

JOURNAL OF INDIAN OCEAN STUDIES

Volume 1 Number 1
November 1993

B



Society for Indian Ocean Studies

V95m2, N91
N3

Nehru Memorial Museum
and Library

Acc. No. J-1303
Date 4 JUL 1995

THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN OCEAN STUDIES

The Journal of Indian Ocean Studies is published thrice a year in March, July and November. © Society for Indian Ocean Studies. All rights reserved. No portion of the contents may be reproduced in any form without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

EDITORS

Editor
Associate Editor

Professor Satish Chandra
Vice-Admiral M.K. Roy, PVSM,
AVSM (Retd.).

EDITORIAL BOARD

Professor Ravinder Kumar
(Director, Nehru Memorial
Museum and Library)
Professor S.Zahoor Qasim
(Member, Planning
Commission)
Dr. K.S.Singh
(Director-General,
Anthropological Survey of India)
Professor Matin Zuberi
(Jawaharlal Nehru
University)
Professor Shri Prakash
(Jamia Millia Islamia)
Rear-Admiral (Retd.)
O.P.Sharma, (Administrator,
Maritime Institute,
New Delhi)

Professor S. Vardharajan
(Former Director-General,
C.S.I.R.)
Professor B. Arunachalam
(Bombay University)

Professor V.Suryanarayanan
(Madras University)

Professor Amlesh Choudhury
(Calcutta University)

Professor M.M.Puri
(Punjab University)
Capt. Uday Bhaskar
(Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses)

SUBSCRIPTION

Institutional
Individuals

Rs. 150/- per year (3 Issues)
Rs. 25/- per issue or Rs.70/- per year
Abroad US \$ 10 per issue or 25 annual

Mail subscription to be sent to Editor. Correspondence and Books for Review should be sent to the Editor, 'Advertisement Enquiries' to the Society's office.

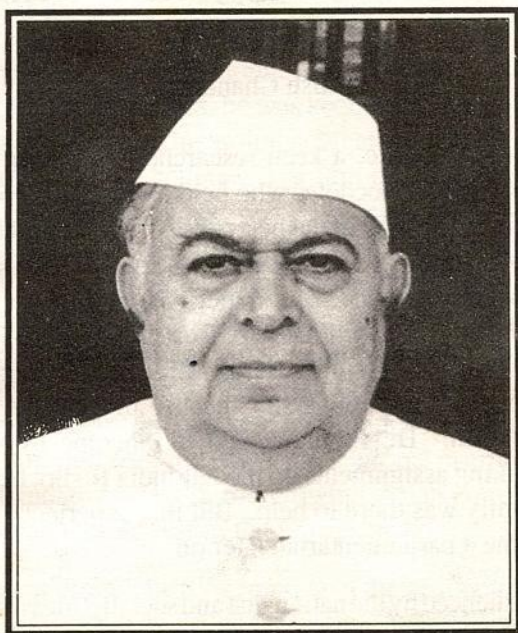
Note: "The views expressed are in no sense official and the opinions of contributors and the Editor in the published articles are not necessarily those of the Society."

Published by Professor Satish Chandra on behalf of the Society for Indian Ocean Studies (Established 1987), an Autonomous Registered Society under the Societies Registration Act.

Address: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Teen Murti House, New Delhi-110011, India.

- 6 JAN 1994

मेहरु स्मारक संग्रहालय तथा पुस्तकालय
Mehru Memorial Museum & Library



Professor S. Nurul Hasan
(26-12-1921 — 12-7-1993)

OBITUARY

A meeting of the General Body of the Society for Indian Ocean Studies held on 21 July 1993, presided over by Shri P.N. Haksar, condoled the passing away of Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Chairman of the Society, on 12 July 1993 at Calcutta. It noted that Professor Nurul Hasan was, apart from his other multifarious interests and responsibilities, keenly interested in the scientific and integrated study of the history and traditions of the country of which the Indian Ocean, in his view, was an integral and vital part. He was also conscious of the strategic importance of the Ocean for India's defence and well being, and which could be a field of productive co-operation between India and the littoral states of the Indian Ocean.

His passing away is a great loss to the intellectual community and to the wider community. The Society conveyed its condolences to the bereaved members of the family, and resolved to pursue with even greater vigour the tasks bequeathed by Professor Nurul Hasan, specially those in the field of Indian Ocean studies.

NURUL HASAN - THE MAN AND HIS CONTRIBUTION: A TRIBUTE

Satish Chandra

A distinguished academic, a keen researcher, a teacher with a vast memory and a fund of anecdotes who held his students spell bound, a public figure and politician in the best sense of the word, Nurul Hasan, or Nuru as he was called by his close friends and associates, was a man of many parts. He continued and upheld the nationalist tradition of combining public life with scholarship. Born in a family of public men, lawyers and bureaucrats, Nurul Hasan decided to break the family tradition by becoming a university teacher in 1944 at a salary of Rs. 125/- a month. He supplemented his income by writing and accepting speaking assignments on the All India Radio, Lucknow. Of course, the family was there to help. But this experience helped him when he became a parliamentarian later on.

Deeply influenced by the nationalist and socialist ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru, and the world Communist movement which was in the forefront of struggle against imperialism and fascism, Nurul Hasan was active in the students movement and continued his political activities even as a teacher. Hence, his transition to active politics in 1967 was not a sudden change.

An historian by training Nurul Hasan actively struggled against communal distortion of Indian history. In his Presidential Address to the Medieval History Section of the Indian History Congress in 1961 at Delhi, he noted that in modern times forces of communalism, revivalism and chauvinism had deeply corroded the political life of this sub-continent and warned that "it is even more disconcerting that those who pursue communal politics look for justification of their present policies from history. They project their own perceptions in the understanding of the past, and seek to identify themselves with such medieval trends as appeared to them akin to their emotions". Simultaneously, he opposed applying ready-made models to Indian history, or imposing a straitjacket in the name of any ism. Thus, he added "... objectivity and a genuine search for truth are necessary for the proper pursuit of knowledge. Most historians would agree that it would be dangerous to

base one's research on *a priori* hypotheses, or to 'explain away' inconvenient data."

Laying emphasis on economic, social and cultural history and on the study of original sources, he was keenly aware of the importance of the ocean and of science including navigational sciences in the growth and development of a country. For him the ocean was not merely a means of communication between peoples and exchange of goods and culture. Aware that the imperialist writing on Indian history had deliberately downplayed the significance of India's old standing links with the countries of West and Southeast Asia and Africa since ancient times, Nurul Hasan postulated that a careful study of the works of Arab geographers and travellers who visited India from the 9th century onwards, would help to understand better India's navigational traditions, including ship-building and use of navigational instruments, as well as the role of Indian traders in the growing Asian commercial network which preceded the arrival of the Europeans.

Towards this end, he took interest in the setting up of a Centre for West Asian Studies at the Aligarh Muslim University and the study and evaluation of Arab geographical works dealing with India and the Indian Ocean. However, this could not proceed further after the publication of the work of Dr. Maqbul Ahmed on al-Idrisi. This perhaps is a task which could be taken up by the Society for Indian Ocean Studies when circumstances permit.

It was during Nurul Hasan's tenure as Vice-Chairman, C.S.I.R. that India scored major victories in the field of ocean development. These were the first Indian Scientific Expedition to Antarctica, and the lifting of the polymetallic nodules from the bed of the Indian Ocean. Professor S. Zahoor Qasim, who was Director of the National Institute of Oceanography (NIO) at Goa, and who was the leader of the first Indian Expedition to Antarctica, has mentioned in a recent article how Nurul Hasan encouraged and helped the scientists during these ventures and that he was able to make intelligent suggestions even in the field of science, on account of his vision, clarity of mind, wide reading, and ability to integrate bits and pieces of information into a coherent picture.

Nurul Hasan was a great institution builder. During his tenure as Union Minister for Science and Culture, he tried to strengthen the

university system by providing grants, through the U.G.C., for research in science, social science and humanities; raise the qualifications and emoluments of teachers, and improve the standards of under-graduate and secondary education through the introduction of the 10+2+3 system. He did not believe that in the present world of competition and use of a wide range of sophisticated techniques for storing, collecting and analysing information, individuals on their own could carry out worthwhile research, even in the field of social sciences. The setting up of the **Society for Indian Ocean Studies** (SIOS) in 1987 was his brain child, though many of us had been struggling with the idea of promoting Indian Ocean studies, and the idea had been floated in an international seminar on the Indian Ocean organised by me in 1985 on behalf of the International Congress of Historical Sciences held at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, and then at Stuttgart at the World Congress of the International Congress of Historical Sciences. He himself wrote the minutes of association of the Society and guided it through the early formative phase.

Nurul Husan is no longer with us. But his vision, his support for inter-disciplinary studies, his ability of bringing together individuals drawn from various walks of life — civil, defence, academic, political and administrative, and imbuing them with a sense of common purpose gives us the confidence that the Society for Indian Ocean Studies will continue to actively promote a greater awareness of the importance of the ocean in the lives of the people in India and neighbouring countries, and in the process promote greater interaction and co-operation among them.

The first issue of the *Journal for Indian Ocean Studies* is dedicated to Professor Nurul Hasan for his vision, his deep humanism, and to his deep devotion to the growth of knowledge, including ocean studies.

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

With this issue, the Society's Newsletter, *The Indian Ocean: News & Views*, assumes the shape of a journal, *The Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*. The objectives of the Journal remain the same as that of the Newsletter. However, in its present shape, we shall be able to procure and present to you more articles on current, historical and scientific topics. Also, it was one of the wishes of our Founder Chairman, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, that the Society's Newsletter be converted into a full-fledged journal.

The present issue of the journal covers Volume III, Nos. 2 and 3 of the Newsletter which will now cease publication.

In the present issue we are carrying a series of articles by known experts in the field on India's security concerns — especially in the Indian Ocean region. The emergence of East Asia or the Pacific Rim powers to the position of being the engines of growth, or what Ms. Carla Hills calls one that has the potential "to trigger an economic renaissance worldwide", marks a definite shift in world power, at a time when the world is beset by recession in the developed countries, and slow growth or even decline elsewhere. Though still confined largely to the economic sphere, long-range implications of this development must concern the Indian Ocean rim-land powers as well as the Western powers.

Equally significant is the trend towards the coming together of Asian powers, represented by the detente between India and China, and the improved relations between India and Iran. An India-Chinese detente can go a long way in lowering tensions in South Asia. Improved relations between India and Iran are important not only for the economic development of the two countries and the region, but marks a big step towards ending the political isolation of Iran. Also, it holds out the prospects of improved access on the part of the independent Central Asian Republics to the Indian Ocean states and their developing economies.

The third is the Israel-PLO Accord which not only improves the

prospects of peace in Asia, but may have the long run consequence of isolating hard-line fundamentalist states and parties in the Islamic world.

Simultaneously, it seems that the Western, in other words, U.S. pressure on third world, specifically Asian countries is increasing, whether in the name of the Dunkel Draft, or communal and ethnic strife and human rights, or N.P.T. and control over ballistic missile technology.

The Government of India has already taken some significant steps to meet these new challenges. However, much more will have to be done in the years to come. In this context, Admiral L. Ramdas, the Chief of Naval Staff, who has just retired, has drawn attention to the new security needs of India, especially the continued need for a more viable navy.

The Society for Indian Ocean Studies and its Journal will strive to play a positive role in this rapidly developing situation.

We are fortunate that following the untimely demise of our Founder President, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Shri K.R. Narayanan, Vice-President of India, who is a seasoned diplomat and has been interested in Indian Ocean affairs for long, has agreed to be the new Chairman of the Society.

Professor S. Zahoor Qasim, Member, Planning Commission, and former Secretary of the Department of Ocean Development, has been elected Vice-Chairman of the Society.

Yours sincerely,
Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Obituary

Nurul Hasan: The Man and His Contribution - A Tribute <i>Satish Chandra</i>	ii
--	----

Editorial	v
-----------	---

ARTICLES

South Asia in a Depolarised World - <i>Admiral L. Ramdas</i>	1-7
Indian Ocean Region - Need to Resist Outside Pressures <i>A.P. Venkateswaran</i>	8-14
Joint Naval Exercises in the Indian Ocean <i>Captain Uday Bhaskar</i>	15-18
India and the Pacific Rim and Its Future <i>Commodore Ranjit B. Rai</i>	19-24
Indian Ocean and Monsoon <i>S. Zahoor Qasim</i>	25-32
Nuclear Pollution and the Oceans - <i>Matin Zuberi</i>	33-36
Southeast Asia after the Cold War - <i>V. Suryanarayanan</i>	37-42
The Indian Horseshoe Crab - A Living Fossil <i>Anil Chatterji and S.A.H. Abidi</i>	43-48
Metallic Pollution in the Hooghly Estuary: Effects and Proposed Control Measures <i>Abhijit Mitra</i>	49-53

NOTICES

REGIONAL NEWS & VIEWS

54-76

Based on Newspapers from the Region

REVIEW OF BOOKS

Satyendra Singh: *Blue Print to Blue Water*

77-78

by R.P. Khanna

Maritime Affairs: A World Handbook

78-80

(Ed. Edgar Gold) by Vice-Admiral M.K. Roy

REVIEW OF ARTICLES

R.J. Barandse: 'Traditional Port Cities in the Western Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'

81-86

by Satish Chandra

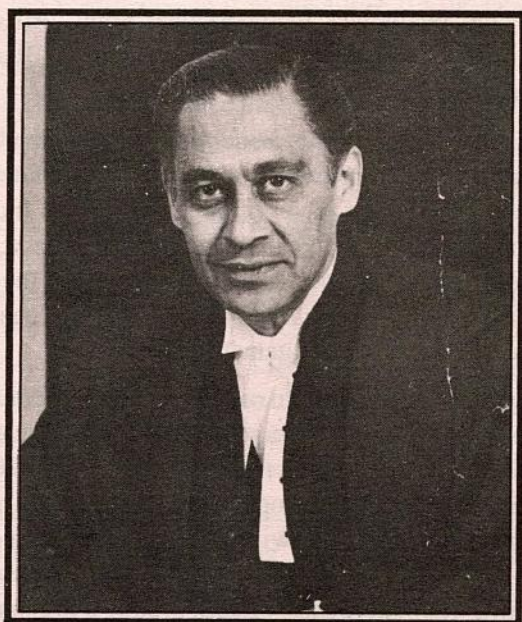
Leonard Bhusse, Zhuang Guotu: 'Fuchienese Commercial Expansion in the Nanyang'

86-88

by Haraprasad Ray

21 MAY 1994

प्रकाश स्मारक संग्रहालय तथा पुस्तकालय
Bohru Memorial Museum & Library



Justice Prakash Narain
(6.8.1923. — 7.4.1994)

OBITUARY

The Governing Body of the Society for Indian Ocean Studies solemnly resolves to condole the passing away of Justice Prakash Narain, a member of the Governing Body, on April 7, 1994. Justice Prakash Narain was closely associated with the Society from its inception, and played a leading role in providing a proper legal structure to the Society. His mature advice on legal and other issues was always a source of strength to the Society. His absence has left a void which would be difficult to fill. The Governing Body wishes to place on record his distinguished services to the Society, and offers its sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

EDITORIAL

In this issue we are carrying, in addition to articles on the scientific and strategic aspects of the Indian Ocean, a special section on Post-Apartheid South Africa which is due to hold its first non-racial elections at the end of April this year. The articles are meant to be a prognosis of the prospects and challenges likely to face South Africa after the elections, leading to the probable installation of a Black majority government in office.

We are also carrying in this issue an article on the route of the traditional sea journey from Orissa to Bali. These routes help us to understand better the likely ancient trade routes from India from the eastern coast and possibly Malabar to Southeast Asia and China. The southern route may also have been the route adopted by the Chola ruler, Rajendra I, during the 11th Century for his expeditions against the Shri Vijaya empire of Sumatra, and against Malacca.

The new post-Cold War world order seems to be slowly changing but not quite in the direction envisaged by the U.S. Presidents, George Bush and Clinton. This is clear from the rebuffs given to the U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, by China on the human rights issue, and its refusal to fall in line with the U.S. effort to bludgeon North Korea on the nuclear issue; by the Japanese refusal to bow to the U.S. demand of fixing quantitative sales of U.S. products to Japan in order to reduce its \$ 51 b surplus with the U.S.A., as also the greater assertiveness shown by the Russians, in the case of Bosnia, and a new initiative in the case of the Israel-P.L.O. dispute. These developments have a bearing not only on Indo-U.S. relations but on perception of the emerging situation in the Indian Ocean region.

India's perception of the Indian Ocean region has also been effected by a number of new developments, some of them closely following diplomatic initiatives taken by the Government of India. Mention was made in our last issue of improvement of India's relations with China, and the visit of Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, to Iran. For some time now, India has been trying to improve its relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, and with ASEAN, thus trying to atone for its past neglect of this rapidly developing region. The visit of the Prime Minister of Singapore, Goh Chok Tong to India as Chief Guest on the

occasion of the Republic Day Celebrations was a significant step in this direction. He held out prospects of a much closer economic relationship between India and Singapore in the future. Regarding India's desire to be a part of ASEAN and APEC, Goh Chok Tong with the confidence of a burgeoning economy behind him, said almost bluntly:

"The question would not arise over the next three years. APEC has decided not to consider new applications for the next three years. Thereafter, it depends very much on India. If India's economy is more and more integrated with the Asian economy and it is also exporting more to the United States and buying from the Americans, then India should certainly be considered a potential member. If relations are quite limited, it is an academic question."

India's economic links with the Asia and Oceania region has been growing fairly rapidly. Thus, according to the Annual Report of the Commerce Ministry for 1993-94, for the first half of the fiscal year, 42.7 per cent of Indian imports came from this region, while 42.1 per cent of its exports went to it. As for the U.S., despite our political differences, it is India's biggest trading partner. Despite this, whether India wants to be an integral part of a trading bloc in which the U.S. is the dominant partner would need careful consideration.

For peace and stability in the Indian Ocean, the role of Post-Apartheid South Africa would be important, both in view of its geographical, strategic location, and its developed industrial and naval infrastructure. According to some observers, a closer economic and strategic understanding between Australia, India and South Africa could be the basis on which the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean could be assured of peace, stability and development with powers external to the region playing a more limited role. But much ebb and flow of the tide is likely before such a development could assume some semblance of reality.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Obituary

Editorial

ARTICLES

Seminar on "Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Indian Ocean:
Prospects and Challenges":

✓	<i>Anirudha Gupta</i>	1
✓	<i>T.G. Ramamurthi</i>	8
✓	<i>R.R. Subramaniam</i>	15
-	<i>S.K. Singh</i>	19
-	<i>Discussion</i>	23

✓	Technology Transfer and Non-Proliferation <i>Raja Ramanna</i>	25
---	--	----

	Indian Ocean and Cyclones <i>S. Zahoor Qasim</i>	30
--	---	----

	Pressler Waiver: Maritime Dimensions <i>Uday Bhaskar</i>	41
--	---	----

	U.N. Maritime Peace Enforcement Operations <i>Sampath Pillai</i>	44
--	---	----

	New Ore-Finds on the Sea-Floor After the Law of the Sea Conference (UNCLOS): Implications for India <i>G.S. Roonwal</i>	50
--	---	----

	The Route of the Bali Yatra - A Scientific Appraisal <i>B. Arunachalam</i>	59
--	---	----

REGIONAL NEWS & VIEWS

Based on Newspapers from the Region

67

NOTICES

The 34th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies, by *Haraprasad Ray*

88

Seminar on Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of SeaFaring in the Indian Ocean: 4th Century BC to 15th Century AD, by *Himanshu Prabha Ray*

90

National Seminar on Problems of Fishermen in the Palk Straits, by *V. Suryanarayan*

92

REVIEW OF ARTICLES

Denys Lombard: "The *Lusiades* compared to two other 'visions' at theEnd of the 16th century: *Xi Yang Ji* and the Malay romance on Alexander" by Satish Chandra

94

BOOK REVIEW

Michael D. Hobkirk: *Land, Sea or Air: Military Priorities, Historical Choices* by Vice Admiral (Retd.) M.K. Roy

98

02 SEP 1994

नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय तथा पुस्तकालय
Nehru Memorial Museum & Library

EDITORIAL

With this issue, the *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies* would have completed one year of existence. With limited resources in men and money at its disposal, the initial task has been a daunting one. That the task has been accomplished is in no small measure due to the help and encouragement provided friends and well-wishers. We would also like to place on record our appreciation and thanks to the Department of Ocean Development for its encouragement and support to the Society and the Journal.

To mark the first death anniversary of the Founder-President of the Society, Professor S. Nurul Hasan, a commemorative meeting was jointly organised by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Indian Council of Historical Research and the Society for Indian Ocean Studies on July 12, 1994. Notable among those who offered their warm tributes were Shri P.N. Haksar, Dr. Karan Singh, Dr. Ramesh Mohan, Dr. Satish Chandra and Shri Rangarajan Kumaramangalam.

The Society has, in the interval, lost two valuable members, Justice Prakash Narain and Professor Moonis Raza. Their absence will be keenly felt, and we condole their passing away.

In this issue, we have given prominence to some of the scientific problems facing mankind in general and India in particular in relation to growing paucity of resources on land in view of the rapidly growing population, and the steady pollution of the oceans. We have also given some attention to the emerging new relationship between India and the countries of Southeast Asia. At a time when the economies of the developed western countries have still to recover from the after effects of the outbreak of peace, and with the rest of the developing world trailing in their wake, bereft of the steady, sustaining economic support provided by the socialist world, the rapid economic growth of the "Asian tigers" have, understandably, made them the centre of attraction for the rest of the world. While India has had old historic and cultural ties with the countries of the region, and has in recent years, tried to amend its regrettable neglect of the region over a prolonged period, the precise nature of the relationship which India can and should try to forge with the countries of the region needs some public debate. That India should forge close economic ties, and renew its cultural ties with the

countries of the region is hardly in dispute. More questionable is the desire in some quarters that it should become a member of the ASEAN. India is not geographically a part of Southeast Asia. Countries of the region also apparently feel that if India is admitted, it would be difficult for them to exclude others, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, etc. This would also entail bringing into the ambit of its discussions a fresh range of problems which have so far been dealt on a bilateral basis by the concerned countries.

Thus, while economic and cultural problems have a priority, of concern to India and the countries of Southeast Asia is the emerging strategic scenario of the region in the context of the steady reduction of U.S. military and naval presence in the region. The reduction of the U.S. presence in the region can, at best, be postponed but not avoided. In such a situation, Southeast Asia can well become a cock-pit of conflict between the emerging powers of the region. In some quarters, a tussle for influence in the region between India and China is taken almost for granted. Countries of the Southeast Asian region are also apprehensive of the revival of Japanese military and naval power, following its growing economic muscle.

The setting up of the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) of which the U.S.A., Russia, China and Australia are participants is designed to fill this lacuna. But it would hardly be able to tackle the emerging strategic problems of the region, including the Indian Ocean region, without the full involvement of India in the ARF. The manner in which it can be achieved needs to be worked out.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial

Table of Contents

Obituary

ARTICLES

Indian Ocean and Investment Opportunities in the 21st Century <i>S. Z. Qasim</i>	1
Marine Pollution in India: An Emerging Problem <i>G.P. Glasby and G.S. Roonwal</i>	21
Oil Transportation in the Indian Ocean: Regional Co-operation in Pollution Battle <i>Rear Admiral Krishan Dev (Retd.)</i>	27
Vessel Source Pollution and UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982 <i>Rear Admiral O.P. Sharma (Retd.)</i>	35
Sri Lanka's China Policy - Legacy of the Past and Prospects for the Future <i>V. Suryanarayan</i>	51
The Indian Navy: A Malaysian Viewpoint <i>J.N. Mak</i>	65
The Indonesian State and its Defence Perceptions <i>Didier Jercome</i>	76
Suu Kyi's Future and Myanmar <i>Malavika Karlekar</i>	86
REGIONAL NEWS AND VIEWS	89

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial

Table of Contents

Obituary

ARTICLES

Indian Ocean and Investment Opportunities in the 21st Century <i>S. Z. Qasim</i>	1
Marine Pollution in India: An Emerging Problem <i>G.P. Glasby and G.S. Roonwal</i>	21
Oil Transportation in the Indian Ocean: Regional Co-operation in Pollution Battle <i>Rear Admiral Krishan Dev (Retd.)</i>	27
Vessel Source Pollution and UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982 <i>Rear Admiral O.P. Sharma (Retd.)</i>	35
Sri Lanka's China Policy - Legacy of the Past and Prospects for the Future <i>V. Suryanarayan</i>	51
The Indian Navy: A Malaysian Viewpoint <i>J.N. Mak</i>	65
The Indonesian State and its Defence Perceptions <i>Didier Jercome</i>	76
Suu Kyi's Future and Myanmar <i>Malavika Karlekar</i>	86
REGIONAL NEWS AND VIEWS	89

OBITUARY

Professor Moonis Raza

(1925-1994)

The Governing Body of the Society for Indian Ocean Studies noted with deep regret and sorrow the passing away of Professor Moonis Raza on 19 July after a prolonged illness. Professor Moonis Raza was one of the founder members of the Society for Indian Ocean Studies and was closely associated with its working. His passing away will leave a gap which it would be difficult to fill. The Governing Body offers its deep condolences to the bereaved members of the family.