

MANKIND OCCASIONAL PAPERS : 3

EMERGENCE OF TRIPOLAR WORLD AFTER 1975

Vinayak Purohit

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EMERGENCE OF TRI-POLAR WORLD AFTER 1975

Vinayak Purohit

1

THE SETTING

The world balance of power has undergone a sea change since the end of the so-called Second World War, 1939-45, which was actually the Third General Conflagration (GC) of the mature capitalist, i.e., imperialist era.

The first was the *French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1789-1815* when France invaded and occupied Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Prussia, Austria and Poland. Its armies reached East so far as Moscow (1812) and Egypt (1798-1800). France was forced to sell its possessions, some 2.144 mln. square kilometers lying between the Mississippi and the Rockies in North America, to the United States for \$ 27.27 million at about \$ 13 per square kilometer, as has been described in our *Mankind Occasional Paper No. 1, Planetary Land Grab by Whites, 2004, p.19.*

The Second GC was the *Last War of Anglo-French World Dominance, 1914-19*, and the Third, the *Axis-Allies War, 1939-45.*

India was directly involved in all the three General Conflagrations. Its troops acted as cannon fodder in all three GCs for British imperialist guns. They reached Egypt in 1798 (*EB 73, Vol. 8, p. 65*), to prevent the French from reaching India. Iraq, then called Mesopotamia, and East Africa, were occupied by the infamous British Indian army in the War of 1914-19; and during 1939-45, the same Brown comprador soldiers fought in East and North Africa as well as Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines as part of the Allied war effort, involved in restoring British imperialism to Burma and Malaya, Dutch imperialism to Indonesia; French imperialism to Indo-China, and American imperialism to Philippines.

Since India specialized in ship-building, India-built teak “ships of the line” were employed by Nelson and other British admirals against Napoleon in all the naval battles of those days. These sturdy ships remained afloat even after a hundred years and were far superior to British oak-built vessels. The India-built ships were upto 2000 and 3000 tons, and were pierced for as many as 90 guns. Even after the arrival of iron and steam, many ships were built in Bombay Dockyards with imported boilers and machinery till 1848, when the largest and the last ship, the *Madras*, was constructed for the Royal Navy, of 2591 tonnage and carrying 80 guns. About 40 ships were built from 1777 onwards for the Royal Navy, and they are listed in Appendix C (pp. 361-72) in R. A. Wadia’s *The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*, published by the author, Bombay, 1955. Appendix B (pp. 329-60) lists all the 410 ships built in the Bombay Dockyard between 1736 and 1932. These ranged from 60 to 2591 tons and carried 14 to 84 guns.

The Bombay Dockyard was only one of the many ship-building yards functioning in India at that time. Surat, Karachi, Masulipattam, Balasore and Calcutta were amongst the many others. Calcutta specialized in building for the Royal Ottoman Navy, as Bombay did for the Royal British Navy.

Let us hark back a little. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1973 ed., hereafter referred to as *EB73*) Vol. 4, p. 845, reluctantly admits: “None of the five great events of the first half of the 20th Century – World War I, the Russian Revolution, the Great Depression, World War II and the Chinese Revolution – were favourable to the future of capitalism”.

The litany of capitalist woes continued for another three decades with, we may say, seven more disasters for Western, i.e., White, Christian, Euro-American capitalism.

- (i) National Liberation Movements now engulfed Asia (the 1940s) and Africa (the 1960s & 70s). Taking advantage of these fresh winds of change, the so-called Non-Aligned Movement arose in 1955-56 under the leadership of Nehru of India, Tito of Yugoslavia (see further below about the split between West and East Europe), Sukarno of Indonesia, Nasser of Egypt and Nkruma of Ghana. Within the overarching context of the Cold War (see (iii) below), these weak and backward developing countries sought to play power politics in the old “balance of power” style. The NAM has about 114 members today (see *Manorama Yearbook*, 2005, p. 382), but has almost faded out

with the collapse of the Cold War and of the old USSR in 1989-91.

- (ii) The Vietnam war, spread over three decades, has a special place in the annals of the National Liberation Movements of the world. It was fought in two phases. The first was against the French, (1945-54), who were defeated in the guerilla war at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. Thereafter, USA assumed responsibility for the second phase of 1954-75. Ultimately, erstwhile French Indo-China was broken up in the three parts – Laos, Cambodia and Unified Vietnam; from where the Americans finally retreated in 1975, with American soldiers and diplomats hanging from the undercarriages of helicopters evacuating Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City. The French retreat from Indo-China was to have immediate consequences in India, in the form of transfer of power to India of the miniscule French possessions of Pondicherry, Mahe, Karaikal and Chandranagor.
- (iii) An "Iron Curtain", in Churchill's florid phrase—mongering, descended over Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic Seas, splitting the smallest of the world's six continents into almost two equal divisions. Eastern Europe was withdrawn from the control of West European capitalism by three or four strategic moves:
- (a) Absorption into the USSR (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Koenisberg district of East Prussia, and Moldova).
 - (b) Redrawing of the Polish Western frontier to the Oder-Niesse Line and of the Czech frontier to re-absorb Sudetanland;
 - (c) The splitting up of Germany itself into two; and
 - (d) The creation of satellite regimes in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. (Almost simultaneously, in 1948. Yugoslavia repudiated Stalin's leadership of the Eastern Bloc and Albania repudiated Tito's leadership.)
- (iv) Though forming a small island in the Caribbean, Cuban nationalism took a peculiar turn under Fidel Castro's and Che Guevara's aggressive militant leadership. The overturn happened in 1959 leading inexorably to the Bay of Pigs Fiasco

(1961) and the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), which caused the downfall of Nikita Khrushchev.

- (v) Though Che Guevara's attempts to spread the nationalist revolution in South America (Argentina, Bolivia and Peru) failed immediately, Castro's Cuban "volunteers" ultimately assisted in the liberation movements of Angola and Mozambique, thus bringing about the collapse of the last Portuguese colonial bastions in Africa. (It will take us too far afield to consider the further consequence of Portuguese collapse in the liberation of Namibia and Ziare.)
- (vi) At the other end of the world, Japan managed *not* to disgorge the enormous GC III - imperialist loot that it had accumulated from the so-called Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, after the 1931 invasion of Manchuria and China, upto its collapse in 1945. At its peak in 1942-43, the Japanese empire extended from the Aleutian and Kurile Islands and Sakhalin (c. 60° N Latitude and about 180° E Longitude) to Ellice and Solomon Islands (10° S Latitude) and embraced Papua New Guinea, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, French Indo-China, Philippines and Korea.

No calculation has been made of the fascist extortionate methods employed by the Japanese in those days to amass the loot extracted from the most populous regions of the world.

Japanese support to USA during the Korean War of 1950-53, and to the encircling policies of the Cold War regimes set up by USA, whereby NATO (1949), CENTO / MEDO and SEATO in 1954, resulted in an explosive expansion of the Japanese economy in the 1970s. Japanese GDP-PPP in 1960 was \$ 254 bln., and grew into \$ 887 bln. in 1975, over 8% of the world (*Mankind*, Nov. 96, p. 60).

Western capitalism had to perforce accept the "Japanese miracle" and it tried to mitigate its effects by accepting Japan as a member of the OECD and the super power group of G7. A comic sidelight was provided by the Apartheid regime of South Africa which legally defined the Japanese as "Honorary Whites", though all other Asians, yellow and brown, were discriminated against.

- (vii) We can immediately perceive that the results of all three General Conflagrations were unfavourable to capitalism. The First of

1789-1815 caused the Liberation of Latin America and the Caribbean, as France occupied Portugal, Spain and Holland, who possessed colonies in the New World. The Second (1914-19) ended up in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Third (1939-45) gestated the Chinese Revolution of 1949. Internecine European wars invariably weakened the fabric of Western capitalism.

The three Non-European powers (USA, Japan and part-non-European, USSR) rose to pre-eminence. USA's rise may be dated from 1803 (Louisiana Purchase), or 1823 (promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine of exclusion of European powers from Latin America), or 1848 (US-Mexico War and Annexation of Texas and California), or 1898-1900 (US-Spanish War). If any one year is to be chosen, we prefer 1848 as the date of rise of USA.

Russia's rise may be dated from 1812, the defeat of Napoleon in the vicinity of Moscow, or 1861, the abolition of serfdom by Czar Alexander II, or from the two Russian Revolutions of February and October 1917. We prefer to date Russia's rise from c. 1875.

Japan's rise may be similarly dated from the Meiji Restoration of 1868; or from the first defeat of a part-European power, Russia, at the hands of an Asiatic power, Japan, in 1904-5; or from the result of the prolonged Axis-Allied crisis (1936-45).

We may now sum up the round dozen events and processes that highlighted the decline of capitalism during the first 75 years of the 20th century :

1. The Second General Conflagration a.k.a. the First World War (1914-9);
2. The Russian Revolution (1917);
3. The Great Depression (1929-33);
4. The Third General Conflagration a.k.a. the Second World War (1939-45);
5. The Chinese Revolution (1949);
6. The National Liberation Movements of Asia (1940s and 1950s) and of Africa (1960s and 1970s);

7. The Vietnam National Liberation War, the French phase (1945-54) and the American phase (1954-75);
8. The exclusion of more than half the European population of Eastern Europe from the West-controlled capital and consumer markets (1945-70. *EB 73*, Vol. 8, p. 888, for *Table of Areas and Populations of European Countries, 1970*, i.e., an area of 2.7 mln. sq. miles out of a total of 4.0 mln., and a population of 336 millions out of a then total European population of 648 millions.);
9. Cuban nationalist revolt led by Castro and Guevara (1959);
10. The end of the last European, Portuguese, colonial rule in Africa (1975);
11. The spectacular rise of Japan in the 1970s;
12. The end of European supremacy in world affairs and rise of three non-European and part-European powers to pre-eminence, viz. the rise of USA, Japan and Russia / USSR.; from 1848, 1868 and 1875 respectively.

The paralysis of the American military might was symbolised at the end of 1971, when the American Seventh Fleet proceeding to Chittagong to evacuate the 96,000 Pakistani prisoners of war, was halted in its tracks by the precipitate surrender of the Pakistani army in Dhaka on 15th December 1971 to the Indian Army and the Mukti Bahini guerrillas.

METHODOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

Almost immediately after I revived *Mankind* in October 1995, I was confronted with the problem of making international comparisons. It was not possible to accept the World Bank data based on the Official Exchange Rate (OER) approved by the IMF and the World Bank, because these American dominated duo of financial institutions used the OER to increase Trade Deficits and force the developing countries to incur ruinous volumes of debts at extortionate interest rates.

In other words, the OER was itself an instrument of neocolonial oppression and exploitation. The lynchpin of my new methodology of international comparisons was three-fold :

(i) The comparisons had to be made on the basis of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). An exercise had already begun under World Bank auspices through the so-called International Comparison Project (ICP). The results of the ICP were being published in a subsidiary table (Table 30) in the *World Development Reports* (WDR. See *WDR 1991*, Table 30, pp. 262-3).

I not only made the GDP-PPP figures central to my task, but also developed a *historical series with the base year of 1960**, and finally as *portions of world total*.

* I do not wish to reveal at this stage, my reasoning behind the acceptance of 1960 as the Base year since my research has been plagiarised by Rupa Purushothaman for Goldman Sachs, and Aroon Purie of *India Today* and *TV Today* without acknowledgment. I wrote to Aroon Purie on 22-4-2004 protesting at the plagiarism without acknowledgment to which there has been no reply so far. *India Today* went on to organise an international seminar on the basis of my plagiarised research entitled 'Building an Indian Century', where Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan; A. B. Vajpayee, then Prime Minister of India; Sonia Gandhi, President of INC; Colin Powell, then US Secretary of State; Prof. Paul Kennedy, author of the *Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, Fontana Press, 1988 (whom I had quoted in my studies); Mukesh Ambani, CEO, Reliance Industries Ltd.; Arun Shourie, a Cabinet Minister, then Govt. of India; and others had participated (*India Today*, March 29, 2004, pp. 23-72). Ultimately my unacknowledged, plagiarised research was made by Rupa Puroshothaman the basis of a Goldman Sachs 2003 study of BRICS economies (Brazil, Russia, India, China). [*Global Economics Paper No. 1999 of 1st Oct. 2003*, by Dominic Wilson and Roopa Purushothaman. Internet Site: <http://www.gs.com/insight/research/report/99.pdf>, available in adobe acrobat reader.] As I wrote to Aroon Purie, the selection of the Base Year, 1960 provides clinching evidence of the unacknowledged plagiarism. I also felt insulted by the misuse made of my socialist revolutionary research for stock market speculation by Goldman Sachs]

The London *Economist* was alerted to my methodological and statistical research by their Delhi correspondent. I entered into correspondence with the London *Economist* (See *Mankind*, March 1996, p. 46).

I invited the London *Economist* to build up a historic series of National and Per Capita GDP, and to develop the same historic series showing national proportions to a World Total.

The latter would naturally provide a correct index to comparative economic power confrontations.

Whilst the London *Economist* did not accept the suggested two improvements, it probably lent its weight to my campaign for reforming the methodology of international comparisons. My humble effort, and the support I received from the London *Economist*, has improved matters to the extent that for the last few years the PPP National and Per Capita GDP data has been shifted from being buried in subsidiary tables to their current elevation to the main table, Table 1 of the *WDR*.

This has also brought into sharp focus the disparity between national and per capita GDP figures at OER as against the same figures at PPP. This makes obvious and flagrant the forced depreciation of the currencies of the countries of Latin America, Caribbean, Africa and Asia. I immediately drew attention to this forced devaluation of the national currencies of the developing world in six further studies published in *Mankind*: "Neo-Colonial Loot of the Third World through Enforced Devaluation of Local Currencies", Sept. 1998, pp. 41-48; "True PPP Exchange Rates for 73 Countries", Sept. 1999, pp. 36-39; and "Forced Rise in External Debts of Underdeveloped Countries", Dec. 99 – Jan. 2000, pp. 24-32; "The Emergence of Tripolar World of 21st Century", Nov. 96, pp.56-57; "Emergence of Tripolar World" Jan-Feb. 99, p. 36.

I am not interested in asserting my "intellectual property rights". I am really concerned with facile, shameless, comprador bourgeois borrowing and cheating by Aroon Purie and Rupa Puroshothman. After a while, I will publish the reasons for my choice of 1960 as the base year for my studies of the Tri-Polar World.

I also published further studies tabulating and analysing the voting rights pattern in the IMF, and the arm twisting and skullduggery employed by Euro-American neo-colonial powers to enhance the value of their own currencies and depress that of the currencies of the developing world (*Mankind*, Nov. 1999, pp. 3-9, October 97, pp 32-7 & 60, "History of Modern Europe", June 99, pp. 31-6)

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC POWER

At present, in February 2005, there are some 209 nations, countries, politico-economic entities, in the world as listed on p. 255 of *WDR 2005*.

The conventional geographic division of the world into seven continents Asia, Europe, Africa, North America, Latin America and Caribbean, Oceania and Antarctica has been analysed by area, population in 2003, and annual GDP-PPP in US dollars for 1960, 1994 and 2003 and presented in tables 1 to 3 on pp. 19 and 20 below.

The White imperialist powers of Euro-America have been drawing and re-drawing international frontiers all over the planet to suit their White capitalist interests, as and when they liked. For instance, the Pope divided the entire globe into two, Portuguese and Spanish spheres, under a Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. This division was naturally challenged by France, England, Netherlands, Denmark and other European powers as they genocidally killed off Native Americans and replaced them with African slaves. In order to procure these Black slaves, they established various outposts and hinterlands first along the Atlantic coastline of Africa, and later along its Indian Ocean coastline.

This maritime predatory activity led them on to acquisition of factories and trading stations all over the coastlines of the Red Sea, the Sea of Oman, the Persian Gulf and later the two deep arms of the Indian Ocean, viz., the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, where also they continued their piratical, buccaneering and privateering enterprises to establish rival spheres of influence, and ultimately colonies.

Finally, by the end of the 19th century, the whole of the continents of South and Central America, Africa and Asia stood divided into scores of entities that followed no physiographic, ethnic or historical logic. They were all creations of murderous European capitalist interests.

Such predatory activities have not ceased even today. East Timor was carved out of Indonesia in September 2002. (It has now been renamed as Timor - Leste.) It has been just revealed in February 2005 by a *BBC, World Today* telecast, that vast quantities of petroleum and gas

have been discovered, both offshore and onshore, in this tiny segment of the old undivided republic of Indonesia. Obviously, some international oil interests had financed the East Timorese separatist movement led by erstwhile Portuguese Christian colonials ! (*Mankind*, Nov. 1999, p. 28)

Similarly, Eritrea has been separated from Ethiopia to cut off one of the oldest kingdoms of the world from the Red Sea, and make it land-locked. USA has invaded Granada in the Caribbean, and England has re-occupied the Falkland Islands or Malvinas, in the South Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Argentina. Haiti was occupied by USA in 1994.

Three gigantic World Wars have been fought by European powers to re-divide the world in 1789-1815, 1914-19 and 1939-45.

Anyway, the world as it stands today, remains divided in 209 imperialist - colonial creations . We had been examining the contours and dynamics of this world in a series of studies published in *Mankind* between 1995 and 2000, and cited in our *Mankind Occasional Paper no. 2, A Non-Comprador Account of British Conquest, Subjugation and Loot of India*. We may repeat the citations here: *Mankind*, Aug.-Sept. 1996, pp.3-5; Oct. 1996, pp. 3-25; Nov. 1996, pp. 56-67; Dec. 1996, p. 60; Oct. 1997, pp. 32-37; Jan.-Feb. 1999, p. 36; June 1999, pp. 7-8; Sept. 1999, Back Cover. A few more studies have been cited on pp 7-8 of this paper.

Here, we must remember that when dealing with the world, in effect, we are analysing the socio-economic lives of some six billion human beings, spread over about 148 million square kilometres of the land surface of the earth, generating over 51.6 trillions of US dollar equivalent of annual income (GDP-PPP) in 2003.

There are only five countries in the world which possess all three mega-dimensions : large territories, enormous populations of over 100 million human beings, and over one trillion US dollar equivalent annual income. If it were a historyless, democratic world, all the 200 odd entities would have crystallised around these five natural super powers.

But the world is neither democratic nor historyless. Therefore, in reality it has fragmented and grouped itself presently around three poles:

(i) United States of America, whose explosive expansion from the original Thirteen Colonies with an area of less than 8 ½ lakh sq. kms. to a gargantuan behemoth of over 9 million sq. kms, has been described on p. 12 of our *Planetary Land Grab by Whites*.

(ii) The emerging configuration known as the European Union, i.e., a United States of Europe with 25 current members, which are immediately planning to grow further. They are all Christian capitalist powers. (Even if Turkey is admitted at some remote date, its population of about 7.7 crores in 2003 is not likely to make a significant Islamic distraction from the nearly 75 crore of White European Christian mass. Europe is destined to remain overwhelmingly White, Christian and capitalist (See Dick Leonard, *The Economist Guide to the European Union*, Hamish Hamilton, 1988).

(iii) The Pacific Rim of Asia is as yet an amorphous congregation. China has already absorbed Hong Kong and Macau, and will merge with Taiwan before long in some sort of *modus vivendi* with what China calls a "rogue province". Singapore is itself virtually a "Fifth China". South Korea and Japan are China's immediate neighbours. The ten countries of the ASEAN are abutting on the South China Sea, viz., Philippines, Vietnam, Laos (land-locked), Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar (separated from the South China Sea by less than 50 kms. of the Isthmus of Kra), Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia. These fourteen countries of the Pacific Rim of Asia have already established close economic ties through ASEAN and APEC (Association of South-East Asian Nations and Asia Pacific Economic Community), but they have very few political connections unlike EU and USA.

4

CAPITALISM'S SECOND BREATH

The emergence of the Tri-Polar World after 1975 precisely coincides with what we have termed Capitalism's Second Breath.

No Mode of Production (MOP) disappears or gets superseded by another until all the possibilities of the MOP are exhausted. In that sense, the Second Breath of Capitalism, unfolded in 1975 - 2005; was inherent in the system.

The theoretical groundwork for the concept of Capitalism's Second Breath, had been laid down in a series of our studies published in *Mankind*:

"Capitalism's Second Breath", *MK*, Dec. 1995, pp. 3-7;

"Structure of World Production: 1960-65 for 133 Countries",

MK., May 1998, pp. 31-37;

- “Structure of Production”, *MK.*, Nov. 1998, pp. 51-53;
 “What is Surplus Value?”, *MK.*, Oct. 1998, pp. 13-20;
 “Marx and His Times”, *MK.*, March 1998, pp. 37-52;
 “Capitalism Means Unending Primitive Accumulation”, *MK.*,
 Jan.-Feb. 1998, pp. 41-54;

The biggest reactionary breakthroughs in favour of regenerated capitalism occurred with the re-conquest of Russia and India in 1991, and the victory of the anti-Mao faction in the Chinese Communist Party around 1978.

Let us first take China. Deng Xiao Ping was rehabilitated the second time in 1978 after he pronounced his theory of *Market Socialism* on the basis of the twin concepts of *gaige* (openness) and *kaifeng* (restructuring).

These ideas were picked up by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 and translated into Russian as *glasnost* and *perestroika* respectively (See Gorbachev, *Perestroika*, Collins, London, 1987)

We had analysed both the Chinese and the Russian developments in our *Gorbachevism, with a Note on Deng's China* (Indian Institute of Social Research, Mumbai, 1989).

Harking back, we can see that the counter-revolutionary process was extremely prolonged in Russia. It had begun in 1924 under Joseph Stalin, after the Heroic Period of the Russian Proletarian Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky that had lasted from 1917 to 1924. Under Stalin's leadership, the bureaucracy captured power and converted the Russian economy into a state capitalist one (See T. Cliff, *State Capitalism in Russia*, Mimeographed, 1939; Leon Trotsky, *Revolution Betrayed*, Pathfinder Press, 1937, and Dewey Commission, *The Case of Leon Trotsky*, Merit Publishers, 1937).

Under Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union advanced the theories of Peaceful Co-existence of Socialist and Capitalist Systems, and Non-Revolutionary Path of Development for Soviet Union's Progressive Allies. These ideas were seized upon and developed by Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin to restore private capitalism in Russia.

In the same fateful year of 1991, India under the leadership of Narasimha Rao and current Prime Minister, and then Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh, adopted a wide-ranging programme of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) under the aegis of World Bank,

IMF and WTO. The LPG programme enabled the multinational corporations (MNCs) to overcome the Indian tariff barriers, and re-penetrate the Indian market principally at the expense of the small-scale *swadeshi* industry, which had hitherto enjoyed exclusive reservations in its favour and had a generalised tariff protection. As extensively reported in the Indian newsmedia, innumerable units of the erstwhile Industrial Estates have closed down causing vast unemployment in the already overloaded Indian labour market. Poverty increased by leaps and bounds so that *the Indian youth faces only two practical alternatives today: to join the bloated state bureaucracy and rob the poor by corruption, or to join the criminal gangs, which have never had it so good*, with scores of MPs and hundred of MLAs in their ranks. Shahabuddin, Taslimuddin, Pappu Yadav, Ranjit Don, Raja Bhaiyya, Veerappan, Arun Gawli, Hitendra Thakur and dozens more, are flourishing as MPs, MLAs and Corporators. Thousands of youth line up for each advertised vacancy, private or public, and often create riots at recruitment centres. Dawood, Chhota Rajan, Chhota Shakeel, Abu Salem, and many more flourish as NRIs with Pakistani and Arab-Sheikh support, in the final analysis protected by the American umbrella.

Thus, the emergence of the Tri-Polar World is closely dovetailed with the LPG conquest of India from 1991 by Euro-American MNCs; the privatisation of state capitalist system in Russia evolved by the quintet of Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin, spread over the years 1924 to 1991; and the acceptance by China of the revisionist Deng Xiao Peng's "Market Socialism" from 1978.

These three developments provided the primary political background for the gestation of the Tri-Polar World. But there were other systematic and theoretical contributions as well.

First of all, the structure of production changed : for Agriculture from about 50 to 25 percent in Low Income Economies between 1960 and 1995. For Middle and High Income Economies, it changed from 24 and 6, to 11 and 2 respectively. The Services sector expanded from 32 per cent in 1960 in Low Income Economies to 66 per cent in 1995 for High Income Economies, with 63 per cent as the world average in 1995 (See Tables in *Mankind*, Nov. 1998, p. 52 and May 1998, pp. 31-37).

Simultaneously, four areas of explosive economic growth were registered:

- (a) Information and telecommunication technologies took giant strides forward.

- (b) The youth market exploded with soaring sales of all kinds of pop, rock, rap and fusion music. Also electronic games have become a rage in every bar, pub and restaurant, particularly in the West, but also in other parts of the world, wherever isolated pockets of affluence have crystallised.
- (c) The tremendous parasitical growth of the real estate market due to no entrepreneurial skill, but merely increasing population and urbanisation. This has also contributed to the terrific rise in corruption of all civic and local state authorities.
- (d) Fantastic rise in organised crime, especially that connected with drugs, alcohol, prostitution, gambling and extortion. For instance, it is estimated that almost one-third of the newly privatised Russian economy is controlled by crime syndicates, and actually tax collecting authorities are using battle tanks to collect revenues, as frequently shown on TV screens round the world. Crime has always been associated with capitalist and imperialist expansion. But the recent qualitative increase in organised crime is particularly noticeable. Entire economies of selected countries are totally dependent on crime, as for instance, Afghanistan on cultivation and purification of the opium poppy; Columbia and Peru on the cultivation and production of Coca leaves and cocaine, Sierra Leone, Gabon and Botswana on diamond smuggling; and so on.

There is no place on earth within the capitalist system which is not afflicted with serious epidemic of crime, except perhaps to a limited extent, Cuba. There is nothing that a bourgeois man or woman will not do to satisfy his or her greed and craving for amassing private property and wealth. In fact, such greed and craving is considered to be entrepreneurship of the highest order, and is applauded and commended as model behavior by the West.

5

CONCLUSION

White academics constantly try to sustain and bump up the flagging morale of White Christian Capitalist rulers by whistling in the

dark, and endeavoring to paper over raging rivalries, wars and internecine conflicts. A morale-building white lie is circulated by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* :

“Allowing for borderline cases and gradations and overlapping, there are in fact six cultural worlds.

- (i) Western Europe and its off-shoots in the Western Hemisphere, (i.e. the Americas), and throughout the English-speaking world, (i.e., the British White Commonwealth);
- (ii) The Slavic World;
- (iii) The Islamic World;
- (iv) The Hindu World;
- (v) The Chinese World; and
- (vi) The African World”. (*EB*, 73, Vol 7, under ‘Diplomacy’, p. 475)

This facile statement flies in the face of all known facts of history. We have already noted that all the three General Conflagrations led to a serious weakening of the capitalist fibre. The first, of 1789-1815, was precipitated by the Napoleonic invasions of the rest of Europe, including the occupations of empire-holding Spain, Portugal, Holland-Netherlands. In fact, a tragi-comedy was enacted by the king of Portugal running away to Portugal’s colony in Brazil, and establishing a peculiar combined dynastic rule of a metropolis-cum-colony at Petropolis, 80 kms from Rio de Janeiro, which I visited in 1965. I do not know what happened to the flow of the invisibles from the colonies to the metropolis during this period from 1807, when Portuguese royal family escaped to Brazil, and 1876, by which time all Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean had gained independence (*Timelines of World History*, D. K. Publishing, 2002, pp. 347-353). The matter is too inconsequential to bother about now. No figures of casualties and material costs have ever been compiled.

The second GC ended up with the two Russian Revolutions of 1917. That apart, the figures of casualties and costs are mind-boggling. “The casualties suffered by the belligerents in World War I (our GC II) dwarfed those of previous wars : Some 10 millions soldiers died as a result of sickness and wounds ... E. L. Bogart, *Direct and Indirect Costs of Great World War, 1919*, estimated the civilian deaths attributable to war at slightly higher than the military casualties, or at around 13 million ... The grand total of the costs of World War I, 1914-1919, comprising the direct cost as given in Table V and the indirect cost as given in Table

VI, can thus be said to amount to US\$ 338 billions". (*EB*, 73, Vol. 23, p. 759)

The third GC concluded with the Chinese Revolution as aforesaid. The total casualties of World War II, 1939-45, were estimated at 36 million (*EB*, 73, Vol. 23, p. 802J).

"There are no reliable figures for USSR and China, the two countries in which casualties were undoubtedly greatest. Mainly for this reason, estimates of total dead in World War II vary anywhere from 35 to 60 million. Few have ventured even to try to calculate the total number of wounded or permanently disabled... There can be no real statistical measurement of material cost of World War II. The money cost to governments involved has been estimated at more than one trillion". (*ibid*, pp. 802J-3)

In fact, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* itself states under 'International Relations'.

"The drastic reduction in the number of sovereign states and the resulting concentration of power in the hands of a few nations of the first rank, which occurred between the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and the end of World War II (1945), created one precondition for total war. The treaty of Westphalia of 1648, for instance, reduced the number of sovereign states of which the German Empire was composed from 900 to 355. The diet of Regensburg of 1803 eliminated 200 more. When the German Confederation was founded in 1815, only 36 sovereign states were left to join it. The unification of Italy in 1861 and that of Germany in 1871 eliminated 31 additional sovereign states. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, only five nations of the first rank were left – Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia and Prussia. In the 1860s Italy and the United States joined them, followed toward the end of the century by Japan. At the beginning of World War I in 1914, eight nations were of the first rank, with Germany having replaced Prussia. After World Wars I and II the trend toward reduction of the number of sovereign states was reversed; their number more than doubled because the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, British and French empires were broken up. Yet the trend toward concentration of more and more power in the hands of fewer and fewer states continued. At the end of World War II the number of nations of the first rank was reduced to two: the United States and the Soviet Union" (*EB*, 73, Vol. 12, pp. 437-38).

Thus, the monolithism of the White, Christian, Euro-American-Commonwealth World is a pure bogus myth created by Western

academicians who are repaid for their troubles by their rulers in the form of accolades, honours, high salaries, awards and other perks. Like other curs, this pack of learned hounds is ever ready to suppress dissent, sow confusion, promote ambiguities and demoralize all critics.

However, as we have shown in these series of Occasional Papers by innumerable quotations from the most prestigious sources, that it is not possible for hundreds of scholars and contributors to encyclopedias, **TO LIE CONSISTENTLY IN UNISON!** Thus all sorts of contradictions and admissions emerge as recorded in these occasional papers.

Let us now take up the second world of the above listing, viz., the Slavic World, which is also the same White world with a little admixture of Tatar and Mongol blood. Its differentiation is a legacy of the Cold War between the West and the State-Capitalist Soviet Union of the period 1945-1989/91.

The third Islamic world, is equally a fib, since diverse interests and policies are subsumed under it, ranging from Turkey which has applied for EU membership since long; to Berber North Africa of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania which is Francophile and oil-rich, with single party dictatorships; to Egypt which has, in the post-Nasser era, surrendered to American interests; to the jigsaw puzzle of the remnants of the Ottoman empire stretching from Syria to Iraq; to Iran which is the most ancient Indo-Aryan entity in the Middle East; to Oman, Yemen and the Persian Gulf Sheikdoms; to the theocratic Saudi Arabia; to the partitioned segments of historic India in South Asia like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Maldives, which are all four speakers of Sanskrit-derived languages, Pashto, Urdu, Bengali and Divehi; and to the three "Islamic" members, Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia, of ASEAN; and to the six central Asian former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. All these entities have differing world-views, strategic visions and policies. They cannot be lumped together, just as chalk cannot be mixed with cheese.

The fourth, Hindu world is actually the Indian world which the Anglo-American contributors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* prefer to call Hindu after the forced Partition of 1947, which was one of the great setbacks in the international movement of national liberation, equality and democracy. The Partition of 1947 carried out by Britain resulted not only in the killings of seven lakhs, but also in the creation of 17 million refugees in their own lands, an event comparable to the genocide and

segregation of millions of Red Indians in National Parks and Reservations in the USA

The fifth, Chinese World has emerged powerfully. But even here, the perspectives held by the Koreans and the Japanese are quite at variance, not to speak of the Taiwanese, who belong to a rogue province of China.

The sixth world of the Africans, divided by the West into 53 nations at the latest count, is far from uniformly compradorist and neocolonial. The most populous Nigeria, the richest South Africa, the most mercilessly looted Congo-Zaire and Sudan, can have no common programme, except perhaps that of total rejection of Euro-American "carrot-and-stick" policies, which could hardly be considered as a unifying cultural outlook by the writers of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

We would have preferred to divide the world by objective economic criteria, by wage levels, standards and costs of living, poverty lines and degrees of industrialization, rather than the above vague "six cultural worlds".

This exercise has been summarily carried out by the United Nations Development Programme in its *Human Development Report of 1997*:

"Often, an international poverty line is chosen to compare the incidence of poverty across borders. The World bank uses a poverty line of \$1 (1985 PPP \$) a day per person to compare poverty in most of the developing world. For Latin America and the Caribbean a poverty line of \$2 (1985 PPP\$) a day per person is suggested. For countries in Eastern Europe and the CIS \$4 (1990 PPP\$) a day per person has been used. The figure suggested for industrial countries is \$ 14.40 (1985 PPP \$, since revised after 2001, to \$ 11 per day per person), which corresponds to the income poverty line in the United States". (p. 33. Probably the revision to \$ 11 per day per person was carried out to show a reduction in the incidence of poverty in the so-called developed world.)

We have therefore accepted the groupings made in the *World Development Report of 2005*, at p. 257, and carried out a reconciliation of the World Bank figures, and our classifications based on the above-quoted *Human Development Report of 1997* of the UNDP.

We can append the Reconciliation Sheets to this paper, but it would be a very dreary and boring exercise.

Therefore, we will straight away plunge into a final tabulation.

The total size of the world economy may be calculated as follows:

Table 1
TOTAL SIZE OF WORLD ECONOMY : 1960 - 2020

1960	c. \$ 6.5 trillion	Annual GDP - PPP in US \$ equivalent
1994	c. \$ 23.0 trillion	Annual GDP - PPP in US \$ equivalent
2003	c. \$ 51.5 trillion	Annual GDP - PPP in US \$ equivalent
2020*	c. \$ 98.0 trillion	Annual GDP - PPP in US \$ equivalent

(Source: *Mankind*, Nov. 96, pp. 58-67; and Oct. 97, pp. 32-37)

* Projected on the basis of 1994 to 2003 trend line.

Shares of the Three Poles and of India, in percent of World Total, may be summarized as follows :

Table 2
TRIPOLAR DISTRIBUTION WORLD ECONOMIC POWER : 1960 - 2020
(Per Cent of World Total)

	PRA**	EU	USA	INDIA
1960	14	36	28	4
1994	25	31	22	4
2003	26	26	21	6
2020*	32	28	19	8

(Source: *Mankind*, same as above)

* Projected as above on the basis of 1994 to 2003 trend line.

** Pacific Rim of Asia consists of 14 countries : South Korea, China, Japan, Taiwan, plus 10 ASEAN members : Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia.

We may now present the total world picture :

Table 3
DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC POWER : 1960 - 2003

	AREA (mln. km ²)	POPUL- ATION (billions)	GDP-PPP 1960 (trillion US \$ equivalent)	GDP-PPP 1994	GDP-PPP 2003
WORLD TOTAL	148.0	6.29	6.5	23.0	51.5
		<i>(In per cent of World Total)</i>			
1. ASIA ¹	30.0	60.00	21.5	35.0	36.0
2. EUROPE ²	7.0	12.00	36.0	28.0	25.0
3. AFRICA ³	20.0	13.00	4.0	4.0	5.0
4. N. AMERICA ⁴	16.0	5.00	32.0	26.0	23.0
5. L. AMERICA & CARIBBEAN ³	12.0	8.00	05.0	6.0	7.0
6. OCEANIA ¹	5.5	1.00	1.5	2.0	2.0
7. ANTARCTICA	9.5	----	----	----	----
			100	100	100

SOURCES & NOTES

1. Poverty line suggested by UNDP Report of 1997, with a corresponding wage level and standard of living, of \$ 1 per day per head. Within Oceania, the line is at \$ 11 per day per head for Australia and New Zealand, but \$ 1 for Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Fiji, etc.
2. For East Europe, the suggested poverty line, wage level and standard of living is placed at \$ 4 per day per head, and for West Europe at \$ 11 per day per head.
3. For Latin America and Caribbean, the suggested line is \$ 2 per day per head.
4. For North America, the cut-off line has been placed at \$ 11 per day per head.

Certain interesting conclusions emerge from a study of the tables and graphs referred to above :

(a) India with a population of one-sixth of the world has an annual GDP-PPP of one-twelfth of the world. Its rate of progress is also snail-like.

(b) China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and the ten ASEAN countries have rapidly forged ahead. Japan achieved the breakthrough in the 1970s; and China, including Taiwan, and South Korea, in the 1980s and the 1990s.

(c) China (12%) has forged ahead of Japan (7%). Ten countries of ASEAN (7.5%) have together moved slightly ahead of Japan (7%).

(d) There has been a spectacular economic collapse in the former USSR, now renamed as Russian Federation. From a level of over 8 per cent in 1960, it has collapsed to less than 2 ½ per cent in 2003. There has been demographic decline and spectacular rise in crime and alcoholism. Russia is now being treated as a second class power in the grouping known as G7 or G8. EU has expanded to include several of the erstwhile satellites of the USSR, to absorb Poland, Czechoslovakia (both Czech and Slovak Republics), Hungary and Slovenia. EU expanded its membership in 2004 from 15 to 25. More members will be joining EU in coming years. All restrictions on free movement of wage-earners are being lifted. In short, the poverty level of \$4 per day per head is being converted into one of \$11 per day per head.

(e) The Big Five of West and Central Europe, viz., Germany, France, Italy, UK and Spain have lost ground in the last decade. From 20.5 percent of the world in 1994, they have declined to 15.5 per cent 2003. That is why Europe is frantically trying to emulate the United States of America to build up a rival United States of Europe. The newly centralized "US National Intelligence Council, which represents 15 spy agencies of the US, including the CIA, has just reported in its global trends forecast for the next 15 years to 2020, that India, China and Russia could form a de-facto geo-strategic alliance in an attempt to counter-balance US and Western influence". (*Indian Express*, Pune, 24.2.05)

(f) India's interest lies obviously in the rapid development of such a geo-political strategic alliance, but, before it can do so, it will have to shed its compradorist subservience to White, Christian, Capitalist Neocolonial powers led by the United States and its "Lap-dog" Great Britain. India should not pursue a programme of Economic Reforms based on Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation. On the contrary, it has to identify USA and Great Britain as its main enemies and launch a new *Swadeshi and Boycott Movement* against Anglo-American multinationals, including the Anglo-Dutch cartels Burma Shell, Lever Brothers and Philips. In the same manner, a beginning should be made to boycott the three American armament giants : Boeing, Lockheed-Martin and McDonnell-Haileyburton.

The old *Swadeshi and Boycott Movement* was led by the triumvirate of Lal, Bal and Pal in the years 1905-11. We must combat the current neocolonial set up organized ostensibly by the WB-IMF-WTO,

but actually by the military might of USA, *whose Defence outlay currently exceeds that of the entire Rest of the World combined.*

The *Swadeshi* and Boycott Movement created the popular political climate in favour of national enterprise which led to hundreds of bonfires (*holis*) all over the country of foreign cloth and garments and picketing of shops dealing in imported goods. The same movement gestated and sustained Indian national textile, cement, sugar and steel industries.

The neocolonial period of Indian history began in 1947 with the partition and trifurcation of the country that killed seven lakh poor people in communal riots, and resulted in the creation of 17 million refugees within their own lands. The partition and trifurcation of India has imposed unbearable and wasteful defence outlays of hundreds of crores of rupees by all three successor regimes (Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, known as East Pakistan previous to 1971). Three and a half wars (1948, 1965, 1971 and Kargil) have been fought with Pakistan at immense cost to the poor people of the subcontinent without producing any decisive result except the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, against open threat by US Seventh Fleet steaming from Malacca Straits to Chittagong. ("India's Wars since 1947" in *Mankind*, Nov. 1998, pp. 34-43', "Kargil War" also in *Mankind*, June 1999, pp. 3-5. Also see *India Today*, August 28, 2001, pp. 30-40 "Hamoodur Rahman Report") All the three and a half wars were won by India on the field and lost by the country under Anglo-American pressure at post-war conferences. Half of Kashmir remains under Pak occupation (*Mankind*, December 1995, p. 84 where the labile areas of Kashmir and Ladakh occupied by Pakistan and China have been shown to fluctuate from 240, 300 sq. kms., in 1953-56 to 222, 236 sq. kms. in 1971-94, as per the figures published in the official *India, A Reference Annual*, for Kashmir; and 168, 619 sq. kms. in 1964 and 96, 701 sq. kms. in 1984-94 for Ladakh).

The task which the Seventh Fleet could not accomplish of carrying 93,000 prisoners of war from Chittagong to West Pakistan, was achieved at the Simla Conference of 1971 by American pressure on Indira Gandhi.

After neocolonialism began in 1947, India was pressurized to remain within the Sterling Bloc, and continue to be a member of the British Commonwealth, which was headed by British Crown "as a symbol of unity", whilst it remained the head of the Anglican Church!

In 1949, Jawaharlal Nehru was compelled to devalue the rupee by 49 per cent, from Rs. 3.32 to the \$ to Rs. 4.77 to the \$, in spite of the Indian Government holding Sterling Balances in London to the tune of 4.7 billion (see *A Non-Comprador Account of British Conquest, Subjugation & Loot of India*, cited above, pp. 27-30). A further devaluation of the rupee was forced upon India by Indira Gandhi's government in 1966 under the aegis of the Anglo-American combine and the IMF, from Rs. 4.77 to the \$ to Rs. 8.8 to the \$ or by 83 per cent. From 1991, the IMF prescribed a further continuous fall in the external value of the rupee through a free-float, which brought the rupee down from 17.94 to 48.39 to the \$ in 2002-2003, against the British pound to Rs. 85.55 and against the Euro to Rs. 57.95, as the dollar itself weakened against the pound sterling and the euro (*ibid*, p. 30). Today, on 26.2.2005 the Pound stands at Rs. 83.55 and the Euro at Rs. 57.57, *Times of India*, Pune, 26.2.05).

In all, the rupee has been devalued against international currencies of dollar, pound or euro to the extent of 15 times the original value in 1947 of Rs. 3.32 to the \$ and Rs. 13.3 to the £ sterling. Thus, India would have to export 15 times more in quantity in order to earn the same amount of dollars or pound sterling in 2005 as compared to 1947.

Thus, a persistent adverse balance of trade has come into being for India, particularly under the IMF- imposed globalisation regime from 1991. (See *Mankind*, Sept. 98, "Forced Devaluations and True PPP Rates for 71 Countries", pp. 41-46). Furthermore, the devaluations compel India to bear a retrospectively revised additional debt burden of Rs. 10,000 crores per rupee of devaluation enjoined by the IMF at the Official Exchange Rate (OER) which is about six times the true Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) rate. The vast disparity between the OER and the PPP rates is admitted by the World Bank in its Basic Table 1 of the *World Development Report*, 2005 at pp. 256-7, where India's per capita income of \$ 530 at OER has been raised to \$ 2880 at PPP.

Despite the self-congratulatory breast-thumping by the comprador gorillas who are ruling India, the true story spells total disaster as admitted in the *Economic Survey: 2004-2005*.

- India has entered the Debt Trap, where increases in exports never catch up with increases in imports, and the balance of trade remains perpetually adverse and the balance of payments are forever in deficit, leading to evermore borrowings from the financial markets of New York and London.

- There are over four crore registered unemployed at the nearly 200 so-called employment exchanges, of which number, over 60 percent are educated. (*Times of India*, Pune, 26.2.2005).

- The non-performing assets (NPA) of the mainly state-controlled banking system of India, have crossed the mark of Rs. 1,50,000 crores. In other words, the compradors enjoy cheating their own state.

- In a single scam, popularly known as Telgi's Forged Stamp Paper Scam, the culprit amassed an illegal fortune of over Rs. 30,000 crores by acquiring 12 "condemned" printing machines from the Nasik Security Press. Of which 12 machines, only two have been so far unearthed by the police in the last three years.

- The Unit Trust of India, which was allowed to start the first mutual fund in the country, went bankrupt after incurring unrepayable debts in 2002. The total amount lost, by millions of depositors, who mistakenly thought that the state had guaranteed the return of their deposits, was over Rs. 50,000 crores.

- The expectation of life at birth in India remains five to ten years lower than in China, Japan or Euro-America, and the Female Ratio is 933 (*India, Reference Annual, 2005*, pp. 6-19).

- After 1999-2000, "no official estimate of poverty and unemployment exist". The last year for which the National Sample Survey had made estimates was in 1999-2000. (*Times of India*, Pune, 26.2.2005).

We can conclude by noting that, examined from any direction and considering any dimension, it is not possible for India to fall lower. ***The only way out seems to be up!*** We must launch a popular movement to combat comprador forces which are ruling with the support of neocolonial forces abroad that are solidly arraigned behind the trio of World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). It is not possible for the Indian people to be relieved of the multiple scourges besetting them : poverty, illiteracy, ill-health and unemployment.

The nationalist upsurge is powerfully under way in Latin America led by Brazil's Lula, Venezuela's Chavez, the old reliable war-horse Cuba's Castro, as well as the new crop of popular leaders in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Guyana, Surinam and elsewhere. In fact, for the first time, the Monroe Doctrine implemented since 1823 by American imperialism has been challenged on a continental scale by Latin America. It was this immediate challenge that precipitated the

second Iraq and Persian Gulf crises of 2002-4. America was forced to demonstrate its military might against a weak target, which had already been defeated once and which was Sunni-led in a nation overwhelmingly Shia and Kurd. That minority regime of Saddam Hussain has fallen, though no Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs), the apparent cause of war, were ever found. The failure to find any WMD in Iraq has merely exposed the abject surrender of British Labour leaders to the American military-industrial complex.

In order to enable India to play a creative role in world affairs, it is necessary to replace its comprador leadership with a genuine nationalist and socialist one.

India should immediately launch a resuscitated *Swadeshi* and Boycott Movement similar to the one that was lade by Bal, Pal and Lal in 1905-11. We could at once boycott the harmful American soft drink quasi-monopolies, Coca Cola and Pepsi, refuse to buy American cigarettes, wines and liquors; and stay away from fast foods chains McDonnell, Pizza Hut, Dominos, etc.

The entire *Swadeshi* and Boycott Campaign should be carried out at the popular level without demanding immediately any ban by state legislation. The people themselves should decide to eschew consumption and patronization of American multinationals. This *swadeshi* and boycott movement would gradually subsume everwidening consumer goods : shoes, garments; consumer durables, cars and so on.

Right at the outset, in order to play one imperialist power against the other, we may not extend the popular ban to products emanating from Europe, especially from Russia, Ukraine and the former satellite regimes in East Europe, and the former central Asian Soviet Republics. For instance, our airlines could go massively for Airbus and our defence contracts could be shifted away from US and Israel to France, Germany and other West European and East Asian Countries.

India with China is the fastest-growing 1000 Million Plus market in the world. We should use this leverage to thwart and subvert US hegemonist policies and dreams.

I do not wish to formulate and lay down the entire strategic programme for a resurgent nationalist and socialist India of tomorrow. It is neither possible nor necessary to do so. Just as Indian herbs and drugs became the property of the entire world; just as Indian numbers and methods of decimal mensuration are used by the entire planet,

similarly life-saving medicines, drugs, surgical procedures and so on, are the common property of the entire humanity. No one can presume particular patent rights in the fields of medicine or education. As the Madras Monitor System was adopted by all the countries of the West after being discovered in India in the 18th and 19th centuries in Chennai (Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education in India*, Macmillan & Co., Bombay, 1943).

In particular, we are, as true nationalists and socialists, opposed to the product patent or brand-name patent regime that has come to replace the earlier process-patent regime from 1.1.2005.

We firmly believe that it is inadvisable for India to either allow a fall in the external value of the rupee, or to permit its imports to exceed its exports continuously. Foreign investment should be restricted entirely and exclusively to the High Technology sector.

We have an immense pool of both skilled and unskilled labour. Wherever possible, we must use our bare hands and primitive spades and hoes to build roads, canals, dams, rails and so on. Import of labour saving machinery in construction activities must be eschewed and forbidden. We should build a vast million-strong Land Army of Lohia's dreams.

Out of the boycott and *swadeshi* movement, the Land Army will emerge. Let us cease to be brain-washed puppets of the West, tamely providing American multinationals with a market and an investment opportunity.

Let us learn to stand on our own feet and not humiliate ourselves as our parliamentarians did the other day when Bill Clinton visited the Central Hall of Parliament.

For us, nationalism is an economic necessity and it offers the only way by which we can rapidly become prosperous, employed, educated, and healthy.

APPENDIX

THE OVERALL CONTEXT FOR
THE TRI-POLAR WORLD

The fierce fleecing of the Third World, also known as the Developing World or the Industrially Backward World, by Euro-American, Christian, White, Capitalist, Neocolonialist countries, is thoroughly described in *Human Development Report (HDR)* of 1992 published by the United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, (OUP, 1992).

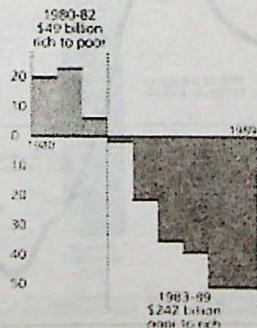
We reproduce selected horrifying data from the report :

Distribution of World Population and Income

	World Population	World Income
Richest	20%	82.7%
Second	20%	11.7%
Third	20%	02.3%
Fourth	20%	01.9%
Poorest	20%	01.4%

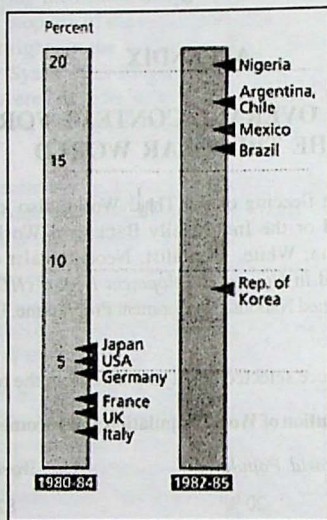
Source: Behind Front Cover, *HDR* of 1992

● DEBT-RELATED NET TRANSFERS

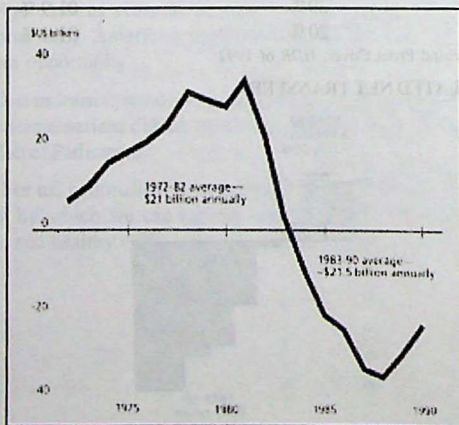


Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report* 1992 p. 45

● DISPARITY IN INTEREST RATES

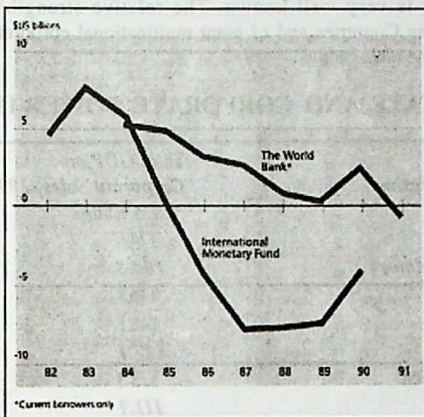


● NET TRANSFERS TO AND FROM DEVELOPING COUNTERS

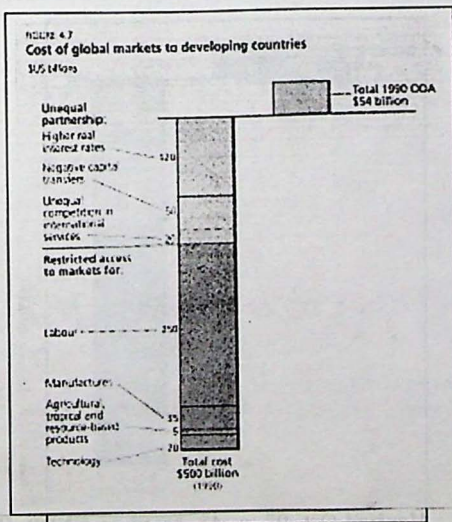


Source : UNDP, Human Development Report 1992 pp. 49 & 50

● COST OF GLOBAL MARKETS



● NET TRANSFERS TO & FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES



That MNCs / TNCs are formidable entities in world political economy is very well known. The relative strength of the Developing Countries and of giant multinational corporations is given in the table below :

● STATE AND CORPORATE POWER 1994

<i>Country or Corporation</i>	<i>Total GDP or Corporate Sales, 1994</i> (U.S. \$ billions)
Indonesia	174.6
General Motors	168.8
Turkey	149.8
Denmark	146.1
Ford	137.1
South Africa	123.3
Toyota	111.1
Exxon	110.0
Royal Dutch / Shell	109.8
Norway	109.6
Poland	92.8
Portugal	91.6
IBM	72.0
Malaysia	68.5
Venezuela	59.0
Pakistan	57.1
Unilever	49.7
Nestle	47.8
Sony	43.9
Egypt	30.4
Nigeria	30.4
Top five corporations	871.4
Least developed countries	76.5
South Asia	451.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	246.8

Source : *Mankind* Oct. 97, p. 45, based on UNDP, *Human Development Report 1997*, p. 92

Vinayak Purohit

* b. 1927, Kolkata

*Freedom fighter, 1942 August Movement; compound fracture of the skull due to police lathi, 9.9.42 at Shivaji Park, Mumbai; thrice arrested : once on charge of attempting to burn a policeman alive; second for production, distribution and possession of illegal literature; third time detention without trial, Worli Jail, Mumbai. Trade unionist, 1948-52, as General Secretary, Bombay Press Employees' Union; Rejoined Socialist Party, 1956, as Lohia founded the party in Dec. 1956

*Graduation in B.A. (Hons.) with History, Economics and Politics, Mumbai University, 1948; Ph.D for *Arts of Transitional India, 20th Century* Published by Popular Prakashan in 2 Vols; 1986-88, Senior Fellow, ICSSR and UGC; Visiting Professor, Film and Television Institute of India, Pune, 1976-85, Visiting Professor, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1980-82; Visitor, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981-82. Visiting Professor, Chalmers Institute, Gothenberg, and Royal Institute Stockholm 1982; Visting Scientist, CSIR 1980-82. Consultant ILO Project, Maharashtra, 1983-85.

*Art, Architectural, Music, Dance, Drama, Film and Literary critic from mid-fifties for *Sanskriti, Design, Times of India, Free Press Journal, Hindustan Standard, Dharmayug, Samakaleen* etc.

*Designed monumental *Gitai Mandir*, Wardha, 1965-75

*Revived Lohia's *Mankind*, 1995-2000

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MANKIND

was founded by Rammanohar Lohia
in 1956 from Hyderabad
and edited by him from there.
A shift to Delhi occurred in 1963 on his
election to the Lok Sabha,
and the journal continued till his death in 1967.

It was revived by
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Dr. Sharayu Mhatre-Purohit
as Executive Editors
from Pune
in 1995 and published by them
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