

AMERICAN IMAGES OF INDIA

by

RATHNAM INDURTHY

B.A., Osmania University, 1968
B.Ed., Osmania University, 1971
M.A., North American Baptist Seminary, 1975

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Major Professor

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Images, impressions and attitudes both good and bad are subjective experiences and perceptions, formed at different points of time and places, in different circumstances and events, and become part and parcel of one's personality.

Harold R. Isaacs writes "Images carried about by some people for a whole life time may have been fixed by a single exposure dating, perhaps, from an experience deep in the past or else they may emerge from a whole collection of pictures that a man takes with his mind over the years and which come out looking much the same because his mind's setting is fixed, like a fixed-focus-camera"¹. Images die hard even if one makes a conscious attempt to let them out of the sub-consciousness of one's mind.

These images, impressions and attitudes having become part of people's personality, affect and influence greatly their relations with other peoples of the globe. Although relations between nations are usually determined primarily by material considerations, such as geography, resources, power, economies and perceived national interests, images and stereotypes also affect decisions and policies towards a particular country. Mistaken images and views about one another might cause a lot of harm and bitterness and finally result in destruction:

¹Harold R. Isaacs, Images of Asia, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962), P.390.

examples such as the Hindu-Muslim massacre of 1947 India, Hitler's dastardly killing of 6 million Jews in the German concentration camps and fratricidal acts between Jews and the Palestinians in Middle East, and between protestants and catholics in Northern Ireland etc.; all go to confirm the tragic effects of misconceived images.

If one accepts the logic that images do play their own part in decision-making processes, one may assume that American policies and decisions towards other countries in general and India in particular might have been influenced by the perceived images and impressions in the past and may still be influenced in the future.

In this paper, I have confined myself to the study of American images of India, especially cartoonists' imagery, rather than attempting to show how these images may have affected or influenced the American decisions and policies toward India over a period of time.

Although American missionary work began in India in 1810, and expanded in the early part of 20th century, the real American encounter with India started only during second world war, and expecially after India's independence in 1947. Harold R. Isaacs points out that "in 1942 four months after Pearl Harbor an opinion poll found that 60 percent of a national sample of Americans could not locate either China or India on an outline map of the world"². This is not to say that Americans

²Ibid, P.37.

did not have an imagery of India before the second world war. They may have received impressions of India from missionaries, as well as from Kipling's works, Catherine Mayo's sensational book "Mother India" of unrestrained Anglophilism and extreme Hindu phobia, and similar works. Children's books like Christine Weston's "Bhimsa the Dancing Bear" (New York: 1945); J. Kiddell-Monroe's "In His Little Waistcoat To India" (New York, 1948); then films like "The Rains of Ranchipur (1955)". The "Burgal Brigade" (1954) and many other T.V. shows may have given a Maharajah-Snake-Charmer Indian image. Swami Vivekananda's visit to the Parliament of Religions held at the Chicago Exposition in 1893, and the "Vedanta Society" founded by him, may have contributed to the "Spiritual East" image of India.

However, American involvement in India started on a very large scale only after India became a free country, especially after 1951 when an emergency wheat loan was granted to India by President Truman's administration³. After that time, many visitors, scholars, diplomats, and journalists began to pour into India from the U.S. Interactions between Americans and Indians were intensified. Hundreds and then thousands of Indian students went to the U.S. for higher education. Then,

³For a detailed statement on the wheat loan see Norman D. Palmer's

"South Asia and United States Policy" (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966). PP. 15-16; M.S. Srinivasachary

"Commerce, Peace, and Security: United States Foreign Policy Toward India 1947-54 (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, Kansas State University, 1975).

Nehru's Policy of "Neutrality", liberation of Goa in 1961 followed by the Sino-Indian war of 1962, and the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 - all must have certainly brought home to the American public in general and to the press and communication media in particular many images of Indians and Indian leaders.

Especially after the declaration of an emergency, on June 26, 1975 following her conviction by the Allahabad High Court on June 12, 1975⁴, Indira Gandhi, and India began receiving profuse attention from the American public and press. The American press, having become upset with her removing of a 28-year Indian democracy, has been very critical of her actions. Indira Gandhi, in response to the American press' unsparing criticism, has argued that she took this decision only to save the country from disintegrating and that the American image of India has always been negative. She made the following statement at all India Congress Committee' meeting held at New Delhi⁵:

"We did not find greater understanding or sympathy before the emergency. The picture of India presented by them was that of starving Indians". She said "she had recently asked a group of people who had

⁴For a detailed analysis of the emergency in India, see Norman D. Palmer, The Crisis of Democracy In India, ORBIS (Summer, 1975). PP. 379-401; Marcus F. Frauda, "India's Double Emergency Democracy". American University Field Staff Report, South Asia Series, Part 1, 2, 3 (December, 1975).

⁵Hindustan Times (May, 1976), Also see the same newspaper February 23, 24, 1976.

visited India for the first time, what they know this country, they admitted that they had heard only of elephants and starving people. This image had not been built suddenly in less than a year of the emergency. It had been built over the years consistently and deliberately It was not as if there was no poverty in other countries. But one does not hear of the poverty in other countries, because they are following policies which are convenient to them (to the critics) politically, economically, and in other ways."

Mrs. Gandhi's allegations led me to enquire whether the American imagery in general and the press' imagery in particular has been consistently critical of independent India. To find out what the general American imagery of India has been, I first chose to review the following works:

1. Harold R. Isaac's Images of Asia (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962).
2. Asian Society's Asia in American Textbooks: An Evaluation (New York: Asian Society, 1976).
3. Michael W. Suleiman's American Images of Middle East Peoples: Impact of the High School (Unpublished report, 1975).

These three works deal with the American imagery of India from three different angles. The first study by Harold R. Isaacs deals with the imagery of 181 well-informed and well-educated (scholars, educationists, pressman, businessmen,

missionaries, government officials, etc.) Americans. The second work deals with the images of India portrayed in children's textbooks, and the third work with high school teachers' and students' imagery of India.

My own investigation of press imagery of India is limited to political cartoons. Why? Because cartoons have an immediate impact, unlike editorials and lengthy articles. They convey their message quickly and successfully. Cartoons often tap our unspoken assumptions concerning another country or group. They utilize caricature and stereotype to convey their message. There are, however, difficulties in using cartoons, as they depend upon subjective interpretation.

In this paper, my preliminary objective is to determine whether the image of India has been consistently negative. This I would do by looking at cartoons during periods when U.S. policy and public opinion were more favorable to India as well as when they were less so.

My second objective is to determine whether images portrayed in cartoons have generally been in agreement with those observed by Isaacs, Suleiman, and the Asia Society to exist in text books and in the minds of teachers and other Americans. This requires a look at content. Thirdly, I want to determine whether there has been any change in the images portrayed during the fifteen-year period under review.

Maybe there are several works dealing with the American images of India, but I have selected these three works for a review for the fact that their investigations look comprehensive,

and deal with different segments of American Society.

In the first chapter, I review and compare the three works and the American images presented in each. Then in the second chapter, I interpret and analyze cartoons and see if the images of India presented by cartoonists are similar or dissimilar to these works, so that we may determine whether Indira Gandhi's allegation was true or ungrounded. Then as a conclusion, I shall make a few general observations concerning the answers to these questions.

CHAPTER I

People of every nation have certain stereotyped images of other nations. Indeed most people, when they hear of a nation other than their own, immediately entertain certain perceived images.⁶ Howard Bliss writes "that wide apread images of Latin peoples - Italians, Spaniards, and Latin Americans- as indolent, romantic, and emotional; of Germans as authoritarian; of the English as staid and pragmatic, strike a responsive chord in most Americans."⁷ Also of Indians, Americans may have certain images, stereotypes that come out when called or asked for. In this chapter, I would like to review three works in which various segments of American society have expressed their images of India.

1. American Images of India in Harold R. Isaac's Enquiry

In 1957 Harold R. Isaacs in his most extensive and penetrating work inquired into some American ideas, images and impressions of Chinese and Indians as people. He took a year to complete this enquiry. The 181 individuals whom he interviewed for their images of India were well-educated and well-informed concerning Indians and Indian leaders. He reports

⁶For explanation of this concept see Hadley Cantrill and William Buchanan, "How Nations See Each Other" (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953).

⁷Howard Bliss and M. Glen Johnson. Beyond the Water's Edge: America's Foreign Policies, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1975) PP. 93-94.

that the "interview was not merely to extract opinions, and information, but to give the fullest possible freedom of the play of association, memory, idea for the retrieval of the forgotten bits and pieces of experience".

He then recorded and reported these individuals' images, impressions, and reactions to Indians under seven different categories: the Fabulous Indians; the Religionists; the very benighted heathen; the Gandhi image, the Nehru image, and the Indians' encountered, as responses emerged. The responses are voluminous. He concluded that "about 54 percent of the panel expressed more or less strongly negative views about Indians", and he attributes this negative image partly to foreign policy differences and partly to deep-rooted reactions to Hindu culture and life. He observes that Indians received high esteem by those who knew them least (pp. 381-82).

Isaacs reported the adjectives expressed by the 181 individuals under different categories. Although some of the panel members gave a good score for Indians as articulate, fluent, facile, eloquent debators, conservationists, humorous, brilliant, philosophical, religious, and contemplative people (pp. 249-250; 325-339), most of them expressed hundreds of negatively-stereotyped images of Indians. To distill a few common images, they expressed images like Snake charmers, Maharajahs, cobras, a debased, hopeless sort of religion, mystic nonsense, stupid taboos, horrible practices, benighted, superstitious, fatalistic, fanatical, barbarous religiosity, the elevation of animal life above the human, . . . untouchability, child marriage, Suttee,

religion as a dragging burden on growth, terrific waste from the animal cult, sancrosanct cows and monkeys amid starvation, caste prejudice, a ridiculous idealization of poverty, religion as a sanction for barriers between people.

They looked upon Indians as unvital, sub-human, emaciated people, diseased, ribs showing, shriveled bellies, children with fly-encircled eyes, dying in the streets, rivers choked with bodies, people living, sleeping, lying, dying on the streets in misery, beggary, squalor, wretchedness, a mass of semi-aboriginal humanity (pp. 259; 273-277). Further, some describes Indians as effete, soft, weak, unresilient, timid, no muscles, effeminate, lack virility; even the poor muslim is a vigorous man while the poor Hindu is buckling in at the knees; Pakistanis seemed energetic western type, muslim believes in one God, more masculinity; muslim is very close to the Christian in faith and loyalties (pp. 275-277).

Nevertheless, Gandhi scored the highest esteem of the panel members. The reactions went all the way from Gandhi, the politician to Gandhi the saint. Some people even compared him to Christ (p.291). Nehru too won admiration as well as anger from the panel. Some saw him as great statesman and charismatic, and some as an opportunistic, sacred to communists; pro-communist, arrogant, anti-American, stiff-necked Hindu (pp. 307-312).

From the author's report, it becomes clear that the majority of Americans interviewed in 1957 had very many bad and negative images of India. The stereotyped images of snake charmers,

snakes, benighted heathen, fanaticism, fatalism, barbarousness, religiosity, sub-humanity, untouchability, starvation, poverty, swollen stomachs, beggary, squalor and many other images had remained intact in the minds of most of the 181 well-educated and well-informed Americans in 1957. The panel members perceived correctly that there are many economic and social problems like poverty, starvation, and untouchability in India. No civilized person can tolerate barbarous social practices that are still practiced in India. In fact, Nehru vigorously condemned the social evils in India all through his life in letter and spirit. He wrote "The spectacle of what is called religion, or at any rate organized religion, in India and elsewhere fills me with horror, and I have frequently condemned it and wished to make a clean sweep of it. Almost always it seems to stand for blind belief and reaction, dogma and bigotry, superstition and exploitation, and the preservation of vested interests".⁸ The panel members, though, went out of all proportion in painting their picture of India in 1957. If these were the images and impressions of highly qualified and well-informed people, what better image than this can be expected from an average American citizen? What surprises me most is their failure to attribute the causes of poverty, illiteracy, and starvation to the British who controlled the destiny of Indians

⁸Toward Freedom, (New York, 1942) pp. 260-41. Also for his attack on caste and untouchability see "Nehru Explains India's 'Split Personality". New York Times (March 11, 1956).

for about 250 years. Jawaharlal Nehru in his book Discovery of India argues that this current poverty was caused by the British.⁹ When the British left India, the literacy rate there was 9 percent; and in fact it would have been much less, if dedicated foreign missionaries had not started schools and colleges. As depicted by Americans, it is true that Indians became ignorant because the British Masters thought "Ignorance was a bliss" for us. One finds the same imagery if one reads the experts' evaluation on American text books on Asia.

2. American Text Book Writers Imagery of India as seen by Experts¹⁰

About 100 experts undertook an evaluative study of 306 books in common use in the 50 states during 1974-75. The experts who evaluated the books found three-fourths of them to be disparaging and condescending in tone and attitude toward Asians. They found most of the books written with western-centered, progress-oriented, problem-based, approaches to underplay the importance of Asian tradition, culture, art, and other achievements. The evaluators of text books noted that the purpose of their study was not simply to pinpoint which was a good or a bad text, but that it was primarily to catalogue the variety of themes and source materials which can

⁹Discovery of India, (London: Meridian Books, 1956) P.294.

¹⁰"Asia in American textbooks: An evaluation", New York: Asian Society, 1976.

contribute to an understanding of Asia or alternatively, which can distort Asian reality. The experts observed that Indian problems receive more attention than those of any other region treated by texts, and that the problems were rarely balanced by an examination of the rich cultural heritage of India. If we look at the text book sample published in the manual, one could easily spot very similar images to these expressed by Isaac's 181 interviewees. Text book writers write about slums, cows wandering, and the bad smell of garbage and sewage in cities.

They saw Indians as living in the past, illiterate, sick, poverty stricken, impoverished, starving, living in streets and huts, divided, segregated by caste with numerous untouchables facing untold misery, suffering and humiliation. They conveyed a sense of hope for improvements, lethargy inertia borne of hunger reinforced by generations of fatalism. They described worshipping cows and other animals, and hundreds of people dying of snake bites and other diseases. India is seen as the place for talking about God and eternal salvation (pp. 89-82; 108-112). The experts also found text-book writers giving maximum credit to what the British did in India, while most of us Indians condemn their ruthless, draconian insensitive rule. Needless to say, these images and stereotypes are similar to those found in Isaac's work. The text books reviewed in the Asia Society study were written during 1968-73 and surprisingly, the same stereotypes that were expressed by Isaac's interviewees were repeated by text book writers, apparently without any

willingness to examine if any changes had occurred in India and whether their comments in any way were exaggerations without a sense of proportion or balance. Of course, there is poverty, even starvation, illiteracy, untouchability in India, and the government in particular and people in general are attempting within their limitations to eradicate these problems. Most of these problems especially poverty and illiteracy were not India's making, and the text book writers were not able to see those Britishers who were responsible for the present problems in India. The text book writers with their biased treatment of India, may have contributed to developing more repulsion and spite than sympathy and understanding in the minds of impressionable children.

I wish, the text book writers, had written their books with a sense of objectivity without making such sweeping generalizations and exaggerations on conditions in India, so that pupils could have been better acquainted with India. Text books create a great impact on students and Bradford is right when he suggests that "school books are the important books. After all, they are the ones the law says kids must read Children cannot be expected to question text books which unlike nursery tales are assumed to be literally correct in everyway".¹¹ The evaluators, however, do not give any reference to writers as having treated the Indian leaders either negatively or positively. The Indian leaders may have been given a better image by the

¹¹Carnegie Quarterly, (Fall, 1974) quoted in "Asia in American Text-Books".

writers. Then, what about the American images as reported by Michael W. Suleiman? Were they similar to those images found in the earlier two works or were they dissimilar? Let us see what the investigator concludes.

3. American Images of India in Michael W. Suleiman's Work

Professor Michael W. Suleiman, in collaboration with other professors, undertook a survey among high school world history teachers in the states of Indiana, New York, Colorado, Kansas, California and Pennsylvania, to determine the state of Middle Eastern studies in American high schools and also to assess the attitude of teachers and students toward Middle Eastern peoples. In this study, he also included India and Pakistan for comparison of American images of these people with those of the Middle East.

Suleiman reports that when teachers were asked to state (1) what most of your students think of, and (2) what do you think of, when the various Middle East peoples and Indians, etc. 'come to mind', twenty-nine percent of the sample refused to state an opinion on either question, and claimed that they could not answer for the students and did not know their views. In the results of those who expressed opinions, the investigator found that the teachers differed very little, if at all from their students (p. 9). If we look at his report, we will find similar images of India to these found in earlier works, from different segments of American Society: teachers and students. A few of them expressed favorable images of Indians as artistic,

lovable, democratic, intelligent, friendly and good people, but many of them expressed scores of negative images of Indians as "poor and untrained, destitute and backward, illiterate and ill-fed, diseased, starving, stagnated". Some students and teachers both attacked Hinduism and blamed it for the country's poverty and 'backwardness'. "While to students Hinduism is a 'wierd Eastern religion' symbolized by Guru and "beds of nails", to the teachers, the most important point relates to 'religion contributing to poverty'. This theme was expressed in many ways: stupid religion in which people starve". Hinduism has been a growth inhibitor "held back by religion", guided by religion more than intelligence a religion has kept them from entering into twentieth century".

Some respondents saw Indians as "filthy, stupid, class-conscious, stuck-up, self-centered, and "not very realistic". Despite expressing these negative images on Indians, they, nevertheless, expressed a high regard for Mahatma Gandhi as "symbol of India" and his struggle for independence from British colonialism". These images are very much similar to those found in the earlier works. One might have expected a balanced image from teachers, as 95% of them have had college work beyond Bachelor's degree. But that did not happen. After all, what more one can expect from these teachers and students other than what they got from text books? It is obvious, as suggested by Louis M. Lyons, that "the quality of the information we have on the peoples determine the images of them we have in

our heads".¹² If these teachers and students had these horrible images of India, it was because of these images presented to them by text book writers.

Surprisingly, the imagery of India expressed by well-informed individuals in 1957 is similar to these of supposedly well-informed text book writers of 1968-73 and to those less-informed teachers and hardly informed students of 1975. One would ordinarily expect certain well-balanced images from well-informed people, but this doesn't appear so in these works. From this similarity of images, one perhaps can perceive that the well-informed people have been deliberately responsible in disseminating their images to the less-informed segments of American society. Then, what about the images depicted in American cartoons? Are they similar to those seen in earlier works or different? Cartoonists are influential artists of the press media and have a persuasive influence over the public opinion. Therefore I shall deal with Indian imagery in cartoons in the next chapter.

¹²Louis M. Lyons, in his introduction to Wilton Wynn's Nasser of Egypt: The Search for Dignity, (Clinton: Massachusetts: The Colonial Press, 1959), p. viii.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN CARTOONISTS' IMAGERY OF INDIA

Cartoonists have come of age to play a domineering role in social, political and economic life of the world society. In the 20th Century, cartooning has blossomed from a feeble sprout into a hardy oak in the world of creative art. As Lawrence Laviar suggests "They are designed to make people laugh and constructed with a freer hand and much more abandon: they are freely caricatured and exaggerated to promote a funny situation or gag line These caricatures are actually caricatures of real people constructed by the artist to symbolize a certain type of person rather than to reproduce him accurately in an academic fashion".¹³ John Giepel explains the objectives of a cartoonist:

They (cartoonists) do not necessarily regard their drawings merely as funny pictures, nor their trade as a facet of the entertainment industry. There is more underlying reason, some strong motivating factor (in addition to the pecuniary) that prompts them to put pen to paper. They may be violently opposed to or in favour of some political issue; have a strong desire to ridicule bureaucratic red tape; feel to lampoon some

¹³Lawrence Lariar, Careers in Cartooning, (New York: Dodd & Mead Company, 1949), p. 11.

idiotic aspect of social behavior.¹⁴

Cartoons could be called the slang of graphic art like verbal slang. They tend to rely for their impact on spontaneity, playfulness, popular imagery and often deliberate vulgarity. . . .

Cartoons invariably provide a most suitable outlet for man's irresistible urge to poke fun at his fellow beings, his institutions, and some times himself."¹⁵

They are a powerful weapon to ridicule pomp, power impotency and deride hypocrisy. A cartoonist expresses his hatred, lays bare the situation, and the crisis in the society. It is not wrong to say that a cartoonist not only brings home to the public and policy makers the gravity of a situation, but also implicitly suggests solution to the crisis. Cartoons in these days, are so ubiquitous, and their attraction has risen so high that it is very seldom one misses them. It appeals to human mind and has a cathartic effect. Roy Paul Nelson says, "editorial (political) cartoons are with a message. They mean to sway public opinion."¹⁶ Stephen Kanfer said "An effective editorial cartoon stirs the passion, causing readers to react vigorously against the message or nod their head in agreement".¹⁷

¹⁴John Geipel, The Cartoon: A Short Story of a Graphic Comedy and Satire, (New York: Barnes & Company, 1972) p. 10.

¹⁵Ibid. P. 10.

¹⁶Ray Paul Nelson, Cartooning, (Chicago: Henry Tegenery Company, 1975).

¹⁷Quoted by Nelson, p. 7.

As it is obvious that cartoonists have a persuasive influence on the public mind as well as on the policy maker's mind, I have chosen to interpret and analyze some of the cartoons drawn by American cartoonists at different points of times of crises that occurred in India to see what their image of India and Indian leaders had or has been over a period of time, so that it might help us to see whether political cartoons both express and reinforce the stereotypes of India held by the American people.

Since cartoonists usually draw their cartoons during the times of social and political crises, and other events, I have chosen the years 1962, 1965, 1971, 1974, and 1975 during which periods India not only has passed through some grave crises, but has also had some achievements to her credit that drew American cartoonists' attention. The following crises and major events occurred during these years:

October, 1962 -----	Indo-China War
August, 1965 -----	Indo-Pakistan War
August, 1971 -----	Indo-Soviet Peace Treaty
December, 1971 -----	Indo-Bangla Desh-Pakistan War
May, 1974 -----	India explodes a nuclear device
October, 1974 -----	Dr. Henry Kissinger visits India; signs the Joint Indo- American Commission Agreement
January, 1975 -----	India recognizes the PLO
June, 1975 -----	Indira Gandhi declares Emergency in India

Methodology

For cartoons of the years, 1962, 1965, 1971, all issues of Christian Science Monitor, Topeka Daily Capital, The Kansas City Star & Times, and Manhattan Mercury stored on microfilm at Kansas State University were examined and any cartoon relating India in these papers was included in the study.

Then, for cartoons for the years 1974 and 1975 the syndicated cartoon collections in the Kansas State University library were examined and all the available cartoons on India were gathered. First, the background history of each crisis and major event was investigated to help understand the context in which the cartoons were drawn. Then in consultation with one American Professor and several American graduate students in the Department of Political Science at Kansas University, an interpretation was made for each cartoon as to its meaning and the stand taken by the cartoonist in that particular juncture. Third, the cartoons were analyzed in a chronological order, to see whether they were pro-India or anti-India; pro-leadership or anti-leadership; or neutral to both, in relation to the countries involved, if any, during the Prime Ministership of Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Indira Gandhi, respectively. The themes, symbols, stereotypes, representing these positions were entered in different columns, and then observed for their imagery of India in 1962, 1965, 1971, 1974, and 1975.

1962 - INDO-CHINA WAR

India's relations with the new government of the People's

Republic of China were ruptured first over the Tibetan issue. While China claimed her suzerainty over Tibet, India sought to maintain Tibetan autonomy. However in 1954, Nehru recognized Chinese suzerainty, and signed an agreement called "Panch-Sheel" (Five-Principles) with China as the basis of her friendship with China. From 1954 until 1959, India maintained good relations with China. But in 1959, revolt in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's flight to India caused serious tensions between India and China. India had been aware that Chinese maps had laid claim to the Northeast Frontier Province (now Arunachal Pradesh) the Aksai Chin plain of Eastern Ladakh in Kashmir, and small pockets of area along the Indo-China border between Nepal and Kashmir. China challenged the legitimacy of the McMahon Line, drawn in 1914 by the Simla Convention, defining the border between the Northeast Frontier Province and Tibet. It did not sign the agreement even in 1914. As the Aksai Chin was strategically important to China in terms of both internal security within Tibet and the perceived threat from the USSR, China had built an all-weather road across the Aksai Chin linking Sinkiang with Tibet in 1957. A year later Indian patrols discovered the road, but Nehru did not disclose this fact until the Tibetan revolt and border clashes in 1959 occurred.

In 1960 Chou-En-Lai visited India and entered into talks with Nehru on the border problem. He proposed to abandon the claims to NEFA in exchange for the Aksai chin (already under China control), but India refused the offer, despite the fact that it was very weak militarily. India embarked on a "forward

policy" on the borders" intended to check Chinese advances everywhere, and if possible, force Chinese withdrawals in Ladakh.¹⁸ China, in an effort to make India give up claims to the Aksai chin, began invading the borders, along the NEFA frontier in October, 1962.¹⁹ Within a month's time, the Indian forces were badly beaten. During this crisis, the U.S. and Britain rallied to India's aid with emergency airlifts of arms, and President J.F. Kennedy offered his unstinted support during this crisis. But how did cartoonists react to this crisis? Surprisingly they reacted differently from that of the official stance. It surprised me, because I had expected cartoonists' treatment of India to be more positive during a period when U.S. policy toward India was more positive. Cartoons 1 - 13 speak about cartoonists' reactions to the war.

¹⁸Heimsath and Mansingh. A Diplomatic History of Modern India, (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1971), p. 46.

¹⁹For discussions of the war, see M.S. Rajar, India in World Affairs (New York, Asia Publishing House, 1964); William F. Van Eckelen, Indian Foreign Policy and the Border Dispute With China (The Wague, Nijhoff, 1967); Margaret W. Fisher, Leo Rose, and Robert A. Huffenback, Himalayan Battleground: Sino-Indian Rivalry in Ladakh (New York: Praeger, 1963); Alastaix Lamb, The China-India Border: The Origins of the Disputed Boundaries (London: Chathaw House, 1964); Parshotam Mehra, The McMahan Line and After (Delhi: Macmillan, 1974). For opposing view of India's position, see Neville Maxwell, India's China War (New York: Anchor Books, 1972).

Cartoon 1

China is setting India on fire. Then Nehru approaches Khrushchev for the promised military help. Russia is in a dilemma. It wants to help Nehru but at the same time does not want to hurt the Chinese. Here, cartoonist is neutral toward India and critical of the USSR, and China.

Cartoon 2

Nehru is drowning in the sea due to the war. He approaches the non-aligned nations to help, but they do not help him. Ridicule is thrown at his policy of non-alignment.

Cartoon 3

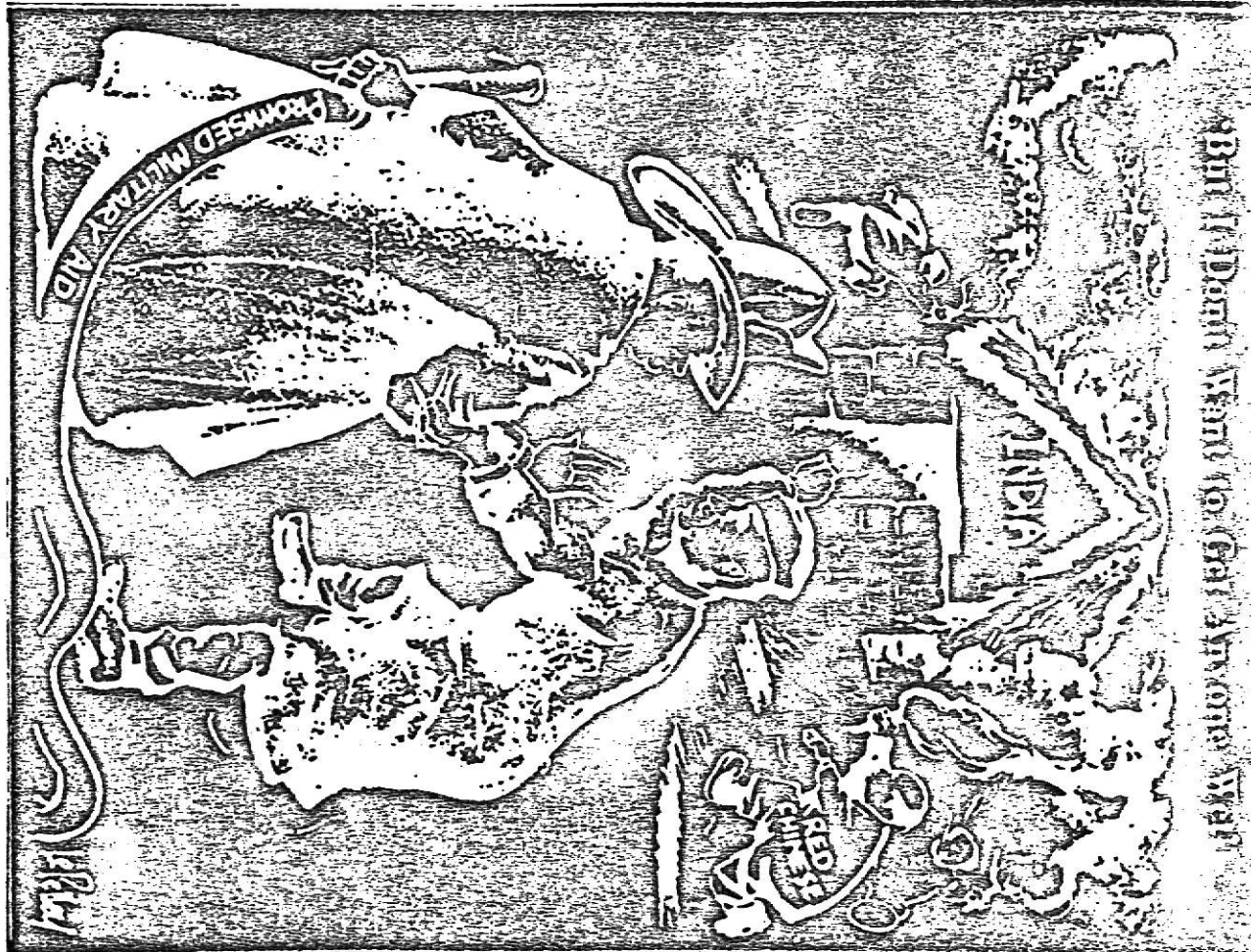
Chinese are encroaching on the borders, but Nehru is still contemplating on the principles of co-existence. This is again an attack on Nehru's illusions. The cartoonist, however, by claiming the disputed territories as India's territories, is taking more of a pro-Indian than a pro-China stand.

Cartoon 4

The cartoonist expresses the inability of any but the Chinese to understand why they declared a unilateral ceasefire when everybody (mistakenly) thought they were going to "gobble up" a weak and defenceless India.

Cartoon 5

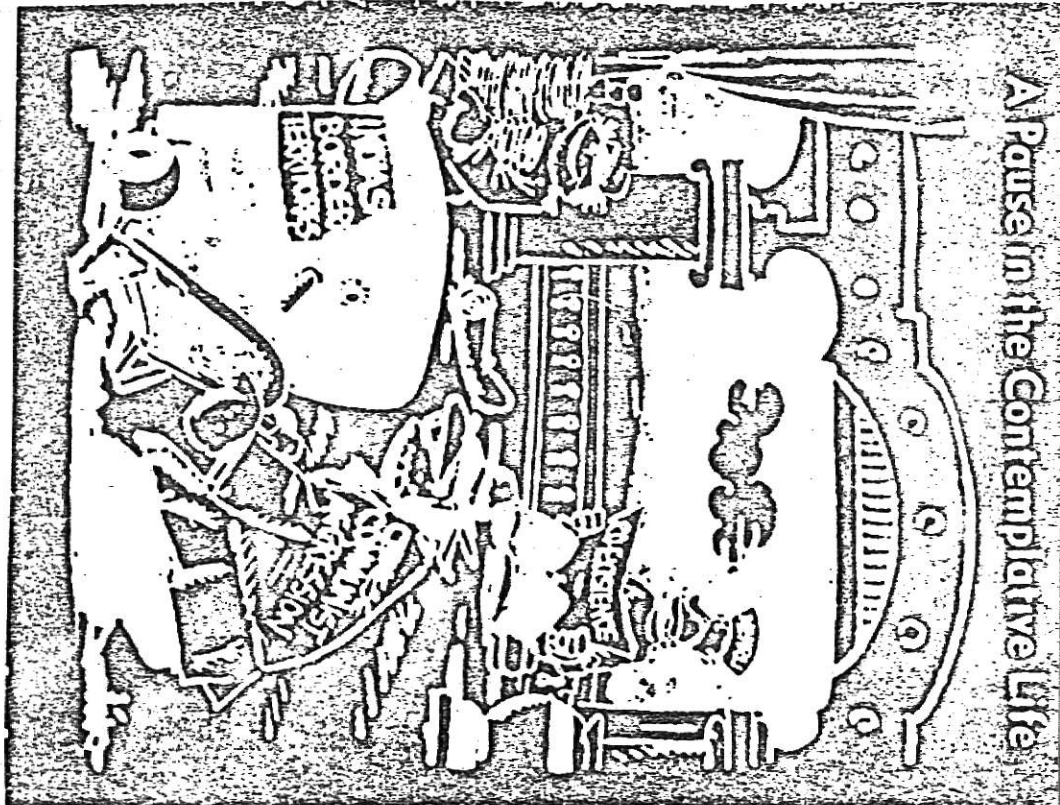
The Chinese chariot is coming upon Nehru and V.K. Krishna Menon, who were still living in their past illusions of peaceful



Cartoon 1.



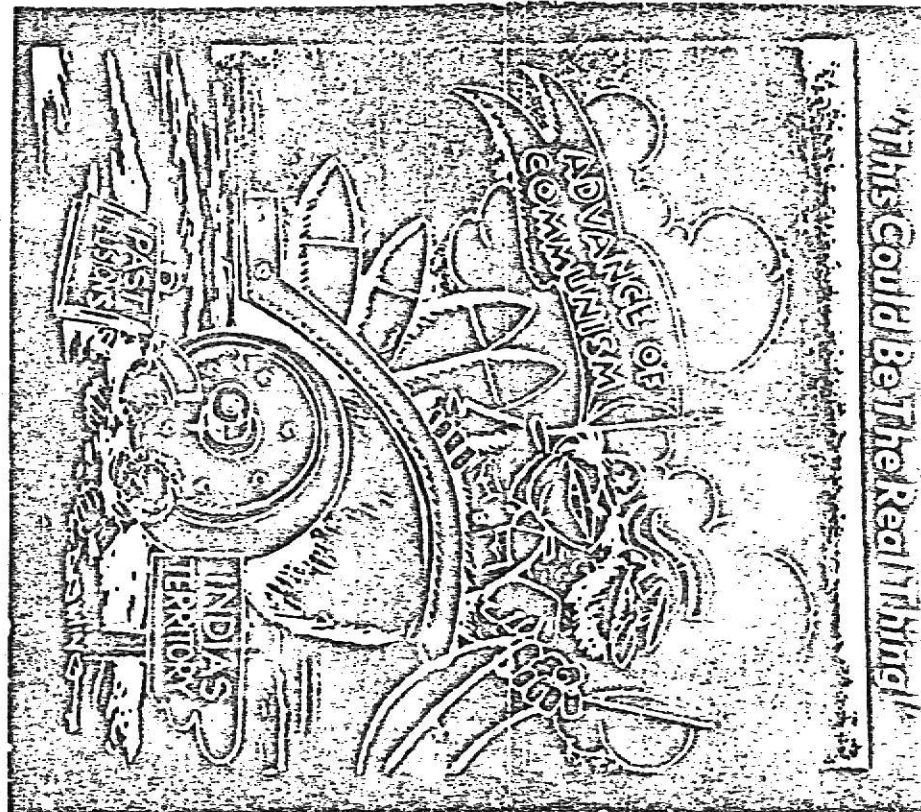
Cartoon 2.



Cartoon 3.



Cartoon 4.



Cartoon 5.

co-existence with China. It is an attack on the Indian leaders' inefficacious principles of co-existence. The cartoonist however, claims the borders for India.

Cartoon 6

Nehru is still relaxing in the bed of neutralism while the Chinese were about to encroach on the Indian borders. It shows how stupid Nehru is by sticking to his impractical policy of neutralism. The cartoonist, however, claims territory for India.

Cartoon 7

Nehru is walking on the tightrope of non-alignment even after realizing that it was perilous and that it might throw him into a fathomless pit. The cartoonist is showing how precarious Nehru's situation was in having chosen the path of non-alignment.

Cartoon 8

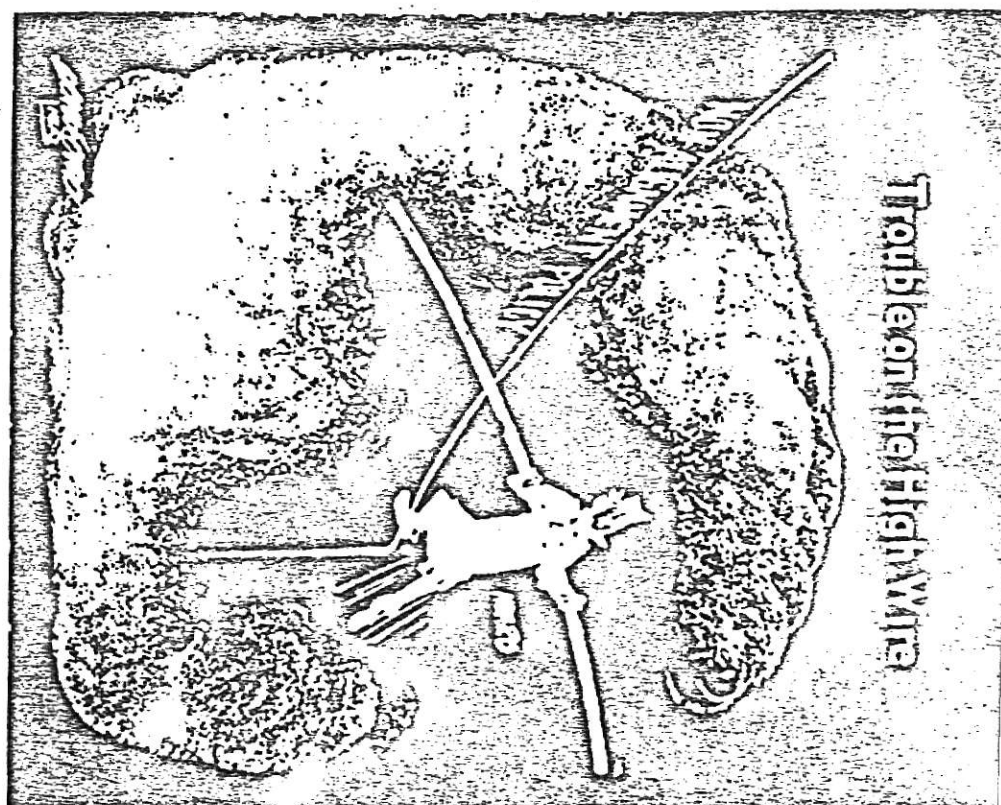
Chairman Mao instead of meeting the needs of his hungry people is diverting their attention from their needs by showing India as a vulture. Mao is here depicted as manipulating his people. It is anti-China and slightly a pro-Indian stand.

Cartoon 9

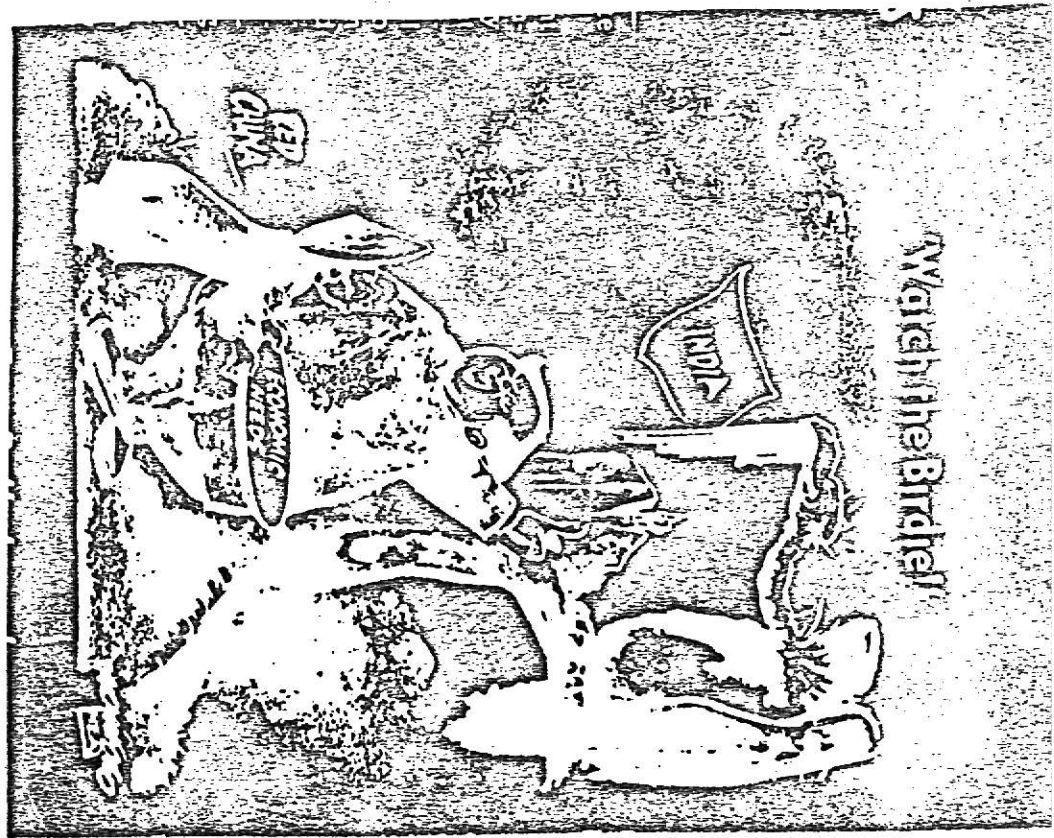
Mao is giving a plate of victory, as if it was a hearty meal to a hungry Chinese sitting at the table with an empty plate. China in effect is fighting wars, instead of providing food to the hungry lot. It is anti-China and slightly a



Cartoon 6.



Cartoon 7.



Cartoon 8.



Cartoon 9.

pro-Indian stand.

Cartoon 10

While Mao's dog is wrenching Nehru's shirt, Mao is deriding Nehru by saying "Why the fuss? All he wants is your shirt?" China is depicted as deceitful and expansionist in her designs, and that it might finally swallow India. The cartoonist by showing the disputed territory as India's is taking a pro-Indian stand.

Cartoon 11

Mao is about to stab Nehru's back, as he looks to the western camp for help. The cartoonist looks at China as a traitor country. It is a pro-Indian stand.

Cartoon 12

Pakistan after it signed an agreement with the dragon China, indicates that its borders were safe that it would not co-operate with India against China. The cartoonist is critical of Pakistan, which has aligned with China, with no realization it might also as well be gulped by the dragon China.

Cartoon 13

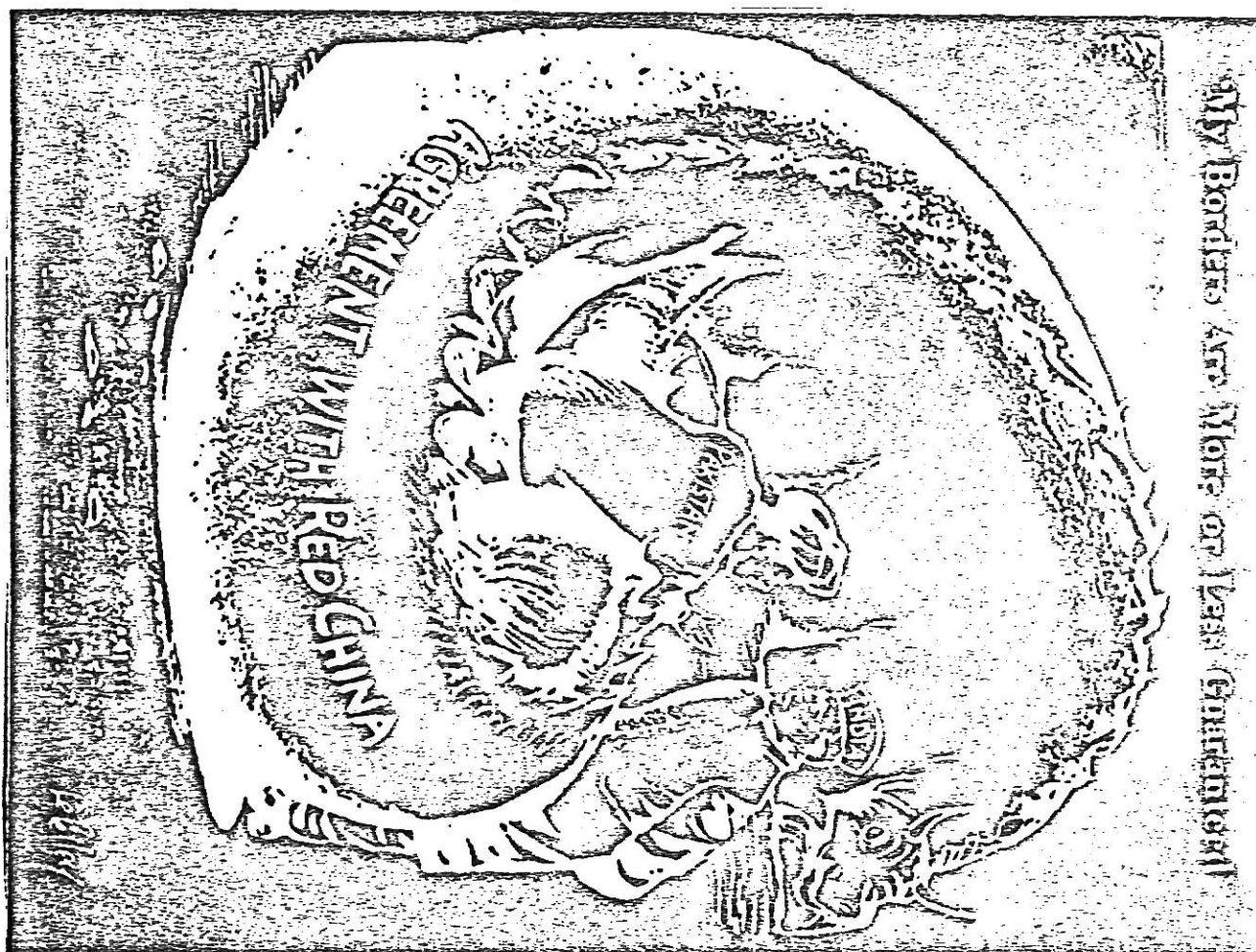
China as tiger is slowly encroaching in the Indian borders.

1965 - INDO-PAKISTAN WAR

Kashmir issue has been a perennial cause of bitterness, hate and suspicion between India and Pakistan ever since India



Cartoon 10.



Cartoon 12.



Cartoon 13.

was partitioned in 1947. In 1949 India and Pakistan fought a short war over Kashmir, but subsequently accepted the United Nation's cease-fire line with one-third of the Kashmir State with Pakistan and two-thirds with India. Following the cease-fire agreement in 1949, many years of negotiations between India and Pakistan were conducted under the auspices of the U.N. but no agreeable solution was reached by the countries.

India, although agreeing to a plebiscite in Kashmir after the Maharaja of Kashmir had acceded to India in 1948, fell back later from her original promise arguing that the circumstances in Kashmir had changed and that the original promise was no longer valid. India accepted the Kashmir constituent assembly's vote of accession as equivalent to a plebiscite, while giving it (Kashmir) a special temporary status within the Indian Union. Kashmir's own constitution adopted in 1956 declared that the "State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India". But these developments neither solved the Kashmir issue nor satisfied Pakistan. They only reinforced Pakistan's suspicions of India's designs over Kashmir and engulfed both Pakistan and India in another war in 1965.

By 1965 India's attitude to Kashmir was hardened with no room for a compromise. President Ayub Khan of Pakistan perceived that there was a growing disenchantment among the people in Indian-held Kashmir, and thought he should exploit the prevailing situation. In March, 1965, Ayub visited China and returned with a Chinese pledge for future quarrels with India

over Kashmir issue.

In April, 1965, tensions along the cease-fire line arose, and these were followed by a short-lived armed clash in the Rann of Kutch.²⁰ Ayub and Shastri, however, signed an agreement on June 30, in which they agreed for arbitration in case the two governments could not reach a boundary accord by themselves. When no efforts at bilateral agreement followed, they agreed to a three-judge international tribunal headed by a Swedish chairman which handed down the award later in February, 1968, and was accepted by both parties unconditionally. During this time in March, 1965, Sheik Abdullah (called Lion of Kashmir) the acknowledged leader of Kashmir, on his Hajj to Mecca met with Chou-En-Lai in Algiers, and not only discussed with him the Kashmir issue, but also accepted an invitation to visit China. Following his return to India, the government of India arrested him and his friend, Mirza Afzal Beg, fearing that he had become a tool of a Pindi-Peking conspiracy against India. The arrest precipitated a large scale of rioting at once in Kashmir. The Plebiscite Front, and the Awami Action Committee started a campaign for Sheik's release. These developments indicated that there was an extremely strong surge of popular opinion in the Province against India. Meanwhile the Indian parliament passed a bill (May 17, 1965) integrating

²⁰Robert H. Donaldson writes that the fight was provoked by the CIA to side-track attention from the war in Vietnam; See Soviet Policy Toward India: Ideology and Strategy. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974) p. 205.

Jammu and Kashmir into India. Ayub, being upset over India's action but encouraged over other developments in Kashmir, encouraged a guerrilla movement in Kashmir with a prime desire of fomenting an internal revolt in Kashmir against Indian rule. This was followed by Pakistani armored units that moved into Jammu. In response to this, India launched a series of attacks accross the Punjab toward Lahore and battered the Pakistani Army.²¹ The U.S., and Britain being disappointed over the use of their arms in the war, cut off military aid to both countries. The United Nations Security Council, with the support of the U.S., Britain and the USSR called for an immediate cease-fire and India and Pakistan subsequently accepted it in September. The U.S. official stance on the war was somewhat neutral, but American cartoonists took an attitude against both India and Pakistan. The cartoons 14 - 20 deal with the war of 1965.

²¹A vast material is available on the Kashmir dispute. For discussion, see Charles H. Heimsath and Surjit Mansingh, A Diplomatic History of Modern India (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1971) pp. 146-83. See also J.B. Dass Gupta, Jammu and Kashmir (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1968); Sisir Gupta, Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966); Alastair Lamb, Crisis in Kashmir: 1947-1966 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966); P.B. Gajendra-gadkar; Kashmir: Retrospect and Prospect (Bombay: University of Bombay, 1967); and Louis Dupree "Further Reflections on the Second Kashmir War (American University Field Staff Report, South Asia Series, May, 1966) pp. 1-20.

Cartoon 14

India, by her war with Pakistan, ignored Gandhian principles and shots rang around the sacred cow which stands for Gandhian principles.

Cartoon 15

As India and Pakistan are fighting like mice over a female mouse, Kashmir, the cartoonist is warning them that the cat (China) might gobble up both of them, if they did not stop fighting. He is, in effect, asking them to stop fighting lest they should be attacked by China.

Cartoon 16

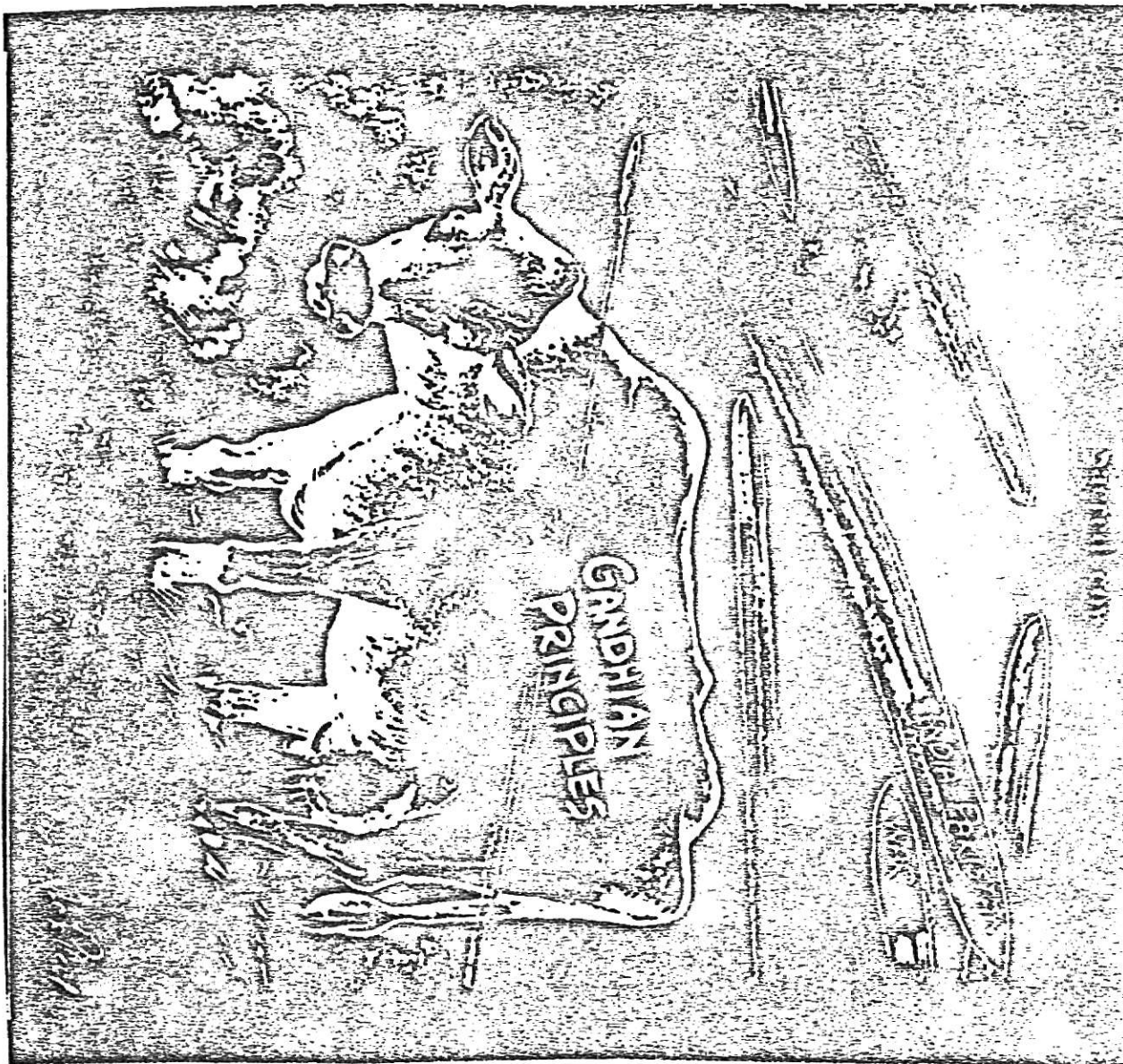
As a half-naked Pakistani and a half-naked Indian fight atop rope-tricks, with U.S. military aid, the cartoonist suggests that the U.S. should save these foolish people from themselves by cutting off their military supplies.

Cartoon 17

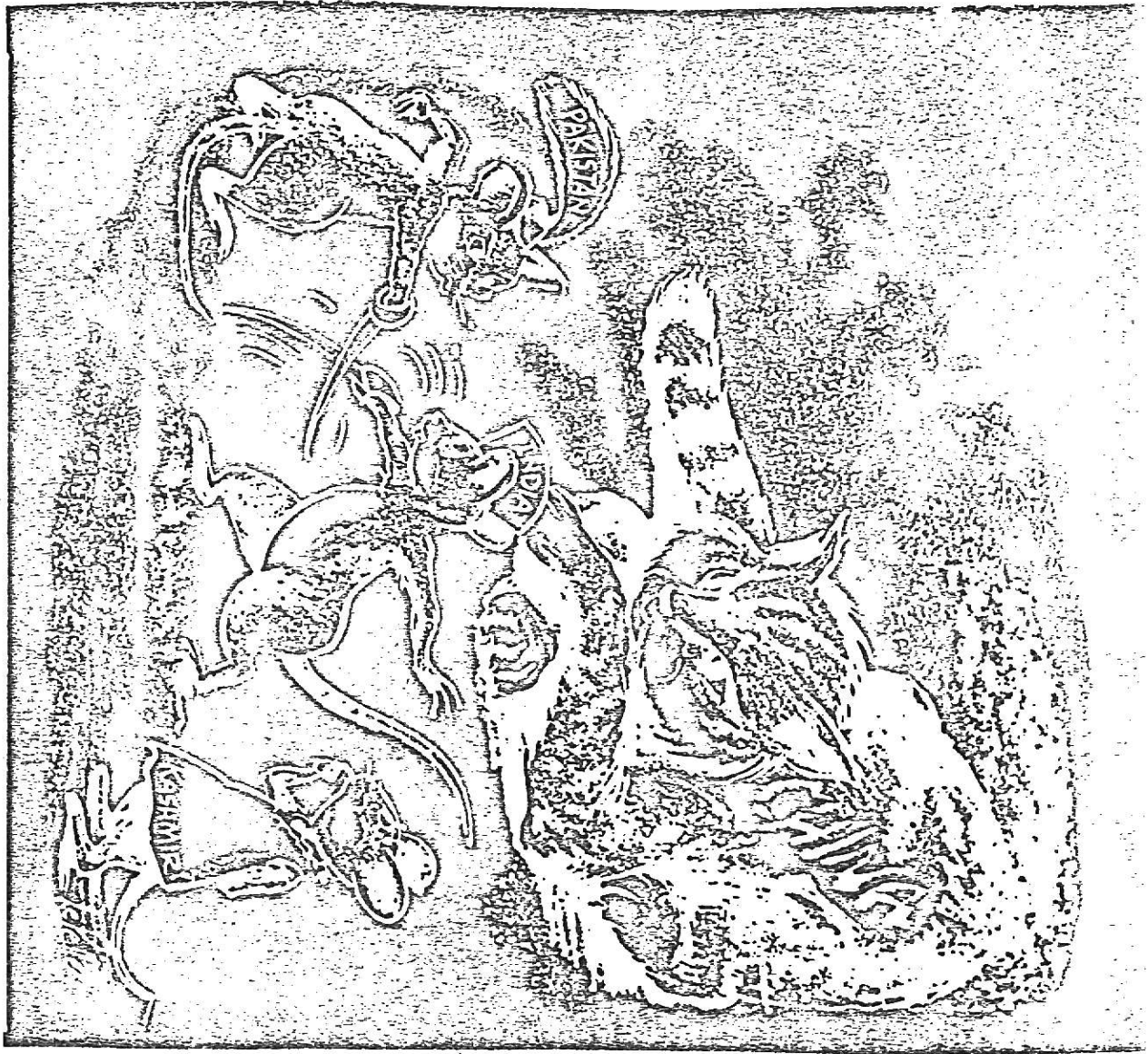
While Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri are in the boxing ring the U.S., the USSR, and China are waiting and watching for the results with interest. The cartoonist, in effect, is showing that these countries are content to watch from the side lines rather than get involved directly.

Cartoon 18

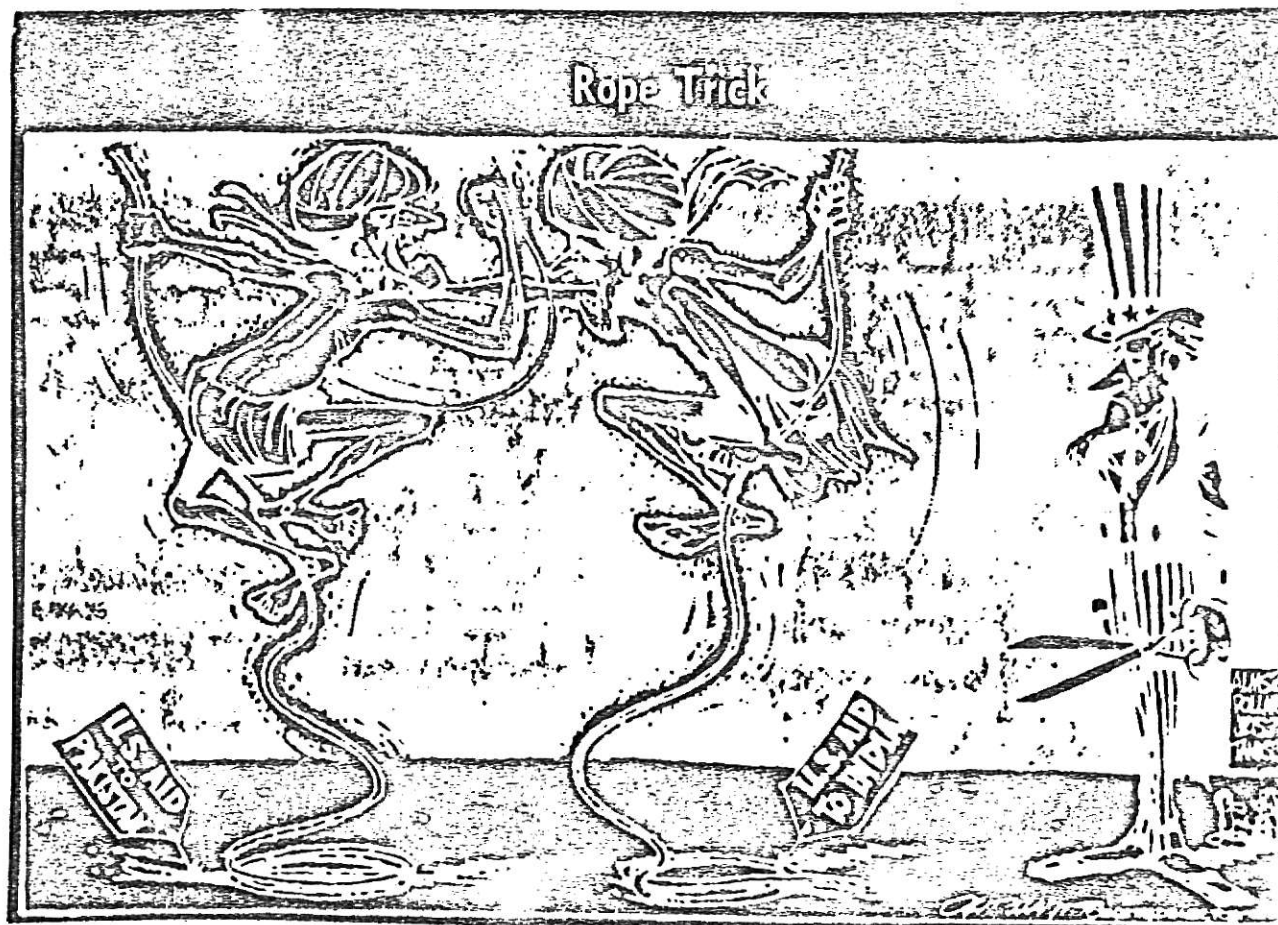
A half-naked Indian and Pakistani having placed themselves in suicidal positions are asking President Lyndon Johnson to



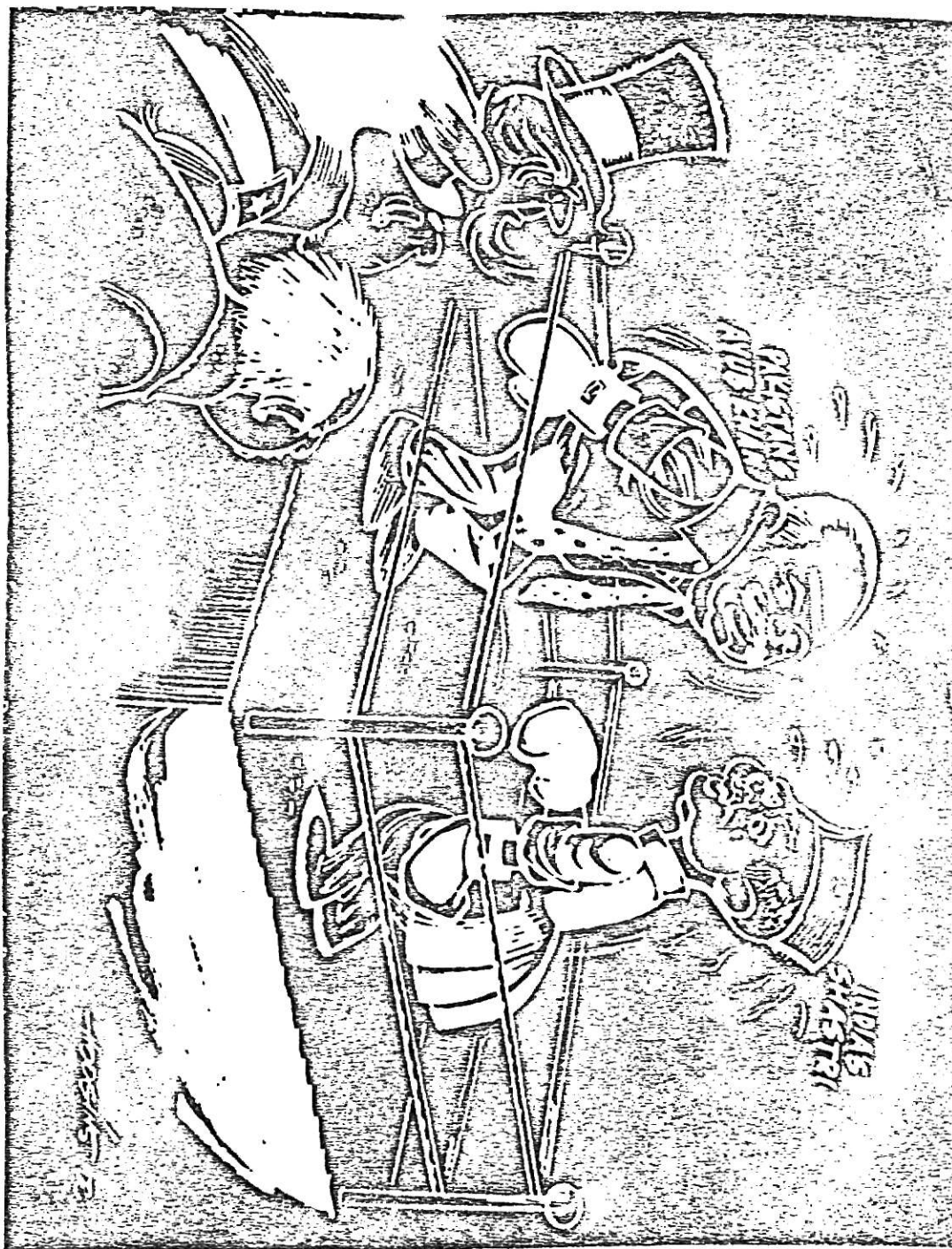
Cartoon 14.



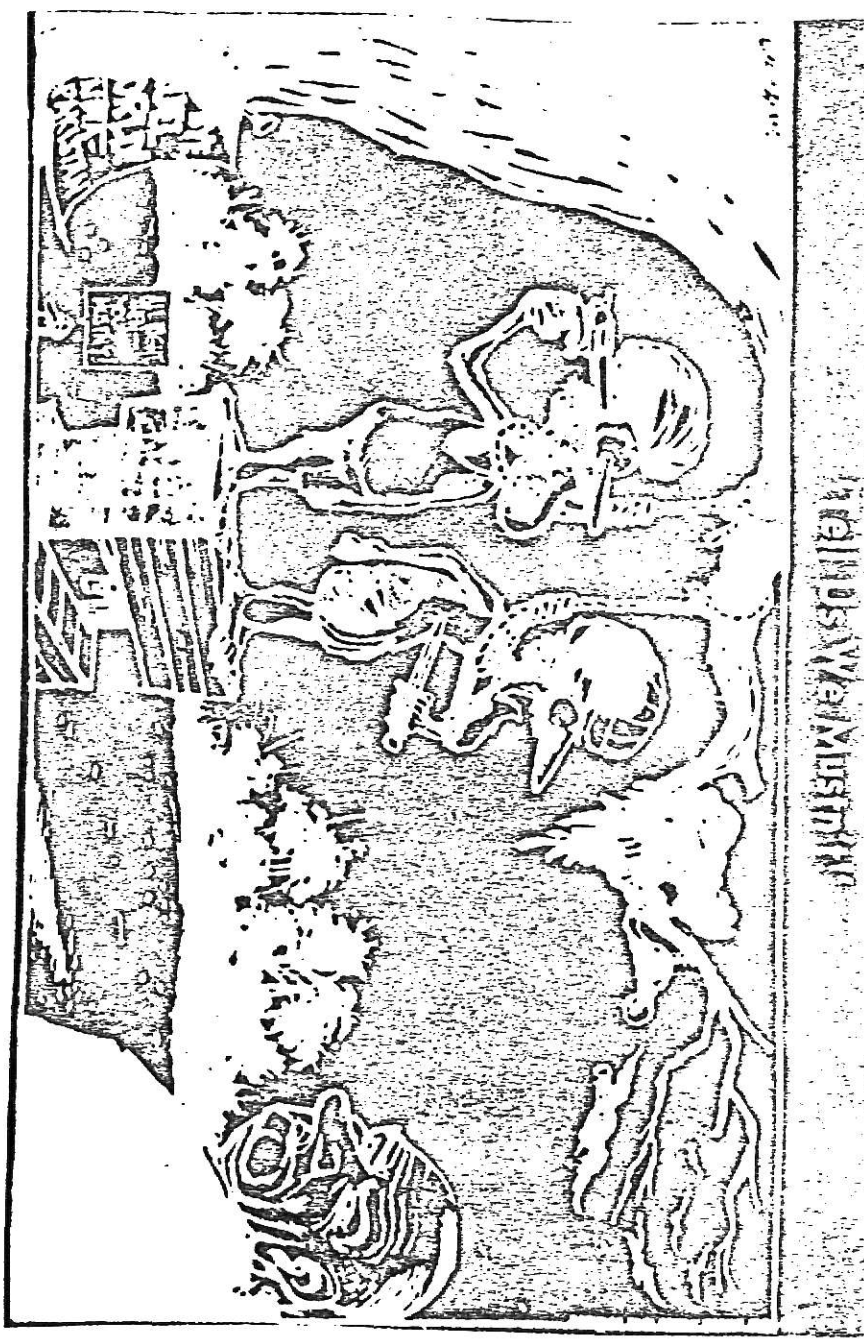
Cartoon 15.



Cartoon 16.



Cartoon 17.



Cartoon 18.

stop them from committing the act. The cartoonist wants the U.S. to save these foolish people from their suicidal acts by cutting off their military aid.

Cartoon 19

While the baby Kashmir, being attracted to the sucker (Independence) shown by Pakistan, is crying to go, India is holding it tight. The cartoonist thinks that India is holding on to Kashmir forcibly and that Kashmir wants to join Pakistan.

1971 - INDO-BANGLADESH-PAKISTAN WAR

In 1969, President Ayub Khan was forced out of power in favor of General Yahya Khan who pledged to restore democratic institutions in Pakistan. The two wings of Pakistan - West Pakistan and East Pakistan, although united by religion, were divided geographically, linguistically and culturally, Pakistan, maintaining an imperial relationship with East Pakistan, was exploiting it to the maximum. To offset this situation, the Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman advocated a six-point program for the autonomy of East Pakistan, contested the elections in December, 1970, and secured 167 of the 169 Constituent Assembly seats allotted to the East. In the West, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto having bagged the majority of seats (85 seats) for his "Peoples Party" not only denounced the six-point program of Mujibur Rahman but also indicated that he wouldn't attend the assembly scheduled to meet early in March. Bhutto did not like the idea of Mujib becoming the Prime-Minister of Pakistan. Yahya Khan bowed to Bhutto's



Cartoon 19.

threats and postponed the assembly session. This decision precipitated a violent reaction in East Pakistan, which in effect led to an unparalleled repression. In mid-March Yahya Khan entered into talks with Mujib at Dacca with a simultaneous order for a troop-build-up in East-Pakistan. The Yahya Khan Government, after arresting Mujib on March 25, 1971, unleashed a reign of terror on the people of the East. The Pakistani ruthless repression continued unabated for 9 months. Millions of East Bengalis were killed. About ten million refugees fled into North Eastern India, and became an unwieldy problem for India which was already in a bad shape economically. Arms already in the pipeline from the U.S. continued to flow into Pakistan. While the U.S. government counselled Indian restraint, the Nixon Administration pursued a policy of tilt toward Pakistan.²²

In November, Pakistan with a "crush India" campaign encouraged incidents along the India-Pakistan border in the East. It became a regular feature as India supplied both aid and sanctuary to Bengali Guerillas - Mukti Bahini. On December 3, Pakistan launched a series of pre-emptive air strikes from the West against Indian air bases. These attacks drew India formally into the war, and the Indian army moved on all fronts against Pakistan. On December 6, India granted a formal recognition to Bangla Desh, underscoring that it had no territorial ambition.

²²Jackson Anderson writes that Nixon liked Yahya Khan and despised Indira Gandhi. See his article "Indo-Pakistan Papers Secret", published in Manhattan Mercury (December 31, 1971) p.4.

In a swift military operation, the Indian army moved toward Dacca, and closed in on the Pakistani military. On December 16, Indian troops entered the city and accepted Pakistani surrender. India, then, immediately declared a unilateral cease-fire on the western front. This is how India helped the speedy liberation of Bangla Desh.²³

As mentioned earlier, the Nixon administration supported Yahya Khan, and cartoonists also went along with the Administration.

Prior to India's intervention in the war, India signed a 20-year peace treaty²⁴ in August, 1974 with the Soviet Union, in which the Soviet Union accepted India's non-aligned policy. India signed this treaty especially to deter future Pindi-Peking

²³For a full discussion of the war and liberation of Bangla Desh, see Mohammed Ayood and K. Subrahmanyam, The Liveration War, (New Delhi: S. Chaud, 1972); Wayne Wilox, The Emergency of Bangla Desh (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Research, 1973); and the two volumes published by the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, entitled Bangla Desh Documents (New Delhi; Vol. 1, 1971; Vol. 11, 1973).

²⁴For discussion of the Treaty, see Ashok Kapur, "Indo-Soviet Treaty and the Emerging Asian Balance", Asian Survey (June, 1972), pp. 463-74, and Robert H. Donaldson, "India: The Soviet Stake in Stability" (Asian Survey, June, 1972) pp. 475-92.

collusion against India. The U.S. expressed a strong reaction against this treaty and the cartoonists also expressed the same views. Cartoons 20, 21 deal with the Treaty while the cartoons 23-31 treat the war.

Cartoon 20

The cartoonist is making a mockery of India's non-aligned policy by showing Swaran Singh in Kosygin's arms, who even after signing the treaty with the Soviet Union, states that India was still a non-aligned country.

Cartoon 21

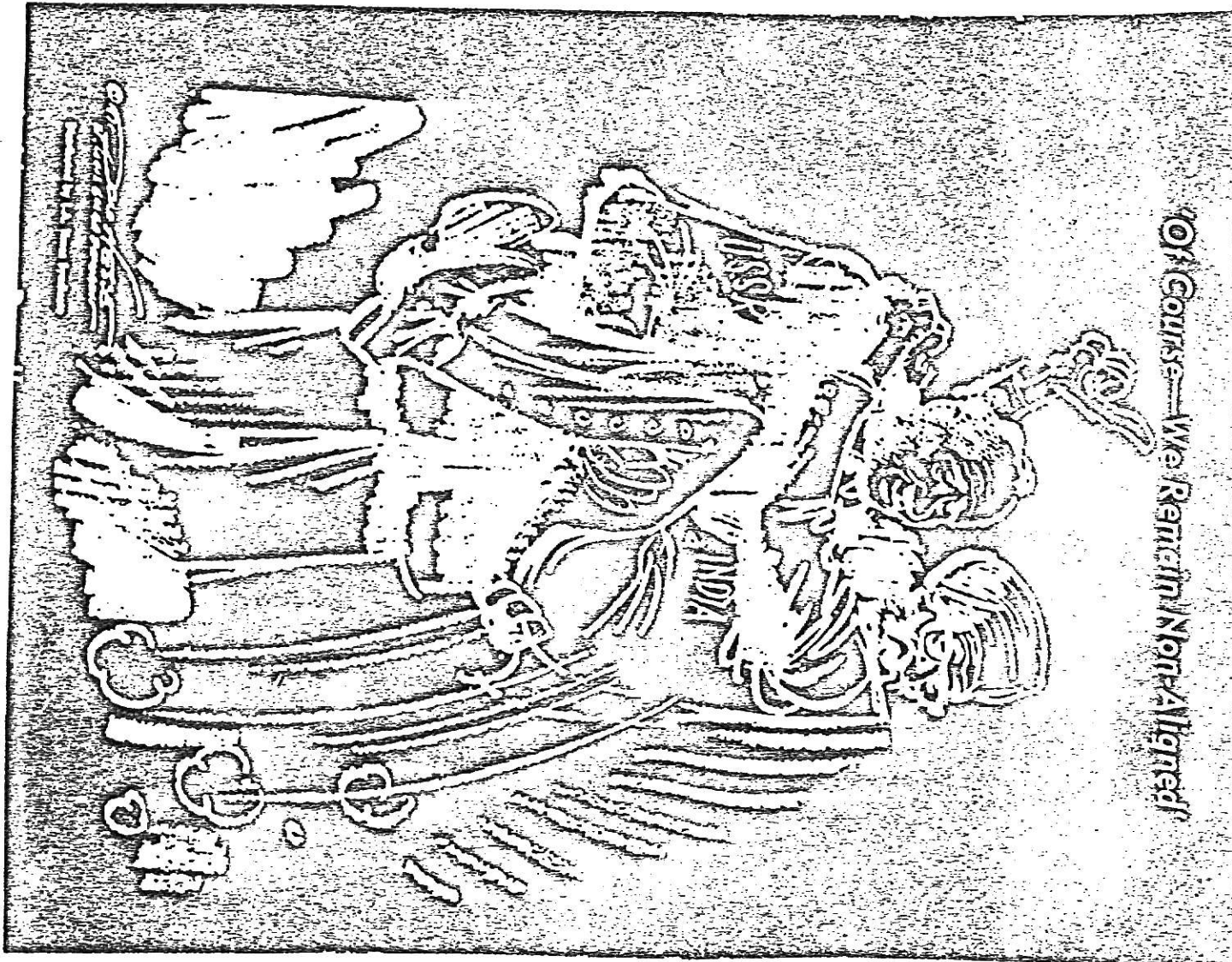
The vulture USSR is riding along on India's shoulders so that it can clean up (profit) from the conflict.

Cartoon 22

While India and Pakistan are fighting the war with imported gasoline, U Thant is appealing to them to stop the war. The cartoonist is critical of these countries that were wasting their limited resources to import oil and heavy machinery for war purposes.

Cartoon 23

Indira Gandhi and Golda Meir on their visit to America, instead of speaking to Nixon, have started appealing directly to the American public. The cartoonist, in effect, is blaming these leaders for bypassing official channels.



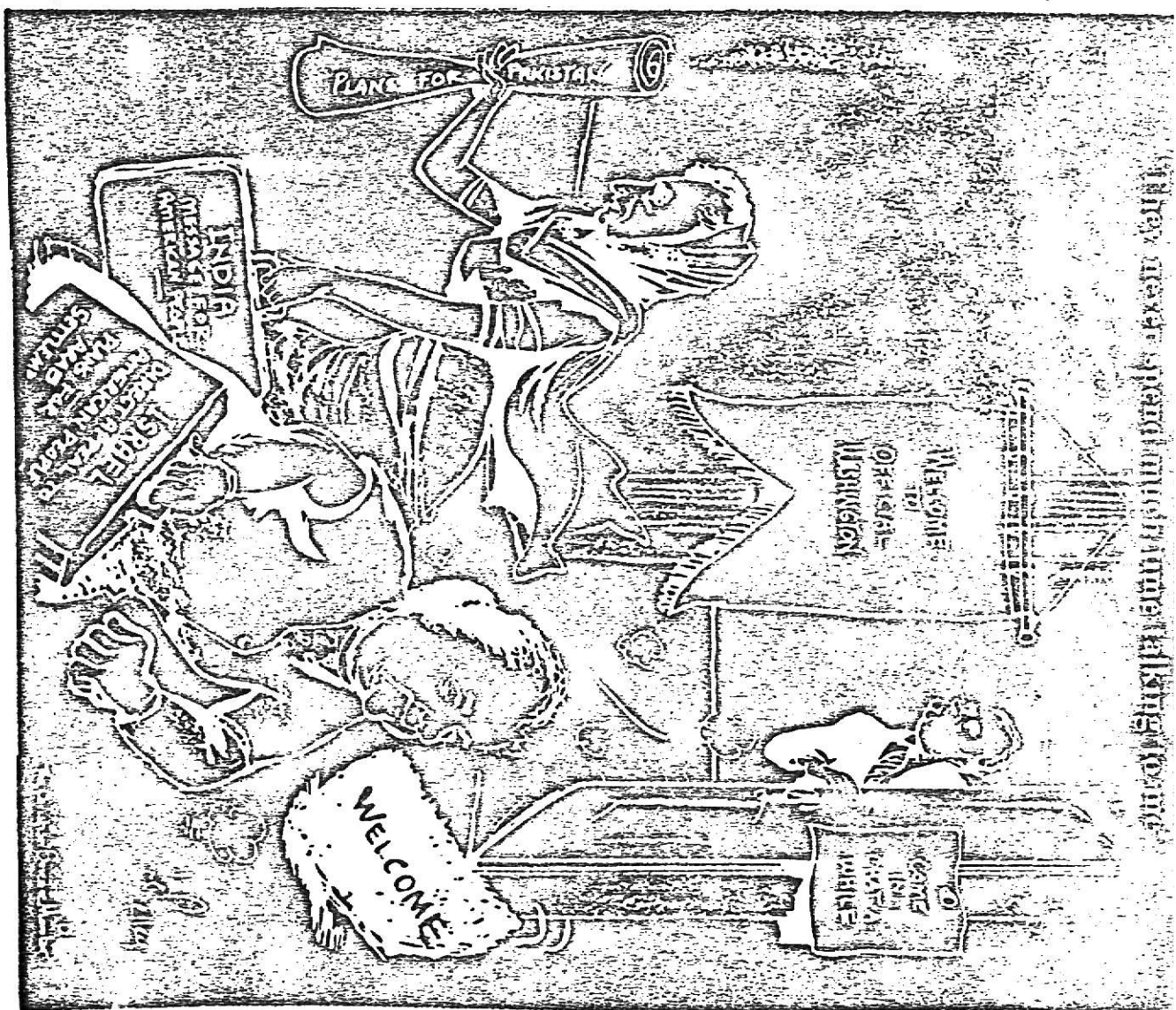
Cartoon 20.



Cartoon 21.



Cartoon 22.



Cartoon 23.

Cartoon 24

While two beggars - a Pakistani and an Indian - with a begging bowl are sitting hungry, the tanks move over their legs and crush them. The beggars facetiously say that they need a war in order to keep their minds off their troubles. The cartoonist is attacking the fighting groups who have forgotten their duties for their impoverished people and are wasting their resources on arms and war that are destroying the poor.

Cartoon 25

While India and Pakistan fight like wild deer, Americans peeping from behind a tree speak out that these deer - India and Pakistan - might starve once they got deep into the war. The cartoonist indicates that these countries might starve if they do not stop fighting.

Cartoon 26

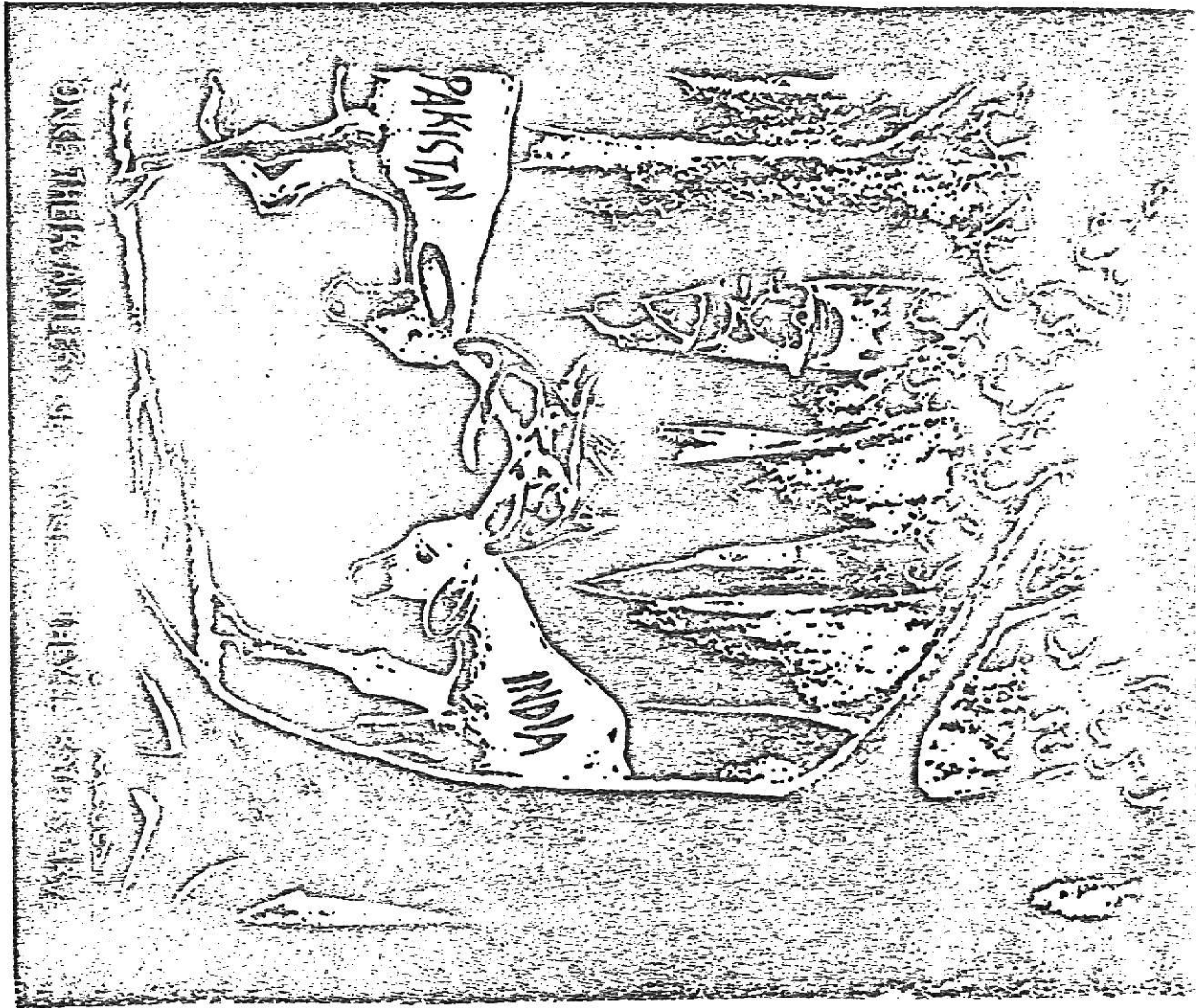
Cartoonist is making a pungent satirical attack on Hindus and Moslems (shown by two half-naked men) who are killing each other in the name of "piety" which in fact stands for brotherhood and peace. He is also drawing parallels to the Irish conflict.

Cartoon 27

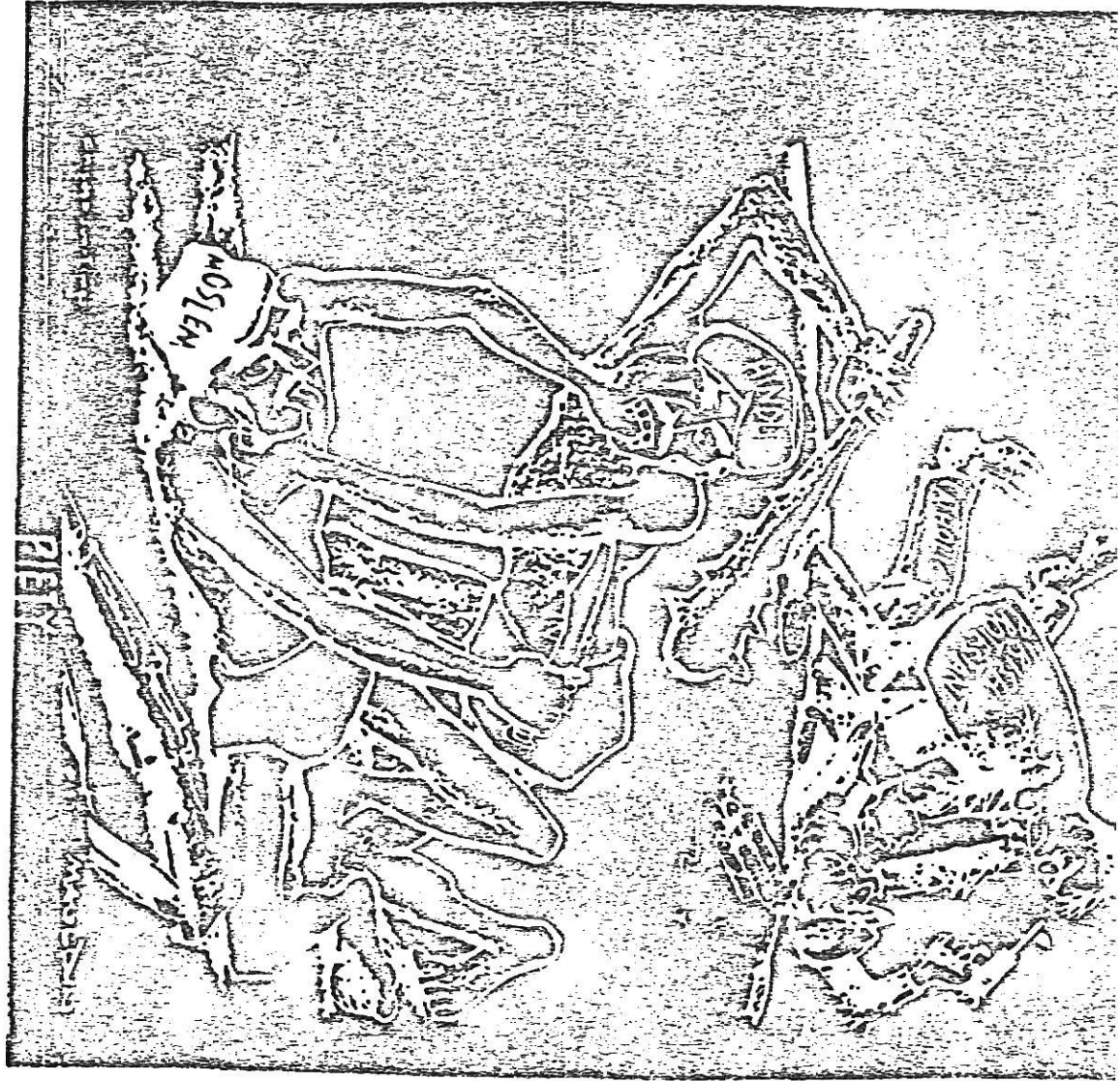
India, by entering the war, has assassinated Mahatma Gandhi twice. The cartoonist questions where these Gandhian ideas had gone in India.



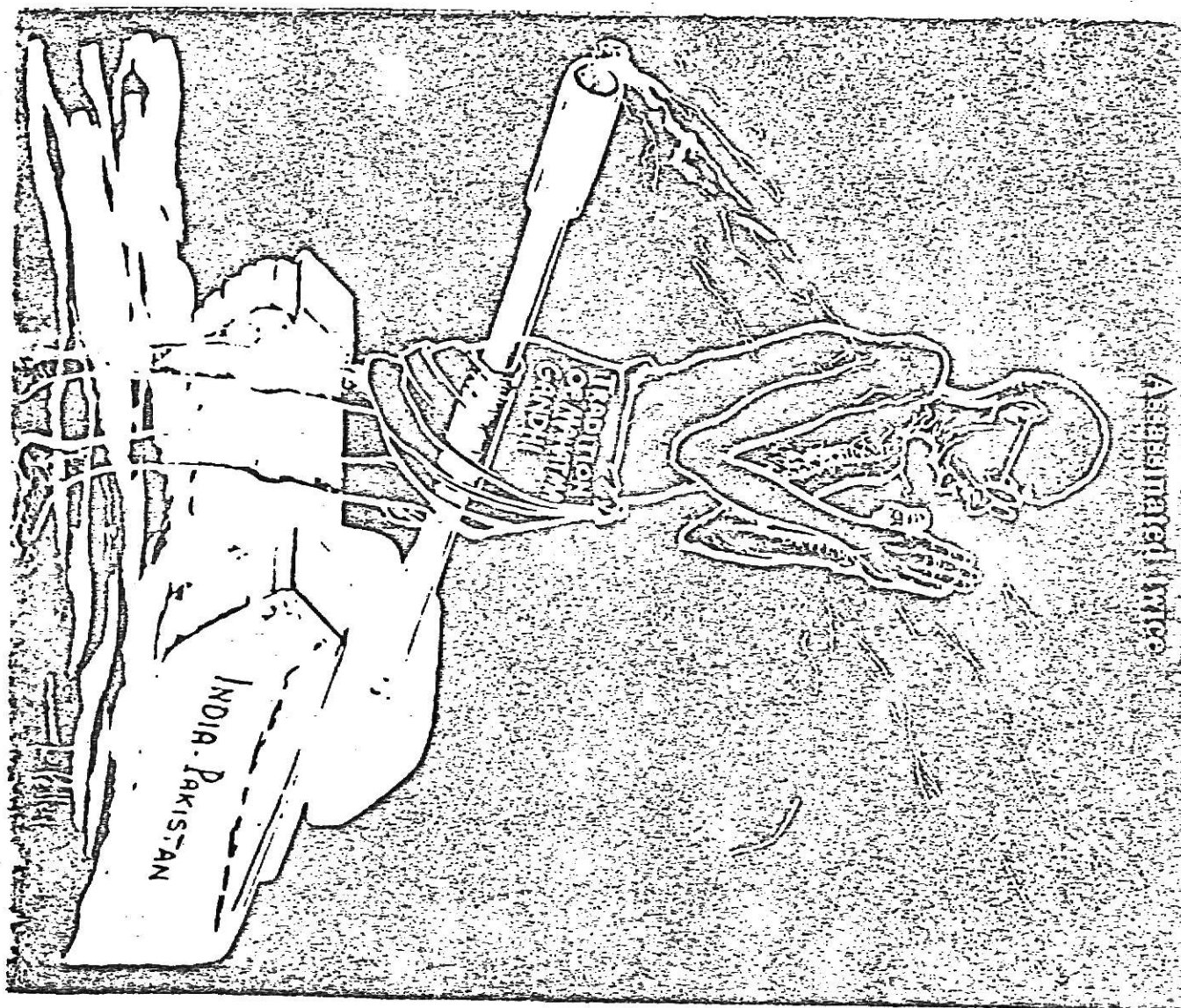
Cartoon 24.



Cartoon 25.



Cartoon 26.



Cartoon 27.

Cartoon 28

The cartoonist is defending the U.S. administration against the liberal and pro-Indian U.S. public opinion.

Cartoon 29

Brezhnev (U.S.S.R.) is guiding the Indian soldier how to shoot a gun. The cartoonist, here, is bringing home the fact, that India is fighting a war being guided by Russia. Hence Russia and India are to be blamed.

Cartoon 30

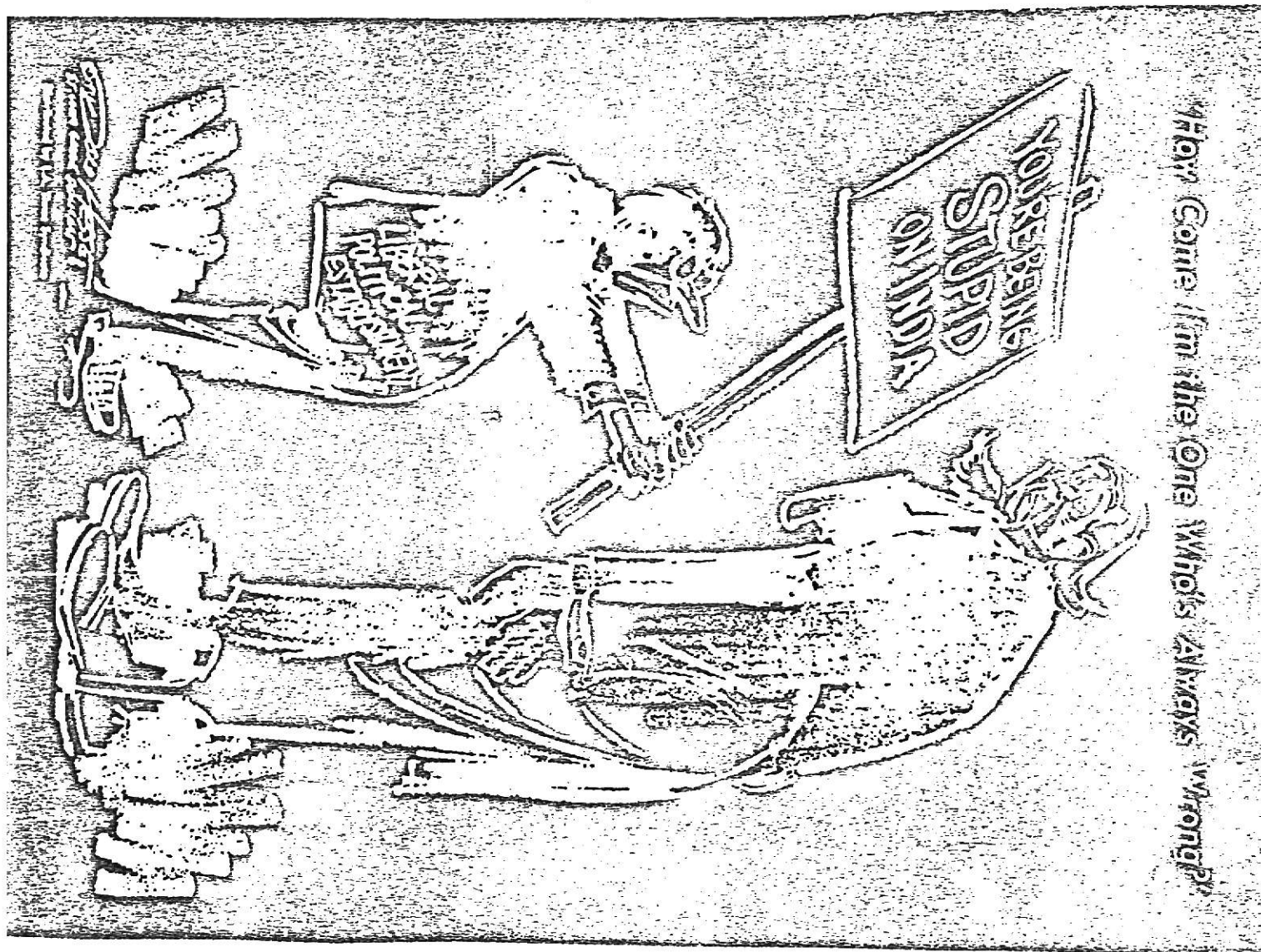
The cartoonist is blaming India and Pakistan who are trying to settle their refugee problems through tanks and guns, which are crushing them underneath. Cartoonist is blaming both India and Pakistan for the refugee problem.

MAJOR EVENTS OF 1974-75

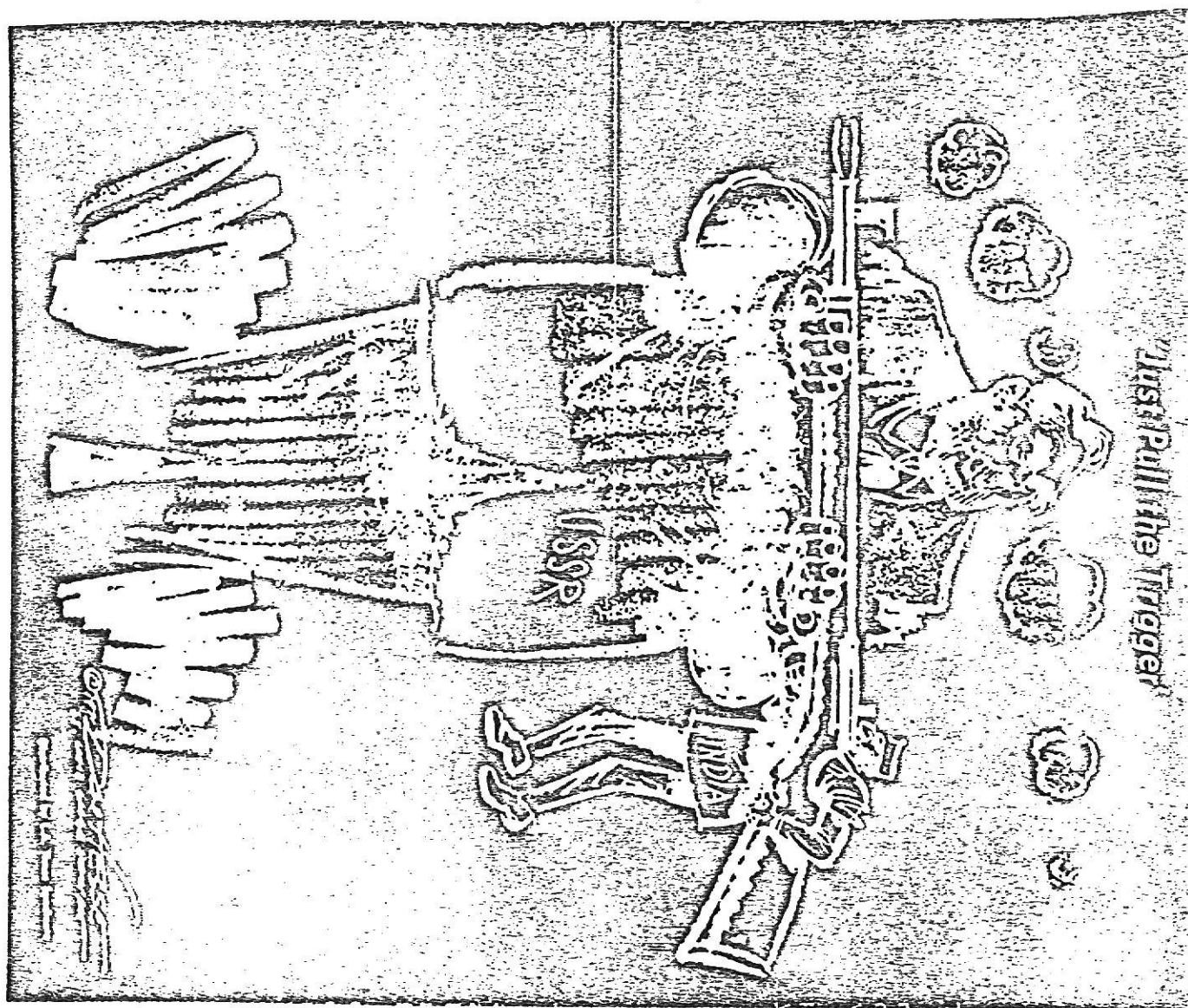
a. May, 1974. India Explodes A Nuclear Device

India exploded a nuclear device²⁵ in May, 1974. It assured the world that it would use this power only for peaceful purposes, but nobody was satisfied with these assurances. The explosion must have given a sense of pride and achievement to India, but it did not receive acclaim from any quarters in the

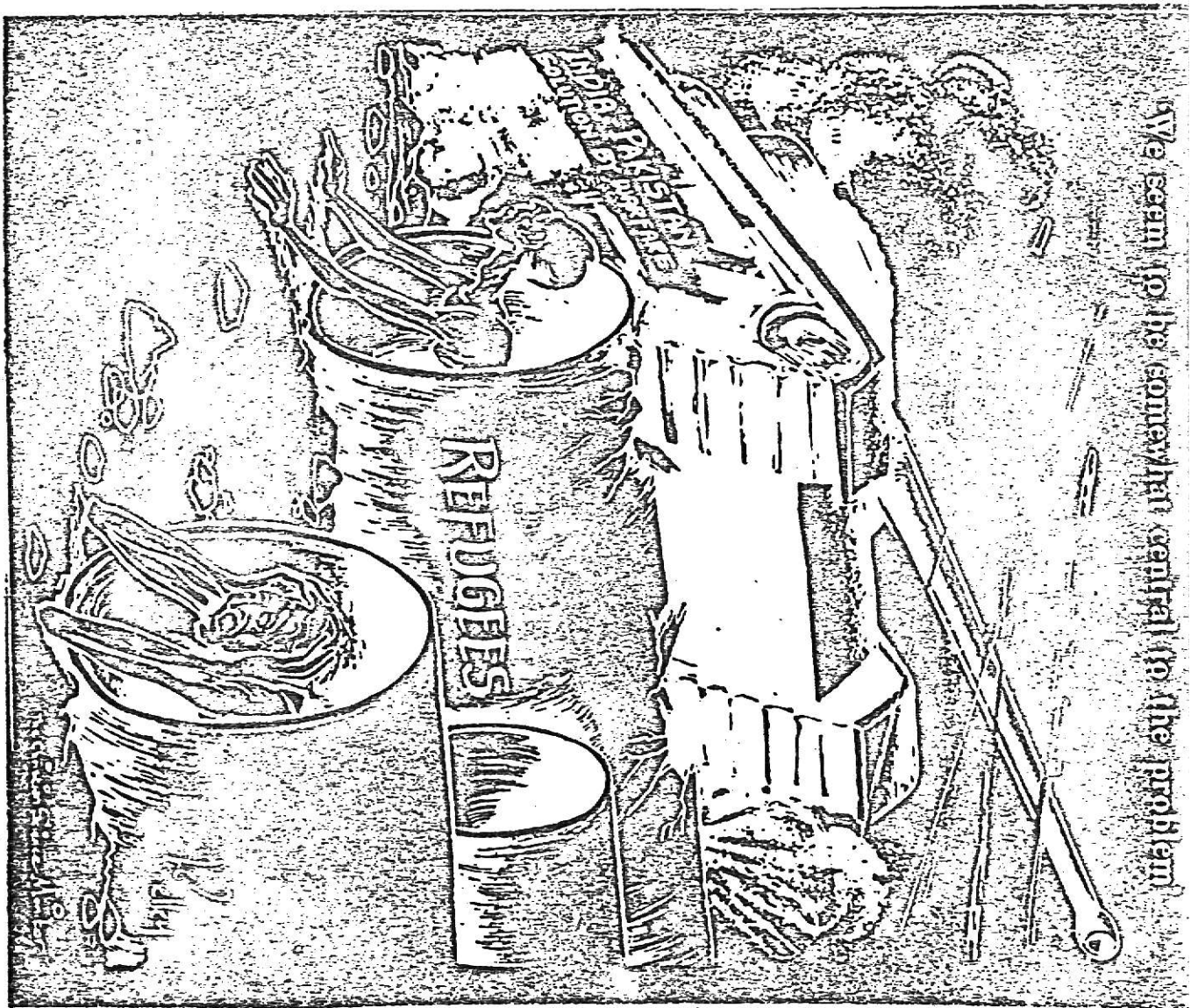
²⁵For discussion on the explosion, see S. Rajan, "A Case of Power Without Force", International Journal, (Spring, 1965); pp. 299-325; George H. Questor, "Can Prolifiration Now Be Stopped", Foreign Affairs (October, 1974), pp. 279-325.



Cartoon 28.



Cartoon 29.



Cartoon 30.

West.

b. October, 1974. Dr. Kissinger Visits India

Dr. Kissinger, in response to India's invitation for modifying the PL 480 Rupee agreement, visited India in 1974 and wrote off \$2.2 billion rupee accumulation loan received by India under the PL 480 scheme. During this time he signed a Joint Indo-American agreement with India and also promised to sell a million tons of grain on easy terms.

c. January, 1975. India Recognizes The PLO

India, having committed herself to the cause and legitimate rights of Palestinians, recognized the PLO in January, 1975, as a demonstration of her good-will and solidarity with the Palestinians.

d. April, 1975. India Launches A Satellite

On April 19, 1975, India launched successfully the first Indian scientific satellite - Arya Bhata, from a Soviet Cosmodrome with the help of a Soviet rocket carrier. It was the result of joint work engaged in the agreement for scientific collaboration between the Indian Space Research Organization and the USSR Academy of Sciences signed on May 10, 1972. These actions, no doubt, had received strong applause from Indian people but were greatly criticized both by the U.S. government and the press. Cartoonists, though ridiculing India for its actions, show it as "flexing its muscles".

e. January, 1975. U.S. Lifts Arms Embargo To Pakistan

The U.S. government which maintained arms embargo from 1965 for both India and Pakistan lifted it in January, 1975 to Pakistan with a desire that Pakistan might buy armaments and thus build her morale up against India which had exploded a nuclear device. The cartoonist here appears to be critical of the U.S. decision. Cartoons 31-38 deal with the various events cited above.

Cartoon 31

India represented by an emaciated beggar with a begging bowl in one hand is exploding the bomb with another hand. The cartoonist is scoffing India which has ignored its object poverty and lavished her funds on an unprofitable game.

Cartoon 32

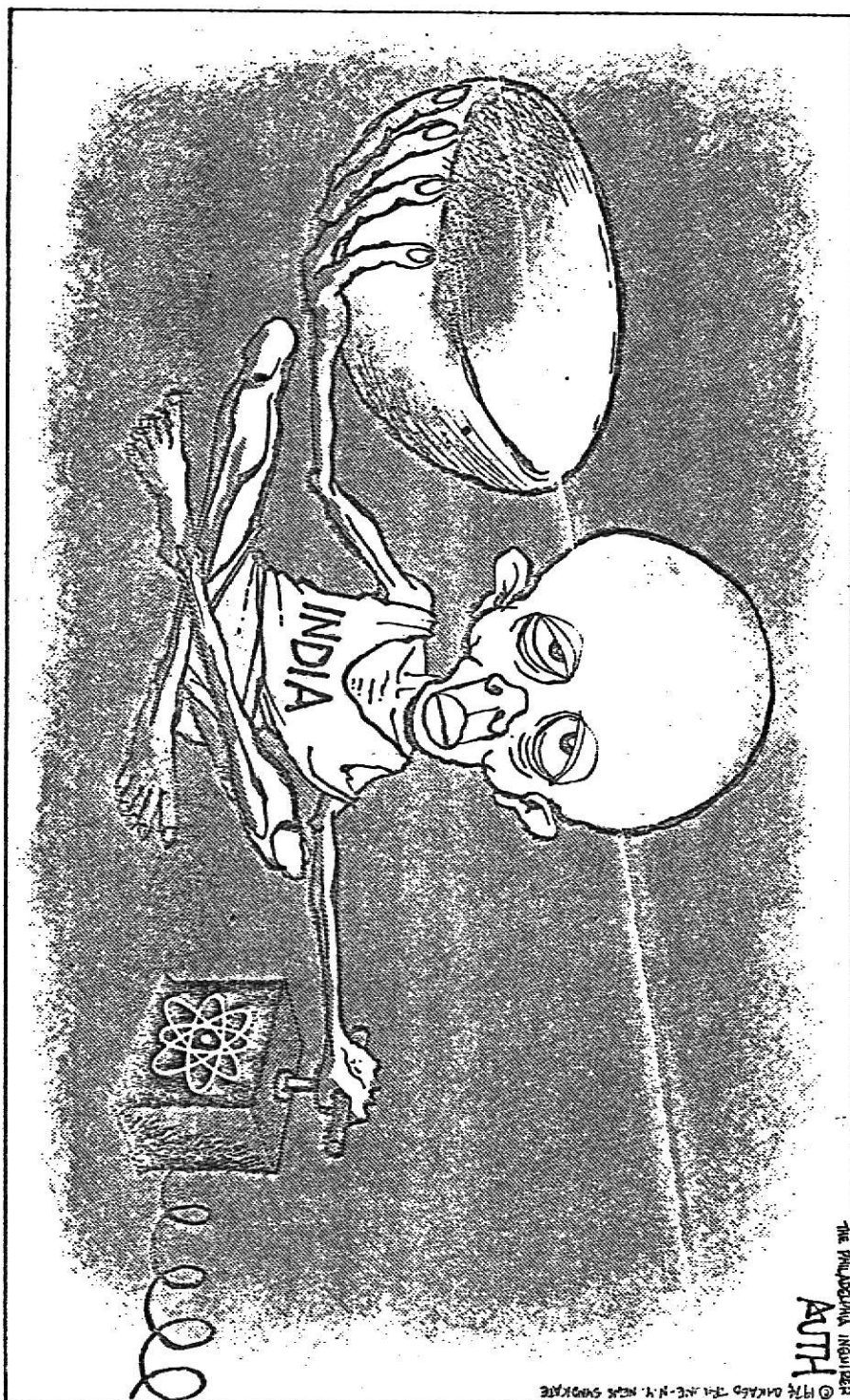
Indira, as a snake charmer, is playing to the Mushroom (bomb) coming out of the snake basket.

Cartoon 33

While explosion is coming out in Mushroom form from the begging bowl of a skinny Indian, a hungry cow is dragging his turban. The cartoonist depicts the stupidity and the grimness of poverty in India.

Cartoon 34

A half-naked, barefooted, skinny, Indian has joined the nuclear club, while Egypt though equally poor, is represented



Cartoon 31.



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May 21, 1974, 1

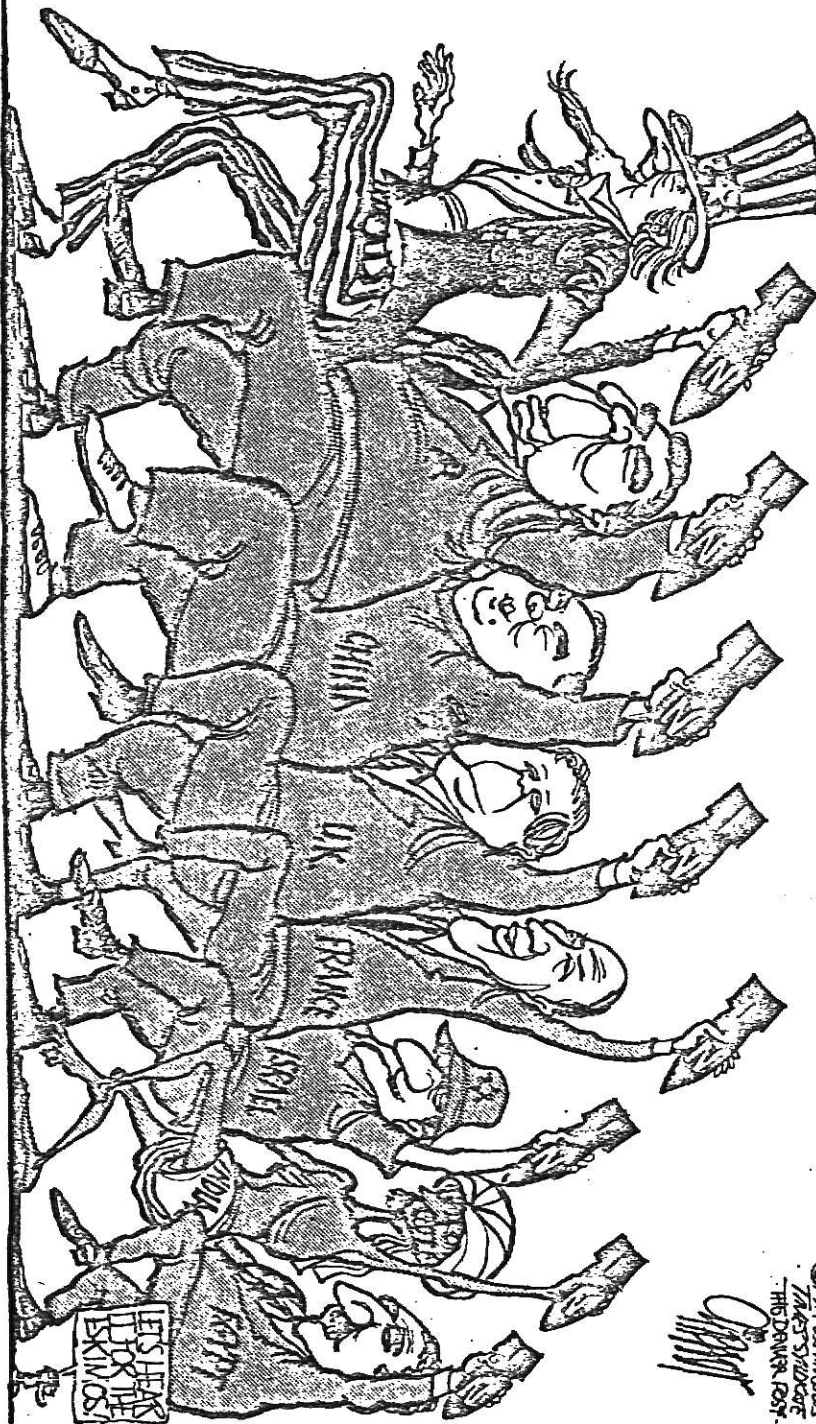
Cartoon 32.

INDIA JOINS THE NUCLEAR CLUB



Cartoon 33.

ALL GOD'S CHILLUN GOT N-POWER



Cartoon 34.

with a suit and shoes on. A mockery at India's explosion and poverty.

Cartoon 35

Indira has not only thrown Kissinger on the nails, but is also further pressing him to the nails; even after having received this deal from him. The cartoonist wants us to see that India is critical of the U.S. no matter, how much the U.S. helps it.

Cartoon 36

Indira, as a terrorist is entertaining another terrorist Arafat by saying, "It is a pleasure to recognize a fellow idealist".

Cartoon 37

Indira is taking a "high ride" with Brezhnev on a ferris-wheel while the familiar bloated-bellied Indian stands with a begging bowl. Ostensibly, the cartoonist is showing that India is more concerned about its satellite status than about feeding teeming millions of starving people.

Cartoon 38

The cartoonist here appears more critical of the U.S. The aid to Pakistan intended to elicit better relations, has instead brought forth an angry India.



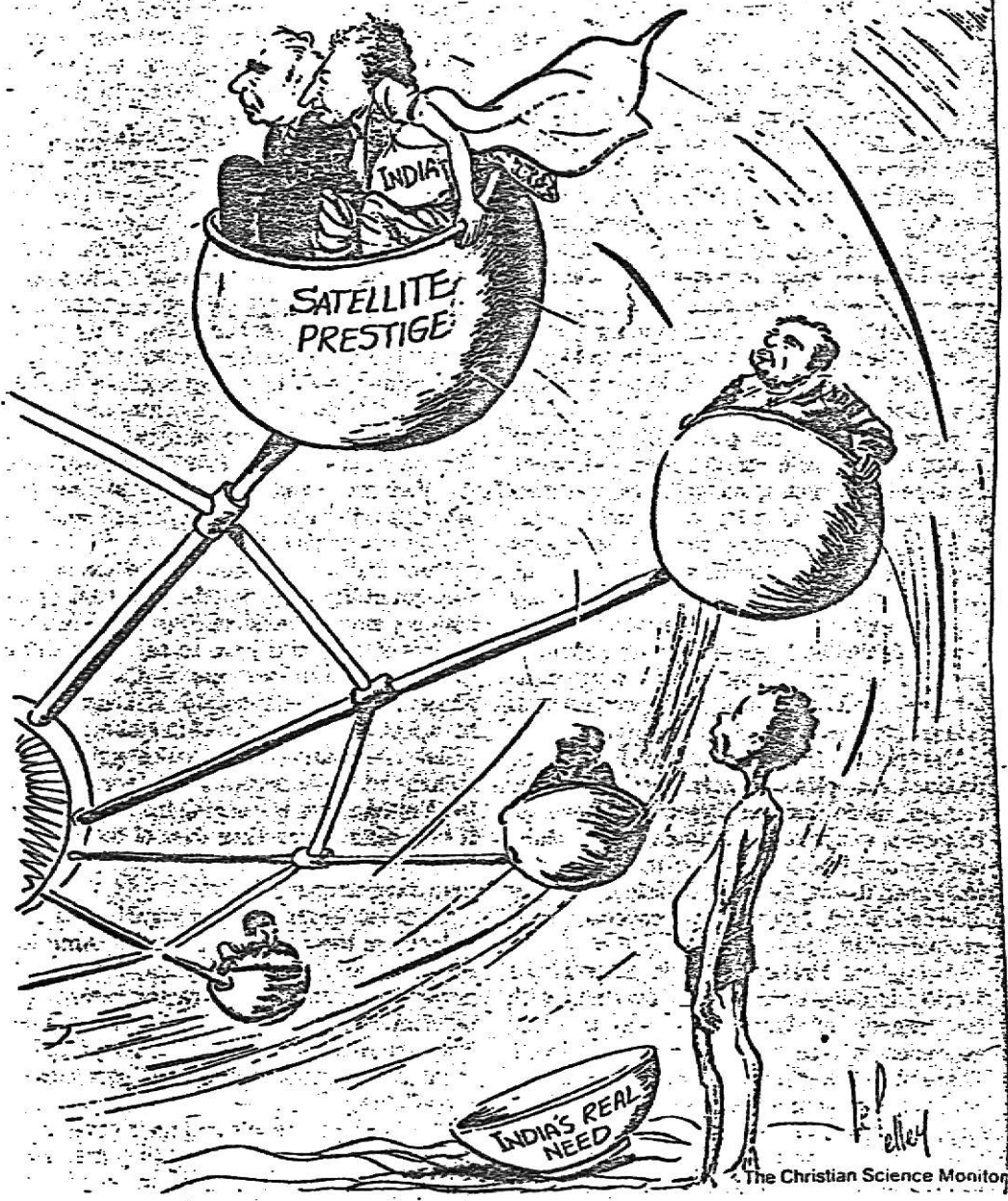
Cartoon 35.

"It's A Pleasure To Recognize
A Fellow Idealist" *January 12, 1975*



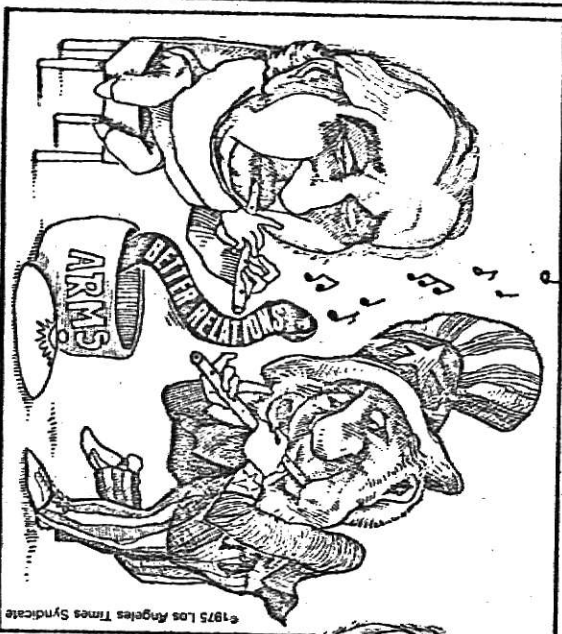
Cartoon 36.

High ride April 21, 1975



Cartoon 37.

MR. POLITICIAN



by Ramon L. Ortiz

2-26-75

Cartoon 38.

f. January 26, 1975. Indira Declares Emergency

On June 12, Justice Jag Mohan Lal Singha of the Allahabad High Court, declared Indira Gandhi guilty of 'corrupt' election practices, on two very minor charges. Following the judgment, it is reported that Indira wanted to resign, but chose to remain in power on the will of her party members. She appealed to the Supreme Court and got a stay order from Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer. This led the opposition parties under the over-all leadership of Jaya Prakash (J.P.) Narayan to demand her resignation. On the evening of June 25, at a meeting in New Delhi, J.P. issued a call to the Government Servants, Military and the Police to rebel against the government. Also he gave a call for a nation-wide resistance movement to be started the following Sunday, June 29, to press for Indira's resignation.²⁶ This inciting speech by the popular leader of India led Indira Gandhi to declare an emergency on June 26, 1975. Following the emergency, she ordered arrest of many opposition party members, smugglers, black-marketeers, and many members of Hindu militant parties. She also banned about 26 communal and ultra-leftist parties.

But the press, as well as the government in the U.S. reacted

²⁶Quoted in Eric Pace, "One Man's Call to India's opposition: why it led to crackdown", New York Times, July 2, 1975.

strongly against the Emergency.²⁷ President Ford expressed his displeasure over Indira's action, ironically on the eve of his visit to China. The press has given an unsparing criticism of her actions, and we find the same criticism of her by American cartoonists. Twenty-six cartoons (40-66) deal with the Emergency in India.

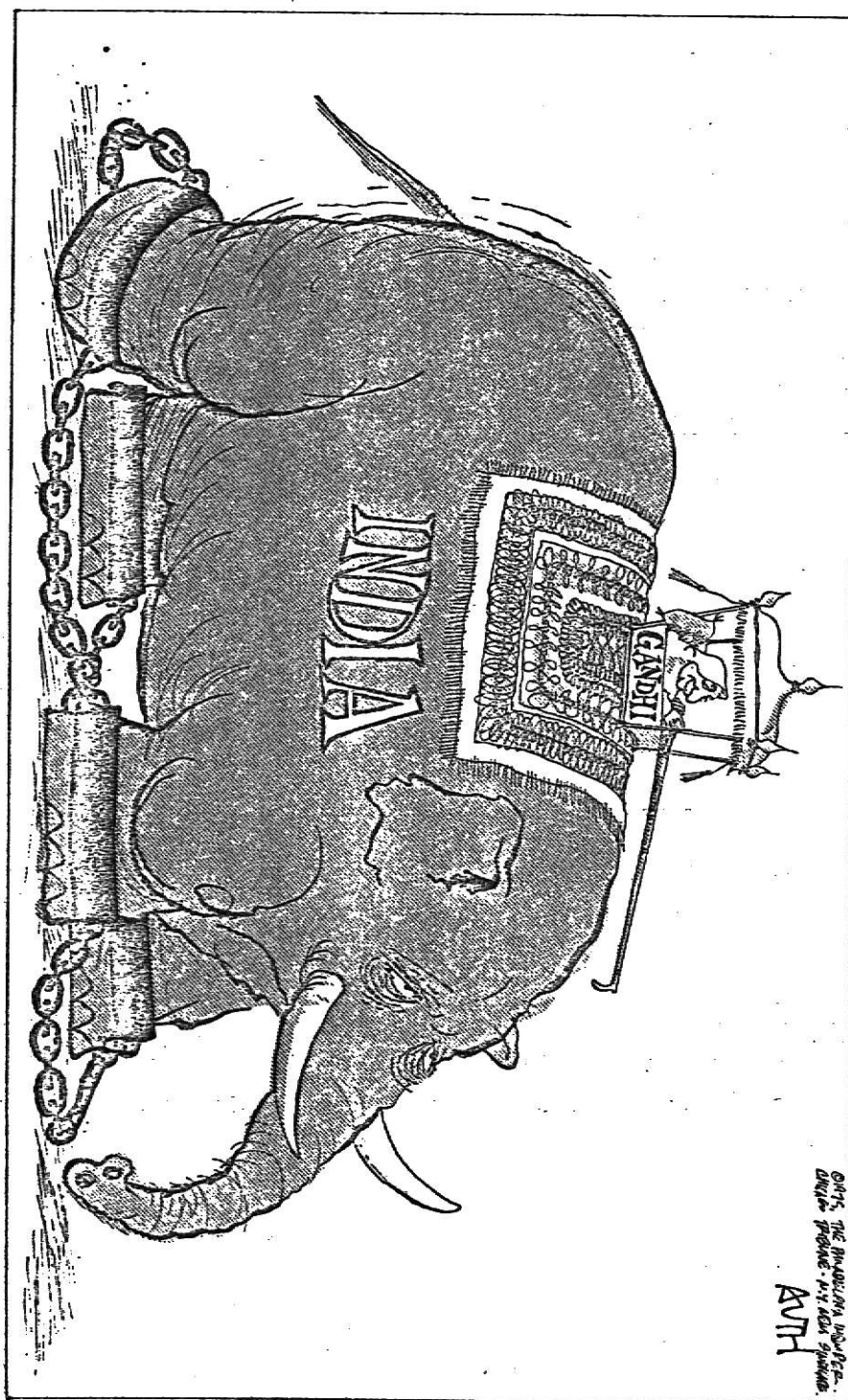
Cartoon 39

Indira, after she had shackled the Indian elephant sits safe on its back like a queen.

Cartoon 40

Indira after trampling down civil liberties still likes to be called "the fairest of all" like the wicked step-mother in Snow White. The cartoonist, using the fairy tale, "Snow White

²⁷See press captions: "Tyranny Gains In India", (Philadelphia, May 19, 1975); "A Dealt Blow to Indian Liberty" (The Philadelphia, May 6, 1975); "Indira India: Liberty Lost, Little Won" (Milwaukee Journal, March 21, 1976); Authoritarian India (New York Times, January 2, 1976); Indira Perpetuates Autocracy (Philadelphia Inquirer, January 6, 1976); "India's Shame" (Los Angeles Times, September 28, 1975); "Indira Slapped" (The Plain Dealer, August 13, 1975); India is as Indira Does (New York Times Magazine, April 4, 1976); "Fear Controls Every Day Life In Repressed India" (Manhattan Mercury, May 12, 1976); and Lewis M. Simons writes that Indira's son Sanjoy Gandhi slapped her across the face six times in a dinner party (Washington Post, July 9, 1975).



Cartoon 39.

"Who's the fairest one of all?"



Cartoon 40.

and the Seven Dwarfs" associates Indira with the wicked step-mother.

Cartoon 41

The cartoonist, using the U.S. expression "Baring the brass knuckles", depicts Indira using unorthodox, and unethical means to achieve her goal.

Cartoon 42

The Allahabad Court, after convicting Indira, is goading the cow (India) to attack her, but the cow sits inertly and passively. The cartoonist depicts India as being passive to Indira's rule.

Cartoon 43

Indira becomes a sacred cow for India. Indira with her emergency rule has become immune from violence or attack.

Cartoon 44

Indira Gandhi - a cobra - by coming out of a snake basket has gobbled Indian democracy, and as a result, her belly has swollen. The cartoonist sees Indira as treacherous.

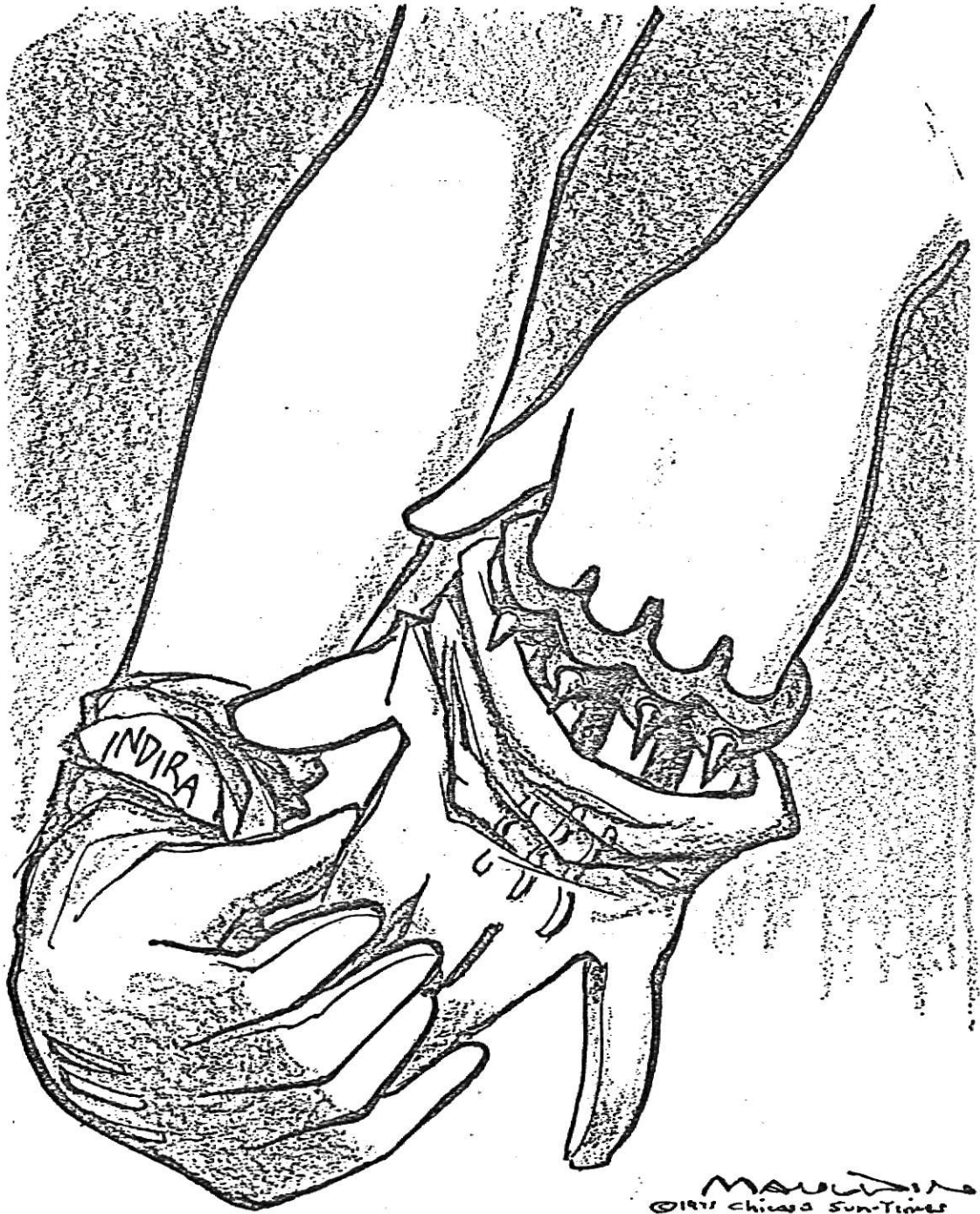
Cartoon 45

Indira hangs democracy on her rope-trick - a murderer of democracy.

Cartoon 46

Indira, the snake-charmer, let out the cobra-totalitarianism

Bill Mauldin




FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE

401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

June 27, 1975 Cartoon 41.

SCIENCE MONITOR

ear,  then the full grain in the ear"

Monday, June 30, 1975

'But she's guilty...sic 'em...go get her...'



Cartoon 42.



MAULDIN
© 1975 CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

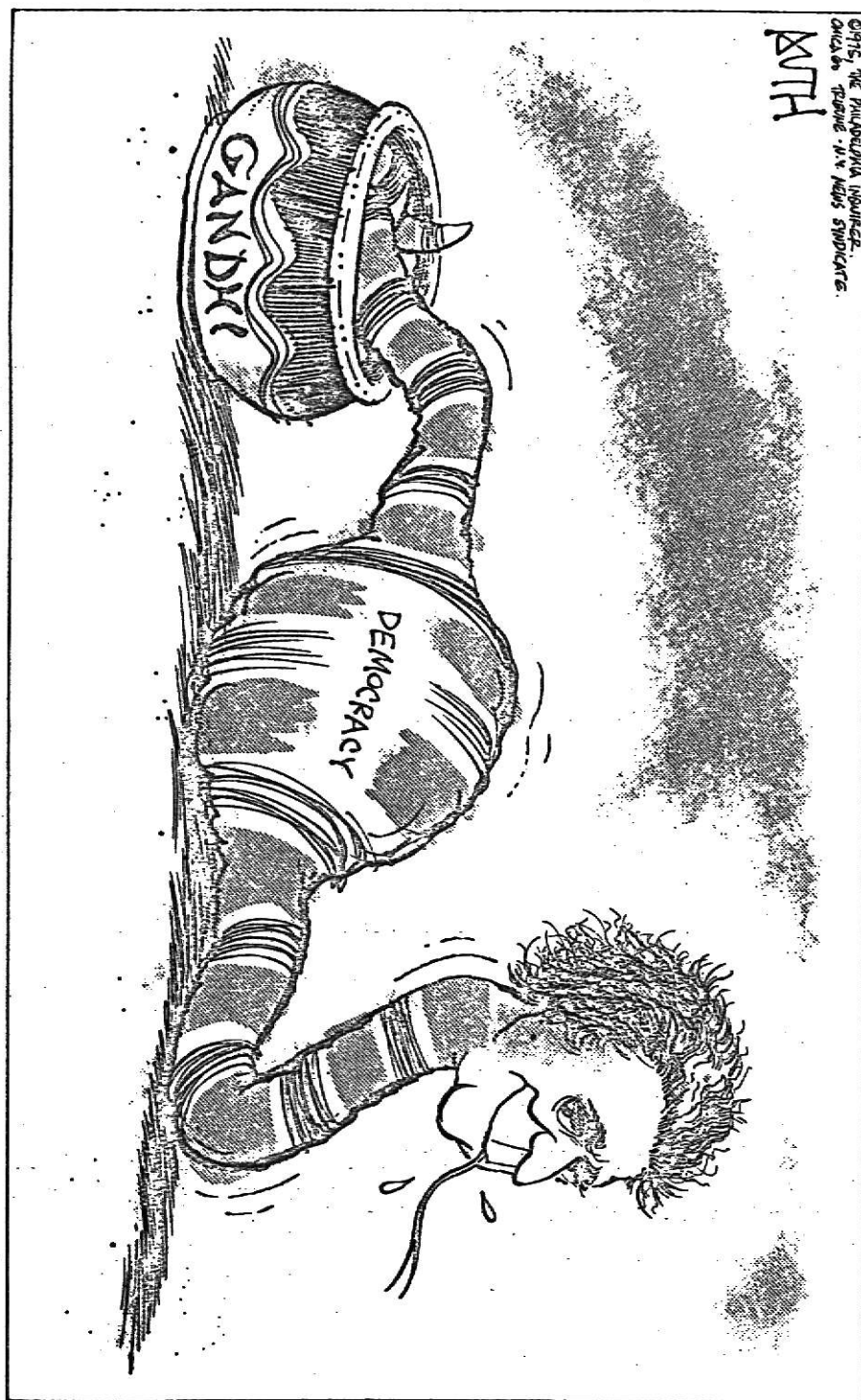
SACRED COW

FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE

401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

June 30, 1975

Cartoon 43.



Cartoon 44.

NEW INDIAN ROPE TRICK



Distributed by Los Angeles Times SYNDICATE

July 3, 1975, 2

Cartoon 45.



"WHEN I SAY, 'DOWN, BOY,' I WANT YOU BACK IN YOUR BASKET."

FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE
401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

July 3, 1975

Cartoon 46.

when she orders the cobra to get into the basket, it might not go. The cartoonist in essence is saying that Indira won't be able to restore democracy in India.

Cartoon 47

In a composite face of Indira and Nixon, Indira repeats Nixon's words, "It is not important whether I remain Prime Minister or not. However, the institution of Prime Minister is important". The cartoonist associates Indira with Nixon. He sees her in a watergate syndrome.

Cartoon 48

Indira has failed Gandhi again - the one who gave democracy to India.

Cartoon 49

Gandhi the symbol of democracy has again been thrown behind the bars, by Indira as he was by the British in the 1920's.

Cartoon 50

Indira in the name of bettering the lot of the Indian labor is stamping down the labor leadership lest they should rebel against her. In other words she is not for the poor.

Cartoon 51

Indira as a snake charmer, charms the Indian Democracy (Snake) as if to strengthen it, but the poor snake (Indian Democracy) never realized that she was going to throw a spear

"IT IS NOT IMPORTANT WHETHER I REMAIN PRIME MINISTER OR NOT,
HOWEVER, THE INSTITUTION OF PRIME MINISTER IS IMPORTANT!"



Distributed by Los Angeles Times SYNDICATE

July 3, 1975, 4

6/27

4 3/4"

Cartoon 47.



Distributed by Los Angeles Times SYNDICATE

July 3, 1975, 3

Cartoon 48.



Cartoon 49.

SCIENCE MONITOR

 then the full grain in the ear®

Monday, July 7, 1975

'We'll stamp it out before somebody gets burned'



Cartoon 50.



Cartoon 51.

into its' belly. The cartoonist looks at Indians as gullible and Indira as deceitful.

Cartoon 52

Indira, the wicked step-mother comes with her poisonous apple (the Emergency) to kill Snow White (India). The cartoonist here expresses an element of surprise, as if to say, "Did you really think Indira Gandhi was virtuous?"

Cartoon 53

A half-naked fakir who was so proudly proclaiming India as the largest democracy is pushed onto the nails by Indira.

Cartoon 54

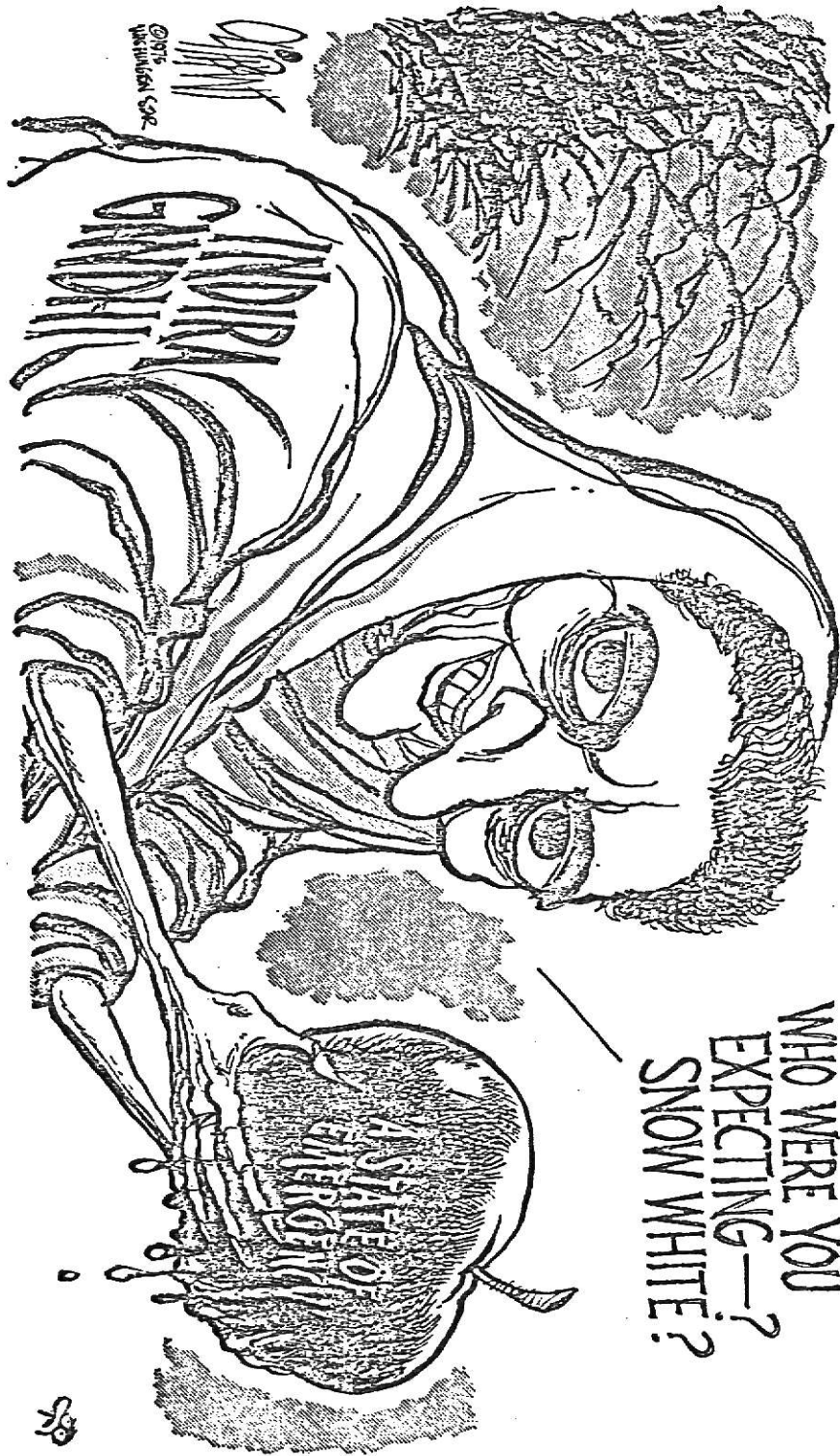
Indira Gandhi is riding on the druel tiger-totalitarianism, but she does not realize that if she tries to dismount, she would be in danger. The cartoonist implies that Indira may not restore democracy, fearing that her position would be in danger. The cartoonist, here, uses a common Indian expression.

Cartoon 55

Indira's repression comes like a sudden lightening and strikes India. The cartoonist here parodies an American T.V. commercial, "It is not nice to fool Mother Nature".

Cartoon 56

Indira is a permanent dictator, with a military dress and hand gun.



July 11, 1975, 1

Bill Mauldin

Cartoon 53.



"SOMEBODY PUSHED."

FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE
401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

July 16, 1975



JULY 18, 1975, 2

Cartoon 54.

'IT'S NOT NICE TO FOOL WITH MOTHER GANDHI'



Distributed by Los Angeles Times SYNDICATE

July 18, 1975, 3

Cartoon 55.



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INDIRA GANDHI, DICTATOR OF INDIA
Cartoon 56.

July 18, 1975, 9

Cartoon 57

Indira is crushing India's democracy on the nails, yet she complains.

Cartoon 58

With the emergency, it is no more the Government of India, but the government of Indira. The editing has been done by Indira herself.

Cartoon 59

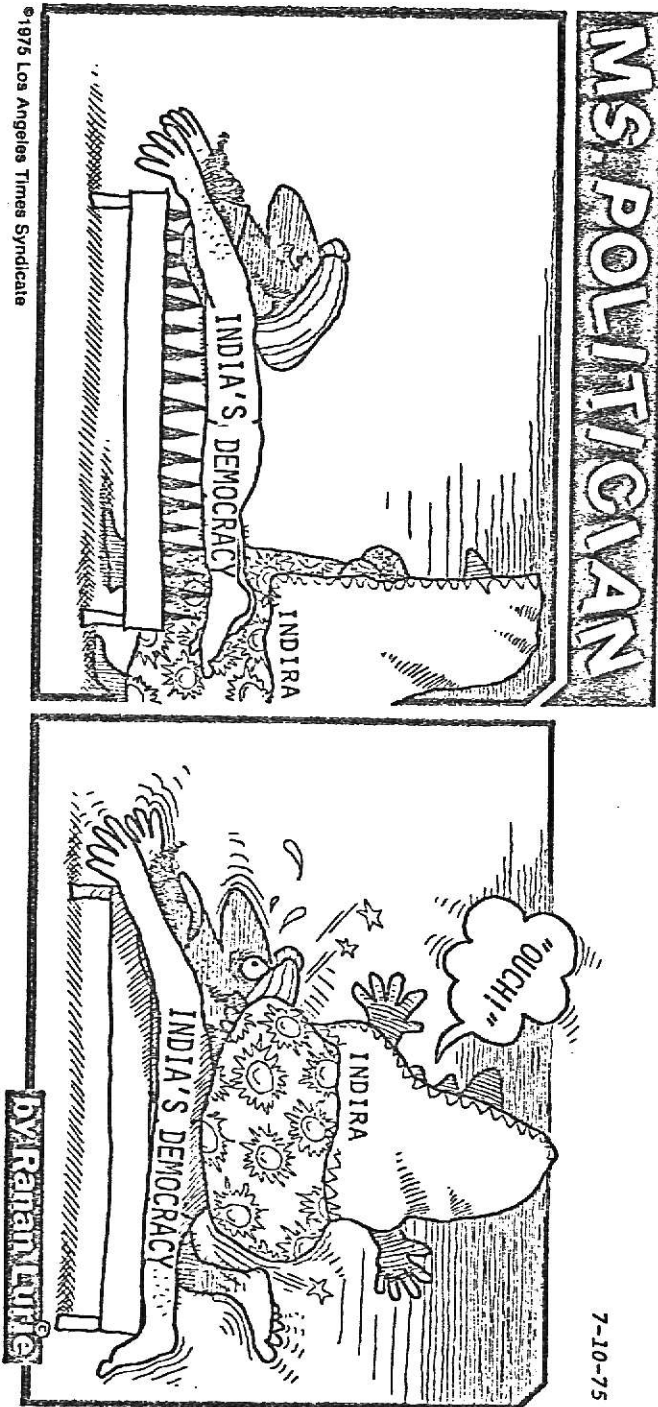
With the emergency, India is no more the world's largest democracy; but still Indira with a club in her hand is forcing people to repeat after her the slogan that "India is the largest democracy". It is nonsense, in cartoonists opinion.

Cartoon 60

Indira, blinded with lust for power, is dragging the blinded censored cow --India on a perilous mountainous road realizing that she and India may fall off the mountain. With the emergency and censorship both Indira and India are blinded because they cannot know each other's feelings and reactions.

Cartoon 61

Mrs. Nixon tells Nixon, "Just because Indira Gandhi gets away with jailing the opposition, stopping the media, changing the law, and forgiving herself, is no reason to kick the poor dog!" In effect, the cartoonist implies that Indira did the above things to remain in power, but Nixon could not. Being



Cartoon 57.

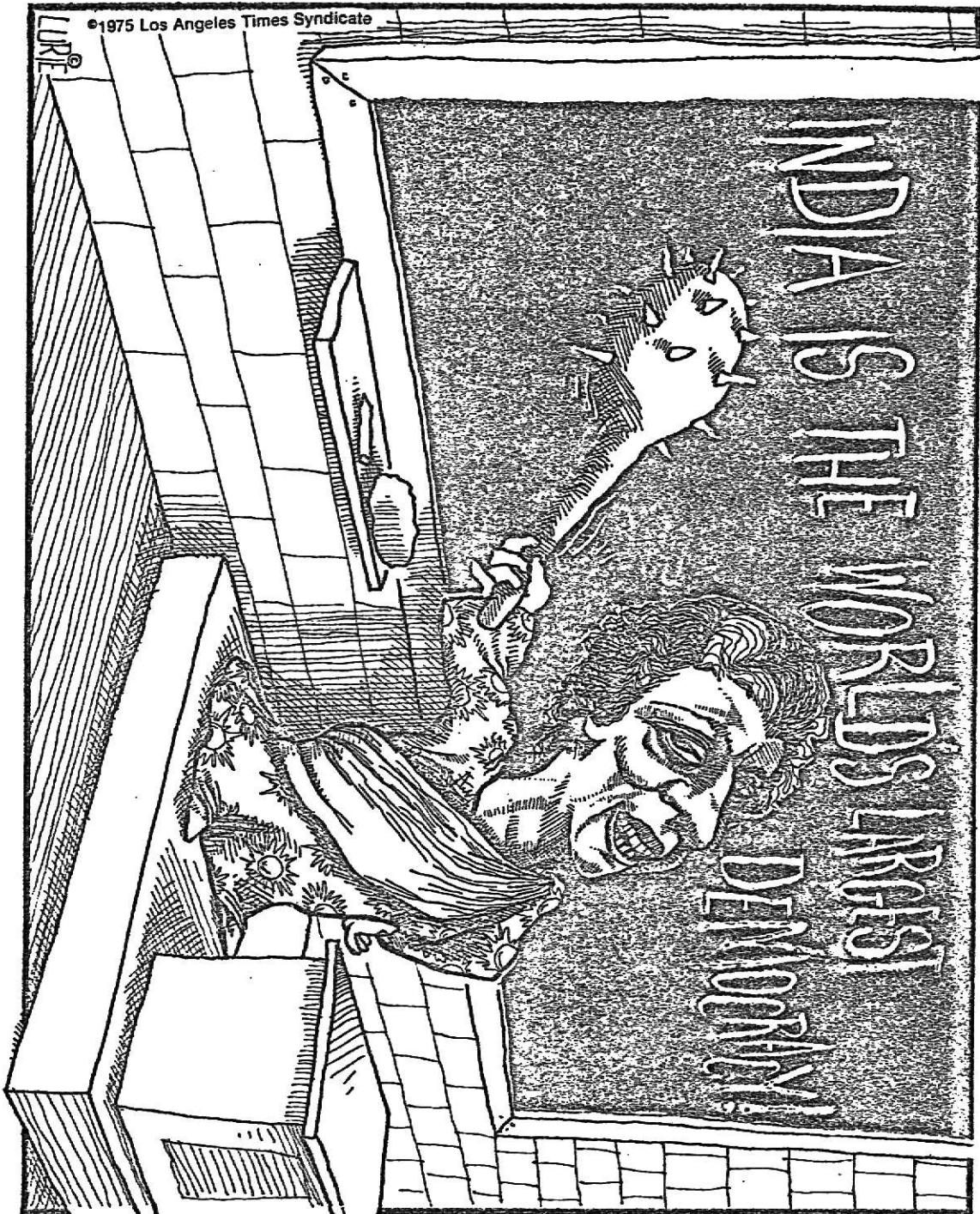
Editing Job



Cartoon 58.

LURIE'S OPINION

6-30-75

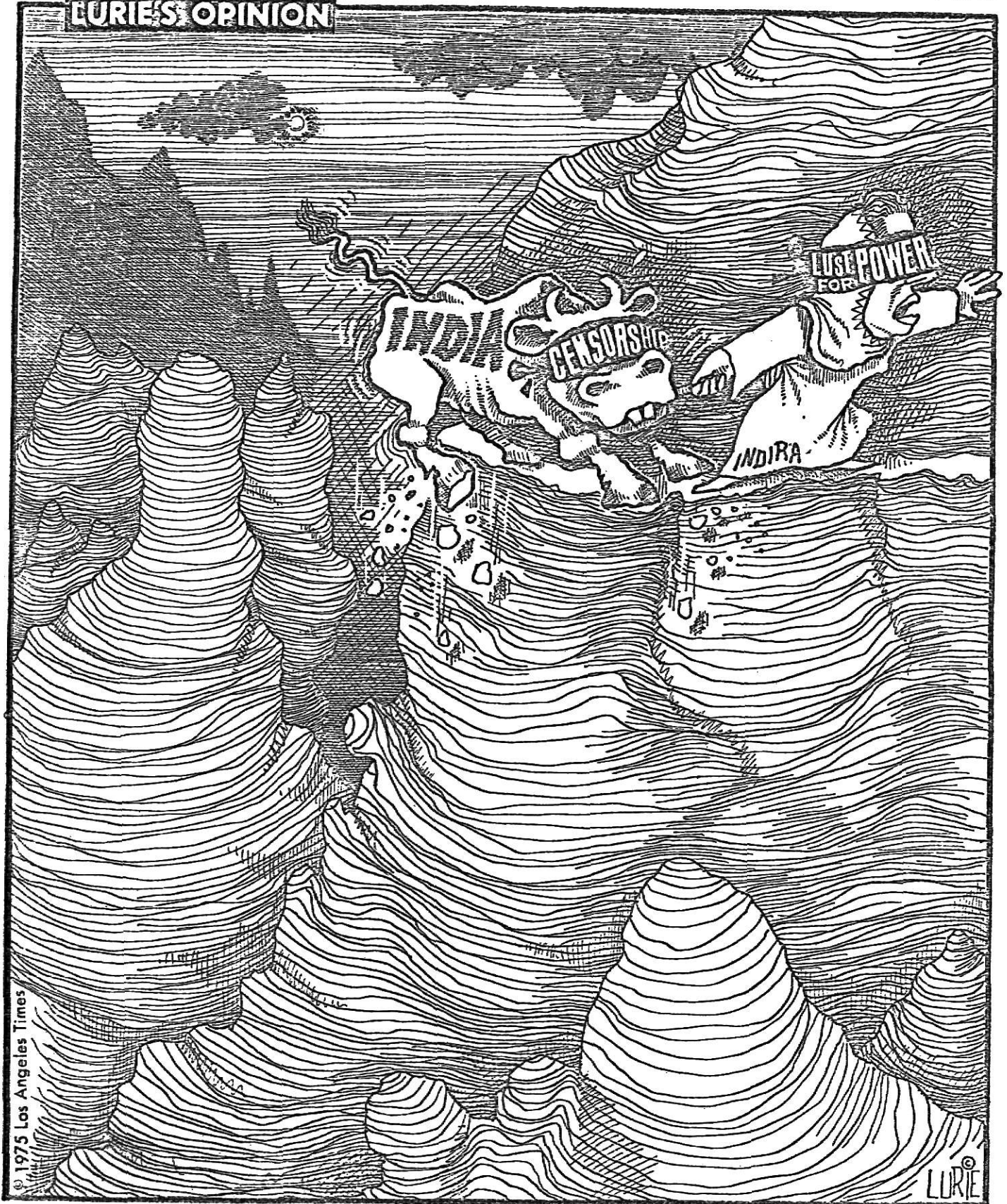


"O.K., CHILDREN, REPEAT AFTER ME..."

Cartoon 59.

7-31-75

LURIE'S OPINION



© 1975 Los Angeles Times

LURIE

August 8, 1975, 7

Cartoon 60



Cartoon 61.

August 8, 1975, 10

distressed, he is kicking his dog. She has succeeded where he has failed.

Cartoon 62

Indira after having tied down the tailor, is forcing him to shape the dress (India's constitution) so as to fit her figure (desire). In effect, after having muffled the opposition voice by arresting people she is getting the constitution amended or altered forcibly.

Cartoon 63

Mahatma Gandhi appearing to a prisoner in a vision tells him that he is not related to Indira. The cartoonist here expresses a cultural bias in which he implies that even Hindus go to his heaven.

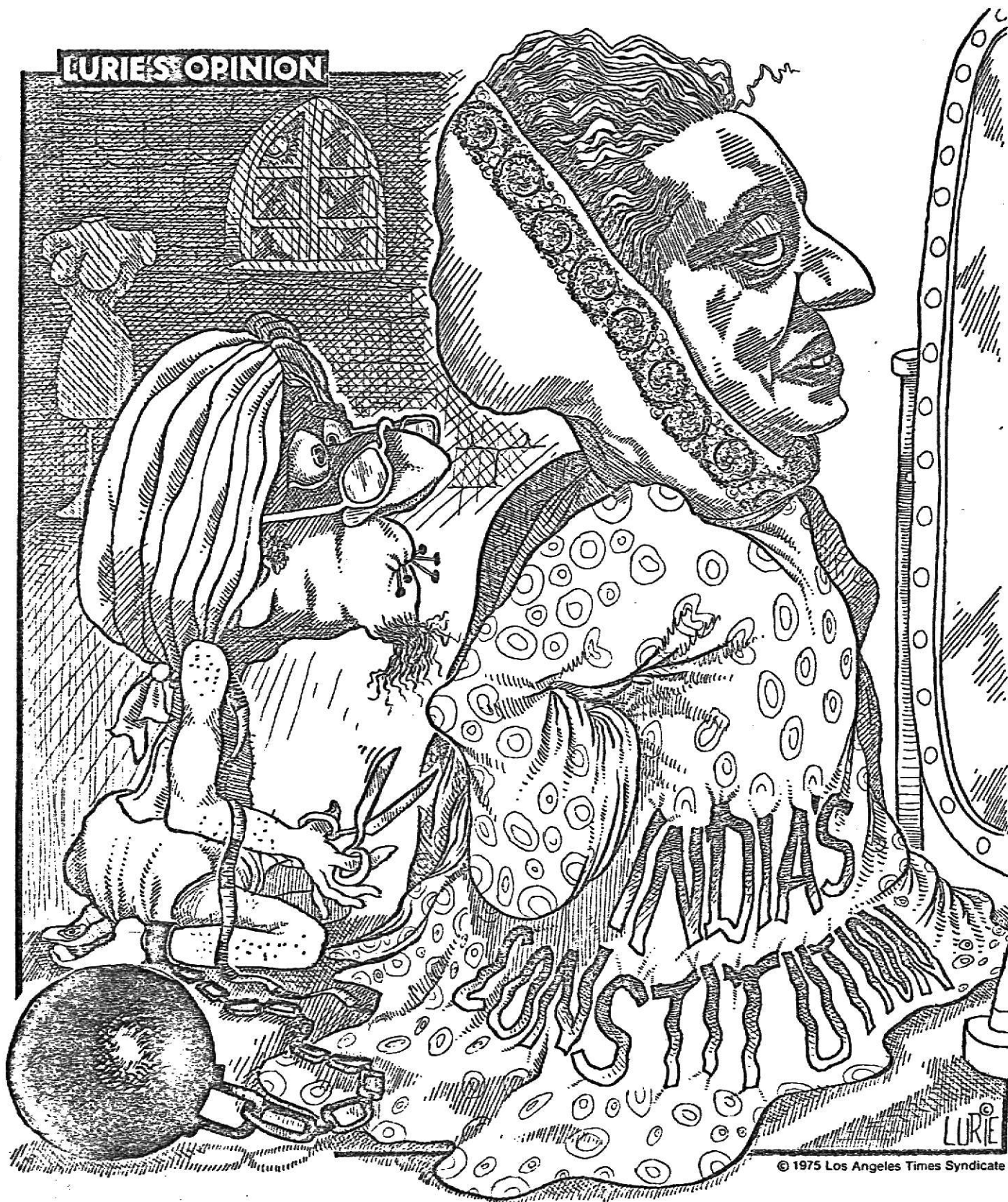
Cartoon 64

Indira, who said it is a temporary dictatorship has made it a permanent one. Indira, when she declared emergency on June 26, 1975, said it would be a temporary feature, but then she made it almost a permanent emergency.

Cartoon 65

While the political dissidents are being thrown into the same jail where Mahatma Gandhi was haled by the British, the two dissidents sitting and looking at the inscription "Mahatma Gandhi - 1922 for sedition" are wondering whether she is in any way related to Mahatma Gandhi.

8-14-75



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"BETTER SHAPE IT TO FIT MY FIGURE, BUSTER!"

Cartoon 62.

ust 15, 1975. 1

Bill Mauldin



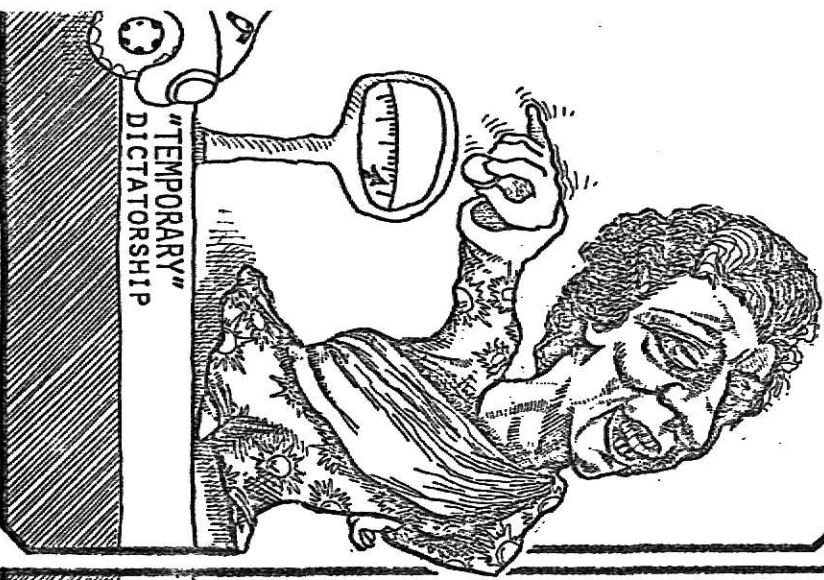
"MY NAME IS GANDHI, BUT I AM NOT RELATED TO THAT WOMAN."

September 16, 1975, 1

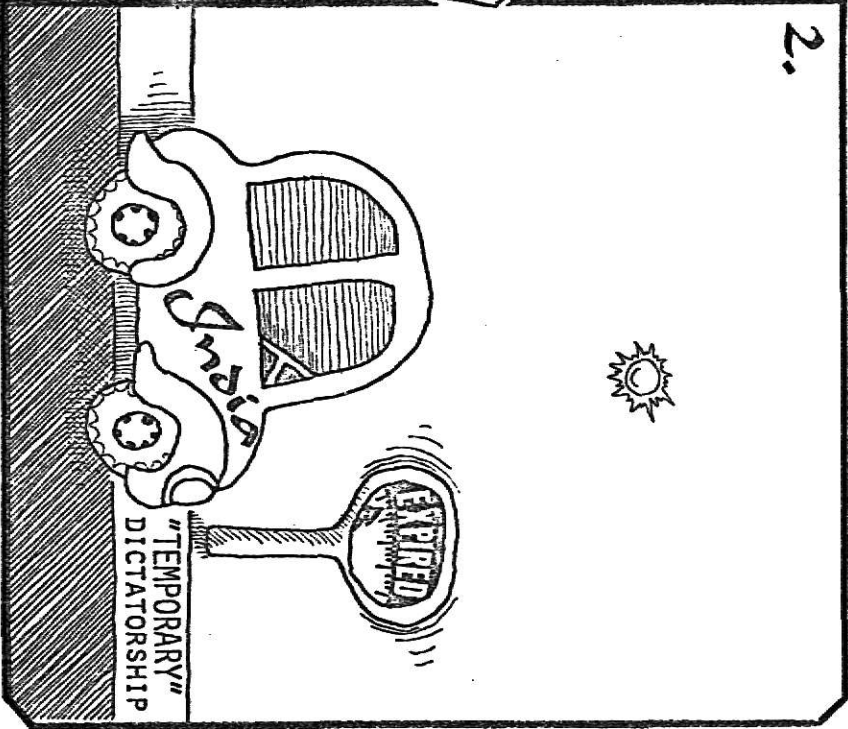
FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE
401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

Cartoon 63.

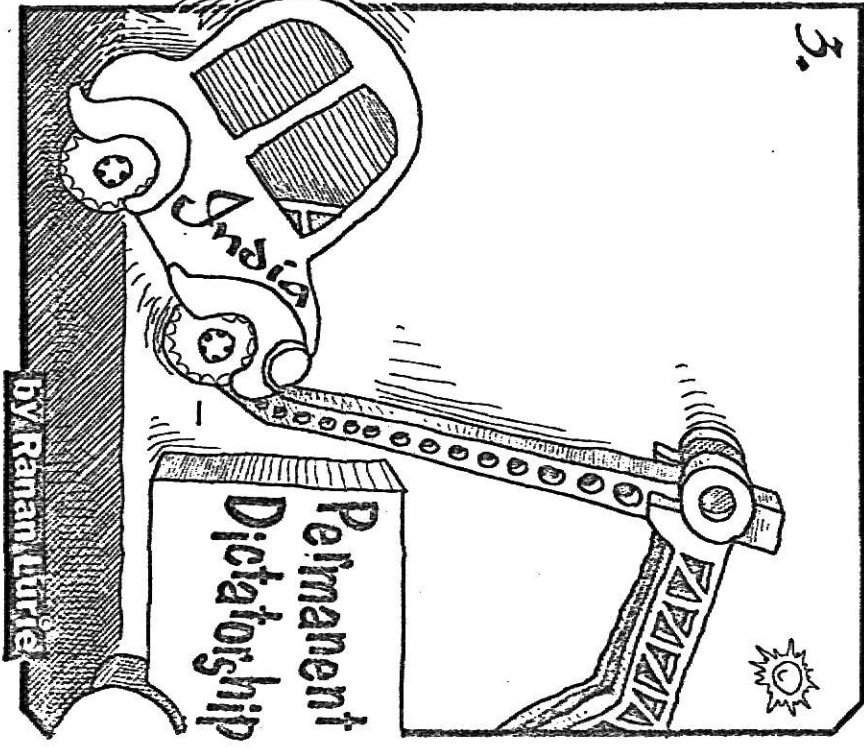
POLITICIAN



es Times Syndicate
9, 1976, 3



Cartoon 64.



1-11-76



February 18, 1976, 27

Cartoon 65.

All the above amply demonstrate that the cartoonists' images of India and Indian leaders have been more or less consistent with those seen in the earlier works. One could easily make the following observations on seeing these cartoons.

From Tables 1, 2, and 3 the following points can be observed:

1. Cartoonists during the 1962 Indo-China War, though they criticized Nehru's policy of non-alignment (Cartoons 2, 3, 5, 6, 7) took a pro-Indian stand, by being critical of China. They saw China as an invader of Indian territories, and as an irresponsible country which had ignored the needs of her hungry people and instead attacked India. (See Table 1; Cartoons make a personalistic attack on Nehru.
2. During Lal Bahadur Shastri's regime, when the Indo-Pakistan War occurred in 1965, cartoonists criticized both India and Pakistan (See Table 2; Cartoons 14, 15, 16, 18, 19). They made use of stereotyped symbols such as the sacred cow, half-naked Indian, and rope trick, though sparingly (See Cartoons 14, 16, 18). For Shastri too, they did not use any bad symbols to attack him personally.
3. But during Indira Gandhi's regime, many crises and major events occurred in India. Cartoonists expressed negative reactions and made a

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN CARTOONS ON INDIA; LEADER: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, PRIME MINISTER

Year	Cartoon	Crisis Event	Symbols Used for Leader	Symbols Used for India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-Leader, Neutral	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
1962	1	Sino-Indian War	-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	2		-	-	Anti-Leader	-	-	-
	3		-	-	Pro-India Anti-Leader	Anti-China	-	-
	4		-	Goat	Neutral	Neutral	-	-
	5		-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	6		-	-	Pro-India Anti-Leader	Anti-China	-	-
	7		-	-	Anti-Leader	-	-	-
	8		-	-	Slightly Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	9		-	-	Slightly Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	10		-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	11		-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-
	12		-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	Anti-Pakistan	-
	13		-	-	Pro-India	Anti-China	-	-

TABLE 2. ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN CARTOONS ON INDIA. LEADER: LAL BAHUDUR SASTRI, PRIME MINISTER

Year	Cartoon No.	Crisis Event	Symbols Used for Leader	Symbols Use for India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-India	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
1965	14	Indo-Pak. War		Sacred Cow	Anti-India	-	-	-
	15		-	Mouse	Anti-India	-	Anti-Pakistan	-
	16		-	Half-Naked, Rope Trick	Anti-India	-	Anti-Pakistan	-
	17		-	-	Neutral	-	Neutral	-
	18		-	Half-Naked	Anti-India	-	Anti-Pakistan	-
	19		-	-	Anti-India	-	Pro-Pakistan	-

TABLE 3. ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN CARTOONS ON INDIA; LEADER: INDIRA GANDHI. PRIME MINISTER

Year	Cartoon No.	Crisis Event	Symbols Used for Leader	Symbols Used for India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-Leader Neutral	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
1971	20	Indo-Soviet Peace Treaty	-	-	Anti-India	-	-	-
	21				Anti-India			Anti-Russia
Dec. 1971	22	Indo-Pak. War			Anti-India		Anti-Pakistan	
	23				Anti-Leader			
	24		Half-Naked Beggar, Begging Bowl		Anti-India		Anti-Pakistan	
	25		Deer		Anti-India		Anti-Pakistan	
	26		Half-Naked Hindu		Anti-India		Anti-Pakistan	
	27		Gandhi		Anti-India			
	28				Anti-India			
	29				Anti-India			Anti-Russia
	30				Anti-India		Anti-Pakistan	

TABLE 3 (Cont.).

Year	Cartoon No.	Crisis Event	Symbols Used For	Symbols Used For	Pro-India	Pro-China	Pro-Pakistan	Pro-Russia
			Leader	India	Anti-India	Anti-China	Anti-Pakistan	Anti-Russia
					Pro-Leader			
					Anti-Leader			
					Neutral			
May 1974	31	India Explodes A Nuclear Device		Beggar, Begging Bowl	Anti-India			
	32		Snake Charmer		Anti-Leader			
	33			Half-Naked Beggar, Cow	Anti-India			
	34			Half-Naked Barefooted	Anti-India			
Oct. 1974	35	Dr. Kissinger Visits India		Bed Of Nails	Anti-India			
Jan. 1975	36				Anti-India			
					Anti-Leader			
April 1975	37	India Launches A Satellite		Bloated Bellied Indian, Begging Bowl	Anti-India			

TABLE 3 (Cont.).

Year	Cartoon No.	Crisis Event	Symbols Used For Leader	Symbols Used For India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-Leader Neutral	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
Jan. 1975	38	U.S. Lifts Arms Embargo		Snake	Anti-India		Pro-Pakistan	
June 26, 1975	39	Indira Declares Emergency		Elephant	Anti-Leader			
	40	Wicked Step-Mother In Snow White			Anti-Leader			
	41	Baring The Brass Knuckles			Anti-Leader			
	42			Cow	Anti-India			
	43	Sacred Cow			Anti-Leader			
	44	Cobra			Anti-Leader			
	45			Rope Trick	Anti-Leader			
	46	Snake Charmer		Cobra	Anti-Leader			

TABLE 3 (Cont.).

Year	Cartoon No.	Crisis Event	Symbols Used For Leader	Symbols Used For India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-India Neutral	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
1975	47		Composite Face Of Nixon And Indira		Anti-Leader			
	48			Gandhi	Anti-Leader			
	49			Gandhi	Anti-Leader			
	50				Anti-Leader			
	51			Snake	Anti-Leader			
	52		Wicked Step-Mother With A Rotten Apple		Anti-Leader			
	53			Half-Naked Fakir, Bed Of Nails Tiger	Anti-Leader			
	54				Anti-Leader			
	55		Mother Nature		Anti-Leader			
	56		Military Dress And Gun		Anti-Leader			

TABLE 3 (Cont.).

Year	Cartoon No.	Crises Event	Symbols Used For Leader	Symbols Used For India	Pro-India Anti-India Pro-Leader Anti-Leader Neutral	Pro-China Anti-China	Pro-Pakistan Anti-Pakistan	Pro-Russia Anti-Russia
1975	57			Bed Of Nails	Anti-Leader			
	58				Anti-Leader			
	59				Anti-Leader			
	60			Cow	Anti-Leader			
	61		Asso- ciated With Nixon		Anti-Leader			
	62				Anti-Leader			
	63			Mahatma Gandhi	Anti-Leader			
	64				Anti-Leader			
	65			Mahatma Gandhi	Anti-Leader			

personalistic attack on Indira on many of these occasions.

- a. Cartoonists criticized the Indo-Soviet peace treaty (Cartoons 21, 22).
- b. During the Ind-Bangle Desh-Pakistani War, cartoonists did not support India. They criticized India's policy. They criticized even the U.S. liberals who took a pro-India stand (See Cartoon 28). They used the stereotyped symbols beggar, bowl, half-naked Indian (See Cartoons 24, 26). One cartoonist attacked religious fanaticism (Cartoon 26).
- c. Cartoonists expressed a strong reaction to India's explosion. To criticize India's lop-sided policies, they made use of symbols such as beggar, begging bowl, half-naked fakir and snake charmer (See Cartoons 31, 32, 34).
- d. One cartoonist used the symbol, bed of nails, to express his displeasure over Kissinger's promise of one million tons of grain to India on easy terms (See Cartoon 35).
- e. Another cartoonist makes a personal attack on Indira for recognizing the PLO (See Cartoon 36).

- f. Another cartoonist used the symbol cobra for India, for obstructing the U.S.-Pakistani relations (See Cartoon 38).
 - g. Since Indira has strangled the 28-year Indian democracy on June 26, 1976, cartoonists, being very much angered over her action, expressed very strong, pungent, caustic, and personalistic attacks in their cartoons by the use of both Indian and American symbols and features. They used American fairy tale features like wicked step-mother in Snow White (Cartoons 40, 52), a U.S. T.V. commercial, "It is not nice to fool Mother Nature" (Cartoon 55). They used the stereotyped symbols, sacred cow, cobra, snake charmer, elephant, rope trick, half-naked Indians, bed of nails, tiger (See Cartoons 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 51, 54, 57, 60), to express their anger over her actions. They associated her with Nixon (See Cartoons 47, 61).
- 4. Cartoonists seem to have respect for Mahatma Gandhi (See Cartoons 14, 48, 49, 63, 65).
 - 5. It seems that cartoonists have made a dramatic shift from the weakness with which Nehru is

depicted (See Cartoons 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11) to the strength demonstrated by the caricatures of Ms. Gandhi (See Cartoons 39, 40, 41, 50, 54, 55, 56, 59).

From the above observations, one can conclude that cartoonists also have had, to a great extent, negative images of India similar to those that were found in the earlier three works. Cartoonists criticized Nehru's policy during the Indo-China War of 1962; criticized India for the 1965 Indo-Pakistan War; criticized India during the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War; criticized India for exploding a nuclear device, and for launching a satellite. They criticized Indira for declaring the emergency in India, but have intensified their criticism during the emergency. They have made use of stereotyped symbols to the maximum to attack Indira Gandhi during the emergency period. Cartoonists, through their nonverbal, but forceful graphic medium emphasized poverty, starvation, begging, and other stereotypes, as much as other segments of American society emphasize in their verbal expressions of Indians. So, it is not wrong to conclude that Indira's allegation was right to a great extent when she said that Americans have had negative images of India even prior to the declaration of the emergency.

Then what about the American Press? Did it go along with the earlier works? It is hard to say if they did, and one cannot dare make a judgmental statement unless one has thoroughly analyzed the written word over a period of time. However, editorials, news commentaries normally reflect more or less

the same opinion (they need not have to) as that of cartoons, and vice versa. I do not know what the press (written) attitude toward India was at these various points of time, but I have a strong impression that most of the American press must have been critical of India²⁸ during 1974-75 when India exploded a nuclear device, launched a satellite, recognized the PLO, and integrated the protectorate state of Sikkim into Indian Union. It seems true that the well-informed people in Isaac's works, text book writers, teachers, cartoonists, and even the press have not been able to look at India and her problems with a spirit of sympathy and understanding. Poverty and starvation have become the permanent synonyms in their image of India. Why this negative image of India is so persistent in the American

²⁸See for a few examples of adjectives used for India "intoxicated", "imperial arrogance", "imperial India is a diminished India" (New York Times, April 21, 1975); "Perennially starving populace", "arrogant Indira", "imperial empress", "Brutal victory over Pakistan, 1971", "she will be dethroned in national voting, and she should be", "she is a disgrace to the teaching of Gandhi" (Boston Herald American, April 23, 1975), "Something -- pathetic, -- disturbing about Indira's leap into the scientific and technological revolution", "Earth's most poverty-stricken", "80% of Indians -- live below the poverty line", (The Plain Dealer, April 23, 1975); "Deserving of wide handouts", "international basket case", "face wide spread hunger and starvation" (Times-Dispatch, October 23, 1974).

mind is hard to know. However, one can make some observations in the background of the works reviewed earlier, and in the context of India's social, economic and religious conditions, and Indo-American relations. I would like to conclude my report by citing a few points as possible reasons for the negative American imagery of India.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION

It is quite clear that Americans have had negative images of India at least from 1957 through 1975 as observed in the works reviewed here. The images of India, as poverty-stricken, impoverished begging, starving, caste-ridden, superstitious are strongly fixed on the American mind. These images come out forcibly and freely from the American public when asked for, and when something unpleasant to Americans takes place in India. It is true that India is poverty-stricken and caste-ridden and that it has many social and religious evils to be condemned and fought out. But unfortunately, most Americans have not been able to see anything beyond that in India - its culture, heritage and achievements²⁹ in the field of education, science, technology and industry.

It is obvious that images presented by missionaries, by writers like Katherine Mayo and Rudyard Kipling must have left a deep impression on the American mind. The information that

²⁹The literacy rate rose from 9% in 1947 to about 30% in 1971.

India has the third largest army (about nine hundred thousand). It is the tenth industrial country in the world. It has the world's third largest technical and scientific manpower. Food production rose from 45 million tons in 1947 to about 114 in 1976. See "India 1975" (New Delhi: Government of India, 1975); For figures on food production, Hindustan Times, June 18, 1976.

Americans received on India's religious beliefs and caste system, as seen in the works, seem to have created in them a repellent attitude towards Indians. These images may also have something to do with a feeling of racial superiority and with American character. The images of Indians as benighted heathen, a lesser breed, subhuman, aboriginal as expressed by Isaac's interviewees go to indicate that they have a sense of racial superiority over Indians. Howard Hess and M. Glen Johnson writing on American character state³⁰ that Americans are a pragmatic, success-oriented society with a "sense of political virtue". Americans, perhaps having not heard of considerable material progress and success, inspite of their generous assistance to Indians, may have been forced to reinforce the images that they had received from various sources.

But apart from these the relations between America and

³⁰Howard Bliss; M. Glen Johnson. Beyond the Water's Edge: America's Foreign Policies (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippin Colt Company, 1975). pp. 98-116. For detailed discussion of American character, see Geoffrey, The American People: A Study in National Character (New York: Norton, 1948); Henry S. Commager (ed.), America in Perspective (New York: Rauden House, 1947); D.W. Borgan, The American Character (New York: Knopf, 1944).

India³¹ also have their role in reinforcing these images. India has been the recipient of large amounts of aid from the U.S. (about \$10 billion) and has reciprocated with criticism at different points in time. For Americans this smacks of Indian ingratitude toward the liberal donor. India, supposedly the largest democracy in the world instead of signing with another ideal democracy, the U.S., has not only followed a policy called "non-alignment" but also often supported the Soviet Union, and even signed a 20-year peace-treaty with them. As noted earlier the American mind is greatly distressed over various things India did: India liberated Goa in 1961; helped to break up Pakistan; exploded a nuclear device; annexed the protectorate state of Sikkim; and launched a satellite with Soviet assistance. These things perhaps make Americans look at India as hypocritical, expansionist, irresponsible, illogical and inconsistent between her precepts and practice. As a result the old stereotypes forcibly come out in order to show their disapproval, disagreement, disenchantment and distress. Baldev Raj Nayar is perhaps right when he writes that there is a conflict of interest between the U.S. and India and that "the

³¹For analysis of Indo-American relations, see Lawrence K.

Rosinger, India and the United States (New York, MacMillan, 1950); Philips Talbot and S. Poplai, India and America: A Study of Their Relations (New York, Harper, 1958); W. Norman Brown, The United States and India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard Press, 1972).

constantly reiterated image of India as a chronic poverty case, only deserving of American generosity and sympathy, has served to mask the centrality of this conflict of interest in their relations."³² Further he argues that, "It is fallacious to assume . . . that there is no conflict of interest between India and the United States. That can happen only if the United States ceased to a global ambition, it can occur only if India's power has been shattered or its aspiration to be a middle power has been exhausted."³³ Maybe the conflict of interests as he writes, must have been the provocative reasons for these stereotypes whenever an occasion demanded. Perhaps if relations between India and the U.S. were better, these old images would be replaced by better ones; and the present emergency in India, I feel, would not have upset the American mind so much as it has now.

Further it seems to me, that there is a cognitive dissonance³⁴ in American imagery of India. For example, for many decades Americans have been presented with the imagery that India was a poverty-stricken, starving, diseased, dirty, heathen country full of snake charmers, elephants, tigers, fakirs,

³²Balder Raj Nayar, American Policy Towards India: The Larger Framework, Economic and Political Weekly (March 20, 1976) P.467.

³³Ibid. P.467.

³⁴For exposition of this approach, see Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957).

beggars, etc., but India of today has made considerable progress after independence in the field of agriculture, industry, and technology. Not only that, but it has exploded a nuclear device, and launched a satellite. These new realities have caused a dissonance in American perceptions of the country, thus causing within them a sort of tension, an uneasiness. Then, in order to get rid of these uneasy feelings, they fight the new realities and compromise with the old perceptions. This could be one of the reasons why many Americans have not been able to go beyond the old perceived imagery of India. So one can only hope and desire that, with the passage of time, better relations develop between India and the U.S. and balanced images are created of each other with deep understanding and sympathy.

However, since there is an over-whelming negative American imagery, India inspite of bettering her relations with America, can never hope to achieve a better image, unless, it eradicates perennially haunting social and economic problems with a real vigor, will and commitment. Then only can India acquire and deserve a better image in America in particular and in the World in general.

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AMERICAN IMAGES OF INDIA

by

RATHNAM INDURTHY

B.A., Osmania University, 1968
B.Ed., Osmania University, 1971
M.A., North American Baptist Seminary, 1975

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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AMERICAN IMAGES OF INDIA

Images, impressions, and attitudes both good and bad are subjective experiences, and perceptions, formed at different points of time, and places, in different circumstances, and events and become part and parcel of one's personality. They affect and influence one's relations, policies, and decisions toward other peoples and countries. Mistaken and misconceived images harm one another's relations.

After she declared the emergency in India on June 26, 1976, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi received a strong reaction against her action in the American press. To this, she reacted saying that Americans have been critical of India, even before the emergency, and that their present criticism was not a new phenomenon. To test her allegation at least in part, I have chosen to write this paper.

A number of studies have previously assessed the various aspects of American imagery of India. I have reviewed three of these works done by Harold R. Isaacs (1958), the Asia Society (1975) and by Michael W. Suleiman (1975). Harold R. Isaacs wrote his report on his interview study of 181 American scholars, businessmen, press men, church men, etc., undertaken in 1957. The Asia Society evaluated the American textbooks in dealing with Asia and presented their findings in 1975. Professor Michael W. Suleiman conducted a survey work among history teachers, working in eight states of the U.S. and wrote his report on their images of Middle East peoples, India, and Pakistan. In my review of

of these three works, I have found that Americans have had a negative image of India.

Then, to investigate the imagery in American cartoons, I have gathered 65 cartoons drawn by different cartoonists, at different points during the period 1962-1975, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and the present Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. First, I have interpreted each cartoon and then analyzed them in chronological order. I have looked for symbols, stereotypes, and themes in the cartoons, and entered them as to their meaning in a tabular form in relation to the countries involved. Then, in observation, I have found that the imagery in the cartoons has been mostly negative toward India and Indian leadership.

This negative image must have been certainly, caused by India's haunting economic, social and religious conditions, and also by India's chilly relations with America that has given her an unparalleled aid. But more than that, Americans' cognitive dissonance, and their feelings of racial superiority also may have contributed to this image.

If one wants to help build a better world of peace and understanding, one has to make an effort to re-examine his or her stereotypes.