

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

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5 TH YEAR OF REVIVAL

MANKIND

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Office Address
5, Hansali, Damle Path,
Punc - 411 004.

Tel. No. 546 65 57

Bombay Bureau
3, 2nd Floor,

372-A, Veer Savarkar Marg,
Dadar, Bombay - 400 028.
Tel. No. 430 90 49

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 50

Exc. Edr.

MANKIND'S UNEXPECTED FRIENDS !

We find ourselves in strange company.

There are queer quarters supporting us and we in turn are promoting a fantastic group of intelligent observers of the Indian scene.

As we reported earlier our demand for a new Constitutional Assembly received support from *Mumbai Samachar*, the oldest Gujarati daily of Bombay.

Arun Bhatia has supported our demand for Constitutional Right to Information. Bhatia also agrees that India has been ruled by a very corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy from 1947.

George Fernandes has come out very emphatically against the presumption by our *naukarshahs* ranging from the *chirkoot* President to the rubbishy Election Commission who have withdrawn the right to vote and contest from **Bal Thackeray, a poor specimen of humanity, but nevertheless one who does not deserve to be so shabbily treated.** The right to vote in and contest elections is not a gracious gift granted by our *naukarshahs*. It is an inherent right of every citizen of India that claims to be the world's largest democracy. In fact, the citizens of India not only have the right to elect and contest elections but these rights should be extended to cover two further claims. **THEY MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO RECALL THE CORRUPT AND INEFFICIENT, OR UNTRUSTWORTHY MLA OR MP, AND FURTHER, THE RIGHT TO INITIATE LEGISLATION BY SIGNATURE CAMPAIGNS MUST BE MADE AVAILABLE TO EVERY INDIAN.** Let us not be satisfied with the privilege of being

the greatest shamocracy of the world but let us acquire the rights of **RECALL and INITIATIVE.**

Again, we find ourselves strongly supporting the demand made by Bimal Jalan, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, for a revision of the voting rights in the Bretton Woods Institutions i.e., the World Bank, IMF, WTO, IDA, etc., to reflect the true current position which has drastically altered since 1945, when these institutions came into being.

Jalan's demand has been echoed faithfully by his former junior bureaucratic colleague and present Finance Minister of India, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, who belongs to the BJP.

That is why *Mankind* has consistently demanded that no careerist *naukarshah* be ever elevated to policy-making and policy-pronouncing positions.

These bureaucrats, however high the office they hold, are inferior to any elected representative of the people, be he a Zilla Parishad, Municipal Council, State Assembly or Lok Sabha member.

The bureaucrats are from birth pursuers of careers. They have never done a day's public service. They have never identified themselves with the smallest section of any constituency anywhere in India. They have never voiced the pains and the hopes of any part of the vast hundred crore living in Bharat that is India.

They have passed certain Union Public Service examinations or State Service examinations as per syllabi, curricula and all other parameters fixed by other bureaucrats.

The Supreme Court Judges are

also promoted from the ranks of High Court Judges, who are in turn elevated from the lower ranks of practising lawyers, magistrates and such other factotums.

There are echelons upon echelons of faceless, characterless, procrastinating, irresponsible, secretive, intriguing and corrupt paid government servants all over the country. In fact, at the latest count, there were 195.59 lakh persons in government service (including Central, State, quasi and local bodies. See p. 552, in *Economic Survey*, 1998-99, published by the Government of India.) Just 19.78 lakhs of them received in the year 1996-97 Rs. 22,352 crores at a per capita emolument of Rs. 1,13,003/- (see p. 554 *ibid*).

These bureaucrats have never done a day's work for anyone except themselves. They have received thousands and lakhs of crores of rupees of public money, but all that they have done is to pursue personal, selfish careers.

It has been *Mankind's* contention that a *chaprasi* in a public library cannot decide about book purchases to be made by the library. Similarly, Supreme Court Judges and secretaries of government departments are NOT to decide the policies of the government. They are merely to implement the decisions taken by the people at every level from Gram Panchayat to the Lok Sabha. **That is the meaning of democracy. It means that elected representatives not only determine public policies but that they have the exclusive right to do so.** The bureaucrats are there to merely implement and carry out policy decisions made by elected members of various bodies from the local to the national.

Therefore Bimal Jalan should not have been allowed to make such a demand as the one he made in Colombo where he asked for a change in voting rights in WB and IMF.

In fact, such a demand is an exclusive privilege of the Finance Minister, who in this case just happens to be a junior bureaucrat turned BJP politician.

But now Yashwant Sinha has

come out openly in support of the Jalan demand for revision of quotas (*Times of India*, 1.10.99). We present herewith a set of four detailed tables showing the facts relating to trading shares of the various national economies in World Trade, their share of GDP in PPP terms, their Voting Rights and their shares of World Population.

Let us now return to the topic of Voting Rights in WB and IMF.

On the whole the position for the most important countries of the world has been summed up by Table 5.

It is obvious that the USA is no longer the supreme economic power in the world, and it has wisely decided to share

its dominance of the WB and the IMF with Japan and the other members of G-7 who exercise a Voting Power

totalling 47.63%, whilst their share of the world's population is only 11.68%.

In short the G-7 dominate the WB and the IMF in close cooperation with other OECD powers even though they are less than 1/8 of the population of the world.

China has been the most discriminated against, its Voting Power has been depressed by more than 10 percentage points. Its share of the World GDP in PPP terms is 12.29% whilst its Voting Rights share is just 2.09%. Its share of world's population is higher than 21.17%, or better than one out of five human beings.

Russia and India also have their Voting Powers depressed by 1.5% and 1% respectively as compared to their GDP-PPP levels. Russia's population is about 2.5% of the world and India's population is better than one out of six humans.

If Russia, China and India are accorded their rightful Voting Rights, their total Voting Rights would improve by as much as 12%, if GDP-PPP levels are made the determinant.

If population percentage is made decisive, their share of Voting Rights would rise to 41.16%, in other words, more than two-fifths.

We are anxious that Bimal Jalan's apparently *swadeshi* complaint should not be scoffed at just because the G-7 Voting Rights (47.63%), are near about their participation rate in World Trade (47.9%), and their share of the World GDP on PPP terms (45.15%).

The G-7 are less than 1/8 of the world's population, and Russia, China and India together are more than 40%.

Therefore, we fully agree with Bimal Jalan that the voting pattern evolved in 1945 at Bretton Woods needs to be immediately and drastically revised. Our table supporting Bimal Jalan's case is attached herewith.

There is not much substance in Bimal Jalan's bogus *swadeshi* cry from the very narrow point of view of current distribution of world economic power [Except in the case of China where her voting power has been severely depressed].

HOWEVER, THE CURRENT DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC POWER IS ITSELF AN END PRODUCT OF A LONG PROCESS OF IMPERIALIST

EXHAUSTION OF THE WORLD. The population of the world is concentrated in the Third World and the wealth of the world even if recalculated

WORLD TRADE, WORLD GDP AND VOTING RIGHTS

| 1 No. Country | 2 % of World Trade 1997 | 3 % World GDP on PPP terms 1997 | 4 Voting Rights % 1998 | 5 (+) Excess or (-) Deficient Voting Power in % Col.4 - Col.3 | 6 % Population 1997 |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 1. USA | 14.58 | 20.81 | 14.91 | MINUS 5.90 | 4.60 |
| 2. JAPAN | 7.11 | 7.98 | 10.57 | PLUS 2.59 | 2.16 |
| 3A. REST OF G-7 | 26.21 | 16.36 | 22.15 | PLUS 5.79 | 4.92 |
| 3B. TOTAL OF G-7 | 47.90 | 45.15 | 47.63 | PLUS 2.49 | 11.68 |
| 4. CHINA | 6.65 | 12.29 | 2.09 | MINUS 10.20 | 21.17 |
| 5. RUSSIAN FED. | 1.53 | 1.67 | 0.27 | MINUS 1.40 | 2.52 |
| 6. INDIA | 0.82 | 4.29 | 3.22 | MINUS 1.07 | 16.49 |
| 7. REST OF THE WORLD | 43.10 | 36.60 | 53.21 | PLUS 16.61 | 48.14 |

That is how the Voting Rights should be distributed in the long run.

Immediately China should get 10% more, and Russia and India should each get 1% more Voting Power.

In 1995, the USA monopolised 50% of the world's production and trade, and Europe commandeered another 25%. The rest of the world generated merely a quarter of the world production and trade. After the emergence of the Tripolar World from around 1975 the essential proportions have radically changed :

USA and Canada now absorb merely 25% of world output and trade, a proportion probably similar to that absorbed by Europe, including the Transitional Economies of the former USSR and its satellites.

The rest of the world today commands over 50% of the world's GDP and commerce.

on PPP basis is heavily tilted in favour of the neo-colonial powers organised in overlapping circles of G-7, EU, NATO and OECD.

Therefore, *Mankind* supports Mr. Jalan's case for revision of quotas, subscriptions and contributions by Third World in two steps:

1. First of all, the anomalies between Voting Powers and GDP-PPP must be eliminated.

2. Ultimately the welfare of the world depends upon the welfare of its people. Therefore, the Voting Powers must be made to conform with the percentage of world population living in each country.

See five tables on World Trade, World GDP-PPP and current distribution of Voting Power in the World Bank on this and the following pages.

TABLE 1 : WORLD TRADE, WORLD GDP AND VOTING POWER OF G-7 MEMBERS *

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| COUNTRY | EXPORTS \$ mlns. | IMPORTS \$ mlns. | TOTAL TRADE \$ mlns. | % OF WORLD TRADE ON OER TERMS | % OF WORLD GDP ON PPP TERMS | | VOTING POWER % OF TOTAL | | | | (+)EXCESS/ (-)DEFICIT VOTING POWER COL.11 - COL.7 | % OF WORLD POP. | TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT \$ BLNS. |
| | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 |
| 1. USA | 856,000 | 965,700 | 1,821,700 | 14.58 | 27.76 | 20.81 | 33.60 | 22.66 | 15.12 | 14.91 | MINUS 5.90 | 4.60 | NIL |
| 2. CANADA | 234,297 | 211,487 | 445,784 | 3.56 | 2.14 | 1.79 | 3.68 | 3.37 | 2.95 | 3.05 | PLUS 1.26 | 0.51 | NIL |
| 3. GERMANY | 569,614 | 541,018 | 1,110,632 | 8.48 | 5.68 | 4.73 | - | 4.85 | 6.75 | 6.97 | PLUS 2.24 | 1.41 | NIL |
| 4. FRANCE | 368,605 | 328,652 | 697,257 | 5.58 | 3.76 | 3.46 | 5.78 | 4.55 | 5.15 | 4.21 | PLUS 0.75 | 1.01 | NIL |
| 5. U.K | 340,685 | 349,600 | 690,285 | 5.52 | 5.15 | 3.27 | 13.91 | 9.15 | 6.47 | 4.99 | PLUS 1.72 | 1.01 | NIL |
| 6. ITALY | 324,046 | 260,606 | 584,652 | 3.07 | 3.38 | 3.11 | 2.15 | 3.06 | 2.36 | 2.93 | MINUS 0.18 | 0.98 | NIL |
| 7. JAPAN | 456,889 | 432,269 | 889,158 | 7.11 | 3.91 | 7.98 | - | 3.65 | 8.74 | 10.57 | PLUS 2.59 | 2.16 | NIL |
| TOTAL FOR TABLE 1 | 3,150,136 | 30,89,332 | 6,239,468 | 47.90 | 51.78 | 45.14 | 59.12 | 51.29 | 47.54 | 47.63 | PLUS 2.49 | 11.68 | NIL |

* G-7 members are the most powerful nations of the world and they are all, Part I member of IMF and WB whose subscriptions and contributions are in convertible currencies. The voting power of G-7 members is almost half of the total (47.63%) in 1998.

OER stands for Official Exchange Rate, PPP means Purchasing Power Parity.

Source: Col. 2: Group of Seven. Cols. 3 to 6 from *UNDP Report*, 1999, pp. 45-48. Col. 7: 1960-1997 *World Development Report*, 1998/99, pp. 190-191, *Mankind*, Nov. 96, pp. 60-65. Col. 8: *World Bank*, Fifth Annual Report, 1949-50, p. 60. Col. 9: *WB*, Annual Report, 1975, pp. 112-113. Col. 10: *WB*, Annual Report, 1990, pp. 194-197. Col. 11: *WB*, Annual Report, 1998, pp. 265-268. Col. 12: Difference between Col. 11 (1997) and Col. 7. Col. 13: *World Bank Report*, 1998-99, pp. 190-191.

TABLE 2 : REMAINING PART I MEMBERS OF BRETON WOODS INSTITUTIONS WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE IN CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES*

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------------|------|-------|
| 8. AUSTRALIA | 81,856 | 79,579 | 161,435 | 1.29 | 1.14 | 1.0 | 2.36 | 2.06 | 2.03 | 1.33 | PLUS 0.33 | 0.33 | NIL |
| 9. AUSTRIA | 93,400 | 94,628 | 188,028 | 1.50 | 0.49 | 0.48 | 0.79 | 0.89 | 1.05 | 1.67 | PLUS 1.19 | 0.14 | NIL |
| 10. BELGIUM | 183,718 | 171,012 | 354,730 | 2.84 | 0.73 | 0.61 | 2.63 | 2.02 | 2.34 | 1.18 | PLUS 0.57 | 0.17 | NIL |
| 11. DENMARK | 64,916 | 56,229 | 121,145 | 0.96 | 0.42 | 0.32 | 0.98 | 0.86 | 0.98 | 0.98 | PLUS 0.66 | 0.09 | NIL |
| 12. FINLAND | 47,347 | 37,251 | 84,598 | 0.67 | 0.32 | 0.26 | 0.66 | 0.65 | 0.61 | 0.63 | PLUS 0.37 | 0.09 | NIL |
| 13. ICELAND | 2,649 | 2,612 | 5,261 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.27 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.23 | PLUS 0.22 | - | NIL |
| 14. IRELAND | 53,981 | 43,237 | 97,218 | 0.77 | 0.14 | 0.16 | - | 0.33 | 0.51 | 0.29 | PLUS 0.13 | 0.07 | NIL |
| 15. KUWAIT | 15,974 | 12,407 | 28,381 | 0.72 | - | 0.10 | - | 0.33 | 0.72 | 0.61 | PLUS 0.51 | - | NIL |
| 16. LUXEMBOURG | 15,467 | 13,729 | 29,196 | 0.23 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.37 | 0.16 | 0.14 | 0.25 | PLUS 0.22 | - | NIL |
| 17. NETHERLANDS | 212,504 | 187,182 | 399,686 | 3.19 | 0.99 | 0.90 | 3.15 | 2.15 | 3.32 | 2.20 | PLUS 1.30 | 0.27 | NIL |
| 18. N. ZEALAND | 18,921 | 18,337 | 37,258 | 0.29 | 0.26 | 0.16 | - | 0.69 | 0.45 | 0.29 | PLUS 0.13 | 0.07 | NIL |
| 19. NORWAY | 64,230 | 50,610 | 114,850 | 0.91 | 0.30 | 0.28 | 0.79 | 0.80 | 0.79 | 1.00 | PLUS 0.72 | 0.07 | NIL |
| 20. PORTUGAL | 33,658 | 41,672 | 75,330 | 0.60 | 0.22 | 0.37 | - | 0.37 | 0.53 | 0.24 | MINUS 0.13 | 0.17 | NIL |
| 21. RUS. FED. | 101,196 | 90,765 | 192,261 | 1.53 | 8.25 | 1.67 | - | - | - | 0.27 | MINUS 1.40 | 2.52 | 125.6 |
| 22. S. AFRICA | 35,848 | 34,365 | 70,213 | 0.56 | 0.73 | 0.77 | 1.31 | 1.04 | 1.27 | 0.91 | PLUS 0.14 | 0.65 | 25.2 |

TABLE 2 : REMAINING PART I MEMBERS OF BRETON WOODS INSTITUTIONS WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE IN CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES*

| 1 COUNTRY | 2 EXPORTS \$ mlns. | 3 IMPORTS \$ mlns. | 4 TOTAL TRADE \$ mlns. | 5 % OF WORLD TRADE ON OER TERMS | 6 7 % OF WORLD GDP ON PPP TERMS | | 8 9 10 11 VOTING POWER % OF TOTAL | | | | 12 (+)EXCESS/ (-)DEFICIT VOTING POWER COL.11- COL.7 | 13 % OF WORLD POP. | 14 TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT \$ BLNS. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---|---|-------------|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | | | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | | | |
| | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 |
| 23. SPAIN | 148,125 | 143,065 | 291,190 | 2.33 | 1.26 | 1.67 | - | 1.26 | 1.58 | 0.54 | MINUS 1.13 | 0.67 | NIL |
| 24. SWEDEN | 100,672 | 83,713 | 184,385 | 1.67 | 0.75 | 0.45 | - | 1.05 | 1.41 | 1.93 | PLUS 1.48 | 0.15 | NIL |
| 25. SWITZERLAND | 106,413 | 94,082 | 200,501 | 1.60 | 0.77 | 0.50 | - | - | - | 0.91 | PLUS 0.41 | 0.12 | NIL |
| 26. UAE | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.13 | 0.24 | 0.01 | - | 0.05 | NIL |
| TOTAL FOR TABLE2: | 1,380,875 | 1,254,475 | 2,635,350 | 21.90 | 16.11 | 9.75 | 10.31 | 12.94 | 18.07 | 15.47 | PLUS 5.72 | 5.63 | 150.80 |

* 8-26 are all members of OECD. G-7 have already been considered in Table 1. Greece and Turkey are the only OECD members who are not PART I members of WB and IMF. Kuwait, Russian Fed., South Africa and UAE are Part I members of WB & IMF but are not members of OECD.

Source: 1. *WB Annual Report, 1998, Part I Members listed on p.265, excluding G-7 members covered by preceding table.*

2. Part I members making their subscriptions and contributions in convertible currencies are listed in *World Bank Annual Report, 1998, p. 265.*

3. The rest of the columns sourced in preceding table.

TABLE 3 : COUNTRIES ENJOYING TRADE SURPLUS IN 1997*

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 27. ALGERIA | 14,681 | 10,534 | 25,215 | 0.20 | 0.28 | 0.36 | - | - | 0.51 | 0.24 | MINUS 0.12 | 0.50 | 30.90 |
| 28. ANGOLA | 5,196 | 5,003 | 10,199 | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.02 | - | - | 0.27 | 0.40 | PLUS 0.38 | 0.19 | 10.10 |
| 29. BAHRAIN | 6,357 | 4,370 | 10,727 | 0.09 | - | - | - | 0.12 | 0.08 | - | - | - | 7.10 |
| 30. BOTSWANA | 2,857 | 1,901 | 4,758 | 0.03 | - | 0.03 | - | 0.10 | 0.08 | 0.23 | PLUS 0.20 | - | 0.60 |
| 31. CAMEROON | 2,443 | 2,041 | 4,484 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.07 | - | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.16 | PLUS 0.09 | 0.24 | 9.30 |
| 32. CHINA | 432,784 | 398,841 | 831,625 | 6.65 | 7.28 | 12.29 | 6.56 | 2.70 | 3.27 | 2.09 | MINUS 10.20 | 21.17 | 146.70 |
| 33. CONGO-ZAIRE | 1,463 | 1,350 | 2,813 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.01 | - | - | - | 0.08 | PLUS 0.07 | 0.05 | 5.10 |
| 34. COTE D'IVOIRE | 4,777 | 4,055 | 8,832 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.06 | - | 0.21 | 0.15 | 0.19 | PLUS 0.13 | 0.26 | 15.60 |
| 35. ECUADOR | 5,930 | 5,734 | 11,664 | 0.09 | 1.10 | 0.15 | 0.30 | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.21 | PLUS 0.06 | 0.21 | 14.90 |
| 36. GABON | 3,296 | 2,165 | 5,461 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.02 | - | 0.13 | 0.07 | 0.02 | - | 0.02 | 4.30 |
| 37. MALAYSIA | 92,877 | 91,360 | 184,237 | 1.47 | 0.22 | 0.62 | - | 0.64 | 0.79 | 0.39 | MINUS 0.23 | 0.36 | 47.20 |
| 38. NIGERIA | 16,286 | 13,677 | 29,963 | 0.23 | 0.75 | 0.28 | - | 0.49 | 0.68 | 0.07 | MINUS 0.21 | 2.02 | 28.45 |
| 39. PANAMA | 7,759 | 7,520 | 15,279 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.26 | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.07 | PLUS 0.02 | 0.05 | 6.30 |
| 40. SAUDI ARABIA | 62,991 | 43,017 | 106,008 | 0.84 | 0.70 | - | - | 0.49 | 2.36 | 3.47 | - | 0.04 | 19.20 |
| 41. THAILAND | 72,362 | 71,340 | 143,702 | 1.15 | 0.40 | 1.08 | 0.39 | 0.49 | 0.49 | 0.43 | MINUS 0.65 | 1.05 | 93.40 |
| 42. VENEZUELA | 25,735 | 17,692 | 43,427 | 0.34 | 0.46 | 0.52 | 0.37 | 0.77 | 1.08 | - | - | 0.39 | 35.50 |
| 43. BULGARIA | 6,178 | 5,619 | 11,797 | 0.09 | 0.24 | 0.08 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.14 | 9.8 |
| TOTAL FOR TABLE3: | 763,972 | 686,219 | 1,450,191 | 11.56 | 11.77 | 15.64 | 7.88 | 6.60 | 8.14 | 8.05 | MINUS 7.59 | 26.99 | 482.45 |

* These are relatively under less pressure from WB and IMF since they are able to resist arm-twisting by WB and IMF.

Source: 1. Col. 2 : List of countries which had a surplus trade balance in 1997, obviously these countries are under less pressure from the Terrible Trimurti of WB, IMF and WTO. 2. Col. 3-12 : As per preceding tables.

TABLE 4 : PART II MEMBERS OF WB AND IMF WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE IN NON - CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES* WITH TRADE DEFICITS IN 1997

| 1 COUNTRY | 2 EXPORTS \$ mlns. | 3 IMPORTS \$ mlns. | 4 TOTAL TRADE \$ mlns. | 5 % OF WORLD TRADE ON OER TERMS | 6 | | 8 9 10 11 | | | | 12 (+)EXC (-)DEF VOTING COL.1 | 13 % OF WORLD POP. | 14 TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT \$ BLNS. |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|---|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | | | % OF WORLD GDP ON PPP TERMS | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | | | |
| | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 |
| 44. AFGHANISTAN | - | - | - | - | 0.16 | - | - | 0.19 | -0.05 | -0.12 | - | - | - |
| 45. ALBANIA | 292 | 915 | 1,207 | 0.01 | 0.03 | - | - | 0.47 | - | -0.23 | - | 0.05 | 0.7 |
| 46. ARGENTINA | 29,318 | 34,899 | 64,217 | 0.51 | 1.07 | 0.96 | - | 1.39 | -0.96 | +0.99 | PLUS 0.03 | 0.62 | 123.2 |
| 47. ARMENIA | 330 | 952 | 1,282 | 0.01 | - | 0.02 | - | - | - | 0.02 | - | 0.07 | 0.6 |
| 48. AZERBAIJAN | 833 | 1,649 | 2,482 | 0.02 | - | 0.03 | incl.in R. Fed. | - | - | -0.01 | MINUS 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.5 |
| 49. BANGLADESH | 5,075 | 7,656 | 12,731 | 0.10 | 0.49 | 0.35 | incl. in Pak. | 0.46 | -0.28 | +0.59 | PLUS 0.24 | 2.13 | 15.10 |
| 50. BELIZE | 320 | 334 | 654 | 0.00 | - | 0.0025 | - | - | 0.05 | +0.02 | PLUS 0.02 | - | 0.30 |
| 51. BENIN | 531 | 696 | 1,227 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.02 | - | 0.12 | -0.07 | +0.05 | PLUS 0.03 | 0.10 | 1.60 |
| 52. BHUTAN | 120 | 160 | 280 | 0.00 | - | - | - | - | 0.05 | +0.1 | - | - | 0.08 |
| 53. BOLIVIA | 1,644 | 2,334 | 3,978 | 0.03 | 0.07 | - | 0.34 | 0.16 | -0.12 | +0.29 | - | 0.14 | 5.20 |
| 54. BOS. HERZEGOVINA | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.15 | - | - | - |
| 55. BRAZIL | 61,982 | 83,556 | 145,538 | 1.16 | 1.54 | 2.76 | 1.37 | +1.39 | -1.32 | -1.62 | MINUS 1.14 | 2.81 | 193.60 |
| 56. BURKINA FASSO | 331 | 721 | 1,052 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.29 | - | -0.12 | -0.07 | -0.19 | MINUS 0.10 | 0.19 | 1.30 |
| 57. BURUNDI | 96 | 136 | 232 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | - | 0.14 | -0.06 | -0.20 | PLUS 0.19 | 0.12 | 1.06 |
| 58. CAMBODIA | 920 | 1,281 | 2,201 | 0.01 | - | - | - | 0.16 | - | -0.09 | - | 0.19 | 2.13 |
| 59. CAPE VERDE | 108 | 272 | 380 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | -0.04 | PLUS 0.04 | - | 0.20 |
| 60. CENTRAL AFR. REP. | 213 | 236 | 449 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | - | -0.12 | -0.07 | +0.10 | PLUS 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.80 |
| 61. CHAD | 271 | 562 | 833 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.02 | - | -0.12 | -0.07 | +0.10 | PLUS 0.06 | 0.12 | 1.02 |
| 62. CHILE | 20,716 | 22,540 | 43,256 | 0.34 | 0.36 | 0.48 | 0.63 | -0.42 | +0.67 | -0.28 | MINUS 0.20 | 0.26 | 31.40 |
| 63. COLOMBIA | 14,553 | 17,422 | 31,975 | 0.25 | 0.46 | 0.68 | 0.63 | -0.41 | +0.35 | -0.38 | MINUS 0.30 | 0.65 | 31.70 |
| 64. COMOROS | 30 | 76 | 106 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | +0.12 | PLUS 0.12 | - | 0.20 |
| 65. CONGO, DEM REP. | 1,767 | 1,565 | 3,332 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.10 | - | 0.17 | -0.07 | +0.11 | PLUS 0.01 | 0.81 | 12.30 |
| 66. COSTA RICA | 4,360 | 4,529 | 8,889 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.28 | -0.12 | -0.04 | +0.11 | PLUS 0.05 | 0.07 | 3.50 |
| 67. CROATIA | 8,014 | 10,200 | 18,214 | 0.14 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.29 | - | 0.07 | 6.80 |
| 68. CYPRUS | - | - | - | - | 0.02 | - | - | 0.16 | 0.10 | +0.27 | - | - | - |
| 69. CZECH REP. | 29,950 | 32,808 | 62,758 | 0.50 | 0.42 | 0.32 | 1.38* | - | - | +0.38 | PLUS 0.06 | 0.17 | 21.40 |
| 70. DJIBOUTI | 207 | 285 | 492 | 0.00 | - | - | - | - | 0.05 | - | - | - | 0.30 |
| 71. DOMINICA | 125 | 155 | 280 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | +0.15 | PLUS 0.15 | - | 0.16 |
| 72. DOMINICAN REP. | 7,221 | 7,595 | 14,816 | 0.12 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0 | -0.28 | -0.14 | -0.13 | PLUS 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.16 |
| 73. EGYPT ARAB REP. | 15,251 | 18,820 | 34,071 | 0.27 | 0.22 | 0.48 | 0.82 | 0.58 | -0.39 | 0.48 | - | 1.03 | 4.23 |
| 74. EL SALVADOR | 2,741 | 3,930 | 6,670 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.27 | -0.13 | -0.04 | 0.05 | - | 0.10 | 3.28 |
| 75. EQ. GUINEA | 489 | 630 | 1,119 | 0.01 | - | 0.00 | - | 0.11 | -0.06 | 0.05 | PLUS 0.05 | - | 0.28 |
| 76. ERITREA | 201 | 583 | 784 | 0.01 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.22 | - | - | 0.07 |
| 77. ETHIOPIA | 1,017 | 1,682 | 2,699 | 0.02 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.29 | -0.13 | -0.07 | 0.21 | PLUS 0.13 | 1.03 | 0.07 |
| 78. FIJI | 1,204 | 1,240 | 2,444 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | -0.13 | -0.08 | 0.08 | PLUS 0.07 | - | 0.21 |
| 79. GAMBIA | 191 | 248 | 439 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | - | 0.11 | -0.05 | 0.15 | PLUS 0.15 | - | 0.43 |
| 80. GEORGIA | 623 | 1,192 | 1,815 | 0.01 | - | 0.03 | - | - | - | 0.20 | PLUS 0.17 | 0.09 | 1.44 |
| 81. GHANA | 1,657 | 2,640 | 4,297 | 0.03 | 0.11 | 0.06 | - | -0.34 | -0.10 | 0.22 | PLUS 0.13 | 0.31 | 5.90 |
| 82. GREECE | 18,841 | 29,295 | 48,136 | 0.39 | - | 0.7 | 0.53 | -0.34 | -0.11 | 0.42 | PLUS 0.05 | 0.19 | NIL |
| 83. GRENADA | 132 | 193 | 325 | 0.00 | - | 0 | - | - | 0.05 | 0.18 | PLUS 0.18 | - | 0.10 |

TABLE 4 : PART II MEMBERS OF WB AND IMF WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE IN NON - CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES* WITH TRADE DEFICITS IN 1997

| 1 COUNTRY | 2 EXPORTS \$ mlns. | 3 IMPORTS \$ mlns. | 4 TOTAL TRADE \$ mlns. | 5 % OF WORLD TRADE ON OER TERMS | | 6 % OF WORLD GDP ON PPP TERMS | | 8 VOTING POWER % OF TOTAL | | | | 12 (+)EXCESS/ (-)DEFICIT VOTING POWER COL.11 - COL.7 | 13 % OF WORLD POP. | 14 TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT \$ BLNS. |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---|------|---|------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------|------------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | 1997 |
| 84. GUATEMALA | 3,186 | 4,193 | 7,379 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.28 | -0.13 | 0.13 | 0.22 | PLUS 0.10 | 0.19 | 4.10 | |
| 85. GUINEA | 694 | 811 | 1,505 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.03 | - | 0.16 | -0.09 | 0.25 | PLUS 0.22 | 0.12 | 3.50 | |
| 86. GUINEA-BISSAU | 56 | 106 | 162 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | 0.06 | PLUS 0.06 | 0.02 | 0.90 | |
| 87. GUYANA | 783 | 854 | 1,637 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | 0.15 | -0.08 | 0.16 | PLUS 0.15 | - | 1.60 | |
| 88. HAITI | 236 | 650 | 880 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.02 | - | 0.14 | -0.08 | 0.17 | PLUS 0.15 | 0.12 | 1.05 | |
| 89. HONDURAS | 1,673 | 2,131 | 3,804 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.27 | -0.12 | -0.06 | 0.19 | PLUS 0.15 | 0.10 | 4.70 | |
| 90. HUNGARY | 20,801 | 21,013 | 41,814 | 0.33 | 0.31 | 0.19 | - | - | 0.77 | 0.75 | PLUS 0.56 | 0.17 | 24.30 | |
| 91. INDIA | 44,107 | 59,230 | 103,337 | 0.82 | 4.06 | 4.29 | 4.46 | -3.23 | -2.97 | -3.22 | MINUS 1.07 | 16.49 | 94.40 | |
| 92. INDONESIA | 60,106 | -60,700 | 120,806 | 1.86 | 0.70 | 1.87 | - | 0.85 | +1.05 | -0.99 | MINUS 0.88 | 3.43 | 136.10 | |
| 93. IRAN | - | - | - | - | 0.66 | 0.95 | 0.62 | +0.64 | +1.26 | 0.14 | MINUS 0.81 | - | 11.8 | |
| 94. IRAQ | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.33 | 0.33 | -0.28 | 0.08 | - | - | 21.90 | |
| 95. ISRAEL | 31,065 | 43,873 | 74,938 | 0.59 | 0.13 | 0.27 | - | 0.47 | -0.27 | +0.34 | PLUS 0.07 | 0.10 | NIL | |
| 96. JORDAN | 3,572 | 5,186 | 8,758 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.04 | - | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.22 | PLUS 0.18 | 0.07 | 8.20 | |
| 97. KAZHAKSTAN | 7,810 | 8,280 | 16,090 | 0.13 | - | 0.15 | - | - | - | 0.01 | MINUS 0.14 | 0.27 | 4.20 | |
| 98. KENYA | 2,994 | 3,787 | 6,781 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.08 | - | 0.23 | +0.25 | 0.26 | PLUS 0.18 | 0.48 | 6.50 | |
| 99. KIRIBATI | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.05 | 0.06 | - | - | |
| 100. S. KOREA | 168,683 | 71,885 | 240,568 | 2.72 | 0.26 | 1.68 | - | 0.33 | 0.89 | 0.41 | MINUS 1.27 | 0.79 | 143.30 | |
| 101. KYRGYZSTAN | 675 | 815 | 1,490 | 0.01 | - | 0.03 | - | - | - | - | MINUS 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.90 | |
| 102. LAO | 418 | 721 | 1,139 | 0.01 | - | 0.02 | - | 0.12 | +0.03 | 0.10 | PLUS 0.08 | 0.09 | 2.30 | |
| 103. LATVIA | 2,791 | 3,352 | 6,143 | 0.05 | - | 0.02 | - | - | - | - | MINUS 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.50 | |
| 104. LEBANON | 1,558 | 8,056 | 9,614 | 0.08 | - | 0.07 | 0.31 | -0.12 | -0.05 | 0.08 | PLUS 0.01 | 0.07 | 5.00 | |
| 105. LESOTHO | 309 | 1,215 | 1,524 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | - | 0.10 | -0.06 | 0.23 | PLUS 0.22 | 0.03 | 0.60 | |
| 106. LIBERIA | - | - | - | - | 0.02 | - | - | 0.16 | +0.07 | 0.20 | - | - | - | |
| 107. LIBYA | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.16 | 0.43 | 0.07 | - | - | 3.30 | |
| 108. MACEDONIA | 880 | 1,232 | 2,112 | 0.02 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.03 | 1.50 | |
| 109. MADAGASCAR | 773 | 1,064 | 1,837 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.03 | - | 0.14 | -0.10 | 0.10 | PLUS 0.07 | 0.24 | 4.10 | |
| 110. MALAWI | 613 | 870 | 1,483 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | - | 0.14 | -0.08 | 0.26 | PLUS 0.24 | 0.17 | 2.20 | |
| 111. MALDIVES | - | - | - | - | - | 0.00 | - | - | - | 0.05 | PLUS 0.22 | - | 0.10 | |
| 112. MALI | 644 | 889 | 1,533 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | - | 0.15 | -0.08 | 0.22 | PLUS 0.20 | 0.17 | 2.90 | |
| 113. MARSHALL ISL. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.04 | - | - | - | |
| 114. MAURITANIA | 435 | 533 | 968 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | 0.15 | -0.07 | 0.11 | PLUS 0.10 | 0.03 | 2.40 | |
| 115. MAURITIUS | 2,725 | 2,879 | 5,604 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.03 | - | 0.15 | -0.09 | 0.28 | PLUS 0.25 | 0.02 | 2.40 | |
| 116. MEXICO | 121,772 | 121,896 | 243,668 | 1.95 | 1.61 | 2.08 | 0.95 | 0.88 | 1.00 | 0.74 | MINUS 1.34 | 1.63 | 149.70 | |
| 117. MICRONESIA FED. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.16 | - | - | - | |
| 118. MOLDOVA | 984 | 1,432 | 2,416 | 0.02 | - | - | - | - | - | 0.01 | - | 0.07 | 1.04 | |
| 119. MONGOLIA | 471 | 513 | 984 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | - | - | - | 0.21 | - | 0.05 | 0.70 | |
| 120. MOROCCO | 9,342 | 10,622 | 19,964 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.23 | - | 0.42 | -0.28 | 0.46 | PLUS 0.23 | 0.48 | 17.30 | |
| 121. MOZAMBIQUE | 500 | 937 | 1,437 | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.03 | - | - | - | 0.08 | PLUS 0.05 | 0.33 | 6.00 | |
| 122. MYANMAR | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.26 | -0.19 | 0.36 | - | - | 5.00 | |
| 123. NEPAL | 1,296 | 1,856 | 3,152 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.07 | - | 0.42 | -0.07 | 0.25 | PLUS 0.18 | 0.39 | 2.40 | |
| 124. NICARAGUA | 803 | 1,294 | 2,097 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.27 | -0.12 | -0.05 | 0.24 | PLUS 0.21 | 0.09 | 5.70 | |
| 125. NIGER | 300 | 440 | 740 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | - | 0.12 | -0.07 | 0.15 | PLUS 0.13 | 0.17 | 1.50 | |
| 126. OMAN | - | - | - | - | 0.02 | 0.05 | - | 0.11 | -0.10 | 0.23 | PLUS 0.18 | 0.03 | 3.60 | |
| 127. PAKISTAN | 10,009 | 12,955 | 22,964 | 0.18 | 0.58 | 0.59 | 1.31 | -0.78 | -0.59 | +0.86 | PLUS 0.27 | 2.35 | 29.60 | |
| 128. PALAU REP. | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - ^b | - | - | - | |

TABLE 4 : PART II MEMBERS OF WB AND IMF WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE IN NON - CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES* WITH TRADE DEFICITS IN 1997

| 1 COUNTRY | 2 EXPORTS \$ mlns. | 3 IMPORTS \$ mlns. | 4 TOTAL TRADE \$ mlns. | 5 % OF WORLD TRADE ON OER TERMS | 6 7 | | 8 9 10 11 | | | | 12 (+)/EXCESS/ (-)/DEFICIT VOTING POWER COL.11 = COL.7 | 13 % OF WORLD POP. | 14 TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT \$ BLNS. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| | | | | | % OF WORLD GDP ON PPP TERMS | | VOTING POWER % OF TOTAL | | | | | | |
| | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 | 1960 | 1997 | 1950 | 1975 | 1990 | 1998 | 1997 | 1997 | 1997 |
| 129. PAPUA NEW GUINEA | 2,605 | 2,782 | 5,387 | 0.04 | 0.03 | - | - | - | 0.09 | 0.11 | - | 0.09 | 2.20 |
| 130. PARAGUAY | 2,226 | 2,477 | 4,703 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.28 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.10 | PLUS 0.05 | 0.09 | 2.05 |
| 131. PERU | 8,182 | 10,617 | 18,799 | 0.15 | 0.33 | 0.29 | 0.45 | 0.34 | 0.30 | 0.12 | MINUS 0.17 | 0.43 | 30.40 |
| 132. PHILLIPPINES | 40,284 | 48,777 | 89,061 | 0.71 | 0.50 | 0.73 | 0.42 | 0.55 | 0.38 | 0.15 | MINUS 0.58 | 1.25 | 45.40 |
| 133. POLAND | 35,616 | 41,170 | 76,786 | 0.61 | 0.91 | 0.67 | - | - | 0.59 | 2.29 | PLUS 1.62 | 0.67 | 39.90 |
| 134. RWANDA | 110 | 451 | 561 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | - | 0.14 | 0.08 | 0.15 | PLUS 0.14 | 0.14 | 1.10 |
| 135. ST KITTS & ST LEWIS | 120 | 184 | 304 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | 0.04 | PLUS 0.04 | - | - |
| 136. ST LUCIA | 406 | 417 | 823 | 0.01 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.07 | 0.22 | PLUS 0.22 | - | - |
| 137. ST VIN. & GRENADING | 144 | 176 | 320 | 0.00 | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | * | - | - | - |
| 138. SANDA | 75 | 127 | 202 | 0.00 | - | - | - | - | 0.05 | 0.11 | - | - | 0.10 |
| 139. SAO TOME & PRIN. | 12 | 41 | 53 | 0.00 | - | - | - | - | 0.08 | 0.06 | - | - | 0.30 |
| 140. SENEGAL | 1,481 | 1,730 | 3,211 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.04 | - | 0.20 | 0.13 | 0.28 | PLUS 0.24 | 0.15 | 3.60 |
| 141. SIERRA LEONE | 116 | 140 | 256 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.01 | - | 0.14 | 0.06 | 0.13 | PLUS 0.12 | 0.09 | 1.10 |
| 142. SLOVAK REP. | 10,976 | 12,366 | 23,342 | 0.19 | 0.42 | 0.11 | - | - | - | 0.20 | PLUS 0.09 | 0.09 | 9.90 |
| 143. SLOVENIA | 10,458 | 10,635 | 21,093 | 0.17 | - | 0.07 | - | - | - | 0.17 | PLUS 0.10 | 0.03 | 4.70 |
| 144. SOLOMAN ISL | - | - | - | - | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | * | - | - | 0.10 |
| 145. SOMALIA | - | - | - | - | 0.03 | - | - | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.09 | - | - | - |
| 146. SRI LANKA | 5,507 | 6,569 | 12,076 | 0.10 | 0.21 | 0.12 | - | 0.38 | 0.28 | 0.43 | PLUS 0.21 | 0.31 | 7.60 |
| 147. SUDAN | - | - | - | - | 0.18 | - | - | 0.30 | 0.10 | 0.20 | - | - | 16.30 |
| 148. SWAZILAND | 1,075 | 1,265 | 2,340 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.12 | PLUS 0.11 | - | 0.30 |
| 149. SYR. ARAB REP. | 5,343 | 7,189 | 12,532 | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.33 | 0.23 | 0.14 | 0.07 | MINUS 0.05 | 0.26 | 20.80 |
| 150. TAJIKISTAN | - | - | - | - | - | 0.02 | - | - | - | 0.18 | PLUS 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.90 |
| 151. TANZANIA | 1,259 | 2,118 | 3,377 | 0.03 | 0.04 | - | - | 0.21 | 0.09 | 0.31 | - | 0.53 | 7.10 |
| 152. TOGO | 464 | 550 | 1,014 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | - | 0.14 | 0.08 | 0.19 | PLUS 0.17 | 0.07 | 1.30 |
| 153. TONGA | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.05 | 0.10 | - | - | - |
| 154. TRI. & TOBAGO | 2,912 | 3,316 | 6,228 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.02 | - | 0.27 | 0.16 | 0.01 | MINUS 0.01 | 0.02 | 2.10 |
| 155. TUNISIA | 8,251 | 8,719 | 16,970 | 0.14 | 0.09 | 0.13 | - | 0.22 | 0.09 | 0.02 | MINUS 0.11 | 0.15 | 11.30 |
| 156. TURKEY | 46,675 | 57,698 | 104,373 | 0.83 | 0.71 | 1.11 | 0.71 | 0.54 | 0.71 | 0.66 | MINUS 0.55 | 1.10 | 91.20 |
| 157. UGANDA | 826 | 1,335 | 2,161 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.06 | - | 0.20 | 0.08 | 0.18 | PLUS 0.02 | 0.34 | 3.70 |
| 158. UZBEKISTAN | - | - | - | - | - | 0.16 | - | - | - | 0.01 | MINUS 0.15 | 0.41 | 2.70 |
| 159. VANUATU | - | - | - | - | - | 0.00 | - | - | 0.05 | 0.12 | PLUS 0.12 | - | 0.04 |
| 160. VIETNAM | 11,480 | 13,443 | 24,923 | 0.20 | 0.47 | 0.35 | - | 0.28 | 0.07 | 0.10 | MINUS 0.25 | 1.32 | 21.60 |
| 161. YEMEN REP. OF | 2,489 | 2,966 | 5,455 | 0.04 | - | 0.03 | - | 0.29 | 0.08 | 0.29 | PLUS 0.26 | 0.27 | 3.80 |
| 162. ZAMBIA | 1,276 | 1,474 | 2,750 | 0.02 | 0.06 | 0.02 | - | 0.27 | 0.17 | 0.27 | PLUS 0.25 | 0.15 | 6.70 |
| 163. ZIMBABWE | 3,227 | 3,829 | 7,056 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.07 | - | - | 0.20 | 0.13 | PLUS 0.06 | 0.19 | 4.90 |
| TOTAL FOR TABLE 4: | 938,333 | 992,818 | 1,931,151 | 16.96 | 19.03 | 24.54 | 18.01 | 24.57 | 22.05 | 30.50 | PLUS 5.96 | 70.63 | 1,431.53 |

* These are countries under maximum pressure of WB and IMF and WTO.

a : '-' in col. 13 indicate countries whose population < 1 million.

b : Indicates amount less than \$0.05 millions or less than 0.005%.

TERM ASSURANCE

Mankind has consistently opposed the so - called opening up of the insurance sector. Infact one of the strongest objections that we have raised to the LPG (Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation) policies has been in relation to the insurance sector.

The state spends on improvement of health, nutrition, housing, clothing and education. These social welfare measures improve the Average Expectation of Life at Birth. Furthermore civic facilities for which the people are taxed improve not only life span but also reduce the proportionate impact of Fire Hazards and other General Insurance Risks. Without having paid a cent for the social welfare and civic amenities, the Multi-National Corporation seek to take advantage of the reduction in Life and Non-life Hazards to make super - profits.

Our pleas in *Mankind* have gone unheard and all the protests, strikes and demonstrations by the lakhs of insurance employees have been brushed aside by the Vajpayee government and the insurance sector has been thrown open to the extent of 26% to foreigners directly and an

additional 14% to NRIs making a total of 40%. (The MNCs will manipulate another 10% to 15% by *hawala* transactions and acquire majority control. The NRIs and other National Trojan horses will be compensated by the MNCs in a hundred different ways which we need not go into).

WE THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT EVEN AT THIS LATE STAGE THE INSURANCE AUTHORITIES OF INDIA SHOULD RESTRICT THE PARTICIPATION OF FOREIGNERS IN THE LIFE INSURANCE SECTOR TO MERELY TERM ASSURANCE.

We will briefly explain the essential nature of Term Assurance. In general, Term Assurance means Pure Risk Coverage. At the end of the TERM the insured person is paid NOTHING. It is presumed that the person who insures himself will make enough savings in the form of Provident Fund, Gratuity, Severance Pay, Golden Handshake, etc. to provide for his own old age if he lives through his Term Assurance Policy. It is not necessary for any insurer particularly foreign MNCs to save and invest on behalf of the insured person and provide for his old age

after making deductions for the profits of the insurance companies and after making heavy provisions for all the expenses incurred by the managers of the private insurance companies.

In short Term Assurance is very cheap and covers all the risks during the Term chosen by the insured person. He will get the full sum assured at a very low cost of yearly premium. He will get the insured sum if he dies early within the term of insurance. If he survives the chosen term he will have made his own arrangements for Savings to cover his old Age.

If foreign MNCs are restricted to Term Assurance on Lives, the cost of insurance, or reinsurance by Indian companies, will come down very substantially. The outgo in the form of Reinsurance will be very low. The Savings made by individual life policy holders will be all the more substantial when Cost of Insurance is eliminated.

Private capitalists who run insurance companies will be able to cover only the Risk Factors.

As a matter of fact we believe that our suggestion is in Conformity with the Basic Principles of Free Enterprise ! Let each individual Save and Invest for his own benefit ! There is no need for corporations to share the gains made by free individuals ! ■

NAMBOODIRIPAD AND LOHIA

After the dismal failure of the Socialist leaders in the 1951 - 52 Elections to the 1st Lok Sabha, whilst other leaders moaned and whined, Rammanohar Lohia reached the robust and rational conclusion that henceforth elections must be fought on the plank of Non - Congressism. Jaya Prakash Narayan was called by Nehru for parley's, "without pre - conditions." Achyut Patwardhan retreated into theosophical musings. Aruna Asaf Ali and Edatata Narayanan changed over to CPI. Other PSPers who had come from the KMPP scattered in all directions. In the North, the depleted PSP ranks went into a tailspin.

However Lohia's Non - Congressist platform was picked up by his old friend and erstwhile CSP colleague, E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who proceeded to implement Lohia's ideas in a thoroughgoing manner in Kerala. (In West Bengal Jyoti Basu was able to implement Non - Congressist programme with a little delay, between 1967 - 1972, with the help of Ajay Mukherjee, P. C. Ghosh and P. C. Sen).

Thus our observation that over the last decade a Keralisation of Indian politics has taken place, must be supplemented with an additional observation that Lohia's programme of Non - Congressism was implemented by his old CSP friend E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

KERALISATION OF INDIAN POLITICS : GENERAL ELECTIONS TO THE 13 TH LOK SABHA - 1999

Exe. Edr.

We have been repeatedly urging in *Mankind* that ours is a Shamocracy. Elected members of State Assemblies and Lok Sabha possess no powers. It is the *naukarshahi* i.e., the bureaucracy, that rules.

Our constitution enshrines this principle of powerlessness. **WE HAVE REPEATEDLY URGED THAT THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF 1946-49 WAS A FRAUD, A FARCE, A TRAVESTY, A JOKE AND A BETRAYAL.** This constitution was framed by a Congress coterie of just about 206 members who had been self-appointed and self-elected. The CA of 46-49 consisted of Congress lawyers and pro-British *naukarshahs*. **THERE WAS NO DIRECT, UNIVERSAL, EQUAL, ADULT FRANCHISE IN 1945, WHEN THE ELECTIONS TO PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES WERE CARRIED OUT UNDER BRITISH AEGIS, UNDER A 14% FRANCHISE THAT WAS COMMUNALLY DIVIDED. ADDITIONALLY 94 MEMBERS FROM NATIVE STATES HAD NOT BEEN ELECTED AT ALL!**

Such a mockery of democracy has no business to speak for the people of India. Naturally they formulated a constitution which preserved the privileges of the administration within the parameters of the Imperial Civil Service that was ostensibly retreating from India (see Table given in Appendix B in Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India* - vol. II, p. 363, which shows that, as

late as in 1939, of the 1,300 ICS, 759 were Britishers and 540 were Indians. That is about two-thirds were British and one-thirds Indian. In 1859 all the 84 ICS had been Britishers).

The Congress being a party of Indian bureaucrats, formulated a constitution which was designed for the highest degree of **IRRESPONSIBILITY, UNACCOUNTABILITY AND CORRUPTION.** It has fulfilled its designed function fully. In India not a day passes without a major scam involving defalcation of hundreds of crores of rupees taking place and, by chance or by accident, getting exposed. According to Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister 1984-89, of every hundred rupees spent, by the Government of India, at least Rs.85 is swallowed up by the administrators. There are literally thousands of state officials who are under indictment and suspension at any given moment. Very few of them get punished especially at the higher levels. In the latest IAS examinations scores of doctors, lawyers and engineers appeared and passed out, **FOR THERE IS NO BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY IN INDIA WHICH FETCHES MORE MONEY THAN GOVERNMENT POSTINGS.** Parents with marriageable daughters make a bee-line for Civil Service Training and Examination Centres and offer lakhs of rupees as dowries. (see, Janardan Thakur: *Prime Ministers Nehru To Vajpayee*, 1999, p.43).

Further overwhelming evidence

of the powerlessness of the elected members is provided by the following pointers.

THERE IS NO GOVERNANCE WITHOUT BUDGETARY PROVISION AND IN OUR ANALYSIS OF THE BUDGETS PRESENTED IN 1996, 1998 AND 1999 (*Mankind*, Apr.'99, pp. 21-25; Jun-Jul. 1998, pp. 18-20; Aug-Sept.'96, pp. 24-32). WE HAVE CONCLUSIVELY SHOWN THAT ACTUALS VARY FROM BUDGET ESTIMATES BY WIDE, VARYING AND CRAZY MARGINS ! THE ESTIMATES PASSED BY PARLIAMENT AND ASSEMBLIES ARE MERE INDICATIVE MARKS FOR OUR *NAUKARSHAHS*.

THE BIHAR FODDER SCAM REVEALS THAT EACH SUB-TREASURY IN EACH STATE PASSES AMOUNTS SANCTIONED BY A NAMED BUREAUCRAT. THE SUMS ALLOWED BY HIM ARE NOT CONNECTED TO ANY SPECIFIC BUDGETARY PROVISION. PERIODICALLY THE AMOUNTS SANCTIONED BY HIM ARE TOTALLED AND THE AUDITOR GENERAL COMMENTS ON THEM. IN THE MEANTIME THE OFFICER IS TRANSFERRED SEVERAL TIMES AND RESPONSIBILITY CANNOT BE FIXED ON ANYONE! THE WHOLE MATTER IS INVOLVED IN SUCH A BUREAUCRATIC JUNGLE THAT A KAFKAESQUE SITUATION PREVAILS.

Furthermore as the West Bengal Ledger Scam revealed, in order to obviate the Lapse of Grants by the Centre, Bengal adopted the procedure of transferring these grants to the personal accounts of designated bureaucrats. The Auditor General was stymied because the inflow and outgo from these Ledger Accounts could not be verified.

IT IS THE STANDARD PROCEDURE IN INDIA TO ALLOW GRANTS TO LAPSE WHENEVER THE BUREAUCRAT CANNOT STRIKE A CORRUPT DEAL WITH CONTRACTORS AND TENDERERS. CRORES OF RUPEES REMAIN

UNSPENT BECAUSE NO DEAL COULD BE STRUCK IN TIME TO MULCT THE TREASURY! IN MY BRIEF TENURE AS SCHOLAR ATTACHED TO THE SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT OF BOMBAY UNIVERSITY, I FOUND THE DEPARTMENTAL HEAD HAD ALLOWED NUMEROUS GRANTS TO LAPSE BECAUSE HE, A FORMER REACTIONARY RIGHT WING SWATANTRA PARTY SECRETARY FOR BOMBAY CITY, COULD NOT CARRY OUT HIS CORRUPT OR NEPOTISTIC PRACTICES.

THUS WHATEVER THE ELECTED MLAS OR MPS MAY PRESCRIBE, THE *NAUKARSHAHS* DECIDE HOW MUCH IS TO BE SPENT. THE BUREAUCRATS WILL DECIDE HOW MUCH IN EXCESS THEY MAY SPEND, LATER INVITE AUDIT STRICTURES, STILL LATER DISCLAIM RESPONSIBILITY, AND FINALLY CONFUSE AND ESCAPE!

The impotence of Parliament was fully exposed when the Securities Scam was perpetrated by Harshad Mehta in the early 90s.

A Joint Parliamentary Committee from both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha met under Ram Niwas Mirdha, a former Congress Minister. THE COMMITTEE DID NOT IDENTIFY THE TOTAL AMOUNT INVOLVED IN THE SCAM, NOR NAME THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE. IT DID NOT SUGGEST ANY MODE OF RECOVERY OF THE MONEYS LOST BY THE GOVERNMENT. IN SHORT THE UNANIMOUS REPORT WAS COMPLETELY INNOCUOUS! YET THE FINANCE MINISTRY NAMED AS THE NODAL MINISTRY ITSELF PRESENTED SUCCESSIVE ATRs (Action Taken Reports) which the Lok Sabha continued to send back for revision. Ultimately the 10th Lok Sabha ended and no one was punished, or held responsible, nor any amount recovered. THE MATTER JUST LAPSED!

Whilst the bureaucracy remains unaccountable there are elaborate rules for obtaining permission to prosecute officials especially the bigger sharks. Governors and the President routinely refuse authorisations to proceed with corruption cases.

Since no right of information exists anywhere in India the discovery of crooked deals and malfeasance become public only by accident or by factional rivalries amongst gangs of competing criminal administrators.

The constitution provides for an immensely costly, lengthy and intricate judicial process. No corruption case can be adjudicated in less than ten years and in the last 50 years hardly five big shots have ever been punished and not a single penny of public money has ever been recovered!

THE AMAZING COMPRADOR ACHIEVEMENT HAS BEEN THAT NO NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY HAS YET DEMANDED A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO FRAME A NEW CONSTITUTION!

Everybody holds the present Constitution to be absolutely sacrosanct. Occasionally some amendments are mooted, but the Congress majority in the Rajya Sabha prohibits all progress in the direction of rectification.

In all probability, the Indian people will experience revolutionary convulsions before the present constitution devised by British imperialism and which has proved its worth to the current comprador elite over the last 50 years, is discarded.

Thus, all elections in India are futile! They are merely public opinion polls conducted officially. They are see-saw battles between Tweedledums and Tweedledees. The classical case is provided by Kerala where the final outcome is determined by just a few hundred votes, swinging the balance between two fronts --- one led by the Congress and the other by the CPM. The constituents of both fronts keep changing. Sometimes the fronts are called United Democratic Front and Left Democratic Front, as at present. But in the past they were designated differently as Ruling Front and Opposition Front, Mini Front and Maxi Front, Left United Front and Ruling United Front, etc.

The Communists (CPI, CPM, CPML), and the various varieties of Socialists have straddled all sides of the Parliamentary Divide. We are appending to this study a chronological note on changes of governments in Kerala.

As students of Indian politics, all that we find at the national level today, --- complete ideological confusion, minute caste and community divisions, completely unprincipled alliances, the purest forms of opportunism, etc. --- has already happened in Kerala. Just as in the earlier part of this century we had the saying: WHAT BENGAL THINKS TODAY, WILL HAPPEN IN INDIA TOMORROW! Towards the end of the century the saying should be WHAT KERALA THINKS TODAY, WILL HAPPEN IN INDIA TWENTY YEARS LATER!

Let us review the happenings:

I. C. Achutha Menon displaced EMS Namboodiripad in 1969, as leader of the Mini Front comprising CPI, ML, RSP and PSP. This itself became in 1971, the Maxi Front with Kerala Congress joining it.

II. As if not to be outdone, A. K. Antony displaced K. Karunakaran, both of the Congress, for obscure reasons. Both led a Ruling Front of Congress, CPI, KC, ML and RSP.

III. P. K. Vasudevan Nair of CPI displaced in 1978 both Antony and Karunakaran within the same Ruling Front with the same constituents. Why was this episode of musical chairs played out in 1977 and 1978?

IV. The Muslim League which had successfully demanded the Partition of the country in 1947 and implemented it in Pakistan (then inclusive of Bangladesh) with British imperialist support, was promoted by all the numerous fronts in Kerala. IF MUSLIM LEAGUE IS SECULAR WHY SHOULD JANA SANGH OR BJP NOT BE EQUALLY SECULAR?

For the 1999 elections Harkrishan Singh Surjeet of the CPM and A. B. Bardhan of CPI were not ashamed to support Congress generally and to seek to elevate Sonia Gandhi to the highest pinnacle of power. They also embraced two of the most notoriously corrupt political leaders of India. Both the Communist Parties joined the Congress in aligning with Jayalalitha in Tamil Nadu and Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar.

V. The Kerala Congress is the progenitor of all the regional Congresses of recent times, namely Trinmool Congress in Bengal, Tamil Maanil Congress in Tamil Nadu and lesser outfits in other states. In fact, as if this was not enough, the Kerala Congress has already split into at least three groups calling themselves KC Mani, KC Pillai and KC Jacob.

We will consider the magnificent antics of Sharad Pawar and P. A. Sangma on behalf of the NCP in Maharashtra and Meghalaya in a separate paragraph below. This brings us to consider the plethora of one man parties that have made their appearance. We reported on 17 such grand organisations in *Mankind*, of April '98, (p.23).

Nationally today we have reached the level of 7 National Parties, 30 State Parties and 141 more Registered Parties. (Source: *Reference Handbook, General Elections 1999*, vol. I, PIB, New Delhi).

WE ARE FAST PROCEEDING TOWARDS A NATIONAL GOAL OF 543 PARTIES WHICH WILL RECREATE KERALA AND OUTDO ITALY! WE LOOK FORWARD TO A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT EVERY MONTH !! AND PERHAPS A CHANGE OF PM EVERY WEEK !!!

The National Democratic Front Election Manifesto issued in 1999 wants a fixed term of 5 years for each Lok Sabha.

The Congress has so far opposed this valuable Vajpayee suggestion. It is obvious that it would be well advised to change its line and accept the BJP proposition.

Since the Congress fortune has touched the lowest ebb in 1999, with only 121 victories, the acceptance of fixed term for each Lok Sabha can only create more opportunities for intrigue and factionalism as already practised in Kerala with Karunakaran taking turns with A. K. Antony and P. K. Vasudevan Nair. **BY CHANCE SONIA CAN BECOME PM AS LEADER OF THE ITALIAN FACTION OF THE CONGRESS PARTY ! IN FACT MANKIND BELIEVES THAT THIS IS HER BEST AND ONLY POSSIBLE CHANCE OF BECOMING PM !**

The '99 elections to the 13th Lok Sabha have highlighted the following further trends:

1. In **PUNJAB**, the Akalis have lost to the Congress thanks to internecine conflict between Badal and Tohra.

2. In **HARYANA**, the BJP had originally supported both Bansi Lal and Om Prakash Chautala, former Deputy PM Devi Lal's son. Later Bansi Lal secured Congress support when BJP withdrew. Ultimately Chautala and BJP soundly defeated Bansi Lal and the Congress. It is difficult to say whether Bansi Lal had Congress support or not since at the last minute Bansi Lal had been betrayed by the Congress.

3. In **DELHI**, the BJP swept into power with a landslide victory against all 7 Congress opponents.

4. In **RAJASTHAN**, the tables were turned and BJP took away the bulk of the seats which it had lost in the preceding Assembly segments, in the 1998 Rajasthan Assembly elections.

5. In **GUJARAT**, Shankar Singh Waghela who had

been the Congress Trojan Horse within BJP ranks was soundly routed and the former Chief Minister Keshubhai Patel who had been brought down by Waghela with Congress support, romped home with an almost total victory.

6. In **MAHARASHTRA**, the electorate proved to be cleverer than the BJP leadership had bargained for. The Shiv-Sena supremo Bal Thackeray, who had been resisting the BJP's importunities for holding simultaneous polls for Parliament and Assembly, and of utilising the pro-Kargil wave favouring Vajpayee, was finally persuaded to agree to the combined polls. However, the electorate gave the BJP, a thumping majority in Parliamentary elections but divided its Assembly preferences so even-handedly between the Sonia Congress, the BJP, the Shiv Sena and Pawar's NCP, that a stalemate resulted which has been solved only yesterday (31.10.99), whereas the National results had emerged already by 6th October. The moves by the NCP in Maharashtra were in sharp contrast to the manoeuvres of Sangma in Meghalaya, where an existing Congress government was toppled with BJP support and a new one formed by an NCP + BJP coalition. It is conceivable that the NCP may itself split like the old KCP in Kerala, with Sangma and Pawar adding their names to the party affiliations in the same manner as Mani, Pillai and Jacob did 2-3 decades ago. **RECENTLY IN GOA, MEGHALAYA HAS BEEN REPEATED. A NEW SARDINHA GOVT. HAS TAKEN OVER WITH BJP MINISTERS!**

7. In **KARNATAKA**, J. H. Patel of the "wine and women" fame, caused such a disaster for the JD (U), that the Congress, now led by a new leader S. M. Krishna, has swept back into power.

Whilst Patel may be commended for his truthful confession at several press conferences, he did not care to reveal **how his wining and womanising activities were financed**. Anyway the electorate in Karnataka seems to have discovered the shady sources of his funds and judged him accordingly !

In Bellary, Sushma Swaraj who had earlier been the BJP Information and Broadcasting Minister at the Centre, and had been displaced to revive the Delhi unit of the BJP, an endeavour in which she had to admit total defeat, and who had subsequently been sent to Bellary to fight a losing battle, was thoroughly trounced. Bellary retained its nearly unique record of having supported the Congress right through all the 13 Lok Sabha Elections.

There were five such seats with 100% Congress record before the 1999 elections and we haven't had time to check out the other four.

As a result of the JDU debacle arranged by J. H. Patel, Ramakrishna Hegde has lost his Cabinet post and Deve Gowda his Parliamentary seat itself.

8. In **TAMIL NADU**, Jayalalitha dragged down every ally, the Stalinists and both Congresses (INC and TMC). Jayalalitha had the money to squander. After all the cash belonged to the people and was partly returned to them !

9. In **ANDHRA**, Chandrababu Naidu overcame the

"incumbency factor" invented by Indian journalists to account for many anti-Congress voting trends, and finally finished both Congress and NTR's widow Laxmi Parvati. He has emerged from the shadows of his father-in-law NTR and has attributed his success to the Information Technology revolution that he has wrought in Andhra Pradesh. He has initiated social reform programmes, e.g., gifting tool kits to craftsmen, welfare package for women entrepreneurs, and so on, which are closely monitored by district administrators whose activities are closely monitored by TV conferences with the Chief Minister everyday. Ultimately Chandrababu Naidu managed to get his party member Balayogi re-elected as speaker whilst keeping the TDP out of the coalition ministry. How crucial this post of speaker is, was revealed at the time of the no confidence motion moved against Vajpayee when the government lost by just one vote that Balayogi had permitted the Orissa Chief Minister Giridhar Gomang to cast as a Lok Sabha member, though functioning in a limbo.

10-11. In ORISSA and MADHYA PRADESH, the Congress suffered setbacks at the hands of Naveen Patnaik's Biju Janata Dal and the BJP respectively. The Congress CMs of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh were strutting about as great victors after the Assembly Polls in both States. The Congress was cut to size in both regions which are amongst the most backward in the entire country as a result of Congress non-performance over the last half century.

12. We will quickly deal with WEST BENGAL. Here the CPM had adopted the strategy of non-performance under the leadership of the decrepit and senile Jyoti Basu who tried to emulate in electoral acrobatics his colleague Harkishan Singh Surjeet. Sitaram Yechuri and Prakash Karat appeared to be the new faces in the gerontocracy that forms the CPM line up. But these new faces were prematurely wrinkled with the same Stalinist virus of supporting the Sonia Congress and opposing the same in the three State pockets that alone bore the impress of its influence.

13.14.15. In KERALA, WEST BENGAL and TRIPURA the CPM opposed the Congress with blunted weapons. Since on the all India level they were willing to support Sonia's claim as a prospective Prime Minister, naturally they could not fight with wooden swords and yielded ground everywhere to the BJP-Trinmool Congress alliance. As aforesaid, in Kerala the end result remained ambiguous with narrow margins in a see-saw battle that has been going on since almost exactly 3 decades.

16.17. The most dramatic results emerged from **UP** and **BIHAR**, the two largest States of the Indian Union with 85 and 54 seats in the Lok Sabha or almost 25% of the total.

In North Bihar, the Samata-JDU combination of George Fernandes, Nitish Kumar, Sharad Yadav and Ram Vilas Paswan gave a severe jolt to Laloo and Rabri Yadav's RJD which had forged an alliance with the Congress as well as the two Stalinist parties. As a result the CPI is almost certain to lose its status as a National Party, in the next elections to the 14th Lok Sabha. Laloo himself lost to

Sharad Yadav and has now begun to speak in subdued tones. His criminal corruption was the chief cause of his downfall and the coming Assembly Polls in early 2000 will probably confirm his final ouster from State as well as national politics.

In UP, the Congress improved its position from the zero it had achieved in 1998, of which much was sought to be made by the gang of Sonia sycophants, especially her second victory in Amethi, engineered in part by her bovine daughter Priyanka Vadra. The whole of the Indian polity seems to be hostage to this Nehru-Gandhi dynastic conglomerate.

In spite of the enormous fuss that was made about inclusion of Rajiv Gandhi's name in the Bofors chargesheet filed in a Delhi Court, ultimately Sonia beat a humiliating retreat by withdrawing her earlier demand for a Parliamentary debate on the Bofors issue. Another setback was the withdrawal of the truckers' strike which the Congress had surreptitiously supported after its electoral rout in Delhi.

To return to UP, of the 85 seats, Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party captured 26 whilst Mayawati's Bahujan Samaj Party secured 14. This was a sharp improvement over their performances in 1998 which was 20 for SP and 4 for BSP.

From its 57 seats in 1998, the BJP tally sharply declined to 29 which was loss serious enough to cause Kalyan Singh, the State CM from BJP to consider resignation. For the time being he remains in power but his base has been seriously eroded. (He has now been forced out - 21.11.99).

18. In HIMACHAL, the BJP scored a facile victory but Himachal is after all a small state.

19. In ASSAM, the only notable event was the entry of BJP in the list of victorious candidates and the eclipse of AGP (Ahom Ganatantra Parishad).

The overall picture is one of total inconsequentiality. The Congress reached its lowest tally, but the number of coalition partners that the BJP had to gather went up from 13 to 24, with the biggest partner TDP with 29 members supporting the ministry from outside. The BJP contested about 60 fewer seats than in 1998, which confirmed the Keralisation of National Polity.

In future elections all sorts of fronts will come to occupy the centre stage. They will be called Ruling or United or Rightist or Secular or Leftist or Democratic.

The Maharashtra government of the INC and NC has already begun to call itself the Democratic Front !

More and more minute caste divisions will be made. Jats of some districts of Rajasthan will become OBCs whilst in other districts of the same state they will be considered advanced. We do not know how long India is going to continue to make special reservations. In other words we do not know for how long India is going to remain stagnant and undeveloped. In the last fifty years at least two generations have come and gone.

WHAT DOES THE COMPRADOR BOURGEOISIE PLAN FOR THE FUTURE ? THE FIRST QUESTION IS

DOES IT HAVE ANY PLAN AT ALL ?

Secondly, supposing the *naukarshahi* - comprador combination of the INC is brushed aside and replaced by the comprador BJP trader and commercial bourgeois combination. How will that help the nation to forge ahead?

Therefore all parliamentary and Assembly Elections are in the nature of referendums or Public Opinion Polls. THOSE ELECTED HAVE NO POWERS AND THEREFORE CANNOT FULFILL ANY ELECTORAL PROMISE. THEY ARE RE-ELECTED OR REJECTED ENTIRELY ON THE BASIS OF VAGUE MIDDLECLASS PUBLIC OPINION HYPES BUILT BY THE MEDIA. NO PROGRAMME IS INVOLVED. MUCH LESS IDEOLOGY AND PRINCIPLES ! CONGRESS THAT HAS RULED FOR 50 YEARS CONTINUES TO MAKE PROMISES WHICH PRESUMABLY THEY WILL FULFILL AFTER A HUNDRED OR THREE HUNDRED YEARS, OR NEVER!

Therefore, in actual practice candidates are voted upon for the narrowest of personal considerations: caste, community, linguistic group, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe affiliations and personal charm or otherwise are the sole determinants.

THEREFORE, A SEE-SAW BATTLE ENSUES. THE CHOICE IS BETWEEN A TWEEDLEDUM AND A TWEEDLEDEE. NOTHING CAN HAPPEN OR CHANGE EXCEPT THE TERMS OF CORRUPT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICIAN AND THE PUBLIC SERVANT. THINGS GRIND EVER SO MINUTELY AND SLOWLY ! THE CIVIL SERVICE MAY ALLOW THINGS TO CHANGE EVER SO SLOWLY OR MAY REVERT TO SOME PAST POSITION. EVERYTHING MUST TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE COMPRADOR PARAMETERS ! EVERYTHING MUST BE APPROVED BY THE WEST. EVERYTHING HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED TO THE UTMOST LIMIT BY WESTNERNERS. INDIANS MUST PRIVATISE, LIBERALISE AND GLOBALISE AND REMAIN FOREVER INDEBTED TO THE PARADIGM: NOTHING CAN BE ATTEMPTED WHICH HAS NOT ALREADY BEEN CARRIED OUT IN SOME TOWN, VILLAGE OR CITY OF THE WEST. THE WEST MUST BE FLATTERED BY CONSTANT IMITATION, SUBSERVIENCE AND SYCOPHANCY.

THAT IS WHY THE FOUR PILLARS OF COMPRADORISM ARE THE ARYAN INVASION OF INDIA; THE ALEXANDERIAN INVASION OF INDIA, THE ETERNAL SUPERIORITY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND THE GREATNESS OF SHAKESPEARAN DRAMA.

That is why Nirad C. Chowdhary wrote in his *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, 1951, that, "all that was good and living within us was made, shaped and quickened by British imperialist rule". Nevertheless those who decided to make a home in India, are sooner or later turned into swine, as noted by him in, *The Continent of Circe*, 1965. This sickening swinishness is quoted with warm approval by Khushwant Singh the doyen of the

Indian press (Khushwant Singh's *View of India*, 1974, p.6).

So long as the neo-colonial bourgeoisie represented by Euro-America and identified from time to time as G-8, OECD, EU, NATO, WB, IMF or WTO remain in control of the Third World, how is India to escape from political subservience and economic drain of wealth ?

LET US HOPE THAT THE COMING GENERATION WILL REALISE THE FUTILITY OF HOLDING ELECTIONS UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION, AND WILL MOVE FORWARD TO THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW ERA WITH THE FORMULATION OF A NEW CONSTITUTION, THAT WILL PROVIDE FOR A RESPONSIBLE, ACCOUNTABLE, NON-SECRETIVE EXECUTIVE, RESPONSIBLE TO A PARLIAMENT THAT TRULY EXPRESSES THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE !

Our contention that there has been *naukarshahi* rule in comprador India from 1947 to the present, is reinforced by three further considerations:

1► The date and conduct of elections are not determined by the outgoing Prime Minister but by a *naukarshahi* set up called The Election Commission of India. Pending the holding of the polls all Governments in India, Central as well as State, become caretaker Governments subject to directives from the EC (the Supreme Court had to come down heavily upon the EC and its arrogance, a matter highlighted by our report *Has Nirvachan Sadan become Government of India?* which featured TVR Shenoy's *Indian Express* contribution, that was willing to hit but afraid to wound).

2► The 1999 General Elections to the 13th Lok Sabha were spread over 5 days of August / September 1999. This was better than the first Lok Sabha polls held over 5 months from September 1951 to February 1952.

Naturally, this converts a climactic democratic exercise into a routine affair. For a poor and illiterate electorate cannot sustain interest on momentous national issues over FIVE WEEKS ! Thus Kargil and Pakistan's terrorist intrusions across LoC receded into the background and non-issues and personalities came to the fore as the five polling days passed. On the first day, the BJP and allies won nearly two-thirds of the seats they contested and by the fifth polling day their victory percentage came down to just about one-third. This is exactly the Indian *naukarshahi* tactic and trick. The bureaucracy wants the voters of India to come to the conclusion that their vote will make no difference and therefore Congress may as well return to power !

3► Not only was the poll spread illegitimately over five days and over five weeks, but Congress President Sonia was allowed a "trial run" by holding Assembly Polls in Goa well in advance of national polls. In the non Hindu segments of the Goa electorate, Sonia's foreign origins had the least electoral impact and Goa results were to be utilised to prop up her leadership. within the Congress Party. This beautiful *naukarshahi* plan was neatly carried out and the Congress Party won the Goa elections. However the Goa

victory for the INC proved to be as hollow as the Assembly Poll victories in Rajasthan, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa last year. In the subsequent 13th Lok Sabha elections both Goa seats went to the BJP. (Goa now has a Non-Congress Govt.)

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE *NAUKARSHAH* AND INC HOLD OVER THE INDIAN ELECTORATE IS DISTINCTLY SLIPPING AND INEVITABLY THE INDIAN COMMERCIAL BOURGEOISIE AND ITS SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIAL AFFILIATES ARE BOUND TO TAKE OVER, AS THE TRIUMPH OF THE BJP AND ITS ALLIES IN THE 13TH LOK SABHA POLLS PORTENDS!

PATTERN OF STATE GOVERNMENTS OF KERALA

(A state created on 1 Nov. 1956)

1. 5 Apr. 1957 - 31 July 1959

E.M.S. Namboodiripad (CPI) (CPI with Independents)

2. 1 Aug. 1959 - 22 Feb. 1960

President's Rule

3. 22 Feb. 1960 - 26 Sept. 1962

Pattom Thanu Pillai (PSP) (Congress - PSP)

4. 26 Sept. 1962 - 10 Sept. 1964

R. Sankar (Congress) (Congress - PSP)

5. 10 Sept. 1964 - 6 Mar. 1967

President's Rule

6. 6 Mar. 1967 - 24 Oct. 1969

E.M.S. Namboodiripad (CPM) (United Front: CPM, CPI, SSP, ML, RSP, KTP, KSP)

7. 1 Nov. 1969 - 1 Aug. 1970

C. Achutha Menon (CPI) (Mini Front: CPI, ML, KC, ISP)

8. 4 Aug. 1970 - 4 Oct. 1970

President's Rule

9. 4 Oct. 1970 - 25 Sept. 1971

C. Achutha Menon (CPI) (Mini Front: CPI, ML, RSP, PSP)

10. 25 Sept. 1971 - 22 Mar. 1977

C. Achutha Menon (CPI) (Maxi Front: New Congress, CPI, ML, RSP, PSP and on 26 Dec. 1975 KC-J joined the

ministry)

11. 25 Mar. 1977 - 25 Apr., 1977

K. Karunakaran (Congress) (Ruling Front: Congress, CPI, KC, ML, RSP)

12. 27 Apr. 1977 - 27 Oct. 1978

A.K. Antony (Congress) (Ruling Front: Congress, CPI, KC, ML, RSP)

13. 29 Oct. 1978 - 7 Oct. 1979

P.K. Vasudevan Nair (CPI) (Ruling Front: Congress, CPI, KC, ML, RSP)

14. 12 Oct. 1979 - 1 Dec. 1979

C.H. Mohammed Koya (IUML) (IUML, NDP, PSP)

15. 5 Dec. 1979 - 24 Jan. 1980

President's Rule

16. 24 Jan. 1980 - 26 Oct. 1981

E. K. Nayanar (CPM) (Left Democratic Front: CPM, Congress U, CPI, KCM, RSP, AIML)

17. Oct. - Dec. 1981

President's Rule

18. 28 Dec. 1981

K. Karunakaran (Congress) (United Democratic Front: ML, KC-M, etc.)

19. March 1982

President's Rule

20. 24 May 1982

K. Karunakaran (Congress)

21. 26 Mar. 1987

E. K. Nayanar (CPM) (Left Democratic Front)

22. 24 June 1991

K. Karunakaran (Congress) (United Democratic Front)

23. 22 Mar. 1995

A. K. Antony (Congress) (United Democratic Front)

24. 20 Apr. 1996

E. K. Nayanar (CPM) (Left Democratic Front)

One-Member Parties

We have reached the ultimate nadir in powerlessness and farcicality.

We have written in *Mankind*, time and again, that our current Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 is a mockery, a travesty and a fraud.

Our elected representatives have no powers, which are effectively concentrated in the hands of an **IRREMOVABLE BUREAUCRACY THAT IS UNACCOUNTABLE, IRRESPONSIBLE, NON-TRANSPARENT AND TOTALLY CORRUPT.** All projects undertaken by our *naukershahi* are always subject to time and cost overruns. No one is ever punished, and no defalcation ever returned to the public treasury.

A final touch of mockery is added by the coming into being of One-Member Political Parties. The 1998 elections to the 12th Lok Sabha have brought to light the existence of many such one-MP-political formations.

These one-member parties have no programmes or ideologies. The entire preoccupation of these one-member parties is to spend one crore per year, per member, as Special Constituency Grant; and to carry on with the time-honoured Delhi socialites' occupation of *sifarish* and *pairavi*. This fetches them a regular income and makes them influential busybodies. (The special Constituency Grant has been raised now to two crores per year per member of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha).

The MPs are the principal conduits of criminalisation in politics.

They survive mainly on charity by the bigger political parties which either leave the seats uncontested, or otherwise ensure a virtual walkover by these one-member outfits.

(contd. on next pg.)

(contd. from previous pg.)

These one-member parties are a living testimony to the complete breakdown of our supposedly democratic process.

- **Lallum Gauma** : He is the combined candidate of the opposition People's Conference and the Mizo National Front, which defeated the Congress for the first time.
- **Sheeshram Ola** : He is the AICC (Secular) candidate from Jhunjhunu in Rajasthan. He along with Satpal Maharaj refused to rejoin the INC when the Tiwari unit merged with it. He was a minister in the Deve Gowda and Inder Gujral ministries. He defeated the BJP candidate by 38,000 votes in the elections to the 12th Lok Sabha.
- **Chandrashekhar** : He is the sole member from the Samajwadi Janata Party to win a Lok Sabha seat. He is the BJP candidate from Ballia in UP. He is an ex-PM, who refused to face a confidence vote in 1979-80.
- **S. K. Bwismuthiary** : He is the All Bodo Student's Union leader and candidate from Assam.
- **Subramaniam Swamy** : is the Janata Party M.P. from Madurai in Tamil Nadu. A few years ago he had ranted and raved against Jayalalitha and her misdemeanours. In this election, however, he had aligned himself with her and is now again peeved with her because she couldn't secure the Finance Ministry for him. He even stayed away from the House on the day of the Confidence Vote. (Swamy lost the election to the 13th Lok Sabha).
- **Satnam Singh Kainth** : He is the BSP rebel from Phillaur in Punjab who revolted against Mayawati and Kanshi Ram.
- **Vazhapadi K. Ramamurthy** : He is another party hopper. A cabinet minister in the Second Vajpayee Ministry, he was first with the Congress, and consequently became Jayalalitha's friend-turned-foe-turned-friend ! Vazhapadi and Swami had dug up the TIDCO scam in which Jayalalitha is indicted. In the elections to the 12th Lok Sabha, he was once again aligned with Jayalalitha.
- **P. C. Thomas** : is the Kerala Congress (Mani) candidate from Muvattupuzha in Kerala. He is also the only representative of his party in the Lok Sabha, but the shots are called by Mani, the man who formed the party after breaking away from the Congress in order to cash in on the Christian votes.
- **G. M. Banatwala** : He represents the Muslim League from Ponnani in Kerala. Formerly a Bombay university professor, he cannot speak a word of Malayalam but he has been winning the Lok Sabha elections from here since 1977. He is also a senior partner in the Congress-led United Democratic Front.
- **Anand Mohan Singh** : A member of Shankersinh Vaghela's Rashtriya Janata Party, he won from Sheohar, in Bihar, after aligning with Laloo's Rashtriya Janata Dal. He has 35 criminal cases registered against him and has taken over Pappu Yadav's place in Laloo's gang. (He again won in 1999).
- **Omak Apang** : He is the Arunachal Congress MP from Arunachal Pradesh. The Arunachal Congress was formed by his father Gegong Apang after he split with the Congress in September 1996. He views the Congress as the enemy and had decided that his party would support an anti-Congress government. Consequently, his son was the Minister of State for Tourism in the Second Vajpayee government.
- **S. S. Owaisi** : Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi is the Majlis-e-Ittehadul-Muslimeen MP from Hyderabad. He is anti-BJP as well as anti-Congress. It has been alleged that he is a former Razakar leader.
- **L. Chauba Singh** : Member of the Manipur State Congress which broke away from the INC ten years ago. The MSC is staunchly anti-Congress, and as a result of the anti-Congress wave in the northeast region, all votes invariably have gone against the Congress and in favour of other parties.
- **Jayanta Rongpi** : He belongs to the Autonomous State Demand Committee, Hill District of Assam. He got away scot free from the JMM scam. Rongpi, the lone Naxalite MP from Assam in the last three Lok Sabhas, also got Rs. 1 crore from P. V. Narasimha Rao's men to absent himself from the house for the crucial Confidence Vote of 1993. Rongpi, who is linked to the Vinod Mishra faction of the CPI(ML), escaped the CBI net. His ASDC has a stranglehold over the twin hill districts of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills.
- **Bhim Dahal** : of the Sikkim Democratic Front had won the 1996 elections with Congress help, but in the 1998 elections, he did not seek Congress support and won.
- **Maneka Gandhi** : is technically an independent, but in reality she has converted herself into a great crusader for environmental causes and for protection of wildlife. She is also a one-woman TV chat show hostess, fighting against cruelty to animals. Of course, her Green Wildlife and PCA preoccupations are so many and so pressing that she has no time for taking up matters concerning human beings. As Vasant Thakore, salt worker of Kutch says : "A government that cares for asses rather than human beings, must consist of asses !" Appropriately, Maneka Gandhi has been given the portfolio of Welfare, where she will have full scope for exercising her asinine cruelty towards human beings.
- **Buta Singh** : is also technically an Independent elected from Rajasthan. He is a Sikh and a Congressman and was a close aide of Rajiv, who helped Rajiv to make merry whilst organising the 9th Asian Games of 1982. Total cost to the public treasury of the Games was over Rs. 1,000 crores (Stadia, Olympic Village, Flyovers, etc). Buta Singh's mission at present, is somehow to run away from Punjab and the Sikh community, and thereby avoid the opprobrium that has become permanently attached to him for his role in promoting "Operation Bluestar". He was Rajiv's Home Minister too.

(Mankind, April 98)

| | | 1991 (10 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | | 1996 (11 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Region / State | Total Seats | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | |
| | | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. |
| MAJOR STATES SOUTH | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ANDHRA | 42 | 1 | 25 | - | 14[13(TDP) + 1(IND)] | 2 | - | d | 22 | - | 16(TDP) | 3 | - |
| TAMIL NADU | 39 | - | 39[28(INC) + 11(ADMK)] | - | - | - | - | - | 20(TMC) | - | 17(DMK) | 2 | - |
| KARNATAKA | 28 | 4 | 23 | 1 | - | - | - | 6 | 6[5 + 1(KCV)(P)] | 16 | - | - | - |
| KERALA | 19 | - | 15 [13 + 2(MUL)] | - | 1(KCM) | 3 | - | - | 9[7+ 2(MUL)] | 1 | 1 | 7[5(CPM) + 2(CPI)] | 1(RSP) |
| | 128 | 5 | 102 | 1 | 15 | 5 | - | 6 | 57 | 19 | 33 | 12 | 1 |
| EAST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| W. BENGAL | 42 | - | 5 | - | - | 30 | 7(LDF) | - | 9 | - | - | 26[23(CPM) + 3(CPI)] | 7[4(RSP) + 3(FB)] |
| ORISSA | 21 | - | 13 | 6 | - | 2 | - | - | 16 | 4 | - | - | - |
| ASSAM | 14 | 2 | 8 | - | 3[1(AGP) + 2(IND)] | 1 | - | 1 | 5 | - | 7[5(AGP) + 2(IND)] | 1 | - |
| | 77 | 2 | 26 | 6 | 3 | 33 | 7 | 1 | 30 | 4 | 7 | 27 | 8 |
| WEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MAHARASHTRA | 48 | 9[5 + 4(SS)] | 38 | - | - | 1(CPM) | - | 23[18+ 15(SS)] | 15 | - | - | - | - |
| GUJARAT | 26 | 20 | 5 | - | 1(JD) | - | - | 16 | 10 | - | - | - | - |
| | 74 | 29 | 43 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 49 | 25 | - | 0 | - | - |
| NORTH | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| U. P. | 85(a) | 51 | 5 | 22 | 5[1(BSP) + 4(JP)] | 1 | - | 52 | 5 | 2 | 9[6(BSP) + 2(IND) + 1(SAP)] | - | 16(SP) |
| BIHAR | 54(b) | 5 | 1 | 31 | 6(JMM) | 9 | - | 18 | 2 | 22 | 2[1(JMM) + 1(IND)] | 3(CPI) | 7[6(SAP) + 1(SP)] |
| M. P. | 40 | 12 | 27 | - | 1(BSP) | - | - | 27 | 9[8+ 1(AIIC)T] | - | 4[2(BSP) + 2(IND)] | - | - |
| RAJASTHAN | 25 | 12 | 13 | - | - | - | - | 12 | 13[12 + 1(AIIC)T] | - | - | - | - |
| PUNJAB | 13(c) | - | 2 | - | 11[8(SAD) + 3(BSP)] | - | - | - | 2 | - | 1[8(SAD) + 3(BSP)] | - | - |
| HARYANA | 10 | - | 9 | - | 1(BSP) | - | - | 4 | 2 | - | 4[3(HVP) + 1(IND)] | - | - |
| | 227 | 80 | 57 | 53 | 24 | 10 | - | 113 | 33 | 24 | 30 | 3 | 23 |
| a: 1 seat countermanded in UP for 1991 . b: 2 seats countermanded in Bihar for 1991 . c: Data of Punjab elections in 1992 (February). | | | | | | | | d: 1 seat undeclared in A.P. in 1996 + 1998. | | | | | |

1998 (12th LOK SABHA)

1999 (13th LOK SABHA)

| Region / State | Total Seats | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-------|-------|-----|------|---|--|-----|---|--|-----|---|--|-----|---|--|------|---|--|
| | | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MAJOR STATES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SOUTH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ANDHRA | 42 | 4 | 22 | 1 | 12(TDP) | 2(CPI) | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| TAMIL NADU | 39 | 3 | 21[18(ADMK) + 3(TMC)] | - | 13 ¹ | 1(CPI) | - | 7 | 6[5+ 1(MIM)] | - | 29(TDP) | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | 4 | 13[2+11(ADMK)] | - | 22 ² | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| KARNATAKA | 28 | 16[13+ 3(LS)] | 9 | 3 | - | - | - | 7 | 18 ² | 3 | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| KERALA | 19 | - | 11[8+2(MUL) + 1KCM] | - | - | 8[6(CPM) + 2(CPI)] | 1(RSP) | - | 12 | - | - | 8(CPM) | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 128 | 23 | 63 | 4 | 25 | 11 | 1 | 18 | 49 | 3 | 51 | 8 | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EAST | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| W. BENGAL | 42 | 8[1 + 7(TC)] | 1 | - | - | 27[24(CPM) + 3(CPI)] | 6[4(RSP) + 2(FB)] | 2 | 11[3+8(TC)] | - | - | 24[21(CPM)+ 3(CPI)] | 5[3(RSP)+ 2(FB)] | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ORISSA | 21 | 16[9 + 7(BJD)] | 5 | - | - | - | - | 19[9+ 10(BJD)] | 2 | - | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ASSAM | 14 | 1 | 11[10+ 1(UMF)] | - | 2[1(IMD) + 1(ASDC)] | - | - | 2(g) | 9 | - | 1(IND) | 1(CPI-MLL) | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 77 | 25 | 17 | - | 2 | 27 | 6 | 23 | 22 | - | 1 | 25 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| WEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MAHARASHTRA | 48 | 10[4 + 6(SS)] | 37[33 + 4(RPI)] | - | 1(PWP) | - | - | 28[13+ 15(SS)] | 16[10+ 6(NCP)] | - | 4[3(IND)+ 1(PWP)] | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GUJARAT | 26 | 19 | 7 | - | - | - | - | 20 | 6 | - | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 74 | 29 | 44 | - | 1 | - | - | 48 | 22 | - | 4 | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NORTH | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| U. P. | 85(a) | 59[57 + 2(SAP)] | - | - | 6 ² | - | 20(SP) | 29 | 11[10+ 1(LC)] | - | 19[14(BSP)+ 5(IND)] | - | 26(SP) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BIHAR | 54(b) | 30[20 + 10(SAP)] | 13 ³ | 1 | - | - | - | 23(h) | 10[3+ 7(RJD)] | 17(JDU) | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M. P. | 40 | 30 | 10 | - | - | - | - | 29 | 11 | - | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| RAJASTHAN | 25 | 5 | 19[18+ 1(AICC)] | - | 1(IND) | - | - | 16 | 9 | - | - | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PUNJAB | 13 | 11[3 + 8(SAD)] | - | 1 | 1(IND) | - | - | 1 | 8 | - | 4[2(SAD)+ 2(IND)] | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HARYANA | 10 | 2[1 + 1(HVP)] | 3 | - | 5[1(BSP)+ 4(HLD)] | - | - | 5 | - | - | 5(IND) | - | - | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 227 | 135 | 55 | 2 | 16 | - | 20 | 103 | 49 | 17 | 28 | - | 26 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>a: 1 seat countermanded in UP for 1998. b: 2 seats countermanded in Bihar for 1998. 1. 5(DMK) + 4(PMK) + 3(MDMK) + 1(IND) 2. 4(BSP) + 1(SJP) + 1(IND) 3. 7(RJD) + 5(IND) + 1RJP</p> | | | | | | | | <p>g: 1 seat to be declared on Oct. 28. h: 4 seats to be declared on Oct. 28. 4. 12(DMK) + 5(PMK) + 3(MDMK) + 2(IND) 5. 8 + 1(KEC) + 2(MUL) + 1(KEC) M</p> | | | | <p>Unclassified (1999)</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <th>PARTY</th> <th>SEATS</th> <th>WON</th> </tr> <tr> <td>MGDK</td> <td>1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>RLD</td> <td>2</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>BBM</td> <td>1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>JDS</td> <td>1</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>SJPR</td> <td>1</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> | | PARTY | SEATS | WON | MGDK | 1 | | RLD | 2 | | BBM | 1 | | JDS | 1 | | SJPR | 1 | |
| PARTY | SEATS | WON | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| MGDK | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| RLD | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BBM | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| JDS | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| SJPR | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | 1991 (10 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | | 1996 (11 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Region / State | Total Seats | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | |
| | | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM, CPML, RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. |
| MIN. STATES/UTs | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NORTH - WEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DELHI | 7 | 5 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 5 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| J & K | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | - | - | - |
| H. P. | 4 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - |
| CHANDIGARH | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 18 | 7 | 5 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 10 | 1 | - | - | - |
| NORTH - EAST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ARUNACHAL | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2(IND) | - | - |
| MANIPUR | 2 | - | 1 | - | 1(MRP) | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| TRIPURA | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2(CPM) | - |
| MEGHALAYA | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| SIKKIM | 1 | - | - | - | 1(SSP) | - | - | - | - | - | 1(SDF) | - | - |
| NAGALAND | 1 | - | - | - | 1(NPC) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| MIZORAM | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| | 11 | - | 8 | - | 3 | - | - | - | 6 | - | 3 | 2 | - |
| THE REST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GOA | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2[1(MAG) +1(UGP)] | - | - |
| DAMAN, DIU | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| D & N.H. | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| PONDICHERRY | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| LAKSHADWEEP | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| A & N | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| | 7 | 1 | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | - | 2 | - | - |
| GRAND TOTAL | 542 | 124 | 247 | 60 | 46 | 49 | 7 | 176 | 166 | 48 | 75 | 44 | 32 |
| | | 371 | | 106 | | 56 | | 342 | | 123 | | 76 | |

| 1998 (12 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | | | | 1999 (13 th LOK SABHA) | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Region / State | Total Seats | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | | RIGHTIST FORCES | | CENTRIST FORCES | | LEFTIST FORCES | |
| | | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM, CPML, RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. | BJP + Allies | INC + Allies Regional Congresses | JD, JP | Regional Parties + Others | Stalinists CPI, CPM CPML RCP | Socialists SP, PSP SSP, etc. |
| MINOR STATES/UTs | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| NORTH-WEST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| DELHI | 7 | 6 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 7 | - | - | - | - | - |
| J & K | 6 | 2(e) | 1 | - | 3(JKN) | - | - | 2 | - | - | 4(NC) | - | - |
| H. P. | 4 | 3(f) | 3 | 1 | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | 1(HVC) | - | - |
| CHANDIGARH | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| | 18 | 12 | 3 | - | 3 | - | - | 12 | 1 | - | 5 | - | - |
| NORTH - EAST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ARUNACHAL | 2 | - | - | - | 2(AC) | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| MANIPUR | 2 | - | - | - | 1(MRP) | 1(CPI) | - | (i) | - | - | 1(MSCP) | - | - |
| TRIPURA | 2 | - | - | - | - | 2(CPM) | - | - | - | - | - | 2(CPM) | - |
| MEGHALAYA | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 2[1+1(NCP)] | - | - | - | - |
| SIKKIM | 1 | - | - | - | 1(SDF) | - | - | - | - | - | 1(SDF) | - | - |
| NAGALAND | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| MIZORAM | 1 | - | - | - | 1(MP) | - | - | - | - | - | 1(IND) | - | - |
| | 11 | - | 3 | - | 5 | 3 | - | - | 5 | - | 3 | 2 | - |
| THE REST | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| GOA | 2 | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| DAMAN, DIU | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| D & N.H. | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| PONDICHERRY | 1 | - | - | - | 1(DMK) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| LAKSHADWEEP | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| A & N | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| | 7 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | - | - | 3 | 3 | - | 1 | - | - |
| GRAND TOTAL | 542 | 225 | 189 | 7 | 50 | 41 | 27 | 207 | 150 | 20 | 94 | 35 | 31 |
| | | 414 | | 57 | | 68 | | 357 | | 114 | | 66 | |
| | | e: 2 seats undeclared in J & K in 1998, f: 1 seat undeclared in H. P. in 1998. | | | | | | i: 1 result unavailable. | | | | | |

THE JUMBO VAJPAYEE MINISTRY

AS ON 25.11.1999

| | MINISTRY | PARTY | STATE | CASTE OR COMMUNITY | LINGUISTIC GROUP | |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|--------------------|------------------|----------|
| CABINET MINISTERS | | | | | | |
| 1. | ATL BIHARI VAJPAYEE ¹ | PM | BJP | UP | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 2. | LAL KRISHNA ADVANI ¹ | HOME | BJP | GUJARAT | NA | SINDHI |
| 3. | ANANTH KUMAR ¹ | CUL.SP.Y.AFF. | BJP | KARNATAKA | BRAHMIN | KANNADA |
| 4. | TALLIKOTA RAJA BALU ² | ENV. & FOR. | DMK | TAMIL NADU | DALIT | TAMIL |
| 5. | MAMATA BANERJEE ⁴ | RAILWAY | TC | BENGAL | BRAHMIN | BENGALI |
| 6. | GEORGE FERNANDES ¹ | DEFENCE | JD(U) | BIHAR | CHRISTIAN | KANNADA |
| 7. | JAGMOHAN MALHOTRA ¹ | URBAN AFFAIRS | BJP | DELHI | NA | PUNJABI |
| 8. | DR.SATYANARAYANA JATIA ¹ | URB.DEV. & POV.ALL. | BJP | MP | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 9. | RAMCHAND JETHMALANI ¹ | LAW & CO. AFFAIRS | SS | MAHARASHTRA | NA | SINDHI |
| 10. | MANOHAR JOSHI ⁴ | HEAVY IND & PSU'S | SS | MAHARASHTRA | BRAHMIN | MARATHI |
| 11. | MURALI MANOHAR JOSHI ¹ | HRD & SCIENCE & TECH. | BJP | U.P. | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 12. | RANGRAJAN KUMARMANGLAM ¹ | POWER | BJP | TAMIL NADU | BRAHMIN | TAMIL |
| 13. | PRAMOD MAHAJAN ⁴ | PARL.AFF.& INF.TECH. | BJP | MAHARASHTRA | BRAHMIN | MARATHI |
| 14. | MURASOLI MARAN ² | COMMERCE & INDUSTRY | DMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 15. | RAM NAIK ³ | PETRO & NATURAL GAS | BJP | MAHARASHTRA | SAR.BRA. | MARATHI |
| 16. | NITISH KUMAR ¹ | AGRICULTURE | JD(U) | BIHAR | KURMI | HINDI |
| 17. | JUEL ORAM ⁴ | TRIBAL AFFAIRS | BJP | ORISSA | TRIBAL | NA |
| 18. | RAM VILAS PASWAN ² | COMMUNICATIONS | JD(U) | BIHAR | PASWAN | HINDI |
| 19. | NAVIN PATNAIK ¹ | MINES & MINERALS | BJD | ORISSA | BRAHMIN | ORIYA |
| 20. | SUNDERLAL PATWA ⁴ | RURAL DEVELOPMENT | BJP | M.P. | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 21. | SURESH PRABHAKAR PRABHU ¹ | CHEMICALS & FERTILISERS | SS | MAHARASHTRA | SAR.BRA. | MARATHI |
| 22. | KASHIRAM CHHABILDAS RANA ¹ | TEXTILE | BJP | GUJARAT | RAJPUT | GUJARATI |
| 23. | SHANTA KUMAR ⁴ | CONSUMER AFFAIRS | BJP | H.P. | BRAHMIN | PAHARI |
| 24. | JASWANT SINGH ¹ | EXTERNAL AFFAIRS | BJP | RAJASTHAN | RAJPUT | HINDI |
| 25. | YASHWANT SINHA ¹ | FINANCE | BJP | BIHAR | KAYASTHA | HINDI |
| 26. | SHARAD YADAV ⁴ | CIVIL AVIATION | JD(U) | BIHAR | YADAV | HINDI |
| 27. | SUKHDEV SINGH DHINDSA ⁴ | WORKS & ESTATES | SAD | PANJAB | SIKH | PUNJABI |
| 28. | RAJNATH SINGH ⁴ | SURFACE TRANSPORT | BJP | U.P. | RAJPUT | HINDI |
| 29. | C. P. THAKUR ⁴ | WATER RESOURCES | BJP | BIHAR | BHUMIHAR | HINDI |
| MINISTERS OF STATE WITH INDEPENDENT CHARGE | | | | | | |
| 30. | MANEKA GANDHI ¹ | SOC.JUS & EMP | IND. | U.P. | SIKH | PUNJABI |
| 31. | ARUN JAITLEY ⁴ | INF. & BROAD. | BJP | DELHI | KAYASTHA | HINDI |
| 32. | M. KANNAPPAN ⁴ | NON-CON.ENE.RES. | MDMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 33. | DILIP RAY ^{1,2} | STEEL | TC | ORISSA | BRAHMIN | BENGALI |
| 34. | VASUNDHARA RAJE SCINDIA ¹ | SSI & PERSONNEL | BJP | RAJASTHAN | KSHATRIYA | HINDI |
| 35. | N. T. SHANMUGAM ⁴ | HEALTH & FAM.WEL. | PMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 36. | UMA BHARATI ¹ | TOURISM | BJP | M.P. | BRAHMIN | HINDI |

| MINISTERS OF STATE | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|------------|----------|
| MINISTRY | PARTY | STATE | CASTE OR COMMUNITY GROUP | LINGUISTIC | |
| 37. RAMESH BAIS ¹ | CHEMICALS & FERTILISERS | BJP | M.P. | VAISHYA | HINDI |
| 38. BIJOYA CHAKRABORTY ⁴ | WATER RESOURCES | BJP | WEST BENGAL | BRAHMIN | BENGALI |
| 39. SRIRAM CHAUHAN ⁴ | PARLIAMETARY AFFAIRS | BJP | NA | RAJPUT | HINDI |
| 40. BANGARU DATTATRAYA ¹ | URBAN DEVELOPMENT | BJP | A.P. | NA | NA |
| 41. JAISINGHRAO GAEKWAD PATIL | HRD | BJP | MAHARASHTRA | MARATHA | MARATHI |
| 42. SANTOSH GANGWAR ¹ | SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY | BJP | U.P. | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 43. CHAMANLAL GUPTA ⁴ | CIVIL AVIATION | BJP | J & K | NA | NA |
| 44. DR. VALLABHBHAI KATHERIA ⁴ | HEA.IND. & PSU | BJP | GUJARAT | NA | GUJARATI |
| 45. FAGGAN SINGH KULASTE ⁴ | PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS | BJP | NA | NA | |
| 46. V. DHANANJAY KUMAR ⁴ | FINANCE | BJP | KARNATAKA | BRAHMIN | KANNADA |
| 47. BANGARU LAXMAN ⁴ | PLAN & PROG.IMPLE. | BJP | GUJARAT | DALIT | NA |
| 48. SUMITRA MAHAJAN ⁴ | PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS | BJP | M.P. | BRAHMIN | MARATHI |
| 49. SUBHASH MAHARIA ⁴ | RURAL DEVELOPMENT | BJP | RAJASTHAN | DALIT | HINDI |
| 50. BABULAL MARANDI ¹ | ENVIRONMENT & FORESTS | BJP | BIHAR | TRIBAL | NA |
| 51. JAYAVANTI MEHTA ⁴ | POWER | BJP | MAHARASHTRA | VAISHYA | GUJARATI |
| 52. MUNNI LAL ⁴ | LABOUR & EMPLOYMENT | BJP | BIHAR | CHAMAR | HINDI |
| 53. OMAR FAROOQ ABDULLAH ⁴ | COMMERCE & INDUSTRY | NC | J & K | MUSLIM | URDU |
| 54. AJIT PANJA ⁴ | PASSPORTS & HAJ AFFAIRS | TC | W. BENGAL | BRAHMIN | BENGALI |
| 55. H. R. PATHAK ⁴ | DEFENCE | BJP | NA | BRAHMIN | NA |
| 56. DR. DEBENDRA PRADHAN ¹ | SURFACE TRANSPORT | BJP | ORISSA | BRAHMIN | ORIYA |
| 57. E. PONNUSWAMY ⁴ | PETROLEUM | PMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 58. A. RAJA ⁴ | RURAL DEVELOPMENT | DMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 59. O. RAJOGOPAL ⁴ | LAW, JUSTICE & CO. AFFAIRS | BJP | M.P. | BRAHMIN | TAMIL |
| 60. DR. RAMAN ⁴ | COMMERCE & INDUSTRY | NA | NA | BRAHMIN | NA |
| 61. G. N. RAMCHANDRAN ⁴ | TEXTILES | MDMK | TAMIL NADU | OBC | TAMIL |
| 62. VIDYASAGAR RAO ⁴ | HOME, FOR.DIV.FR.FIGHTERS | BJP | ANDHRA PR. | BRAHMIN | TELUGU |
| 63. SATYANARAYAN RAO | AGRICULTURE | BJP | ANDHRA | BRAHMIN | TELUGU |
| 64. BACHISINGH RAWAT ⁴ | DEFENCE | BJP | U.P. | VAISHYA | HINDI |
| 65. SYED SHAHNAWAZ HUSSAIN ⁴ | FOOD PROCESS. INDUSTRY | BJP | BIHAR | MUSLIM | URDU |
| 66. TAPAN SIKDAR ⁴ | COMMUNICATIONS | BJP | W. BENGAL | NA | BENGALI |
| 67. DIGVIJAY SINGH ⁴ | RAILWAYS | JD(U) | BIHAR | RAJPUT | HINDI |
| 68. T. H. CHAOBA SINGH ⁴ | HUMAN RESOURCE DEVLOP. | MSCP | MANIPUR | RAJPUT | MANIPURI |
| 69. V. S. PRASAD ⁴ | HOM.CONSU.AFF.&P.D.S. | JD(U) | ANDHRA | BRAHMIN | TELUGU |
| 70. ISHWAR DAYAL SWAMY ⁴ | OFF. LANG.ETC. | BJP | HARYANA | BRAHMIN | HINDI |
| 71. DR. RITA VERMA ⁴ | MINES & MINERALS | BJP | BIHAR | KAYASTHA | HINDI |
| 72. BALASAHEB VIKHE PATIL ⁴ | FINANCE | SS | MAHARASHTRA | MARATHA | MARATHI |
| 73. HUKUM DEV NARAYAN YADAV ⁴ | AGRICULTURE | BJP | BIHAR | YADAV | HINDI |
| 74. ARUN SHOURIE ⁴ | PLANNING & ADMN. REF. | BJP | PUNJAB | KAYASTHA | PUNJABI |

1: Minister in 1998 Vajpayee Ministry

2: Minister in UF Govt. of '96

3: Promoted from MOS in 1998

4: New entrant

CHALO DUNIYA DEKHEN!

SELF - DESTRUCTION IS PAKISTAN'S DESTINY!

PAKISTAN'S DESTINY IS TO SELF-DESTRUCT!

INDIA DID NOT INDUCE IN 1971, IN ANY WAY, WEST PAKISTAN TO OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT EAST - PAKISTAN TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT, MUJIBUR RAHMAN HAD TO SECEDE FROM PAKISTAN AND CREATE BANGLA-DESH.

IMPERIALISM WHICH REFUSED TO GRANT DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA IN 1947 TILL PAKISTAN HAD BEEN CREATED. SINCE THEN PAKISTAN HAS BEEN SUSTAINED BY NEO - COLONIAL AMERICAN POWER, WHICH RECONQUERED AFGHANISTAN VIA PAKISTAN IN 1979 TO 1989, AND FINALLY

I N THE WAR O F LIBERATION OF 1971 T H E I N D I A N A R M Y ASSISTED THE MUKTI V A H I N I GUERRILLAS T O VICTORY. I F RELIGION DID MAKE A NATION T H E N BANGLADESH COULD NOT AND NEED NOT HAVE BEEN BORN. THAT IS WHY THE ONLY

FUTURE FOR PAKISTAN IS TO DISINTEGRATE FURTHER INTO BALUCHISTAN, SIND, NWFP (PAKHTOONISTAN) AND PUNJAB. INDIA CAN ONLY ASSIST THIS INEVITABLE PROCESS OF SELF - DESTRUCTION AND DISINTEGRATION.

PAKISTAN WAS A CREATION OF BRITISH

BROKE THE STALINIST EMPIRE (1989 - 91).

THE USSR ITSELF DISINTEGRATED IN 1989 - 91 AND ALL THE 15 CONSTITUENTS ARE TODAY INDEPENDENT, FIVE OF THESE NEW REPUBLICS ARE IN KAZAKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN, UZBEKISTAN, TADJIKISTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN. OF THESE FIVE,

TURKMENI-STAN, UZBEKISTAN AND TADJIKISTAN LIE ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER OF AFGHANI-STAN, THAT IS , OF HISTORIC INDIA!

TALIBAN IS NOT A NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OR A GUERILLA ORGANI-SATION WITH IDEOLOGICAL AIMS. IT IS A MERE LABEL FOR A DRUG MAFIA, WHICH IS CONTROLLED AND FINANCED BY AMERICAN GANGSTER FAMILIES WHO USE THE CIA AS CONDUIT JUST AS THE TALIBAN USES PAKISTAN'S ISI AS ITS POLITICAL CHANNEL.

INDO - PAK RELATIONS H A V E A L W A Y S BEEN A PART OF INDO - US AND INDO - U K RELATIONS (See box on 11 ROADS TO INDO - PAK AMITY which we h a v e reproduced from our issue of May 1999).

UNLESS USA IS THWARTED A N D DEFEATED,

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ANY GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN, WHETHER CIVILIAN AND CORRUPT, OR MILITARY, AUTHORITATIVE AND CORRUPT!.

AFTER THE DOMINION STATUS OF PAKISTAN WAS ACHIEVED IN 1947, IT HAS BEEN RULED BY A SERIES OF ARMY MEN:

11 ROADS TO INDO - PAK AMITY

Thus, I see only the following eleven alternative routes for developing Indo-Pak

amity:

- (1) USA is militarily checked by Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia, Libya or Yugoslavia.
- (2) Russia ceases to accept US military hegemony and challenges US supremacy over the world.
- (3) The WB, IMF, WTO economic programme receives a serious set-back.
- (4) China and Japan take steps to cut US to size.
- (5) India liberates that part of Kashmir which is under Pakistani occupation
- (6) A Free Trade Zone called Mohajiristan is established on the East Bank of the Indus, in Sindh.
- (7) A Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra is built as a joint venture by ASEAN and SAARC nations.
- (8) Mahathir's nationalist programme is accepted and implemented by Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore.
- (9) A Latin-American debacle of American policy takes place in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina or Chile.
- (10) The Euro becomes the first currency in the world and the American Dollar is pushed down to the second or third place by the Euro and the Japanese Yen.
- (11) An autonomous state of Eelam is established in Sri Lanka with or without the help of India. The formation of Eelam will alter the entire balance of geo-politics in South Asia in India's favour.

We should not think of holding talks or negotiations with Pakistan in order to seek to build up friendship with Pakistan. Talks with Pakistan are useless because Pakistan's masters reside in America and Europe.

The masters of Pakistan have to be tackled and this can be done along the lines suggested above.

(Mankind, May 1999)

BY MAJOR GENERAL ISKANDER
MIRZA FROM 1955 TO 1958, BY
FIELD MARSHAL

PAKISTAN HAS HITHERTO LOC AS THE LINE OF INFILTRATION
FORCED INDIA TO ACCEPT THE BY TERRORISTS FROM BASE

AYUB KHAN
FROM 1958 - 69,
MAJOR GENERAL
YAHYA KHAN
1969 - 71, BY
GENERAL ZIA -
UL - HAQ FROM
1978 - 1988, AND
NOW GENERAL
PARVEZ
MUSHARRAF
HAS TAKEN
OVER IN 1999
AND REFUSE S
TO SET A DATE
FOR THE
RETURN OF
CIVILIAN RULE.
BUT CIVILIAN
RULERS LIKE
ZULFI BHUTTO
(1971-73), FAROOQ
LEGHARI (1993-97)
AND NAWAZ
SHARIF (1998-9)
HAVE BEEN
EQUALLY
AUTHORITARIAN!
(See alongside box
no WISDOM
DAWNS ON
DWN OF
KARACHI).

THE
DEATH WISH OF
PAKISTAN IS
QUITE OBVIOUS.
THE LINE OF
CONTROL IN
KASHMIR,
WHOSE
ACCEPTANCE AS
INTERNATIONAL
BORDER WOULD
BE A CLIMB
DOWN BY INDIA,
IS BEING
REJECTED BY
PAKISTAN
EXTREMISTS!

WISDOM DAWNS ON DAWN OF KARACHI

by Ardeshir Cowasjee

■ **Mohammad Ali Jinnah:** For achieving his ambition to found a state, which he hoped (vainly) would be modern and democratic, a home for those in need of protection, their own country in which they could live and prosper. For enunciating his creed whilst addressing the first session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947. **For doing good, for being fair, just and equitable, free of bigotry or hypocrisy, and for being scrupulously honest both morally and materially.** For stating in his speech broadcast on February 19, 1948: "The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which we are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us tolerance of other creeds and we welcome in close association with us all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan." Jinnah was the first governor-general of the Dominion of Pakistan and died as such on September 11, 1948. **From that day onwards, his successors in office, the presidents and prime ministers that followed, have misgoverned.**

■ **Mohammad Ayub Khan:** The first martial law administrator of Republic of Pakistan adding on the title of president on October 27, 1958. He is remembered for being the man under whom this country for first few years in power, was seen to be truly a developing country. He is remembered for his innovative system of Basic Democracy, rather a flop, **for his decade of development, a misnomer, and for his disastrous 1965 war with India** and his speedy decline thereafter, until sick and tired, he handed over power to his army chief on March 25, 1969.

■ **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto:** First ever civilian martial law administrator holding jointly the post of president from December 21, 1971, to August 14, 1973. Unforgettable. Remembered for all the wrong things, **for the evil he did, and for being hanged to death.** His elder son was murdered during the prime ministership of his elder daughter Benazir, and his younger son died in mysterious circumstances during the presidency of his successor and executor.

■ **Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq:** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto always afraid of the army, to replace the retiring army chief Tikka Khan in February 1976, chose a junior general, sixth down the line, Zia-ul-Haq. Zia was selected for the subservience he had exhibited whilst a corps commander. The fact that his confidential report declared him to be ambitious and not to be trusted was ignored. In 1977, much to the delight of the people, he deposed Bhutto, became the country's **third martial law administrator**, announcing he would march back to his barracks in 90 days. In September 1978, he took over the presidency, remaining president until blown into the skies on August 17, 1988. He is remembered for much wrong, most importantly **for the misuse and abuse of religion to keep him in power.** His legacy haunts us.

■ **Sardar Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari:** Elected president on November 14, 1993, by his party chief Benazir Bhutto and her men. To the manor born, much was expected of him, his record as a civil servant and a minister being whistle-clean. He, as do all, succumbed to the heat from the seat of power and his good deeds faded into oblivion. He is now remembered for his notorious land deal with the doubly notorious **Yunus Habib, for what is known as the Mehran Bank scam**, for failing the nation's expectations that he would clean out the political sewers and for bargaining with Nawaz Sharif, a man he disliked and distrusted, so he too could gain a second term as president.

Source: *Indian Express*, 20.11.99.

C A M P S
LOCATED IN
GILGIT AND
BALTI STAN
AREAS LYING IN
NORTH - WEST
K A S H M I R
(approximately
one-third of J & K
State). WE HAVE
GIVEN THE
MAPS OF
PAKISTAN, ITS
PROVINCES AND
KASHMIR ON
OUR BACK
COVERS.

WHILST
INDIA HELD ITS
FIRST
ELECTIONS
UNDER THE
DOMINION
STATUS
CONSTITUTION
OF '46 - '49
IN SEPT. 1951 TO
FEB. 1952,
PAKISTAN
COULD NOT
HOLD ITS FIRST
ELECTIONS
UNDER ITS
DOMINION
STATUS
CONSTITUTION
OF 1947 - 1956,
TILL 1970, WHEN
MUJIBUR WON
AN ABSOLUTE
MAJORITY AS
LEADER OF HIS
AWAMI PARTY.

GENERALS
MIRZA, AYUB,
YAHYA, ZIA
AND PARVEZ
FORM A SERIES
OF CRUEL
AMERICAN
STOOGES.

WHILST THE CIVILIAN RULERS, JINNAH, LIAQAT ALI, NAZIMUDDIN, THE TWO MOHAMMAD ALIS, SUHRAWARDI, CHUNRIGAR, NOON, JUNEJO MR. AND MRS. BHUTTO, AND NAWAZ HAVE ALL BEEN EXTREMELY CORRUPT AND PSEUDO - DEMOCRATIC, THE MILITARY RULERS HAVE BEEN EQUALLY CORRUPT AND DICTATORIAL. THERE HAVE BEEN NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM OF PRINCIPLES AND IDEOLOGY. EVEN MORE SO THAN IN INDIA. THE PEOPLE OF THE TWO DOMINIONS OF 1947 HAVE NEVER ENJOYED TRUE JUSTICE OR REAL FREEDOM!

PAKISTAN HAS BEEN ASSIGNED THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF INDIA - BAITING, WHICH SUITS THE RULERS OF PAKISTAN WHO KNOW THAT ISLAM IS NOT ENOUGH TO BIND OR FORM A NATION. IF ISLAM CAN FORM A NATION THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN ONLY ONE NATION FROM MOROCCO TO SINKIANG, IN STEAD OF FORTY ! WHEN RELIGION CANNOT FORM A NATION, CRIME CERTAINLY CANNOT DO SO EITHER!

THEREFORE, WE ONCE AGAIN REACH THE SAME CONCLUSION:-

PAKISTAN HAS NOWHERE TO GO, UNDER NEO - COLONIAL, AMERICAN AND BRITISH DISPENSATION, EXCEPT TO SELF-

DESTRUCT AND DISINTEGRATE, AS IN 1971, WHEN BANGLADESH FELL APART! NOW IN 1999, OR 2009, OR THEREABOUTS, PAKISTAN HAS TO FALL APART GIVING BIRTH TO FIVE MORE SMALL STATES NAMED BALUCHISTAN, PAKHTOONISTAN, PUNJABISTAN, SINDHISTAN AND MOHAJIRISTAN.

INDIA CAN ONLY ASSIST AND ACCELERATE THIS NATURAL PROCESS OF BREAKING UP!

ULTIMATELY, LET US ADMIT THAT INDIAN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY MIGHT IS NOT ENOUGH TO CHALLENGE AMERICAN AND BRITISH NEO - COLONIALISM !

THEREFORE SOONER OR LATER IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS OR NEXT FEW YEARS, INDIA WILL SUCCUMB TO ITS OWN COMPRADOR NATURE AND SURRENDER TO NEO - COLONIAL DICTATES, FROM AMERICA AND ENGLAND.

BUT THE LOGIC OF HISTORY DEMANDS THAT OUR RULERS SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE INEVITABLE!

THE WORLD POWERS ARE ON THE LOSING SIDE!

PAKISTAN CANNOT AVOID DISINTEGRATION!

IT COULD NOT AVOID IT IN 1971 DESPITE THE AMERICAN 7TH FLEET IN THE BAY OF BENGAL

AND THE CHINESE PLA FORCES ACROSS SIKKIM AND BHUTAN!

SIMILARLY WEST - PAKISTAN WILL DISSOLVE, DESPITE AMERICAN BASES AND FLEET IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE GULF OF OMAN.

BY REFUSING TO HOLD TALKS WITH PAKISTAN TILL AID TO CROSS - BORDER TERRORISM IN KASHMIR IS STOPPED BY PAKISTAN, ONLY HELPS INDIA TO POSTPONE FUTILE TALKS FOR A FEW MONTHS. THEREAFTER AMERICA WILL ONCE AGAIN ENGAGE IN "CREATIVE ENGAGEMENT WITH PAKISTAN".

PAKISTAN WILL THEN ONCE AGAIN THREATEN INDIA WITH MISSILES AND ARMS SUPPLIED BY AMERICA AND INDIA WILL BE TOLD BY AMERICA TO OBSERVE THE RULES OF THE COMPRADOR GAME.

MANKIND IS POWERLESS TO PREVENT ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS.

IT CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE RULERS OF INDIA WILL PAY HEED TO HISTORY, AND ASSIST THE 'FREE PAKHTOON', 'INDEPENDENT BALOCH', 'JIO SIND' AND 'MOHAJIR AUTONOMY' MOVEMENTS, AND PREPARE FOR A REUNIFIED SOCIALIST CONFEDERATION OF INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH! ■

EAST TIMOR, ACEH, AMBOINA PREFIGURE AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN KASHMIR

1999 is a landmark year.

Generally the wave of National Liberation Movements reached its climax in Asia in the late 40s. Latin America had liberated itself from Spain and Portugal in early 19th century. And Africa achieved some degree of political independence in the 1960s.

The return of troops from Portugal, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain to East Timor and The surrender by Habibie to the Western

powers in 1999 marks a watershed.

For the first time the neo-colonial powers have reversed the nationalist tide and secured the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.

We had debated East Timor with our American subscriber, Peter Manuel in the July '96 issue of *Mankind*, in the section *Adda* at *Nukkad*.

We had pointed out to him that some pockets of neo-colonial influence may survive into the comprador period. We had met the Amboinese hotel owners in Amsterdam in the mid - 60s. They had benefited from the Dutch rule and they had been conducting an agitation for the return of the Dutch to Amboina.

We had written that small pockets of pro-Portuguese, pro-French and pro-Danish influence may have survived in Goa, Pondicherry and

Serampore. The point was that imperialism Drained the colonies of wealth. They Deindustrialised, Ruralised and Pauperised the local economy. In India after 1765 a series of Famines of Purchasing Power occurred which killed over 8.5 crore poor and dalit Indians.

The Dutch were expelled from Indonesia in 1949 and the Portuguese from East Timor in 1975.

As a matter of fact, the Suharto regime was propped up by USA, a criminal regime that has robbed Indonesians of at least 30 billion over the last three decades.

Naturally the Timorese voted against Suharto's comprador regime of NON - DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUED DRAIN OF WEALTH TO SWISS ACCOUNTS OF OVER \$30 BILLION in three decades !

Suharto was overthrown just last year and the overturn is not yet complete. Suharto's man Habibie still survives.

Therefore it is Habibie who must go and the corrupt comprador regime of Suharto and his gang must account for their crimes of the last 3 decades to the Indonesian people.

The point is not to return to the old evil colonial days but to march forward to an equitable free federation of Indonesia.

At the end of 1945 we fought for the liberation of both India and Indonesia with the participation of Indonesian sailors in the street demonstration in Bombay against the trial of the INA officers. The Executive Editor of *Mankind* is proud to have fought shoulder to shoulder with Indonesian freedom fighters in the streets of Bombay at the end of 1945 !

Mankind reiterates its demand for a genuine liberation of not only the East Timorese but all Indonesians from the regime of Suharto, Habibie and all other American CIA stooges.

We reject the return to the past in East Timor.

We look forward to a renewed expulsion of neo-colonial agents from East Timor Amboina and all other under-developed parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

FORWARD TO A GENUINE LIBERATION FROM AMERICAN

MULTINATIONALS.

HABIBIE MUST GO. OTHERWISE INDONESIA WILL TOTALLY DISINTEGRATE.

NOT INDONESIA BUT UNITED STATES HAS FAILED IN EAST TIMOR !

DOWN WITH SUHARTO, HABIBIE AND ALL AMERICAN AGENTS IN POWER IN INDONESIA !

UNITED STATES COULD NOT SOLVE INDONESIA'S PROBLEMS EITHER IN 1965 OR IN 1999 !

PORTUGAL COULD NOT SOLVE INDONESIA'S PROBLEMS EITHER IN 1965 OR NOW.

THE WAY OUT FOR INDONESIA IS NOT A RETURN TO THE HORRID COLONIAL PAST BUT A MARCH FORWARD TO A SOCIALIST INDONESIAN FEDERATION.

POST SCRIPT : IS ACEH A MARKER ON THE ROAD TO INDIAN DISINTEGRATION ?

Rollback of Indonesian independence in 1999 AD with the separation of East Timor, from the Indonesian State has been enforced by USA, the World Financial Agencies (WB, IMF, and WTO) and the armed forces of Australia and UK operating under a UN banner.

In our earlier issues (July 1999), we had attached Noam Chomsky, a shameless spokesman for neo-colonial Portuguese, Australian and Euro-American interests, for supporting the East Timorese separatists, whilst pretending to be a Progressivist.

We had pointed out that the Amboinese of the erstwhile Moluccas (within the old Dutch East Indies) had made similar demands from 1950. But this counter - revolutionary demand had been brushed aside by the resurgent nationalist tide in Asia and for decades no one had paid any heed to this "Voice from the Waste-bin of History". Pockets of foreign influence may survive and linger on for prolonged periods under overall conditions of negligible economic development as in north Goa and in Pondicherry in India.

It was USA that originally promoted Suharto in 1965 and brought him into power as a CIA agent. Suharto ensured NON - DEVELOPMENT in Indonesia from 1965 till his removal in 1998. Now neo-colonial interests --- Portuguese, Australian, Dutch etc. have returned riding piggy back upon rioting and rudderless mobs in East Timor.

We had pointed to the dangers inherent in the roll back, since a roll back can turn into a reactionary tidal wave !

This is exactly what has happened, at the other end of the Indonesian archipelago, in Aceh, at the north - western corner of Sumatra. Gigantic demonstrations have been financed by the OECD powers and the disoriented and disaffected mob has questioned the very basis of Indonesian freedom in 1949. Acehnese have demanded separation from Indonesia on the grounds that the events of 1949 were a manifestation of Javanese imperialism and not true liberation.

In our surveys of the scene we have repeatedly pointed out that a critical point has been reached in Indonesia.

The new President, half blind and semi-paralysed, Abdurrahman Waheed, aged 76 has replaced the American stooges Suharto and Habibie. Megawati Sukarnoputri contested and lost against Waheed and promptly joined the fundamentalist Islamic wing by agreeing to become Indonesia's new Vice - President.

We have always warned the revolutionary forces that once you begin to retreat, in real life a small withdrawal inevitably becomes a total rout.

After East Timor, now Aceh, and tomorrow reinvigorated Amboina will demand autonomy and independence.

We call upon the revolutionaries of the world to immediately rush assistance to the beleaguered Indonesian armies. We feel that an International Brigade should be immediately formed to protect Indonesian independence from rampant neo-colonial marauders. We particularly call upon Portuguese and

Dutch Trotskyists to urgently rise to the occasion and defend the interests of the national liberationist forces in Indonesia.

We call upon Vajpayee and his minions in the External Affairs Ministry to strenuously oppose grant of any plebiscitary voting rights to the Acehnese.

Today it is the turn of the East Timorese, the Acehnese and the Amboinese, tomorrow OECD and

NATO powers will intervene in Kashmir. Nehru's historic blunder has already conceded referendum to a small area called J & K State on our international border. By victory in Bangladesh which was only half reversed at Simla in 1972, we have so far managed to force back cross-border terrorism promoted by Pakistan. Today after Kargil even cross-border terrorism is being

questioned by world public opinion. We must ensure that Pakistan is compelled to desist permanently from promotion of narcotic smuggling and covert and overt support to armed guerrillas across the LOC.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF FREEDOM.

WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE INDONESIAN RETREAT TO BECOME AN INDIAN ROUT! ■

AMBOINA : A TOMBSTONE IN THE DUTCH IMPERIALIST CEMETERY

Amboina : An island in the Moluccas province of the Indonesian Archipelago, area 314 Sq. miles, pop. (1957) 72,679.

As the Portuguese have acted in East Timor, so had the Dutch in Amboina. As imperialist sponsors of fissiparous anti-national "movements"!

The Amboinese are of the Melanesian racial type. "A large number of Amboinese, educated in Christian Schools, served in the Dutch administration and army, and identified themselves with the colonial power. After independence, their social and economic position became precarious. . . . The Amboinese seceded in April 1950, a few months after December 1949, when Indonesia declared independence, and the Amboinese proclaimed an independent South Moluccas Republic. The movement was suppressed by military action, but guerrilla warfare continued, and a government-in-exile carried on, complaining to the United Nations. In the meantime, many Amboinese found refuge in the Netherlands. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, Vol. 1, p. 720.)

Such imperialism - sponsored "popular" movements are neither popular nor lasting. They are like the bubbles that rise and burst upon reaching the surface.

Nobody knows or cares about the petitions still being filed before the U.N. Decolonisation Committee by the Amboinese for preservation of their petty group privileges for all time.

Dutch support was available for a few years, but in 1957, there was a large-scale expulsion of the Dutch, for their nefarious subversive activities, from Indonesia. Since then, nothing has been heard of about "the great Amboinese Human Rights Movement!"

East Timorese are being accommodated in the Portuguese Embassy in Jakarta, from where they are launching periodical "great demonstrations" against the Indonesian rulers!

Mankind believes that such social props of the bygone heinous imperialist system are to be found in every colony, as for instance in India, where pockets of Portuguese influence may still be found in Goa; or of French influence in Pondicherry; or of British influence in Nepal (Gorkha Regiments), or Christian Missionary — Raj Outposts in North - East India.

We should not take these relics of the past at all seriously. Such pinpricks must be absorbed by the National Liberation Movements of the Third World, and should be firmly brushed aside. As we say in India, "dogs may keep barking, but the elephant marches on!"

EAST TIMOR : A NEO - COLONIAL DIVERSIONARY TACTIC

Timor is an island within the vast Indonesian archipelago, which consists of over thirteen thousand islands, with a total land area of 1,907,568 km² and a population in 1991 of 181.30 millions (Its population in 1971 was 119.21 mlns.)

The island of Timor is divided into two parts : West Timor with an area of 15,810 km² (0.83% of Indonesia) West Timor became a part of free Indonesia in 1949 itself.

East Timor had a land area of 14,925 km² (0.78% of the land area of Indonesia). East Timor was under Portuguese occupation and the Portuguese refused to quit till they were forcibly kicked out, in 1974, when East Timor was merged into Indonesia.

Thus, it will be seen that East Timor is an insignificant part of Indonesia being less than one percent of its area.

As far as population goes, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives an estimate for 1970 of some six lakhs (Even if an increase of the same range is assumed for it as for the rest of Indonesia, the total will be less than one half per cent of Indonesia One CIA ruffian has just appeared on CNN, under the name of Jose Ramos - Horta, who has claimed that the East Timorese number about seven lakhs. This man of almost pure Portuguese extraction alleged that about one third of the people of East Timor had been massacred by the Indonesian army.

The world has had very extensive experience of the brutality and bigotry of the Portuguese empire in Brazil, in Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and in Goa, Daman and Diu in India. The Portuguese were among the cruellest colonial rulers that the world has known. Furthermore, they were the meanest, since Portugal itself lacked the resources to build a modern economy in the metropolis.

This white adventurer, Jose Ramos-Horta, did not advance any reason for the alleged wrongful behaviour of the Indonesians. Under Indonesian rule, the East Timorese had the same rights as any other people of Indonesia. No proof was advanced by Ramos-Horta as to why the Papuans of East Timor should be singled out for exercise of special repressive measures, when their brother Papuans of Irian-Jaya, across the straits, were not being dealt with with any severity.

Even if the highly exaggerated and unproven claims of Ramos-Horta are partly true, let us examine the background. The Americans, at the height of the Cold War in 1965, staged a military coup in 1965 led by their stooge and agent Suharto, who overthrew Sukarno, a non-aligned leader, and massacred an estimated one million communists and their sympathizers (estimate by *Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

Mankind does not know if Noam Chomsky and his friends ever protested against the barbaric activities of Suharto and his army generals from 1965 to the present. Anyway the current excitement about the demands of the East Timorese, who did not participate in the national liberation struggle against either the Dutch (upto 1949) or against the Portuguese (upto 1974), have suddenly discovered, under American inspiration, that they are a nation.

The whole thing is farcical and absurd. It does not deserve serious attention.

CAR (upto Rs. 85 lakhs)

If it's top of the-line, it has got to be the hot favourite - a LEXUS LS 400 or a Porsche 911 (Anil Ambani's car). Take a look at the Lexus with every conceivable feature from power steering, electrically operated seats, sun roof, to a choice of interiors. The cost? Nirav Minawala, a leading car dealer says, "Approximately 55 lakhs." He warns that some Range Rovers and Porsches can be even more expensive.

CAMERA (upto Rs. 5.67 lakhs)

If you are looking for an asset, and a camera, then get a Hasselblad. This Swedish-made camera has invariably been fitted on just about every spacecraft starting with Apollo 13 and has captured all those famous pictures of the lunar surface. The 205 FCC model with normal length lenses, a tele-lens, two magazines and a polaroid magazine would cost approximately Rs. 5,67,300.

MUSIC SYSTEM

(upto Rs. 7 to 8 lakhs)

Bung & Olufsen's Avant. This system consists of a television with front speakers, dolby decoder and rear speakers. You can also go in for the six CD changer which comes with front speakers. This system should not cost you less than Rs. 7 to 8 lakhs, depending on the accessories you want.

SUIT (upto Rs. 30,000)

The chairman's collection from Raymonds comes to you for Rs. 30,000 per suit length. And a few accessories like a tie, clips etc. are thrown in. It's 150s wool and cashmere.

SHOES (upto Rs. 5,500)

At Rinaldi's you will find women's slip-ons that are fitted with semi precious stones like garnets and topaz as well as a range of shoes done in Swarovski crystal. They have a synthetic or satin finish and cost Rs 5,500.

BAG (upto Rs. 8,500)

Broque bags with gold plated silver detachable chains that can be used as chains around your neck can be yours for Rs. 8,500. This woman's bag is made of silk brocade.

SHERWANI (upto Rs. 1 lakh)

Sherwanis from the likes of Abu Jani, complete with the most intricate Zardosi work, that can take days to complete can cost approximately Rs. 1 lakh.

MOBILE PHONE (upto Rs. 29,000)

They're getting smaller and snazzier than ever. One of these days you'll have difficulty finding it on a shelf in a store. The current top-of-the-line mobile phone is the three inch Motorola-3688 which is amazingly light. No more embarrassing sounds in the middle of a meeting; it will vibrate, quietly, discreetly. It costs Rs. 29,000.

PALM TOP DIARY (upto Rs. 32,000)

No more scribble pads and electronic diaries. The Compaq Palm PC which comes with an astounding 16 MB RAM costs Rs. 32,000.

INDIAN DESIGNERWEAR (upto Rs. 1.5 lakhs)

Take a look at Azeem Khan's latest creation - a trumpet skirt with a halter blouse. It has Swarovski crystal and gold beads all over the outfit. It consists of two layers of fabric, one is Shamo which holds the fabric properly and the other Organza. The outfit weighs 15 kilos. The price? At a guesstimate, 1.5 lakh.

MEAL (upto Rs. 10,000 per head)

A celebration dinner at the Zodiac Grill. If you choose to go for the best money can buy, you might want to consider this. It's a ten-course meal consisting of caviar, Scottish salmon, fresh goose liver, truffles, Canadian lobster, New Zealand beef, a cheese course and exclusive sampler dessert. The wine is Chateau Latour. Rs 10,000 per head.

Zealand beef, a cheese course and exclusive sampler dessert. The wine is Chateau Latour. Rs 10,000 per head.

PEN (upto Rs. 1 lakhs)

The limited edition Caran Dache pen comes with a crystal ink bottle. There are only 1888 pens in the world. It's sterling silver with intricate enamel work and Its nib is

HAWA KA EK JHONKA

**PAISEWALON KA
NANGA
NAATCH !**

18 carat gold. The price? Rs. 1 lakh.

WINE (upto Rs. 15,000 to 18,000)

Chateau Margaux, '91 Bordeaux, a good vintage can cost you anything between Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 18,000 a bottle. A dessert wine like Chateau D'Yquem, a sweet wine with an intoxicating aroma costs Rs. 22,000.

REAL ESTATE (upto Rs. 2.5 crores per sq. ft.)

It has to be Malabar Hill and Napeansea Road. To narrow it down, it would be Ridge road. An apartment in one of these flats very recently sold for Rs. 25,000 per square foot. And this in what everyone agrees is a depressed market. Get the drift?

CLOCK (upto Rs. 6.21 lakhs)

The famous German - made Kieninger clock with its casing made in India costs a whopping Rs. 6,21,000. It works on weights. You can see the phases of the moon and it chimes every 15 minutes. And ofcourse, its gold plated.

WATCH (upto Rs. 9.62 lakhs)

There are more expensive watches in the world, but what's available is Piaget's Polo. This is a sturdy 18 carat solid gold watch which is automatic and the movement inside is handmade. This limited edition watch costs Rs. 9,62,819.

Source: The Sunday Times of India, October 24, 1999

Further data by *Mankind* Research Bureau:

| Category | Item | Brand | Top Price(Rs.) | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------------------|------------------|--------|
| Home appliances | Microwave (37 liters) | BPL | 26,000 | |
| | (25 liters) | Others | 15,000 | |
| | Cooking range with glass top + burners, ovens | BPL | 26,000 | |
| | Cooking range | Faber | 25,000 | |
| | Kitchenhoods built in Hobs with chimney | Premium | 29,000 | |
| | Dishwasher | IFB (Bauche) | 24,000 | |
| | Dishwasher | Vidcocon | 20,000 | |
| | Oven Toaster Griller | Bajaj | 6,000 | |
| | Food Processor | Molinox | 11,000 | |
| | Cordless Kettle | Bajaj | 1,395 | |
| | Sandwich Toaster | Bajaj | 1,100 | |
| | Slice Toaster | Tefal | 2,500 | |
| | Ice cream Maker | Softel | 2,045 | |
| | Wafer MAker | Kenstar | 1,995 | |
| | Pizza Maker | Kenstar | 1,995 | |
| | Rice Cooker | National | 3,000 | |
| | TV Trolley | Mapco | 2,975 | |
| | Dinner Set | La Opala | 3,500 | |
| | Baking Dish | Borosil | 750 | |
| | Ice Box | | 450 | |
| | Ironing Board | | 900 | |
| | Non - stick Frying Pan (24 cm) | Tefal | 650 | |
| | Vegetable orater | | 440 | |
| | Lid Opener | | 610 | |
| | Toiletries & Cosmetics | Facewash | Lakme | 40 |
| | | Facewash | Pears | 36 |
| | | Mouthwash | Prudent | 35 |
| Toothpaste | | Colgate | 42 | |
| Toothpaste | | Pepsodent | 23 | |
| Tissue | | | 45 | |
| Deodorant stick | | Denim | 25 | |
| Deodorant stick | | Rexona | 21 | |
| Suncream (20g) | | Lakme | 39 | |
| Cleansing milk (60 ml) | | | 25 | |
| Perfume | | Deci Dela | 3,000 | |
| Aromatherapy relaxation Kit | | | 750 | |
| Tea | | Rare Second flush | 1,250 | |
| Foundation Cream (15 ml) | | Christian Dior | 1,600 | |
| Compact Powder | | Christian Dior | 900 | |
| Make-up kit | | | 770 | |
| Lipsticks | | Lancome | 800 | |
| | | Clinique | 500 | |
| | | Max Factor | 400 | |
| Jewellery | | Diamond Ring in 18 carat gold | Carbon | 10,000 |
| | Tanishq Jewellery Watch | Titan | 30,000 & upwards | |
| Undergarment sets | Bras, Panties | Lovable | 550 | |
| | | St. Michael | 1,800 | |
| Decorative articles | Marble Inlay Table | | 14,600 | |
| | Chess Top | | 14,500 | |
| | Woollen Handwoven Carpet | | 3,500 | |
| | Hand Crocheted Tops | | 1,500 | |
| | Pashmina Embroidered Shawl | | 7,000 | |
| | Ceramic Dinner Set | | 3,870 | |
| | Bone China Set | | 5,625 | |
| | Soft Toy | | 600 | |
| | Embroidered Kurta Pyjama | | 4,000 | |
| | Embroidered Kurta Pyjama (for men) | | 4,000 | |
| | Polyster filled Quilt | | 4,050 | |
| | Cotton | | 1,465 | |
| | Pen | Hertig | 1,050 | |
| | Wooden Carved Pair of Statues | | 8,000 | |
| | Rosewood elephant with ivory inlay | | 4,500 | |
| | Terracotta Urn | | 2,500 | |
| | Antique Gramophone | | 6,000 | |
| | Leather Belt (Lacoste) | | 1,800 | |
| | Rayban sunglasses | | 9,000 | |

MNC'S TARGET INDIAN WOMEN'S PRIVATE TOILETERIES

HYGIENE AND HISTORY : IMPERIALISM DESTROYED

INDIAN HEALTH

In pre-British times Indians possessed a very healthy life - style.

Europe was not only poverty - stricken but also naturally, that is physiographically and climatologically, severely handicapped. Its cold and wet climate was cloudy, foggy and misty for most months in the year.

The sun shone fitfully for just a few weeks in a year. The climate and soil were unsuitable for the domestication of any valuable cultigens.

Contact with water hurt the human physiology and thus arose the dirty habits of using spoons, knives and especially forks in the cold climate, as well as the use of leaves and paper after morning ablutions.

In contrast the long hours of sunshine available during the day and throughout the year in India acted as a natural anti - bacterial agent or germ - killer. The diseases brought by Europeans killed off the original inhabitants of the Americas by the millions, sometimes even before any White man reached the Red - Indian village ! (Indirect contact through warfare and internal travel between *peublos* by natives resulted in epidemical deaths. Even prior to actual arrival of European barbarians).

The Chinese called the Westerners in a very literal sense "hairy apes." They were of part *neanderthalic* descent. Very robust to resist the rigours of climate, very hairy, white - skinned, red - haired, albino eyes, etc. They must have looked like nothing on earth !

Till the middle of the 18th century during Samuel Johnson's time and prior to the arrival of Indian loot, it was a normal practice amongst Englishmen to carry wooden plates and forks, knives, and spoons in their pockets when dining out. Naturally their pockets and implements became filthy in course of time as fats and oils adhered.

Since contact with water was hurtful in the sub-tropical and temperate lands of Euro-America, the daily bath was a luxury that few could afford.

The stench of the Europeans was very well known to our older generations. If a European entered even a big hall those compelled to remain, put the greatest distance possible between them and the White apes.

The daily bath of the Indians was held up to ridicule in comprador circles. All sorts of "untouchability" and ritual pollution considerations were attributed to Indians in general and Hindus in particular.

The use of water was universal and habitual. The daily bath was a European luxury but in India it was absolutely normal and routine. The long hours of sunlight and the normal practices of *ayurveda* like *yoga* and *pranayam* enabled the Indians to live a largely disease free life. They had vaccines against small pox and chicken pox and used cincona and other barks and roots for making concoctions and infusions which allayed many fevers and pulmonary troubles. As Hamilton writes gout was absolutely unknown and so were scroffula and many other "firangi-rogs" like syphilis, which is to this day known as a disease brought by the Portuguese and the French to India.

The Chinese who were the victims of the narcotics trade carried out by the Westerners in the 19th century (the so-called Opium Wars of 1848 to 1860) had always shown utter contempt for the uncivilised, dirty and diseased Westerners.

It was the normal practice of European warfare to sling over diseased dead bodies into the enemy's fortifications and garrison towns. This was the primitive form of biological warfare practised by the Europeans from at least the Crusades of the 11th and 12th centuries.

We may say that Indians were lucky, if by luck is meant a unique concatenation of physiographic hydrological and meteorological features.

The Chinese were compelled to use human faeces as the end element of the nitrogen chain, but India had such immense wealth in the form of domesticated animals that human dung was not such a compulsive need for Indian agriculture. Also two-thirds of the land was arable, whilst in China only 18% was cultivable.

The strange combination of highly fertile land with immense wealth of domesticated animals enabled Indians to live a very rich life for several millennia. As Francois Bernier said Gold and Silver after circulating in every part of the globe came at last to be swallowed up by India.

That is why the oldest literature of the world, the oldest and the most thorough - going mathematics, the oldest metallurgy, the oldest advances in chemistry, distillation, medicine and pharmacology happened to be made by Indians in India.

TWO FACES OF INDIAN REALITY !

THE OBTVERSE

Amul

The world's most successful co-operative movement created India's largest consumer non-durable brand, an acronym for Anand Milk Union Ltd.



It changed more than just the car market. It changed attitudes and lifestyles. The M800 remains the most loved car in India.

NIAMA

One man with no capital or a nationwide network created a brand that sent shivers down MNC spines and brought prices down across the industry.



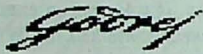
To millions of Indians, the brandname of one of the largest two-wheeler makers in the world has, for decades, stood for "value for money for years". (Logo designed by Dr. Vinayak Purohit through Aakar Advertising).



The brandname combines doktor (the Bengali version of doctor) and Burman. A century later, it balances Indian medical tradition with cutting-edge research.



India's largest business group, with a name that spans steel and salt, software and tea. Now entering the new millennium armed with a brand identity re-design



A brand that has translated from the original locks to fridges. On the way, it became synonymous with both locks and admirals.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

The way the Old Lady of Bori Bunder has managed to remain youthful, sprightly and aggressive is today the stuff of marketing legend. Now spreading its wings across a variety of media.



The buzz that starts before the images appear, the joy of the jingle, a series of water-nymphs. A brand that's drunk from the fountain of eternal youth.

Source: Outlook, November 22, 1999, pp. 60-61.

TITAN

Originally a Tata-TN government amalgam, this brandname made India believe there was more to watches than telling the time.

I confess and admit that I have been closely connected with two of the above Ten Greatest Indian Brands, as graphic designer and writer. Thus to a very small extent, as a technocrat, I have been partly responsible for their promotion.

The compact Bajaj logo "B" was designed by the studio of Aakar Advertising Agency which I was running from about 1971 to 1973. The more

expanded logo "bajaj" was selected by me a little earlier for Bajaj Electricals and seems now to have been accepted by the entire Bajaj Group.

I have had nothing to do with the hammering and the hype that have turned these two logos into Grand Brand Images. That was done by my friends and employers in the Bajaj Group, namely Kamalnayan and Ramakrishna, and their children Rahul, Shishir, Shekhar, Madhur and Neeraj Bajaj, respectively.

Brand Image is a function of Repetition and Reinforcement. In other words it depends on the money spent to drive home the Message.

This is a financial decision for which the owners of the Brand are responsible. I could have had very little to do with that kind of policy - making and policy formulation.

The second brand out of the Ten with which I was intimately associated is the *Times of India*.

As I have written elsewhere, I was the first critic of the *Times of India* for North Indian Classical Music

from 1956 onwards. Bennet Coleman and company had changed hands many years ago but the management had remained very narrowly Anglo-Indian. Whole column-lengths of music reviews appeared for Western Music, many of them written by my friend Petit, but not a word appeared about any form of Indian Music when I began in 1956 with Gangubai Hangal's (see *Mankind*, Jul-Aug., 1999) memorable concert for the Suburban Music Circle, Mumbai. Initially, I covered the entire musical field: North Indian, South Indian, Folk, Light Classical, etc., and even Classical Indian Dance. Gradually I introduced other specialists to take care of the various genres and chose to specialise in North Indian Classical. I breached the Anglo-Indian fortress of *Times of India* initially as Indian Music Critic.

Another obstacle remained. *The Times* refused to print anything in any Indian language, even if it was part of a paid advertisement. In 1971, I breached this second bastion also. For Aakar Advertising Agency, I had designed an advertisement that included reference to the basic seven Indian musical notes *Sa, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni, Sa*. These I had rendered as सा, रे, ग, म, प, ध, नि, सा in Devanagari. *The Times* press refused to print these Devanagari characters. I insisted that there was no translation possible of these designations of musical notes. I had to meet the Advertisement Manager of *the Times*, who at that time was one Mr. Ahluwalia, a Sikh, in order to press my case. Years ago, I had been a Vice-President of the Times Employees' Union, and I had known intimately the terrible anti-Indian stance of *the Times* management. However, upon my insistence in 1971-72, that *the Times* press must accept my ad insertion without any modification, The Times Advertisement Manager finally relented and informed me that they will print the whole advertisement in Devanagari script if I insisted and their Board of Directors had decided to open its doors in future to all such requests. I mention this as both 1956 and 1971 are important dates. My BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS HAVE MERGED INTO SOCIO - POLITICAL HISTORY !

I invite the reader to consider the following chronological sequence:

1953 : Stalin's death.

1955 - 56 : Bulganin and Khrushchev visit India and agree to supply arms to Nehru's government.

1954 : Pakistan joins the Cold War as an American stooge and becomes a member of both the Baghdad Pact or MEDO (Middle East Defence Organisation) and SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation).

1948 - 1955: Nehru has been seeking an alliance with USA as we have shown in our *Mankind* issue of June 1999. He changes tack after the Khrushchev - Bulganin visit and accepts the offer of the Communist Bloc to meet India's defence needs. He chose to call himself henceforth NON - ALIGNED, in order to mollify and protect his new arms suppliers from the Communist States of Eastern Europe.

1955 : Nehru joins the Bandung Conference where he patronisingly introduces Chou En Lai to Nasser of Egypt, Nkrumah of Ghana, Sukarno of Indonesia and Tito of Yugoslavia, as though Nehru was a revolutionary of equal rank with Chou. Chou resented this patronising by Nehru who was just a pipsqueak. Let us recollect that Nehru and the four named heads of government formed the quintumvirate of NAM.

1956 : The De - Stalinisation drive by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

1957 : Russia lofts the Sputnik, the first satellite, thus beating the USA in the Space Race. This induces Khrushchev to go overboard, and induct missiles into Cuba in the early 60s which he is forced to withdraw under American threat in 1962.

Khrushchev 's fall begins from this year but his successor Brezhnev accepts the three basic concepts of the Khrushchev Era:

1. Peaceful Coexistence of USA and USSR whilst the Cold War rages between them;
2. Non-Capitalist Path of Development for the Non-Socialist Governments of the Third World which are friendly to the Soviet Union, i.e., Nehru's India and generally the Non - Aligned Movement whose members were not exactly Socialist, but yet "Progressive", that is Friendly to the USSR.
3. Non-Revolutionary Course for these countries which were following a Non-Capitalist Road of Development.

This was the basic three-sided compromise that Nehru made with his new arms suppliers from Russia and Eastern Europe, and called it Non - Alignment. It was actually spasmodic subservience to Stalinism and Stalinist

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Russia, which blended with the general overall long-term comprador subservience to Anglo-American interests. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY APPEALING TO THE INDIAN BUREAUCRATS WHO HAD BEEN PROMOTING AND PROPPING UP THE OLD BRITISH COLONIAL REGIME, WHICH HAD BEEN TERRORISING INDIANS THROUGH AN ENDLESS SERIES OF FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER FROM 1765 TO 1947! THUS NEHRUISM BECAME LOW KEY STALINISM PLUS INDIAN COMPRADOR BUREAUCRATISM!

The Indian bourgeois i.e. found its feet in 1955-6, when State Capitalism under Nehru gave them an elan of the Congress sort - shamefaced, cowardly, hesitant and contradictory.

Now in 1999, Vajpayeean image has been similarly acquired. Globalisation is to be pursued, but with Pokhran, more hypocrisy, more pseudo-Swadeshi. Corruption is to be carried to imports of sugar from Pakistan to lend sinews to more Kargils.

1958 - '62 : Russia prefers to break with China rather than part with Atomic Bomb secrets. Mao insists on sharing of nuclear technology. Russia suddenly withdraws thousands of technicians from China who depart with the blue prints. Mao's China is stunned and momentarily crippled. We have dealt with these and other landmarks of recent history in our series on *25 Turning Points In World History* (Feb-Mar 1997 to June 1999) and *India and Her Neighbours* (Aug-Sep 1996, pp. 39-48).

1956 : The Gulag Archipelago of Siberian Forced Labour Camps (Alexander Solzhenitsyn - *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1974, 660 pages, provides complete documentation of Stalin's horror establishments that rivalled Hitler's Concentration Camps), was emptied. The bureaucracy remained in power under Khrushchev and his successors but after the de-Stalinisation drive the Russian bureaucracy was unable to prevent a large-scale exodus from the Concentration Camps.

Even more important was the return to their original homelands of the national and ethnic minorities of the Caucasus and the Urals, which had been expelled by Stalin for their alleged collaboration with the invading Hitlerite hordes. For instance, the Chechens and the Dagestanis had been forcibly removed en masse to Siberian exile, (1941-2). The Chechens and other minorities returned to their native lands brushing aside all barbed wire fences and prison guards.

1971 : The 1947 Partition of India, enforced by British imperialism, was partially reversed, when the Indian army assisted the *Mukti Vahini* in liberating Bangladesh, despite the threats posed by the American 7th Fleet which had entered the Andaman Sea and by the Chinese PLA which was poised across the Tibetan-Bhutanese and Tibetan-Sikkimese borders.

1947 - 48 : The Communist Party of India supported British Imperialist policy of divide and rule and helped to Partition India in 1947. In addition to assisting Jinnah's Muslim League, the CPI also joined hands with the Razakars of Hyderabad to resist the Indian Army which had entered Hyderabad in order to unify India.

1946 - 53 : During the immediate post-war period till Stalin's death, the Ultra-Left Zhdanov Line prevailed though Stalin's favourite A. A. Zhdanov, Gen. Sec. of CPSU, who had fathered the Line had died in 1948.

Under this Ultra Left strategy the CPI (there was no CPIM or CPIML in those days) the Communist cadres in Indian jails were ordered to stage "Jail Riots" termed "Prison Revolts"! In those days Gandhi, Patel and Nehru were designated as "running dogs of imperialism" by Indian Communists! The Indian party was controlled through its colonial masters. Harry Politt and Rajni Palme Dutt of the CPGB, repeatedly visited India, bringing the latest Cominform directives (for details of manouvres by British Communist leaders in India see Raj Thapar, *All These Years : A Memoir*, 1991).

1958 : Later after the Khrushchev - Bulganin visit of 1955 - 56 the Stalinist Line changed to extreme "Reformism, Popular Front and even Entry into Congress"! Thus V. K. Krishna Menon, Mohan Kumaramangalam and I. K. Gujral joined the Congress from Great Britain, India and Pakistan.

TWO FACES OF INDIAN REALITY ! THE REVERSE

ROYAL CHALLENGE FACES OF THE MILLENNIUM

NOVEMBER 22, 1999

INDIA TODAY

ORISSA'S COLLAPSE

- 13,000 tonnes of food undelivered
- 60,000 saris and dhotis undistributed
- No electricity in 50% of affected towns
- Half of the 270 telephone exchanges dead
- 3 key collectors absconding
- Rs 52 crore emergency relief fund unspent

Chief Minister
GAMANG SHOULD

GO!



THE ORISSA SUPERCYCLONE OF OCTOBER 12 BLEW AWAY ALL THE PRETENSIONS OF THE CONGRESS - NAUKARSHAHI COMBINE WHICH HAS RULED INDIA FOR 46 OUT OF THE LAST 52 YEARS, AND ORISSA STATE FOR VERY NEARLY THE SAME PERIOD.

ALL STORIES OF GRAND ORISSA DEVELOPMENT VANISHED WITH THE WINDS !

GEORGE FERNANDES, WHO HAS BEEN PLACED IN CHARGE OF ALL ORISSA RELIEF MEASURES BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, HAS DECLARED THAT 5% OF VILLAGES AFFECTED BY THE SUPER-CYCLONE, NUMBERING SOME 400, HAD NOT YET BEEN EVEN CONTACTED, AS OF 20TH NOVEMBER 1999 !

THAT IS THE STATE OF AFFAIRS OF THE POOR MASSES OF THE REAL INDIA IN 1999 AT THE END OF HALF A CENTURY OF CONGRESS - COMPRADOR MISRULE !

JUST AS DURING THE HEYDAYS OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE FROM 1765 TO 1947, WHEN INDIA WAS DEINDUSTRIALISED, RURALISED AND PAUPERISED, WHEN AN ENDLESS SERIES OF FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER SELECTIVELY KILLED OFF CRORES OF POOR INDIANS, SIMILARLY THE SUPER-CYCLONE OF 1999, SELECTIVELY SLAUGHTERED AND BLEW AWAY THE HOMES OF THE POOREST ORIA FARMERS, CRAFTSMEN AND LANDLESS LABOURERS !

WE ONCE AGAIN GREET THE 59 INDIAN MONOPOLY HOUSES (MK, April 1998), AND THE 10 GREAT BRANDS PROJECTED BY THEM ! (SEE PRECEDING PAGES FOR NOTES ON THE "OBVERSE").

LET US MODIFY THE FAMOUS LINES OF DOS PASSOS BY REWRITING THEM :

KARGIL AND KASHMIR, BANGLADESH AND KUTCH,

BOOMS AND BUSTS ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE,

HARSHAD MEHTAS, HAWALA JAINS, NARASIMHA RAOS AND MANMOHAN SINGHS,

GLORY BE TO LIBERALISATION, PRIVATISATION AND GLOBALISATION!

ORISSA SUPER-CYCLONES, BHOPAL GAS TRAGEDIES AND LATUR-KOYNA EARTHQUAKES,

STARVATION, LICE, CHOLERA AND TYPHUS:

GOOD GROWING WEATHER FOR THE HOUSES OF COMPRADORS AND NAUKARSHAHS !

THE *GITA* SANCTIFIES PASTORALIST SURRENDER TO FEUDALISM : II

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

I: PROLOGUE

This is the sixth paper in the series that we have been presenting at sessions of the Indian History Congress. The preceding papers have been: (i) The Asiatic Mode of Production and Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography (Proceedings of 40th Session, pp.741-50, 1979); (ii) The Pastoralist Class Society in Indian History and Historiography (41st Session, 1980, mimeographed), (iii) Post-pastoralist, First Phase Feudalism; in Indian History and Historiography (Proceedings of 42nd Session, pp 95-99, 1981); (iv) Brahminical Second Phase Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography (43rd Session, 1982, mimeographed); and (v) The Gazetteers and Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process (This is the only paper not read at session of the I. H. C. It has been published in the Indian Archives Vo. XXX, No.2, July-Dec. 1981, pp. 32-58).

In particular, we refer the interested reader to the section on Historiography in our 1982 monograph, wherein we have defined our historiographical objectives as follows: (a) establishment of primacy of theory, (b) multi-disciplinary and non-specialist approach, (c) historical materialist base, (d) conferment of centrality to issues of periodisation and phasization, (e) Indian History viewed as autochthonous entity, yet subordinate to the rhythm of world history, (f) use of art works as levers of historical analysis, and (g) a reliance on the methodology of cumulative evidence to build up a pattern or gestalt of the totality.

Normally, in carrying out our self-appointed and immodest task of rewriting Indian history, we would have chosen the third, fourth and fifth phases of Indian feudalism as subject for the 44th Session of the IHC. However, we have deviated from this path for several reasons:

1. We believe that our contribution on the pastoralist period of Indian history is of utmost significance. In the present paper, we would like to reiterate and reinforce our arguments.

2. A vigorous attack on the forces of obscurantism, irrationalism, religiosity, communalism and *gurubazi* confronts the Indian as an urgent task. With White sectarian adherents running into hundreds of thousands, and with millions of overseas Indians expending hundreds of millions of US dollars in supporting religious organisations and fraudulent miracle-men, modernised and refurbished Hinduism has become a new channel of neo-colonial pressure upon India. Conscious rationalists must combat this trend and treat this task as urgent.

3. Within the country too, strange compromises have been made by the so-called progressive forces with religious movements and communal organisations. For instance, in Kerala, the parties of the left have stimulated and / or sustained the minutest divisions and fragmentations of vote banks on communal and caste lives. Similarly, in Assam, Tripura, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, communal and tribal conflicts are approaching a climax. Finally, in every

state, casteist and communalist forces are determining the pattern of electoral appeals and victories. Therefore at this juncture, it becomes necessary to attack religiosity as such. It is, in our humble view, no longer permissible to sidetrack matters on grounds of tactfulness and tactics. The time has come for marxists in the country to rediscover and reproject their atheistic and materialistic premises boldly and uncompromisingly

In this context the fitness and the centrality of the *Gita* can scarcely be doubted. It is the singlemost important document of Hinduism. The *Gita* or *Bhagavad Gita* "has come to be regarded as the sacred book, *par excellence*, of the Hindus." (Romila Thapar, *A History of India*, Vol.1.1972, P.134) Its historical and contemporary relevance have been stressed in a recent work:

"All prominent authorities on Hinduism considered themselves bound to compile their commentaries to the *Gita*, or at least to proclaim what their views were with regard to the teaching expounded therein... The *Gita* came to be seen as the concentrated expression of the ideology of reformed Brahmanism, and later of Hinduism in general. Prominent thinkers traced their own, utterly original conceptions back to it, deliberately stressed this or that particular aspect of its content. In recent times, the ideas found in this poem have been incorporated into a variety of theories, some of which are completely opposed to one another. Such prominent figures of twentieth century India as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghosh (the latter in his capacity as a political leader, not a mystic philosopher) alluded to the ideas of the *Gita*. Jawaharlal Nehru stressed the importance of studying the ideas in the *Gita*. The Song of the *Bhagvada* has thus become an intrinsic part of the whole of Indian culture, an undying symbol of the continuity of that heritage linking its earlier roots and the quests of the centuries that followed." (Antonova, Bongard Levin, Kotovsky, *A History of India*, Book 1, 1979).

The same view is reiterated from the traditionalist point of view also:

"But the cream of the *Vedas* is the

Upanishads.... A synopsis and classification of the contents of the *Upanishads* goes by the name of the *Brahma Sutras* or the *Vedanta Sutras*... When the *Upanishads* are compared to cows, the *Bhagavad Gita* takes the position of their milk.... One who has studied and understood the, *Bhagvad Gita* may be, said to have, caught the cardinal teachings or the *Upanishads*. These three books, namely the *Upanishads*, the *Brahma Sutras* and the *Bhagavad Gita* are called the Scriptural Trinity --- *Prasthanatrayam*. There is no conflict of views among these three.... If a question is raised as to which is the scriptural authority in Hinduism, the answer is: this trinity. There is not a single cardinal point in Hinduism that is not touched in these books. If ever a conflict arises between the statements in the *Prasthanatrayasm* and other sacred books, the verdict of the former alone is traditionally, accepted as final".(Swami Chidbhavananda, *The Bhagwad Gita* 1982 pp. 2-3)

For the purpose of this monograph, out of probably thousands of alternative texts and commentaries available, we have opted for the *Bhagwad Gita* by Swami Chidbhavananda precisely because of the latter part of the fully title of his work, viz, "Original Stanzas --- Split Up Reading -- Transliteration - Word for Word Translation --- A lucid English Rendering and Commentary."

II : TIME HORIZON OF GITA

The *Gita* is a part -- Chapters 25 to 42 -- of the Bhishma Parva, a late interpolation to the *Mahabharata*. According to a recent study :

"A textual analysis has revealed that the *Gita* was written later than the early *Upanishads* (seventh to fifth century B.C.) and approximately coincides in time with the so-called middle *Upanishads* (second century B.C. to fourth century A.D.)" (Antonova, Bongard --- Levin & Kotovsky, *Op. cit.*, p.149).

According to R.C.Majumdar,

"The adherents of the view that it is a later addition to the epic hold that the original *Gita* must have been composed as early as the second century B.C and assumed the form in which it appears in the *Mahabharata* today, in the early centuries A.D." (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 2, p. 249).

Taking an overall view, and assigning proper weightage to sociological, literary, political and ideological considerations, which will be further clarified as we go along, we have come to the conclusion that the *Gita* corresponds to the time horizon, when the defeated pastoralist herd- owners of the Vedic period, after a long stay in the wilderness stretching from c.700 B.C. to c. 300 A.D., arrived at a compromise with the new feudalists, and in return for their services in breaking up tribal and village community solidarity through a hierarchical caste order, were permitted to rehabilitate themselves under a revived Brahminical form of Hinduism.

For further evidence socio-economic and politico-ideological, in support of our assignment of c. 300 A.D. as the date of the *Gita*, we refer the interested reader to "Section IV: Structural Dynamics of Second Phase Feudalism", of our paper "Brahminical Second Phase Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography", pp. 20-5, which has already been

referred to earlier.

In short, not only does the *Mahabharata* mark the watershed between the pastoralist and the feudalist epochs or periods or Indian history, but also the major interpolations to *Mahabharata*, viz. the Bhishma Parva and the *Bhagvad Gita* Chapters of the latter, mark the turning point between the Buddhist and Brahminical second phases of Indian feudalism.

Just as despite hair-splitting arguments, the contents of *Arthashastra* unerringly reveal its fourth century B.C. Mauryan dynasty moorings, similarly the contents of the *Gita* necessarily correspond to the period when under the patronage of the early Gupta dynasts, the Brahmins staged a historical comeback, and arrived at the classic compromise whereby in return for their integration with the new mode of production, they were allowed to assume social prestige and were used as a lever to exploit the rural agriculturists more efficiently than these masses had been under Buddhist monastic, collectivist system Thus, the *Gita's* socio-political content unmistakably reveals its time horizon of c. 200-400 A.D.

III : PASTORALIST TRIBE VS FEUDALIST CASTE IN THE GITA

The plot structure of the *Gita* is very well-known. Arjuna, the Pandava hero, just prior to the opening of the great war, develops cold feet, and Krishna, the pastoralist hero and Arjuna's charioteer-cum-mentor, harangues him for a length of 700 semi-philosophic *shlokas* divided into 18 chapters right the midst of the battlefield. The occasion and the length of the discourse are obviously absurd. Even if linguistic and stylistic analyses had not independently established that the *Gita* is a later interpolation within the *Mahabharata*, its apparent plot structure makes clear that the *Gita* could not have been occasioned in the manner claimed by its text.

But this apparent lie is on par with so many other exaggerated and fabulous statements made in the *Mahabharata*, like those relating to the enormous number of warriors and war animals involved (18 x 21,870 chariots, 18 x 21,871 elephants, 18 x 65,610 horses plus 18 x 1,09,350 foot soldiers), the levitated state of Yudhishthira's chariot in the early stages of the battle, the underground spring tapped to quench Bhishma's thirst, by a single arm from Arjuna's mighty bow, and so on. The *Mahabharata* is after all a heroic saga of epic deeds, and their fabulous nature should not be allowed to obscure the inner core of historical and rational sense contained in the epic.

Thus there was no reason for Arjuna to stall matters and Krishna never preached on the battlefield. Nevertheless, Arjuna and Krishna existed in history. (We will not go into the issue of there having been several Krishnas with a thousand different names at different times. For our purposes, this differentiation is immaterial. We are merely concerned with one particular Krishna who was definitely a historical character, and who was certainly a charismatic leader of a pastoralist tribal confederacy.) The battle of *Mahabharata* was fought by certain kings tribal chiefs or pastoralist leaders or agro-feudal transitional

lords --- which marked the watershed between pastoralism and feudalism. ((The term "king is slightly confusing since some overambitious chief of hunting, fishing and food-gathering communities also claimed this honorific as did pastoralist bandleaders, territorial magnates of the typical feudal sort, as well as transitional figures representing a mixture of the above three social formations. Still more recently, "bourgeois kings" have made their appearance who are merely symbolic and constitutional monarchs, though there are some who are mixed up relics of the feudal past, as in the case of Nepal., Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Ethiopia; ect. The classic example of "bourgeois royalty" is provided by Great Britain where the monarchy has no power but lots of money, and is a legal fiction useful for "bourgeois hypocrisy", which is fundamental to capitalist ethos).

The pastoralist forces lost because of excessive militarism and banditry, enormous economic losses arising out of endless *yajna* sacrifices, and sheer superiority of agriculture to support more people per square mile as compared to herding. In short, the *Mahabharata* happened, Arjuna and Krishna existed, but the *Gita* was not preached by Krishna to Arjuna on the Kurukshetra battlefield. The *Gita* was put into the mouths of Krishna and Arjuna at a much later date by the Brahminical interests who were concerned with the problem of rehabilitating themselves within the second-phase feudal system of the early Gupta period. The terms of settlement with the feudal regime had to be legitimised by attribution to respected historic figures of the past, preferably of that very transitional period, when the pastoralist past was turning into the feudalist present.

Of the historicity of the core happenings of the *Mahabharata* --- earlier called simply *Jaya* (victory) or *Bharata* (the story of the tribe Bharata) --- we need have no doubt. Just as the political economy of the *Arthashastra* cannot be conjectured out of whole cloth, similarly the society and polity of the *Mahabharata* cannot be imagined out of nothing. Man's imaginary world operates under severe constraints imposed by the living worlds in which his imagination functions. Secondly, such a baseless recreation, even if possible, would have no appeal, would not evoke any response, would not survive over centuries unless the people of India had spiritual links with the real historic conditions from which the poets of the *Mahabharata* text derived their inspiration. The *Mahabharata* has to and does possess experiential links with the real historic past of the Indian people. Otherwise, the poets could not have written the verses, the verses could not have become an epic, and the epic could not have survived many centuries.

Naturally, as far as the interpolated part of the epic with which we are concerned --- the *Gita* Chapters of the total epic --- goes, the *modus vivendi* worked out by historic forces represented therein, relate to time horizon of c. 300 A.D. But what was this *modus vivendi*? What was its precise nature? In other words, what is the meaning of the *Gita*? What is its *rahasya*?

Instead of frantically striking out here and there and attributing all sorts of constructs upon the text, we should examine the essential pattern that the text itself makes. Arjuna repeatedly urges that this fratricidal strife will destroy the Pandavas' own blood relations and tribal connections, that life would become meaningless if the tribal world were to be destroyed, and that such a bloody end would be virtually a holocaust where there would be no victors and no losers. Against this, Krishna urges the inevitability, the necessity and the duty to destroy tribal affiliations. Arjuna should have absolute faith in Krishna's counsel. And that irrespective of the result. Arjuna must do what is demanded of him by his times and his conditions.

There is no other meaning of the *Gita*. This is the only possible one. This is exactly what Krishna urges and after some dithering, Arjuna ultimately accepts. As instructed by Arjuna, Krishna drives the chariot between the two armies and Arjuna beholds:

1.26 "Standing there Partha then beheld in both the armies, fathers, grand fathers, teachers, maternal uncles, brothers, sons, friends, fathers-in-law and well-wishers."

So clear is the tribal affiliation of the above verses, and so foreign is the tribal sentiment to the modern reader that Chidbhavananda makes one of the very few errors in his otherwise commendable translation. He renders *pitru* as "paternal uncles". Actually, it is the peculiarity and hallmark of tribal social life, well-known to all anthropological investigators, that a whole generation or age-set are identified by a member of the tribe/clan/ gens as 'fathers'. (Chidbhavananda, for instance, correctly translates 'fathers' for *Pitarah* in 1.34).

The identification by Arjuna of his tribal affiliations is doubly significant as the Pandavas were notorious upstarts. Their mother not only had a premarital affair resulting in the birth of the bastard child Karna, but her postmarital liaisons with concocted divinities are openly proclaimed in the *Mahabharata*. Furthermore, not only were all the six children of Kunti, a pastoralist paternal aunt of Krishna, unrelated to Pandu, but two of them, Nakula and Sahadeva, were unrelated to Kunti herself. The five plus one Pandavas were unrelated to Pandu, who himself suffered from such disqualification that a blind brother had to be placed on the throne. Pandavas' claim to a share in power, not to speak of the still more absurd claim of primacy in succession, was obviously untenable. (We do not know the precise nature of the debility from which Pandu suffered, and why such a debility should have necessitated his retirement from active politics. If, as I suspect, he was not merely a tribal "brother" of the Kurus belonging to a yellow "race". i.e. he was a pastoralist nomadic Turk-Mongol-Tungus, who claimed fraternity with Indo-Aryan Bharata-Kuru Panchals, then his debility of a "Yellowing" kind was perhaps leukoderma, possibly jaundice, problematically leprosy. Pandu was certainly a neuresthetic case too, since he died of an agitation caused by the upwelling of sexual desire within him.)

Nevertheless, the leading Pandava warrior, Arjuna, perceives at a glance, or at least instantaneously lays claim to the tribal affiliations spread out in front and behind him. Even if the Pandavas hailed from the Pamir Knot and belonged to a pastoralist nomadic yellow-skinned band with Turko-Mongolo-Tungusic racial affinities, they had certainly adopted Indo-Aryan language and culture, and took their stand on grounds of tribal affiliation and clan brotherhood.

It is precisely the tribal affiliation that is to be overcome and superseded. Krishna is, if anything, most categorical.

"He (the wise man) stands supreme who has equal regard for friends, companions, enemies, neutrals, arbiters, the hateful, relatives, saints and sinners." (6.9)

We shall not burden our text with further quotations in the same vein, wherein Arjuna repeatedly asserts that those opposed to him were his kinsmen, *svajanam*, that he and his enemies belonged to the same bloodline (*kula*), and that all around him were brothers and relations. (e.g. 1.27, 2.28, 1.31, 1.38, 1.39, 1.40, 1.43, 1.44, 1.45, 1.46, etc.) Here again, we may note, *en passant*, the mistranslation by Chidbhavananda of *kula* as family, *kula* is certainly not the bourgeois family however large, it is also not the feudal extended joint family. *Kula* is the pastoralist bloodline or subclan.

Arjuna pleads that it is for the tribe that we seek "kingdom, enjoyment and happiness," and it would be an exercise in futility to slay these very "teachers, fathers, sons, grandfathers, maternal uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law and other relatives" (1.34) for whose sake ostensibly the war is to be fought. Slaughter of "*svajanam, sambadhinah, swabandhavah, kuldharmi, jatidharmi*" (1.31, 34, 37, 40, 43, etc.) is not only cruel but meaningless. All that will happen as a consequence would be a shortage of males which would have a further consequence in the "*kulastriya*", or women of the blood line, becoming "*dushtasu*" or sinful. A terrible calamity would ensue.

"*Adharma abhibhavat Krishna, pradushyanti kulastriyah; Strisu dush tasu Varshneya, jayate varnasankarah.*" (1.41)

Further, miscegenation will result in non-procreation of full blooded descendents, and as such ancestors will be deprived of manas cakes (*pindas*) and libations.

"*Patanti pitaran, he shyam, lupt pindodakakriyah*" (1.42)

Chidbhavananda's translation again misses the point. It is not "admixture of castes", but "crossing of colours or races" that would spell social doom. The Vedic Aryans functioned under a social order based on Varna -- they themselves being white or sun-tanned brown the Pandavas being Turko - Mongol - Tungusic yellow; and the conquered dasyus being dark or black.

The pastoralist Varna system, as we have argued elsewhere (See Vinayak Purohit, *Pastoralist Class Society in Indian History and Historiography*, read an 41st Session of

IHC, Bombay 1980.) was quite distinct from the feudal *jati* system, and as we shall show further on in this monograph, whilst Arjuna is worried about varnasankarisation, Krishna precisely advocates an acceptance of the *jati* hierarchical system.

To return to Arjuna's apprehensions of male shortage leading to indiscriminate cohabitation and promiscuity by Vedic womenfolk and resulting in inevitable racial admixture and degeneration, it is obvious that he abhorred the prospect of dissolution of tribal cohesion through the *Mahabharata* battle. This is the plain meaning of Arjuna's words, and we see no reason to attribute all sorts of subtle, abstruse, esoteric and philosophic meanings to either his words or the *Gita* text in general. Commentators have gone astray, in our humble view, by trying to read meanings into the *Gita* when the plain text is crying out its simple understanding. Arjuna's fears of varnasankarisation may be crude as is his anticipation that Vedic women will turn promiscuous as soon as "teachers, fathers, grand-fathers, fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, maternal uncles, sons, grandsons, relatives and kinsmen" are killed in action. But this crudity belongs to Arjuna's social horizon, and has nothing to do with Arjuna's personal coarseness. He must have been a nice fellow, probably gentle and tender to those near him. But as his times required him to share his principal wife with his brothers, so his society forced him to abhor racial corruption.

So far Arjuna's apprehensions. Let us now look at Krishna's assurances. Apart from tactful rubbish like:

"the wise grieve neither for the living nor for the dead. Nor I, nor you, nor any of these ruling princesses ever non-existent before, nor is it that we shall cease to be in the future.... the unreal has no existence, the real never ceases to be." (2.11, 12.16).

and similar specious nonsense, the substantive point that Krishna makes is

"There is nothing more welcome to a kshatriya than a righteous war... if you will not wage this righteous war, you will incur sin... slain you will gain heaven; victorious you will enjoy the earth" (2.31, 33, 37).

Thus warring is a *jatidharma* or caste-duty of the Kshatriyas. It may be noted that there is no *varnadharma* or race-duty. In the Vedic period, there was merely an insistence that *varna* (race colour) should not be mixed up and corrupted. But there were no specific religious duties attached to different *varnas*. Following the end of the Vedic period, the feudal society came into being. *Varna* was supplanted by *jati*. *Jatis* were organised in social hierarchy. *Jatis* had duties, obligations and responsibilities attached to them. Thus, Krishna is urging Arjuna to accept the logic of the *jati* system and consider warring as an occupational disease of the Kshatriyas. Krishna concludes with the lines.

"*Sukh dukkhe same kritva, labhalabhan jayaajayau; Toto yuddhaya yujyasva, naevam papam eva apsyasi*".

"Treating alike pain and pleasure, gain and loss,

victory and defeat, engage yourself in battle, you will incur no sin."

Krishna rubs in the message of obligatory caste duty in diverse ways.

"The man who rejoiced only in the self is satisfied with the self and is centred in the self, for him verily there is no obligatory duty.... Constantly perform your obligatory duty without attachment... Whatever great men do, is followed by others; people go by the example they set up.... Let not the wise man unsettle the mind of ignorant people attached to karma. By doing all obligatory actions, let the wise induce others in their activities... The man of perfect knowledge is imperfect. (3.17, 19,21,26,29)

The climax of feudal obligations is reached in the notorious lines:

"*Shreyan svadharmo vigune, paradharmat su anusthitat; Syadharme nidhanam shreyah, pardharmo bhayavah.*" (3.55)

("One's own dharma, though devoid of merit, is better than the dharma of another however well discharged. Death in one's own dharma is preferable, for the dharma of another is abhorrent".)

The same feudal notion is emphatically reiterated elsewhere in the *Gita* too.

"Better is one own dharma, though imperfect, than the dharma of another well performed. He who does the duty ordained by his own nature, incurs no sin." (18.47).

Let there be any misunderstanding about these nature-ordained duties, Krishna is quite categorical:

"The duties of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as also of Sudras, Parantapa (--- Arjuna), are distributed according to the *gunas* born of their own nature. Serenity, self-restraint, austerity, purity, forgiveness, and also uprightiness, knowledge, realisation, belief in a hereafter — these are the duties of the Brahmins born of their own nature. Heroism, vigour, firmness, resourcefulness, not fleeing from battle, generosity and lordliness are the duties of the Kshatriyas born of their own nature. Agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade are the duties of the Vaisyas, born of their own nature; and action consisting of service is the duty of the Sudras born of their own nature." (18.41-44)

The vulgarity and crudity of this elitist point of view makes one rub one's eyes in disbelief. Krishna's sentiments are obviously ridiculous, laughable and utterly reactionary. They are exactly like those of Aristotle who considered women to be almost worthless and slaves to be absolutely so. Krishna is not one who will mince words:

"For those who take refuge in me, O Partha, though they be of inferior birth --- women, Vaisyas and Sudras even they attain the supreme goal." (It may be noticed that upto the time of the *Gita*, Vaisyas were not included among the *dvijas* or the "twice-born" and also unlike Vedic or pastoralist women, the feudal women stand degraded.) (9.32).

Without batting an eyelid, Krishna places half the

humanity in the form of women into the inferior category. At the same time, 95 per cent of males are also degraded by birth, since they are Vaisyas and Sudras. The horror of this aristocratic viewpoint can only be appreciated by those who have suffered from caste and class oppression. And Krishna is so crudely logical that he unhesitatingly propounds:-

"One should not abandon, O Kaunteya, the duty to which one is born; for all undertakings are enveloped by evil as fire by smoke." (18.48)

Thus is oppression and exploitation justified. Kshatriyas born to lordliness are to oppress Sudras who are born to perform service. Even if this is evil, and Krishna does not admit this to be evil at all, it is to be carried out since it is so ordained by birth.

We have, on earlier occasions, when analysing the contents of the *Rig Veda* and the *Natyashastra* (See our paper on the "Pastoralist Class Society in Indian History and Historiography" presented to the 41st session of the IHC 1980.) observed two peculiarities of the Indian intellectual tradition. On one hand, the more revered is a text, the more likely it is to remain unread. Such texts like the *Rig Veda*, the *Gita* and the *Natyashastra* are almost literally tied up in sacred threads and vermillion powder and rice grains are strewn over them. They are objects of worship as the *Granth Sahib* and the *Koran* are for the Sikhs and the Muslims. On the other hand, a great deal of sophistry bordering on chicanery is employed to real arbitrary meanings into such texts, and to suppress discussion of the extremely crude and vulgar statements which form the essential parts of such text. The Brahmins lust for dasyu women, cows, wealth, food and drink most unashamedly, without the slightest compassion for their victims and with a gusto which only mad fascists can emulate. Yet such passages of the *Rig Veda* are brushed aside, glossed over, and overlooked.

In the same way, those intellectuals and academicians who find esoteric meanings, symbols and subtle philosophical insights in the *Gita*, never pinpoint the essential character of the so-called obligatory duties of the different castes born of supposed "caste natures". Krishna openly and unashamedly expresses the most abominable sentiments, which no decent, compassionate and thoughtful person would ever endorse. But on the grounds of "not hurting the religious sentiments of a community," Krishna's horrible and unreasoned pronouncements are passed over without condemnation.

Personally, I do not believe that Hinduism or any other religious ideology can or will survive into the future, except for the transitional period it takes to re-educate the people. However, going along with the liberal bourgeois argument of the believers, one still must demur. Actually in such a case, it is an affront to the Hindu community that it is assumed to be hurt when some of its absurdly reactionary leaders like Krishna and the Vedic rishis and Bharata are condemned for valid reasons. If the Hindu community wishes to survive into the future egalitarian, socialist, non-exploitative order, surely infamous legacy

of spokesmen like Krishna must be firmly repudiated. For, how can 97.5 per cent of humanity be of inferior birth? (9. 32) How can it be their nature by birth or obligatory caste duty to serve others? (18.44) How dare Kshatriyas presume to lordliness by birth and Brahmins to serenity? (18,42-43). (Assuming that Kshatriya and Brahmins together compose at the outside five per cent of Indians half of them being women would fall once again into the inferior category)

Furthermore, if the sensitivity of the Brahmin-Kshatriya upper castes is to be considered, what about the feelings of the vast majority of the people, of women, Vaisyas and Sudras? Those who uphold the *Gita's* teachings are cruelly alienating 97.5 per cent of the masses who belong to the categories of women, Vaisyas and Sudras!

The elitist, superior and arrogant standpoint is deeply ingrained in the *Gita*, and stands self-condemned:

"The two-fold path was given by me OAnagha (=Arjuna), the path of knowledge to the discerning and the path of action to the active." (3.3)

"Whatever a great man does, is followed by the people; the world goes by the example he sets" (3.21)

"Let not the wise man unsettle the minds of the ignorant people attached to actions" (3.26)

"The man of perfect knowledge should not unsettle the fools whose knowledge is imperfect." (3.29)

"The imperishable yoga (i.e. the teaching of the *Gita*) was transmitted in regular succession through a line of royal sagas" (1.1-2)

"The four-fold caste was created by me through the differential distribution of *guna* (merit) and *karma* (obligatory duties)" (4.13)

"The twice-born are to be worshipped." (17.14)

Jatidharma is supreme. It must be carried out not only to set an example to the lowly but also because death is preferable whilst performing one's *jatidharma* rather than the perfect execution of another's *jatidharma*. As Arjuna is afraid of confusion of *varnas*, similarly Krishna is afraid of confusion of castes.

"If I did not perform obligatory action, I should be the cause of confusion of castes." (3.24).

It may be noted that as there is no *varnadharm*a, similarly there is no *kuladharm*a. Or one may say, there is no distinctive *kuladharm*a, the *dharma* of all *kulas* (clans) being the same. Only *jatidharm*as are differentiated.

And in order to reinforce his argument that the times have changed, the tribal affiliations no longer count,

that Arjuna must surmount those antiquated notions of *varna* and *kula* and surrender to the new parameters of caste duties (*jatidharma*) Krishna utters that famous verse:

"*Yada yada hi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bharat
Abhyutthanam dharmasya tadatamanum
srujamyaham,*

*Paritrana y sadhunan vinashayacha dushkrutam
Dharmasanthapanarthay sambhavami yuge yuge*"

(4.8)

("Wherever there is decay of *dharma* amongst Bharatas I recreate myself to rejuvenate *dharma*. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for the re-establishment of *dharma*, I am reborn age after age")

Since Krishna was not a historical materialist, we should not attribute a very precise meaning to the term *yuga*, but obviously Krishna meant something more than just any year. *Yuga* may not have meant exactly a mode of production to him, but surely it suggested a definite and distinct social formation. In the term *yuga*, a big span of time, a complete change of social climate, is definitely implied. Thus what Krishna is saying in the above verses is pretty plain.

The notion that a comprehensive change of times is identified by Krishna, is once again emphasised by the use of the term '*Kalpa*' in a similar context.

"All beings, O Kaunteya, go into my prakriti at the end of a *kalpa*. I generate them again at the beginning of the next *kalpa*." (9.7)

Thus Krishna is reiterating the fact that *yuga* and *kalpa* have undergone a transformation bringing forth new duties, obligations and functions for men.

After enjoining repeatedly upon Arjuna to have total faith in him and to totally surrender to him, Krishna reassures Arjuna that what was valid in a different age may not be equally sanctified in another age. Whenever such gigantic transformations occur, new adjustments have to be made and Krishna himself is re-formed, reborn and metamorphosed, in order to re-enunciate and re-establish the changed *dharma*. The old tribal *varna-kula* system now stands shattered. Arjuna must make the transition to the new *jatidharma* system and accept the new duties imposed upon various castes including the one upon kshatriyas to fight.

IV : CASUTRY AND CONTRADICTIONS

A lot of misunderstanding persists, and is promoted by professional alms-collectors, regarding the alleged philosophical profundity of the *Gita*. In line with all religious tracts, the *Bhagvad Gita* presents very poor philosophy. No doubt, a lot of time, energy and money has been expended by highly intelligent commentators and annotators. However, these well-intentioned souls are neither professional philosophers nor are they serious systematisers of human knowledge. They are reverent and

keen on attributing importance to the object of their reverence.

The *Bhagvad Gita* is an eclectic hotch-potch of Vedic relics, stray Yoga and Sankhya thoughts, Vedic rhetoric, Mimamsa casuistry, megalomaniacal ravings, diplomatic tactfulness and glorious self-contradictions.

This is as it should be, for the *Gita's* purpose is not to propound a systematic philosophy, but to persuade and to convert. Arjuna is in a catatonic state. Krishna's avowed, self-appointed and self-adulatory task is to galvanise Arjuna into a course of action that would fit him for his new role in the feudal *yuga*. The *Bhagvad Gita* is obviously and essentially an exercise in high-flown rhetoric.

That is why the first words spoken by Krishna in the *Gita* (2.2-3), berate Arjuna for his unmanly and petty faintheartedness. Since Arjuna persists in his mulish despondency (2.4-10) Krishna finds it necessary to use tact;

"You grieve for those who should not be grieved for; yet you spell words of wisdom" (2.11)

Thus Arjuna is patted over and mollified, for a rhetor does not confront the recalcitrant with a flat contradiction. His technique is to persuade "Yes, yes, there is much in what you say. You are talking sense, and I agree that your point of view merits consideration. But there are other aspects, facets and issues to which I draw your attention. And then, with typical rhetorician's flourish, Krishna plunges his adversary into dark pools of casuistry.

The rhetorician's tactics are evident throughout the *Gita*. The Vedic *yajna* ritual is never condemned outright. It is repeatedly upheld, even in its extreme form, as for instance :

"The good who eat the remains of *yajna* are freed from all sins." (3.313) (Also see 3.9, 1.23, 4.30, 17.11, 17.12, 17.13 etc. *Yajna* was comparable to the potlatch of the Kwakwilt, of the Pacific Coast Red Indians of North America. There are many such similarities in the culture and ethos of pastoralists and fishing communities, and the latter may be considered as primitive herders of the sea creatures and the former as advanced keepers of land mammals.)

Krishna's lip service not only covered pastoralist symbols but also extended to all sorts of little cults and village gods as with.

"Whatever form any devotee with faith wishes to worship, I make his faith steady." (7.21)

"Even those devotees who endowed with faith, worship other gods, worship me alone, O Kaunteya, by the wrong method... Votaries of the Devas go to the Devas; those of the Pitras go to the Pitras; those of the Bhutas go to the Bhutas; my votaries come to me." (9.23, 25)

"Of the Rudras I am Sankara and of the Yakshas and

Rakshasas I am Kubera" (10.23) (Rakshasas, as Vedic Scholars know, were neither devils nor fabulous creatures, but members of particular tribes, hated, feared and held in contempt by Bharata-Kurus.)

This eclecticism is a necessary part of every rhetorician's bag of tricks, but his main weapon is casuistry as we find again and again in the *Gita*.

"The wise grieve neither for the living nor for the dead. Nor I, nor you, nor any of these ruling princes was ever non-existent before; nor is it that we shall cease to be in future. As the indweller in the body, he also passes on to another body. The serene one is not affected thereby." (2.11-13)

The above is a fair specimen of a politician's speechifying. Arjuna is told that he should fight and kill because neither he nor his opponents have ever been or shall cease to be. Arjuna is to kill because he cannot kill. His opponents are to die because they are deathless and will be reborn. On top of everything else, Arjuna is not to grieve! All we can say is: whom is Krishna fooling?

Poor Arjuna is pursued with relentless casuistry.

"He who holds *atma* as slayer and he who considers it as the slain, both of them are ignorant. It slays not nor is it slain. The *atma* is neither born nor does it die. Coming into being and ceasing to be do not take place in it. Unborn, eternal, constant and ancient, it is not killed when the body is slain." (2.19-20)

After a boring repetition of the above sentiments in the next few verses (2.21-24) Krishna reaches a sort of casuistical climax:-

"This *atma* is said to be unmanifested, unthinkable and immutable. Therefore, knowing it as such, you should not grieve." (2-25)

There was a hint of the hysterical heights in 2.20 when *atma* was identified as "unborn". That itself strained credulity to the utmost. However, the statement that the inner self is "unmanifested and unthinkable" is literally beyond the limit. If a thing is "unmanifested", it cannot be discussed. And since it is also at the same time "unthinkable" how can the question of discussion arise? Once again, we must ask ourselves: Whom is Krishna fooling?

Krishna follows up these body blows with a characteristic feudal punch --- of caste duty:

"There is nothing more welcome to a Kshatriya than righteous war. Happy are the Kshatriyas, O Partha, who obtain such a warfare that comes unsought as an open gateway to heaven. But if you will not wage this righteous warfare, then forfeiting your own (caste) duty and honour, you will incur sin. People will ever recount your infamy. To the great chariot warriors infamy is surely worse than death... Slain you will gain heaven; victorious you will enjoy the earth." (2.31-34, 37)

Now Arjuna is badgered with a recital of his caste duty and is proffered a bribe --- he will either gain heaven

or rule the earth. But, philosophically speaking, what has Kshatriya's duty to do with man's duty. A man is not necessarily a Kshatriya. It is only feudal logic which makes some men accept Kshatriya duties; and other groups of men duties of other castes. The whole structure of segregated duties is irrational and arbitrary.

Once again, we see the sociological force of Krishna's rhetoric. The idea is to make Arjuna forget the tribal duties which he owes to his kinsfolk. Behind a smoke screen of clouded casuistry the plan is to induce him to accept the new feudal order of *jatidharma* or caste duties.

The philosophist lore enshrined in the *Vedas* is to be consciously overthrown and surmounted:

"The *Vedas* enumerate the three *gunas*. You transcend the three *gunas*, O Arjuna... To an enlightened Brahmin, in all the *Vedas* are as useful as a tank when there is flood everywhere." (2.45, 46)

Having condemned the Vedic pastoralist lore as useless, Krishna now starts on another tack;

"Karmanyevadhikaraste, ma phaleshu kadachan
Ma karmaphalheturbhurma, te sangostvakarmani,"
(2. 47)

(Seek to perform your duty; but Do not aspire to the fruits of your duty, neither shall you lean towards inaction).

On the one hand, Arjuna is supposed to be entitled to unearthly ecstasies in heaven, or, alternatively, heavenly bliss on earth," by performing this *kshatradharma* or *Kshtriya* caste duties; and on the other hand, he is not to aspire to the fruits resulting from performance of his *kshatradharma* or his caste tasks. Behind the latter simplistic exhortation, there lies the profound chicanery of the ruling minority. Arjuna is to rule, to oppress and to exploit, since he by birth belongs to the pasto-feudal ruling stratum. The lower castes are perforce condemned to servitude by their respective *jatidharmas* and *jatikarmas*, and this merry rigmarole is spun by Krishna to sanctify a dastardly system of oppression and exploitation. Renunciation of fruits is the camouflage of the ruling elite and the masses are to stand deprived, since their *atmas* are "unborn, unmanifested and unthinkable". What is philosophical about this crude social programme?

Krishna goes on and on about renunciation of attachments, indifference to success and failures, taking refuge in equanimity and evenness of mind and so on (2.48-50). (I suspect that in the land in which the slogan *Buddham Sharanam Gachchhami*" was being reached with every corner, there is a poetic innuendo in 2.40 wherein "*Buddham Sharanam*" is specifically mentioned. I am not entirely convinced that the latter is an innocuous reference to "buddhi" or intelligence. Poets are fond of these ironical suggestions and Indian literary tradition is replete with many such *vyangas* or indirect hints. In fact the well-known *Dhwani* theory of literary criticism based itself precisely upon such a interpretation of literary texts. In this

connection, we may also note that the Buddhist ideal of "Nirvana" is specifically eulogised in 6.15 and the familiar Buddhist catechism "Perception of evil in birth, evil death, Evil in old age, evil in sickness and pain" is referred to in 13.8)

Self-contradictions never faze Krishna. Poor Arjuna inquires:-

"If it is held by you, O Janardana, that knowledge is superior to action, why then do you, O Kesava, enjoin upon me this terrible action?" (3.1)

To this, Krishna's reply has already been noted above (3.3, to the effect that for the elite, there is the path of knowledge, and for the masses there is the path of action. In order not to confuse the mediocre masses, it is incumbent on the enlightened to set on example (3.21.29). And not satisfied with this rigmarole which enjoins action upon Arjuna, the elitist, in a roundabout manner, Krishna further confounds the issue:

"None can remain really actionless for a moment; for everyone is helplessly driven to action by the *Gunas*, born of Prakriti" (3.5)

"Engage yourself in caste duty for action is superior to inaction, and if inactive, even the mere maintenance of your body may not be possible" (3.8)

Thus the path of action is not merely for the mediocre or the lowly, but also for the elite and for all living beings. Action is superior to inaction, action is inevitable, and action is the choice of the elite who have to set an example to the mass of the people whose caste duty in any case enjoins action upon them. This is not serious philosophy, but cheap casuistry. And not satisfied with this level of absurdity, Krishna caps it all with

"He who sees inaction in action, and action in inaction, he is wise among men, he is a *yogi* and a performer of all actions." (4.18)

Arjuna is naturally bewildered and once again naively inquires:

"Renunciation of action, O Krishna, you commend, and again its performance. Of the two, which one is better? Tell me that conclusively" (5.1)

But Krishna, the rhetor, bent upon carrying his point by hook or crook, and confronted with the basic problem of persuading a pastoralist to accept feudal ways and goals, is incapable of conclusively suggesting anything at all. Krishna's path is the path of prevarication and hair-splitting;

"Renunciation and performance of action both lead to freedom; Of the two, performance of action is superior to the renunciation of action. The state reached by the *gnanis* is also reached by *karmayogis*. He sees who sees *Sankhyayoga* and *Karmayoga* as one." (5.2, 5)

Naturally, the author of the *Gita* does not allow Arjuna

to pursue the inquiry further. For instance, if action and inaction lead to the same destination, why should one be preferred to the other? Secondly, if inaction is embedded within action, and action within inaction, what is the purpose of distinguishing the two? Thirdly, in such an event, why is action the caste prerogative of the humble, and inaction, renunciation and the path of knowledge or *Sankhya* or *Gnana* reserved for the mighty? The last named division of specialisations may make perfect feudal sense, but as philosophy, it is sheer nonsense.

Bogus mystification is carried to the extreme by Krishna, as in

"At the coming of the day, all manifest beings proceed from the unmanifested, and at the coming of the night, they merge again in the same which is called the unmanifested. But beyond this unmanifested, there is yet another unmanifested eternal existence.... this (further unmanifested is called the imperishable and the ultimate goal. Those who attain it return not. That is my supreme abode." (8-18-21).

There cannot be an unmanifested beyond the unmanifested. This is pure balderdash. And to posit that the unmanifested is imperishable is unadulterated mumbo-jumbo, since that which is unmanifested is non-existent, and the perishability or otherwise of the non-existent cannot arise, being beyond reason.

"There are two *purushas* in the world — the perishable and the imperishable. All beings are the perishable, and the *Kutastha* is the imperishable." (15.16)

Since all beings fall in the category of the perishable, that which is imperishable falls to the lot of the non-being. Once such category of nonbeing, that which is not, is posited, it does not matter what it is called. Whether unmanifested of the two levels, or *Kutastha*, or *Jhutastha*. When one takes the Blakeian or Yeatsian path of private fantasy, there is obviously no limit. Any thing can be given any name, and communication through language itself ceases.

That is why Krishna falls back upon the old formula:

"Om Tat Sat; or Thou Art That", That being unmanifested, non-existent, and either indescribable or describable as *Kutastha*-*Jhutastha*.

"Om Tat Sat, this has been declared to be the triple designation of Brahman. By that were made of old the Brahmanas, the *Vedas* and the *Yajnas*." (17.23).

Krishna casts this eclectic net so wide that some materialist nuggets derived from the old Charvakian Lokayata tradition also, on rare occasions, get caught, as with

"God does not create the agency that is to perform actions or the universe of actions; nor does he yoke actors and their fruits. Nature accomplishes all this." (5.14).

"Four types of virtuous men worship me. O Arjuna: The man in distress, the man seeking knowledge, the man

seeking wealth and the man imbued with wisdom." (7.16)

We may leave aside the references to the "man seeking knowledge and possessing wisdom", since that is just a self-serving boast. But the other two types are the essence of the matter. On the one hand, there is the man in distress and who has been put in distress by the property-owning, elitist, upper castes. Naturally, being bewildered, the distressed fall prey to any sham suggestion. On the other hand, we have the man hungry for wealth who naturally finds religion highly profitable.

However, these materialist and realist insights are not genuine and sincere statements. They are merely rhetorical pronouncements. Those progressives who want to go out of their way to find one or two isolated commendable sentiments in the *Bhagwad Gita*, are due for disappointment. The *Gita* is overwhelmingly ideologically biased in favour of the ruling aristocracy; and the rare and odd realistic proposition is vitiated by eclecticism and demagoguery.

That is why at the conclusion of this section of our monograph, we might profitably hark back to Marx's magnificent analysis of 1844:

"...Criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism... The basis of irreligious criticism is: Man makes religion, religion does not make man. In other words, religion is the self-consciousness and self-feeling of man who has either not yet found himself or has already lost himself again. But man is no abstract being squatting outside the world. Man is the world of man, the state, society. This state, this society, produce religion, a reversed world-consciousness, because they are a reversed world. Religion is the general theory of that world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in a popular form, its spiritualistic point honour, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn completion its universal ground for consolation and justification. It is the fantastic realisation of the human essence because the human essence has no true reality. The struggle against religion is, therefore, mediately the fight against the other world, of which religion is the spiritual aroma. Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people" (On Religion n.d. pp. 37.38, from "*Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*").

Religion provides solace to the distressed, consoles those in pain, and is the sigh of the oppressed. But pain and sorrow are not the universal human condition as even casual visitors to the locales of primitive tribes are aware. Tourists to such settlements have invariably noticed the carefree, gay and uninhibited lives led by such primitive folk. No doubt fear and terror also are visible, but these apprehensions concern natural enemies and unknown unpredictable forces. On the whole, sorrow, pain, anxiety, deprivation and insecurity are not their lot.

Universal distress is the unvariable conocimitant of class societies. This distress arises from deprivation that ruling class minorities have forced upon the mass of the people. And in order to obfuscate the true sources of generalised distress, ruling class minorities project the reversed world order of religion.

Criticism of this reversed world order is fundamental to the criticism of this unjust, exploitative and class-oriented social order. The *Bhagvad Gita* is the classic Hindu compendium of this reversed world order and is an encyclopaedic summation of all eclectic, ruling class projections and strategies that seek to perpetuate the ideological and factual oppression of the masses. This ideological reversed world order of the *Bhagvad Gita* is naturally and necessarily full of casuistry and self-contradiction as we have outlined herein above in this section.

The main thrust of Krishna's argument in the *Gita* concerns the rebirth theory borrowed from Buddhism-Jainism coupled to the theory of inescapable, individual fate derived in all probability from Makkala Goshala's Ajivikism. (A.L. Basham, *The Ajivikas*, 1951, especially Ch.XII on the theory of Niyati.) There is no mention of either transmigration of souls or of cycle of births in the *Vedas*. Such a notion would be foreign to tribological thinking. The *varna*, colour and race of a tribe are fixed and indelible. The notion of hierarchised caste orders coupled to cycle of births, with pre-ordained, obligatory caste duties is specifically feudal, and hence repeatedly stressed by Krishna in the *Bhagvad Gita*. Arjuna is exhorted to give up tribal considerations of fraternity, and is asked to accept the new order of cyclical rebirths in a hierarchised caste order with each caste pursuing its own *jatidharma* in order to sustain the total exploitative system. As there is not and cannot be any logic or truth or justice underlying such an exploitative and oppressive social order, Krishna is perforce pushed to resort to eclecticism, casuistry, self-contradictions and confused arguments.

V : KRISHNA'S MEGALOMANIA

The casuistry and self-contradictions in Krishna's rhetorical exhortations are so transparent that he has no alternative except to demand unquestioning faith.

"Surrendering all actions to me... engage in battle."
(3.30)

"Those who constantly act according to my teachings... are released from all actions." (3.31)

"But those who carp at my teaching and act not thereon.... know them to be ruined" (3.31)

"At all times think of me only and fight". (8.7)

Simultaneously, faith being fickle, Krishna exaggerates his own prowess beyond all rational limits. A whole chapter is devoted to Krishna's fantastic notions about himself. For

anyone not drunk with religious opium, it is sickening to read the exaggerated, egoistical, boastful, super-arrogant and megalomaniacal lies that Krishna purveys about himself.

Krishna: "Behold my forms, O Partha, by hundreds and thousands, manifold and divine, and of variegated colours and shapes." (11.5)

Krishna: "Behold here today, O Gudakesa (Arjuna), the whole universe of the moving and the unmoving, and whatever else you may desire to see all integrated in my body" (11.7)

Arjuna: "All the sons of Dhritarashtra with hosts of kings of the earth, Bhishma, Drōna and Suta Putra (= Karna), with the warrior chiefs of ours enter hurrying into your mouth, terrible with tusks and fearful to look at. Some are found sticking in the gaps between the teeth with their heads crushed to powder... Devouring all the worlds on every side, you lick your lips" (11.26-27,30)

This fantastic and horrifying sight is presented to us with the eclat of a demented, drug-addicted creature projecting delusions of grandeur.

We will not burden our text with this interminable infantilism. But it is not merely in Chapter 11 that this elephantiasis of Krishna's ego is visible. Krishna does not believe in moderation, subtlety or suggestion. He is a crude rhetor who goes on and on hammering his egomaniacal ravings right through the *Gita*.

"There is naught in the three worlds, O Partha, that has not been done by me...."(3.322)

"The universe would perish if I did not act... (3.24)

"This imperishable yoga I declared to Vivasvat, Vivasvat taught it to Manu, Manu told it to Ikshavaku"
(4.1)

"Thus it was transmitted in regular succession through the royal sages." (4.2)

Obviously, Krishna and Arjuna were living in those bygone days when the words of royalty were respected. Today the words of such "royal sages" would be immediately suspect, and even a journalist who is a tyro would cross-examine them to uncover the excess which he may have to grind.

But to continue

"Know me as the lord of sacrifices and austerities, as the ruler of all the worlds..."(5.29)

"Keeping himself steadfast, the self-controlled yogi attains peace that abides in me and culminates in Nirvana."
(6.15)

"I shall teach you that....which going known, nothing more shall remain to be known" (7.2)

"All worlds including that of Brahma are subject to return, O Arjuna, but on reaching me, O Kaunteya, there is no rebirth." (8.16).

"All this universe is pervaded by me in my unmanifested form; all beings exist in me but I do not abide in them" (9.4)

"He who knows me.... as the great lord of the worlds he among mortals is undeluded and freed from all sins" (10.3)

Krishna is no doubt compelled to exaggerate his abilities and achievements for only then can he expect the blind faith that he requires. Without such faith, his words of wisdom would reveal themselves to be what they are: the eclectic, egomaniacal ravings of a rhetorician interested in upholding the inequitous feudal order.

VI : GITA AS LITERATURE

For the vast majority of our people, including those outside the Hindu fold and including even illiterates, the *Gita* has innumerable associations from birth to death. The verses of the *Gita* are chanted on all occasions, private or public, important or otherwise.

Therefore, much of the literary value of the *Bhagvad Gita* arises out of nostalgic memories embedded in the collective Indian psyche. It is the repeated reinforcement of this societal associative mnemonic linkage that induces us to impute literary merit to every line and verse of the *Bhagvad Gita*.

Also, amongst progressives and Marxists, there is both a tendency to mask deep-rooted conservatism and also to guiltily lean over backwards with reference to the *Gita*. Those who should be mercilessly attacking the *Gita*, find it necessary to applaud at least the literary facet of the *Gita*. There are, in addition, those who want to build bridges towards mass sentiments, and therefore go out of their way to shower accolades on the poetic genius who wrote the *Gita*.

Therefore, in our view, the literary merits of the *Gita* have been overrated

Yet, some literary features of the *Bhagvad Gita* do deserve mention. First of all the device of the "frame within the frame is ingenious. Sanjay is the apparent narrator whose reportage, attentively heard by blind king Dhritarashtra, includes direct transmission of the Arjuna-Krishna dialogues and other dialogues between Duryodhana and Drona, and so on, and this device enables the poet to present a multiplicity of standpoints, tones and echoes.

Secondly, there is the startling and sonorous use of chains of proper nouns designating the great warrior heroes of the Kauravas and the Pandavas. This is particularly effectively done in stanzas of the first adhyaya when certain named conches are blown by particular warriors:

"Panchajanya was blown by Hrishikesha (-Krishna) and Devadatta by Dhananjaya (=Arjuna) > Vrikodara (=Bhima) of terrible exploits blew his great conch Paundra. The king Yudhishtira, the son of Kunti, blew Anantavijaya; Nakula and Sahadeva blew Sughosha and

Manipushpaka. And the ruler of Kashi, the adapt archer, and Shikhandi, the great chariot warrior, Dhrushtadyumna and Virata and Satyaki the invincible : O ruler of the earth! Drupad and the sons of Draupadi, and the mighty armed son of Subhadra, all these as well blew their several conches." (1.15-18).

These conches with their strange names blow and reverberate from within the text, sending ripples of excitement through the reader's mind. An atmosphere of immediacy, of the impending doom resulting from the ferocious clash of warriors is created by a few deft strokes of true epic poetry.

Thirdly, there are those imaginative bold flights of charged thought which sweep over us and flood our senses:

"Yada yada hi dharmasya glanirbhavati Bharat
Abhyutthanam dharmasya tadatmanam
srujamyaham

Paritrana y sadhunam vinashayacha dushkrutam
Dharmasanshapanarthay sambhavami yuge
yuge."(4.7-8)

"Sthitapradnyasya ka bhasha samadhistasya
Keshava

Sthitadhih prabhashet kimasit vrujet him
Prajahati yada kaman sarvan Partha manogatan
Atmane vatmana tushtah sthitpradnya
tadochehyate." (2.54-55)

"Karmanye vadhikaraste ma phaleshu kadachan
Ma karmaphal heturbhuh me te sangostavikarmani
Yogasta kuru karmani sangam tyaktva Dhananjaya
Sidhya sidhyoh samobhuvta samatvam yoga
uchcheyate"(2.47-48)

"Dhyayato vishayanpunsah sangasteshupajayate
Sangat sanjayate kamah kamat krodhah abhijayate
Krodhat bhavati sanmoha sanmohat smritivibhramah
Smritibhranshat buddhinasho buddhinashat
pranashyati"(2.62-63)

It is verses like these that stamp the *Bhagvad Gita* with a degree of poetic merit, making it a document of not only great sociological significance, but of literary value too.

VII : EPILOGUE

The *Bhagvad Gita* relates to the time horizon of the immediate pre-Gupta and early Gupta period of c. 200 - c. 400 A.D., when the pastoralist Vedic Brahmins thrown into wilderness for several centuries as a result of the rise of the triumphant feudal ideologies of Jainism, Buddhism and Ajivikaism of c. 600 B.C., staged a comeback through a new compromise with the newly established victorious and relatively progressive feudal regimes. Collective congregational worship now made way for an ideology of supra-tribal individual salvation and a concept of hierarchised obligatory caste duties coupled to a theory of cyclical rebirths.

The Pandavas led by Arjuna were related to the pastoralist clans through their mother, Kunti, and were claiming their pastoralist patrimony. This resulted in a dispute with the partially agriculturalised Kaurava faction, and was the cause of the ferocious war known as *Jaya* or *Mahabharata* in c.900 B.C. As was inevitable, the feudal forces triumphed and the first territorial states of Indian history, the sixteen Mahajanpadas came into being as the aftermath of the Great War.

The pastoralist class society was already deeply divided and was disintegrating as evidenced not only by the Kaurava-Pandava factional fight, but also by the fact that Krishna's brother, Balaram-Sankarshan, the plough bearer, was a neutral leaning towards Kauravas, and also by the fact that Krishna pledged his entire Yadava army in support of Kauravas. He and Satyaki alone joined the Pandavas.

Krishna convinces Arjuna in the course of the *Bhagvad Gita* to give up his pastoralist tribal affiliations, to place absolute faith in Krishna, to surrender all initiative to Krishna and to accept the demands of the new yuga --- that is to say to the new era of hierarchised castes with their birthdetermined obligatory duties, functions and obligations. Much of the text of the *Gita* is made repellent by the megalomaniacal ravings of Krishna, who, as a clever and adept rhetorician, with eclectic abandon, uses any and every argument to subvert Arjuna's tribal loyalties, which have their roots in the pastoral, nomadic life of herding clans. Personal salvation was placed above tribal, individual worship replaced pseudo-collectivist congregational prayers of the Buddhist sangha centred upon the stupa-chaitya-vihara-torana-pillar complex.

The *Gita* was a late interpolation in the epic *Mahabharata* text. The *Mahabharata* itself marked the

watershed between epochs of Indian history, viz., the era of the pastoralist class society that stretched from *Rig Veda* times to the period just prior to the formation of the sixteen mahajanpadas. The *Gita* was injected into the *Mahabharata* text as a popularisation and sanctification device, and marks the divide between the first phase monastic Buddhist feudalism spanning the centuries lying between the sixteen mahajanpadas and the Sunga-Kanva-Satavahana dynastic period, and the rise of the imperial Guptas.

FIVE FALSE VISIONS

Indian historiography has been deficient in multiple ways, as follows :

1. The thoroughly discredited Imperialist School represented by James Mill, W.W. Hunter, Vincent Smith, Leonard Woolley, R.E.M. Wheeler, etc.
2. The more fashionable Neo-Imperialist or Cambridge School represented by Morris D. Morris, Dharma Kumar, Rajat Roy, Barun De, A.L. Basham, Ranjit Guha, etc.
3. The Comprador "Liberal Bourgeois" School represented by M.G. Ranade, Jadunath Sarkar, Nilkantha Shastri, Tara Chand, Nihar Ranjan Ray, etc.
4. The communalist school, represented by R.C. Majumdar, Muhammad Habib, B.R. Grover, Khushwant Singh, etc.
5. The Stalinist - Progressivist School, represented by D.D. Kosambi, R.S. Sharma, Irfan Habib, Romila Thapar, Bipan Chandra Sood, etc.

Instead of attributing all sorts of esoteric, symbolic, philosophical and magical meanings to the *Gita* text, it is necessary to read it as a plain statement of socio-historical reality. Krishna is not a god, but a pasto-tribal charismatic leader who is trying to help Arjuna to adjust to the new feudal order. Arjuna is not the eternal acolyte but a pasto-tribalist trying to defend to his dying breath the values of the old pastoralist class society plunged into a cataclysmic crisis.

Their end, as traditionally described, is of considerable social significance. Krishna

was shot down by a "hunter", who was probably nothing more than a rising tribal chief in transition to feudalism. Arjuna was first robbed by "roving bandits" whilst escorting Yadava princesses from Dwarka to Hastinapur. Ultimately he fell on the slopes of the Himalayas where he and his brothers were forced to retire. The land and the kingdom that they had left behind was now agricultural and feudal. Their anomalous pastoralist existence thus came to a bitter end. (See in particular, '*Samanta Feudalism*' in our Nov. 1995 issue, pp. 62 - 84. We have dealt therein with the five false visions presented by Indian historians. For convenience of readers, we are herewith reproducing alongside box on *Five False Visions* from p.63 of *Mankind*, Nov. 1995.) ■

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ADDA AT NUKKAD

LETTER FROM N. H. ANTIA

Dear Vinayakji,

Herewith an article which supports your claim regards the Neanderthal man & origin of the Europeans.

N.H. Antia.

NEANDERTHALS PROBABLY INTERBRED WITH MODERN HUMANS, SAY SCIENTISTS

Washington: Bones found in a cave in Croatia show that Neanderthals, once portrayed as grunting, primitive cave-men, lived as recently as 28,000 years ago --- and probably interbred with modern humans, researchers have said.

Previous evidence suggested Neanderthals died out some 34,000 years ago, and were replaced by modern homosapiens. But an international team of scientists did more tests on the Neanderthal bones --- found in the 1970 --- and determined they were much younger than that.

"The new radiocarbon dates suggest Neanderthals would have coexisted with early modern humans in central Europe for several millennia," Fred Smith, chair man of the anthropology department at northern Illinois University in Dekalb, said in a statement on Monday.

Mr. Smith said he also thought the Croatian bones had some

"modern" characteristics. "For example, (they) do tend to show features that are a bit more like modern humans than other Neanderthals show," he said in an E-mail interview.

"And most early modern Europeans exhibit some features that are hard to explain if Neanderthals are totally excluded from their ancestry, Trinkaus' Lagar Veho (in Portugal) child is one example of this but there are others," Mr. Smith added.

LETTER FROM D. R. PENDSE

Dear Dr. Purohit,

Thank you very much for your detailed and painstaking reply (to the queries I raised about your two articles on Gold - *Mankind*, June '99 and March '98). The enclosures are eye-openers and remarkably revealing. You have certainly made a deep study of the subject. I will keep the papers for reference in future.

We will informally discuss these matters when we have an opportunity to meet. I will then show you also the WGC transcript of my speech at their conference at Goa, in July, during which I quoted extensively from the *Mankind* article.

I was recently invited to speak at a 2-day 'Gold Banking' workshop. My two-hour session was on 'Developing a Gold Market in India'.

I never write out my speeches. But I did read out extracts from these two articles, and references from books of Bernier and Balkrishna, quoted in your articles. I think my speech was extremely well received by the 40+ audience of bankers, exporters, jewellers, WGC representatives etc. There were four foreign representatives from Credit Suisse; and N. M. Rothschild and Sons.

Your's sincerely,
D. R. Pendse.

LETTER FROM O. P. JOSHI

Respected Dr. Purohit,

The September issue of *Mankind* is of great interest to me. Gitai Samadhi Mandir and its history has thrilled me. Your imagination and conviction to your concept is strong and perfect. I wish you healthy and long active life.

I am completely free and will like to visit your place at Pune or Bombay just to see and meet you and Dr. Mhatre. I pray that you both may continue to service the academic world through your thoughts. There are not many people like you who have strong ideology and can face any criticism. There are rare academician who are reliable and dynamic like you.

I shall be sending you some news of interest from Rajasthan which is going to face a draught year.

With best wishes,
Your's sincerely,
O. P. Joshi.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA.

THE PERIOD OF DISAFFECTION - 4

1870s TO 1905

Sharayu Mhatre

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM

Mahadev Govind Ranade

We have briefly considered the contribution of Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) in an earlier chapter. It remains now to fill in a few more details. Two generations of the Ranade family preceding Mahadev had been in British service. He joined the Elphinstone college in 1858 and was among the first batch of 21 students who passed in the succeeding year the first matriculation examination of the University of Bombay. In the course of this examination, he committed a grave indiscretion by writing an essay on transformation of Hindu society in which he incorporated a few adverse remarks on British rule in India. He was reprimanded for this and some marks deducted. Three years later, for comparing British rule unfavourably with Shivaji's reign his scholarship was suspended for six months. As G.T. Madkholkar has stated, Ranade's tender mind must have imbibed the lessons of this British repute. Never again did he commit such indiscretions. (Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 15, and G. T. Madkholkar, *op. cit.* p. 52).

He was a fellow of the Elphinstone college till 1866, Marathi Translator from 1866 to 1868, administrator of Akkalkot State and

Judge in Kolhapur State from 1867 to 1868 and professor of English literature in Elphinstone in 1868-71. Having passed the Advocate's examination in the latter year he became an acting magistrate in Bombay in 1871 to remain in judicial service till his death.

Ranade was pulled into social reform work by Lokhitwadi and Vishnushastri Pandit (Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 37). The former started the *Indu Prakash* in 1862, the editorship of whose English section was entrusted to Ranade. Pandit formed a Widow Remarriage Association in 1865 which Ranade joined. Nevertheless, as we have noticed before, within a month of the death of his first wife, Ranade married a little girl 22 years his junior.

Ranade was in Poona from 1871 to 1878 in government service and again from 1881 to 1883. In 1871, he joined the Poona branch of the *Prarthana Samaj* as well as the *Sarvajanic Sabha*. He began to interest himself in economic subjects and being a practical man, he took an important part in the establishment and growth of Cotton and Silk Spinning & Weaving Factory, the Metal Manufacturing Factory, the Poona Mercantile Bank, the Poona Dyeing Company, the Reay Paper Mill, all set up at Poona (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 85). This was in line with the entrepreneurship displayed by all the *nouveau riche*, social reformers and political leaders of those days with

D. Naoroji becoming commission broker and partner of Cama Company, K.T. Telang and Pheroza Shah Mehta starting a soap factory, and Mehta and D. E. Wacha forming a financial association with managing agencies of cotton textile mills (*Ibid.*).

On the theoretical plane, we have already noted that Ranade did not agree with Naoroji's drain theory (*Ibid.*, p. 705). As for India's poverty, Ranade considered overpopulation to be responsible for it (Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 64). Ranade declared, in connection with the Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, that

"It is not within the power or competence of Government to effect any change of a permanent character in the physical, or social, or economical conditions of the country." (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 716).

Ranade believed in industrialisation and stated "This is the practical work which Providence has set down for us to learn under the best of teachers" (*Ibid.*, p. 66). Whilst finding the British to be the best of teachers, apparently he did not think them to be as good as the French or the Germans. For he was convinced that

"We cannot expect the Government here to do what France and Germany do for their Shipping Trade, and their Sugar Industry, and ask Government Bounties, and subsidies to be paid out of general taxes.... It is useless to divert our energies in fruitless discussions." (*Ibid.*, p. 22).

But whilst as an eminently practical man, he found discussion of aid to sugar industry fruitless, he came out very strongly in support of the government through three articles in the *Times of India* in May and June 1899, when Curzon manipulated tariffs to assist British plantation owners in Mauritius (*Ibid.*, p. 253). Also because of the same practical outlook, he did not allow his stand as a social reformer in favour of curbing the drink menace to stand in the way of his vehement plea for freedom for the sugar refiners to manufacture rum and sell it "to those who would like to drink." (*Ibid.*, p. 261).

Ranade was opposed to the Bengal tenancy legislation as that might

set one class against another and because relations between landlord and tenant should not be regulated by any outside agency but should be left to private competition (*Ibid.*, pp. 453-55, 463). He was very bluntly in favour of the elite.

"In all old and backward countries like India, there is always only a minority of people who monopolise all the elements of strength. They are socially and religiously in the front ranks, they possess intelligence, wealth, thrifty habits, knowledge and power of combination. The majority of the population are unlettered, improvident, ignorant, disunited, thriftless, and poor in means. No political manipulation can hold the balance between these two classes, power must gravitate where there is intelligence and wealth, and it is a hopeless struggle to keep a poverty-stricken peasantry in possession of the soil, and divorce the natural union of capital and land." (*Ibid.*, pp. 438 - 39 our emphasis).

Ranade strongly advocated the Prussian course for India so as to develop large capitalist farmers (*Ibid.*, p. 490). He stood for the right of *Vatandars* (Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 96), and for Permanent Settlement landlordism (*Ibid.*, p. 139). Social reform considerations also did not stand in the way of Ranade in vigorously advocating the development of opium trade (*Ibid.*, p.570). Not only was political freedom not considered to be one of the minimal considerations for growth of Indian industry, but also Ranade went so far as to declare in 1890:

"After all Government help can do but little, save pioneering work, The Government of India is anxious to help us." (*Ibid.*, p. 699).

He was utilised by the British bureaucracy to conciliate between the cultivators and the sowcars under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879. Ranade was engaged in this task for twelve long years from 1881 to 1893 (Jagirdar, *op. cit.* p. 93). We have not been vouchsafed the precise nature of his accomplishment in this field. But since we know that the Relief Act was totally ineffective in checking the acquisitions of the moneylenders and since we know that Ranade firmly believed that political manipulation cannot hold the scales between the poor and the rich in the countryside and that the rich must prevail in order to promote a Prussian course of development, we can see that there were good reasons why "Ranade's labours were rewarded with praise from high quarters." (*Ibid.*, p. 94) Apart from the awards of Rao Bahadur and C. I. E. to which reference has been made in earlier chapter, he was made the Law Member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1885, 1890 and 1893 as well as a member of the Finance Committee of the Government of India in 1886 (*Ibid.*, pp. 92, 95).

Naturally, Ranade was opposed to the Factory Act (*Ibid.*, p. 121). Just as his social reformist ideas did not influence his views on drinking and opium, similarly they did not obstruct acceptance of dowries on behalf of his two step-brothers (*Ibid.*, p. 106).

We hesitate to state bluntly the inevitable conclusion about Ranade's career and contribution that emerges from the aforementioned accumulated evidence. We will leave the matter with the remark that Ranade was a product of his

times. There were some aspects of his official career which perhaps were of some use to future generations. For instance, his collection of data on publishing in Marathi has been used as source-material by many scholars. Ranade wrote on a wide range of subjects (*Rise of Maratha Power 1900; Essays on Indian Economics*, 1898, etc.) As a product of his period, Ranade's role was exhausted by the eighties and nineties of the last century. The Sarvajanik Sabha was captured by Tilak in 1895 and Ranade's pupil Gokhale was forced to resign in the following year. The Social Conference, held in the Congress pandal since 1887 and whose deliberations Ranade had presided over since inception, was compelled to give ground before Tilak's onslaught in the year 1895. Only one little point remains to be mentioned. It has been claimed that Ranade was responsible for the name of the Congress (Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31). Perhaps this contribution symbolises Ranade's life work.

Badruddin Tyabji

Another large personality of the period was Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1909). To him belongs the honour of being the first Indian barrister in 1867 (A. G. Noorani, *Badruddin Tyabji*, 1969, p. 9). Under the Municipal Reform Act of 1372, Badruddin was elected in five successive elections (*Ibid.*, p. 21). He was a promoter of the Anjuman-i-Islam (1876). In 1882, he was nominated a member of the Governor's Legislative Council, from which he resigned in 1886. He presided over the third annual session of the Congress (1887). He was appointed a judge of the Bombay High Court in 1895. His son, Mohsin, became the first Muslim I.C.S. Officer. Soon after presiding over the Congress session, he suggested the dissolution or a five year suspension of the Congress (*Ibid.*, p. 93). Since the Congress rejected this advice, he withdrew from politics (*Ibid.*, p. 94). To Tyabji belongs the distinction of having granted bail to Tilak in the 1897 trial, when three earlier attempts before Justice Parsons and Justice M. G. Ranade had failed. He felt that "Young India had fixed its attention too exclusively on politics and too little upon education and social reform." (*Ibid.*, pp. 101, 122). Gandhi has gone on record with the statement that "Badruddin Tyabji was for years a decisive factor in the deliberations of the Congress." (*Ibid.*, p. 138) In what sense he was decisive and for how many years, it is difficult to make out. His address to the third Congress is a model for flatterers of the British empire (*Ibid.*, p. 154). It is full of not only gushing devotion to British empire and not only does it shower praise on "educated natives" and contempt upon "ignorant peasants", but also promises full support to Great Britain against the Russian menace!

Pheroze Shah Mehta

Pheroze Shah Mehta (1845-1915) belonged to a mercantile family like Tyabji and became a barrister a year after Tyabji. He specialised in mofussil cases and became quite rich. He was made a J. P. through the influence of William Wedderburn (Homi Mody, *Pheroze Shah Mehta*, 1967, p. 13), and followed Wedderburn to the chair of the Congress

President in 1890. He was associated with the East India Association founded by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1866 with the support of the so-called enlightened Indian princes (*Ibid.*, p. 10). As a J. P., Pherozeshah was associated very early with the affairs of the Bombay Municipality. We have already noted his sudden and 'a little too vehement' (*Ibid.*, p. 38) advocacy of Arthur T. Crawford, in connection with Tilak's successful journalistic campaign against this corrupt officer. Pherozeshah collected a handsome purse for Dadabhai in 1869 (*Ibid.*, p. 20). With all these business, social and political connections, Pherozeshah dominated the civic life of Bombay city for many years. He became a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1886 and of the Central or Imperial Legislative Council in 1893. He received the C.I.T. in 1894 and knighthood in 1904.

So prominent was Pherozeshah in public life that Gandhi who was conducting a propaganda campaign on behalf of South African Indians wrote to him in 1895 soliciting Mehta's help. "The letterhead described Gandhi as 'Agent for the Esoteric Christian Union and the London Vegetarian Society'." (*Ibid.*, p. 122).

When Mehta resigned from the Imperial Council in 1901, Gokhale wrote a most humble letter to Mehta praising the latter sky-high. "On the score of gifts... on the score of prestige... there is no equalling you or even coming near you" and beseeched Mehta to promote Gokhale's advancement in the same Imperial Council upon there being a vacancy. (This begging letter has been extensively reproduced in H. Mody's work on Mehta.) With Mehta's and T. J. Bennett's (owner of the *Times*) support, Gokhale was duly elected.

Apart from starting the soap factory with Telang and the involvement in mill agency, Pherozeshah was one of the promoters of the Central Bank of India in 1911 and founder of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1913.

Mehta had the views usually held by the upper middle classes and the rich of that period. He usually took up a middle position between the extreme moderates and the British rulers as in the case of the Crawford incident already referred to and also on the issue of tariffs (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 254). He duly criticised the British government for excessive army expenditure (*Ibid.*, p. 626), but like his mentor, Dadabhai Naoroji, who resolved his criticism of the British by calling British rule in India un-British, Mehta described "nationalist agitation as an effort to raise British rule's nobler (part) from its grosser part". (*Ibid.*, p. 742).

At the Surat Congress (1907), matters came to a head between extreme moderates and the less extreme moderates. R. N. Mudholkar, who was to become Congress President in 1912, described the Tilakite delegates from Deccan, Berar and Bengal as "gymnastic teachers, proclaimed touts, workmen from factories, fitters, oilmen, *et hoc genus omne*... and even barbers". (Mody, *op. cit.* pp. 165-6). With such prejudices operating against the less extreme moderates, it is obvious that the established leadership of Mehta, Gokhale, Rash Bahari Ghose, Mudholkar, S. Banerjea, etc., was preparing to force a showdown.

When Tilak was refused the permission to speak on the opening day, it appears that the cry went up from the audience "we want to punish these Parsee rascals." A Maratha shoe --- reddish leather, pointed toe, sole-studded with lead --- flew through the air, struck Surendranath Banerjea on the cheek and cannoned off to hit Pherozeshah Mehta (Mody, *op. cit.*, p. 169. Also see Majumdar *op. cit.*, vol. 11, pp. 91-95 for a summary of all the political trends.) Pandemonium prevailed. In the leaders' camp, "poor sensitive Gokhale trembled with excitement and indignation. Almost alone amongst the old leaders, Pherozeshah walked about calm and unmoved.... The Deccani shoe (was not) able to impair the robust confidence of the man or affect his clarity of vision or political judgment." (*Ibid.*, p. 171). The next day the big guns met and resolved that only those who gave in writing their acceptance of Article 1 (the so-called Credo) of the Congress Constitution would be henceforth admitted to Congress sessions. This Article 1 read as follows:

"The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country." (Quoted by Majumdar, *op. cit.*, vol. 11, p. 236).

This Credo which excluded Tilakites from Congress was suitably altered in 1915 to allow as delegates those who were elected by such associations as had 'for one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government within the British Empire by constitutional means.' Tilak promptly announced the decision of his party to re-enter the Congress, thus demonstrating that the difference between the two groups was really that between two factions of the same moderate leadership (*Ibid.*, p. 246, for text of modified Credo).

Gopal Krishna Gokhale

We have noticed Gopal Krishna Gokhale's activities in relation to the Land Alienation Bill of 1901 earlier. Continuing from there, we may note that Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) passed out of the Elphinstone College, the nursery of the elite of that period, in 1884, and joined the New English School as the Assistant Master in 1886. He became a Life Member of the Deccan Education Society in the same year. His entry seems to have signalled the commencement of rifts within this institution and the Deccan Education Society. Tilak resigned from the society in 1890 and Gokhale became its secretary in 1891. He became a protegee of Ranade and assumed the Secretaryship of the Deccan Sabha in 1896 (T. R. Deogirikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20, S. L. Karandikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-99). He was active in Congress since 1889 and was elected its president in 1905, the year in which he founded the Servants of India Society. He visited England seven times. It appears that he had a talent for establishing *guru-chela*

relationships. He was a *chela* of Ranade till the latter's death in 1901 (Deogirikar, p. 30). Thereafter he accepted Pherozeshah Mehta as his *guru*. In turn, he inspired the same sentiment in Gandhi who considered Gokhale as his *guru* (About Gokhale's humble submission to Mehta, see above. About Gandhi calling himself Gokhale's disciple, see Deogirikar, *op. cit.*, p. 193). Gokhale was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council from 1902 till his death. His speeches on the annual budget were greatly admired in those days. These speeches owed a deep debt to G. V. Joshi, a brilliant school teacher and later headmaster. Gokhale wrote to Joshi in 1902:

"Of course, it is your speech more than mine --- and I almost feel I am practising a fraud on the public in that I let all the credit for it come to me." (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 4).

We shall be considering G. V. Joshi and his contribution to public life a little later in this Chapter.

Gokhale's favourite subject for speeches was education. In 1891 at the Congress session, he pointed out that whilst even in the backward countries of Europe, 6.5 per cent of public revenues were expended on education, in India the proportion was only 1 per cent which was strangely enough less than that in 1871 when the proportion stood at 1.4 per cent (*Ibid.*, p. 623). He did not hesitate to advocate payment of high salaries to Englishmen to attract them as teachers in Indian universities. His presentation of the Indian case before the Welby Commission is stated to be his first great triumph in public life. There he refuted any suggestion that Indians desired control over the government. He acknowledged before the Commission that "large questions of policy could be discussed and settled with advantage only in England." (*Ibid.*, p. 634). He also suggested in 1897 some Indians should be elected to the British House of Commons (*Ibid.*, p. 631). This system was implemented by French imperialism most willingly, without in any way solving the problems of her colonies, which had to wage armed struggles for winning freedom. (Algeria and Indo-China are notable examples.)

Apart from the Surat imbroglio, the most sensational episode in which Gokhale was involved occurred in 1897. Whilst in England, he was provoked by the reports he had received from Poona about the atrocities committed by British soldiers in the course of their supposedly anti-plague measures. He condemned these outrages and in a letter to *Manchester Guardian*, he reported the rape of two women. But in the meantime, the Chapekar brothers had shot dead Rand and Ayerst. A tremendous publicity campaign was mounted by the British both in England and India. Gokhale could not stand the pressure and -

"tendered an unqualified apology to all, to H.E. the Governor, to the members of the Plague Committee and to the soldiers engaged in plague operations."

Even his biographers are embarrassed at the compliments paid by Gokhale to the soldiers who were terrorising the people of Poona (Deogirikar, *op. cit.*, p. 67; also S. L. Karandikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-47).

It is not necessary for us to pass any judgment on

Gokhale and his role in Indian politics. An incident relating to the oppressive Press Act of 1910 illustrates his approach to politics. Gokhale did not vote against this draconian measure. The inner story, as revealed by C. Y. Chintamani and S. P. Sinha and recorded by his biographer, is as follows: S. P. Sinha had been included in the Governor-General's Council as the first Indian member. He was given the law portfolio. Since the Press Bill was one of the most unpopular bills, Sinha offered his resignation to Minto who was clever enough to send his private secretary to bring about an understanding between Sinha and Gokhale so that Sinha could honourably withdraw his resignation. Gokhale entered into the game and some verbal concessions were made in the language of the bill. Sinha insisted upon Gokhale supporting the bill so that the odium would not attach to him alone but would include a leading representative of the Congress.

"Gokhale refused to oblige. Gokhale tried to impress on Sinha that it would be improper for him to think of resigning after so much had been done by the viceroy. Sinha said thereupon that he would remain neutral. Gokhale told him that no Member of the Executive Council could do so. He must support the Bill and give up the idea of resignation. Sinha would not yield. Gokhale again thought of a way out. Gokhale agreed to refrain from opposing the Bill, or voting against the Bill. He, however, retained perfect liberty to suggest amendments in the Select Committee and the Council. All this satisfied Sinha." (Deogirikar, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

Ganesh Vyankatesh Joshi

G. V. Joshi was undoubtedly the most brilliant economist of the period. He was very frankly in favour of private capitalism. He wrote in 1890:

"Our scheme emphatically is not a scheme of state-socialism, such, for instance, as was attempted with fatal ill-success by the Provisional Government in 1849."

According to him the objective of state action was to redress the unequal struggle between the resourceless Indian entrepreneur and the powerful foreigner. Secondly, lest the state action supplant private effort, he wanted it to be restricted in scope, direction and time. He was opposed to jail production of manufactured articles like tents, paper, carpets, etc., as well as to the government's efforts in the direction of irrigation, forest conservancy and *taqavi* loans to cultivators which could be very well left to private native enterprise (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 720-21). Both he and Dadabhai Naoroji were aware of the shortage of capital in the country and their answer anticipated by sixty years the policy adopted by the government of independent India. They advocated nationalisation, rather as aforesaid, a use of state capitalism to promote, subsidise and assist temporarily private capitalism (*Ibid.*, p. 110).

But G. V. Joshi had a precise mind. He presented whenever possible exact estimates of what he was talking about. Being a government servant, his name did not appear in the limelight. (We have already referred above to his ghost-writing of Gokhale's budget speeches.) But from the bourgeois point of view, he was an unusually rigorous rationalist. Amongst the many specific points that he made, there were these:

(i) In 1890, Joshi estimated that the cultivated area had increased between 1871-72 and 1888-89 by 4.5 million acres in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, N.W.P., and Oudh, Central Provinces and the Punjab, whilst population had increased by at least 11 millions. The shortfall in cultivated area, therefore, had been of the order of 4.5 million acres on the basis of W.W. Hunter's estimate of an acre of foodcrop per head needed (*Ibid.*, p. 36).

(ii) He pointed out that the pressure on land drove cultivators to indulge in ruinous competition to acquire tenancies on utterly uneconomic and exorbitant rents. This competition also led the agricultural labourers to undersell each other's wages. This overcrowding of agriculture resulted in under-employment and enforced idleness of millions. According to his calculations, more than half the rural population was in fact without proper work (*Ibid.*, pp. 59, 495).

(iii) In 1888, Joshi had in his paper on "Sea-borne Trade of British India" made a rough estimate of the loss suffered by India on account of its dependent trading position, that is, on account of non-processing of raw produce in the country and export of pure raw material. He felt that a most conservative calculation of loss on account of wages and profits for Indians was of the order of Rs. 58 crores which capitalised at 3 per cent meant for Britain a gainful employment of about Rs. 1,600 crores of its own capital (*Ibid.*, p. 156).

(iv) On account of the control that British merchants and administrators exercised over railways, shipping, banking, insurance and even over a part of the internal movement of goods from village to sea port, the total loss to India amounted to nearly Rs. 26 crores a year, i.e., "more than the whole amount of the Home Charge of which we so much complain." (*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61).

(v) Joshi suggested that as on uneconomic holdings of land the yield was not even enough for the rayat's subsistence, no rent or tax should be levied on the same (*Ibid.*, p. 410).

(vi) Joshi calculated in 1896 that even after excluding railway and other commercial receipts, the burden of taxation on Indians had increased by 35 per cent from 1883-84 to 1895-96 (*Ibid.*, p. 505).

(vii) In 1890, in his article 'The Economic Situation in India', Joshi calculated that the net national savings (gross production less people's maintenance) amounted to Rs. 90 crores per annum of which the British government took away Rs. 50 crores or more than half as taxes (*Ibid.*, p. 512).

(viii) G. V. Joshi pioneered the anti-salt tax agitation which has been wrongly credited to M. K. Gandhi. He felt that such taxation as was needless and mischievous became necessary because of construction of palatial buildings, yearly exodus to hill stations, employment of expensive Englishmen and expenditure on "scientific rectification of the frontier" and "military promenades" into other people's territories (*Ibid.*, p. 619).

(ix) Joshi calculated that India had been drained of nearly £ 660 millions during the years 1834 to 1888 (*Ibid.*, p. 648).

(x) In 1884, in an essay entitled "The Economic Results of Free Trade and Railway Extension", Joshi calculated that in

1882 the excess of exports over imports was Rs. 23 crores, when the gross annual production of India was Re. 350 crores. At a most favourable rate of 12 per cent, the profits on total production could have been Rs. 40 crore. Six years later in 'The Economic Situation in India' Joshi pointed out that "The full measure of this drain is not the ratio it bears to the gross annual income of the country --- which is about 6 per cent --- but its proportion to the net income" after defraying "necessary expenses of an year's maintenance of Indians." And this proportion was nearly one-third. "Full one-third of our net national income going out of the country to meet our foreign liabilities...goes a long way to account for the small accumulation of capital" within the nation (*Ibid.*, p. 662).

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

We have already considered some of the broad features of Tilak's political work. His journalistic career has been reviewed earlier in this chapter. We shall now try to round off the picture.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) belonged to a khot family of Ratnagiri. His public career may be said to have commenced when he joined hands with V. K. Chiplunkar, G.G. Agarkar and other friends to launch the New English School in 1880 (S. L. Karandikar, *op. cit.*, p. 58). This school was a nationalist educational institution whose moving spirit was Vishnushastri Chiplunkar. Vishnushastri had resigned a lucrative government post to devote his energies to educational upliftment. The school charged smaller fees than comparable government institutions and trained a distinguished band of students including Hari Narayan Apte, the novelist, and Vajinath Kashinath Rajwade, the historian. (This school is still running in Poona at the time of writing in 1976.) The school believed in all-round educational effort and therefore sponsored the publication of two journals, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* (*Ibid.*, pp. 61-63). Though Tilak was made responsible for the *Mahratta* (and Agarkar for the *Kesari*), every member of the staff contributed to the papers. Chiplunkar unfortunately died in 1882. The other members of the society carried on the work. From the school grew up the Deccan Education Society which from its formation in 1884 to this date remains one of the pre-eminent centres of education in Maharashtra (*Ibid.*, pp. 72-73). The next year saw the foundation of the Fergusson College. Due to differences with other members Tilak resigned from the Deccan Education Society in 1890 (*Ibid.*, pp. 97-99).

Tilak for the first time attended the annual session of the Congress in 1889. Thereafter he played a very prominent role in its work. Passing over the Kolhapur Libel Case and the Crawford affair which have been covered, we may take up the episode involving Pandita Ramabai.

Pandita Ramabai

This lady was a period piece by herself. Born into a Sanskrit shastri's household in Mangalore, she suffered many adversities in early age, as her father was persecuted by relations and neighbours for imparting knowledge of Sanskrit to the women of the house. Driven away from home, the small family wandered here and there. The father passed away and

later the elder brother too. Ramabai ended up in Calcutta marrying an Assamese *shudra* of Bengali origin. He too died in a year or two and Ramabai had to fend for herself and her little daughter. She came to Poona. In 1882, the Hunter Commission was taking evidence on female education. She gave most impressive testimony from her own experience of orthodox persecution. Hunter had her Marathi submission translated into English and circularised. Following this publicity, Ramabai went across to the United States and she and her daughter both got converted. Returning in 1889, she opened a home for Hindu widows, The social reformers of Poona --- Ranade, Gokhale, Agarkar, Karve, etc., --- supported her move. Tilak was sceptical and managed to discover that she was receiving financial aid from American missions on the understanding that she would carry on the proselytising activity. When Tilak commenced his public attacks upon her, the anti-Tilak elements already named, rallied round her. But Tilak produced overwhelming evidence of Ramabai's hypocritical stance and the social reformers were forced to beat a hasty retreat. Ramabai also retreated to Kedgaon where she openly conducted her proselytisation efforts. As soon as she came out into the open she became insignificant. (An adequate brief sketch of Ramabai's life may be found in P. J. Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-14).

Tilak and Social Reform

In these battles between Tilakite orthodoxy, and Ranadeite - Gokhaleite reformism there appears to us to have been a real element as well as an unreal one. Tilak was an orthodox believer of the *Dharmashastra* texts. His fanciful theorisations in *Orion* (1893) and *The Arctic Home of the Vedas* (1903) demonstrate that he was prone to force a too literal meaning out of obscure astronomical data casually mentioned in old texts. Also he was a communalist. After the communal riots of 1893, which he accused the government of having directly or indirectly engineered, he did try to promote Hindu religious retaliation through the organisation of the Ganapati (1893) and Shivaji (1896) festivals (S. L. Karandikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 132). The latter did not catch on, but the former deliberately incorporated the frills of the Muslim Moharram-garish display, dancing, swordplay demonstrations, gymnastic drills, etc. (*Ibid.*, pp. 112-13, 132; Jog, *op. cit.* pp. 47-53).

At the same time, it should be realised that Tilak was as much bound by considerations of practicality as Ranade and Gokhale were. Given the conservative, pro-property-class bias of all three, it was inevitable that each of them should project a reactionary objective and a reactionary means of achieving the same objective. Gokhale and Ranade, therefore, relied upon the British to obtain such freedom for India where the rich and the educated minority would flourish. Similarly, Tilak repeatedly pointed out that reformist positions should not be pushed so far as to divorce the orthodox mass of followers from their would-be leaders. Ranade and Gokhale were just as religious as Tilak. Both Ranade and Tilak performed the Hindu *prayaschita* ceremony after the Panchhoid Mission tea party. It may be that Tilak made too much of his being less hypocritical about things and of holding views that were in

greater consonance with his own practice. May be Ranade and others preached social reformism whilst practising orthodoxy. But there was no great merit on Tilak's side when he asserted that he practised orthodoxy just as he preached orthodoxy. In fact we can see that later on Gandhi too relied upon a fundamentally undisguised religious appeal. His daily political discourses used to be delivered in the course of the so-called prayer meetings. There were no doubt some references to the Bible, Koran, Avesta and scriptures of various religions. However, the overwhelming impress of Hindu religion on Gandhi's mind, his speeches and his prayer meetings cannot be gainsaid. The prayer meetings used to end with *Ramdhun*. Ultimately all conservative ideologies have to seek religious sanction. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries one cannot adopt progressive, rationalist means and not have a socialist ideal. Contrariwise, one cannot have a bourgeois ideal and not lean upon some orthodox, religious creed.

Tilak's Politics

This partly real and partly mock battle raged between Tilak and the social reformist groups in Western India. Tilak, after resigning in 1890, staged a strong comeback after 5 years, and captured the Sarvajanik Sabha in 1895, forcing Ranade and Gokhale almost out of Poona's public and political life. Ranade and Gokhale formed the Deccan Sabha in 1896 but it never cut much ice with the Poona intelligentsia.

We have already referred to the four trials of Tilak when the government tried to make an example of Tilak and his papers. Tilak fortunately had got together a magnificent team and despite his long sojourns in jail, his papers were unaffected. N. C. Kelkar and K. P. Khadilkar, two eminent literatures, ran his journals efficiently right through. Around that time, Dhondo Keshav Karve, a widower, married a widow and received warm public endorsement from Tilak (Karandikar, *op. cit.*, p. 111). Karve (1858-1962) was just commencing his career in the field of women's education but his contributions really fall in the second and subsequent decades of this century.

It is claimed by Tilak's biographer that :

"Here is Tilak in 1906 anticipating, almost item by item, the non-cooperation movement which Gandhi launched 14 years later." (Jog, *op. cit.*, p. 101).

Though the claim may appear exaggerated, there is some truth in it. Sarvajanik Kaka (and Ajit Singh in Punjab) proposed encouragement of *khadi* and *Charkha*. G. V. Joshi tried to conduct an anti-salt tax campaign. Passive resistance and non-cooperation were projected by not only Tilak but many others including Aurobindo Ghosh. Gandhi's programme merely gathered together all these ideas which were floating in the air.

Tilak built up his Home Rule League in the war years and strongly urged Indians to offer responsive cooperation to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. According to Subhas Bose, whilst in England in connection with the Chiroi case, he addressed Indian students at Cambridge in 1919. Curzon, who had by then become England's foreign minister, tried to prevent the holding of this meeting. But the Indian students stood firm and the Cambridge Chancellor allowed Tilak to come and address the students. In the course of his speech, Tilak

demanded Home Rule for India, i.e., local autonomy within the imperial set-up, in another 15 years' time. The young radicals of Cambridge were so disappointed that they have reported to have told the Indians: "If these are your extremists, we don't want to hear your moderates." (*Netaji's Life and Writings*, part one, 1948, p. 124 n).

Social Reformism Vs. Militant Orthodoxy

From the foregoing study of the leading ideologues of the period, it is apparent that both sides in this controversy were carried on by members of a small, affluent, English-educated elite. The British enticed the more ambitious, shortsighted and careerist elements to promote the red herring of social reforms. As we have noted elsewhere, the vast bulk of the masses were living in a completely reformed state --- permitting divorce, allowing widow remarriage, not shaving the heads of the widows, not practising *sati* or polygamy, etc. Social reform was a secondary issue in the conditions of fierce British exploitation of India, and in any case, it was quixotic for an unfree people to attempt significant social improvements. Militant orthodoxy, on the other hand, wanted the masses to overlook the age-old, feudal forms of oppression based on caste hierarchical principles. They were more than justified in drawing attention to the immediate task of political liberation. But a mobilisation of the masses which alone could achieve deliverance from hunger, famine and poverty was not feasible on antiquated, orthodox basis. In other words, the controversy developed into a mock battle. Tilak advocated responsive cooperation in 1916 to which Ranade would have replied that he had been cooperating responsively for many decades. Gokhale could go on endlessly about the need for social reforms but the set of legislative measures known as the Hindu Code Bills could be legislated only in the fifties of this century and similarly the banning of dowry and untouchability had to await the departure of the British. Thus this mock controversy distorted the intellectual appreciations made by both sides. Neither could push its arguments to their logical conclusions. Therefore despite the passions involved, the controversy remained unfruitful.

Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengallee and N. M. Lokhande

Unfortunately the historiography of the 19th century has not rescued from oblivion the genuine leaders of the labour movement of Maharashtra. What we have are the names of Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengallee and N. M. Lokhande. The former was a rich businessman closely connected with the export-import trade. He became cotton purchasing agent for W. & A. Graham & Co., (N. S. Bengallee, *op. cit.*, p. 12). He joined the Bombay Association but ceased to be its supporter when the found that the association was departing from "wise and moderate lines". He "stood aloof" from the Indian National Congress (*Ibid.*, p. 23). His activities in the labour field have been recorded by N. S. Bengallee. The manoeuvre by Lancashire interests, the British bureaucrats in India, the Secretary of State for India, the *London Times* and other sordid details are all given on pp. 50-55. Ultimately two memorandums

sent by millhands were got up. This is where N. M. Lokhande came in to help S. S. Bengallee. About Lokhande, V. B. Karnik in his *Indian Trade Unions* has said :

"It was not, however, a trade union in its proper sense. It had no membership, no rules and regulations and no funds. It was essentially a welfare organisation started and conducted by a public spirited individual." (1960, p. 4).

It is not suggested that the workers of Bombay did not need effective factory act protection. What is revealed by the records is that :

(i) the workers who were largely inarticulate were granted the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 in the course of a business manoeuvre by British textile interests as a measure of competition with their Indian rivals.

(ii) Since the workers did not struggle for protection against excessive exploitation, a most inadequate piece of legislation came into being which provided no effective inspection machinery, being observed more in the breach than anything else.

Vasudev Balwant Phadke

Vasudev Balwant Phadke (1845-1883) was born in Kolaba district. He joined the military Commissariat of the British government in 1863, and becoming totally disgusted with the ways of the British, he left it in 1869. The terrible famine of 1876 - 77 and the suffering of the people of Western India confirmed Phadke in his belief that all this evil was the direct consequence of the British rule.

"As no active support for an armed insurrection was forthcoming from the educated people, Vasudeo gathered a few Ramoshis and began to commit political dacoities with a view to securing the money necessary for raising an army... Some of these dacoities did prove successful, but the Ramoshis could not rise upto Vasudeo's ideology and appropriated to themselves the amounts so collected." (*Source Material...* etc., vol. 1, 1957, p. 73).

Phadke was following the tradition set between 1818 and 1879 by :

"Umaji Naik, Bhau Khare, Chimanaji Jadhav, Nana Darbare, Ramchandra Gore, Raghu Bhangre, Honya Koli, Hart Makaji, Krishna Sable and other Ramoshi, Koli, Dhargar, Maratha and Brahmin rebels, who had by their risings and raids from Poona to Kolhapur brought to bay the Government and the Zamindar, sowkars and vatandars and other affluent classes who were supporting it." (G. T. Madkholkar, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

Vasudev Balwant's daring guerilla struggle frightened the Europeans of Western India :

"The day after the raid at Palaspe a rumour was afloat at Kalyan that Vasudeo Balwant was going to march on the town that night. The Europeans immediately packed up their luggage and prepared to leave the place. But no passenger train left Kalyan till midnight. A goods train was, however, scheduled to leave Kalyan about that time. To the terror-stricken Europeans even the goods train was a boon. On arrival at Kalyan it was crowded to capacity with European men, women and children and then left for Bombay. In cities also Europeans felt unsafe and purchased a large quantity of ammunition for

their guns and revolvers. Messrs. Treacher and Company the chief dealers in arms and ammunition at Poona, completely exhausted their stock of ammunition due to such quick purchase of cartridges by the Europeans." (V. S. Joshi, *Vasudeo Balvant Phadke*, 1959, pp. 74-75).

Vasudeo had a trenchant and direct way of expressing himself:

"When a child is born it is as a drop of water; when he grows up he can carry out his desires, but when only one year or five can he do it? So with a 'BAND' even though it be small if the foundation is good it shall grow big and conquer a government. There is much ill-feeling among the people and now if a few make a commencement those who are hungry will join." (*Source Material... etc.*, vol. 1, p.86).

His prediction of May 1879 shows that Vasudev was fully aware of the larger issues involved in the struggle against the British.

"Our Hindu astrologers forecast a more terrible famine than that of 1877 next year. We, therefore, warn the Government that unless extensive famine works are opened throughout the length and breadth of this province for the common ryots who are without employment and they get employment in the various trades or occupations, burden of government taxes is reduced, salaries of high-paid Europeans curtailed and the native (Swadeshi) trade and commerce flourishes with Government encouragement, the operations till now confined to rich Indians would extend to Europeans. And with the treasure so collected, we would assemble a large number of brave followers, begin rapine and massacre of the Europeans wherever they are found throughout the country and stir up another mutiny." (V. S. Joshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66).

Feeling increasingly isolated from the mercenary Ramoshis, he retired to a temple in South India where he wrote a short diary which was found on his person when he was arrested in Hyderabad State on 21st July 1879. He was tried and sentenced to transportation for life in November 1880. He escaped from Aden jail where he had been confined in October 1881 but was re-arrested the next day. He died in jail on 17th February 1883.

We have already referred to Sarvajani Kaka's bold decision to defend Phadke in the trial, as well as to the silent floral tribute paid to this brave patriot by the unnamed European lady at Poona station.

The government had proclaimed a reward of Rs.3,000 for the arrest of Phadke. Before his arrest, several proclamations were found wherein Vasudev Balvant had offered reward of Rs.10,000 for the Governor's head, with a sliding scale of rewards for lesser Europeans (R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 912. Phadke's diary or autobiography is reproduced in the *Source Material... etc.*, vol. 1, pp. 103-125).

Damodar, Balkrishna and Vasudev - Chapekar Brothers

Damodar Hari Chapekar (born 1870 - executed 1898), Balkrishna Hari Chapekar (born 1873 - executed 1899), and Vasudev Hari Chapekar (born 1880 - executed 1899) followed in the trail blazed by Vasudev Phadke. As a protest against the atrocities committed by British administration on the innocent

citizens of Poona, Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar shot dead Rand and Ayerst, two terrorists wearing official garbs. The British government immediately announced a reward of Rs. 20,000, about 7 times the price put on Phadke. Two criminals, the Dravid brothers, who were serving a sentence for forgery, gave information leading to the arrest of Damodar. Before they could collect their reward, Vasudev killed the Dravids. After the apprehension of Damodar, another reward of Rs.10,000 was proclaimed for Balkrishna. Eventually he and the teenager Vasudev too were apprehended.

It is with great regret that one notes the infamous role played by Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade in this matter. It was a consistent British policy to pit Indians against Indians. The sentence against Tilak was passed by Justice Davar and the Chapekar Brothers were confronted by Justice Ranade. In spite of the fact that Justice Parsons had gone on record with the statement that there was not a shred of evidence against Balkrishna except the confessional statement extorted under torture by the British police, Ranade awarded capital punishment to Balkrishna Chapekar. That the confessional statements under duress were made by three courageous young men and were not to be taken literally is admitted by Ranade himself.

"I have deemed it necessary to state these reasons for confirming the sentence passed on these two accused as they were not represented by counsel in this court. It is a peculiar feature of this case that the first two accused sought to assume greater responsibility on themselves in order to save accused No. 3 and accused No. 2 showed a similar anxiety to save accused Nos. 1 and 3." (*Source Material... etc.*, Vol. 2, p.371).

The contribution made by these brave fighters for India's freedom has been underestimated by modern historiography. On the one hand, their electrifying actions made the British imperialists increasingly pliable and induced them to arrive at a quick settlement with the native elite. On the other hand, the activities of these young rebels moved the conscience of the Indian mercenaries in British pay leading to the formation of the Indian National Army during the Second World War and the Naval Ratings Mutiny in 1946 which convinced the British that it would be too costly to hold on to India any longer. (For the importance of the terrorist movement in India's liberation struggle, the best available account is still R. C. Majumdar, *The History of the Freedom Movement in India*, 3 vols., and vols. 9 and 11 of his *History and Culture of Indian People*).

The New Caste Hierarchy

It is one of the shibboleths of sociological literature concerned with the British-dominated period of Indian sociological history, that the processes of westernisation, modernisation, development of transport and communications, new urbanisation, and journalistic rhetoric about social reform contributed to increasing social mobility within the caste structure of Indian society. We do not know exactly what is meant by this alleged "social mobility factor". If by this, it is suggested that whole castes of poor people acquired capitalist

wealth, then it is obviously false. For the overwhelming trend in nineteenth century India was towards deindustrialisation, depression of living standards, ruralisation and ruination of artisans and cultivators.

If by "social mobility" is meant a trend wherein the bulk or the whole of a caste altered its mode of living or changed craft occupation, then again such a description belies reality. For the overwhelming majority of the people of nineteenth century India, particularly as a result of the artisans being pressed back upon land, came to practise a singular mode of living and the single occupation of agricultural cultivation. In other words, 19th century India was characterised by monoculture.

If by "social mobility" and "lowering of caste barriers" is meant the phenomena of Indians belonging to different castes, using the same railway compartment or the spectacle of rich natives of various castes standing in rows to salute and bow to incoming and departing British *conquistadors*, then the observation is merely superficial. The spread of railways and the establishment of British hegemony had far deeper social significance - by inflicting inhuman poverty upon Indians and decimating them through man-made famines, the British period of Indian history plunged Indian society into a darker night of greater illiteracy, more superstition, increased despair, profounder grief, and heavier fatalism. These latter socio-cultural tendencies naturally prevailed over superficial sights of "co-mingling of castes."

There are substantial reasons for the caste factor receiving undue attention from our sociologists and social historians:

(i) First, the analysis of the caste situation was an essential part of the imperialist - native elite diversionary strategy of shifting attention away from the horrible socio-economic reality of abysmal poverty and cruel exploitation on to secondary matters and issues.

(ii) The fundamental British strategy of divide and rule promoted the pitting of groups of Indians against each other and encouraged internecine conflicts. The attention devoted to the caste factor reflected this policy.

(iii) As the feudal hierarchic order collapsed, and as Indian castes and caste-groups discovered that their new alien rulers were fairly ignorant about Indian social structure, a veritable competition ensued particularly after the commencement of systematic census operations in the 1870s. In the course of this competition, various castes and caste-groups attempted to make taller and taller claims of high caste status. As an instance, I may be permitted to give the example of the caste in which I was born. It is variously supposed that the original caste occupation was that of market gardening, i.e., mali, or of boat-building and carpentry. But for a long time now, the caste members have decided to consider themselves as "*Somvanshi Kshatriyas*". (Other examples of Vishwakarma Brahmins and so on, may be found in J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, 1946/69).

It is also a fallacy to view the long feudal period of Indian history as one during which caste mobility was totally absent, or when caste barriers were absolutely rigid. In our

own chosen area of study, the Maratha *shudra* caste of *kunbis* (cultivators) had managed to elevate itself to *semi-kshatriya* status following the rise of Shivaji who in 1674 invented a mythical southward migration of Rajputs when he crowned himself the king of the Marathas. A Banaras Brahmin had been found and bribed by him to sanctify his newly acquired *dvija* status. And the claims of his *shudra-kunbi* clansmen - the *Shahyav Kuli* - were reinforced by their participation as *bargis* (horsemen) in *mulukhgr*i expeditions across the length and breadth of the country. After all, who could challenge the higher caste claims of the man wielding the sword and the spear?

Even a more minute examination of social hierarchy in Maratha lands would reveal the following overturns at the crest:

(i) From Shivaji's times to the rise of Balaji Vishwanath, the *deshasth brahmins* formed the hard core of the aristocracy. Of Shivaji's *ashta-pradhans* (eight ministers), all but one or two were *deshasth brahmins*.

(ii) After the rise of the first Peshwa who reduced the Satara satrap to a cipher, the lowly *agent-provocateurs*, spies and *harkaras* (messengers), who were the earlier *Chitpavan* brahmins, pushed themselves into prominence. They garnered many of the privileged positions in the Peshwa court at Poona.

(iii) With Nana Phadnis, we have the conquest of citadels of power by the *prabhus* of Maharashtra, who enjoyed nearly two decades of glory.

(iv) With the last Peshwa, we have the reassertion of *Chitpavan* superiority, though only the outer shell remained, the core having been devoured by upstart Englishmen leading British-Indian armies of low-caste and tribal Indian mercenaries against the Peshwa.

Thus, both the alleged social rigidity of Indian feudalism and the alleged fluidity of British-imposed capitalism are myths. However, for particular individuals belonging to various castes, the nineteenth century did mean quadruple advancement - social, political, economic and cultural. We must however sound a note of caution that the description which we are about to give, of the new social hierarchy that came into being in the course of the nineteenth century in Maharashtra, should not be taken too literally, i.e., for every member of a particular community or caste who advanced to the forefront, thousands and lakhs of his communal or caste brethren remained degraded, poor, and obscure. The description that we are about to give is applicable solely to the new native elite which remained a minuscule part of the millions who eked out a bare living, and at times not even that, in nineteenth century Maharashtra.

The first large group of *nouveau-riche* and upstart natives that we may notice were the products of racialism and religious fanaticism of the English *conquistadors*. They may be divided into two groups: One - those who were preferred on the basis of skin colour, viz., the Parsis, the Jews and the Anglo-Indians; and two, those preferred on the basis of religious affinity, viz., the native Christians. In the former, we may place the Sassoon family of Jews, and the Petit family, the Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy family, the Cowasji Jehangir family and the Wadia

family of Parsis. To the former community also belonged Cowasji Dinshaw, Cursetjee Fardoojee Parakh, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Edulji Wachcha, Dorabjee Padamjee, H. R. Rustomji, Jijibhoy Dadabhoy, Pherozeshah Mehta, S.S. Bengallee, S.F. Patel, Naoroji Fardunji, K.N. Cama and last but not the least, J.N.Tata. (Most of these personalities have been sketched in different parts of this dissertation).

Amongst the preferred native Christians, we may mention the De Montes and De Souzas of Bombay. But there were many more like Baba Padmanji, the novelist, Rev. N. V. Tilak, the poet, and many others who occupied the lower echelons of the administrative, railway and police services.

The second noticeable group is that of the dissident Muslim sects, the Khojas, the Bohras and the Memons, who probably benefited from the liquidation of Sunni persecution, and who were, in individual cases, allowed to rise into social and business eminence. Amongst this group, we can see as representative Khojas :

Aga Khan, A. M. Dharamsi, Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Husainbhoy Vishram, Ibrahim Rahimatulla, Jummabhoy Lalji and Mahommedbhoy Ravji. Of the Bohras, we may notice Adamji Peerbhoy, Rafiuddin and Badruddin Tyabji, and of the Memons, A. K. Noormohammad.

A special note should be taken of the Sunni Muslims of Konkan who surprisingly flourished in trade. Perhaps the discrimination against the Chitpavans played a role in promoting the interests of this sub-regional group, whose members also were recruited in relatively large numbers in the administrative services and the army. Of such Sunni Konkan Muslims, the Roghay family, Kazi Shahabuddin and B. A. Coor deserve mention.

Amongst the Hindu castes, there was no great upheaval so far as the established mercantile castes and service castes are concerned. Jains like Magan Karamchand, Premchand Roychand, the Sarabhai family and Talakhchand Manekchand continued to flourish, as did the Baniyas, J. V. Bhaisset and T. K. Gajjar. Of the traditionally administrative castes, the Saraswats: K.T. Telang, N. G. Chandvarkar, R. G. Bhandarkar, D.P. Tarkhadkar and P. N. Khot; the Prabhus: J. G. Mantri, J.D. Choudhury, K. A. Chembulkar and B. V. Khargivale; the Kayasth: Nanabhai Haridas; and the Nagar Brahmins: Bholanath Sarabhai, M. S. Tripathi, etc., continued to enjoy

social prominence.

Probably the most spectacular upliftment came the way of the Kapol Bania caste, whose isolated members amassed wealth from the rise in the value of urban land property; and the Bhatia caste, whose individual members prospered through export-import trade. Towards the last decades of the century, both Kapol Baniyas and Bhatias stabilised their position in the social hierarchy by investing in the booming cotton textile mills. The eminent Kapol Baniyas were Mangaldas Nathubhai and his son, Harkisondas Narottamdas, Madhavdas Rughnathdas, M. R. Hora, Varjivandas Madhavdas and his son, and Kursondas Mulji. Similarly, the eminent Bhatias were the Thackersey family, Dwarkadas Vassanji, the Teipal family, Mulji Jetha and his son, Morarji Gokuldas, Munji Narsi, G. L. Pasta and Lakshmidas Khimji.

Since immediately prior to British rule, the Chitpavan Brahmins under the last Peshwa, had wielded political power, during the first decades after the British take-over, the Chitpavans were excluded from preferment. However, towards the latter part of the nineteenth century, they gradually came to accept the reality of British rule and once again some of them successfully manoeuvred to capture positions of vantage. They became the nationally significant personalities and have been considered at several places in this dissertation. Within this select group, we may notice G. B. Tilak, G. K. Gokhale, N. G. Ranade, V. K. Chiplunkar, and V. N. Mandlik.

On the whole, in the absence of an internally stimulated bourgeois - democratic revolution and of a self-propelled economic growth, whether nationally or regionally, the *dvijas* retained their exploitative hold over society. However, within the limitations of an alien-imposed bourgeoisification process, certain small groups of individuals, from within the communal and caste hierarchy of traditional feudal India, did manage to rise in social prominence by acquisition of capital. New groups of Parsis, dissident Muslims, native Christians, Sunni Konkans, Kapol Baniyas and Bhatias joined hands with the old established Jain and Hindu Baniyas, Prabhus, Saraswats and Kayasthas, and Chitpavan and Nagar Brahmins to perpetuate the rule of the minority over India's *non-dwija*, low caste, *shudra* and adivasi millions, *albeit* under the overall hegemony of the British imperialist bourgeoisie. ■

MASTERPIECES OF
WORLD LITERATURE : 13

YOU NEVER CAN TELL

(A Play in 4 Acts)

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

(1856-1950)

[ACT III]

The Clandon's sitting room in the hotel. An expensive apartment on the ground floor, with a French window leading to the gardens. In the centre of the room is a substantial table, surrounded by chairs, and draped with a maroon cloth on which opulently bound hotel and railway guides are displayed. A visitor entering through the window and coming down to this central table would have the fireplace on his left, and a writing table against the wall on his right, next the door, which is further down. He would, if his taste lay that way, admire the wall decoration of Lincrusta Walton in plum color and bronze lacquer, with dado and cornice; the ormolu consoles in the corners; the vases on pillar pedestals of veined marble with bases of polished black wood, one on each side of the window; the ornamental cabinet next the vase on the side nearest the fireplace, its centre compartment closed by an inlaid door, and its corners rounded off with curved panes of glass protecting shelves of cheap blue and white pottery; the bamboo tea table, with folding shelves, in the corresponding space on the other side of the window; the photogravures after Burton and Stacy Marks; the saddlebag ottoman in line with the door but on the other side of the room; the two comfortable seats of the same pattern on the hearth-tug; and finally, on turning round and looking up, the massive brass pole above the window,

sustaining a pair of maroon rep curtains with decorated borders of staid green. Altogether, a room well arranged to flatter the middle-class occupant's sense of gentility, and reconcile him to a charge of a pound a day for its use.

Mrs Clandon sits at the writing table, correcting proofs. Gloria is standing at the window, looking out in tormented reverie.

The clock on the mantelpiece strikes five with a sickly clink, the bell being unable to bear up against the black marble cenotaph in which it is immured.

MRS CLANDON. Five! I don't think we need wait any longer for the children. They are sure to get tea somewhere. GLORIA [wearily] Shall I ring?

MRS CLANDON. Do, my dear. [Gloria goes to the hearth and rings]. I have finished these proofs at last, thank goodness!

GLORIA [strolling listlessly across the room and coming behind her mother's chair] What proofs?

MRS CLANDON. The new edition of Twentieth Century Women.

GLORIA [with a bitter smile] There's a chapter missing.

MRS CLANDON [beginning to hunt among her proofs] Is there? Surely not.

GLORIA. I mean an unwritten one. Perhaps I shall write it for you- When I know the end of it. [She goes back to

the window].

MRS CLANDON. Gloria ! More enigmas !

GLORIA. Oh no. The same enigma. MRS CLANDON [puzzled and rather troubled; after watching her for a moment] My dear?

GLORIA [returning] Yes.

MRS CLANDON. You know I never ask questions.

GLORIA [kneeling beside her chair] I know, I know.

[She suddenly throws her arm about her mother and embraces her almost passionately].

MRS CLANDON [gently, smiling but embarrassed] My dear : you are getting quite sentimental.

GLORIA [recoiling] Ah no, no. Oh, don't say that. Oh! [She rises and turns away with a gesture as if tearing herself].

MRS CLANDON [mildly] My dear : what is the matter?

What-

The waiter enters with the tea-tray.

WAITER [balmily] Was this what you rang for, maam?

MRS CLANDON. Thank you, yes. [She turns her chair away from the writing table, and sits down again. Gloria crosses to the hearth and sits crouching there with her face averted].

WAITER [placing the tray temporarily on the centre table] I thought so, maam.

Curious how the nerves seem to give out in the afternoon without a cup of tea.

[He fetches the tea table and places it in front of Mrs Clandon, conversing meanwhile]. The young lady and gentleman have just come back, maam

they have been out in a boat, maam. Very pleasant on a fine afternoon like this : very pleasant and invigorating indeed.

[He takes the tray from the centre table and puts it on the tea table].

Mr. M'Comas will not come to tea, maam : he has gone to call upon Mr Crampton.

[He takes a couple of chairs and sets one at each end of the tea table].

GLORIA [looking round with an impulse of terror] And the other gentleman?

WAITER [reassuringly, as he

unconsciously drops for a moment into the measure of "I've been roaming," which he sang when a boy! Oh, he's coming, miss: he's coming. He has been rowing the boat, miss, and has just run down the road to the chemist's for something to put on the blisters. But he will be here directly, miss directly. [Gloria, in ungovernable apprehension, rises and hurries towards the door].

MRS CLANDON [half rising] Glo --

Gloria goes out. Mrs Clandon looks perplexedly at the waiter, whose composure is unruffled.

WAITER [cheerfully] Anything more, maam?

Mrs. CLANDON. Nothing, thank you

WAITER. Thank you, maam. [As he withdraws, Phil and Dolly, in the highest spirits, come tearing in. He holds the door open for them: then goes out and closes it].

DOLLY [ravenously] Oh, give me some tea. [Mrs Clandon pours out a cup for her]. We've been out in a boat. Valentine will be here presently.

PHILIP. He is unaccustomed to navigation. Wheres Gloria?

MRS CLANDON [anxiously, as she pours out his tea]

Phil: there is something the matter with Gloria. Has anything happened? [Phil. and Dolly look at one another and stifle a laugh]. What is it?

PHILIP [Sitting down on her left] Romeo-

DOLLY [Sitting down on her right] - and Juliet

PHILIP [taking his cup of tea from Mrs Clandon] Yes, my dear mother: the old, old story. Dolly: dont take all the milk [he deftly takes the jug from her]. Yes: in the spring-

DOLLY- a young man's fancy-

PHILIP - lightly turns to- thank you [to Mrs Clandon, who has passed the biscuits] - thoughts of love. It also occurs in the autumn. The young man in this case is -

DOLLY. Valentine.

PHILIP. And his fancy has turned to Gloria to the extent of-

DOLLY . - kissing her-

PHILIP.- on the terrace-

DOLLY [correcting him] - on the lips, before everybody.

MRS CLANDON [incredulously] Phil! Dolly! Are you joking? [They shake their heads]. Did she allow it?

PHILIP. We waited to see him struck to earth by the lightning of her scorn; but-

DOLLY.- but he wasnt.

PHILIP. She appeared to like it.

DOLLY. As far as we could judge. [Stopping Phil, who is about to pour out another cup] No: youve sworn off two cups.

MRS CLANDON [much troubled] Children: you must not be here when Mr Valentine comes. I must speak very seriously to him about this.

PHILIP. To ask him his intentions? What a violation of Twentieth Century principles!

DOLLY. Quite right, mamma: bring him to book. Make the most of the nineteenth century while it lasts.

PHILIP. Sh! Here he is.

VALENTINE [entering] Very sorry to be late, Mrs CLANDON. [She takes up the tea-pot]. No, thank you: I never take any, No doubt Miss Dolly and Phil have explained what happened to me.

PHILIP [momentously, rising] Yes, Valentine: we have explained.

DOLLY [significantly, also rising] We have explained very thoroughly.

PHILIP. It was our duty. [Very seriously] Come, Dolly [He offers Dolly his arm, which she takes. They look sadly at him, and go out gravely arm in arm, leaving Valentine staring].

MRS CLANDON [rising and leaving the tea table] Will you sit down, Mr Valentine. I want to speak to you a little, if you will allow me. [Valentine goes slowly to the ottoman, his conscience presaging a bad quarter of an hour. Mrs Clandon takes Phil's chair, and seats herself with gentle dignity. Valentine sits down]. I must begin by throwing myself somewhat on your consideration. I am going to speak of a subject of which I know very little: perhaps nothing. I mean love.

VALENTINE. Love!

MRS CLANDON. Yes, love. Oh, you need not look so alarmed as that, Mr Valentine: I am not in love with you.

VALENTINE [overwhelmed] Oh, really, Mrs- [Recovering himself] I should be only too proud if you were.

MRS CLANDON. Thank you, Mr Valentine. But I am too old to begin.

VALENTINE. Begin! Have you never -?

MRS CLANDON. Never. My case is a very common one, Mr Valentine. I married before I was old enough to know what I was doing. As you have seen for yourself, the result was a bitter disappointment for both my husband and myself. So you see, though I am a married woman, I have never been in love; I have never had a love affair; and, to be quite frank with you Mr Valentine, what I have seen of the love affairs of other people has not led me to regret that deficiency in my experience. [Valentine, looking very glum, glances sceptically at her, and says nothing. Her colour rises a little; and she adds, with restrained anger] You do not believe me?

VALENTINE [confused at having his thought read] Oh, why not? Why not?

MRS CLANDON. Let me tell you, Mr Valentine, that a life devoted to the Cause of Humanity has enthusiasms and passions to offer which far transcend the selfish personal infatuations and sentimentalities of romance. Those are not your enthusiasms and passions, I take it? [Valentine, quite aware that she despises him for it, answers in the negative with a melancholy shake of his head]. I thought not, Well, I am equally at a disadvantage in discussing those so-called affairs of the heart in which you appear to be an expert.

VALENTINE. [Restlessly] What are you driving at, Mrs Clandon?

MRS CLANDON. I think you know.

VALENTINE. Gloria?

MRS CLANDON. Yes, Gloria.

VALENTINE [surrendering] Well, yes: I'm in love with Gloria. [Interposing as she is about to speak] I know what you're going to say: I've no money.

MRS CLANDON. I care very little about money, Mr Valentine. VALENTINE. Then you very different to all the other mothers who have interviewed me.

MRS CLANDON. Ah, now we are coming to it, Mr Valentine. You are an old hand at this. [He opens his mouth to protest: she cuts him short with some indignation]. Oh, do you think, little as I understand these matters, that I have not common sense enough to know that a man who could make as much way in one interview with such a woman as my daughter, can hardly be a novice?

VALENTINE. I assure you-

MRS CLANDON [stopping him] I am not blaming you, Mr Valentine. It is Gloria's business to take care of herself, and you have a right to amuse yourself as you please. But-

VALENTINE [protesting] Amuse myself! Oh, Mrs Clandon! MRS CLANDON [relentlessly] On your honor, Mr Valentine, are you in earnest?

VALENTINE [desperately] On my honor I am in earnest. [She looks searchingly at him. His sense of humor gets the better of him; and he adds quaintly] Only, I always have been in earnest; and yet-! Well, here I am, you see.

MRS CLANDON. This is just what I suspected. [Severely] Mr Valentine: you are one of those men who play with women's affections.

VALENTINE. Well, why not, if the Cause of Humanity is the only thing worth being serious about? However, I understand. [Rising and taking his hat with formal politeness] you wish me to discontinue my visits.

MRS CLANDON. No: I am sensible enough to be well aware that Gloria's best chance of escape from you now is to become better acquainted with you.

VALENTINE [unaffectedly alarmed] Oh, don't say that Mrs. Clandon. You don't think that, do you?

MRS CLANDON. I have great faith, Mr Valentine, in the sound training Gloria's mind has had since she was a child.

VALENTINE [amazingly relieved] O-oh! Oh, that's all right. [He sits down again and throws his hat flippantly aside with the air of a man who has no longer anything to fear].

MRS CLANDON [indignant at his assurance] What do you mean?

VALENTINE [turning confidentially to her] Come! shall I teach you something, Mrs Clandon?

MRS CLANDON [stiffly] I am always willing to learn.

VALENTINE. Have you ever studied the subject of gunnery? artillery? cannons and war-ships and so on?

MRS CLANDON. Has gunnery anything to do with Gloria?

VALENTINE. A great deal. By way of illustration. During this whole century, my dear Mrs Clandon, the progress of artillery has been a duel between the maker of cannons and the maker

of armor plates to keep the cannon balls out. You build a ship proof against the best gun known: somebody makes a better gun and sinks your ship. You build a heavier ship, proof against that gun: somebody makes a heavier gun and sinks you again. And so on. Well, the duel of sex is just like that.

MRS CLANDON. The duel of sex!

VALENTINE. Yes: you've heard of the duel of sex, haven't you? Oh, I forgot: you've been in Madeira: the expression has come up since your time. Need I explain it?

MRS CLANDON. [contemptuously] No.

VALENTINE. Of course not. Now what happens in the duel of sex? The old-fashioned daughter received an old-fashioned education to protect her against the wiles of man. Well, you know the result: the old-fashioned man got round her. The old-fashioned mother resolved to protect her daughter more effectually- to find some armor too strong for the old-fashioned man. So she gave her daughter a scientific education: your plan. That was a corker for the old-fashioned man: he thought it unfair, and tried to howl it down as unwomanly and all the rest of it. But that didn't do him any good. So he had to give up his old-fashioned plan of attack: you know: going down on his knees and swearing to love, honour, and obey and so on.

MRS CLANDON. Excuse me: that was what the woman swore.

VALENTINE. Was it? Ah, perhaps your right, Yes: of course it was. Well, what did the man do? Just what the artillery man does: went one better than the woman: educated himself scientifically and beat her at that game just as he had beaten her at the old game. I learnt how to circumvent the Women's Rights woman before I was twenty-three: it's all been found out long ago. You see, my methods are thoroughly modern. MRS CLANDON. [with quiet disgust] No doubt.

VALENTINE. But for that very reason there's one sort of girl against whom they are of no use.

MRS CLANDON. Pray which sort?

VALENTINE. The thoroughly old-fashioned girl. If you had brought up Gloria in the old way, it would have taken me eighteen months to get to the point I got to this afternoon in eighteen minutes. Yes, Mrs Clandon: the Higher Education of Women delivered Gloria into my hands; and it was you who taught her to believe in the Higher Education of Women.

MRS CLANDON [rising] Mr Valentine: you are very clever.

VALENTINE [rising also] Oh, Mrs Clandon!

MRS CLANDON. And you have taught me - nothing. Goodbye.

VALENTINE. [horrified] Goodbye! Oh, mayn't I see her before I go?

MRS CLANDON. I am afraid she will not return until you have gone, Mr Valentine. She left the room expressly to avoid you.

VALENTINE [thoughtfully] That's a good sign. Goodbye. [He bows and makes for the door, apparently well satisfied].

MRS CLANDON [alarmed] Why do you think it a good sign?

VALENTINE [turning near the door] Because I am mortally afraid of her; and it looks as if she were mortally afraid of

me.

He turns to go and finds himself face to face with Gloria, who has just entered. She looks steadfastly at him. He stares helplessly at her: then round at Mrs Clandon; then at Gloria again, completely at a loss.

GLORIA [white, and controlling herself with difficulty] Mother is what Dolly told me true?

MRS CLANDON. What did she tell you, dear?

GLORIA. That you have been speaking about me to this gentleman?

VALENTINE [murmuring] This gentleman! Oh!

MRS CLANDON [sharply] Mr Valentine: can you hold your tongue for a moment?

He looks piteously at them; then, with a despairing shrug, goes back to the ottoman and throws his hat on it.

GLORIA [confronting her mother, with deep reproach]

Mother: what right had you to do it?

MRS CLANDON. I don't think I have said anything I have no right to say, Gloria.

VALENTINE [conforming her officiously] Nothing. Nothing whatever. [The two women look at him crushingly]. I beg your pardon. [He sits down ignominiously on the ottoman].

GLORIA. I cannot believe that anyone has any right even to think about things that concern me only. [She turns away from them to conceal a painful struggle with her emotion].

MRS CLANDON. My dear: if I have wounded your pride—

GLORIA [turning on them for a moment] My pride! My pride! Oh, it's gone: I have learnt now that I have no strength to be proud of. [Turning away again] But if a woman cannot protect herself, no one can protect her. No one has any right to try: not even her mother. I know I have lost your confidence, just as I have lost this man's respect:— [She stops to regain command of her voice].

VALENTINE. This man! Oh!

MRS CLANDON. Pray be silent, sir.

GLORIA [continuing]— but I have at least the right to be left alone in my disgrace. I am one of those weak creatures born to be mastered by the first man whose eye is caught by them; and I must fulfil my destiny, I suppose. At least spare me the humiliation of trying to save me. [She sits down, with her handkerchief to her eyes, at the further end of the table].

VALENTINE [jumping up] Look here—

MRS CLANDON [severely] Mr Va—

VALENTINE [recklessly] No: I will speak: I've been silent for nearly thirty seconds. [he goes resolutely to Gloria]. Miss Clandon—

GLORIA [bitterly] Oh, not Miss Clandon: you have found it quite safe to call me Gloria.

VALENTINE. No I won't: you'll throw it in my face afterwards and accuse me of disrespect. I say it's a heartbreaking falsehood that I don't respect you. It's true that I didn't respect your old pride: why should I? it was nothing but cowardice. I didn't respect your intellect: I've a better one myself: It's a masculine

speciality. But when the depths stirred! when my moment came! when you made me brave! ah, then!! then!! then!!!

GLORIA. Then you respected me, I suppose.

VALENTINE. No I didn't: I adored you. [She rises quickly and turns her back on him]. And you can never take that moment away from me. So now I don't care what happens. [He comes back to the ottoman, addressing a cheerful explanation to nobody in particular] I'm perfectly aware that I'm talking nonsense. I can't help it. [To Mrs Clandon] I love Gloria; and there's an end of it.

MRS CLANDON [emphatically] Mr Valentine: you are a most dangerous man. Gloria: come here. [Gloria wondering a little at the command, obeys, and stands, with drooping head, on her mother's right hand, Valentine being on the opposite side. Mrs Clandon then begins, with intense scorn] Ask this man whom you have inspired and made brave, how many women have inspired him before [Gloria looks up suddenly with a flash of jealous anger and amazement]; how many times he has laid the trap in which he has caught you; how often he has baited it with the same speeches; how much practice it has taken to make him perfect in his chosen part in life as the Duellist of Sex. VALENTINE. This isn't fair. You're abusing my confidence, Mrs Clandon.

MRS CLANDON. Ask him Gloria.

GLORIA [in a flush of rage, going over to him with her fists clenched] Is that true?

VALENTINE. Don't be angry—

GLORIA [interrupting him implacably] Is it true? Did you ever say that before? Did you ever feel that before? for another woman?

VALENTINE [bluntly] Yes.

Gloria raises her clenched hands.

MRS CLANDON [horrified, catching her unlifted arm]

Gloria!! My dear! You're forgetting yourself.

Gloria, with a deep expiration, slowly relaxes her threatening attitude.

VALENTINE. Remember: a man's power of love and admiration is like any other of his powers: he has to throw it away many times before he learns what is really worthy of it.

MRS CLANDON. Another of the old speeches, Gloria. Take care.

VALENTINE [remonstrating] Oh!

GLORIA [to Mrs Clandon, with contemptuous selfpossession] Do you think I need to be warned now? [To Valentine] You have tried to make me love you.

VALENTINE. I have.

GLORIA. Well, you have succeeded in making me hate you: passionately.

VALENTINE [philosophically] It's surprising how little difference there is between the two [Gloria turns indignantly away from him. He continues, to Mrs Clandon] I know men whose wives love them; and they go on exactly like that.

MRS CLANDON. Excuse me, Mr Valentine; but had you not better go?

GLORIA. You need not send him away on my account, mother. He is nothing to me now; and he will amuse Dolly and Phil. [She sits down with slighting indifference, at the end of the table nearest the window].

VALENTINE [gaily] Of course: that's the sensible way of looking at it. Come, Mrs Clandon! you can't quarrel with a mere butterfly like me!

MRS CLANDON. I very greatly mistrust you, Mr Valentine. But I do not like to think that your unfortunate levity of disposition is mere shamelessness and worthlessness;

GLORIA [to herself, but aloud] It is shameless; and it is worthless.

MRS CLANDON [continuing] So perhaps we had better send for Phil and Dolly, and allow you to end your visit in the ordinary way.

VALENTINE [as if she had paid him the highest compliment] You overwhelm me, Mrs Clandon. Thank you.

The waiter returns.

WAITER. Mr M'Comas, maam.

MRS CLANDON. Oh, certainly. Bring him in.

WAITER He wishes to see you in the reception-room, maam.

MRS CLANDON. Why not here?

WAITER. Well, if you will excuse my mentioning it, maam, I think Mr M'Comas feels that he would get fairer play if he could speak to you away from the younger members of your family, maam.

MRS CLANDON. Tell him they are not here.

WAITER. They are within sight of the door, maam; and very watchful, for some reason or other.

MRS CLANDON [going] Oh, very well: I'll go to him.

WAITER [holding the door open for her] Thank you, maam.

[She goes out. He comes back into the room, and meets the eye of Valentine who wants him to go]. All right, sir. Only the tea-things, sir. [Taking the tray] Excuse me, sir. Thank you, sir.

[He goes out].

VALENTINE [to Gloria] Look here. You'll forgive me, sooner or later. Forgive me now.

GLORIA [rising to level the declaration more intensely at him] Never! While grass grows or water runs, never! never!! never!!!

VALENTINE [unabashed] Well, I don't care, I can't be unhappy about anything. I shall never be unhappy again, never, never, never, while grass grows or water runs. The thought of you will always make me wild with joy. [Some quick taunt is on her lips: he interposes swiftly] No: I never said that before: that's new.

GLORIA. It will not be new when you say it to the next woman.

VALENTINE. Oh don't, Gloria, don't. [He kneels at her feet].

GLORIA. Get up! Get up! How dare you?

Phil and Dolly, racing, as usual, for first place, burst into the room. They check themselves on seeing what is passing. Valentine springs up.

PHILIP [discreetly] I beg your pardon. Come, Dolly.

[He offers her his arm and turns to go].

GLORIA [annoyed] Mother will be back in a moment, Phil. [Severely] Please wait here for her. [She turns away to the window, where she stands looking out with her back to them].

PHILIP [significantly] Oh, indeed. Hmhm!

DOLLY. Ahah!

PHILIP. You seem in excellent spirits, Valentine.

VALENTINE. I am. [He comes between them]. Now look here.

You both know what's going on: don't you?

Gloria turns quickly, as if anticipating some fresh outrage.

DOLLY. Perfectly.

VALENTINE. Well, it's all over. I've been refused. Scorned. I'm here on sufferance only. You understand? it's all over. Your sister is in no sense entertaining my addresses, or condescending to interest herself in me in any way. [Gloria, satisfied, turns back contemptuously to the window]. Is that clear?

DOLLY. Serve you right. You were in too great a hurry.

PHILIP [patting him on the shoulder] Never mind: you'd never have been able to call your soul your own if she'd married you. You can now begin a new chapter in your life.

DOLLY. Chapter seventeen or thereabouts. I should imagine.

VALENTINE [much put out by this pleasantry] No: don't say things like that. That's just the sort of thoughtless remark that makes a lot of mischief.

DOLLY. Oh, indeed? Hmhm!

PHILIP. Ahah! [He goes to the hearth and plants himself there in his best head-of-the-family attitude].

M'Comas, looking very serious, comes in quickly with Mrs Clandon, whose first anxiety is about Gloria. She looks round to see where she is and is going to join her at the window when Gloria comes down to meet her with a marked air of trust and affection. Finally Mrs Clandon takes her former seat, and Gloria posts herself behind it. M'Comas, on his way to the ottoman, is hailed by Dolly.

DOLLY. What cheer, Finch?

M'COMAS [sternly] Very serious news from your father, Miss Clandon. Very serious news indeed. [He passes impressively to the ottoman, and sits down].

Dolly, duly impressed, follows and sits beside him on his right.

VALENTINE. Perhaps I had better go.

M'COMAS. By no means, Mr Valentine. You are deeply concerned in this. [Valentine takes a chair from the table and sits astride of it, leaning over the back, near the ottoman]. Mr. Clandon; your husband demands the custody of his two younger children, who are not of age.

MRS CLANDON [in quick alarm] To take Dolly from me?

DOLLY [touched] But how nice of him! He likes us, mamma.

M'COMAS. I am sorry to have to disabuse you of any such illusion, Miss Dorothea.

DOLLY [cooing ecstatically] Dorothee-ee-ee-a! [Nestling against his shoulder, quite overcome]. Oh, Finch!

M'COMAS [nervously, shrinking away] No, no, no, no!
MRS CLANDON. The deed of separation gives me the custody of the children.

M'COMAS. It also contains a covenant that you are not to approach or molest him in any way.

MRS CLANDON. Well, have I done so?

M'COMAS. Whether the behavior of your younger children amounts to legal molestation is a question on which it may be necessary to take counsel's opinion. At all events, Mr Crampton not only claims to have been molested; but he believes that he was brought here by a plot in which Mr Valentine acted as your agent.

VALENTINE. Whats that? Eh?

M'COMAS. He alleges that you drugged him, Mr Valentine.
VALENTINE. So I did.

M'COMAS. But what did you do that for?

DOLLY. Five shillings extra.

M'COMAS [to Dolly, short-temperedly] I must really ask you. Miss Clandon, not to interrupt this very serious conversation with irrelevant interjections. [Vehemently] I insist on having earnest matters earnestly and reverently discussed. [This outburst produces an apologetic silence, and puts M'Comas himself out of countenance. He coughs, and starts afresh, addressing himself to Gloria]. Miss Clandon: it is my duty to tell you that your father has also persuaded himself that Mr Valentine wishes to marry you-

VALENTINE [interposing adroitly] I do.

M'COMAS [huffily] In that case, sir, you must not be surprised to find yourself regarded by the young lady's father as a fortune hunter.

VALENTINE. So I am. Do you expect my wife to live on what I earn? tenpence a week!

M'COMAS [revolted] I have nothing more to say, sir. I shall return and tell Mr Crampton that this family is no place for a father. [He makes for the door].

MRS CLANDON [With quiet authority] Finch! [He halts]. If Mr Valentine cannot be serious, you can. Sit down. [M'Comas, after a brief struggle between his dignity and his friendship succumbs, seating himself this time midway between Dolly and Mrs Clandon]. You know that all this is a made up case-that Fergus does not believe in it any more than you do. Now give me your real advice: your sincere friendly advice. You know I have always trusted your judgment. I promise you the children will be quiet.

M'COMAS [resigning himself] Well, well! What I want to say is this In the old arrangement with your husband, Mrs Clandon, you had him at a terrible disadvantage.

MRS CLANDON. How so, pray?

M'COMAS Well, you were an advanced woman, accustomed to defy public opinion, and with no regard for what the world might say of you.

MRS CLANDON [proud of it] Yes : that is true.

Gloria behind the chair, stoops and kisses her mother's hair, a demonstration which disconcerts her extremely.

M'COMAS. On the other hand, Mrs Clandon, your husband has a great horror of anything getting into the papers. There was his business to be considered, as well as the prejudices of an old fashioned family.

MRS CLANDON. Not to mention his own prejudices.

M'COMAS. Now no doubt he behaved badly, Mrs Clandon.

MRS CLANDON. [scornfully] No doubt.

M'COMAS. But was it altogether his fault?

MRS CLANDON. Was it mine?

M'COMAS [hastily] No. Of course not.

GLORIA [observing him attentively] You do not mean that, Mr M'Comas.

M'COMAS. My dear young lady, you pick me up very sharply. But let me just put this to you. When a man makes an unsuitable marriage (nobody's fault, you known but purely accidental incompatibility of tastes); when he is deprived by that misfortune of the domestic sympathy which, I take it, is what a man marries for; when, in short, his wife is rather worse than no wife at all (through no fault of her own, of course), is it to be wondered at if he makes matters worse at first by blaming her, and even, in his desperation, by occasionally drinking himself into a violent condition or seeking sympathy elsewhere?

MRS CLANDON. I did not blame him: I simply rescued myself and the children from him.

M'COMAS. Yes; but you made hard terms, Mrs Clandon. You had him at your mercy: you brought him to his knees when you threatened to make the matter public by applying to the Courts for a judicial separation. Suppose he had that power over you, and used it to take your children away from you and bring them up in ignorance of your very name, how would you feel? what would you do? Well, wont you make some allowance for his feelings? in common humanity.

MRS CLANDON. I never discovered his feelings. I discovered his temper, and his- [she shivers] the rest of his common humanity.

M'COMAS [wistfully] Women can be very hard. Mrs Clandon.

VALENTINE. Thats true.

GLORIA [angrily] Be silent. [He subsides].

M'COMAS [rallying all his forces] Let me make one last appeal. Mrs. Clandon : believe me, there are men who have a good deal of feeling, and kind feeling too, which they are not able to express. What you miss in Crampton is that mere veneer of civilization, the art of shewing worthless attentions and paying insincere compliments in a kindly charming way. If you lived in London, where the whole system is one of false good-fellowship, and you may know a man for twenty years without finding out that he hates you like poison, you would soon have your eyes opened. There we do unkind things in a

kind way: we say bitter things in a sweet voice: we always give our friends chloroform when we tear them to pieces. But think of the other side of it! Think of the people who do kind things in an unkind way! people whose touch hurts, whose voices jar, whose tempers play them false, who wound and worry the people they love in the very act of trying to conciliate them, and who yet need affection as much as the rest of us. Crampton has an abominable temper, I admit. He has no manners, no tact, no grace, He'll never be able to gain anyone's affection unless they will take his desire for it on trust. Is he to have none? not even pity? from his own flesh and blood?

DOLLY [quite melted] Oh how beautiful, Finch! How nice of you!

PHILIP [with conviction] Finch: this is eloquence: positive eloquence.

DOLLY. Oh mamma, let us give him another chance. Let us have him to dinner.

MRS CLANDON[unmoved] No, Dolly: I hardly got any lunch. My dear Finch: there is not the least use in talking to me about Fergus. You have never been married to him: I have.

M'COMAS [to Gloria] Miss Clandon: I have hitherto refrained from appealing to you, because, if what Mr Crampton told me be true, you have been more merciless even than your mother.

GLORIA [defiantly] You appeal from her strength to my weakness!

M'COMAS. Not your weakness, Miss Clandon. I appeal from her intellect to your heart.

GLORIA. I have learnt to mistrust my heart. [With an angry glance at Valentine] I would tear my heart out and throw it away if I could. My answer to you is my mother's answer.

M'COMAS [defeated] Well, I am sorry. Very sorry. I have done my best. [He rises and prepares to go, deeply dissatisfied]. MRS CLANDON. But what did you expect, Finch? What do you want us to do?

M'COMAS. The first step for both you and Crampton is to obtain counsel's opinion as to whether he is bound by the deed of separation or not. Now why not obtain this opinion at once, and have a friendly meeting [her face hardens] or shall we say a neutral meeting? to settle the difficulty? Here? In this hotel? Tonight? What do you say?

MRS CLANDON. But where is the counsel's opinion to come from?

M'COMAS. It has dropped down on us out of the clouds. On my way back here from Crampton's I met a most eminent. Q.C.: a man whom I briefed in the case that made his name for him. He has come down here from Saturday to Monday for the sea air, and to visit a relative of his who lives here. He has been good enough to say that if I can arrange a meeting of the parties he will come and help us with his opinion. Now do let us seize this chance of quiet friendly family adjustment. Let me bring my friend here and try to persuade Crampton to come too. Come: consent.

MRS CLANDON [rather ominously, after a moment's consideration] Finch: I dont want counsel's opinion, because I intend to be guided by my own opinion. I dont want to meet Fergus again, because I dont like him, and dont believe the meeting will do any good. However [rising] you have persuaded the children that he is not quite hopeless. Do as you please. M'COMAS [taking her hand and shaking it] Thank you, Mrs Clandon. Will nine o'clock suit you?

MRS CLANDON. Perfectly. Phil: will you ring, please. [Phil rings the bell]. But if I am to be accused of conspiring with

Mr Valentine, I think he had better be present.

VALENTINE [rising] I quite agree with you. I think it's most important.

M'COMAS. There can be no objection to that, I think. I have the greatest hopes of a happy settlement. Goodbye for the present. [He goes out, meeting the waiter, who holds the door open for him].

MRS CLANDON. We expect some visitors at nine, William. Can we have dinner at seven instead of half past?

WAITER[at the door] Seven, maam? Certainly, maam. It will be a convenience to us this busy evening, maam. There will be the band and the arranging of the fairy lights and one thing or another maam.

DOLLY. Fairy lights!

PHILIP. A band! William: what mean you?

WAITER. The fancy ball, miss.

DOLLY and PHILIP [simultaneously rushing to him] Fancy ball!!!

WAITER. Oh, yes sir. Given by the regatta committee for the benefit of the Life-boat, sir. [To Mrs Clandon] We often have them, maam: Chinese lanterns in the garden, maam: very bright and pleasant, very gay and innocent indeed. [To Phil] Tickets downstairs at the office, sir. five shillings: ladies half price if accompanied by a gentleman.

PHILIP [seizing his arm to drag him off] To the office, William!

DOLLY [breathlessly, seizing his other arm] Quick, before they are all sold. [They rush him out of the room between them].

MRS CLANDON [following them] But they must go off dancing this evening. They must be here to meet- [She disappears].

Gloria stares coolly at Valentine, and then deliberately looks at her watch.

VALENTINE. I understand. Ive stayed too long, I'm going.

GLORIA [with disdainful punctiliousness] I owe you some apology, Mr Valentine. I am conscious of having spoken to you somewhat sharply. Perhaps rudely.

VALENTINE. Not at all.

GLORIA : My only excuse is that it is very difficult to give consideration and respect when there is no dignity of character on the other side to command it.

VALENTINE : How is a man to look dignified when he is infatuated?

GLORIA [angrily] Dont say those things to me. I forbid you. They are insults.

VALENTINE. No: theyre only follies. I cant help them.

GLORIA. If you were really in love, it would not make you foolish: it would give you dignity! earnestness! even beauty.

VALENTINE. Do you really think it would make me beautiful? [She turns her back in him with the coldest contempt]. Ah, you see youre not in earnest. Love cant give any man new gifts. It can only heighten the gifts he was born with.

GLORIA. [sweeping round at him again] What gifts were you born with, pray?

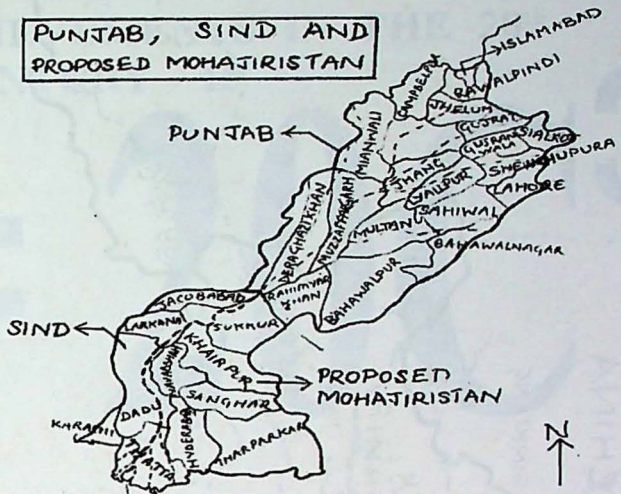
VALENTINE. Lightness of heart.

GLORIA. And lightness of head, and lightness of faith, and lightness of everything that makes a man.

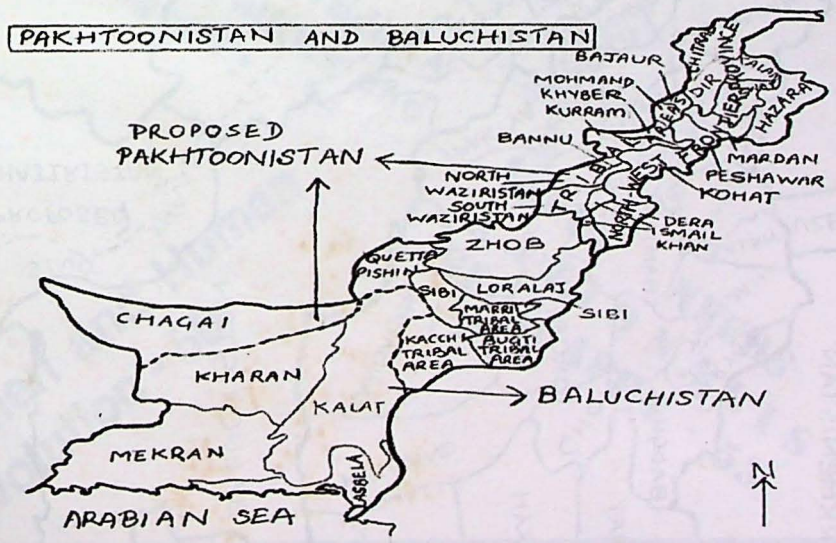
VALENTINE. Yes, the whole world is like a feather dancing in the light now; and Gloria is the sun. [She rears her head haughtily]. Beg pardon: I'm off. Back at nine. Goodbye. [He runs off gaily, leaving her standing in the middle of the room staring after him].

GLORIA [at the top of her voice; suddenly furious with him for leaving her] Idiot!

PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS OF PAKISTAN



ON THE RIGHT OF INDUS RIVER (Dotted line) IS THE PROPOSED MOHAJIRISTAN.



PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN



CHINA

TAJIKISTAN

TURKMENISTAN

SINKIANG

BADGHIS

FARYAB

JANZIAN

BALKH

SAMANGANJ

KUNDUZ

BAKSHAN

GILGIT AGENCY

TIBET

COK

HERAT

BAMYAN

PARWAN

MAYDAN

KAPIS

LOGAR

LANGAR HAR

FARAH

GHORI

ORUZGAN

GHAZNI

PAKTYA

AZAD

LOC

NIMROZ

HELMAND

KANDAHAR

ZABUL

PUNJAB

SUTLEJR.

BRAHMA PUTRA

BALUCHISTAN

INDIA

ARABIAN SEA

SIND (PROPOSED) MOHAJIRISTAN SOUTH OF INDUS R.



POK: PAKISTAN OCCUPIED KASHMIR - 32.51% OF J & K
COK: CHINA OCCUPIED KASHMIR - 17.78% OF J & K
EAST AND SOUTH OF LOC: INDIAN KASHMIR - 42.20% OF J & K