as much legitimacy to remain and rule India as did the original Vedics**
- ✘ **Meanwhile back at the ranch, the defeated and displaced Dravidians allegedly retreated to the south and formed the bulk of the downtrodden castes of modern India – gave rise to the plethora of Dravidian parties in the state of Tamilnadu. So much so that today no party can get elected in TN without the appellation of Dravidian tacked on to its name.¹⁸**

2.10 Plans for future division of India

This may have firmed the resolve of the British to push through the plans for division of India. What greater irony than to divorce the Indus valley, which would later be known as the cradle of civilization and separate it from the heartland of India. Plans to divide the country were hatched when the Middle East was secure after the First World War and Saudi Arabia was already a state. The assessment of the colonial powers was that the game was up once the natives connected the

¹⁸The simplicity and sweep of the theory is simply stunning and the effectiveness of such a narrative is that it continues to be the History that is peddled in Indian History books even today. That it was received so unquestioningly is simply astonishing given the lack of any archaeological evidence to back up the theory. Never mind that there is no mention of these migrations anywhere in the sacred books of the Vedics.

Further, the AIT when it was first proposed by Friedrich Maximilian Mueller, was merely regarded as a postulate or a hypothesis. Subsequently it took on a life of its own and was bestowed with the aura of incontrovertible truth and that to question it was to invite the wrath of the High priests of secularism, that such questioning was motivated by right wing Hindu nationalist ideology

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Saraswathi Sindhu civilization with the Vedic tradition and that they would realize the true antiquity of their heritage. It would be difficult to keep the country colonized subsequently. In 1935 the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT was passed by the British parliament and Burma and Aden were separated from India in anticipation that India would accelerate her demand for independence.

3.0 Phase II Post Independence

It is more difficult to fathom the motives for British antagonism towards India, after Independence. After all the game was over. What could further be gained by trashing and containing the Indics? Or at least so it appeared to the Indics unschooled as they were to the finer points of the realist imperative driving Western civilization. It was more than a matter of simple spite against a former colony. The anti Indian moves were primarily orchestrated by Britain immediately after the war during the 50's and 60's with USA playing an increasingly dominant role thereafter, especially after 1971. Post independence plans were set in motion by Noel Baker (Commonwealth secretary) and Ernest Bevin (Foreign secretary) during the watch of Clement Atlee. Initially the US (esp. George Marshall, Post war US secy. of state), was well disposed towards India. Marshall made the assertion that the accession of Kashmir to India was final and legal. Marshall even offered India a UNSC seat, but soon thereafter was convinced otherwise by Britain

When finally Britain was forced to relinquish control of India, they followed a variation of the dictum of the Romans, namely 'Divide and Quit'. In this case India was divided into 2 countries India and Pakistan. The British from long experience immediately recognized that India would be a major world power in the not too distant future. Why make it easier for the Indians and certainly why let a plum like Kashmir fall into their hands. There was also the suspicion, eventually to come true in later years that India would be the more difficult country to deal with because of its larger size. In addition, Britain did not expect that India would be so spectacularly successful in persuading all the Princely states in to joining the Indian Union. Certainly their expectation was that Kashmir would join Pakistan. To their chagrin, India finessed the whole issue thanks to Sardar Patel by accepting the instrument of accession from the Maharajah.

In the meantime the mantle for protecting the Western world from Russia (by then it was called the Soviet Union) and the Communist nations would fall on the newly emergent superpower the United States. The US, properly coached by Britain, also inherited the problem of containing the power of a potentially resurgent India. Thus began a 50-year sequence of events between India and the US, which while not making them bitter adversaries made them highly suspicious of each other. The US made it a point from day one to oppose India on the Kashmir issue. Despite periods

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of relative calm in the relationship, this adversarial relationship continued pretty much undisturbed till the present day.

The US and Americans are disingenuous when they suggest that the reason for the deterioration of relations had to do with a number of third party issues, such as the Non Aligned Movement etc. This is really a chicken and egg issue, when the Americans conveniently forget that it was they who initiated hostile moves against India in the UN in 1948/49. The US drew first blood by questioning the sovereignty of India over Kashmir and this was a fundamental issue of national integrity for India. The world's most powerful democracy was questioning the territorial integrity of the world's largest democracy. The issue of Nehru's intransigence does not arise, since at that time Nehru felt he had excellent relations with both the Brits and the US and it was not until after 1962 and the liberation of Goa that he changed his opinion on the matter.

It took many years for Indians to understand that the US was actually hostile to the Indian conception of India and in fact many Indians continued to blame Nehru, suggesting his woolly headed idealism was the cause of this rift between the 2 countries. It did not help matters much that India had a very free press and all the bickering that the Indians would indulge in were there for all the world to see.

In the early years, especially during the 50's and 60's it was common to read articles in the western newspapers that India was going to break up. They would contemptuously quote Indian newspapers talking about 'fissiparous tendencies' and predict that India would break up within 25 years. The 65 war was the first time that such preconceived notions would receive a rude shock. Both the US and Britain realized that India was not a banana republic and this was after all the true inheritor of the British Indian army which undertook major campaigns on behalf of Britain in both world wars. While at the beginning the US acted as a cheer leader for Pakistan during the first few days, when it realized that the Pakistanis were losing badly, they immediately went to the UN to stop India from doing further damage. This pattern of behavior was repeated during the 1971 war. In retrospect it is quite obvious that these were the manifestations of wishful thinking on their part that India would breakup shortly after Independence.

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3.1 The Post Independence Plan

- **Continuously undercut India in all international fora such as the UNSC while professing keen interest in the future development and well being of India The US and UK shocked Nehru when they voted for Pakistan on the Kashmir issue in the UN**
- **Recommend that India's defenses were kept at ridiculously low levels and not commensurate with the large size of the country, the large number of bordering countries and its long coast line**
- **Encourage the notion that Pakistan and India were essentially at parity in terms of defense and military capabilities and keep India occupied perennially fending of threats from Pakistan. A Pakistan now armed with modern weaponry from the US**
- **Emphasize at every opportunity that whatever unity India exhibited was the result of British colonial rule and that India would breakup rapidly once the British left**
- **Refer to India as Hindu dominated India or predominantly Hindu India**

3.2 The Plan to create a New Khilafat

The process of creating a new Khilafat out of the debris left after disintegration was expected to take no more than 2 to 3 decades after independence. There were setbacks almost immediately, But first one must ask why the US continues to support Pakistan. After all this is the country that has had more Anti American demonstrations than even Beijing or even most Latin American countries. This was the country that burnt down their embassy. This was a country that killed and raped embassy personnel, an act that Teddy Roosevelt would surely have replied with some vigor. This was a country that trained people to bomb the World trade Center in New York in the Nineties and had a deep and murky role in the events leading to 9/11. This was and is a country exporting huge amounts of drugs to the US. This continues to be a country that exports a virulent kind of fundamentalist Islam that has difficulty coexisting with other cultures and religions. What possible benefit could the US derive from patronizing such a country? Americans have given all the usual answers, that Pakistan was a bulwark against communist Russia (hmm – someone needs a reality check here), acted as a travel agent for Henry Kissinger when he went on his trip to Beijing (an expensive travel agent), acted as a conduit for weapons to the Afghan mujahideen during their war against the Soviet Union (was the result worth it?) and so on. For most Indians these seem bizarre explanations for bizarre behavior. A democratic superpower was aligning itself with a medieval theocratic state against the world's largest democracy for benefits of a dubious nature. The answer is that the US is not a church and this is not a morality play. The US does what it perceives to be in its best interests. Till now, the US has deemed it to be, rightly or wrongly that supporting Pakistan was in its best interest. It is my belief that this era is now coming to a close. The US is beginning to question its half a century of investment in this country and is now asking, where is the beef. The US is not a country prone to admitting mistakes, and it certainly will never come out and say we were wrong for 50 years. Of course very little of this change in policy had to do with anything that India did, although many will argue that India's entry into the nuclear club had something to do with it. In the next segment,

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- One of the main setbacks came in the form of Sardar Vallabhai Patel – the geography of present day India was created by Sardar Patel
- The annexation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir when Maharaja Hari Singh ceded his territory to India was another major setback.
- The rapid, timely and complete integration of princely states including Hyderabad thanks to Sardar Patel, was a surprise.
- The decisive defeat of Pakistan in 1971, resulting in the surrender of 90.000 troops in one of the shortest wars in modern history demolished the myth of martial races within the subcontinent¹⁹
- The fourth setback (and I am certain not the last) was the declaration by India that she was a Nuclear Power in 1998. The prevention of India from becoming a nuclear power was a canonical commandment of the US State Department Mandarins. The resulting discomfiture is one from which they have yet to recover

¹⁹ See for instance Chapter 9,p.177 of Nicholas Dirks, Castes of Mind

3.3 1971 India Pakistan War – a watershed event in the subcontinent

1971 was a watershed year in the history of Post Independence India. It was the year that India decisively defeated Pakistan in a war that she did not desire, consequent to circumstances not of her making. Rarely has there been a conflict that ended in so short a time and resulting in such a massive captures of huge numbers of prisoners of war. The aftermath of the war has been noteworthy from several different aspects. There was the realization, if such indeed was necessary, that to equate India and Pakistan militarily was an exercise in futility and not borne out by the reality of the disparate sizes and economies of the two countries. Old habits die hard however, and there remain significant numbers in the US foreign policy establishment including the State department that continue to indulge in the fantasy that India and Pakistan are roughly equivalent in their military and economic capabilities. They continue to practice the hyphenation of India and Pakistan with disastrous consequences for the region and the world. There is also growing realization in India that in spite of the intellectual and informational resources available, the foreign policy elite in the US is incapable of viewing the Indian subcontinent in strategic terms that would be of mutual benefit to the US and India. The suspicion is growing that the US is mired in a perpetual cycle of tactical moves to keep the dictators in Islamabad happy and content.

The 1971 war also demolished the notion of the two-nation theory even as the antediluvians of Pakistan cling precariously to this outmoded and medieval vivisection of a land based solely on religious criteria. The two nation theory has its origins in Islamic theology that postulates the world as divided in two halves, Dar-ul-Harb (World of Conflict) and Dar-ul-Islam (World of Islam). The notion here being that a Muslim is incapable of living in a society unless he is in a majority or has the dominant role in governance. The variant proposed by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding leader of Pakistan was that the subcontinent was in actuality the home to 2 nations one Muslim, one Hindu. This simplistic view of course ignores the immense diversity of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent that has been home to a bewildering variety of beliefs and Darshanas (world view or Weltanschauung) as well as a plethora of cultural and ethnic groups over the millennia. Clinging to the fig leaf of the two-nation theory, Pakistan laid claim and continues to do so, to any and all territory in the subcontinent, where there dwell Muslims, even if their percentages in the overall population of the subcontinent were negligible. With the creation of Bangladesh in 1972, this notion was effectively decimated and Pakistan could no longer claim to be the legitimate home to 'all' the Muslims of the subcontinent. The Bengali speaking population of Bangladesh effectively discarded the notion that religion is the sole determinant of nationhood. This was especially galling for Pakistan which had refused to acknowledge that the majority of Muslims in the erstwhile state of Pakistan (prior to 1971) actually lived in Bangladesh or what was then called East Pakistan and

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would not allow a Prime Minister to be named from that region even though they won the majority of the seats in the assembly.

The 1971 war was also a psychological boost to India, which was saddled with a history, as recounted by the English, who in turn took great pains to emphasize that India had rarely won her decisive battles. It was also clear that the notion, assiduously cultivated by the British, that India had a preponderance of non-martial ethnic groups who would succumb easily to any threat of invasion, was a facile and false one.

But the newfound confidence exhibited by India in the aftermath of the 1971 war had its contrarian consequences as well. There were many in Western capitals who were alarmed at the military progress of India and their fears were magnified when India detonated its first nuclear device in Pokhran in May 1974. The disparate groups of people who were not thrilled with the prospect of a Nuclear India, now came together and decided to chart a course of action that was adversarial to the Indic civilization, the main purpose being to bring down the Indian tricolor a peg or two by using means which were primarily non-military. The military option of using Pakistan, to act as a counterweight to India, clearly had not worked after repeatedly being put to use over 3 decades. It is this course of action or actions and the resulting challenges to India that we have touched on in this essay

- **Demolished notion of a two nation Theory –origins in Islamic theology**
- **Demolished notion that India and Pakistan were roughly equal in military power**
- **Gave psychological Boost for India- laid to rest the Martial races theory of the Brits**
- **Kissinger/Nixon doctrine revealed overtly what had been the worst kept secret of the cold war – the tilt towards Pakistan**
- **There were unintended consequences magnified by Pokhran I – the West was alarmed that India would elect to become another militarized state**
- **The term South Asia came into currency in a big way. The cold war against the Republic was resumed in earnest.**

3.4 The West and the Islamic World

India and the Indic steeped as he was in his native traditions such Hinduism, Buddhism etc. was not cognizant of the dialog and confrontation between the Islam and Christianity for many centuries until it was colonized by the Europeans. The west as well as Islamic world has noted this and they refer to this even in this century. They also note that the other civilizations are not

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politically conscious of their own government. When the British came to the subcontinent they looked at the Indian Muslims as the foreigner in India different from the native population even though by that time the Indian Muslim had been present in India for about 500 years, and had developed cultural traits which were distinctly Indian. When the British who were the winners in conquering both the Islamic civilization and the Indic civilization left the subcontinent they had developed relationship with both of them in different ways. There is a order of hierarchy with different religions in the eyes of the Western and Islamic policymakers. For Muslims it is first the Ashrafs, the Rajput Ashraf and then the Ajlaf (local convert). The Hindu kafir is below all Muslims, the Shudra of the Muslim world to use a metaphor. For the British the Muslim Ashrafs was at the top of the totem pole and then came the non-Muslims of the sub-continent. Western interpretation of the Indic philosophy by the end of 19th century created a new enlightenment in Europe which convinced them that to advance their civilization they need to look at what they called the Aryan free spirit and identified themselves with the Aryan concept. In addition it was a means to distance themselves from their Semitic influences which permeated European civilization and which had Judeo – Arab connotations. This brought goodwill to the Indic culture and Indian people during the liberal period of the world history.

However the discovery of oil in Arab lands bought a new element into the relationship between the West and the Islamic Ummah. The British after the First World War created leverage with the Arabs, Shia and Sunni in the Middle East and developed a special relationship in the region by the Second World War and when their economy became dependent on the oil wealth. This special relationship with the Arabs and also close relationship with the Ashrafs and Muslims of sub-continent by the 1930-40s defined the Anglo-American relationship with the non-Muslims (Hindus) of the sub-continent. The eventual culmination of this process of redefinition of the relationship was the partition of India to create a homeland for Muslims. The west became in effect the sponsors of the Islamic countries.

- **Study the chronology of events in the Islamic world**
- **Islam and Christianity share a common Semitic heritage fundamentally Abrahamic in nature**
- **The Brits developed a relationship with the Ashrafs and the Saudis and the Iranians for different reasons but in the latter two cases because of Oil**
- **The Indic civilization was not appreciated till the 20th century and even then grudgingly with a lot of caveats (recall the slide on Colonialism and forms of knowledge)**

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- The West has always had difficulty dealing with the Indics. He could not reconcile the intellectual pretensions of the upper class Indian with the widespread poverty of the Indic populace (see for example remark by Risley on the Brahmana) a poverty that the Brits had no small hand in fostering.
- When asked to rank the sacred books Max Mueller listed the new Testament and the Koran (the rationale being they were not much different) at the top and the Vedas and the Avesta last

3.5 Why the tilt to the Islamic Ummah in the Indian Subcontinent

To summarize

- Jeopardize Oil supplies- under the mistaken notion that if they support the Indic Civilization they would antagonize the Saudi Pakistan axis
 - The Sub continental Muslim (especially the Ashraf) was considered more pliable, presumably because he was in a minority
 - Islam has a more well defined view of its Global presence. The educated Indian Muslim is no exception and looks outside India for his ideological moorings
 - Islam has traditionally been more assertive about its place in the world scene – the squeaky wheel gets the grease
 - As Max Mueller asserted the Koran was not that much different than the New Testament, not very surprising an observation, since both faiths claim to have evolved from the Prophet Abraham
 - Hinduism is not even recognized as an established religious faith in some countries, e.g. France
 - Depiction of the Indic traditions (in particular the Hindu tradition) both in text books and in media is demeaning, derogatory, misleading and plain false
 - Depiction of status of women is equally demeaning and false, see for instance
 - Women and Hinduism in U.S. Textbooks
- by David Freedholm in Sulekha

Meanwhile, the learning of Sanskrit in order to ridicule and denigrate the faith of the Hindus goes on with as much vigor as ever. Harvard Prof of Sanskrit Studies Michael Witzel's aversion to Hindus is well exemplified by the following quote. The broad stereotyping and the condescension that Witzel indulges in is astounding if not demeaning, especially in this day and age

“Rajesh, I agree: The Hindus in North America (HINAs) are not just hiina, "lost, abandoned", but they (understandably) cling to their homeland in all manners they can

come up with. "Reforming" our schoolbooks according to an imagined Golden Age (Ram Raj), hoary India is just one of the expressions we can observe. They also tell their daughters to study Classical Indian Dance.

(not exactly a highly regarded occupation back home), they build many temples and have Sunday schools (as many other ethnicities do). But, they hardly invest in Higher Education as other successful Asians have done. Nor allow their children to study items outside Law or Medicine , such as Indian Studies, --- the only way that members of their group could speak with real authority (for example, in school books)."

3.6 What's in a name; India , South Asia and the Indic Identity

A question arises immediately: What was it about the region from Sind to Indonesia that merits the term 'Indianized', which caused the Arabs to call this region collectively as 'al-Hnd'? A partial answer to this question can be formulated by quoting what Vincent Smith, an authority on early India had said: "*India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is rightly designated by one name.*"

Wink's statement says: "*We will see that the Muslims first defined India as a civilization, set it apart conceptually, and drew its boundaries*". The fact that the word "India" is ostensibly of foreign origin is used to insinuate that the very idea of an Indian nation is a contribution by outsiders. No matter how the name India originated, it eventually came to mean something quite well-defined, and the use of a single term, India, is justified, and not only as a shorthand for a hazy notion. Vincent Smith²⁰ explains: "*The most essentially fundamental Indian unity rests upon the fact that the diverse peoples of India have developed a peculiar type of culture or civilization utterly different from any other type in the world. That civilization may be summed up in the term Hinduism. India primarily is a Hindu country, the land of the Brahmanas, who have succeeded by means of peaceful penetration, not by the sword, in carrying their ideas into every corner of India. Caste, the characteristic Hindu institution, is utterly unknown in Burma, Tibet, and other borderlands, dominates the whole of Hindu India, as well as in distant outposts of Indian civilization such as Bali, and exercises no small influence over the powerful Muslim minority. Nearly all Hindus revere Brahmanas, and all may be said to venerate the cow. Few deny the authority of the Vedas and*

²⁰ Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India, 3 rd Edition, 1958 p. 7

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other ancient scriptures. Sanskrit everywhere is the sacred language. The great gods, Vishnu and Shiva, are recognized and more or less worshipped in all parts of India. The pious pilgrim, when going the round of the holy places, is equally at home among the snows of Badrinath or on the burning sands of Rama's Bridge. The seven sacred cities include places in the far south as well as in Hindustan. Similarly, the cult of rivers is common to all Hindus, and all alike share in the affection felt for the tales of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, color, language, dress, manners and sect."

The reader may not agree with all that Vincent Smith says but the idea of a culturally united India, call it a nation, or a civilization, clearly did not depend upon the Arabs/ Muslims. Nor was the idea born out of the labors of the Western Orientalist or the British colonial administrator. "India" --- the name which launched a thousand ships, and which has fired the imagination of explorers for ages, predates the emergence of Islam and Western Indology, by centuries, if not millennia."

The term "South Asia" and Indic identity

- Began to be used by the US State Department after the 1971 war
- The US established numerous grants to Universities to develop South Asian studies with emphasis on subaltern studies and to study the role of Muslim minorities in India
- Served a twin purpose
- Minimized the predominantly Indic nature of the civilization
- Opportunity to give prominence to the notion of a hyphenated subcontinent where Pakistan has an equal role
- Further the plan to establish a Sunni Ummah in "South Asia"

Nationhood and identity of India

India," Winston Churchill once barked, "is merely a geographical expression. It is no more a single country than the Equator." Churchill was rarely right about India, but it is true that no other country in the world embraces the extraordinary mixture of ethnic groups, the

profusion of mutually incomprehensible languages, the varieties of topography and climate, the diversity of religions and cultural practices, and the range of levels of economic development that India does

Shashi Tharoor in India, From Midnight to the Millennium

4.0 Phase III Recent initiatives to arrive at an entente

This is essentially a development initiated by ABV's 'natural allies' speech at the UN. His predecessors Rajiv, PVNR and even IG in her second term, tried but were unsuccessful in overcoming hostility of entrenched foreign policy mandarins, a legacy of the Nixon/Kissinger doctrine which institutionalized the anti-India tilt practiced with circumspection since the days of John Foster Dulles

Towards a strategic partnership

India is no longer dismissed as a perennially underdeveloped country but is regarded as an Emerging Power

Despite almost five decades of hostility from the west the Indian republic has made significant strides in its geopolitical ranking

India has

- **become self sufficient in feeding her vast population. There have been no famines since 1947. India is now the worlds largest producer of milk and other food products**
- **developed a respectable manufacturing infrastructure**
- **vaulted to the top rank countries in IT**
- **Has become self sufficient in Prescription/OTC Drugs and has developed a strong infrastructure in Biotech**
- **Whether the change in perception is merely cosmetic remains to be seen.**
-

We need to see more such views from Americans as the following, before we are convinced there is a change in perception among the foreign policy mandarins

Why What's Good for India Is Good for Us

The South Asia File

by Charles Wheelan, Ph.D

I spent two weeks last month in India, one of the most fascinating places on the planet. Where else can you stroll through the gleaming high-tech Bangalore campus of Infosys only hours after getting stuck in a traffic jam on a major highway caused by a collision between a tractor and an ox cart?

Global Geopolitical Ranking (using multiple of GDP-using purchasing power parity and per capita GDP relative to USA)

Country	%age relative to USA
1. United States	100
2. Japan	72
3. China	25
4. Germany	17
5. France	12
6. United Kingdom	12
7. Italy	11
8. India	8.5
9. Canada	7.8
10. Russia	6.5
11. Spain	6.4
12. Brazil	5.8
13. Korea	5.5
14. Australia	4.7

- Ref: **GLOBAL POWER FROM THE 18TH TO THE 21ST CENTURY: POWER POTENTIAL (VIP2), STRATEGIC ASSETS AND ACTUAL POWER (VIP)**,
-
- by Dr Arvind Virmani, until recently, Director & Chief Executive of ICRIER (Indian Council for Research in International Economic Relations), New Delhi, was released in November 2005.

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There are 4 possible scenarios

1. India and by association the Indic civilization) will be recognized for her Global sweep and reach
2. India will be grudgingly recognized for her economic and(to a lesser extent) military clout
3. India will always be consigned to the status of a 'wannabe' great power and at best an emerging power (present status) and her civilization will also be under 'virtual' attack (present status)
4. Demographic conditions will reach a point where her civilization will have even less political backing within India than the currently abysmal state of affairs and where the preservation of her ancient traditions will become a moot issue. The Indic civilization will go the way of the Egyptian and Aztec civilization and may be remembered only in Museums (if it is remembered at all). The last and most ancient of the great civilizations will cease to be that, except as a memory

Where does that leave us

- First and foremost we must individually arm ourselves with accurate and reliable information not only on our own History but the history of other nations and cultures and develop a global perspective
- A Unity based on enlightened self interest is essential
- It is not Islam but the Dharma that is on the front lines of battle (from an ideological perspective) with the western world for most of recorded History. It is the Dharma that they will take careful aim at in the coming decades and not Islam to further their goal of establishing a Sunni Ummah in South Asia.
- Be alert and proactive in dispelling negative stereotypes, especially about the Indic civilization which has become an orphan child
- Keep alive the flame of Indic civilization

Conclusions

We have sought to establish that there is a common thread running through British policy towards the Indian subcontinent, ever since Sir William Jones came to India and with his prodigious curiosity and command of language(s) established the Royal Asiatic Society, and that such a thread has had its sequel in the policy of the Anglo/US/NATO alliance the virtual successor to the paramount British power in the 19th century. It has not been our contention that there ever was a conspiracy whatever that term may imply in this context. But the record of consistency of such a policy has been staggering and is too coincidental to overlook. Till 1947 the objective of such a policy was to prolong British rule in India as long as was feasible with as few concessions as they could get away with. It is not as if the British were a particularly mendacious or greedy or mercantilist as Napoleon often described them. After all they had granted Dominion status to their possession in Canada and Australia with a large measure of self government,. But India was different. She was different in skin color, manners, traditions, language and according to the Brits in Civilization. After 6 horrendous centuries of particularly brutal rule, the Indic was in comatose condition despite the last hurrah by the Mahrattas. Long centuries of material deprivation coupled with loss of self esteem had taken its toll This much is hardly surprising at least to the Indic who bore the brunt of the resulting grinding poverty.

What is astonishing is the systematic manner in which the British went about the business of undermining what was left of his/her self esteem by some of the methods described above. That such a consistency was observed for several generations by intelligent men coming from varied backgrounds is a remarkable testament to the national character of the British and their unwavering faith in the righteousness of their endeavor. This is despite the fact that a large majority of the people had come to accept British rule as a respite from far more arduous time. In this I would have to agree with Sir Penderel Moon, that Britain could not have ruled India for such a length of time without substantial collaboration from the Indic. This is what it makes so difficult to comprehend; the enormous indifference and callousness to the desperate conditions of the population, accompanied by no fewer than 70 famines during their reign. Truly I would have to conclude if I may use the words of a illustrious Indian from another era, Dadabhai Naoroji that such behavior was Unbritish, that the British had left behind their humanity during their stay in India. If I were British I would certainly not be proud of an empire that had done so much harm to its subjects and to such a large portion of humanity

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- It has been a long term goal of the Western (read US/Anglo) alliance to emasculate the Indic civilization and to establish a South Asia Islamic Ummah and to prevent the development of a harmonious and militarily powerful Indic power in the Indian ocean region
- It should be the endeavor of every Indian Government to take counter measures one of which is to establish a significant trading and political partnership with the West so that the continuing motivation for the above will eventually dissipate.
- The US must be made to realize that its policy of backing corrupt dictators in the land of the pure is anachronistic, impresses neither friend nor foe, and bound to fail but old habits die hard
- US must be made to realize that the Indic civilization has staying power and will outlast any obstacles put before it
- This is how I interpret Vajpayeeji's historic statement that "India and US are natural allies"

To summarize we have attempted to answer the questions we posed at the outset of this essay

- ✓ How did this viewpoint come about and who or what nurtured such a weltanschauung
- ✓ When did this begin and what was the genesis
- ✓ What were the motives
- ✓ If there was such a concerted effort, could it be termed a conspiracy
- ✓ How was it executed
- ✓ Why is it important to study this topic
- ✓ Where does that leave us now

Further Reading

- **Future of Islam by William Skawen Blunt (available from Amazon)**
- **Imagining India by Ronald B Inden**
- **The Dominion and Conquest of India by Sir Penderel Moon**
- **Castes of Mind, Colonialism and the making of Modern India by Nicholas Dirks**
- **The History of India as told by its own Historians by Elliot and Dowson**
- **Pakistan Flawed not Failed State by Dennis Kux - the politically correct view peddled by the west**

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- **Colonialism and its forms of Knowledge by Bernard Cohn**
- **Further reading (Continued)**
- **Refer to e-book The Indic Civilization for elaboration of many topics touched on here vepa.us/dir20**
- **If asked for userid and password , use**
- **Userid Arjuna password sarathy**
- **Book contains an extensive bibliography**
- **Contact me at Kaushal44@gmail.com**

Appendix A

A Chronology of Colonial Period

1498 – Vasco De Gama lands in India via the sea route. During this time there existed an elaborate Indian Ocean economy.

1599 – English East India Company formed, Sir Thomas Roe is granted an audience with Mughal Emperor Jehangir in 1615 where he pleaded for protection of their factory in Surat

1602 – Dutch East India Company formed.

1658 – French East India Company formed

1707 – Death of Aurangzeb and end of Mughal rule

1785 – Robert Clive in India

1835 – Macaulay plans to civilize the natives so that a class of people is created who think and do exactly like their masters. His words were to this effect: **I have traveled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this**

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nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and, therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native self culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation.(Macaulay was the British version of Allauddin Khilji whose goal was similar to break the self esteem and the will of the people)

(Source: The Awakening Ray, Vol. 4 No. 5, And The Gnostic Centre)

The main philosophy was to incrementally indoctrinate the children with principles that are sympathetic to colonizer's philosophy. Make future generations uncertain of their own heritage. Avoid teaching children the basic facts about their own history. Teach them that natural aggression is wrong and docile submission is right. Teach them that any basis of a moral foundation, like the principles of religion, is a weakness to be avoided in the name of freedom and also redefine the concept of patriotism to support colonizer's views.

1853 - Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to archeologically examine Harappa in 1853 and 1856. Finding some Kushana coins in the site, he attributed the city to the Kushana period (Imam 1966) It is shocking to note that about one hundred miles of the Lahore-Multan railway was ballasted by bricks retrieved from the ruins at Harappa by rapacious railroad contractors; " No invader of India had ever so ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed her ancient remains as did the railway contractors in the civilized 19th century " (Edwin Bryant – Quest for the origins of the Vedic culture Page 331-332). This made the Anglo Saxon realize that the Indians have the remains of civilization just like the Mesopotamia. The big plan for India was created to change the course of history of India. The British by this time were already doing research on all the other ancient civilization such as Egypt, Mesopotamia etc

1857 – The Great Rebellion of 1857- the sepoy mutiny made the British aware that a united India would be disastrous for their rule in the subcontinent. This was when they laid the groundwork for a divide and rule policy for the Indian sub-continent. After the war, Whitehall assumed direct responsibility for the administration of India, ending 250 years of rule by the British East India Company. This war changed the resolve of the British towards Indians and made them racist towards the native population. Till then the practice of marriage with the local women was considered normal (especially Punjabis and Muslims) and mixed blood was not frowned upon. After the change in attitude the British made sure that they segregated the native population from themselves and their family and created a class system for privileges and favor. This was also the beginning of the creation of cantonments where the British segregated themselves

1863 – Max Muller proposes the Aryan Invasion Theory – Probably due to the absence of finding any civilization this concocted theory was proposed and it took a life of its own. Since the native version of the history was discarded the Harappan phase of Indian civilization was brushed aside.

1867 - Creation of Deoband Muslim school so that Ashrafs can come closer to the rest of the local Muslim converts and create a united Muslim front against the British. Till then the Ashrafs looked

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upon themselves as the higher and the ruling class. Syed Ahmed Khan starts the Aligarh Muslim education center to bring Muslims to the forefront of the European education. Deobandis who were Muslim reformers who setup the first madrassahs for the purpose of training future clerics were not in agreement with the Aligarh School of reformers.

1875 – First seals of Indian civilization found by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1875(Source: Ancient Civilizations by Hugh Bowden) – This made the Anglo Saxons realize that the Indians have the remains of civilization just like the Mesopotamia. The big plan for India was created to change the course of history of India by influencing the elite class of the Indian society and to shape future generations, control the schools. The British by this time were already doing research on all the other ancient civilization such as Egypt, Mesopotamia etc. They had for the last few centuries already studied the Islamic civilization (the first Arabic chair in the west was set up in 1630s). Indus civilization was not pursued rigorously in case a large section of Indians get nationalistic feelings. The British had committed a great mistake in 1857 by accidentally uniting Moslems and Hindus against them in some areas by their policies. They were more careful in their game after that. However, they saw that the true danger to their dominance were the educated Hindus who were in possession of both Western and traditional Indic knowledge. This was the class that could easily challenge them, as it was still wedded to the Hindu ways and capable of using the power of the newly acquired Western knowledge against the British. Sir John Stratchey (Finance minister 1874): "The existence side by side of these (Hindu and Muslim) hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better classes of Mohammedans are a source of strength and not weakness. They constitute a comparatively small but an energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours." Sir James Caird of Thanjavur, 1879: "there was no class except Brahmins, which was so hostile to the English."

1881 – The first census in British India done. This is a massive project to really classify the largest human group into various classes by their origins and social strata supposedly for benign motive. This has helped the British and later the west to target individual groups for various religious and military purposes. This census also helped the British to map the kinship pattern among various social groups, which they continued to monitor till the 20th century.

1885 – Indian National Congress formed as a tool of the British government to influence the course of the Independence movement and for the emancipation of the suffering Indians. The main reason for forming this organization is to create a platform to dissipate the nationalistic sentiments and to control the nature of the debate and pace of the changes in the political class of the Indians. The political consciousness of the Hindus could be molded and controlled with such platform. The terms of debate between the Hindus and Muslims were also influenced with the help of key people in the party as it evolved in the next 50 years. The main philosophy was to shape the political philosophy, infiltrate the government: Whenever and wherever possible place those sympathetic to your philosophy into office at all levels—the higher, the better—so they can sway the direction of the country within every function of government, promising solutions and benefits

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for all. In such a way you can tilt legislation toward incrementally increasing the control of and dependency on government—a government that you are shaping.

1906 - split of Bengal during The Great Game at the height of rivalry between the Russians and the British in the Eurasian landmass. The British needed an ally who would be able to resist the thrust of the Tsars. Russian expansion started in 1582 and continued to central Asia and the Pacific till late 1700s. The next target of the Russians was Tibet and British were worried about Tibet coming under the influence of Russia. The long-term plan was to keep India under the British dominion for the next 500 years and was expressed in commonwealth speeches in early 1900-1910.

1911 – Capital shifts from Calcutta to New Delhi. This was to reduce the increasing demands for independence in the enlightened Bengal, which had the most interaction with the west. This was a diversion so that the seat of power should be perceived similar to the Mughal Empire. This also broke the deep intellectual nationalist discourse in Bengal and weakened it. The ultimate aim is to make sure that the Muslims would also start seeing a Muslim homeland in Indian sub-continent.

1917 – First World War. Fall of Ottoman Empire and creation of Middle Eastern states under the direct influence of the British. British looked at the Muslims of the Middle East and the Muslims of the India as one and built relationship with the Arabs and the Ashrafs of the sub-continent. The British oust the Ottomans from Jerusalem and Baghdad; in the Balfour Declaration, Britain declares its support for the establishment of a 'national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine. In return, the unwritten agreement with the Arabs is the creation of a Muslim homeland in the Indian sub-continent.

1920s - Discovery of MohenjoDaro, Harrapa by Rakhal Das Banerjee and Daya Ram Sahni – final confirmation of the existence and history of Indian civilization. This may have made the British to push through the plans for division of India.

1930 – Plans to divide the country hatched when the Middle East was secure after the First World War and Saudi Arabia was already a state. The assessment of the colonial powers was that the history of the natives has been discovered with archeology and they would find their true belonging. It would be difficult to keep the country colonized for a long time.

1935 - The GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT passed by the British parliament. Burma and Aden were separated from India. British India was divided into 11 provinces, each under an appointed governor and an appointed executive council. Each province was to have an elected legislature (bicameral in six provinces and unicameral in five), with a ministry responsible to it. Representation was to be based on the communal award. The provincial governments were to enjoy wide autonomy, though the governors retained certain emergency powers. The ultimate objective was the establishment of an All-India Federation, to include the Indian states as well as the provinces of British India.

1939 – Second World War – British still to recover from the First World War and willing to lessen their burden in the empire.

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1940 - Lahore resolution for a separate Muslim homeland. Secretly British were siding with the Muslim League/Ashrafs to create a homeland for them for future collaboration. There is increasing evidence that Lahore resolution was made in that location and time so that the future homeland of the Pakistan will have Punjab as the cultural/political and military center.

1947 – Indian Independence/partition. Creation of Pakistan.

1971 – Split of Pakistan the largest Muslim nation into Pakistan and Bangladesh

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15/07/1974

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MAX MUELLER (SANSKRIT SCHOLAR)

Max Mueller was born at Dessau in Germany in 1823, the only son of Wilhelm Mueller, a distinguished poet, some of whose poems were set to music by Franz Schubert. Max Mueller attended the grammar school in his native town till 1836. He then entered the University of Leipzig in 1841 with the intention of studying Latin and Greek. However studying these languages proved somewhat tiring to him, and when he heard of the foundation of a Chair in Sanskrit, he took to the study of the language with deep devotion and started learning that language. Taking his doctorate in philosophy in 1843, Max Mueller proceeded to the University of Berlin in 1844 to continue his work on Sanskrit and philosophy under Franz Bopp, the founder of the Science of Comparative Philosophy, and under Friedrich von Schelling, the eminent philosopher. In 1846, he went to England, with an introduction to the Prussian Minister in London, Baron Bunsen, who later became his well-wisher, to copy and collate manuscripts in Sanskrit. The greatest difficulty he faced was money for the publication of the Rig-Veda which he in a meanwhile, had begun to translate. This difficulty was, however, overcome with the help of Baron Bunsen and H.H. Wilson, the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford who recommended him to East India Company for financial support. As his Rig-Veda was being printed at the University Press, he migrated to Oxford in 1848 and spent the rest of his life there. The first volume of Max Mueller's edition appeared in 1849, the sixth and the last in 1874. This printed Rig-Veda caused great enthusiasm in India. With the translation of the Rig-Veda, and innumerable publications on Indian religion and literature, Max Mueller ushered in the renaissance of India's culture and was its greatest interpreter to the Western world. Later it was specially the Vedanta which attracted him so much that Swami Vivekananda said for him: "Max Mueller is a Vedantist of Vedantists. He has, indeed, caught the real soul of the melody of the Vedanta." Gradually, Mueller's reputation spread in India. His book 'India: What it can teach us' has a special place among his publications. It contains a series of lectures given by Mueller at the University of Cambridge. When reading these books, the reader will find it difficult to believe that Max Mueller was never in India. Max Mueller did not only delve into India's past but also took the liveliest interest in her political reawakening. He regularly corresponded with prominent Indians who prepared the path for India's freedom. When he died in 1900, India had indeed lost a great friend, on whom she rightly bestowed the title "Moksha Mula." The Posts and Telegraphs Department is privileged to bring out a stamp in honour of Max Mueller.

The stamp is vertical and depicts the portrait of the personality.

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COMMEMORATIVE

English

3.91 X 2.90 cms

3.56 x 2.5 cms.

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Friedrich Max Mueller

Friedrich Max Mueller (1823-1900) was born in Dessau and educated in Leipzig, where he learned Sanskrit and translated the Hitopadesa of Pandita Visnu Sarma before coming to England in 1846. Since he was penniless, he was cared for by Baron von Bunsen, the Prussian ambassador to England who basked in the childishly pleasant thought of converting the whole world to Christianity. It was in London that Max Mueller met Macaulay who was still on the look out for his 'right man'. Mueller was first commissioned by the East India Company to translate the Rg Veda into English. The company agreed to pay the young Mueller 4 Shillings for each page that was ready to print. He later moved to Oxford where he translated a number of books on Eastern religion. His magnum opus was his series The Sacred Books of the East, a fifty volume work which he began editing in 1875. It goes without saying that by the end of his career, Mueller had amassed a comfortable sum of money. It is ironic that the man who has Bhavans named after him all over India and is treated with so much veneration there, probably did the most damage to uproot Vedic culture. At the time of his death he was venerated by none other than Lokamanya Tilak as 'Veda-maharishi Moksha-mula Bhatta of Go-tirtha' (Oxford).

Although Mueller is on record as extolling India's ancient wisdom, his letters (printed in two volumes) tell an entirely different story. Generally personal letters give a true picture of the writer's inner mind. We present herein some of Mueller's many statements in which his true view on Indian culture is glaringly obvious

"History seems to teach that the whole human race required a gradual education before, in the fullness of time, it could be admitted to the truths of Christianity. All the fallacies of human reason had to be exhausted, before the light of a high truth could meet with ready acceptance. The ancient religions of the world were but the milk of nature, which was in due time to be succeeded by the bread of life.

'The religion of Buddha has spread far beyond the limits of the Aryan world, and to our limited vision, it may seem to have retarded the advent of Christianity among a large portion of the human race. But in the sight of Him with whom a thousand years are but as one day, that religion, like the ancient religions of the world, may have but served to prepare the way of Christ, by helping through its very errors to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearnings of the human heart after the truth of God

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“Large number of Vedic hymns are childish in the extreme; tedious, low, commonplace.”

“Nay, they (the Vedas) contain, by the side of simple, natural, childish thoughts, many ideas which to us sound modern, or secondary and tertiary .

“...this edition of mine and the translation of the Vedas, will hereafter tell to a great extent on the fate of India and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It (the Rg Veda) is the root of their religion and to show them what the root is, I am sure, the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last three thousand years”

“Hinduism was dying or dead because it belonged to a stratum of thought which was long buried beneath the foot of modern man. He continued: “ The worship of Shiva, Vishnu, and other popular deities was of the same and in many cases of a more degraded and savage character than the worship of Jupiter, Apollo or Minerva. ‘A religion’, he said ‘ may linger on for a long time, it may be accepted by large masses of the people, because it is there, and there is nothing better. But when a religion has ceased to produce defenders of the faith, prophets, champions, martyrs, it has ceased to live, in the true sense of the word; and in that sense the old orthodox Brahmanism has ceased to live for more than a thousand years.” (Speech at the Christians Missions in Westminster Abbey in 1873). In 1876, while writing to a friend, Mueller said that he would not like to go to India as a missionary since that would make him dependent upon the government. His preference was this -“I would like to live for ten years quite quietly and learn the language, try to make friends, and then see if I was fit to take part in this work, by means of which the old mischief of Indian priestcraft could be overthrown and the way opened for the entrance of simple Christian teaching...India is much riper for Christianity than Rome or Greece were at the time of Saint Paul.”

“The rotten tree for some time had artificial supports ...but if the English man comes to see that the tree must fall...he will mind no sacrifice either of blood or of land...I would like to lay down my life, or at least lend my hand to bring about this struggle”

“I do not claim for the ancient Indian literature any more that I should willingly concede to the fables and traditions and songs of savage nations. I simply say that in the Veda we have a nearer approach to a beginning, and an intelligent beginning, than in the wild invocations of the Hottentotes and Bushmen, “

“This edition of mine and the translation of the Veda will hereafter tell to a great extent... the fate of India, and on the growth of millions of souls in that country. It is the root of their religion, and to show them what the root is, I feel sure, the only way of uprooting all that has sprung from it during the last 3000 years.” When Duke of Argyll was appointed Secretary of State for India in December 1868, Max Mueller wrote to him “India has been conquered once, but India must be conquered

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again and that second conquest should be a conquest by education...the ancient religion of India is doomed, and if Christianity does not step in, whose fault will it be?"

In another letter, Mueller wrote to his son 'Would you say that any one sacred book is superior to all others in the world?I say the New Testament, after that, I should place the Koran, which in its moral teachings, is hardly more than a later edition of the New Testament. After these two, would follow according to my opinion the Old Testament, the Southern Buddhist Tripitaka, the Tao-te-king of Lao-tze, the Kings of Confucius, the Veda and the Avesta.'

In an audacious letter to N.K. Majumdar, Mueller wrote –'Tell me some of your chief difficulties that prevent you and your countrymen from openly following Christ, and when I write to you I shall do my best to explain how I and many who agree with me have met them and solved them...From my point of view, India, at least the best part of it, is already converted to Christianity. You want no persuasion to become a follower of Christ. Then make up your mind to work for yourself. Unite your flock - to hold them together and prevent them from straying. The bridge has been built for you by those who came before you. **STEP BOLDLY FORWARD**, it will break under you, and you will find many friends to welcome you on the other shore and among them none more delighted that you old friend and fellow labourer F. Max-Muller.'

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Mueller harshly criticized the view of the German scholar, Dr. Spiegel, who claimed that the Biblical theory of the creation of the world is borrowed from the ancient religion of the Persians or Iranians. Stung by this statement Max Mueller writes : 'A writer like Dr. Spiegel should know that he can expect no money; nay, he should himself wish for no mercy, but invite the heaviest artillery against the floating battery which he has launched in the troubled waters of Biblical criticism. Dr. Spiegel was not the only target of Mueller's bigotry. In 1926 the French scholar Louis Jacolliot, Chief Judge in Chandranagar, wrote a book called 'La Bible dans l'Inde'. Within that book, Jacolliot theorized that all the main philosophies of the western world originated from India, which he glorified thus 'Land of ancient India! Cradle of Humanity. hail! Hail revered motherland whom centuries of brutal invasions have not yet buried under the dust of oblivion. Hail, Fatherland of faith, of love, of poetry and of science, may we hail a revival of thy past in our Western future.' Mueller said while reviewing Jacolliot's book that, 'The author seems to have been taken in by the Brahmins of India.'

Mueller may also be credited with the popularization of the Aryan racial theory, Writing for the Anthropological Review in 1870, Mueller classified the human race into seven categories on an

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ascending scale - with the Aborigines on the lowest rung and the "Aryan" type supreme. However, he recanted later on when his professional reputation as a Sanskrit scholar was in peril.

"I have declared again and again that if I say Arya, I mean neither blood nor bones, nor hair, nor skull; I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language...to me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalism dictionary or a Brach cephalic grammar." Max Mueller cannot be placed in the same category as inexperienced Ideologists such as Christian Lassen and Albrecht Weber whose Aryan race conceptions were chiefly fueled by their ardent German nationalism, Mueller's motivations were just as diabolical. Mueller had been paid to misinterpret the Vedic literatures in order to make the Indians look, at best silly, and at worst, bestial.

However, not everyone was taken in by the academic prowess of the man who was known as 'Moksamula Bhatta'. Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaja, was so disgusted with the level of Mueller's knowledge of Sanskrit that he likened him to a "toddler learning to walk". He wrote:"Prof. Max Mueller has been able to scribble out something by the help of the so called 'tikas' or paraphrases of the Vedas current in India." Another revealing incident of Mueller's glaring ignorance was when a Brahmana came from India to meet the famous Sanskrit scholar. When he came face to face with Mueller and spoke to him in chaste Sanskrit, Mueller admitted that he couldn't understand what the gentleman was saying! No wonder Schopenhauer acerbically said, "I cannot resist a certain suspicion that our Sanskrit scholars do not understand their texts any better than the higher class of school boys their Greek and Latin,"

Appendix C **Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859):** **On Empire and Education**

The first selection a speech on the India bill of 1833 and expresses his view of the achievements

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and goals of the British Empire in the East. Between 1834 and 1838 he lived in Calcutta and served on the British "Supreme Council for India". His "Minute on Education, " from which the second selection below comes, touches on the relation of Western and Indian civilizations.

Education and the English Empire in India

I feel that, for the good of India itself, the admission of natives to high office must be effected by slow degrees. But that, when the fullness of time is come, when the interest of India requires the change, we ought to refuse to make that change lest we should endanger our own power; this is a doctrine of which I cannot think without indignation. Governments, like men, may buy existence too dear. "Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas," ["To lose the reason for living, for the sake of staying alive"] is a despicable policy both in individuals and in states. In the present case, such a policy would be not only despicable, but absurd. The mere extent of empire is not necessarily an advantage. To many governments it has been cumbersome; to some it has been fatal. It will be allowed by every statesman of our time that the prosperity of a community is made up of the prosperity of those who compose the community, and that it is the most childish ambition to covet dominion which adds to no man's comfort or security. To the great trading nation, to the great manufacturing nation, no progress which any portion of the human race can make in knowledge, in taste for the conveniences of life, or in the wealth by which those conveniences are produced, can be matter of indifference. It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our broadcloth, and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salams to English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures. To trade with civilized men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would, indeed, be a dotting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it an useless and costly dependency, which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves.

This much has to be said about Macaulay. Misguided and naïve he may have been in his goal of creating brown Englishman (or would he be ecstatic at the results of his policy) but mendacious and mean spirited he was not in comparison to many of his countrymen.

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions

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in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honor.

Source

From Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Speech in Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 10 July 1833," Macaulay, Prose and Poetry, selected by G.M. Young (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 716-18

On Indian Education

We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as Government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? One-half of the Committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic.-But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern

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tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalist themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands preeminent even among the languages of the west. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equaled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said, that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our

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Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound Philosophy and true History, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier [note: a maker of horse shoes] -Astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, History, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and Geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society,-of prejudices overthrown,-of knowledge diffused,-of taste purified,-of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

The first instance, to which I refer, is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but Chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and Romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham [note: English humanists of the 16th century] our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanskrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments,-in History, for example, I am certain that it is much less so.

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In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Source

From Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Minute of 2 February 1835 on Indian Education," Macaulay, *Prose and Poetry*, selected by G. M. Young (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp-721-24,729.

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Appendix D

A perspective on Indo US relations

In Greek Mythology Prometheus is the God of Fire, chained to a craggy rock in the Island of Scythia. His crime – Prometheus had shared the secret of fire with mankind, thereby giving them the means for sustenance, warmth and to provide material goods with the metals that could be forged with fire. This so angered Zeus that he had him chained to the rock. So also did the US try to punish India for trying to harness the fire of the nucleus in the service of the poorest of mankind and in the defense of its people.

PART I -US/India Bilateral relations

The relationship between the 2 largest democracies has not been a happy one during the last half of the 20th century and is not going to alter dramatically at the stroke of midnight at the beginning of the millennium or any time shortly thereafter. But improve these relations, the 2 nations must, for there is no alternative. We are all aware by now of the reasons for this long ranging hostility and I do not wish to go into them here. Suffice it to say that a lot of these reasons have long since ceased to be valid, among them not least the cold war.

It is also true that many of these reasons for the overt hostility between the 2 nations still remain. There is the mutual propensity to deliver moral judgments, although with the passing of the Nehru era, India no longer indulges in this superfluous pastime. There is also a perception that what happens in India is not of great vital interest to America, arguably a very superficial judgment.

One issue where the 2 countries have differed almost from day one is Kashmir. Ever since India's disastrous experience at the UN, and it needs to be recalled that India was the one to take the Kashmir problem to the UN, India has been extremely chary since then of 'Internationalizing' the Kashmir issue and extremely suspicious of any US offers to mediate in this dispute. India feels that countries that mediate bring in their own set of agendas, and are less interested in solving the problems according to the merits of the case. However, suspicious Indians maybe of this kind of mediation, this does not mean that India should stop publicizing its viewpoint in the world arena. India in fact has a very strong case based on the legal accession of the state of Kashmir, much as was the case of accession in the case of Alaska, or Texas and certainly a stronger case than the accession of Hawaii or the accession of the vast areas of Asia to Russia in the 19th century.

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But what has changed dramatically is the perception that the US relationship with India's neighbor Pakistan not only does not offer any tangible benefits, but is also turning out to be a liability. Pakistan, it is being realized is a major exporter of not only illegal opium and heroin, but a particularly virulent kind of Islamic fundamentalism that views as its goal the suppression of all cultures and religions other than its own. India has been particularly unfortunate in that a succession of events have convinced the US to use Pakistan in a variety of roles during the last 50 years.

So what should India's relationship with the US be in the new millennium? Can 50 years of irritation and overtly hostile moves be forgotten and a new beginning be made. The answer is good relations between the 2 countries are essential not only for each other but for the whole planet, not only because the 2 represent a very large portion of humanity (India is the 2nd largest country and the US is the 3rd in population) but also because this hostility has far reaching effects not only in the well being of the subcontinent and the many nations within it, but also because of lost opportunities to act in concert where democratic values provide a platform for common action.

Part II – US, India, Pakistan & Kashmir

The Kashmir issue remains one of the thorniest issues not only between India and Pakistan but also between India and the US. We need to look at the genesis of the issue in some detail before we can understand the reasons for the US stance on Kashmir. The origins of the Kashmir issue are fairly clear. Kashmir acceded to the Union of India and this accession was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir, whose Dogra family had ruled Kashmir for approximately 100 years, initially as a general in the army of Ranjit Singh. India then sent troops to Kashmir to clear invaders from Pakistan who were pillaging and looting the countryside. India eventually took the issue to the UN hoping that the rest of Kashmir still occupied by Pakistan would be returned to India. To India this was a clear-cut case of invasion and theft of land. But to the consternation of India and Indians nothing of the sort happened. <P>To understand the reasons why, one has to go back to the Great Game that Britain had played with Russia for much of the previous 100 years. The great game involved preventing the spread of Czarist Russian ambitions. Czarist Russia had become the country with the largest landmass on this planet. To travel on the Trans Siberian Railway, you had to cross 13 time zones. Clearly this land and the country to which it belonged was a power to be reckoned with. Britain, as the predominant naval and colonial power naturally took a dim view of any potential rival. Kashmir and Afghanistan were important strategic outposts for the British in preventing the Russians from acquiring a warm water port, something that the Czars had been trying to acquire since the time of Peter the great.

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When finally Britain was forced to relinquish control of India, they followed the dictum of the Romans – Divide and Quit. In this case India was divided into 2 countries India and Pakistan. The British from long experience immediately recognized that India would be a major world power in the not too distant future. Why make it easier for the Indians and certainly why let a plum like Kashmir fall into their hands. There was also the suspicion, eventually to come true in later years that India would be the more difficult country to deal with because of its larger size. <P>In addition, Britain did not expect that India would be so spectacularly successful in persuading all the Princely states in to joining the Indian Union. Certainly their expectation was that Kashmir would join Pakistan. To their chagrin, India finessed the whole issue thanks to Sardar Patel by accepting the instrument of accession from the Maharajah.

In the meantime the mantle for protecting the Western world from Russia (now the Soviet Union) and the Communist nations would fall on the newly emergent superpower the United States. The US, properly coached by Britain, also inherited the problem of containing the power of a potentially resurgent India. Thus began a 50-year sequence of events between India and the US, which while not making them bitter adversaries made them highly suspicious of each other. The US made it a point from day one to oppose India on the Kashmir issue. Despite periods of relative calm in the relationship, this adversarial relationship continued pretty much undisturbed till the present day.

The US and Americans are disingenuous when they suggest that the reason for the deterioration of relations had to do with a number of third party issues, such as the Non Aligned Movement etc. But this is really a chicken and egg issue. The US drew first blood by questioning the sovereignty of India over Kashmir and this was a fundamental issue of national integrity for India. The world's most powerful democracy was questioning the territorial integrity of the world's largest democracy. It took many years for Indians to understand that the US was actually hostile to the Indian conception of India and in fact many Indians continued to blame Nehru, suggesting his woolly headed idealism was the cause of this rift between the 2 countries. It did not help matters much that India had a very free press and all the bickering that the Indians would indulge in were there for all the world to see.

In the early years, especially during the 50's and 60's it was common to read articles in the western newspapers that India was going to break up. They would contemptuously quote Indian newspapers talking about 'fissiparous tendencies' and predict that India would break up within 25 years. The 65 war was the first time that such preconceived notions would receive a rude shock. Both the US and Britain realized that India was not a banana republic and this was after all the true inheritor of the British Indian army which undertook major campaigns on behalf of Britain in both world wars. While at the beginning the US acted as a cheer leader for Pakistan during the

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first few days, when it realized that the Pakistanis were losing badly, they immediately went to the UN to stop India from doing further damage.

Many have asked why the US continues to support Pakistan. After all this is the country that has had more Anti American demonstrations than even Beijing or even most Latin American countries. This was the country that burnt down their embassy. This was a country that killed and raped embassy personnel, an act that Teddy Roosevelt would surely have replied with some vigor. This was a country that trained people to bomb the World trade Center in New York in the Nineties and had a deep and murky role in the events leading to 9/11. This was and is a country exporting huge amounts of drugs to the US. This continues to be a country that exports a virulent kind of fundamentalist Islam that has difficulty coexisting with other cultures and religions. What possible benefit could the US derive from patronizing such a country? Americans have given all the usual answers, that Pakistan was a bulwark against communist Russia (hmm – someone needs a reality check here), acted as a travel agent for Henry Kissinger when he went on his trip to Beijing (an expensive travel agent), acted as a conduit for weapons to the Afghan mujahideen during their war against the Soviet Union (was the result worth it?) and so on. For most Indians these seem bizarre explanations for bizarre behavior. A democratic superpower aligning itself with a medieval theocratic state against the worlds largest democracy for benefits of a dubious nature .

One exasperated Indian has asked why the US doesn't declare Pakistan to be what it blatantly is – a rogue state. The answer is that the US is not a church and this is not a morality play. The US does what it perceives to be in its best interests. Till now, the US has deemed it to be, rightly or wrongly that supporting Pakistan was in its best interest. It is my belief that this era is now coming to a close. The US is beginning to question its half a century of investment in this country and is now asking, where is the beef. The US is not a country prone to admitting mistakes, and it certainly will never come out and say we were wrong for 50 years. Of course very little of this change in policy had to do with anything that India did, although many will argue that India's entry into the nuclear club had something to do with it. In the next segment, we will examine what precipitated these changes , the nuclear issue and what the future holds for US Indian relations.

PART III The Future of Indo/US relations

Where do the US and India go from here. But before we get to that , how eager are the 2 countries to improve relations. Despite misunderstandings, there remains a considerable amount of admiration in each of the 2 countries for the other. In India figures like Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, Franklin Roosevelt and John F Kennedy evoke considerable admiration. Even lesser known Black Americans like George Washington Carver of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama form part of the American folklore, known to Indians.

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On the American side there is less awareness of India, other than as a distant country with elephants, snakes, palaces, tigers and a somewhat unusual individual by the name of Gandhi. But almost every university in the US now has faculty from India. Large proportions of motels and hotels in the US are now owned by Indians. A very large proportion of the US population has had contact with at least one physician from the Indian subcontinent. More recently, there are increasing numbers of Indian entrepreneurs in High Technology areas such as Silicon Valley, many of whom have become wealthy using the 'great American wealth builder' called the IPO, the Initial Public Offering. Every Research Lab in the US has a fair representation of scientists and engineers from the Indian subcontinent, and we need not mention the virtual explosion of software engineers without whom America could not have done the giant audit need for Y2K compliance. Indian companies are making their appearance increasingly on American stock exchanges and are proving to be good wealth makers for their American investors

Despite this, the distrust between the 2 governments remains and is particularly acute in geopolitical issues relating to the Defense and Military. There is however considerable eagerness on both sides to improve relations and the realization that the potential for much warmer relations is there. The question is to how to get to that point from where we are today.

From the Indian side there is now evident a new pragmatism. In the early days there was considerable resentment that the US always took sides with Pakistan ever since 1947 when the US voted against India in the UN Security council resolutions on Kashmir. But now India realizes, that it is unrealistic to expect the US to abandon its long standing ally, even though it has not been a democracy for most of its life. India wants to build a relationship with the US quite independent of Kashmir. While this may sound difficult at first blush, recent pronouncements from the National Security Council (John Daley) that the relationship with the 2 largest countries in the subcontinent would take different trajectories sound promising. By this it is assumed by the Indians that the relationship with each of the 2 countries would be less dependent on the other. One particularly irritating habit of the Americans of referring to both countries in the same sentence on almost every occasion, may become a casualty of this new approach (we hesitate to call it a doctrine yet) much to the relief of the Indians. Despite the recent developments in Pakistan leading to military rule, I remain optimistic that the distance between the US and India on this question is not as far as it appears on first blush.

The proper approach as far as America is concerned is to stop looking at India through the narrow prism of Subcontinental South Asian politics and as the 20th century inheritor of the British Raj . India has to be recognized for what she is, the 2nd largest country in the world, and the 5th largest economy with a diverse and arguably versatile industrial base. Militarily India is no slouch either,

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although I would caution Americans from being beguiled into thinking that India will somehow be a military superpower much like China and therefore that would be reason enough to improve relations. The fact of the matter is, that it will be many decades, if ever that India can be regarded as a military superpower and it would be misleading to use that as the excuse for improving relations. Far better to leverage on the immense purchasing power of the Indian populace, probably the largest in the world and build up strong commercial ties that will be more enduring.

A word needs to be said here on the larger question of the different perspectives each country has on global security in general and non-proliferation (NP) in particular. For the US NP means Nuclear Weapons should be restricted to the P5. In enunciating such a doctrine, the US basically does not answer the question uppermost in the mind of Indians. How should India find security when sandwiched between 2 hostile powers? Most in the American foreign policy establishment brush this aside with a bland statement that India's security concerns are not alleviated by resorting to nuclear weapons. They never offer a positive prescription which says this is what India should do to ensure her security. Furthermore, India's perception of NP, driven as it necessarily is by reasons of geography and geopolitics, is basically that it means a world shorn of all nuclear weapons. This is an unbridgeable gap between the 2 countries. The only way this can be finessed is for the US to realize that India cannot pose a threat to the US or any of its NATO allies for several decades if ever. It must also be accepted by the US that India has no ulterior designs on US allies such as Australia, and does not covet the real estate there as a safety valve for its own population.

To conclude, it is evident that the picture that emerges is hardly crystal clear in terms of where the relationship is going between the 2 countries. If that were the case, either India or the US would have been close allies or bitter enemies. Alas, reality intrudes as always and simplicity is the first victim. The surprise really is the extent of the hostility between the two given that neither country has ever attacked the other or spilt the blood of the other or has burnt down a consulate or an embassy or has colonized the other. I predict realism will dawn on the policy makers of both countries and with the right touch of pragmatism; there is every reason to hope for brighter days ahead for the checkered US/India courtship.

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