

## STALINIST-COMMUNISTS AT ICHR EXPOSED AS COMICAL CROOKS !

IRFAN HABIB, ROMILA THAPAR, BIPAN CHANDRA AND  
R S SHARMA ARE SIMPLE TOTAL FRAUDS !

GEN. NIAZI  
EXPOSES  
PAKISTAN

THE 10 DEGREE CANAL  
WHY WAS RS. 5 CRORE LOAN GIVEN  
TO THAILAND IN 1946 ?

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DIANA RACKET

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# AN OPENING STATEMENT : 36

Exe. Edr.

## TEN DEGREE CANAL

We had written in our issue of April 1998 that the Government of India is not bound by British Imperialist interests and should therefore proceed with the construction of the Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra.

We shall reproduce the first few lines of our April 1998 notice :

"One of the last secretive acts performed by the colonial government of India was the signing of a peace treaty with Siam. It is a strange and fascinating document.

"A peace treaty between H.M. Government and the Government of India on the one hand, and the Kingdom of Siam on the other, the first instrument bringing the state of war with an ex-enemy country to an end, was signed on Jan 1, 1946, at Government House, Singapore. The signatories were, for Great Britain, Mr. Moberly Denning, political advisor to Lord Louis Mountbatten; for Government of India, Mr. M. S. Aney; and for Siam, Prince Viwat Anajai Jaiyant, Lt. Gen. Phya Abhai Songgram, and Nai Serm Vinichayakul. The treaty contained 24 articles.

"Art. 1 : Siam repudiates all measures taken in pursuance of the declaration of war on the British Empire on Jan 25, 1942.

"Art. 7: Siam undertakes to construct no canal linking the Indian ocean and the Gulf of Siam (i.e. Across the Kra Isthmus) without British consent" (*Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 1946-48, Vol VI, p. 7695)

How keen British imperialism was to impose the prohibition upon Siam-Thailand can be gauged from a further news item which we have gleaned

from the same volume of Keesing's Archives :

### "C. INDIA — Loan to Siam

It was announced in New Delhi on July 14 that the Government of India has granted to the Siamese Government a 20-year credit of Rs. 50,000,000 (£ 3,750,000) carrying interest at the rate of 3 per cent and repayable by annual instalments of Rs. 3,400,000 (£ 255,000) commencing in August 1947. This was the first loan ever made by the Government of India to a foreign country — (The Statesman, Calcutta — Times, (London), *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol VI, 1946-48, p. 8129)

As the above extract reveals, Britain actually bribed Siam-Thailand with a loan of Rs. 5 crores in order to make it sign the treaty. We must remember that Siam-Thailand was an 'enemy country' for the British, and an ally of Japan, in W.W. II.

Of course it suited the cunning and miserly Britishers to pursue their own imperial interests at the expense of the Indian treasury. The loan was given by India for a purpose which was to hurt India's own long-term interests !

Perfidious Albion, you are true to your nature !

### BRITISH IMPERIAL INTERESTS OF 1946 AND LATER

Let us consider the scene immediately after the end of World War II.

Topmost priority was given by British imperialism to the task of rebuilding its empire in the Far East, i.e., to recapture Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak, Brunei and Hong Kong.

Secondly, Suez was the pivot. It was firmly in British hands in the late 40s. It was not lost till 1956, when Eden launched his misadventure in collusion with France and Israel. Egypt finally took over in 1956 with American and Russian help, nationalised the Suez Canal Authority, and kicked out British troops from the Canal Zone.

Back in 1946, the Ten Degree Canal would have reduced the importance of Suez Canal and elevated Thailand's status in world affairs.

Further, Britain wanted to preserve the profitability of its sea links with Australia and New Zealand. Intermediate cargoes to Malaya, Singapore and Indonesian islands helped to lower the cost of traffic on the England-Australia and England-New Zealand trade routes; and also helped develop Singapore and Hong Kong as important transshipment points.

### INDIAN NATIONAL INTEREST DEMANDS OVERTHROW OF BRITISH IMPERIAL STRANGLEHOLD

As we had argued in our April issue, India must break out of the straitjacket imposed by neocolonial powers upon India's foreign policy.

We care nothing about British reconquest of its Far Eastern empire, which in any case has disappeared long ago. We do not care whether cargo traffic between England and Australia-New Zealand becomes more expensive or less. We are not concerned with the development of Singapore and Hong Kong as great transshipment points.

It is in the interests of Indian and world shipping to cut the canal across the Isthmus of Kra where the Isthmus narrows to just about 75 miles, and to develop this canal vigorously so that a detour of a thousand five hundred nautical miles down the Malayan coast via the Straits of Malacca and up the Gulf of Thailand in the South China Sea is avoided.

The proposed Ten Degree Canal  
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will be an extension of the Ten Degree Channel lying between Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In a few years, it will save millions of tonnes of fuel for world shipping.

Mediterranean is no longer the all-important trade route of the world. In fact world trade has shifted to the Pacific and the Indian Oceans where over 40 per cent of the world GDP is being currently generated (See our studies of the tri-polar world in *Mankind* issues Aug./Sept. 96, pp. 3-5; Nov 96, pp. 56-66, Oct. 97 pp. 32-37).

We have suggested that this canal should be jointly owned by SAARC and ASEAN with 50 per cent share to be held by each side.

We may distinguish two clear divisions among the ASEAN nations. Malaya, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei may be said to form the Southern Tier of ASEAN. This Southern Tier is made up of Islamic nations with Singapore as an exception under the control of mainly overseas Chinese.

The Northern Tier of ASEAN nations consists of Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Philippines. All these countries are Buddhist, except for Philippines which is the only Christian nation of Asia.

We may expect the OECD

countries to oppose the project to construct the Ten Degree Canal for the following reasons :

a) The Ten Degree Canal reduces the importance of the other major canals of the world, namely Suez and Panama.

b) The Ten Degree Canal reduces the cost of shipping for the nations of the Pacific Rim of Asia (the two Koreans, Japan, China, Taiwan and ASEAN. Hong Kong has already been taken over by China.)

c) The Ten Degree Canal will further boost the economies of SAARC and ASEAN nations, which are competitive with OECD. (Japan is a member of OECD as are Australia, New Zealand, U.S.A. and Canada along with the European nations of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and U.K.)

d) However, for Japan the savings in fuel cost would be so substantial that it may not take any active interest in opposing the Ten Degree Canal.

e) Thus, the opposition to the Ten Degree Canal will be confined more or less to the White Christian nations of Euro-America and Australasia.

f) India and China could easily take the lead in pursuing the Ten

Degree Canal project and in fact they may discover other ways of co-operating with each other, starting from the Ten Degree Canal.

g) The Ten Degree Canal would help develop economically the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Convenient free trade zones may be established in both sets of islands. Furthermore, all the east coast ports of India like Haldia, Paradeep, Vishakhapatnam, Chennai and Tuticorin would benefit.

h) The Ten Degree Canal should lead immediately to a deepening and widening of the shipping channels in the Palk Straits. This will further boost our maritime trade with the world.

i) The Ten Degree Canal will directly help OPEC countries and stimulate oil exports from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the Far East.

j) Ports on the East and South coasts of Africa from Mombasa to Cape Town, would be greatly assisted, by sailing via the Palk Straits or turning around Sri Lanka, and moving directly into the Ten Degree Channel and the Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra.

We trust that our MEA will swiftly move to protect and project our national interests and undertake the construction of the Ten Degree Canal on a priority basis. ■

## EARL SPENCER SPONSORS DIANA RACKET

A classic example of the meanness, vulgarity, miserliness and cunning of the English aristocracy was recently provided by Earl Spencer. As soon as he learnt of Diana's accidental death after she had abandoned Charles, the heir to the English throne, and had got secretly engaged to Dodi Fayed who was unable to claim Diana's body because of the secrecy surrounding the gift of the *Rs. two crore* engagement ring by Dodi to Diana, Earl Spencer realised that he had a chance to capture his sister's corpse over which nobody was in a

position to assert any counter-claim.

To milk the middle-class sentiment which Diana had cleverly garnered in her favour by maligning the Charles-Camilla adultery whilst she herself slept around with Equerries and other miscellaneous hangers-on, Diana needed this public sympathy since the royalty is the holy cow or *Kamdhenu* of the Brits. The masses are hyped up by media persons to blindly adulate the Royal Family. The poor Brits pay through their noses for the privilege of loving their Royal Family ! The total burden

of the royal parasites and parasites upon parasites is around £ 50 millions or over Rs. 325 crores at the current exchange rate of Rs. 65 to the pound. (See *Mankind*, Oct. 1997, pp. 4-6 for complete details of the Royal Civil List.)

It may be recollected that the Royal Family of the Windsors, reputedly the richest in England, paid no taxes till 1993.

Earl Spencer had been living in S. Africa and had invested heavily in the apartheid society of that country. No sooner Diana died, he made plans to migrate back to England. Some months ago he divorced his third or fourth wife who had long been his

companion and then returned to his estates in the north of England, where he had insisted upon carrying Diana's body, which he carefully buried on an island in a lake within his immense domain.

A monument to the memory of sister Diana will be erected there, which will be allowed to be visited by a select few who will be made to pay for the privilege. In the meantime, pending the construction of this memorial to the People's Princess who was in reality a gold-digger and a flirt with royal airs, the Earl has started

collecting his "pound from the dead flesh." He has sold over one lakh tickets at £ 9.50 each for the privilege of standing round the lake and throwing the floral tributes into its swampy edges. In short, the Earl has cleaned up about ten lakh pounds or Rs. 6.5 crores already in the very first year of his cunning operation !

The oafish Earl has proclaimed that 10 per cent of the gate receipts will be devoted to Diana's favourite charities whilst 90 per cent will go for the maintenance of the Monument and

its Surroundings ! In other words, the entire cost of upkeep of the huge Spencer estate will be henceforth defrayed from the collections made from local and foreign, especially American, tourists.

What a man ! This should be an object lesson for the so-called average, ordinary man in England and in the world, that to waste sentiment on the undeserving ultimately results in emptying one's pockets to consummate thieves who give themselves aristocratic airs precisely in order to cheat and rob ! ■

## A PARLIAMENTARY FREAK TRIES TO LIFT HIMSELF BY HIS BOOTSTRAPS !

P. M. Sayed is a Parliamentary Freak. He is a nine-time MP from Lakshadweep. These lines are being written before the fate of the elections to the position of Deputy Speakership of the Lok Sabha are known. P. M. Sayed is being sponsored by the Congress Party. The ruling party, the BJP, has put forward the name of Rita Verma, its MP from Dhanbad. Therefore, in all probability Sayed will lose to Verma. Unless Vajpayee is preparing to resign !

We have repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that there are parliamentary constituencies of just a few thousands and also quite a few with many lakhs of voters.

In *Mankind* April 1996, p. 63, we have drawn attention to the Lakshadweep constituency which had the lowest number of voters in the entire country. We had shown in that Table that of the 543 constituencies in the country, Lakshadweep was the smallest, and the largest was the Outer Delhi constituency with 15.74 lakh voters. The ratio of Lakshadweep to Outer Delhi was 1:52.

This was the situation in 1989. By 1991 the situation had worsened. The number of voters in the Lakshadweep constituency had increased to 32,000 but those in Outer Delhi had gone up

to 18.66 lakhs, so that the ratio of the lowest to the highest had worsened to 1:58 (*Mankind*, May 1996, p. 62).

By the time of the 1996 and 1998 elections, the number of voters in Lakshadweep had gone up to 34,111 and 35,716 which retains its record of being the constituency with the lowest number of voters in the entire country (*General Elections 1998*, Reference Handbook Vol. II A, PIB, p. 6)

Lakshadweep became a Union Territory in 1956, before which it had formed a part of the Madras State.

Election results are known only from 1967. All along it has been a seat reserved for the Scheduled Tribes. P. M. Sayed, a muslim, claims to be at the same time a tribal. He won his first term from 1967. Sayed won in 1967 with just 4329 votes. During the last eight contests of 1971, 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1996 and 1998, P. M. Sayed has been consistently winning from M. K. Koya.

In 1991, Sayed won from Koya by just 281 votes.

I do not have the number of votes cast for P. M. Sayed in the 1996 and 1998 polls, but in 1991 he had secured just 12,992 votes beating, as aforesaid, Koya by 281 votes.

It is outrageous that a man has

been serving in the Lok Sabha on the strength of just 4,000-13,000 votes. A municipal councillor in any of our Metros needs more votes than Sayed to sit in the Corporation Hall ! We had shown in our April and May 1996 articles that even within each state the ratio of the lowest to the highest number of voters varies from nearly 4.5 to nearly 10.5 lakhs in Assam and from 7.5 lakhs to 17.5 lakhs in Maharashtra (*MK*, May '96, p. 61).

It is scandalous that this Congress worm P. M. Sayed should be allowed to strut about in Delhi as an MP with the backing of just 4000-13000 votes for 9 terms ! As an MP he gets all the pay and allowances of the other MPs including bungalow, furniture, telephone, car loan, travel allowance and has been drawing for the last 7 years Rs. 1 crore per year as Special Constituency Development Allowance !

Actually Lakshadweep has no reason for special representation in the Lok Sabha. It can be represented in the Rajya Sabha by a suitable rotating reservation. Lakshadweep should become a part of some Lok Sabha constituency of Kerala.

And now this wretched freak of a Sayed wants to become Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha with Congress support ! Does the Congress really care about its democratic credentials ? Does the Congress really seek to represent the people of India ? ■

# THE RANDOM HOUSE LIST OF 100 BEST NOVELS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

We publish a list of 100 best novels in English drawn up by the editorial board of Modern Library, a division of Random House, USA.

That such a list compiled by a commercial publishing house of the USA should be tilted in favour of Americans (55 : 45), and in favour of the works in which Random House is financially interested must be taken for granted.

What is more to the point is the confession of thinness of the English literary tradition in the contemporary world. We have always maintained that by slavishly accepting the colonial legacy of the English language, the Indian comprador *naukershahi* mind has denied itself some of the best fruits of the bourgeois Western tradition.

That is why the fact that we had read about half the novels included in the list of 100 by Random House editors does not impress us too much in our own mind.

Confining ourselves to the novel form, and restricting ourselves to the list of Nobel Prize Winners, we can note the absence from the Random House Honour's List of the following important authors, who were given the Nobel for their novels :

1. 1903 : B. Bjorson (Nor.)
2. 1905 : H. Sienkiewicz (Pol.)
3. 1909 : S. Lagerlof (Swe.)
4. 1910 : P. Von Heyse (Ger.)
5. 1915 : Romain Rolland (Fr.)
6. 1919 : Karl Gjellerup (Den.)
7. 1917 : H. Pontoppidan (Den.)
8. 1919 : Carl Spitteler (Swi.)
9. 1920 : Knut Hamsun (Nor.)
10. 1921 : Anatole France (Fr.)
11. 1924 : W. Reymont (Pol.)
12. 1926 : Grazia Deledda (It.)
13. 1928 : Sigrid Undset (Nor.)
14. 1929 : Thomas Mann (Ger.)
15. 1933 : Ivan Bunin (USSR.)
16. 1937 : R. M. du Gard (Fr.)
17. 1939 : F. E. Sillanpaa (Fin.)
18. 1944 : J. V. Jensen (Den.)
19. 1946 : Hermann Hesse (Swi.)
20. 1947 : Andre Gide (Fr.)
21. 1951 : Par Lagerkvist (Swe.)
22. 1952 : Francois Mauriac (Fr.)

23. 1955 : Halldor Laxness (Ice.)
24. 1957 : Albert Camus (Fr.)
25. 1958 : Boris Pasternak (USSR.)
26. 1961 : Ivo Andric (Yugo.)
27. 1964 : Jean Paul Sartre (Fr.)
28. 1965 : M. Sholokhov (USSR.)
29. 1966 : S. Y. Agnon (Isr.)
30. 1967 : M. A. Asturias (Guat.)
31. 1968 : Kawobata Yasunari (Jap.)
32. 1970 : Alexandr Solzhenitsyn (USSR.)
33. 1972 : Heinrich Boll (Ger.)
34. 1974 : E. Johnson (Swe.)
35. 1974 : H. Martinson (Swe.)
36. 1978 : Issac Singer (Isr.)
37. 1981 : E. Canetti (Bulg.)
38. 1982 : G. G. Marquez (Col.)
39. 1985 : Claude Simon (Fr.)
40. 1986 : Wole Soyinka (Nig.)
41. 1988 : Najuib Mahfouz (Egy.)
42. 1989 : C. J. Cela (Spa.)
43. 1994 : Kenzaburo Oe (Jap.)

This is apart from very important authors of the non-English tradition who never made it to the Nobel, like :

1. Andre Malraux — *Man's Fate or Man's Estate*

2. Jaroslav Hasek — *The Good Soldier Schweik*.

3. Y. Zamyatin — *We*, the first anti-Utopian novel, written in 1924.

4. Fakirmohan Senapati — *Chhamana Atha Guntha*, 1900-4, arguably the greatest Indian novelist (We have serialised Senapati's great novel in the pages of *Mankind*, during the year 1996. Also, we have published a few chapters from *The Good Soldier Schweik* by Jaroslav Hasek.

5. Ignazio Silone — *Fontmara*

Furthermore, apart from the Nobel-winners whom the English knowing have missed, and the non-Nobel winners who richly deserved the Nobel, but never got it (just five listed above, but there are many more), and who belong to the non-English novel writing traditions, we do not know enough about the Chinese, the Korean, the Southeast Asian, and the African non-English literary traditions, to make any guess about the numbers of missing great

novels of this century.

Having pointed out the serious limitations of the Random House listing, let us analyse the list irrespective of its intrinsic worth.

We can easily divide the hundred novels listed into 3 groups

● The works that were published between 1900 and the end of W. W. I in 1919. We may accept this group as the Older Generation of English and American novelists. They are largely outdated and it is very doubtful that they will continue to be read, say 25 years hence.

The first group as a whole was heavily stamped by imperialist, racialist, White Christian world-view (especially Rudyard Kipling, E. M. Forster, Somerset Muagham, Joseph Conrad and Henry James). Their works are generally so narrow-minded and prejudiced that only in semi-colonial India will their works continue to be prescribed as textbooks in universities.

The members of this old-fashioned faded school are :

1. D. H. Lawrence
2. Samuel Butler
3. Sherwood Anderson
4. Henry James
5. Ford Madox Ford
6. Theodore Drieser
7. E. M. Forster
8. James Conrad
9. Max Beerbohm
10. Somerset Maugham
11. Edith Wharton
12. Rudyard Kipling
13. Arnold Bennett
14. Jack London
15. Booth Tarkington.

● To the next group of those who wrote their important works between the two wars belong :

1. James Joyce
2. F. Scott Fitzgerald
3. William Faulkner
4. Arthur Koestler
5. John Steinbeck
6. Robert Graves
7. Virginia Woolf
8. Carson McCullers
9. Richard Wright
10. John O'Hara
11. John Dos Passos
12. James T. Farrell
13. George Orwell
14. Evelyn Waugh
17. Earnest Hemingway
18. Henry Miller
19. Dashiell Hammett
20. Willa Cather
21. Sinclair Lewis
22. Richard Hughes
23. Nathaniel West
24. Elizabeth Bowen
25. Henry Green
26. Taylor Caldwell
27. James M. Cain.

Amongst these are the really valuable writers of the Inter-War years who will in all probability continue to

be read well into the next century. We are referring particularly to the works of James Joyce, Arthur Koestler, Richard Wright, John Dos Passos, James T. Farrell, and George Orwell.

*Mankind* readers may like to note that in our *Masterpieces of World Literature* Section, we have already published extracts from the works of James Joyce, Arthur Koestler and John Dos Passos.

● The third group is made up of those who came into prominence after W.W.II. I personally feel that this group doesn't match up to the best writers of the Inter-War Years that we have marked as really significant (Joyce, Koestler, Wright, Dos Passos, Farrell and Orwell). They have somehow failed to live up to the promise that they gave signs of, and not one of them has written a work which will bear a second reading. We may consider them as Novelists Who Belied Their Promise. We may just list them for the sake of formality.

1. Vladimir Nabokov 2. Joseph Heller 3. Malcolm Lowry 4. Kurt Vonnegut 5. Ralph Ellison 6. Saul Bellow 7. Robert Penn Warren 8. James Baldwin 9. Graham Greene 10. William Golding 11. James Dickey 12. Norman Mailer 13. Philip Roth 14. Jack Kerouac 15. Walker Percy 16. James Jones 17. John Cheever 18. J. D. Salinger 19. Anthony Burgess 20. Lawrence Durrell 21. V. S. Naipaul 22. Muriel Spark 23. Wallace Stegner 24. E. L. Doctorow 25. Salman Rushdie 26. William Kennedy 27. John Fowles 28. Jean Phys 29. Iris Murdoch 30. William Styron 31. Paul Bowles 32. J. P. Donleavy

## CONCLUSION

The world is passing through evil times. After 1975, capitalism has received a Second Breath.

Upto 1975 it was abundantly clear that capitalism was an exhausted system which had no future. The end of Capitalism's Death Throes (1917-75) was marked by three events:

The state capitalist forces represented by Stalinism and Maoism had triumphed in countries stretching from Central Europe to the Pacific

and almost 38 per cent of the world's population lived under Stalinist-Maoist rule at one time. Tito, Hoxha, etc. also represented minor variants of Stalinism-Maoism)

● The vicious cycle of neo-colonial dominance of the Third World was broken and India successfully thwarted Anglo-American imperialist designs to create in 1971 Bangladesh (a country with the then population of 8 crores and present population of 11 crores).

● The US Army was defeated in battle by Vietnam and driven out of the country by 1975. Over 5 lakh Americans had fought in the second Vietnam war (1960-75), and had been soundly defeated.

● Little Cuba had forcefully intervened in Africa and brought to an end the infamous Portuguese empire of Salazar. By 1975 Angola and Mozambique had been liberated, and Cuban influence had been powerfully felt as far afield as in Namibia, Congo-Zaire, and Ethiopia.

However, the anti-imperialist forces retreated after 1975.

First of all, Deng Xiaoping outlined his programme of "Market Socialism" in 1978 under the slogans of *Kaifeng* and *Gaige*. These ideas were picked up by Gorbachev who came out in 1985 with his theories of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*. Very soon in 1989-91, the Soviet satellite empire in Eastern Europe collapsed, and the USSR itself disintegrated into 15 more or less independent republics. Yugoslavia and the Czechoslovak Federations also broke up into five and two constituent republics. Already NATO has extended its tentacles into Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic). Right now at the time of writing in Aug. 1998, the Russian Federation has been plunged into a deep economic crisis.

Secondly, from mid-1991, India has been reconquered by the neo-colonial forces. Under the Structural Adjustment Programme formulated by the WB, IMF, and WTO and implemented in India as the Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation

Programme, India has been thoroughly vanquished.

Thirdly, a tripolar world is slowly emerging but right now the planet is passing through the stage of its convulsive birth pangs. **It is clear that the share of the US in the total world GDP has declined from around 50 per cent in 1945 to about 21 per cent today. It will probably reach the level of 15-18 per cent by the year 2005.**

As we very well know, the status of English in the modern world is no longer dependent on the power of British Imperialism. Rather, it is USA that has held up English Literature as a contemporary paradigm.

Therefore the future of English literature and novel-writing is very bleak. England exists as a third rate power, on the margin of the European Union, whose core has been formed by Germany and France. It has not joined the Common Currency arrangements as yet, but it will be very soon beaten into submission, just as it happened in the case of the larger EEC which had initially excluded the UK, but later had been prevailed upon to admit "the rogue country".

As we have shown in our analysis of the Random House Honour's List of 100 Novels, the following facts cry out for notice:

● There are amongst Nobel Prize winners for the novel, 42 important authors who belong to the non-English literary traditions.

● There are many more great novelists who never got the Nobel Prize and who belong to the non-English literary traditions. (We have provided a sample list of five.)

● There are other non-English literary traditions in the world, of which we have inadequate information, as in the case of the Chinese, the Korean, the South-East Asian, and the African non-English literatures.

● Within these severe limitations, an examination of the Random House list reveals that possibly the best period for novel writing in English was the Inter-War Years when Joyce, Koestler, Dos Passos, Farrell and Orwell produced their great works.

Koestler, Dos Passos, Farrell and The post-W.W. II generation of promise and will very soon follow the first group of pre-W.W. I writers into literary oblivion. ■

## RANDOM HOUSE LIST OF THE 20TH CENTURY'S HUNDRED BEST NOVELS IN ENGLISH

1. *Ulysses*, James Joyce, (1922)
2. *The Great Gatsby*, F. Scott Fitzgerald (1925)
3. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, James Joyce (1916)
4. *Lolita*, Vladimir Nabokov (1955)
5. *Brave New World*, Aldous Huxley (1932)
6. *The Sound and the Fury*, William Faulkner (1929)
7. *Catch-22*, Joseph Heller (1961)
8. *Darkness at Noon*, Arthur Koestler (1940)
9. *Sons and Lovers*, D. H. Lawrence (1913)
10. *The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck (1939)
11. *Under the Volcano*, Malcolm Lowry (1947)
12. *The Way of All Flesh*, Samuel Butler (1903)
13. *1984*, George Orwell (1949)
14. *I, Claudius*, Robert Graves (1934)
15. *To the Lighthouse*, Virginia Woolf (1927)
16. *An American Tragedy*, Theodore Dreiser (1925)
17. *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*, Carson McCullers (1940)
18. *Slaughterhouse Five*, Kurt Vonnegut (1969)
19. *Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison (1952)
20. *Native Son*, Richard Wright (1940)
21. *Henderson the Rain King*, Saul Bellow (1959)
22. *Appointment in Samarra*, John O'Hara (1934)
23. *U.S.A. (trilogy)*, John Dos Passos (1930)
24. *Winesburg, Ohio*, Sherwood Anderson (1919)
25. *A Passage to India*, E. M. Forster (1924)
26. *The Wings of the Dove*, Henry James (1902)
27. *The Ambassadors*, Henry James (1903)
28. *Tender is the Night*, F. Scott Fitzgerald (1934)
29. *The Studs Lonigan Trilogy*, James T. Farrell (1932)
30. *The Good Soldier*, Ford Madox Ford
31. *Animal Farm*, George Orwell
32. *The Golden Bowl*, Henry James
33. *Sister Carrie*, Theodore Dreiser
34. *A Handful of Dust*, Evelyn Waugh
35. *As I Lay Dying*, William Faulkner
36. *All the King's Men*, Robert Penn Warren
37. *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, Thornton Wilder
38. *Howard's End*, E. M. Forster
39. *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, James Baldwin
40. *The Heart of the Matter*, Graham Greene
41. *Lord of the Flies*, William Golding
42. *Deliverance*, James Dickey
43. *A Dance to the Music of Time (series)*, Anthony Powell
44. *Point Counter Point*, Aldous Huxley
45. *The Sun Also Rises*, Ernest Hemingway
46. *The Secret Agent*, Joseph Conrad
47. *Nostramo*, Joseph Conrad
48. *The Rainbow*, D. H. Lawrence
49. *Women in Love*, D. H. Lawrence
50. *Tropic of Cancer*, Henry Miller
51. *The Naked and the Dead*, Norman Mailer
52. *Portnoy's Complaint*, Philip Roth
53. *Pale Fire*, Vladimir Nabokov
54. *Light in August*, William Faulkner
55. *On the Road*, Jack Kerouac
56. *The Maltese Falcon*, Dashiell Hammett
57. *Parade's End*, Ford Madox Ford
58. *The Age of Innocence*, Edith Wharton
59. *Zuleika Dobson*, Max Beerbohm
60. *The Moviegoer*, Walker Percy
61. *Death Comes to the Archbishop*, Willa Cather
62. *From Here to Eternity*, James Jones
63. *The Wapshot Chronicles*, John Cheever
64. *The Catcher in the Rye*, J. D. Salinger
65. *A Clockwork Orange*, Anthony Burgess
66. *Of Human Bondage*, W. Somerset Maugham
67. *Heart of Darkness*, Joseph Conrad
68. *Main Street*, Sinclair Lewis
69. *The House of Mirth*, Edith Wharton
70. *The Alexandria Quartet*, Lawrence Durrell
71. *A High Wind in Jamaica*, Richard Hughes
72. *A House for Mr. Biswas*, V. S. Naipaul
73. *The Day of the Locust*, Nathaniel West
74. *A Farewell to Arms*, Ernest Hemingway
75. *Scoop*, Evelyn Waugh
76. *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, Muriel Spark
77. *Finnegans Wake*, James Joyce
78. *Kim*, Rudyard Kipling
79. *A Room with a View*, E. M. Forster
80. *Brideshead Revisited*, Evelyn Waugh
81. *The Adventures of Augie March*, Saul Bellow
82. *Angle of Repose*, Wallace Stegner
83. *A Bend in the River*, V. S. Naipaul
84. *The Death of the Heart*, Elizabeth Bowen
85. *Lord Jim*, Joseph Conrad
86. *Ragtime*, E. L. Doctorow
87. *The Old Wives' Tale*, Arnold Bennett
88. *The Call of the Wild*, Jack London
89. *Living*, Henry Green
90. *Midnight's Children*, Salman Rushdie
91. *Tobacco Road*, Erskine Caldwell
92. *Ironweed*, William Kennedy
93. *The Magus*, John Fowles
94. *Wide Sargasso Sea*, Jean Rhys
95. *Under the Net*, Iris Murdoch
96. *Sophie's Choice*, William Styron
97. *The Sheltering Sky*, Paul Bowles
98. *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, James M. Cain
99. *The Ginger Man*, J. P. Donleavy
100. *The Magnificent Ambersons*, Booth Tarkington

This list was drawn up by an Editorial Board composing of Christopher Cerf, Gore Vidal, Daniel J. Boorstin, Shelby Foote, Vartan Gregorian, A. S. Byatt, Edmund Morris, John Richardson, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and William Styron of Modern Library, a division of Random House, USA.



## L'AFFAIRE MONICA INDUCES CLINTON TO RAIN TERROR MISSILES UPON SUDAN AND AFGHANISTAN

The lust for power is a powerful motivating factor with all bourgeois politicians, especially those with small minds and narrow visions, as has been the case with all American Presidents. But, when the lust for power is combined with the lust for sexual dalliance with young girls as in the case of the Bill Clinton - Monica Lewinsky affair, it drives men simply crazy. In order to distract attention from his improper and foul affair with a girl less than half his age and one in his employment, Bill Clinton has targeted, with two dozen Tomahawk Cruise missiles, a pharmaceutical facility in Khartoum, killing and maiming hundreds of night shift workers and other innocent citizens. Simultaneously, he sent about fifty deadly missiles to camp sites 150 miles west of Kabul, killing 21, and injuring many more. Not only did he violate, without any warning, Pakistani airspace, but one of the Cruise missiles played truant and fell within Pakistani territory to kill five Pakistanis, who had been trained over the last 50 years by their government to consider the Americans as Great Allies and Benefactors !

American Presidents have been a funny lot right from the beginning. Jefferson had a lovely black nubile slave girl as his mistress, and fathered a mulatto son upon her.

John Quincy Adams went a step further. He preferred to pimp for the then Czar of Russia, and provide the swine with young girls ! (CNN report, 21.08.98)

On Monday, August 17, 1998, Clinton was forced to admit to a grand jury in Washington that he had lied to the American people, to hide his improper relations with Monica Lewinsky, a young intern in his service, who used to provide him with additional oral sex service in a little alcove next to his Oval Office, in the

White House. He then left immediately for a vacation to Martha's Vineyard, an island off the Connecticut coast, notorious as a playground for the idle, super-rich of the Beknighted States. A few years ago, at Chappaquadik, on the same Martha's Vineyard, Ted Kennedy had, in a drunken state, drowned his young car companion, after driving through the railings of a bridge. Ted had swum ashore, leaving his companion of the evening to drown. He did not inform the police for many hours, and instead, went to his lawyers for expert advice. That, ultimately, saved his neck.

Hardly had Bill Clinton reached his holiday home, and hardly had he started quarrelling with his hilarious wife, Hilary, an ambitious gold digger-cum-lawyer, and chiseling daughter, Chelsea, that he begun to instruct Pentagon to explore military options against the supposed perpetrators of terrorist attacks upon American embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam. The Pentagon came up with the name of Osama bin Laden, a Saudi multi-billionaire who had been in the construction business in Sudan, and who was supposedly hiding in Afghanistan. On the basis of this sketchy bit of information, Clinton decided to order 20 missiles to Sudan, and 50 to Afghanistan - Pakistan !

IT IS AMAZING HOW LIGHT-MINDEDLY AND IRRESPONSIBLY SUPPOSED STATESMEN OF THE WEST BEHAVE WHEN THEY WANT TO MISLEAD WORLD OPINION !

Clinton had not a shred of evidence that the Khartoum factory was making anything other than medicines and drugs. Bill Clinton had no evidence whatsoever that the old camps which the CIA itself had set up in Afghanistan to help Osama bin Laden to train fighters against the then

Russian-occupying power in Afghanistan (1979-89) (*Indian Express*, 22.08.98) were in any way connected with the Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam explosions, and certainly he had no reason to attack Pakistan with a maverick missile that went wrong and killed five Pakistanis living near the Afghan-Pakistan border ! Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and many other countries of the world have condemned the American missile attack, **and some of them have termed the outrage as an American terrorist act !**

This should come as no surprise, however, to students of great power politics. They have known of the several American attempts to assassinate Libyan leader Gaddafi, as well as the strenuous efforts America has been making for the last three to four decades, since the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961, to assassinate Castro. Noriega, the Panaman strongman, is in an American jail undergoing life imprisonment on completely trumped up charges, as reported by Cherian of *Frontline* on TVI on 21.08.98. Noriega became a victim apparently because he opposed American policies in Panama, of which small country he was at one time President !

The fact is that American economic strength, relative to the rest of the world, has dramatically fallen in the last 53 years.

IN 1945 THE AMERICAN GDP STOOD AS HIGH AS ABOVE 50 PER CENT OF THE ENTIRE WORLD, WHEREAS IN 1995 IT AMOUNTED TO MERELY 21.56 PER CENT ! THOUGH CAPITALISM HAS ENJOYED A SECOND BREATH AFTER 1975, RELATIVE AMERICAN DECLINE IS THE CHARACTERISTIC OF WORLD ECONOMIC HISTORY AND DYNAMICS OF THE LAST FEW DECADES !

American Presidents are habituated to living in a fool's paradise ! They are making political gestures which are no longer in consonance with the economic reality of diminishing American relative

power and muscle !

AMERICAN PRESIDENTS MUST FIT THEIR CONDUCT TO THE NEW REALITY OF THE TRIPOLAR WORLD OF THE END TWENTIETH AND EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES. CHINA ALREADY COMMANDS OVER TEN PER CENT OF THE WORLD'S GDP AND JAPAN'S POWER IS OF ALMOST THE SAME PROPORTIONATE VALUE.

THE OTHER ECONOMIES OF THE PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA NAMELY SOUTH KOREA (already

a member of the OECD), TAIWAN and ASEAN. (Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei) ARE FORGING AHEAD VERY RAPIDLY. DESPITE A RECENT SETBACK ! IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT USA'S RELATIVE STRENGTH WILL DECLINE TO AROUND 15 PER CENT BY 2005 OR THEREABOUTS. USA MUST ADJUST ITS HISTORICALS TO THE NEW REALITY, AND THE WORLD MUST COMPEL USA TO ACCEPT A SMALLER WORLD ROLE !

## JASWANT PARLEYS PREPARE WAY FOR VAJPAYEE SURRENDER ON CTBT !

A 4th round of talks has been held between Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott in Washington, which has supposedly ended on a "constructive and positive note".

At the Jaipur session of the National Executive of BJP. Atal Behari Vajpayee apparently made a speech pointing out that the "Original CTBT itself provided for National Security safe-guards".!

If so, why did not India sign CTBT and then carry out the Pokhran Quintuple Tests ?

Neo-colonial pressures have mounted upon Vajpayee and Jaswant is negotiating the terms of Indian surrender to America !

The CTBT is patently discriminatory. It allows the Big Five (U.S.A., U.K., France, Russia and China) to weaponise and carry on with underground tests whenever necessary. U.S.A. has carried out more than a thousand tests and the other four have, several hundreds each, to their credit. Why should India sign such an unequal treaty ?

But neo-colonial logic is very peculiar. According to Thomas Pickering, Under-Secretary of state for USA, USA is entitled to bomb with missiles, terrorist bases in Sudan and Afghanistan, but India is not to "Hot-Pursue" terrorist attackers into

Pak-occupied Kashmir ! George Fernandes, our Defence Minister, has raised the question of "Double Standards"; But he is unable to instruct our army to destroy Pakistani terrorist bases in Azad Kashmir ! Can there be a more abject and humiliating surrender by a Great Socialist to comprador dictates ? What did George and Nitish gain by becoming cabinet ministers, except a mess of potage ?

What is Jaswant negotiating ? Is India to give up its Nuclear-Deterrent, whilst the Big Five retain thousands of warheads to menace the entire earth?

As long as India cannot determine the Exchange-Rate of the Rupee with the Dollar without interference from the IMF, and cannot determine its own nuclear policy, it is futile to consider India to be an Independent Sovereign-Nation. China has not yet given into outside pressures and has refused to devalue the Yuan. The Russian Rouble, Indonesian Rupiah and the Indian Rupee have all surrendered to the Dollar.

That is why India's independence in matters nuclear is an illusion! For the sake of Clinton's little inconsequential visit to India towards the end of this year, Vajpayee will throw in the towel for the greater glory of the oral sex specialist, who is doubly keen to flaunt his international

It is very sad that our External Affairs Ministry has chosen to isolate itself and has refrained from condemning the American terrorist acts against Sudan and Afghanistan. On the contrary, we should seize this opportunity and demonstrate to the world that we are truly secular and are willing to show solidarity with two Islamic countries that happen to attract American ire for no reason whatsoever ! Sudanese complaint is already before the Security Council, and India should vigorously support the Sudanese protest ! ■

triumphs in order to cover up his crimes against little girls within America !

Vajpayee should take heart from Clinton's extreme embarrassment. The Tomahawk Cruise missile showers upon Khartoum in Sudan, and Khost province of Afghanistan, fully exposed Clinton's under-belly. It is Clinton who needs to come to India and show off to the other four members of the Big Five.

India does not need anything from America. In fact India must stem the torrent of American-Loans, which are termed aid and yet are interest-bearing investments at the same time ! Have Indians lost all sense of self-respect ? Why is this lout and loafer being allowed to pollute our shores ? Let him have five more paedophilic affairs with little girls less than half his age ! But let him carry on far away !

At least let him not return from India with Vajpayee's signature on the CTBT !

We know that *Mankind's* voice is too small to prevent his visit to our country. But at least let him not rub our noses in the dirt by obtaining Vajpayee's consent to the CTBT ! **EVEN THOUGH WE ARE ATHEISTS, WE ARE BEING FORCED TO EXCLAIM ;**

"Please, God, let not Mother India be openly raped in November 1998 in the public squares and circles of New Delhi, with Vajpayee's signature on the CTBT !" ■

## LAURENT KABILA PREVAILS, BY THE SKIN OF HIS TEETH !

Some months ago we had written about Laurent Kabila. He had captured power in Congo-Zaire fifteen months ago in a campaign that we held up as a classic example of an almost non-violent socio-political overturn ! Laurent Kabila had been one of Che Guevara's aides in Central Africa when Che had tried to export the Cuban revolution in the mid-sixties. At that time USA had backed Mobutu Sese Seko, who had been a CIA recruit and who murdered Patrice Lumumba to capture power in 1965. Strangely enough at the same time, in far away Indonesia, another CIA agent, Suharto, had overthrown Sukarno to step into power.

Mobutu was kicked out of Zaire by Kabila in June 1997 and Suharto also lost power in early 1998. However in Indonesia it was only an aborted revolution, since B.J. Habibie, the old Vice-President and Suharto's crony, came to power.

In Congo-Zaire, Kabila caused a major social overturn. That is why American, French and British agents contrived to bribe Rwandan Tutsi; and Ugandan mercenaries to throw off the allegiance to Kabila and oust him via a civil war. Luckily for Kabila he managed to invoke the aid of old friends who had been associated with him and the Cubans in the recent past. Angolan, Namibian and Zimbabwean

troops intervened on Kabila's side and beat back the Rwandans and Ugandans, who had earlier been Kabila's trusted friends.

We had considered Laurent Kabila to be an apostle of non-violence precisely because he had never believed in non-violence ! ( See *Mankind*, June 1997, " Laurent Kabila Is Our Guru for Non-Violence," pp.6-8) He had forcefully proclaimed his resolve to use armed force **to the extent necessary** in order to throw out Mobutu. But because Kabila had been willing to use violence, it so happened, that HE HAD NO NEED TO ! It is precisely because Gandhi and other Indian National Congress leaders did not wish to use violence against British Imperialism that the latter planned to employ the greatest violence against the revolting Indians. Our War of National Liberation became one of the bloodiest ever fought by a subject people against their alien masters ! We lost 8.5 crores of poor Indians in British-Made Famines of Purchasing Power in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Also lakhs of Indians were killed in so-called communal riots which were actually pogroms organised by the British police with the help of Muslim League and Communist *goondas* to eliminate Indian militants. Six lakhs were killed in these riots during 1946-

48 alone. And we lost many thousands in British police firing upon unarmed nationalist crowds.

Kabila courageously asserted his moral right and duty to use force against colonial powers and therefore hardly a score of lives were actually lost in the course of his campaign to liberate Congo-Zaire from the clutches of American and European mining interests.

THAT IS WHY WE DESIGNATED KABILA AS THE EPITOME OF NON-VIOLENCE.

Even in recent weeks, when Kabila had his back to the wall, and when erstwhile friends had turned into foes, he managed to get military support from Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe. As soon as the rebels saw that the tide had turned in Kabila's favour, they melted away in the jungles of Central Africa. The Rwandans and Ugandans were willing to fight for USA, UK and France, only so long as they thought that they could easily overrun Kabila's little army. However, Kabila armed the people of Kinshasa and as *coup the grace*, obtained armed support from Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

When revolutionaries are determined to fight to the very end risking their lives, it often happens that the enemy ranks melt away ! Violence and Non-Violence are non-issues in a classical political battle. In 99 cases out of 100, revolutionary will and courage pre-determine the outcome of the ensuing battles ! ■

### INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM GROWS IN EXACT PROPORTION TO SLACK IN ARMS DEMAND DUE TO COLLAPSE OF COLD WAR.

It is a remarkable coincidence that as the Cold War collapsed and the Russian menace receded, the *propagandists* and *agent provocateurs* of the World Armament Industry worked overtime to promote the menace of international terrorism ! The gigantic mechanism of World Capitalism which has been oiled and lubricated by the International Military Industrial Complex, was to be now used to combat isolated individuals and gangs of Drug Traffickers, Extortionists, Conmen, Slot Machine Operators, Lottery Organisers, Brothel Owners, Gambling Den Investors and such other Riff-Raff. It is as if a gigantic steam roller and earth mover and bulldozer were being jointly utilised to crush a butterfly.

Of course there is crime everywhere in a class society. In fact a class society cannot exist without crime as Charlie Chaplin said in *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947) : " Some crimes are sanctified by large numbers, like nuclear bombing from air of innocent cities; and some crimes remain gang actions because only a few individuals are involved in each case of misdemeanour".

The World Armament Industry produces and consumes, let us say at a conservative estimate, 5 percent of the GDP of each nation annually. Since the current World GDP of all 210 distinct economies

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is about 33 trillion in PPP terms for 1995, 5 percent of this will amount to \$ 1.65 trillion. There is no excuse, now that the "Red Menace" has faded and now that almost all the National Liberation Movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America are over, there is no excuse whatsoever for such a high level of expenditure on armaments, annually equivalent to \$ 1.65 trillion !

**BUT CAPITALISTS CAN NOT EXIST WITHOUT WARS, BANKRUPTCIES, AND PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION !** Whether Wars are Limited or General, whether Bankruptcies are Sectoral or Universal, and whether Primitive Accumulation is through Monopoly Profits or Real Estate Speculations, there is no Capitalism without these three essential ingredients : **WARS, BANKRUPTCIES AND PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION !**

Capitalism has created a fantastic situation ! The biggest single industry in the entire world, taking all the armed forces and all their logistical support mechanisms into account, is the industry of killing human beings !

Naturally the proprietors and spokespersons of this trillion-dollar industry were extremely worried when the Cold-War collapsed in the late 80s and early 90s. Russia suddenly swung in favour of free enterprise. Its Eastern European empire vanished ! Even China accepted " Market Socialism" ! No excuse was left for colossal expenditure on Star Wars, Satellite Wars and Missile Wars !

**THEREFORE THE SALESMEN OF THE WORLD ARMAMENT INDUSTRY GOT BUSY AND CREATED A WHOLE ARRAY OF BOGEY MEN, SPOOKS AND SPECTRES - IN EVERY KITCHEN, IN EVERY MIDDLE CLASS HOUSEHOLD, THERE LURKED AN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST !**

There lurked in some airport of the world, some Libyan terrorist ! Or perhaps an Iranian or Iraqi or Algerian or Saudi-Afghani, Pak, Talibani, Colombian, Panamian, Mexican, Cuban, Bosnian, Croatian or some such variant of the international terrorist. He was threatening every White woman with rape and every White man with murder and mayhem ! America as leader of the White World was bound to strike down every actual and potential international terrorist ! It was America's moral obligation as self-appointed **LEADER OF THE CIVILISED WORLD !**

Some fooling little pick-pocket and pimp in some narrow alley, in some slum of a Third World city was henceforth to be tracked by helicopters and satellite imagery so that he was observed pissing at some street corner !

The whole thing is so fantastically ridiculous ! Truly, the World bourgeoisie has lost all sense of proportion, in fact it has lost all sense of reality ! After all, who are these cheap crooks and what is their total might ? What are their resources and reach ? Can crooks ever be the leaders of the next major socio-political turmoil in any part of the world ?

It is sad to find Vajpayee in this foolish company ! I would earnestly appeal to those around him, who have not become demented, to restrain Vajpayee from rushing to the press in support of President Clinton's Tomahawk Cruise missile attacks on terrorist facilities in Sudan and Afghanistan.

First of all, the International Terrorist menace is a spectre created by the salesmen of the World Armament Industry to boost their sales.

Secondly, one need not aerially bomb with nuclear warheads small ants and termites and worms.

Thirdly, the oral sex specialist, Bill Clinton possesses both kinky hair and kinky thought processes. It may suit him at this particular time to divert attention away from the little affairs he is having with little girls in the little rooms attached to his Oval Office. I sincerely hope that Vajpayee has no such pressing needs !

Fourthly, why is it necessary to support Clinton in the latter's outrageous peccadillos ? Why is it necessary to have such a lout within India in November ? Let him come after ten years or so, When he has grown a little more mature and sober !

Fifthly, why does not the poet in Vajpayee recollect the lines

*"Yunan, Misra, Roma,*

*Sub Mit Gaye Jahan Se,*

*Phir Bhi Magar Hai Baki....." ■*

# STALINIST- COMMUNISTS AT ICHR EXPOSED AS COMICAL CROOKS !

IRFAN HABIB, ROMILA THAPAR, BIPAN  
CHANDRA AND R.S. SHARMA ARE SIMPLE  
TOTAL FRAUDS !

Vinayak Purohit

It is shameful and disgusting that Vikas Adhyayan Kendra, and the sensitive and concerned intellectuals around it, should have lent their name and prestige to a scatter-brained crypto-Stalinist P. R. Ram's efforts at re-writing Indian history. (*Facts Against Myths*, Vol. 4, No. 2&3, 1997, *Appropriating the Past : Myths of Ancient History*, Part I and II)

In spite of the fact that he has been a *Mankind* subscriber right from the beginning, P. R Ram has relied heavily on Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib and Sitaram Yechury. Out of the 23 references given, 11 are to these three luminaries, who are amongst the most fanatical communalist writers on Indian history. All three supported the communal division of the country in 1947, and were closely associated with the Stalinist-Communist Party of India which unhesitatingly and unconditionally supported the British Imperialist and Muslim Leaguist machinations that resulted in the Partition of 1947. **THE COST OF PARTITION OF 1947 WAS NO LESS THAN FROM A MAJOR WAR !** Over six lakhs were killed in so-called communal riots which were actually pogroms initiated by British police, and Muslim League and Communist *goondas*. **The same Partition of 1947 created 1.7 crore refugees in the country, the largest single event of the sort known to human history.** Thapar, Habib and Yechury, along with other Stalinist-Communist-Progressivist stalwarts of the country, have never explained why they

supported the demand for the formation of Pakistan. If they have withdrawn their support after 1947, and to the extent that they have modified their earlier fanatical pro-British and pro-Muslim League stand, they have never given the reasons for the change in their stance.

As a matter of fact, from 1947 itself and particularly from 1972, when the ICHR was created, we Indians should have been wary of these Stalinist-Communists. **1972 was a year after we had partially negated the Partition of 1947 by creation of Bangladesh in 1971.** We should have thereafter definitely excluded all supporters of the 1947 Communal Division of the country from functioning as teachers in any Indian educational institution.

However, the Congress itself was guilty of complicity in the Partition of the country. Therefore, INC allowed British stooges of the '40s, who were also Stalinist stooges, to continue to be influential in the fields of history teaching and writing. Indira made a Stalinist scoundrel, S. Nurul Hassan, her Education Minister during whose tenure the ICHR was formed. In the original Memorandum of Association of 1972, legitimised by an Act of Parliament, it was stated that ICHR's aims would be to give a "rational" direction to historical research and foster "an objective and scientific writing of history." Throughout its existence of 26 years, the ICHR violated this basic rule. The ICHR, from 1972 to 1998, actively promoted irrational neo-colonial and racialist

interpretation of Indian history and twisted imperialist lies into "rational and scientific historic truths." As Lohia complained years and years ago, one of the most scandalous aspects of our comprador educational set-up has been the continued circulation of imperialist lies in our classrooms. (See, *Mankind*, January 1997, p.p. 54-5) The ICHR, under Stalinist-Communist-Progressivist tutelage, over the last 26 years, did nothing to correct this horrible bias.

As a matter of fact, the vital significance of 1765 has never been explained to our school children and college youth.

In 1765, the British E. I. Co. acquired the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars. Momentous consequences ensued :

(a) **Drain of wealth from India commenced.** Upto that time, gold and silver from all over the world used to pour into India. After 1765, the surplus from land revenue collected under the *Dewani*, was applied as "Investments" for purchase of Indian manufactures and raw materials, principally, textiles, spices, foodgrains, etc. These Indian exports were extracted and nothing was returned to the country. **They were unrequited exports from India.**

(b) **This Drain of Wealth caused Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of India,** which was reflected immediately into a regime of unending Famines of Purchasing Power, which carried away over 85 million poor Indians.

(c) **The Drain of Wealth from India; the Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of India; the regime of perpetual famines of Purchasing Power; and the Genocide of 85 million poor Indians, taken together, triggered the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain.** We have reiterated these facts time and again in the columns of *Mankind*, we have given all the sources, Brooks Adams, William Digby, R. C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, Henry Maine, Baden Powell, W. H. Moreland, Balkrishna, P. Anderson, Major Wilkes, Tara Chand, Vera Anstey, George Forster, Francois Bernier, Peter the Great, W. W. Hunter,

Wadia and Merchant, and so on. ( See Vinayak Purohit, *Colonial History*, MK, Nov. 1995, pp. 3-11; *Economic History of India* by R. C. Dutt, same issue, pp. 12-26; Vinayak Purohit, *Fallacy of the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Dec. 95, pp. 44-64; *Economic History of India* by R. C. Dutt, *Ibid*, pp. 85-97; R. C. Dutt, contd. Jan-Feb '96, pp. 86-96; R. C. Dutt, contd., Mar 96, pp. 56-63; R. C. Dutt, contd., April 96, pp. 53-59 and in the same issue, Vinayak Purohit, *EMS : A Man Out of his Depth*, pp. 21-25; R. C. Dutt's, *Economic History of India*, June 96, pp. 62-67; Vinayak Purohit, *Irfan Supports and Denies Comprador Crimes*, Oct 97, pp. 52; Vinayak Purohit, *Health Care in India : Colonial Background*, Nov. 97, pp. 20-22; Vinayak Purohit, *Capitalism Means Unending Primitive Accumulation*, Jan. & Feb. 98, pp. 41-54; Vinayak Purohit, *Triumphant Neo-Colonialism Stalks the Planet*, July-Aug 1997, pp. 3-9; William Digby's "Prosperous" *British India*, 1901, Chapter I, reproduced in *MK*, May 1998, pp. 38-54; Chapter II, reprinted August 1998, pp. 33-44)

Irfan, Romila and Sitaram are Stalinist liars and frauds who cannot be trusted an inch. They have never been secularists. They have supported, vigorously, British communalist policies in India, unreservedly and unconditionally.

## INDIAN HISTORY IS, THE PRODUCT OF MATERIAL CAUSES THAT ENSURED ITS PRIMACY AND GREATNESS

Indian history, as part of World History, has been one of the four fortes of *Mankind*. Over the last 3 years, in the revived *Mankind* from Oct. 1995 to the present Sept. 1998, the overwhelming bulk of its pages have been devoted to a study and discussion of :

- The contours and dynamics of World Economy;
- The sequence and duration of the Modes of Production in Indian History, and the relation of Indian History to World History;
- The Theory and Philosophy of Scientific Socialism and Dialectical and Historical Materialism;
- The Social History of Art and Aesthetics.

Since history has been one of the four pillars, so to speak, of the revived *Mankind*, and since we have devoted hundreds of pages to it over the last 3 years, we expect our old subscribers like P. R. Ram to be at least aware of our major historical contributions.

We do not expect everyone to agree with us, but we surely expect our ordinary readers, who have been ill-educated by our colonial and comprador educational system, to know that Hindutva-biased history of India is not the only alternative to Neo-Colonialist history. The latter variety of fraudulent recital of the past is no more valid than the former. WE STAND FOR A REVOLUTIONARY,

NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST REINTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY WHICH IS AT VARIANCE WITH BOTH THE BJP AND STALINIST-COMMUNIST VERSIONS OF THE PAST.

We cannot here even adequately summarise the hundreds of pages that we have devoted to the study of Indian history.

We will request the interested reader to refer to the following major theoretical and historical monographs which we have published :

- *Sangha Feudalism* c. 700 B.C. — c. 300 A.D. (*MK*, Oct. 95, pp. 63-91)
- *Samanta Feudalism* c. 300 A.D. — c. 1300 A.D. (*MK*, Nov. 95, pp. 62-85)
- *Fallacy of the Asiatic MOP* (*MK*, Dec. 95, pp. 44-64)
- *Pastoralist Class Society*, c.4500 B.C. — c.700 B.C. (*MK*, Jan.-Feb. 96, pp. 68-85)
- *The Gazetteers as Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process* c.1820 — c.1947 A.D. (*MK*, March 96, pp. 47-55).

Those who want to discuss the subject may refer to these studies which give all the sources upon whom we have either relied or which we have chosen to refute.

Our Schema of Periodisation and Phasisation is as follows :

**THE SEQUENCE AND DURATION OF THE MOPS IN INDIAN HISTORY.** (Regional Variations in Timing not considered)

**I. Transition from Hunting-Fishing-and Food-gathering (HFFG) chiefdoms to Pastoralism** c.7000 B.C. — c.4500 B.C.

This may be also called the Mehrgarh Horizon. (See Jarrige and Meadows, Excavation Reports, as summarised in *Manorama Yearbook*, 1985, pp. 336-8)

**II. Pastoralism : Pastoralist Class (or Vedic Society)** the later phase of which has been misnamed Indus Valley or Mohenjodaro-Harappa Culture by Western imperialist historians. **The correct designation for this culture is Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati Culture. It is the same as Vedic culture)** c.4500 B.C. — c.700 B.C.

**NOTE :** We will not go into the phases of this historic period of Pastoralism, but it is obvious that the *Dasrajna* and *Mahabharata* wars of c.3100 and possibly c.2000 B.C. respectively, weakened the fabric of the Grand Indian Pastoralist Order. The *Dasrajna* was the primary focus of the *Rig Veda*. The *Dasrajna*, which led to some expulsions from India of the Irano-Hittite-Kassite-Mittani-Scythian-Hunnic-Celtic-Gothic-Teutonic-Slavic hordes was rather quickly followed by the *Mahabharata* war in which the same tribes, and their clan divisions, along with a few additions, were involved. The Second Great War further weakened the Indo-Aryan Pastoralist Order and led to further expulsions from India. These two great wars, *Dasrajna* and *Mahabharata*, possibly caused the first attempt at feudalisation which is represented by the Saraswati or Indus Valley sites numbering over 1400. This first attempt at

feudalisation failed. (Of over 1400 Vedic or Sapta Sindhu or Saraswati Culture sites, 917 are to be found in India. See Map on back cover and *India Today* summary, January 26, 1998, pp. 78-85)

### III. Transition to Feudalism c.2750 B.C. — c.1250 B.C.

An abortive attempt was made by certain *Vedic* tribes early in the 3rd millennium B.C. to utilise the waters of the Sapta Sindhu System or the Saraswati Valley (present day Ghaggar - Hakra) to agriculturalise and feudalise themselves. As aforesaid, this abortive attempt, which failed, has been misnamed Indus Valley Non-Aryan Culture. Indus Valley language and script have now been decisively proved as Indo-Aryan by Dr. S. R. Rao (see another box alongside). In their blind racialist, imperialist and Christian antagonism towards any admission that the European ethnic groups migrated from their original Indo-Aryan home in India, the Westerners have propagated a ridiculous thesis that in the same Sapta-Sindhu region, two cultures, according to their own admitted chronologies, partially or wholly overlapped with each other and flourished splendidly. The *Vedic* with no material remains, but possessing the oldest and vastest Indo-Aryan literature of the world; and the so-called Indus Valley Culture, which had no literature whatsoever (the Indus script being either "undeciphered" or merely indicative of short ownership markers), but possessed immense quantities of material remains at Mohenjodaro,

Harappa and 1400 other sites.

In fact, the Westerners have been totally blinded by their capitalist and colonialist prejudice. They have lost all sense of proportion in their blind fury and anger. Since the bulk of the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages are distributed from Ireland to Bengal-Assam (and to Tocharian speakers in Sinkiang-Tibet) the imperialist historiographers and ideologues insist that the Indo-Aryans must have originated at some geographical mid-point in the Middle East or S. Russia. However, there is no rational basis for such a belief in a geographical centrality.

### ALL HISTORY IS PARTISAN

The Stalinist communists are attacking the nationalist Hindu ideology. We are not interested in the exact truth of this allegation. We do not know much about the current incumbents at the ICHR. Not all of them, may be to the same extent, partisans of the Hindutva point of view. That is not important.

THE POINT IS, NO HISTORY CAN BE WRITTEN WITHOUT AN IDEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT ! THERE IS NO HISTORY FROM ZERO VIEWPOINT .THERE IS NO SCIENTIFIC OR RATIONAL HISTORY IN THE ABSOLUTE SENSE ! ALL HISTORY IS CLASS HISTORY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RULING CLASSES ( i.e., IN THE SERVICE OF RULING CLASSES ), OR FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RULED ( AND REVOLTING ) CLASSES. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS NEUTRAL HISTORY !

THOUGH THE STALINIST-COMMUNISTS WOULD BE LOATHE TO ADMIT IT , THEIR HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS ALSO TO BE CONDEMNED. IT IS WEST-ORIENTED . IT IS FROM THE EUROPEAN VIEWPOINT, IT WAS WRITTEN IN THE SERVICE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM !

British imperialism was not a progressive force in world history, as Marx supposed. It was not a progressive force even "unconsciously", as Marx asserted. It did not carry out any revolution in India .It perpetrated genocide upon the Indian people . British imperialism promoted famines of purchasing power . From 1765 to 1947 these famines of purchasing power were the inevitable consequence of the regime of Deindustrialisation , Ruralisation & Pauperisation instituted by imperialism. These famines carried away 85 millions of Indians. Foodgrains & oilseeds remained the biggest items of Indian export ( 1860-1947) right through.

*Mankind* is not ashamed to say that its viewpoint on world history is that of a revolutionary socialist . *Mankind* proclaims that is how history is shaping itself. Socialism is the salvation for the whole of humanity , and therefore a revolutionary socialist viewpoint which seeks to overturn class relations in India in favour of the Indian masses is a viewpoint that is IN ALIGNMENT WITH THE MOVEMENT OF WORLD HISTORY.

That is why *Mankind* is with the people. It boldly asserts WE SHALL OVERCOME ! WE SHALL PREVAIL ! It is stupid and disingenuous on the part of P.R. Ram to claim that there is such a thing as neutral, non-partisan history. The history written by the former bosses at the ICHR was Stalinist-Communist history written to serve the purposes of the comprador bourgeoisie of India which is functioning under the tutelage of its neo-colonial masters. The new history to be written by the new bosses at the ICHR will be the same history written to serve the same masters, but with a slight Hindu slant. ■

Secondly, India is a very large subcontinent and Europe is a mere peninsula , westward, extending from Asia. Therefore the distance from the Sapta-Sindhu region to the Brahmaputra-Ganges delta (or, for that matter, to the oases Kucha-Kashgar-Yarkand etc., within the Sinkiang-Tibetan deserts of Djungaria, Takla Makan, etc.) is enormous, over 1500 miles. The same distance northwards from the Kabul river which is a part of the Sapta-Sindhu System, would take us beyond the Caucasus and the Urals into the East European steppes, thus partially meeting the Western argument in favour of "a geographical centre."

French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danish and other European text-book writers could not believe that when their armies were entering India, these armies were actually re-entering their own linguistic mother-country ! They did not

French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danish and other European text-book writers could not believe that when their armies were entering India, these armies were actually re-entering their own linguistic mother-country ! They did not

want to believe that their own European culture had originated in India; that their science and technology had their birth in India ! That is why, a frantic effort was made to somehow prove that the "Aryans had invaded India" ! Such a belief was necessary to the imperialist ego ! How could they claim to be superior to Indians if it was proved, or if they were made to believe, that the entire West European culture was a mere offshoot of the Indo-Aryan !

But we are no longer necessarily blinded by imperialist prejudice and exasperation. Without at all falling prey to any religious ideology, and from a completely atheistic standpoint, we can very well accept that because of a strange, unusual and unique concatenation

of circumstances, geological, meteorological, physiographic, ecological and floro-faunal, India became the original home of all the significant cultigens that mankind needed: Cereals, oilseeds, spices, fibres, fruits, nuts, vegetables, dyes and chemicals, gums and resins, sugar, seasonings, garnishes, bamboos, canes, incenses, rubbers, latexes, varnishes, lacquers, timbers, woods, papers, waxes, seeds, cattle, sheep, goats, camels, horses, asses, pigs, buffaloes, elephants, chickens, etc. In a

separate monograph to be published in near future we shall present all the evidence and reasoning we have employed in order to show how India became the original centre of the most important cultigens that mankind needed. This has nothing to do with any damn Hindutva ideology or with any silly pseudo-Marxist notion that attributes a progressive role to British imperialism ("unconsciously", as Marx wrote). For completely materialist reasons, India happened to possess historically the privilege of generating the much needed cultigens. **MANKIND ASSERTS THIS PRIMACY OF INDIA ON COMPLETELY ATHEISTIC, RATIONALIST, ANTI-HINDU GROUNDS. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT**

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## COMMUNISTS AND KASHMIR

As we have made clear in another box, secularism has nothing to do with scientific temper. We gave the classical example of England and Japan where the state was identified with Anglican and Shinto religions respectively and both countries carried out the first Industrial Revolutions in Europe and in Asia respectively.

Those who are demanding Autonomy for Kashmir and non-deletion of Art. 370 of our constitution can have no credentials as secularists since both Pakistan and Azad Kashmir are Islamic fundamentalist states, without any pretensions to secularism.

Thirdly, Maharaja Hari Singh, a feudal relic, may have wished anything. However neither the wishes of this wretched feudal relic nor Jawaharlal Nehru's blunder in referring the Kashmir dispute to the thieves' kitchen, the United Nations, have anything to do with the long-term national policy of India.

Hari Singh acceded to India and thereafter India acquired an international frontier. No village, taluka or district or former native state territory on the Indo-Pak border can have the right to secede from India or modify India's national border in anyway.

Fourthly, the Stalinist-Communist support to autonomy for Kashmir and retention of Art. 370 are continuations of their earlier pro-imperialist and pro-Muslim League stand in favour partition of 1947. The Communists fought with the Razakars in Hyderabad against the Indian armies in 1948. Romila Thaper, Irfan Habib, Sitaram Yechury and other CPI - CPM leaders are and have always been rabid pro-Muslim communalists. They have no credibility as either secularists or rationalists.

Fifthly, the demand for Autonomy for Kashmir and retention of Art. 370 has nothing to do with the promotion of Kashmiri culture. The official language of Kashmir even today is Urdu which is also the official language of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. The repositories of Kashmiri culture, the Pundits, have been totally expelled from their homes in the Kashmir Valley and are now residing in refugee camps located in Jammu and in Delhi.

*Mankind* denounces the Stalinist - Communist effort to camouflage their pro-Pakistani and pro-Western standpoint with secularist and progressive rhetoric. ■

INDIA PREDATES RELIGION. RELIGION DID NOT MAKE INDIA. INDIAN PEOPLE MADE RELIGIONS AS THEY MADE AND UNMADE HISTORY. INDIA WAS NOT ONLY NOT HISTORYLESS, AS MARX, IN A LIGHT MINDED ABERRATION, MADE OUT TO BE. INDIA HAD THE LONGEST AND THE GREATEST HISTORICAL RECORD OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, AND THAT FOR VERY GOOD, SOLID, CONCRETE, MATERIAL REASONS ! THE PALAEO-ARCTIC, THE ARID-ZONE-DECIDUOUS, AND THE TROPICAL EVERGREEN RAINFOREST BELTS AND FLORO-FAUNAL REGIONS CRISSCROSSED AND OVERLAPPED EACH OTHER ON THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT. THAT WAS WHY INDIA GAVE CIVILISATION TO THE WORLD!

Even if I wanted to, for some reason, belittle and marginalise India, how can I fly in the face of historical facts and maintain that cotton did not originate in India ? That cattle did not have its original home in India ? That sugar, chicken, many species of wild goats and sheep, four different species of silk-producing worms, an immense variety of palms,

sugarcanes, bambooes and other grasses, 96 mutations of wheat, hundreds of varieties of rice, teak, sal, ebony, mohogany, deodar, sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, several varieties of mustard, and an immense pharmacopoeia of medicinal roots and herbs, garlic, ginger, onion, turmeric, taro, all originated in India ? Why should I forget that the two-humped Bactrian camel is hardier and sturdier though the Arabian camel is a little faster in its strides ? Why should I overlook the fact that the elephant was domesticated in India millennia ago, for forestry and warfare ? Why should I not be amazed at the extraordinary combinations of cultigens that are found in India ? Even today, India has the highest cattle population in the world,



though per head yields of milk, meat, hide, etc. may be low ! It has an immense variety of domesticated and wild cattle. Its jungles give shelter to many kinds of honey bees, the lac insect makes its colonies on the branchlets of the *peepal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), under which the Buddha attained enlightenment and of which tree a cutting survives to this day in Anurādhapura, Sri Lanka. Why is the jungle fowl of South India that was domesticated to make possible the common chicken, why should it not be considered as a great gift of India to the world ? What has Hinduism to do the Indian jungle fowl origin of the common chicken ? Supposing there was no Hinduism, will the jungle fowl then cease to be Indian ? Supposing the BJP says that the numbers which form the basis of all science are of Indian origin, therefore are we to reject all the BJP claims ? What kind of nonsense are these Stalinist-Communists propagating ?

We believe that there was a Ram Mandir in Ayodhya and that it was probably located where later the Babri Masjid was put up by some subedar of the Mughals. Whether the Ram Mandir should be now built in 1998 is a separate issue ! But why should we be expected to stupidly deny that there was a Ram Mandir at or near the site of the Babri Masjid as admitted by the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* of 1881 ? We do not think that the heavens are going to fall if a Ram Mandir is erected at Ayodhya, or at any other place in Central Asia or Europe or America. We are of course atheists, and would deplore the wastage of public money on construction of religious monuments. But why are we expected to give earth-shaking importance to such trivialities ?

In any case, we refuse to believe that there was no Ram Mandir at Ayodhya ! Why should there not be ? In all probability there were several Ram Mandirs, constructed in different centuries, at Ayodhya, and at a 100 other places in India ! Why not ? The Hindus had plenty of time to build such temples from the Gupta period onwards (4th century A.D. onwards) till the advent of the Pathan adventurers (14th century A.D.).

**We do not believe that it is necessary to deny the existence of the crow, or the palm tree, in order to prove that the palm tree did not collapse because the crow alighted on one of its fronds.**

Let us now return to our historical chronology. We have already noted that **there were no two isolated separate cultures in the same period and in the same Sapta-Sindhu region, one called Vedic with only literary remains; and one called Indus Valley, with only material remains ! This is absurd and ridiculous !**

We believe that basically the same *Vedic* culture was cultivated by those Sapta-Sindhu Aryan tribes, which focused upon Saraswati-Ghagar-Hakra. They had built feudal citadels upon its banks, and on the banks of the tributaries to this ancient stream that lay between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, which dried up in the historical period as per the scientists attached to our Arid Zone Research Centre in Rajasthan (See report on research findings of the scientific team in *Manorama Yearbook* 1993, p. 408 : "Saraswati

*Flowed via Thar"*)

We also invite the readers' attention to an adjoining box, in this article, in which we have dealt with a few more details of the Sapta-Sindhu-Vedic-Indus Civilisation c.3000 B.C. — c. 1250 B.C.)

#### IV. Feudal period c.700 B.C. — 1820/60 A.D.

We had a feudal period which extended over 2;500 years. Indian feudalism was the most prosperous, the richest in export surpluses and the most powerful that the world had ever known. **It was precisely because it was so overwhelmingly strong that capitalism could not win against such an adversary. Capitalism triumphed in Europe from the 11th century onwards precisely because European feudalism was petty, divided, weak and poverty-stricken. The International Feudal Chain broke at its weakest links in Europe !**

As we have described in the set of monographs quoted at the beginning of this article, the phases of Indian feudalism were as follows :

- a) Sangha or Ecclesiastical-Monastic Feudalism c.700 B.C. — c.300 A.D.
- b) Samanta or Classical Feudalism c.300 A.D. — c.1300 A.D.
- c) Ikta or Militaristic Feudalism c.1300 A.D. — c.1556 A.D.
- d) Mansabdari or Bureaucratic Feudalism c.1556 A.D. — c.1720 A.D.
- e) Pendhari or Bandit Feudalism c.1720/65 A.D. — c.1820 / 60 A.D.
- f) Relic Feudalism, or Native States under British Paramourty, c.1860 A.D. — c.1948 A.D.

We have described all these phases of feudalism in great detail and even compared various phases in tabular form in the aforesaid monographs, noted at the beginning of this article.

#### V. Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism c.1720/65 A.D. — c.1820/60 A.D.

We have already referred in the foregoing, to the decisive significance of 1765 in the economic history of India. As a matter of fact, the two Childs, John and Josiah, had made an abortive attempt, at the end of the 17th century, at Surat, to overthrow Aurangzeb's restrictive rule. However, this abortive attempt was speedily and thoroughly crushed by Aurangzeb, so that the English had to sue for peace in the most humiliating and apologetic terms. That blow had paid put to English ambitions for more than 50 years. It was only in 1765 that Clive managed to get a *firman* from the Delhi mughals, granting the E.I. Company revenue rights for the *subas* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Clive became a Mughals minion as *Sabat Jung* (Victorious in Battle).

We have already described this transitional period elsewhere in this article.

#### VI. Capitalism c. 1765/1860 A.D.— c. 1998 A.D.

- a) The first phase of capitalism in India was the Colonial Phase (1860-1947 A.D.) This was followed by
- b) Comprador phase (1947-1998 A.D.) ongoing. ■

## MAX MULLER'S RACIALIST IMPERIALIST CHRONOLOGY

The Western neocolonialists go on endlessly about "the Aryan invasion of India" which is supposed to have occurred around 1500 BC. The Stalinist - Communist P.R Ram repeats parrot-like and thoughtlessly this starting point of 1500 BC !

THIS IS UTTERLY RIDICULOUS ! THERE IS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER FOR THE WHITE CHRISTIAN RACIALIST BIGOTED GERMANIC MAX MULLERIAN CALCULATION OF 1200 OR 1500 BC !

M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1927 makes the following points very clear :

1. "The Vedic literature consists of the Sanhitas, the Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanisadas." (M. Muller)
2. Now it is clear that the supposition of 200 years for each of the different literary epochs in the origin of the Vedas is purely arbitrary. (M. Winternitz, p.292)
3. "It is at the fixing on these purely arbitrary dates that the untenable part of Max Muller calculations begin". (M. Winternitz) (*Ibid*)
4. Muller himself states in his Gifford lectures in 1859 that "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine".
5. Finally, Winternitz concludes, "It is remarkable however, how strong the power of suggestion is even in science. Max Muller's hypothetical and really purely arbitrary determination of the Vedic epoch in the course of years, received more and more the dignity and the character of a scientifically proved fact, without any new arguments or actual proofs having been added". (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1927, pp. 292-93)

P R Ram has swallowed lock, stock and barrel the imperialist lies of the late 19th century which were propagated under the leadership of Max Muller and company.

Let us remember that the earlier Indologists and Vedic scholars in the West led by Jacobi had freely acknowledged that the earliest verses of the Rig Veda date from a period anterior to 4500 B.C. (Winternitz, p.295-299)

Ram is fond of propping up straw-men for the purpose of knocking them down. In his piece he is fond of quoting K C Sen, M S Golwalkar, Sitaram Yechury, N Raja Ram, etc. These are not serious historians of India.

Especially heinous is P. R. Ram's conduct in elevating imperialist historiography represented by the Orientalists and the Utilitarians. Both James Mill and Max Muller were consummate scoundrels who were promoting the interests of British imperialism in India. There was no shade or tint of difference between them which was at all worth noticing, from the Indian revolutionary point of view.

See also adjoining boxes on Aryan Invasion Theory and Sapta-Sindhu Script.

## SECULARISM HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE SCIENTIFIC TEMPER.

Secularism means the isolation of religion from the affairs of the State. It does not mean *Sarva Dharma Samabhava* (Equal treatment to all religions). It actually means *Sarva Dharma Abhav* (eschewing of any State support to any religion). Ram's habit of leaning upon Western bourgeois notions arises out of his habit of carrying on with the colonial enslavement of the Indian mind. The West has never separated totally and consistently State and Religion.

The classical examples are provided by Great Britain and Japan.

The Head of State in England has been the Head of the Anglican Church from the time of Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547). Even today in 1998, the British Sovereign leads the Anglican Church and appoints all Bishops. IT IS A SHAME THAT INDIA WHICH IS NOT A CHRISTIAN NATION, ACCEPTS THE BRITISH CROWN THAT HEADS THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AS HEAD OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

It is a well-known fact that THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE WORLD WAS CARRIED OUT BY BRITAIN FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH TO THE MIDDLE OF 19TH CENTURY, BASED UPON INDIAN LOOT, WHILST ENGLAND REMAINED COMPLETELY NONSECULAR.

JAPAN'S CASE IS EQUALLY CLEAR-CUT. THE JAPANESE EMPEROR WAS THE HEAD OF THE SHINTO RELIGION FOR MANY CENTURIES AND ESPECIALLY AFTER 1868 WHEN HE BECAME THE EFFECTIVE RULER OF JAPAN. THIS WAS THE SO-CALLED MEIJI RESTORATION.

IT IS ALSO A WELL KNOWN FACT THAT JAPAN CARRIED OUT THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ASIA, AFTER THE MEIJI RESTORATION.

That is why the West has never been able to define secularism. The West has never separated religion from the state. There are Christian Democratic Parties in power all over Europe. The whole history of Europe is beset with religious persecutions. Reformation and Counter-Reformation were both supported by various States at various periods. Religious persecution was a mania in Europe, with Spain and Portugal being most notorious in this regard, but English and American missionary efforts in Africa and Polynesia, were equally heinous.

A SIMPLE DEFINITION IN TODAY'S CONTEXT OF SECULARISM BY THE U. S., AND THE WEST IS THAT ISRAEL IS SECULAR, PAKISTAN IS SECULAR. IF IT IS ANTI-WEST, IT IS *IPSO-FACTO*, FUNDAMENTALIST, AS IN IRAN.

It is a fundamental belief in the West that Christian faith is not opposed to the scientific temper, and that in fact opposition to the Christian faith is a flight in the face of scientific temper.

## SECULARISM, CPI, CPM AND KASHMIR

Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib, Bipan Chandra Sood, Harkishen Singh Surjit, Inderjeet Gupta, Somnath Chatterji, Jyoti Basu, Sitaram Yechury and Prakash Karat, along with hundreds of other Stalinist-Communist-Progressivists HAVE NEVER BEEN ANYTHING BUT COMMUNALISTS. THEY PROMOTED THE FORMATION OF PAKISTAN IN THE '40S AND WERE THEREFORE OPENLY AND RABIDLY COMMUNALIST !

THEIR SUPPORT TO AUTONOMY OR INDEPENDENCE OF CHOICE FOR KASHMIR IS A CONTINUATION OF THEIR PRO-RAZAKAR LINE WHICH RESISTED THE TAKE-OVER OF HYDERABAD BY THE INDIAN ARMY.

I do not see why the CPI and the CPM are fighting shy of admitting their complicity in the creation of Pakistan. Their line was successful, thanks to the British imperial army and why should they not boast about their triumph against nationalist and socialist adversaries. If they had any faith in secularism why would they support any demand for the separation of Kashmir from India? Neither Pakistan nor POK are secular. They are both Islamic entities.

Whatever may have been the reservations in his mind, once Hari Singh, the then ruler of Kashmir, signed the Instrument of Accession to India in 1947, India acquired an international border. India has to defend this border. There were many other native states on the Indo-Pak border extending from Kutch to Kashmir, through Rajasthan and Punjab. Is any damn taluka or village belonging to a former Native State entitled to hold a plebiscite on whether to join India or Pakistan? Hari Singh may have wished this or that, he may have wished heaven and earth, SO WHAT? He cannot determine the future of India upto and including the 25th century! THIS IS PURE STALINIST-COMMUNIST GARBAGE AND NONSENSE. WHY SHOULD THE FEEBLE-WITTED P.R. RAM FALL VICTIM TO SUCH PUERILE, STALINIST BRAINWASHING ? ART. 370 WHICH CREATES A SPECIAL STATUS FOR KASHMIR MUST GO ! KASHMIR CAN NEVER CLAIM TO BE "MORE EQUAL" THAN OTHER STATES WITHIN THE INDIAN UNION !

What has secularism to do with Kashmir and why are the Stalinist-Communists being allowed to get away with their old pro-partition politics in the guise of secularism and resistance to Hindu rewriting of Indian history?

First of all, there is nothing wrong with rewriting of Indian history because the hitherto prevalent neo-colonial and West-oriented view of history was equally false and as a matter of fact, a Hindu correction would be a partially good move. We want Indian history rewritten from the Indian point view. AND WE ARE NOT AT ALL ASHAMED TO URGE THAT INDIAN HISTORY BE REWRITTEN FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST POINT OF VIEW. WE ARE GOING TO TAKE OVER THE COUNTRY AND WE WANT THAT HISTORY WHICH WILL HELP US FIGHT OUR BATTLES. WE WANT AN INDIAN HISTORY THAT WILL UPLIFT OUR MORALE, THAT WILL SHARPEN OUR FIGHTING ABILITIES.

WE DO NOT WANT ANY MORE OF ENGLISH IMPERIALIST TRASH, MASQUERADING AS MODERN RATIONALIST SCIENTIFIC TRUTH.

LET US UNDERSTAND CLEARLY AND ONCE AND FOR ALL THAT THE ENGLISH HISTORIANS NEVER UNDERSTOOD HISTORICAL TRUTH AND THAT IT WAS NEVER IN THEIR INTERESTS TO RECOGNISE TRUTH WHEN THEY SAW IT.

LET US UNDERSTAND THAT THE ENGLISH HISTORIANS DID NOT MAKE HUMAN ERRORS WHEN WRITING INDIAN HISTORY. THEY MADE IMPERIALIST ERRORS, MOST OF THE TIME QUITE CONSCIOUSLY!

## S. R. RAO AND THE INDUS SCRIPT

The theory that Aryans invaded India stands exploded.

Nobody believes in this theory except imperialists, racialists, Christian bigots and Stalinist-Communists.

Dr. S. R. Rao's decisive decipherment of the Indus script proving the language and the script to be Indo-Aryan has been accepted by an ever-increasing number of scholars in India and abroad.

**Rao's methodology itself is most fascinating.**

"The oldest extant inscription of the Indus Brahmi script dated to around 450 BC or so while the Indus sites excavated came down to the mid-2nd. millenium, leaving a gap of a thousand years.

"However, in West Asia, the South Arabic and Old Aramaic alphabets had come into prominence by the beginning of the 1st millenium BC, and the Ahirom Sarcophagus (1300 B.C.) and Gezer Potsherd (1600 B.C.) provided the earlier stages of these Asian scripts. And here Dr. Rao struck gold. He found that many of the basic letters of the Indus script bore resemblance to the letters of these two West Asian alphabets.

"He decided to assign to each Indus basic letter the same sound-value as the West Asian letter which closely resembled it. After assigning these values to the Indus letters, he proceeded to try to read the inscriptions on the Indus seals. The language that emerged turned out to be an "Aryan" one.

"The above is a rather simplistic narration of the procedure adopted by Dr. Rao, which is given in detail in the two relevant books by him. (*Lothal and Indus Civilisation* and *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*)

"Among the many words yielded by Dr. Rao's decipherment are numerals *aeka, tra, chatus, panta, hapta/sapta, dasa, dvaçlasa and sata* ( 1,3,4,5,7,10,12 and 100) and names of Vedic personalities like *Atri, Kasyapa, Gara, Manu, Sara, Trita, Daksa, Druhu, Kasu, etc.*

"While the direct connection between the late Indus script (1600 B.C.) and the Brahmi script could not be definitely established earlier, more and more inscriptions have been found all over the country in the last few years, dating 1000 B.C., 700 B.C., and so on, which have bridged the gap between the two. Now it is evident that the Brahmi script evolved directly from the Indus script .

"The decipherment of the Indus script by Dr. Rao is being increasingly accepted all over the world. Some of the prominent people and institutions who have accepted the decipherment of Dr. Rao are :

1. Prof. S. H. Ritti (President, Epigraphical Society of India)
2. Prof. P. B. Desai (President, Indian History Congress, Epigraphy Society, and Head, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Karnataka University)
3. Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Chairman, Epigraphical Society of India, President Archaeological Survey of India, former Professor of Archaeology, Sagar University)
4. Dr. B. C. Chhabra (President, First Epigraphical Congress, retired Joint Director General of Archaeology, Government Epigraphist for India)
5. Prof. Ajaya Mitra Shastri (Head, Department Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University)
6. Dr. David Diring (Founder Director of the Alphabet Museum, Cambridge and Tel Aviv)
7. Prof. W. W. de Grummond (Florida State University, USA)
8. Prof. F. N. Souza
9. Dr. Katschen
10. Prof. Mrs. Anléu Kammenhuber (Munich University, West Germany)
11. The American Journal of Oriental Studies (in a review)
12. University of California, Berkeley (which announced the acceptance of the decipherment in September 1986)

"The decipherment is being increasingly accepted by more and more scholars all over the world. However the acceptance of the decipherment by the late Dr. David Diring, mentioned above, is particularly noteworthy. Dr. Diring is considered one of the leading authorities on scripts and alphabets.

"The decipherment of the Indus script by Dr. Rao is of great significance for Indian culture in another way. It proves that the South Arabic and old Aramaic alphabets of West Asia, as well as Indian Brahmi, are all derived from the Indus script. Between themselves, these alphabets are the ancestors of every single alphabet and script in use in the world today with the sole exception of the Chinese script.

**"This means that India's contributions to the world include not only the zero based decimal system without which modern scientific progress would have been impossible, but also the Alphabet, without which, also progress would have been very greatly hampered indeed.**

"Dr. Rao's decipherment has demolished the Aryan invasion theory." (S.G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory, A Reappraisal*, 1993, pp. 60-63).

After the publication of the above list by Talageri in 1993, David Frawley has written as follows in 1994 :

"Four main points have emerged

1. The main centre of Harappan civilization is the newly rediscovered Sarasvati river of Vedic fame, while the

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Indus river has about three dozen important Harappan sites, the Sarasvati has over five hundred. The drying up of Sarasvati brought about the end of the Harappan civilization around 1900 B.C. The Harappan culture should be renamed "the Sarasvati culture".

2. "No evidence of any significant invading populations has been found in ancient India, nor have any destroyed cities or massacred peoples been unearthed. The so-called massacre of Mohenjodaro that Wheeler, an early excavator of the site, claimed to find, has been found to be only a case of imagination gone wild. The sites were abandoned along with the ecological changes that resulted in the drying up of Sarasvati.

3. The so-called Aryan cultural traits like horses, iron, cattle-rearing or fire worship have been found to be either indigenous developments (like iron) or to have existed in Harappan and pre-Harappan sites (like horses and fire-worship). No special Aryan culture in ancient India can be differentiated apart from the indigenous culture.

4. **A more critical reading of Vedic texts reveals that Harappan civilisation, the largest in the ancient world, finds itself reflected in Vedic literature, the largest literature of the ancient world.** Vedic literature was previously not related to any significant civilisation but merely to "the destruction of Harappan".

"Based on such new evidence an entire group of scholars has arisen from both India and the West who reject the Aryan invasion theory on various grounds considering the evidence of archaeology, skeletal remains, geography, mathematics, astronomy, linguistics and so on. Such individuals include Navaratna Rajaram, Subhash Kak, James Schaffer, Mark Kenoyer, S. P. Gupta, Bhagwan Singh, B. G. Siddharth, K. D. Sethna, K. D. Abhyankar, P. V. Pathak, S. Kalyanaraman, B. B. Chakravorty, George Feverstein and myself, to name a few" (David Frawley, *The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India*, 1994, pp.5-8. Unfortunately, Frawley doesn't give any information about the individuals named by him. Four of them are obviously foreigners and non-Hindus, as are quite a few in Talageri's list.)

## STALINIST-COMMUNISTS HAVE THE PECULIAR GIFT OF STERILITY AND IMPOTENCY

Look at the record of Stalinist-Communists who were in power at the ICHR from 1972 to 1998.

There was no change in history-teaching over the last quarter century in Indian universities and schools. The same old scoundrels and imperialist rascals remained enthroned as great historiographers in our class rooms. **Maculay's children continued to teach them in our schools and colleges.**

The ICHR became the bastion of *naukershahi* ruffraff. Between 1972 and now, the ICHR awarded 1820 Fellowships and 2291 study-cum-travel grants. The number of grants in 1996-97 fell to a record low of 53. At present the ICHR has an administrative staff of 126 and of its Rs. 2.15 crores budget Rs. 1.95 crore is spent on salaries of its own bureaucracy. The ICHR budget for 1998-99 is Rs. 2.24 crores. One Sushil Kumar was appointed during the time of former HRD Minister SR Bommai. His only qualification was that he has been an officer in the Air Force. Naturally Kumar's appointment has been challenged in the courts.

This is not the only comic episode in the ICHR's tragic history. **THE ICHR LAUNCHED A RUPEES TWO CRORE 19 VOLUME TOWARDS FREEDOM PROJECT 25 YEARS AGO. ONLY 3 VOLUMES HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED TO DATE AND PUBLISHERS SAY THAT ANOTHER IS DUE IN NOVEMBER THIS YEAR. TWO MORE VOLUMES ARE AT THE ALLEGEDLY PROOF STAGE. MOST OF THE 2 CRORE BUDGET HAS ALREADY VANISHED IN MAINTAINING THE ICHR NAUKERSHAHI.**

The Stalinist-Communists have never been a part of the nationalist mainstream of Indian politics. None of the Communist leaders have ever fought for India's freedom. In fact they assisted British imperialism in the last war and functioned as police spies to catch the Nationalists of the August Movement who were naturally in most cases, Socialists, Trotskyists and Subhashists or Forward Blocists.

The Stalinist-Communists fought with the Razakars against the Indian Army which had come to liberate Hyderabad. The greatest crime of the Stalinist-Communists has been their demand for Partition of the country in 1947.

The Stalinist-Communists have never stopped acting against our national interests. They vociferously acclaimed the imposition of Internal Emergency in 1975-77. No creative thinking or activity is possible for those who are opposed to the national will of the Indian people. The Communist-Stalinists have never been with the Indian masses who were striving might and main to liberate themselves from the British yoke. Having never been with the masses, the Stalinist-Communists naturally find themselves cut off from the mainsprings of inspiration. They cannot think straight, and therefore they are congenitally condemned to sterility and impotence.

**THIS IS WHAT WE IN MANKIND THINK IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF THEIR PERENNEAL TROUBLES. THE STALINIST-COMMUNISTS CLAIM THAT THEIR PARTY WAS BORN IN 1925 OR THEREABOUTS. THUS THEY HAVE BEEN LABOURING IN VAIN FOR THE LAST 73 YEARS. THEY ARE NOWHERE NEAR MAKING A REVOLUTION OR EVEN PARTICIPATING IN ONE. THEY CANNOT THINK STRAIGHT. THEY CANNOT ACT IN ANY FORTHRIGHT AND COURAGEOUS MANNER. THEIR WAYS ARE BASICALLY DEVIIOUS, NARROW-MINDED AND CONTRADICTORY. THIS IS THE INEVITABLE FATE OF THOSE WHO HAVE ABANDONED THE MAINSPRINGS OF NATIONAL OUTLOOK AND VISION ! ■**

## CONGENITAL AFFINITY OF STALINIST-COMMUNISTS AND COMPRADOR *NAUKERSHAHS*

There is a strange affinity of ideas and attitudes between our comprador *naukershahi* culture leaders and the mentality of our Stalinist-Communists, especially during the Khrushchev-Brezhnev eras of "peaceful coexistence" and "friendly competition".

There is something peculiarly cussed, mean, perverse and vicious about both, our Stalinist-Communists and our *naukershahs*.

In the latest phase when Nikita Khrushchev led the Russian Communist Party (1953-1964) and was succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev (1964-1982), the CPSU imposed two doctrines upon the Communist Parties and Front Organisations of the world.

a) There was a "NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT" which could be followed by countries which were friendly with the USSR. These countries need not be "SOCIALIST", like the Warsaw Pact or Comecon members, but could follow their own paths of development without becoming socialist, i.e., whilst remaining capitalist. And yet they can be counted amongst the progressive forces of the world because of their temporary and opportunistic alliances with the Soviet Union.

b) There was, in close conjunction with the above, a "NON-REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION" to the world's problems, provided peace was maintained by resisting some of the aggressive designs of US imperialism.

During the overall Cold War Period (1945-85), when various degrees of temperature changes occurred, the members of national communist parties and their fellow-travellers working in innumerable front organisations, all acted like packs of howling dogs. They all wanted to protect the Soviet Union and carry forward its foreign policy aims.

Now, this P. R. Ram has been a subscriber of *Mankind* right from the beginning of its revival from Oct. 1995. He has presumably read all our articles attacking Stalinism, bogus secularism, neo-colonial reconquest of India, and so on. But it is all water on duck's back. P. R. Ram doesn't register anything, and does not wish to understand anything! Because he is devoted to THE NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT, and a NON-REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION! Both suit him fine! He doesn't have to do anything, and yet he wants to be counted amongst "the advance guard!"

The *naukershahs* or bureaucrats of India had begun intimate collaboration with imperialism from the time of the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in the 1850s, when the recruitment began of the graduates passing out from these universities and the earlier English medium schools, into the Imperial Civil Service which later on became Indian Civil Service (both acronymised as ICS) whose latest incarnation is the Indian Administrative Service (IAS). These IAS/ICS are all Macaulay's children — Indian in colour, but English in thoughts and deeds! These careerist, opportunist, self-serving scoundrels were basically anti-nationalist bootlickers and sycophants, who wanted to give themselves a radical or progressive air. This they were able to do by professing allegiance to Stalinist-Communism, which neither demanded socialism nor revolution in the post-war cold war era!

The Stalinist-Communists, on the other hand, had joined hands with British imperialism and converted the last war into a People's War as soon as Russia had been attacked by Nazi Germany. They vigorously promoted the division of the country. They betrayed the freedom fighters of the August 1942 Movement to the police. They bitterly attacked Subhash Bose as a fascist traitor and opposed the Anti-INA Officers' Trial Demonstrations at the end of 1945 and forcefully advocated the surrender of the Naval Ratings, who had mutinied in Feb. 1946. Sardar Patel, who had been flown to Bombay by the British army chiefs, had lost all moral authority with the rank and file of the armed forces but the Stalinist-Communists asked the sailors to surrender to him. The Communists later joined hands with the Razakars of Hyderabad to resist the integration of the Nizam's dominions with the rest of India. They supported Nehru's reference of the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations, and the non-integration of Kashmir with India. Still later, they supported the declaration of Internal Emergency by Indira, and the jailing without trial of thousands of democrats and socialists. All these activities they carried on, on the basis of the so-called theory of NON-SOCIALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT and NON-REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION!

ALL THAT THE STALINIST-COMMUNISTS WANTED WAS THAT INDIA SHOULD FOLLOW A FOREIGN POLICY THAT WAS FRIENDLY TO THE SOVIET UNION.

As we have repeatedly written in our Credo (Oct. 1995, Oct and Nov. 1996, etc.) and in almost every other article published in *Mankind*, we believe in the TRIPLE AIM OF NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION. THEREFORE WE ARE TOTALLY OPPOSED TO THE TWIN STALINIST DOCTRINES OF NON-CAPITALIST PATH OF DEVELOPMENT AND NON-REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION OF INDIA'S PROBLEMS.

Stalinist-Communists of all shades find it highly convenient to be simultaneously passive and progressive. They have to do nothing! They need not think out ideas to the end. They need not study Indian History. They need not become immersed in Indian culture. They have to just flit about in New Delhi's fancy circles of compradors, bureaucrats, diplomats, academics, journalists and other riffraff. All their ideas come from the West. There are mock battles to be fought everyday on behalf of one great power or another. There are cocktail parties and dinners to be attended everyday. There are foreign trips to be made every other day. It is all great fun. Society ladies with low cut blouses are leaning over, ready to lionise any voice that is slightly critical and exclaim "Oh, so very bold!"

Neither conscience nor scruples bother these Stalinist-Communist-Progressivists "who are very very radical" but  
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because of their jobs in public and private sectors are unable to come out very openly and publicly. But their sympathies are with the Left, with the dissidents, with the militants, with the radicals, with the underdogs !

Surely Vikas Adhyayan Kendra should wake up and refuse to lend its credentials to such crypto-Stalinists as this simpleton P. R. Ram.

Can anyone seriously suggest in the year 1998 that only the Hindutva brigade has an ideology ? And that the Stalinist-Communists who are plugging the Western neo-colonial line, were writing history without a point of view ?

It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that EVERYONE HAS A POINT OF VIEW, BEHIND EVERY HISTORY THERE IS AN IDEOLOGY. THE ONLY THING THAT IS TO BE DETERMINED IS WHETHER ONE POINT OF VIEW OR THE OTHER TAKES THE COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE FORWARD OR NOT ! WHETHER THE POINT OF VIEW PROMOTES NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM OR REVOLUTIONISM OR NOT ! WHETHER THE POINT OF VIEW BASES ITSELF ON INDIAN CULTURE AND HISTORY OR NOT ! ■

## SAPTA-SINDHU CULTURE ALSO KNOWN AS SARASWATI OR VEDIC CULTURE

Let us sum up the position from the dialectical and historical materialist point of view.

1. Due to a peculiar and unique geographical position India happened to stand at the crossroads of several florifal regions and thus became the centre of origin of the most significant cultigens needed by humankind.

2. Vedic culture was centred around the banks of the Saraswati river, where hundreds of sites have been found. Saraswati river before it dried up flowed between the rivers Sutlej and Jamuna, and *debouched* at the eastern end of the Rann of Kutch. It is conjectured that the remains of the Saraswati culture are to be found in the bed of the dried up streams of Ghagar or Hakra.

3. It is ridiculous to suggest that two separate and distinct cultures flourished in the same region at about the same time, namely the Vedic Aryan with the greatest and oldest literature of the world, and the "Indus Non-Aryan" with no literature whatsoever. It is idiotic on the part of Stalinist-Communists to maintain such an absurdity out of sheer cussedness and perversity.

4. The Saraswati sites are spread over a vast area of over 1 million sq. miles from Shortu-Ghai on the Amudarya (Oxus) on the Soviet-Afghan border (Uzbekistan-Pakhtoonistan border) in the North; to Lothal at the head of the Bay of Cambay, Bhagatrav at the mouth of the river Narmada, and Daimabad in Ahmednagar District of Maharashtra in the South, and from Sutkagen Dor on the Makran coast near the ancient Indo-Iranian border; to Alamgirpur across the Yamuna in Western UP in the East. The extent of this Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati culture is larger than all the riparian civilisations centred upon the river Nile, the river Jordan, the rivers Euphrates-Tigris and the rivers Huang Ho-Yangtze.

5. It has now been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Aramaic and all the scripts of the Western world were derived from the Saraswati script, from which was also derived Brahmī, the source of all Indian scripts (and also the scripts of Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Tibet and Sri Lanka)

6. This makes historical materialist sense, because why would an ethnic group which has borrowed from India the signs for numerals, not borrow the signs for alphabetic letters ? Why would they write "5 horses", after borrowing "5" from India and "horses" from some Semitic source ? Why would they do such a perverse thing ?

7. Similarly, the Greek Modes in music were borrowed obviously from Indian *Gramā-Jati-Murchhna-Raga* system. Why would an ethnic group in Southeast Europe, the Greeks, borrow numbers and musical concepts from India and not borrow the alphabet signs ? It doesn't make sense !

8. All the symbols of ancient Indian culture are common to both the Vedic and so-called Indus Valley Civilisations. The *peepul* leaf; the *ithyphallic yogi*; the fire altars; the priest kings; the *swastika*; the game of *pachisi* or *chaupat*; the camel, the horse and the chariot, the elephant and the foot soldier as the four wings of the army apart from the King and his Vazier, in the miniaturised game of war, known as *shatranj* (literally the play of six forces); and hundreds of other tell-tale features are common to the two cultures of the same Sapta-Sindhu region, which everybody admits had overlapped in time.

9. The need to pretend to cultural superiority did exist in the 18th and 19th centuries when India was being conquered by the Britishers who represented a degraded and derivative form of ancient Indian culture. It may be a great and valid puzzle for the European mind to ponder over the question : how did we come to migrate and live so far away from India and yet have so much that is derived from India ? I do not care about the detailed itineraries of the tribal groups that were expelled or which dispersed after the *Dasrajna* and *Mahabharata* wars. If some European scholars wish to trace their origins from the Scythian-Hunnic-Teutonic-Celtic-Gothic-Slavic hordes via the Hittite-Kassite-Mittani-Hyksos intermediate stages I have no objection. But I have no time for such an indepth inquiry of essentially minor matters. Let them try to trace the wanderings of the expelled and dispersed Indo-Aryan tribes across Central Asia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. It is strictly their problem and let them solve it.

10. I know that the Indo-Aryan home was spread over 1 million sq. kms of Northwest India, the Sapta-Sindhu Region. India happened to be uniquely gifted by geography and meteorology and geology.

After all, civilisation had to originate somewhere and nobody invents the wheel seventy-three times !

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How the script developed in China is a very well-documented event of world history. We can trace each step of the scriptological evolution over the last 3 or 4 thousand years.

That is a separate story. But once the Sapta-Sindhu people had found a way of marking numbers, alphabetic letters and musical notes, it became unnecessary for scores of tribes in touch with the Indo-Aryan nomadic pastoralists, to rediscover them again and again.

The Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati, or Vedic society, was a class society. There were herd-owners and field-owners who had their herds tended and their fields tilled by the common people. They warred amongst themselves. They built cities in which there were elevated citadels reserved for the residences of the elite or the upper castes or *dwijas*. In all the important and bigger Indus Valley urban centres, Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Kali Bangan, Dholavira, Surkotada, Lothal etc., such citadels have been found. Unfortunately there was a great earthquake, and the Saraswati river that had flowed between the Sutlej and the Yamuna, dried up. The urban centres situated on its banks were dependent upon basin and flood irrigation. These cities then decayed and agriculture as an alternative to pastoral practices declined, for the time being.

Many centuries later, the *Kshatriyas* raised a banner of revolt and organised themselves as followers of various *Upanishadic* dissenting thought systems termed Buddhism, Jainism, Ajivikaism, and so on. This time the forces promoting agriculture and feudalisation triumphed. The *Sixteen Mahajanapadas* came into existence and after an internal struggle, the Magadhan Empire was formed extending from Afghanistan to Karnataka and Sri Lanka, and from Gujarat to Orissa.

We have outlined and explained this scenario in great detail in the pages of *Mankind*. (Please consult the particular references cited at the beginning of this article). ■

## ICHR WAS A HIVE OF INEFFICIENT CROOKS

Irfan Habib, Romila Thapar, Bipan Chandra and R.S. Sharma Proved to be Comical Thieving Racketeers

The revelations that have kept tumbling out of the ICHR closet, following the dismissal of the Stalinist gang, have been both sinister and comical ! It is like viewing an Alec Guinness movie ! *Lady Killers* comes alive, as we review the situation ! The crooks led by Irfan-Habib, Bipan Chandra, R. S. Sharma, Romila Thapar and gang have not only been evil-intentioned but also thoroughly inefficient.

Let us consider the most significant facts. The ICHR undertook several gigantic projects :

- (i) A 19 volume documentation of the National Freedom Movement;
- (ii) A 14 volume History of the Peasant Movements;
- (iii) A 6 volume Economic Data and Statistics project;
- (iv) A multi-volume Praja Mandal Movement project;
- (v) An 18 volume Translation project;
- (vi) An Oral History project covering the history of the Indian National Congress;
- (vii) Several other major assignments.

Let us consider each of the above :

### (i) TOWARDS FREEDOM

This was a 19-volume study for which money was distributed as follows to supposedly eminent scholars WHO WERE NEITHER SCHOLARS NOR REALLY EMINENT. THEY WERE MERELY RACKETEERS WHO MANOEUVRED AND INTRIGUED TO CHEAT THE ICHR. We tabulate below the details

1. Before 1857	:	K. Rajayan	Rs. 12,000	xx
2. 1857-1885	:	S. R. Mehrotra	Rs. 12,000	x
3. 1885-1896	:	Bipan Chandra	Rs. 12,000	x
4. 1896-1898	:	Bipan Chandra	Rs. 12,000	xxx
5. 1899-1902	:	B. L. Grover	Rs. 12,000	p
6. 1902-1903	:	B. L. Grover		xxx
7. 1903-1905	:	B. L. Grover		xxx
8. 1905-1907	:	Sumit Sarkar	Rs. 12,000	x
9. 1907-1909	:	Sumit Sarkar	Rs. 12,000	x
10. 1910-1915	:	M. N. Das	Rs. 12,000	x
11. 1915-1919	:	T. K. Ravindran	Rs. 12,000	x
12. 1919-1920	:	V. N. Dutta	Rs. 12,000	p
13. 1920-1922	:	Sita Ram Singh	Rs. 12,000	up
14. 1922-1924	:	Srikumaran Nair	Rs. 12,000	p
15. 1924-1926	:	Amba Prasad	Rs. 12,000	x
16. 1927-1929	:	Bimal Prasad	Rs. 12,000	x
17. 1930-1931	:	Bimal Prasad	Rs. 12,000	x
18. 1932-1934	:	Bipan Chandra	Rs. 12,000	x
19. 1934-1937	:	Gopal Krishna	Rs. 12,000	x
Total Wasted			Rs. 1,92,000	

x	Not Submitted
xx	Submitted but not traceable
xxx	Not Assigned
p	Published
up	Under Production

### SUMMARY

Of 19,	3 published
	11 Not Submitted
	1 Not Traceable
	3 Not Assigned
	1 Under Production
	<hr/> 19

How works marked to particular scholars were "Not Assigned" is a mystery !

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(ii) **HISTORY OF PEASANT MOVEMENTS -14 volumes.**

8 not assigned .

6 Assigned, to 3 Scholar-Racketeers at Rs. 12,000 each x 6 = **Rs. 72,000 (Total Wasted)**

of these, 2 not submitted

3 Submitted but Not Traceable

1 Published

(iii) **ECONOMIC DATA AND STATISTICS PROJECT - 6 volumes**

1. R. R. Chaudhari Agrarian Rent & Revenue Rs. 12,000 x

2. S. Bhattacharya Financial and Currency Policies Rs. 12,000 x

3. Surendra Gopal Trade (Inland & Foreign) Rs. 12,000 x  
17th & 18th centuries

4. Nilomani Mukherjee Trade (Inland & Foreign) Rs. 12,000 x  
19th & 20th centuries

5. A. K. Bagchi Indian Industries 1800-1939 Rs. 12,000 x

6. V. B. Singh Labour, Prices and Wages Rs. 12,000 xx

**Total Wasted Rs. 72,000**

x Not Submitted xx Submitted but Not Traceable

(iv) **DOCUMENTS FOR PRAJA MANDALAM MOVEMENTS :**

Rs. 4,35,000 spent between 1976 and 1982. No publication has come out.

(v) **TRANSLATION OF MAJOR HISTORICAL WORKS :**

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan volumes on *History and Culture of the Indian People*, 1951-76, 11 Vols., the only completed history series by Indians since so-called independence in 1947, were rejected as **UNFIT FOR TRANSLATION** by a committee and the following were selected in replacement :

\* 1. R. S. Sharma 5 titles Rs. 47,000

\* 2. S. Gopal 3 titles ?

\* 3. Romila Thapar 3 titles Rs. 12,000

4. Bipan Chandra 2 titles Rs. 14,000

5. Irfan Habib 2 titles Rs. 11,000

6. Mohammad Habib 2 titles ?

\* 7. Satish Chandra 1 title ?

Total 18 works **Total of Rs. 41,89,000 wasted.**

\* Three of these were on the Selection Committee and one was a Chairman of ICHR.

(vi) **ORAL HISTORY OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS :**

Bipan Chandra : Rs. 75,000 from ICHR

Rs. 2,00,000 from Indian Council of Social Science Research

Rs. 4,00,000 from J. Nehru University

**Total Wasted Rs, 6,75,000**

No manuscript has been received.

(vii) **OTHER MAJOR ASSIGNMENTS :**

K. K. Dutta Old Zamindari Records of Bihar Rs. 12,000 xx

B. Ramakrishna Writings of Veerasalingam Rs. 12,000 x

x Not Submitted xx Submitted but Not Traceable

Dr. P. Saran's English translation of Arif Kandahari's *Tarikh-i-Akbari* was missing from ICHR office. Tasneem Ahmed, a deputy director incharge of ICHR's medieval unit has obtained a Ph.D. in 1992 on an English translation of *Tarikh-i-Akbari*. He has published this work with a preface by Irfan Habib. 62 pages of Saran's translation was found in ICHR's files and formed a part of Tasneem Ahmed's book.

The tally of **WORKS SUBMITTED BUT NOW UNTRACEABLE** is as follows :

1. Towards Freedom Project K. Rajayan : Before 1857

2-5. History of Peasant Movements : 3 vols.

6. Economic Data and Statistics Project : Vol. No. 6 V. B. Singh *Labour, Prices and Wages*

7-8. Other Major Assignments : 2 vols. K. K. Dutta Old Zamindari Records of Bihar

9. P. Saran's English translation of Arif Kandahari's *Tarikh-i-Akbari* (only 62 pages found)

In all, 9 important manuscripts have vanished without a trace. Were they ever submitted ? In the case of P. Saran's manuscript translation 62 pages of plagiarised original have surfaced. Has Tasneem Ahmed been charged with fraud ? Has his Ph.D. been withdrawn ? Has Irfan Habib been castigated for his fraudulent promotion of a theft ?

**The amazing thing is that none of these violations of academic integrity has been investigated by the ICHR for more than 25 years. The ICHR is busy brushing things under the carpet and the individuals involved are beating their breasts about being made victims of "ideological witch-hunting".**

Sources : Annual Reports of ICHR, Answers to Parliamentary Questions and *Afternoon Despatch & Courier*, 28.8.98

## MARX BRAINWASHED BY IMPERIALISTS ABOUT INDIA

Marx was horribly wrong about everything he wrote on the subject of India.

India did not lack history as he claimed, but on the contrary had the longest history of any people in the world.

Private property was not the desideratum in India, cattle and agricultural fields were owned by private individuals from Rig Vedic and Kautilyan *Arthshastra* times. There was no domestic union of agriculture and industry in India that prohibited economic growth. **As a matter of fact, Indian feudal industrial level was more advanced than the mercantile capitalist level of industrial development attained by Europe.** India was economically more advanced than Europe upto c.1820. Gold and silver from every part of the globe poured into India in order to buy Indian manufactures and raw materials upto around 1820.

By Draining Wealth from India, by Deindustrialising, Ruralising, and Pauperising India, by instituting a regime of Endless Famines of Purchasing Power in India, British imperialism massacred genocidally over 85 million poor Indians between 1760 and 1947.

There was no self-sufficient Indian village, which may have been much more of a reality in poverty-stricken, backward and miserable Europe. As soon as the state and the feudal classes had removed from every Indian village, one-sixth, one-fourth, one-third, or one-half of the produce from each farm and had expended the land revenue collected in either War-making or Road and Canal Building, or Luxurious Living, a process of circulation of commodities was set in motion which shattered all silly European imperialist notions of "village self-sufficiency". Marx was victimised by British imperialist propaganda and racialist tomfoolery.

The signs of regeneration that Marx noticed in India were all from the most dastardly imperialist point of view. Railways were being built by imperialism, clerks were being recruited by imperialist administration, Indian army was being used for conquering and enslaving India by imperialism. None of these developments presaged any true liberation of India. On the contrary they ensured complete enslavement of the Indian body and mind.

The British rule in India was not progressive, whether consciously, or unconsciously as Marx alleged, but was entirely reactionary and retrogressive.

Marx, as brainwashed by imperialist propagandists, wrote that "India had no alternative" but to be conquered either by the British, the Turks or the Russians, and that he (Marx) "preferred the British conquest". This was pure rubbish and racialist arrogance. India could have gone the Japanese way and chosen an indigenous capitalist path of development just as Japan did following the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Further, it is to the eternal shame of Marx that he made a one-sided alliance with the British Conservatives led by Palmerston (in England) and Canning (in India). He supported the British alliance with France and Turkey in the Crimean War of 1853-1856. That is why his conscience was not stirred when Indian feudal patriots "were blown from cannon mouths" in the course of the suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-60.

However, let us add that Marx was a pioneer. He did not consistently apply the theory of Historical and Dialectical Materialism to India, and to his own, conscious or unconscious, White European Christian proclivities. Marx may have joined hands with British imperialism in its material and spiritual conquest of India, and as British rule has faded away, similarly Marx's role will also fade away.

See our discussion of Marx's ideas in *Marx And His Times* (1818-1883). *MK*, March 98, pp.37-44].

# WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

## ISI SPREADS ITS TENTACLES INTO EVERY NOOK AND CORNER OF INDIA !

That the ISI is spreading its tentacles far and wide on our borders and within the country can be ascertained from reports of its clandestine operations in the different states of the country, such as coastal Karnataka, the Bihar-UP-Nepal border, as also in Bombay and its surrounding coastal areas, which are prime smuggling spots. Earlier, gold and other foreign goods, used to be contraband commodities, but, for the past nine years or so, RDX, arms, ammunitions and terrorists are the choice items.

Strangely, the coastal town of Bhatkal in Karnataka has become a major ISI centre in India. The inquiry report, on the 1993 communal violence in this coastal town, reveals that the Pakistani

intelligence outfit has a free run of the place. The place is literally the domain of smuggler, Motisham Mohammad Ismail Kola, who is also an ISI agent and was involved in the Mumbai blasts on 1993. Kola owns a hospital, Kolaco Health Complex, in Bhatkal, and habitually uses the hospital's ambulances to ferry men and arms during the communal riots. His modus operandi was to engage all the law-enforcing agencies by creating disturbances and jam all the communication systems, switch off power supply and use commando type personnel for landing arms and ammunitions.

The inquiry report on the 1993 communal riots reveals details of the involvement of the ISI in fuelling the communal tension in Bhatkal. In nine months, or around 275 days, 17 people were killed, 226 houses were burnt, and 143 houses were looted in 489 events in Bhatkal.

The ISI has made heavy inroads into Bhatkal, and arrival of fishing

just a small time ISI activist (according to Bhatkal's law enforcement officers), gets away from court summons by citing health reasons. The police had information that explosives had landed in Bhatkal but no measures were undertaken to seize them. The report states that several incidents of violence could have been averted had the police been more vigilant. "Investigation of cases of communal violence is a farce of the highest order enacted by the police ... most murders occurred during the curfew hours and intelligence collection was totally inadequate." (*The Week*, 24.5.95)

In the meantime, while the Bhatkal police is dithering in implementing law and order measures, another ISI-related activity is gathering momentum on our border with Nepal.

The person involved here is Mirza Dilshad Beg, who hailed from village Bhelani of Deoria district in eastern UP and was wanted in connection of his criminal activities as well as his involvement in every type of ISI-sponsored subversion. Beg joined the Rashtriya Prajatantrik Party of Nepal and twice became a minister. An MP from Krishna Nagar area on the Indo-Nepal

border, Beg provided free passage to criminals, especially of the Dawood gang, into India through his native place.

In Beg's case too, government agencies are aware that major illegal arms trafficking — 75 per cent of the illegal arms flow into India — passes through Krishna Nagar. Also, around 60 to 65 per cent of auto-lifting in northern India was done by Beg and his gang. Alongwith this, he was also involved in a host of other crimes and is wanted in India. But the Nepalese government has ignored all extradition papers in the case of Dilshad Beg, just as it has done in the case of Dawood.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET			
MAJOR KASHMIR CARNAGES			
Sr.No.	Place	Date	No. of People Killed
1.	Gowkadal	January 21, 1990	45
2.	Handwara	February 1990	19
3.	Zakoora	March 30, 1990	30
4.	Chota Bazar	May 1991	11
5.	Sopore	January 6, 1993	45
6.	Kishtwar	August 14, 1993	16
7.	Bijbehera	October 22, 1993	37
8.	Barshalla	January 5, 1996	16
9.	Ramban	June 1996	17
10.	Wandhama	January 25, 1998	23
11.	Prankote	April 17, 1998	26
12.	Champnari	June 19, 1998	25

(Source : *Outlook*, 29.6.98)

launches carrying explosives is a regular occurrence. Evidence recorded from a host of senior police officers, customs and district officials, shows that RDX explosives meant to be used elsewhere in the country were smuggled through Bhatkal a few years ago.

The inquiry report contains all kinds of evidence that point to Kola and other people as the ones involved in the Mumbai blasts as well as other ISI-related crimes. However, like it happens to all probes in India, no action has been initiated against the accused. Even Kola, who happens to be a big man in little Bhatkal but is

Beg was killed in Kathmandu on June 29, 1988 allegedly by Chhota Rajan's men.

These two are the most well-known

ISI activists in India and there could be many more which we are unaware of. So, until and unless government agencies in India undertake massive

anti-neo-colonial and 'un-corrupt' operations to weed out these terrorists, the ISI will keep on making inroads into India. ■

## COMPRADOR NAUKERSHAHI COWARDICE CANNOT PROTECT INDIA'S ECONOMIC SOVEREIGNTY

On June 8, Industry Minister Sikander Bakht and Suzuki Vice President Y. Saito announced at a joint press conference in New Delhi that the Indian Government and Suzuki Motor Corporation (SMC) of Japan, equal partners in Maruti Udyog Limited (MUL), had reached an agreement over the controversial issue of top-level appointments in MUL. Thus comes to an end the year long stand-off between the two warring partners of MUL !

The terms of the original joint venture agreement have been rewritten to include a provision for consultation between the two partners in the appointment of the chief executive of MUL. Earlier Suzuki had opposed the appointment of the Indian Government's nominee — R.S.S.L.N. Bhaskarudu to the M.D's post in 1997, contending that the Indian Government should have consulted it before nominating Bhaskarudu to the M.D's post. As per the Article 88(4) of the Articles of Association of the original joint venture agreement, the two partners were to nominate the Chairman and the M.D. alternately. However, consultation was not stipulated for the process of nomination though it was required for all major corporate decisions. As a result, the Delhi High Court dismissed the petition. Suzuki approached the International Court of Arbitration (ICA) in Geneva to stake its claim in the matter of appointments of all Chief Executives at the helm of MUL's affairs.

It seems Suzuki played its cards very well, since the agreement reached, tilts heavily in its favour. The deal includes: 1. Removal of Prabir Sengupta and appointment of Y. Saito as the Chairman of MUL; 2. Cutting

down R.S.S.L.N. Bhaskarudu's term to two-and-a-half years, till December 31, 1999; and 3. Promoting Mr. Khattar as Joint Managing Director who would take over from Bhaskarudu from Jan. 1, 2000. In return, Suzuki has promised to continue supply of technology, introduce new models and withdraw the arbitration case. There is no mention of the transference to India of the crucial Gear Box Technology.

All major opposition parties, the Congress, Janata Dal and the Left parties came out strongly against the Government's move. They questioned the Government for its out of court settlement with the SMC; and described it as a "total sell out." Condemning the Government for the alleged handover of MUL to the Japanese Company, Janata Dal MP Jaipal Reddy said, "It is a clandestine and corrupt arrangement to sell a profitable Indian joint venture. The government talks about swadeshi but is not practising it." (*Outlook*, 22.6.98) Former Industry Minister Murasoli Maran who had taken a tough stand against the SMC over the appointment of Bhaskarudu as Managing Director of Maruti Udyog, said that the agreement had been totally in favour of Suzuki with Maruti not getting anything. The MUL Workers' Union joined hands with national trade unions and demonstrated before Parliament on June 11 to protest against the settlement.

In replying to the hue and cry raised over this issue by the Opposition, Union Industry Minister Sikander Bakht defended the Government's decision saying that it was taken chiefly in the interests of Maruti Udyog Limited (MUL). He said, "For MUL to continue to

maintain its top place in the industry, there was a need for continuous injection of vital inputs of technology upgradation and the Government has just done that." (*Deccan Herald*, 15.6.98) **MUL is a cash-rich, zero-debt company which has an 82 per cent share of the Indian automobile market.** Its expansion plans drawn up years ago have been deliberately left in cold storage and precious time has already been wasted by our *Naukershahi*. Even after a quarter century, MUL has failed to develop a national technological base. A situation has been created by the *naukershahs* to justify the surrender and sell-out to the Japanese MNC. But has the agreement achieved anything beyond humiliating sell-out? **The Government has given in on every issue!** It is clear that the Indian Government has lost its hold over MUL affairs since the day it gave up its majority stake in MUL. **MUL is Suzuki's only profitable venture world-wide.** Suzuki has agreed to introduce new models as a part of this compromise deal, but has remained **non-committal on the crucial issue of gear-box technology.** The gear-box technology is a key to SMC's hold over MUL and as long as it does not agree to part with the designs and technology, it will continue to retain its stranglehold over MUL.

If the Government intends to send a message to the Japanese Government that India would welcome and assist investments from Nippon, in spite of Japanese sanctions imposed on India in the wake of our nuclear tests, it is sadly mistaken!

First, Japanese economy is in distress. **Maruti is the only overseas Suzuki venture that is in the black.** Why was India so keen to surrender?

Secondly, he who surrenders, prepares the ground for more surrenders! Comprador cowardice can never protect India's economic sovereignty! ■

## CONGRESS FACTIONAL FIGHT TURNED INTO NAUKERSHAHI TORTURE AND "SPY CASE" !

A supreme court pronouncement on April 29, 1998 severely indicted the Kerala government for reopening the so called ISRO espionage case, after the Central Bureau of Investigation had found that the allegations of spying were false, and a Kerala court had actually ordered the release of all the accused.

The 43-month 'spy drama' concocted by the Kerala police began on 20th October 1994 with the arrest of Marium Rasheeda, a Maldivian citizen, by the special branch of the Criminal Investigation Department. On Nov. 13, 1994, a case was registered against Rasheeda and her friend, Fousia Hassan, another Maldivian, alleging that they had committed acts prejudicial to the sovereignty of India in collusion with some Indians.

By this time, stories of sexual relationship between Rasheeda and two ISRO scientists, D. Sasikumar and S. Nambinarayanan, were planted in the Malayalam press. On November 23, 1994, K. Chandrasekhar, who represented Glovkosmos, a Russian space agency, and was a supplier to ISRO, was arrested. On December 2, 1994, Sudhir K. Sharma, a Bangalore-based associate of Chandrasekhar was arrested and 14 ISRO scientists were

put under surveillance. D. Sasikumar and S. Nambinarayanan were charged with leaking the country's space research work and were placed under arrest. All the six were said to have violated the Official Secrets Act and Prevention of Corruption Act.

On December 3, 1994, the Central Bureau of Investigation was put in charge of the case as the Inspector General of Police in Kerala, Raman Srivastava, was suspended for his supposed involvement in the case. Srivastava was close to K. Karunakaran, who was the Chief Minister of Kerala when this case began.

The six accused — the two Maldivian women, the two ISRO scientists and the two businessmen — were remanded to judicial custody on December 24, 1994.

A little over three months later, on April 3, 1995, the CBI gave a report severely criticising the Intelligence Bureau for concocting a false case and exonerated the six accused completely.

All the accused were subjected to a great deal of misery, loss of jobs and personal bereavement in the course of this 3-months investigation by the CBI. Sudhir Sharma's father died soon

after the news of his arrest. The two ISRO scientists lost their jobs and all suffered social ostracism due to the sensational coverage given to the case in the Malayalam Press. Rasheeda and D. Sasikumar have given statements that they were subjected to humiliating physical torture in the course of their interrogations.

Five of the accused were released by the Chief Judicial Magistrate in Ernakulam who accepted the CBI report. But Marium Rasheeda was kept in prison for nearly three more years and was set free only after the Supreme Court judgement on April 30, 1998.

On July 7, 1997, the Left Democratic Front government reopened the case. After a ten month battle, the Supreme Court once again found all six accused completely innocent and directed the Kerala government to pay each of them a compensation of Rs. 1 lakh.

Retrospectively, the ISRO spy case is seen to be the result of the intense factional fight in the then ruling Congress Party in Kerala. It was used effectively to cut short the term of K. Karunakaran, the then chief Minister by the faction headed by A. K. Antony. What is appalling is the brazen use of the state, law - enforcement machinery and the local media, to harass innocent citizens and cause endless sufferings to their families. ■

## LIFESTYLES OF THE RICH INDIAN MIDDLE CLASSES MUST NOT GO FOR INSTANT ECSTASY !

The issue is about the approach of the well-to-do citizens of India towards the poor class. For the bourgeoisie and upper middle class, the existence of poverty is taken for granted. Their approach is personal salvation — to build a tiny island of "well - being" in the dark sea of deprivation.

● It is the Indian middle class, who are the biggest offenders in the massive theft of electricity all over urban India.

● Vehicles owned by the middle class create the heaviest pollution in all metros and mini metros of India.

● In Delhi, a middle class or a rich colony produces more than 1.5 Kg of waste per head, whereas the low income group colony produces only 0.3 Kg of waste per head.

● A typical middle class colony of 1000 homes generates an average of 5200 plastic bags a day, excluding those left in public parks.

● The middle class criticism of the

state for its inefficiency and corruption is undoubtedly valid, but emphatically limited to " Why can't the state do more for us? " Certainly they have the **right** to criticise but absolutely no **duty** to think or act beyond their own limited requirements.

Most of the doctoral theses written by prospective Indian Ph.Ds glitter with the quotations given by 'Foreign Experts'. The Indians who have suddenly discovered their brilliance in institutions abroad are judged by their 'foreign' degrees.

● Needless to say, Indian film music is obsessed with the beats of western music! Their housing colonies

are being named Beverly Park, Marble Arch, Regency Park, Mayfair Gardens, etc.

● The number of divorces have increased sharply. Stress-related diseases have become common. The number of suicide cases have almost doubled.

● The desire to possess more and more each day has resulted in an endless rat race and thus has compounded the problem. The joint family has given way to the nuclear family, where the values of togetherness and support have made place for individual pursuits and high ambitions. This has also de-stabilised

the economic balance of the middle class families.

● In mid-1991, India became a player in the globalised economy with Indian middle classes, enjoying concentrated purchasing power in their hands. According to an NCAER survey, households with incomes between Rs. 12,500 and Rs. 40,000 per year account for as many as 331 million people. Only 4.1 percent of the population (37 million) have an income of over Rs. 40,000 a year. **And the rich, with an income of over five lakh rupees a year, account for not more than 1.4**

**million people.**

The lifestyle of the Indian elite, replete with expensive cars, the latest consumer gadgets, designer clothes and five-star living acted as the role model for the Indian middle class. As a result there is a total absence of social commitment that could overpower the obsession with personal gain.

For the Indian middle class, it is very necessary that it should take a pause: to ensure its well-being in the long run; it must curb its short-sighted obsession with immediate material gain and instant ecstasy. ■

## LIFESTYLES OF THE RICH FASHION IS FRAUD!

The talk of Indian fashion is plain hype — cleverly, deliberately orchestrated hype, in the creation of which, both media and designers have contributed equally.

A visit to Vasant-Kunj or Greater Kailash Shops in New Delhi reveals that the 'Designer Wear' is nothing but lousy, lifted off Bangkok stuff. Fashion is often judged by the ignorant! For instance, the person who writes about Science Today, writes about Fashion Tomorrow. There is a complete lack of knowledge. The media storm is the smokescreen that masks the lack of achievement of the designers in real design terms. To make something ornate is easy, but to make simple look stunning is the challenge that our designers are unable to meet.

Shahab Durazi, a Mumbai-based designer states that, not a single designer he knows is aware of proper cutting and sizing of garments. One size fits all. Fitting is about a tuck

here and a nip there, and THAT is sold as *couture*, at *couture* prices! The client is merely being bluffed! Most of the designers today

the other. Asha Baxi, Department Head of Fashion Design Section at NIFT (National Institute of Fashion Technology) says, "There's no Indian designer today that one can look up to for inspiration, innovation, perfection." (*Outlook*, 20.4.98)

Indian fashion shows like their Western counterparts are less fashion and more of 'social events', where people wear clothes not because the clothes suit them, but only because others know how expensive they are!

Young designer, Raghuvendra Singh Rathore of Jodhpur, who is just three year old in this industry, earns more than Rs. 15,000 per day. Even Delhi based small timers like Leena Aushima, who started her business three years ago with Rs. 1.5 lakhs, today gets more than Rs. 1.5 crore per annum.

Fashion shows benefit only designers. But with them, the upmarket cellphone, lipstick, fizz drink, sunshades, jewellery and watch-making firms also aim for a direct hit with the same audience.

But then, fashion does have the ugly face that needs tarting up. That ugliness is about ripoffs from Western ramps. Suneet Varma, the

DESIGNER TURNOVER GUESSTIMATES		
Sr.No.		Rs. in Crores
1.	Ritu Kumar (only domestic sales)	10.00
2.	Abu Jani / Sandeep Khosla	5.00
3.	Tarun Tahiliani	5.00
4.	Rohit Bal	3.00
5.	Suneet Varma	3.00
6.	J. J. Vallaya	2.00
7.	Ritu Beri	2.00
8.	Shahab Durazi	1.50
9.	Raghuvendra Singh Rathore	1.00
10.	Rajesh Pratap Singh	0.75
11.	Abraham and Thakore	0.50
12.	Rina Dhaka	0.50
13.	Rana Dhaka	0.50
14.	Geentanjali Kashyap	0.40
	<b>Total</b>	<b>35.15</b>
	"Also Ran" Pack	5.00
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>40.15</b>

Note: Exact figures are impossible to come by in a trade conducted in cash, mostly black. The figures are based on the feedback from designers and other industry analysts.

Source: (*Outlook*, 20.4.98)

confess that, nothing new has happened in the Indian design field for the past eight years. It is difficult to segregate one designer's work from

Indian 'Style Guru' has cloned and passed off as his own creations, the Yves Saint Laurent outfits made a little bustier ! Even that imitation was second hand ! R. P. Singh, an NIFT undergrad had designed something similar for his 1991 Air France Design Competition. Varma copied both Singh and Saint Laurent — stimulus from one and style from the other ! Rina Dhaka had been continuously imitating

ripping off their foreign counterparts, they're ripping off each other. Rohit

ripped off Thierry Muigler's '92 collection of spikey and broken glass bust liners ! They had already been featured in the film *Kamasutra*.

Sr. No.	ORIGINALS	IMITATIONS BY
1.	Abu Jani - Sandeep Khosla's <i>Kamasutra</i> cholis	Rohit Bal's cholis of a '97 show.
2.	The Dries Van Noten Waist Wrap Summer '97.	Geetanjali Kashyap's Waistwrap '97.
3.	YSL's 69/70 Fall Winter Collection.	Suneet Varma's mid '90s bust-liners.
4.	R.P.Singh's work for '91 Air France Design Competition	Suneet Varma pucci prints.
5.	Pacco Rabbane show of Feather Works	Hema Bawa-devised feather accessories.
6.	Josie Khanna's knitwear.	Leena Aushima's Goan Design Collection.
7.	Donna Karan's design work.	Rina Dhaka's designer outfits

Indian design lacks creativity, with no mass and no *couture* appeal. Asha Baxi quotes, "It is about poverty of thought. Indian design is neither "ready-made" nor *couture*. *Couture* is about quality and finish, which they don't offer." (*Ibid*, p.68). Indian designers lack belief in themselves. They underestimate the

from Donna Karan year after year until she got the wind a few years ago of a possible patent infringement suit.

Bal's cholis of 1997 show are clones of Abu Jani-Sandeep Khosla's "designer cholis ! Similarly two prominent Delhi designers swiftly

risk taking capacity of the wearer. To succumb to that 'give-them-what-they-want' argument is to undermine one's own capacity. ■

If the Indian designers are not

## LIFESTYLES OF THE RICH WILD AND FUNKY OPTIONS FADE FAST !

Excessive exposure to international media has tremendously changed the lifestyles and aspirations of Indian women of the elite class ! In order to give an outstanding appearance to her own image, she is always willing to experiment with her face, hair and clothing.

by the yuppies according to the place to be visited and the occasion !

Above all, coloured contact lenses have captured the lens market and women are going in for wild hues because they want their eyes to

Earlier all the shades used to be in reds and pinks, but now the market is flooded with all sorts of funky colours like blue, gold, green, yellow, black and above all they have glittering powder for lips and cheeks !

Sr.No.	Shade	Company	Price (in Rs.)
1.	Blue Mascara Flash	Lancome	1,450
2.	Duo-Tone Lipsticks.	Tips & Toes	60
3.	Violet Nail Polish	Pierre Cardin	250
4.	Green Nail Polish	Christian Dior	1,100
5.	Copper Lipstick	Lakme	59
6.	Black Lipstick	M.A.C.	750
7.	Purple Nail Polish	Chanel	350

Source : (*India Today*, 11.5.98)

Today Rohan Gala, manager of a fancy cosmetic store in Mumbai, has customers ranging from 11 year old kids to 40-plus women ! Usually he says, the shades of the lipsticks and nailpolishes are chosen

match their clothes !

Foreign companies like Christian Dior and Lancome are even offering hairstreaks of vibrant shades like blue, purple, orange and red !

When last October, Tips and Toes introduced a Duo-Tone range, which offered two shades in one lipstick, its sale in Mumbai rose by 300 percent !

Although there are earthy shades ruling the market, the wild, unconventional ones have gained great importance in the Indian urban market of the day.

But it is uncertain how long this exotic colour trend will last and if it does, to what extent will it create a boom in the market. Fashion in today's world is totally unstructured. Wild and funky options will soon fade away. These are just the gimmicks which have come from the West. The younger crowd is fickle and fluid in their mind. Soon, they will find some

other fad !

One only wishes that tomorrow's fad will be "to clothe the poor girls in rural India !" Can such a thing ever happen, even for a few weeks ? ■

## LIFESTYLES OF THE RICH

### " IF OBSCENITY ON TV AND VIDEO, WHY NOT IN REAL LIFE? "

Bangalore - girls are presenting live-band shows and earning salaries comparable to those of CEOs of any multinational !

These girls, surprisingly do not hail from poor families. Instead they are graduates and even MBAs !

Some of the ' good artistes' are earning as high as 1.5 lakh per month. Even the average ones have managed to get Rs. 10,000 a month excluding the huge tips they get from 'valuable'

customers.

None of the girls repent over dancing to others' tunes. They even argue that there is nothing obscene and bad about it !

Isha, the live-band artiste from Mumbai, who has also performed in Gulf says "When you have obscenity in movies and videos, why not in real life?" ( *Times of India*, 30.5.98). She earns Rs. 1,500 per day at Brigade

Gardens, where she is presently employed.

Women have stopped coming to these shows because of police raids. Men, are seen, paying the artiste Rs. 100 for each line of a romantic Hindi number.

The gaudily, semi-clad artiste lure men to make obscene passes at them. The men even send written messages on paper napkins !

Young girls of age group 18-25 years are really enjoying performing these shows; they have absolutely no regrets, no shame and no guilt about their profession. ■

## KANDLA CYCLONE LOSSES

Recently, there was a trail of destruction caused by the cyclone on the Gujarat coast, which consumed more than 4000 lives. Only about 400 people could save themselves by climbing to the top floor of a skyscraper.

Distraught mothers and hundreds of other panic-stricken people were seen jumbled up near the affected areas, trying to locate their children in the debris from which the half-decayed bodies were being constantly taken out and burnt in a row along the streets. Hundreds of unidentified decayed bodies were burnt, thus making the calculation of the loss of human lives difficult.

Even after a week of relief operations and clearing, Kandla still reveals a horrific scene of devastation. But the problem is not limited only to reconstruction of the port, but also of the huge Kandla mart, which supplies many essential commodities for the entire North and North-west India. The total loss to business including the destruction of the port town is put at Rs. 2,500 crores.

With the help of Indian Navy, the channels have been cleared to some extent and cargo-handling operations have also been restarted but the complete resumption of activity will

take upto at least six months or even more ! The LPG filling plant of Indian Oil Corporation (IOC) has faced severe damage amounting to over Rs. 500 crores, to its dock pipeline and

### NAUKERSHAHI ZINDABAD HIKE IN JUDGES' SALARY

The Lok Sabha has approved a bill increasing the salaries of the judges of Supreme Court and High Courts. The High Court and Supreme Court Judges Amendment Bill which replaces an ordinance promulgated this April enhances the salary of the Chief Justice of India to Rs. 33,000 per month from Rs. 10,000 and that of other Supreme Court judges to Rs. 30,000 from Rs. 9,000.

The salary of the chief justice of a High Court has been hiked to Rs. 30,000 a month from Rs. 9,000, while the judges of the High Court who were earlier paid Rs. 8,000 will now get Rs. 26,000

(The Week, 19.7.9)

computerised control room, which will take about four months to resume its operations. The control room of Kandla-Bhatinda pipeline of IOC has also been severely damaged by sea water, thus destroying more than Rs. 80 crores worth of urea stocked in the port.

But the worse is yet to come. The cyclone hit an area that produces almost 40 per cent of the total salt produced in the country and now, it is estimated that this devastation could even lead to a major salt crisis and hence, shooting up of the prices of salt in the next few months.

Insurance companies have to bear

a part of burden of this destruction amounting to an enormous figure of over Rs. 1200 crores. The General Insurance Company along with its four subsidiaries have arrived at this figure based on the claims made on them. A small amount of Rs. 31 crore has already been cleared by the companies. (2 1/2 %)

Of the total claims made on the insurance companies around 46 percent ( or 2,492 crores) are under Fire Policy. This policy includes damage done by floods, storms, tempest and earthquake and since the damage done relates to storm and rain, this policy is responsible for more than half the claims. About 21 percent of claims come under Motor

Insurance, since a huge number of vehicles were destroyed by cyclone; another 12 per cent fall under the Marine Hull Policy due to the damage done to ships. The rest cover engineering and miscellaneous losses. It is estimated that the total loss of public property, private assets and business losses amounts to around Rs. 2169.91 crore. A huge amount of money is still due to be compensated by insurance companies from re-insurance, generally placed abroad.

Under such devastating conditions, there have been some reports of inflated claims and also instances of back-dated claims, which are now gradually being sorted out. ■



## LAW MAKERS ABOVE LAW : HARYANA MLAs HELP THEMSELVES !

Harayana MLAs gave themselves a pay hike by passing a legislation to this effect on the last day of the budget session. They are unconcerned about the tremendous burden that will befall the state exchequer and seek to defend their act by saying that it is necessary to meet the increase in the cost of living. Let us take a look at this bonanza received by the MLAs :

1. There are 34 members of the Council of Ministers. A minister's salary has been increased from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 11,000 a month. In addition, each minister will get a monthly allowance of Rs. 1,000 to maintain his or her office in the constituency. This will impose an additional burden of nearly **Rs. 16.34 lakhs** a year on the state exchequer.

2. The Speaker and Deputy Speaker will draw a salary of Rs. 11,000 against Rs. 8,000 at present. They will also get an additional monthly allowance of Rs. 1,000 for maintenance of offices in their constituencies. This will be an additional burden of **Rs. 96,000** a year.

3. There is also a hike in the salary of the Leader of the Opposition from the present Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 11,000 a month. Other MLAs are to receive a bonanza in the form of a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month. The telephone allowance of each MLA shows an increase of Rs. 1,000 per month from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000. As for travel facilities,

conveyance allowance of the Leader of the Opposition in lieu of state car has been increased from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000 per month. Other MLAs are entitled to reimbursement of the actual expenses subject to a maximum of Rs. 70,000 per annum against Rs. 50,000 at present. The proposed increase in the salary, allowances and free travel to the Leader of the Opposition and the MLAs will put an additional burden of **Rs. 51.90 lakh** per annum.

In addition, the ceiling limit on the total repayable advance which an MLA is entitled to for house building, house repairs, car purchase and the like, has also been raised from the existing Rs. 5 lakh to Rs. 8 lakh.

This is how representatives of the people earn their living at the cost of India's poor millions ! ■

## LAW MAKERS ABOVE LAW : MPS PROVE TWO LAWS OF THE SEA !

The Lok Sabha on 4th August approved four bills without much debate, whereby MPs gave themselves a huge pay hike. This hefty raise in salaries, allowances and perks comes about with retrospective effect from January 1, 1996.

● The President gets Rs. 50,000 a month, up from Rs. 20,000. The pension will be Rs. 3,00,000 per annum instead of Rs. 1,20,000 as at present.

● The Vice-President will now get Rs. 40,000 per month as emoluments which is almost thrice the earlier Rs. 14,500.

With the proposed raise in the emoluments of the Rajya Sabha Chairman, Krishnakant's monthly pay stands at Rs. 40,000.

● From now on the Governors will be given Rs. 36,000 which is more than thrice the Rs. 11,000 they used to get.

● The salary of an MP will now be Rs. 4,000 a month, up from Rs. 1,500. Plus the 10 other perks which MPs get, have been suitably upgraded.

1. An MP will now take Rs. 400 as

daily allowance.

2. Office expenses for MPs are fixed at Rs. 2,500 a month.

### INFORMATION FACT SHEET LAW MAKERS LIVE BEYOND LAW! Unpaid Telephone Bills

- Satish Sharma : Rs. 1.5 lakh
- Jaipal Reddy : Rs. 4.5 lakh
- Chinta Mohan : Rs. 11 lakh
- Jayanti Patnaik : Rs. 3 lakh
- M. N. Hashim : Rs. 13 lakh
- Raj Babbar : Rs. 7 lakh
- Sunil Dutt : Rs. 2 lakh
- M. H. Gohil : Rs. 11 lakh
- R. Janarthanam : Rs. 11 lakh
- Ram Sunder Das : Rs. 11 lakh
- Venkatkrishna Reddy : Rs. 11 lakh

See also Table of Unpaid Dues on the next page.

(Outlook, 13.7.98 p.46)

3. Secretarial allowance will be Rs. 6,000 a month.

4. Constituency allowance of Rs. 8,000 will now accrue to an MP per month.

5. There will be an increase in single-

air journeys from 28 to 32 in a year. And unutilised quota of air journeys in a particular year will be carried over to the next.

6. MPs have endowed themselves with 25,000 units of free electricity a year.

7. Rs. 6 per km. for road mileage.

8. MPs get car advance of Rs. 1 lakh.

9. Pension is fixed at Rs. 2,500 a month.

10. There is also an increase in the family pension which now stands at Rs. 1,000 a month.

Whereas a hike made in the emoluments of the President, Vice-President and Governors is taxable, MP's pay is completely tax free. There is a whopping 160 per cent rise in MP's salaries which will impose a burden of Rs. 18 crore on the nation's exchequer. The bulk of this increase comes from individual citizen's tax money.

MPs and MLAs are not the only privileged lot, since the Chief Justice of India, the Chief Justices of the high courts and other judges of the Supreme Court are also travelling in the same boat. The Chief Justice of India gets upto Rs. 4,000 a

month and the Chief Justices of the high courts and other judges of the Supreme Court receive Rs. 3,000 per month as a tax-free sumptuary allowance (SA). This amendment came into effect in 1980. Later on in 1996, Lok Sabha enacted a bill which showed an increase in SA and conveyance facilities of the high court and Supreme Court judges. That was when the SA was increased three to six times and petrol allowance was hiked from 150 to 200 litres per month.

Whereas enactments are made to favour the privileged few, the entire salaried class, governmental and non-governmental, which constitute over five crore people, is draining the national exchequer. Way back in 1989, Madhu Akotkar, a co-operative bank

### INFORMATION FACT SHEET

## LAW MAKERS LIVE BEYOND LAW!

### UNPAID DUES

(Rs. lakh)

Sr. No.		Food	Water & Electricity	Telephone
1.	Chandra Shekhar	0.40	10.0	12.00
2.	Madhav Rao Scindia	-	6.0	2.17
3.	Rajesh Pilot	-	2.0	10.00
4.	Ghani Khan Chowdhury	-	2.0	42.00
5.	Kalpna Rai	-	4.0	1.80
6.	George Fernandes	-	2.5	4.00
7.	Suresh Kalmadi	-	0.7	4.49
8.	Vijaya Raje Scindia	-	-	8.00
9.	Shibu Soren	-	7.0	-
10.	K. P. Unnikrishnan	-	-	6.50
11.	Sahib Singh Verma	0.61	-	-
12.	Sanjay Singh	-	-	4.00
13.	Raj Babbar	-	-	6.80
14.	Ghulam Nabi Azad	0.30	-	-
15.	AICC	7.88	-	-
16.	Indian Youth Congress	8.98	-	-

(Source: India Today, 27.7.98)

House Rent Allowance (HRA), and the Dearness Allowance (DA) of salaried employees is taxable. The PIL claimed that this is unconstitutional, since such allowances are not by definition "salaries" in the Income Tax Act of 1961. Hearing on this case is long overdue which will no doubt stir up a hornet's nest. The Fifth Pay Commission report also supports this petition where a chapter on Income Tax on Salaries and Pensions recommends that "all allowances may

henceforth be paid net of taxes."

But in our *Naukershahi* regime two Laws of the Sea prevail. **The first law is that Big Fish swallow Small Fish! Second, that the Fish swimming in water cannot be detected to be swallowing water, i.e., state revenue! ■**

### INFORMATION FACT SHEET

## LAW MAKERS LIVE BEYOND LAW!

### EXTREME NEPOTISM IN KASHMIR

'Direct Recruitment' has become rule of the day for the state government services as far as the state of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. Nepotism is so well-entrenched in government services that increasingly dissatisfied, unemployed Kashmiri youths are turning to full-fledged militancy. **The state government has not recruited any gazetted officer through the Public Service Commission for the last 14 years.** Most of the appointments are made by 'relaxation of rules', a provision which was supposed to be used only in extraordinary situations. No advertisements appear in the news papers and a favoured few are recruited at the cost of qualified and deserving candidates. Here are some examples to denote what the word 'right connection' means for the unemployed 'extremist youth' of the Kashmir valley.

- Nouman Thakur, an engineering graduate, was inducted as a deputy superintendent in the state police. He is the son of a retired bureaucrat who is now a member of the State Public Service Commission.
- Farooq Ahmed War was made assistant director in the state's Hospitality and Protocol Department. He is the son-in-law of the Chief Minister's security officer.
- Vikrant Sharma was directly appointed as protocol officer in the same Hospitality and Protocol Department. He is a close relative of a former law secretary of the J&K government.
- Parvez Ahmad was inducted as Inspector in the Excise Department. He is the son of National Conference leader and member of the Rajya Sabha, Sharief Din Shariq.
- Rifat Kitchloo, a daughter of B. A. Kitchloo, the state Transport Minister, joined Social Welfare Department as supervisor.

**INFORMATION FACT SHEET**  
**Percentage of Women MLAs**  
**in State Assemblies**

Sr. No.		1952	1993-97
1.	Andhra Pradesh	2.9	2.7
2.	Assam	0.5	4.8
3.	Bihar	3.6	3.4
4.	Goa	n.a.	10.0
5.	Gujarat	n.a.	1.1
6.	Haryana	n.a.	4.4
7.	Himachal Pradesh	0	4.4
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	n.a.	2.3
9.	Karnataka	2.0	3.1
10.	Kerala	0	9.3
11.	Madhya Pradesh	2.1	3.8
12.	Maharashtra	1.9	3.8
13.	Orissa	9.6	5.4
14.	Punjab	2.2	6.0
15.	Rajasthan	0	4.5
16.	Sikkim	n.a.	3.1
17.	Tamil Nadu	0.3	3.8
18.	Uttar Pradesh	1.2	4.0
19.	West Bengal	0.8	6.8
20.	Delhi	4.2	4.3

**INFORMATION FACT SHEET**  
**Women in the Hierarchy**  
**of Political Parties**

Sr. No.		Total Members	No. of Women
1.	BJP Parliamentary Board	9	1
	National Executive	73	9
2.	Congress Working Committee	19	2
3.	JD Pol. Affairs Committee	15	0
	Parliamentary Board	15	0
	National Executive	75	11
4.	CPI (M) Politburo	15	0
	Central Committee	70	5
5.	CPI Secretariat	9	0
	National Executive	31	3
	National Council	125	6
6.	UF Steering Committee	15	0

(Source : India Today, 27.7.98)

**INFORMATION FACT SHEET**  
**WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION (in %)**

YEAR	RAJYA SABHA	LOK SABHA
1952	7.3	4.4
1957	7.5	5.4
1962	7.6	6.8
1967	8.3	5.9
1971	7.0	4.2
1977	10.2	3.4
1980	9.8	7.9
1984	11.4	8.1
1989	9.7	5.3
1991	15.5	7.2
1996	9.0	7.2
1998	n.a.	8.0

**INFORMATION FACT SHEET**

**RANKING OF INDIAN COLLEGES BY POPULAR PRESS**

Overall Ranking		Avg. Weighted Rating out of 10	Reputation of Faculty	Infrastructure (Library, Computers etc.)
<b>I. Arts (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>
1.	St. Stephen's, Delhi	8.0	8.0	8.1
2.	Presidency, Calcutta	7.8	7.9	7.9
3.	St. Xavier's, Calcutta	7.7	7.7	7.8
4.	Christian College, Chennai	7.6	7.4	7.8
5.	St. Xavier's, Mumbai	7.5	7.4	7.9
5.	St. Joseph's, Bangalore	7.5	7.4	7.6
7.	Loyola, Chennai	7.4	7.4	7.7
7.	Presidency, Chennai	7.4	7.6	7.2
7.	Brabourne, Calcutta	7.4	7.3	7.5
10.	Fergusson College, Pune	7.2	7.3	7.2
<b>II. Science (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>
1.	St. Stephen's, Delhi	8.0	7.9	8.2
2.	Presidency, Calcutta	7.8	7.9	7.9
3.	St. Xavier's, Mumbai	7.4	7.1	7.6
3.	Presidency, Chennai	7.4	7.5	7.5
3.	LSR, Delhi	7.4	7.5	7.5
6.	St. Xavier's, Calcutta	7.3	7.1	7.5
7.	Hindu, Delhi	7.2	7.3	7.1
7.	Brabourne, Calcutta	7.2	7.2	7.2
7.	Mt. Carmel, Bangalore	7.2	7.0	6.9
10.	St. Joseph's, Bangalore	7.1	6.7	7.6
<b>III. Commerce (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>
1.	SRCC, Delhi	7.8	7.9	8.0
2.	Loyola, Chennai	7.6	8.0	7.3
3.	St. Joseph's (Com), Bangalore	7.5	7.3	7.6
4.	St. Xavier's, Calcutta	7.3	7.2	7.4
4.	Hindu, Delhi	7.3	7.5	7.3
4.	Mt. Carmel, Bangalore	7.3	7.5	7.1
7.	Christian College, Chennai	7.2	7.1	7.3
7.	Podar, Mumbai	7.2	7.4	7.4
8.	Ruparel, Mumbai	7.0	6.8	7.0
8.	Ravenshaw, Cuttack	7.0	7.0	7.0
<b>IV. Engineering (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>
1.	IIT, Powai	9.0	8.9	8.8
1.	IIT, Kanpur	9.0	8.9	8.8
3.	IIT, Delhi	8.8	9.3	8.6
4.	IIT, Chennai	8.4	8.4	8.2
5.	IIT, Kharagpur	8.0	7.9	7.8
6.	BITS, Pilani	7.8	7.8	7.8
7.	Roorkee Engineering College	7.5	7.6	7.4
8.	REC, Suratkhal	7.0	7.3	6.8
9.	VJTI, Mumbai	6.8	6.6	6.6
10.	Jadavpur University	6.7	6.7	6.6
<b>V. Medicine (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>
1.	AIIMS, Delhi	8.6	8.0	8.2
2.	CMC, Vellore	7.9	7.7	8.1
3.	JIPMER, Pondicherry	7.7	7.6	7.6
4.	KEM, Mumbai	7.3	7.3	7.2
5.	Manipal Medical College	6.7	6.8	7.0
<b>VI. Law (Importance of attribute in %)</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>20</b>
1.	National School of Law, Bangalore	8.5	8.5	8.3
2.	Law College, Delhi University	7.3	7.4	7.4
3.	Law College, Mumbai	7.0	7.3	7.1
3.	Law College, Pune	7.0	7.0	7.0
5.	Law College, BHU, Varanasi	6.7	6.8	6.9

means a tie for the position and therefore some ranks have been skipped.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

**RANKING OF INDIAN COLLEGES BY POPULAR PRESS**

Quality of Students	Discipline of the College	Curriculum Offered				
15	15	20				
8.2	7.8	7.9				
8.0	7.5	7.6				
7.7	7.7	7.4				
7.8	7.6	7.7				
7.9	7.0	7.3				
7.4	7.3	7.4				
7.5	7.3	7.1				
7.4	7.4	7.6				
7.4	7.6	7.2				
7.1	6.9	7.3				
15	15	20				
8.4	7.6	7.9				
8.1	7.5	7.7				
7.7	7.1	7.5				
7.4	7.2	7.4				
7.5	7.5	7.2				
7.5	7.2	7.3				
7.4	7.0	7.3				
7.4	7.1	7.2				
7.1	7.4	7.2				
7.8	7.1	7.1				
15	15	20				
7.7	7.4	7.8				
7.2	7.3	7.7				
7.5	7.4	7.6				
7.3	7.1	7.4				
7.0	6.6	7.7				
7.4	7.2	7.0				
7.1	7.4	7.3				
7.2	6.8	6.9				
7.2	6.9	7.3				
7.0	7.1	7.1				
15						
9.0	8.9	← Career Prospects for Engineering (Importance of attribute : 30 %)	Gen. Hospital Infrastructure	Exposure to a variety of cases	Advanced & Sophisticated Technology	Provision for Practical Training
9.0	9.0					
8.9	8.4					
8.5	8.5					
8.1	8.1					
8.0	7.8					
7.6	7.3					
6.7	7.1					
7.4	7.1					
6.9	6.8					
10	30	15	20	20		
8.6	-	9.0	9.1	8.3	-	
8.0	-	8.1	7.8	8.1	-	
7.7	-	7.8	7.3	8.0	-	
7.4	-	7.3	7.2	7.5	-	
6.4	-	6.7	6.4	6.9	-	
10	15				15	
8.3	8.2	← Career Prospects for Law (Importance of attribute : 15 %)				8.6
7.8	6.8					7.0
6.9	6.6					6.8
6.8	6.8					7.0
6.5	6.2					6.6

**The Methodology :** The INDIA TODAY-ORG-MARG Poll was held in 10 cities - Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta, Chennai, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Patna, Ahmedabad and Pune. It was conducted over three days - June 18, 19 and 22 - among Principals, Vice-Principals, Deans and Heads of Departments. The respondents contacted were 300. They were asked to evaluate each college on each attribute on a scale of 1 to 10. **Overall ratings for each college were then calculated depending upon the average rating which the college got on each attribute and the importance of each attribute. That is, Final Rating was based upon Average Rating, both subjectively ascertained ! This is bourgeois polling, with a vengeance !**

**Key Criteria :** The Principals, Heads of Department and Senior Professors were first asked to list the attributes, which they felt were important for a student to consider before he or she chose a college. The respondents were then asked what they felt the relative importance of each attribute was. This was done by asking all of them to distribute 100 points across all the attributes they mentioned. An average was then worked out to get what is called "an importance score" for each attribute.

(Source : India Today, 6.7.98)

# CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Exe. Edr.

## US INFILTRATES BANGLADESH

There is an increased military activity by the United States in the Indian Ocean region. The American government is trying to cajole Bangladesh to enter into a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) which will replace the existing Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which covers small joint military exercise focusing on "counter-narcotics activities, disaster relief, building schools, and medical training and treatment." SOFA would enable America to hold these exercises on a regular basis whereas an MOU is entered into and is limited to each exercise. Thus the signing of SOFA will mean that Bangladesh will have no control over US military presence on Bangladesh territory.

The ostensible reason the Americans advance for the signing of SOFA between US and Bangladesh is that it will help a better management

of natural calamities in Bangladesh. After the 1991 cyclone, the US gave Bangladesh \$ 28 million as assistance. Out of this \$ 19 million was the share of the Pentagon, the American military establishment. 8000 US soldiers took part in the rehabilitation operation code named Sea Angel.

Japan and Kazakhstan are the only two Asian countries to sign SOFA with the US. Sri Lanka has so far not agreed to such a move despite American overtures. Soon after the signing of a SOFA with Kazakhstan, an entire division of the US air force took off from the US in large troop-carriers, refuelled mid-air and landed on improvised airfields in Kazakhstan. India has reason to believe that this exercise was undertaken to test how quickly US forces could land in Kashmir in strength, if the Americans think the situation demands it.

The Indian nuclear tests and the

discovery of large gas deposits in Bangladesh are the two immediate factors leading to an increased American interest in this area. The original estimate of less than 10 trillion cubic feet of gas deposits has now been found to be 100 to 120 trillion cubic feet by Anglo-American exploring companies. The pressure on Bangladesh to open up the energy sector has acquired urgency with this discovery of gas by British and Dutch companies off the Chittagong coast. In the first six months of 1997, \$ 200 million were poured into Bangladesh as foreign direct investment.

The US is dangling the carrot of a regional UN institute in Dhaka for training a peace-keeping force, if the latter agrees to sign SOFA. Bangladesh has one of the largest numbers in UN peace-keeping forces with more than a thousand personnel in eleven branches. ■

## BHUTAN ENACTS A DEMOCRATIC CHARADE !

On the eve of 76th session of Bhutan's national assembly, Bhutan King Jigme Singye Wangchuk issued a royal edict (Kasho), which dissolved his 22-member cabinet and proclaimed that henceforth Bhutan would have an elected Council of Ministers with executive powers. The second part of the royal edict that empowered the national assembly to vote a king out of power with a two-third majority.

The National Assembly of 140 members, or rather courtiers, was "shocked" at this sudden 'democratic' turn of events. Members were found neither prepared to elect six members of a new cabinet, nor were they ready to accept the power to enforce the King's abdication. Their "sense of

loyalty" had been outraged ! But the king was determined to push through the changes. Now after 26 years of steering the country, he will retain power concerning issues like national security and sovereignty as a "head of the state". When the National Assembly failed to elect six members to the new cabinet, the king himself handpicked them. And then the Assembly rubber-stamped their elevation. As for the other part of the royal edict, King Jigme Singye was following in the footsteps of his father, Jigme Dorji Wangchuk. Jigme Dorji who created the National Assembly in 1953, had also put forward a similar proposal in 1968, fifteen years later, empowering the Assembly to force a royal abdication.

However times were not ripe enough at that time for members to have the courage to accept empowerment ! The whole thing is comedy ! Another 30 years have passed and National Assembly members yet lack the spinal cord !

The chosen six-ministers of the cabinet are all young professionals in the age group of 45-50. They have replaced the veterans who were serving as ministers for 15 to 20 years. The King's selection of these ministers is also apparently in keeping with "democratic norms" ! Bhutan now has a middle class ! The people who are educated in India and the West as parliamentarians have political aspirations which bring them into direct conflict with the older

feudal elite. The king wants to appease the new and at the same time he does not want to disturb the old order.

Bhutanese dissidents in exile are not impressed with the democratic reforms introduced by the king. Thinley Penjore, Chairman of the United Front for Democracy in Bhutan views the measures as political gimmickry by the king to fool the world. If the king really wanted to usher in democratic reforms, he would

have done so by ordering fresh elections for both the bodies, i.e., the National Assembly and the Cabinet. Ratan Gazmere of the Appeal Movement Coordination Council, plugs the same line, when he considers the whole thing as "a farce". Because all that the king has done is that under the cover of elections, he has simply nominated his own relatives or trusted followers, albeit of the younger age group, to the new

Cabinet. The new Cabinet does not reflect representation of all interests of the Bhutanese society. The kingdom's majority population is Nepali-speaking. They have been totally excluded from the so-called "democratisation process".

Therefore we can conclude by saying that although the Bhutan king finds it necessary to play a charade, the half-million people of Bhutan are not at all amused ! ■

## MAYOR OF BEIJING SENTENCED TO 16 YEARS' JAIL IN SECRET TRIAL

The trial, recently held of the former Communist Party boss of Beijing, Chen Xitong was a closed one. Chen was sentenced to jail for 16 years. However details behind his conviction remained a closely guarded secret. Official reports referred to the charges of corruption and dereliction of duty during Chen's rule over the Chinese capital in the 1990s. Chen was accused of misusing extraordinarily huge amounts of money, causing huge losses of public property.

The way the entire Chen affair was handled by the Chinese

authorities shows that Chinese officials are hiding something. During his reign, Chen and his cronies were said to have diverted more than Yuan 2 billion of municipal funds. Chen's son, Chen Xiaotong, is already serving a sentence of 12 years in another corruption case. Another accomplice whose name got a mention in the published verdict was that of Chen's former aide and vice-mayor of Beijing, who committed suicide in April 1995.

Reasons for the trial not being held in public are not difficult to guess. Chen was one of the leaders

judged to be responsible for the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident and his conviction is the harshest criminal punishment meted out to a Politburo member since the Gang of Four's trial in the late '70s. The top party organs like the Politburo Standing Committee, the Central Commission for Disciplinary Inspection and the Commission for Political and Legal Affairs, have a final say in all judicial matters. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders commitment to promote judicial transparency is therefore just an illusion ! ■

## BOTHA PLAYS GAMES WITH TRC CIRCUS !

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa was set up to investigate the causes, nature and extent of the human rights violations committed during the period between March 1, 1960 and May 1, 1994. During its investigations into apartheid-era crimes, it has come out with revelations of numerous acts of gross human rights violations. And also the acts committed by the regime, which were illegal even under the norms set by apartheid laws. Persons who have been implicated for gross human rights violations and other heinous acts of misconduct have now applied for amnesty. Those who have applied for amnesty have claimed that they acted under the expressed instructions of their superiors. And, in all the cases the accusing finger points

at one person who was a key player in the apartheid regime.

P. W. Botha was at the helm of affairs of the apartheid regime of South Africa. He was both head of the State and Government. He was also the Leader-in-Chief of the National Party. Botha was the very symbol of iron-fisted apartheid and was in position to know all the criminal details of the crimes committed by the apartheid system. He used to preside over the deliberations of the State Security Council (SSC) which was in view of Nelson Mandela, "a shadowy secretariat of security experts and intelligence officials." It acted as a Super Cabinet during the '80s.

During the TRC's special hearings in Cape Town (June 8-12; and June 18) into the apartheid regime's

Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) programme between 1981 and 1994, Dr. Wouter Basson was summoned for prosecution. Dr. Basson was the chief of the regime's Chemical and Biological Warfare (CBW) programme. He was arrested in January 1996 for possessing large quantities of the designer drug 'Ecstasy'. Many scientists were involved in this programme which proved to be a death warrant for the black people of South Africa. These doctors of death synthesised and manufactured in their laboratories various kinds of viruses, poisons and disease-carrying germs, and found convenient means to transmit them; which essentially meant for killing only the black people and making black women infertile. The idea of

this clandestine programme\* had originated in the SSC. This has been made clear by presenting minutes of the meeting which took place in March 1986, when Botha was very much in charge of the SSC. Dr. Basson who faces criminal charges arising out of his CBW research; refused to testify before the TRC. The TRC rejected the plea but his lawyers have appealed against the ruling. Why only Dr. Basson, even the man who masterminded all the crimes during the apartheid regime has the guts to refuse to appear before the TRC. Certainly decisions regarding immoral and grievous acts of crime were not taken up by the workers of the regime working in a political vacuum. Colonel Eugene de Kock who appeared as a prosecution witness

during the amnesty hearings before the TRC confirmed that not only the orders for the various criminal acts that he committed came from the very top, but such acts like the bombing of the London office of the African National Congress (ANC) in March 1982, an act which was illegal even within the frame of apartheid laws were carried out under P. W. Botha's direction. Colonel Eugene de Kock who has received two life sentences for his apartheid crimes, has recorded this in his amnesty application, running into over a thousand pages. Botha's Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, and former National Commissioner of Police Johann Van der Merwe have also sought amnesty for the heinous crime of the bombing of Khotso House (August 31, 1988)

and have confessed that they were responsible for the bombing of the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, the orders for this outrage came directly from Botha, according to Vlok and Van der Merwe.

What other evidence does the TRC require to force P. W. Botha to appear before the Court of Law for deposition? He has even ignored a subpoena to appear before the TRC. The TRC wanted him to testify on several issues and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC chairperson is the chief complainant. Ironically both the complainant and the TRC have gone out of the way to accommodate P. W. Botha. No wonder Botha is enjoying the game which he is playing with the "TRC Circus". ■

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## Adda at Nukkad

(contd. from pg. 67)

communications wing. They are taking the lead in holding secret HC-level meetings in all major cities. One such well-attended meeting in Hyderabad was reported in *Indian Express* of Nov. 24, 1997. A consensus to reject the revised pay scales is emerging at these meetings.

In Madurai, Dindigul, Coimbatore and Tiruchi, posters appeared in early 1998 announcing a strike to protest "vindictive punishments, peremptory transfers and denial of adequate

promotional opportunities."

The growing frustrations in the forces are reflected in the lack of volunteers for recruitment in the armed forces, the growing number of suicides amongst the police and the increasing number of assassinations of officers by jawans in the armed forces.

The army has a sanctioned troop strength of 10.45 lakhs but there is a shortage of 59,000. Out of these 21,000 are in the infantry section

which is in the forefront of counter-insurgency operations. Out of a sanctioned strength of 45,000 officers, there is a shortfall of 13,000.

Over the last decade, 2,500 personnel including 178 officers have been killed in counter-insurgency operations.

The divisions in the armed forces and the police between the jawans and the officers and the growing strength of the people's movement will force the jawans to think on which side they should stand. ■



# INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

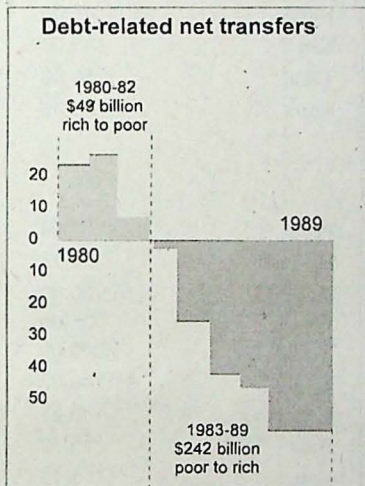
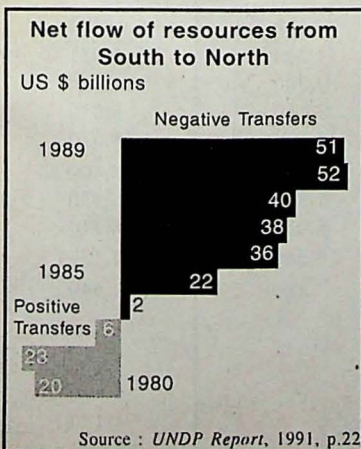
## NEO-COLONIAL LOOT OF THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH ENFORCED DEVALUATIONS OF LOCAL CURRENCIES

Vinayak Purohit

*Mankind* is very proud of the fact that it is one of the very few Indian journals, perhaps the only one, which has devoted considerable space to the study of the contours and dynamics of the world economy.

We draw the attention of our readers to the following two figures which we published on the Back Covers of our September 1997 and November 1997 issues and which we reprinted in the December 1997 issue on p. 47.

We reproduce these figures which I have derived from *The Human Development Report*, 1991, p. 22, and, 1992, p. 45 & 67. By imposing restrictions upon the Third World, especially on movements of labour; by manipulating terms of trade; and, by imposing other trade restrictions, the rich countries of the world (overlappingly organised as G-8, NATO, OECD, and EU) are blocking the Third World from earning \$ 500 bln.

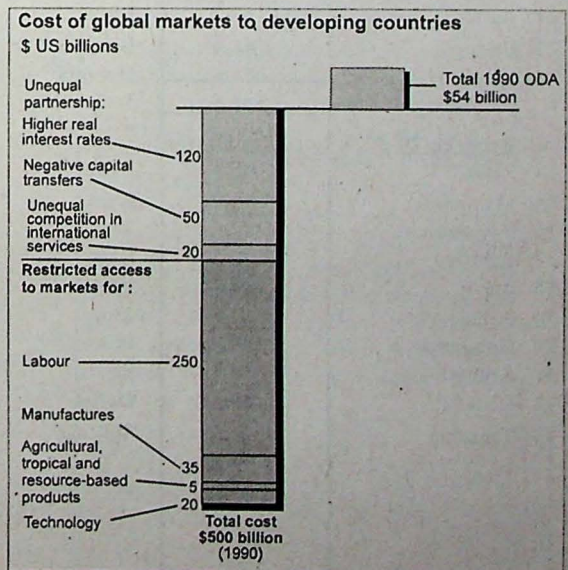


annually.

At the same time, they are extracting, by way of Trade Deficits and Debt Servicing, something like \$ 51-52 bln. per year.

As far as India is concerned, the Drain of Wealth in recent years has been summed up in the following table which we first carried in our August issue.

Under these overall conditions, it is not possible to conceive of any



real industrial or technological progress on the part of the non-industrialised Developing Nations of the Third World. As the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia became independent, rather pseudo-independent, the Western neo-colonial powers had recourse to manipulations of the external value of the local currencies as the preferred means of exploitation and oppression of the Third World countries. Thus, devaluations are the instruments of choice for extracting enormous surpluses from the poor countries to further enrich the already rich nations of the world.

With these preliminary remarks, we present the following table : *The Neo-Colonial Loot of the Third World through Enforced Devaluations of the Local Currency.*

- The table deals with 71 countries divided into four groups as follows :
- Those with over 100-million population.
  - Those falling between 50 and 100 mln. population.
  - Those between 20 and 50 mln. population.
  - Those between 10 and 20 million.

The total of all four groups is 5,252 mln. which represents 93 % of the world population of 1995. ■

# THE NEO-COLONIAL LOOT OF THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH ENFORCED DEVALUATIONS OF LOCAL CURRENCIES

COUNTRY	POPULATION MID-1995	CURRENT EXCHANGE RATE AUGUST 1998, PER \$	1995 PCI IN- CURRENT \$	1995 PCI IN PPP TERMS
<b>A. Over 100 mln Population</b>				
1. China	1,200.2	Yuan 8.32	620	2,920
2. India <sup>a</sup>	929.4	Rupee 43.25 <sup>j</sup>	340	1,400
3. United States	263.1	—	26,980	26,980
4. Indonesia <sup>b</sup>	193.3	Rupiah 13,200.00 <sup>h</sup>	980	3,800
5. Brazil <sup>c</sup>	159.2	Rial 1.48	3,640	5,400
6. Russia	148.2	Rouble 7,100.00	2,240	4,480
7. Pakistan <sup>c</sup>	129.9	Rupee 45.00	460	2,230
8. Japan <sup>a</sup>	125.2	Yen 145.00	39,640	22,110
9. Bangladesh	119.8	Taka 50.00	240	1,380
10. Nigeria	111.3	Naira 80.00	260	1,220
	<b>3,379.6<sup>o</sup></b>			
<b>B. Between 50 &amp; 100 mln. Population</b>				
11. Mexico	91.8	Peso 7.68	3,320	6,400
12. Germany <sup>a</sup>	81.9	D.Mark 1.53	27,510	20,070
13. Vietnam	73.5	Dong 10,960.00	240	1,208 <sup>9d</sup>
14. Philippines	68.6	Peso 26.00	1,050	2,850
15. Iran	64.1	Rial 3,000.00	1,900 <sup>h</sup>	5,766
16. Turkey	61.1	T.Lira 81,746.00	2,780	5,580
17. United Kingdom <sup>a</sup>	58.5	£ Sterling 0.65	18,700	19,260
18. Thailand <sup>b</sup>	58.2	Baht 25.39	2,740	7,540
19. France <sup>a</sup>	58.1	Franc 5.15	24,990	21,030
20. Egypt	57.8	E.Pound 3.41	720	3,820
21. Italy <sup>a</sup>	57.2	Lira 1,616.00	19,020	19,870
22. Ethiopia	56.4	Birr 6.29	100	450
23. Ukraine	51.6	Hyrvnia 189,300.00	1,630	2,400
	<b>838.8</b>			
<b>C. Between 20 &amp; 50 mln. Population</b>				
24. Zaire	45.3	Zaire 19,900.00	120	490
25. Myanmar	45.1	Kyat 5.92	1,238 <sup>k</sup>	1,051
26. S.Korea	44.9	Won 809.00	9,700	11,450
27. S.Africa	41.5	Rand 4.34	3,160	5,030
28. Spain	39.2	Peseta 128.00	13,580	14,520
29. Poland	38.6	Zloty 2.72	2,790	5,400
30. Colombia	36.8	Peso 1,071.00	1,910	6,130
31. Argentina	34.7	Peso 1.00	8,030	8,310
32. Canada <sup>a</sup>	29.6	Dollar 1.37	19,380	21,130
33. Tanzania	29.6	Shilling 613.00	120	640

# THE NEO-COLONIAL LOOT OF THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH ENFORCED DEVALUATIONS OF LOCAL CURRENCIES

NATIONAL CURRENCY UNDER-(OVER) VALUED BY A FACTOR OF	CORRECTED \$ RATE IN PPP TERMS	NOTES
		Sources :
4.70 <sup>d</sup>	1.76 R. Yuan	1. Cols 1 and 3. Exchange Rates sourced as follows :
4.11 <sup>d</sup>	10.50 Rupee	2.
—	—	3. a = <i>Times of India</i> , 17.7.98
4.25 <sup>d</sup>	3,095.17 Rupiah	4. b = <i>India Today</i> , 22.6.98, p. 53
1.48	0.68 Rial	5. c = <i>Economic Survey</i> , 1997-98, Table 6.5 and S-78.
2.00	3,550.00 Rouble	6. All the rest are from <i>Manorama Yearbook</i> , 1998.
4.84 <sup>d</sup>	9.28 Rupee	7.
Overvalued 1.79 times <sup>d</sup>	259.00 Yen	8. Cols. 2, 4 and 5. Population and PCI data from World Bank, <i>World Development Report</i> , 1997, Table 1, p. 214-15 and Table 1a, p. 248.
5.75 <sup>d</sup>	8.69 Taka	9.
4.69 <sup>d</sup>	17.05 Naira	10. Cols. 6 and 7 derived as explained :
		<b>Memo Items :</b>
1.92	3.98 Peso	11. d. All the currencies of the world, especially those of the Third World, are undervalued to various degrees. Amongst the most seriously undervalued currencies are those of China (4.7 times); India (4.11 times); Indonesia (4.25 times); Pakistan (4.84 times); Bangladesh (5.75 times); Nigeria (4.69 times); Vietnam (5.03 times); Egypt (4.83 times); Ethiopia (4.5 times); Tanzania (5.33 times); Kenya (4.92 times); Afghanistan (5.46 times); Nepal (5.85 times); Uganda (6.12 times); Sri Lanka (4.64 times); Ghana (5.1 times); Mozambique (10.12 times); Syria (4.75 times) and Cambodia (4.01 times).
Overvalued 1.37 times <sup>e</sup>	2.09 D.Mark	12.
5.03 <sup>d</sup>	2,177.62 Dong	13.
2.71	9.57 Peso	14.
3.03	990.09 Rial	15.
2.01	40,730.44 T.Lira	16.
Almost at par with Dollar <sup>f</sup>	0.63 £ Sterling	17.
2.75	9.22 Baht	18.
Overvalued 1.18 times	6.11 Franc	19.
4.83 <sup>d</sup>	0.70 E.Pound	20.
Almost at par with Dollar <sup>f</sup>	1,552.35 Lira	21.
4.50 <sup>d</sup>	1.39 Birr	22.
1.47	128,600.54 Hyrvnia	23.
		24.
0.24	4,877.45 Zaire	25.
Overvalued 1.17 times <sup>k</sup>	—	26.
1.18	685.59 Won	27.
1.59	2.72 Rand	28.
1.07	119.73 Peseta	29.
1.93	1.40 Zloty	30.
3.20	333.74 Peso	31.
1.03	0.96 Peso	32.
1.09 <sup>g</sup>	1.25 Dollar	33.
5.33 <sup>d</sup>	114.94 Shilling	

(contd. on next page)

# THE NEO-COLONIAL LOOT OF THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH ENFORCED DEVALUATIONS OF LOCAL CURRENCIES

COUNTRY	POPULATION MID-1995	CURRENT EXCHANGE RATE AUGUST 1998, PER \$	1995 PCI IN CURRENT \$	1995 PCI IN PPP TERMS
34. Algeria	28.0	Dinar 53.61	1,600	5,300
35. Kenya	26.7	Shilling 58.00	280	1,380
36. Sudan	26.7	Dinar 98.00	450	1,084
37. Morocco	26.6	Dirham 8.75	1,110	3,340
38. N.Korea	23.9	Won KPW 2.15	1,900 <sup>m</sup>	3,965
39. Peru	23.8	New-Sol 2.45	2,310	3,770
40. Afghanistan	23.5	Afghani 4,750.00	150	819 <sup>l</sup>
41. Romania	22.7	Leu 3,029.00	1,480	4,360
42. Uzbekistan	22.8	Som 37.50	970	2,370
43. Venezuela	21.7	Bohlar 468.00	3,020	7,900
44. Nepal	21.5	Rupee 56.00	200	1,170
45. Iraq	20.1	I.Dinar 0.31	1,900 <sup>m</sup>	3,159
46. Malaysia <sup>a</sup>	20.1 <sup>r</sup>	Ringgit 3.77	3,890	9,020
	<b>693.3</b>			
<b>D. Between 10 &amp; 20</b>	<b>mln. Population</b>			
47. Uganda	19.2	Shilling 1,046.00	240	1,470
48. S.Arabia	19.0	Rial SAR 1.74	7,040	9,338
49. Sri Lanka	18.1	Rupee 55.60	700	3,250
50. Australia <sup>a</sup>	18.1	Austr.Dollar 1.27	18,720	18,940
51. Ghana	17.1	Cedi 1,658.00	390	1,990
52. Kazakistan	16.6	Tenge 67.20	1,330	3,010
53. Mozambique	16.2	Metical 11,140.00	80	810
54. Netherlands	15.5	Guilder 1.71	24,000	19,950
55. Yemen	15.3	Rial 140.00	260	805
56. Chile	14.2	Peso 411.00	4,160	9,520
57. Syria	14.1	Syr.Pound 42.00	1,120	5,320
58. Cot ed'Ivoire	14.0	Franc CFA 515.00	660	1,580
59. Madagascar	13.7	Malagasy Franc 3,800.00	230	640
60. Cameroon	13.3	Franc CFA 515.00	650	2,110
61. Ecuador	11.5	Sucre 3,165.00	1,390	4,220
62. Cuba	11.0	Peso 1.00	— <sup>n</sup>	3,000
63. Angola	10.8	New Kwaza AOK 139,294.00	410	1,310
64. Guatemala	10.6	Quetzal 6.13	1,340	3,340
65. Greece	10.5	Drachma 241.00	8,210	11,710
66. Yugoslavia	10.5	New Dinar 5.02	— <sup>n</sup>	— <sup>n</sup>
67. Burkina Faso	10.4	Franc CFA 515.00	230	780
68. Czechoslovakia Rep.	10.3	Koruna 27.50	3,870	9,770
69. Hungary	10.2	Florint 154.00	4,120	6,410
70. Belarus	10.8	Rouble 12,180.00	2,670	4,220
71. Cambodia	10.0	Riel 2,300.00	270	1,084

(contd. from preceding page)

# THE NEO-COLONIAL LOOT OF THE THIRD WORLD THROUGH ENFORCED DEVALUATIONS OF LOCAL CURRENCIES

NATIONAL CURRENCY UNDER-(OVER) VALUED BY A FACTOR OF	CORRECTED \$ RATE IN PPP TERMS	NOTES
3.31	16.18 Dinar	34. g. Even the Canadian dollar is slightly undervalued by 1.09 times.
4.92 <sup>d</sup>	11.76 Shilling	35. h. Indonesian currency has been fluctuating wildly in dollar terms over the last year (since July 1997). At the current official exchange rate of Rupiah 13,200 to the US dollar, the Rupiah stands undervalued by a factor of 4.25.
2.40	40.83 Dinar Old Curr.	36. i. Iran's PCI, 1995, has been placed by the <i>World Development Report</i> , 1996, at between \$ 766 and \$ 3,035 or at about \$ 1,900 at the mean point. Converting this PCI to PPP terms of \$ 5,766 we get a factor of 3.03. Therefore, the true exchange value for the Rial should be about 990 and not the current official rate of 3,000.
2.98	2.93 Dirham	37. j. The official exchange rate for India on 20.8.98 was Rs. 43.25 to the dollar.
2.08	1.03 Won KPW	38. k. Surprisingly, Myanmar's Kyat and Angola's New Kwaza AOK are overvalued. This may be the principal reason for US animus against the military regimes in power in the two countries.
1.63	1.50 New Sol	39. l. Afghanistan's PCI of 819 is taken from the <i>Human Development Report</i> of the UNDP for the year 1995 and relates to the year 1992.
5.46 <sup>d</sup>	869.96 Afghani	40. m. For North Korea and Iraq, we have adopted the same procedure as in the case of Iran. See note 6 above.
2.94	1,028.52 Leu	41. n. Data for Cuba and Yugoslavia not available.
2.44	15.34 Som	42. o. Population of the world is distributed as follows :
2.61	178.96 Bohiar	43. Group A 3,379.6 mln.
5.85 <sup>d</sup>	9.57 Rupee	44. Group B 838.8 mln.
1.66	0.18 I.Dinar	45. Group C 693.3 mln.
2.32	1.62 Ringgit	46. Group D 340.3 mln.
		<u>5,252.00 mln.</u>
6.12 <sup>d</sup>	170.77 Shilling	47. or 93 % of total world population lives in these 71 countries.
1.32	1.31 Rial SAR	48.
4.64 <sup>d</sup>	11.97 Rupee	49.
1.01 <sup>f</sup>	1.25 Austr. Dollar	50.
5.10 <sup>d</sup>	324.97 Cedi	51.
2.26	29.69 Tenge	52.
10.12 <sup>d</sup>	— Metical	53.
Overvalued by 1.2 times <sup>e</sup>	— Guilder	54.
3.10	45.21 Rial	55.
2.29	179.63 Peso	56.
4.75 <sup>d</sup>	8.84 Syr. Pound	57.
2.39	173.63 CFA Franc	58.
2.78	1365.92 Malagasy Franc	59.
3.25	1.76 CFA Franc	60.
3.03	1042.83 Sucre	61.
—	— Peso	62.
3.19 <sup>k</sup>	43,597.49 New Kwa. AOK	63.
2.49	2.45 Quetzel	64.
1.43	169.00 Drachma	65.
—	— Dinar	66.
3.39	151.87 CFA Franc	67.
2.52	10.89 Koruna	68.
1.55	99.03 Florint	69.
1.58	7,708.86 Rouble	70.
4.01 <sup>d</sup>	572.99 Riel	71.

**TABLE VI : BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA)  
DURING LAST SEVEN YEARS**

Rs. crore

		1990-91 Rs. crore	1991-92 Rs. crore	1992-93 Rs. crore	1993-94 Rs. crore	1994-95 Rs. crore	1995-96 Rs. crore	1996-97 Rs. crore
1.	Imports	50,086	51,418	72,000	83,869	112,749	146,542	170,646
2.	Exports	33,152	44,923	54,762	71,146	84,329	108,481	119,876
3.	Trade Deficit (1-2)	-16,934	-6,495	-17,238	-12,723	-28,420	-38,061	-50,770
4.	Invisible Receipts	13,394	23,449	27,038	35,501	48,838	59,482	75,537
5.	Invisible Net Balance	-435	4,258	4,474	9,087	17,837	18,454	37,835
6.	Total Net Invisible Payments (7+8)	-13,829	-19,191	-22,564	-26,414	-31,001	-41,027	-37,702
7.	Net Payments of Interest and Amortisation of Govt. Guaranteed Loans	-4,958	-6,346	-7,395	-8,170	-8,446	-7,734	-7,831
8.	Invisible Payments, Remittances of Profits, Dividends, Royalties, Fees Etc.	-8,871	-12,845	-15,169	-18,243	-22,555	-33,293	-29,871
9.	<b>Total Outgo Per Year (3+6)</b>	<b>-30,763</b>	<b>-25,686</b>	<b>-39,802</b>	<b>-39,137</b>	<b>-59,421</b>	<b>-79,088</b>	<b>-88,472</b>

**Notes :**

A. Politically, these seven years can be divided into three :

1990-91 : The Janata Dal Governments of V. P. Singh and Chandrashekhar collapsed in Nov. 1990 and June 1991 respectively.

1991-96 : The Disaster-Duo of P. V. Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh operated to utterly ruin the country.

1996-97 : The pieces were picked up by A. B. Vajpayee, H. D. Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral. The Finance Minister for both the latter Prime Ministers was P. Chidambaram, who persisted with the Bankrupt Policy of his predecessor, Manmohan Singh, I.A.S.

B. Both India's imports and exports increased by a little over three times. Thus, the initial Trade Deficit for 1990-91 was nearly Rs. 17,000 crores which increased to nearly Rs. 51,000 crores i.e. by almost exactly three times, to prove that heavy Devaluations (See Table II) were totally ineffective in stemming the rot. Contrary to claims made by all three Finance Ministers, Subramaniam Swamy, Manmohan Singh and P. Chidambaram, devaluations did not push up exports sufficiently to compensate for the cheapening of Indian exports and the rise in India's debt burden in rupee terms.

C. Tables V and VI present two sides of the same tragic story. Table VI shows the fearful exploitation of India by the neo-colonial powers, as described in the Pre-Budgetary *Economic Surveys*. The payments of Interest and Amortisation of annual debt have gone up from about Rs. 5,000 crores to about Rs. 8,000 crores (Line 7). However, the terrific increase has been in other Invisible Outflows, which have gone up from about Rs. 9,000 crores to about Rs. 30,000 crores (Line 8).

D. This is what Globalisation means in practice : A terrific increase in the Drain of Wealth from India from about Rs. 30,000 crores 7 years ago to a current annual rate of around Rs. 90,000 crores (Line 9). (We have deliberately chosen to add the Annual Trade Deficit (Line 3) to Total Net Invisible Payments (Line 6).

(Source : *Economic Survey*, 1997-98, Table 6.2, *Balance of Payments*, pp. S-72-3; MK, August, 1998)

# INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

## WORLD ECONOMY : CONTOURS AND DYNAMICS

We have deliberately specialised in the study of the world economy. We published a most important table in our June-July 98 issue on p. 10.

We have reworked this table and enlarged it with inclusion of more details of the seven sub-centres that make up Asia as a whole.

### DOWNFALL OF USA

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT TREND OF THE WORLD ECONOMY, IS THE COLLAPSE OF THE RELATIVE EMINENCE OF USA. THIS IS AN IRREVERSIBLE TRENDLINE AND ACTUALLY EUROPE WHICH HAD REACHED A LOW POINT IN 1945 WILL ECLIPSE BY A SMALL MARGIN THE USA IN THE NEXT 15 YEARS.

### UP AND DOWN MOVEMENT FOR EUROPE

Europe has been on a rollercoaster ride. In 1945 it had reached a terrible nadir. Hitler had devastated the entire continent. From that low point Europe commenced its recovery aided by the Marshall Plan, the stationing of American troops on the continent, local wars, NATO rearmament and such other bourgeois stimuli. From 1957, Europe began to rationalise and expand its domestic market. This economic alliance came to be known as EEC. Today in 1998, the Europeans have come together as 15 states of the European Union [Belgium, France, Germany (E. Germany became a part of the unified Germany in 1990), Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, U.K., Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland, and Sweden] and the core countries of the continent have come together to form a monetary union. By 1999 January, a new currency, the Euro, will replace the national currencies of Belgium, France, unified Germany, Italy, Luxembourg,

Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Austria.

The interested readers may refer to Dick Leonard, *Guide to the European Union, the Economist Series*, 1994 (Further editions must have appeared in subsequent years.)

Considering the trendline from 1960 to 1994, our projection of total European GDP in 2015 at 18-20 % of the world GDP is likely to be realised almost exactly.

THE SECOND MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE WORLD ECONOMY HAS BEEN THE DRAMATIC COLLAPSE OF THE FORMER USSR, AND THE WITHERING AWAY OF ITS ERSTWHILE EMPIRE IN E. EUROPE. THE COLLAPSE HAS BEEN SO DRAMATIC THAT OF THE TOTAL DECLINE OF 9 PERCENTAGE POINTS BETWEEN 1960 AND 1994 FOR EUROPE AS A WHOLE, AT LEAST 5 PERCENTAGE POINTS MAY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THIS FACTOR ALONE.

### ASIAN TIGERS

The grand success story of the last 3 or 4 decades has been the spectacular economic advance achieved by Asia. We have broken up the Asian total into 7 major sub-divisions.

1. What is known as Greater China, i.e., China with Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Singapore has experienced the most spectacular leap forward by about 50 per cent in relative international strength during the 34 years, 1960-1994, and will probably exceed our estimate of 15 per cent of world GDP by 2015.

2. Japan and S. Korea have also grown very rapidly, and in all probability Japan and China will each be 15 per cent of the world in economic terms by 2015.

3. Recently ASEAN countries have

suffered a setback especially since middle of 1997, but will probably bounce back to reach 8 per cent of world GDP by 2015.

4. SAARC countries including India have more or less stagnated for the last three decades and a half. But they may resume their slow forward march in the next decade or two.

5. We have added half a dozen countries of N. Africa to the OPEC total because of their political affinity and cultural homogeneity with the Asiatic Middle East. (We have grouped together Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia.)

6. The five Central Asian republics of the old USSR, namely Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzia, we have grouped together with Mongolia and N. Korea for obvious reasons as the sixth Asian subcentre.

7. The seventh sub-centre is made up of the three European intrusions Turkey, Cyprus and Israel and the three Caucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

We believe that Asiatic economies, excluding the Siberian part of Russia, will subsume about 60 per cent of the world GDP by 2015. In fact, we consider this to be a gross underestimate considering everything.

### REST OF THE WORLD

Even if we assume that Latin America, Caribbean, Africa, Australasia and Oceania merely maintain their 15 per cent of the world GDP over the next decade or two, they could contribute to a slower decline of USA and EU as compared to Asia, in the coming years. The more rapidly Mexico or Brazil or Argentina advance; the more S. Africa and Nigeria move forward, the more rapidly Australia marches forward, the greater will be the N. American and European decline, for Asia is destined to be more and more tigerish.

In absolute terms, the world GDP was a little over 6 trillion dollars (PPP measure) in 1960. World GDP crossed 31 trillion dollars (PPP measures) by 1994. This is an increase of over 500 per cent.

The population of the world in 1960 was about four billions and is now nudging five and a quarter billions.

Thus the average PCI for the world was around \$ 1700 in 1960 and about \$ 6000 in 1994.

Unfortunately, this average hides the horrendous dimension of international inequality which is both between nations and within each nation. This aspect of world poverty has been fully described in our earlier contribution

*Poverty and Inequality : Intra-National and Inter-national, MK, December 1997, p.p. 48-55.*

Our projection is that by the year 2015, the USA will command less than 10 to 15 per cent of the world GDP, Europe will have less than 20 per cent, Asia will increase its share to almost 60 per cent of the world GDP and the balance of 10-15 per cent will belong to the Rest of the World. ■

## WORLD ECONOMY : CONTOURS AND DYNAMICS

		ACTUALS		PROJECTIONS	
		1960	1994	2005	2015
1.	N. America (USA & Canada)	30	23	18	10-15
2.	Europe including European States & Former USSR & East Europe	36	27	23	18-20
3.	Asia	22	36	45-50	55-60
	a. China, H.K., Macao, Taiwan, Singapore	7.45	10.88	12	15
	b. Japan + S. Korea	3.91+0.26	8.45+1.47	12+2	15+2.5
	c. ASEAN, incl Ind= 4 %	2.47	5.37	7	8
	d. SAARC + Afghanistan	5.68	5.42	6	6
	e. OPEC + N. Africa	1.54+0.84	2.12+1.69	3+2	4+3
	f. Five Central Asian Reps. of USSR + Mongolia and N. Korea	—	0.40+0.24	1+0.10	2+0.25
	g. Turkey, Cyprus, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Israel	0.86	1.31	2	3
4.	Rest of the World : L. America, Caribbean, Africa, Oceania & Australasia	13	15	15	15



# INTERNATIONAL REFERENCE MEET AT CALICUT ON 500 YEARS OF VASCO DA GAMA :

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Haji S.M. Mohammed Idris  
(Malaysia)

It is indeed a great honour for me to be invited to inaugurate this Reference on "The Vasco da Gama epoch". This was the label given to this period by K. M. Panikkar, in his book, *Asia and Western Dominance*. This epoch will be 500 years old on May 28<sup>th</sup>. That this function is taking place in Calicut city, where Gama first landed, is also greatly historic. What is taking place here today is being watched with interest all over the globe.

Normally it is our experience that when two people - especially if they are friends - are to recall the first encounter they ever had with each other, there is great joy, happiness and warmth on both sides. Today, at this Reference on Vasco da Gama, we have instead all the manifestations of a human tragedy : in place of warm memories of the encounters between Asia and Europe, we have only anger and rage. There is a gross bitterness in Asia's memory of its encounters with Europe. For 500 years, Europe ruled and exploited Asia, offended its cultures and distorted its mind. Europe attempted to destroy Asia's spirit and to replace its soul with the soul of Europe.

As we stand at this point of reference, with one 500 year period coming to a close and a new one beginning, we find that this bitter experience is the crux of the matter and in my opinion the central focus of this Reference. In fact, this Reference would have no meaning except for the fact that Europe and Asia, though equally significant and separate civilisations, are still in a relationship

of abuse and dependence. It is my fervent wish that the activities resulting from this Reference should bring this situation to an end that should be different from what it is already threatening to become : a continuation of the worst features of the past 500 years.

If we remember the history books written and taught to us by several generations of colonial teachers, and later, by our own historians who continued — and even today continue — uncritically to teach such colonially - inspired history, we in Asia, Africa and America were discovered by Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama. The implication is that our countries did not have any significance till they were found by Europe. European historians have emphasised the importance of the Vasco da Gama direct sea route to India as a great watershed in world history and as the beginnings of world trade.

It bears repeating that this is a totally European - centred version of history and so full of myths, one wonders how it could have been taught not only to millions of European children but Asian children as well. It is important to note that Vasco da Gama was certainly not the first European to arrive in India and there were Europeans who had reached India by the overland route. Long before he arrived, India was already the meeting place of several civilisations, cultures and trade.

There was, for instance, a considerable intra-Asian trade stretching from Africa to China across

seas. This was backed in fact by a huge ship building industry. There was also a substantial indirect overland trade already going on between India and Europe. However it was dominated by Muslims since it had to pass through Muslim controlled territory, and it was mainly to undermine the Muslim control of this trade that the Portuguese King financed the Vasco da Gama voyage.

Thus it is false history to claim that Vasco da Gama even inaugurated trade between India and Europe since it was already in existence prior to his voyage and arrival at Calicut. Even to cross the Indian Ocean, Vasco da Gama required the assistance of a local pilot who chartered the course of his ship from the East African coast across the Indian Ocean after which he safely landed in Calicut.

Thus it is apparent from all this that the importance that the voyage has been given is far out of all proportion to its actual significance. And certainly we in Asia should not be under any compulsion to consider our histories as a footnote to the European version of world events. With more than 2 billion people, we are the world. Why then the necessity of this Reference ? Are we not giving Vasco da Gama too much importance?

Let me state immediately that we are not concerned here with the personality of Vasco da Gama, but in what he came to symbolise and represent. In my mind, it makes sense today to talk in terms of what I shall call the "Vasco da Gama syndrome", an apt label for a Western behavioural trait that requires some examination. Its fundamental characteristic seems to be a profoundly arrogant assessment of its unique civilisational abilities and achievements and it comes accompanied by an almost pathological drive to interfere, intervene and dominate people, cultures and situations which it considers inferior. In this sense the 500 years just passed can be recorded as a period during which Vasco da Gama and his successors sought to intervene in, interfere with and dominate every aspect of the lives of people with whom they came in

contact outside of Europe.

This extraordinarily malignant approach to the cultures and civilisations outside Europe had disastrous consequences. As a result, this encounter between Europe and Asia ended up eventually in the form of a wholly negative balance sheet. While European economies and societies benefited out of all proportion, the cultures and civilisations of Asia, Africa and America were either physically exterminated or were cast as inferior contributions to human history and in need of total replacement with European institutions and languages.

This in fact is the fundamental difference in India at least between all the invasions prior to 1500 and the invasions inaugurated by Vasco da Gama. The earlier invasions enriched India and India enriched the invaders in turn. The European invasions enriched only Europe, impoverishing India instead. The enrichment of Europe was in terms of stolen and plundered wealth and hence superficial. As a consequence of the disruption of the societies of Asia and Africa, human history itself — including European history — was equally impoverished. For, the act of oppression always impoverishes not just the oppressed but also the oppressor.

The association between the West and violence is so pervasive and sustained that it is difficult to believe they could be ever separated. Historians estimate that between 100-200 million American Indians were slaughtered or perished in the occupation of their lands by the colonists. Likewise, more than 30 million Africans lost their lives in the slave trade. In Australia, the colonists eliminated more than 3 million aboriginals, and even enforced a policy through which the children of aboriginals could be forcibly taken over by the state for enforced education.

But the violence has continued with impunity. The UNICEF has estimated that through structural adjustment programmes alone, more than 5 million children below the age of five have perished in one or other of the 115 countries subject to structural adjustment programmes. After the imposition of sanctions against Iraq, the UNICEF has estimated that 8 million children below the age of five have perished in that country. The West is a violent system, in permanent gear. It is capable of large scale violence, mass violence and genocide. While slaughtering and killing people, it can claim to actually be helping them. The culture with the largest culture of violence in fact today claims to be the defender of human rights !

Today 500 years after the arrival of Vasco da Gama, this one way interaction based on domination and violence between Europe and Asia is not ended, but is being sought to be placed on a new, more entrenched plane as a result of the WTO process. The efforts to substitute Asia's lifestyles with Europe's way of doing things has not lost either its drive or its rationale. The new institutional arrangements reflected in the WTO agenda are being promoted as a liberalisation process that will improve the condition of human beings everywhere. Is this really true?

Let us examine the situation in the city of Calicut 500 years ago. It is well recognised that two of the largest

communities in Calicut, Hindus and Muslims, not only lived in peace but conducted free trade and welcomed free trade. Even today the communities in Calicut have maintained cordial relations with each other. This is reflected today on the dais and in this sense this Reference has succeeded in overthrowing the disharmony that was sown here by Vasco da Gama and his successors.

It is another European myth that free and fair trade is an invention of Adam Smith or a contribution of Europe. On the contrary, the original birthplace of free and equal trade between willing partners is Asia. The experience of Vasco da Gama with the King of Calicut bears this out. The King, from all accounts, was not only willing to allow the Portuguese to trade, he was willing to protect their passage for trade.

What Vasco da Gama in fact did was to try to undermine this version of free trade and replace it with the European form of free trade which basically meant a form of trade in which the Europeans would produce monopoly rights and competitors would be extinguished. In fact, as soon as the Portuguese established control of the Indian seas, they introduced the *cartaz*, a form of compulsory tribute that all ships had to pay if they did not want harassment from Portuguese ships.

Local Asian rulers as well as the trading and business communities naturally did not appreciate trade on such terms and refused wherever possible to agree to the Portuguese demands. It was only because Asia did not allow such an unequal and monopolistic trading system to be installed that it became necessary for the Europeans to displace the political regimes themselves. This eventually led to the conversion of all these free trade areas into the colonies under the complete control and domination of the colonising powers.

The past 500 years have therefore seen the gradual installation of the European version of free trade. We have seen how, in recent times, through the WTO, this system of world trade has now been institutionalised at a global level. Naturally today we do not have Vasco da Gama arriving in Calicut, but we have Pepsi and Coca Cola and over 5000 other multinational companies gradually taking charge of the Indian economy, creating new monopolies, forcing smaller competitors to sell out and continuing impoverishment of these economies.

The dominance and control of the economies of Asia by the colonial powers over the past five centuries has had other serious effects on the lives of Asians and Africans. For the first 250 years after the arrival of Vasco da Gama — and so long as political power had still not passed over completely into the hands of the Europeans — they looked at India with far more balanced perspectives.

Once however absolute European political supremacy was installed, European opinion of Asia became grossly transformed. Progressively the peoples of Asia, Africa and America were demonised. Some were described as uncivilised; others as savages.

In 1949, by an act of definition, the American President Truman converted the societies of Asia, Africa

and South America overnight into "undeveloped" societies. By implication, it was now assumed these societies were incompetent and backward societies and needed to copy the lifestyles of those in Europe and America. During this process it was but natural that all the creativity of these societies, their institutions, their systems of knowledge, their technologies would gradually be discounted in value — as their currencies are today — till they would reach the stage of being considered practically of no value whatsoever.

This has had very undesirable consequences. **Not only have the Europeans devalued the intellectual and other contributions of Asia and Africa but the leaders of these countries and many of the intellectuals who were educated in the educational systems set up by these colonial powers have also come to devalue themselves and their own contributions.** Today we have reached a stage where large areas of life in Asia and Africa are completely dominated and ruled by the powerful forces residing in the so-called developed countries. **A classic example are the Asian universities which do very little creative work and primarily engage in transfer of ideas from European universities to our part of the world.** They teach the books produced by European intellectuals and their counterparts across the Atlantic, the Americans, they follow the theories and the categories propagated by these scholars.

The 500 years of domination and conquest were resisted on several occasions by political, religious and cultural groups. The history of Asia and Africa is replete with local accounts of numerous heroes and heroines and political leaders who had the vision and courage to resist the continuing disruption and domination of their lives. Many others fought fearlessly and with determination to protect valuable traditions of these countries.

**One of the most extraordinary examples of this contribution is the case of P. S. Varier and the setting up of the Arya Vaidya Sala at Kottakkal. Today this is one of the premier institutions not only for the teaching and practice of Ayurveda but is also a shining example of a tradition that has been able to withstand all the forces of Western intrusion including the powerful allopathic system of medicine and power of drug multinational companies that feed on it.** There are hundreds of other institutions, men and women who have done also extraordinary work in extremely difficult circumstances to protect the indigenous traditions of their countries.

If this Reference should decide on a course of action I would recommend that **a coalition of thinkers and activists from Asian and African countries should be set up which will begin the enormous task of recording and documenting all the creative contributions reflected in the ideas, cultural products and technologies, systems of knowledge produced in Asia and Africa so that these can be revitalised and restored to their proper position in the community of nations.** Pressures can then be exerted on Asian and African governments to utilise such

traditions as a basis for future development of our countries.

We have lost 500 years of our own histories and as the period ends, we should decide firmly to regain them and to place them as a part of the universal contributions to human history. **The 500 years of abuse of our cultures, religions, technologies, habits, dreams and ideals should end with this Reference. It may not end immediately in practice, but at least it should end in our minds.**

The present setup, reflected in the WTO institutions and globalisation, can not and will not be sensitive to such traditions and institutions. In fact, it is their undeclared objective to destroy local initiatives by negotiating terms of international trade including protectionism, that make the environment hostile to local initiatives. The WTO in addition is a materialistic system with materialist values; it carries no spirituality, no soul. The world, according to the WTO, cannot provide the directions we need for the shaping of our destinies.

The Reference should also announce that we have taken note of the violence, the murders, the genocide perpetrated on our people; the subjugation of our personalities, cultures, languages and identities. We also recommend that the original inhabitants of the people of North America, South America, New Zealand and Australia should have the lands usurped and stolen from them, returned to them. The UN system should examine and draft the legal framework in which this can progressively come to pass:

**It is time to send both Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama packing back home. Nothing which they and their successors showed in their arrogant and often inhuman conduct endeared them to the peoples of our countries. But we should insist that they also return with their languages, their books, their ideals, their technology and their twisted dreams.** We have our own lives to reconstruct from the debris of five centuries. We need time to breathe; to recover ourselves; to be reassured that we also have minds and souls and that our histories are important contributions to the development of the human species.

If a philosophy is required to further this momentum, India has already supplied it in the word "Swadeshi" as defined by Mahatma Gandhiji, and which is the best counter not only to westernisation but to one-sided globalisation represented by WTO. A thorough-going Swadeshi movement will unleash the powerful, latent and creative forces present within us. If this movement is generated, we will no longer be ashamed to strengthen and conserve our religions, whether Hindu or Muslim. We will never be ashamed to eat food with our hands, dress the way our ancestors have dressed and talk in the languages of our forefathers. For this reason, we declare here today that we are not desirous ever of becoming Americans or Germans or Portuguese. We shall fight to be ourselves and if this requires the demolition of the system of dominance and violence propped up by the West, this too we shall accomplish.

I call upon the youth, therefore to take on the mantle of the struggle and to take it forward even if it should last the next 500 years. Shun the West, appreciate and have confidence in the things of your motherland. Above all, have courage and confidence in yourselves. The world can

be changed. It must be changed. The old order installed during the past 500 years is an abomination and should not be permitted to survive a day longer than required. This is the message of Calicut, 500 years after the arrival of Vasco da Gama. ■

## CONCLUDING SPEECH

### Dharampal

We are meeting here under the banner of the International Reference on the coming of Vasco da Gama of Portugal to Calicut some 500 years ago; the date marks the era of intervention, violence and genocide which has been unleashed by Europe in every part of the world as opportunities arose for them from time to time.

This intervention, genocide and violence still persists — perhaps in more sophisticated forms than depicted in the photo exhibition which the organisers have put on display here and in Mumbai relating to 500 years since 1498.

The relevance of this reference is thus not in Vasco da Gama himself or his coming in 1498 and twice thereafter or in the reception he received from the Samudrin Raja of Calicut or even in the major and minor battles thereafter. Its relevance lies in the fact that the process of constant European interventions in the life and affairs of the rest of the world started from this date.

There must have been hundreds of individuals much like Vasco da Gama or Christopher Columbus who had come out on travels and voyage, wandered around the world and then gone away, in the many countries prior to 1492 or 1498. None of these are celebrated or even commemorated today. The importance of 1492 or 1498 lies in the fact that this voyage, by and by, opened the rest of the world to the powerful in Europe.

As time passed these countries started to become Europe's play ground and the life in them got disrupted, disoriented and debilitated over generations. In large areas like the Americas and Australia original inhabitants and their environments got completely eliminated from the face of the earth. Such elimination not only happened to human beings but also to other forms of life and to the flora and fauna of these areas.

Today we are overwhelmed by the thoughts, doings and dominance of the West. Such a state of being overwhelmed seems to be a twentieth century phenomenon and seems to have resulted from unending European mythology about itself, its current military and technical power and our own low morale. It can perhaps be said with fair certainty that the Samudrin Raja and his immediate descendants, even when at times they got routed by the Portuguese and other European invaders did not feel such despondency.

In the same way this can also be said of other rulers and their people, who at times had a rough deal and were sometimes crushed by the might of Islamic or West

European plunderers. None of them would have erected plaques or pillars to mark that arrival of the foreign invader as is being done in some parts of India including Kozhikode today. The incident and place would have been forgotten or if it had become part of historical memory, plaques, pillars or statues of those who repulsed them would have been erected in such places to commemorate ultimate Indian or sub-Indian victory.

It is a great pity that only two or three decades ago, Bengal instead of pulling it down, renamed the Ochterloney Monument as Shahid Minar, or we in Delhi or Bombay have till now tolerated the continued existence of the so-called India Gate or the Viceroy's House, renamed Rashtrapathi Bhavan in Delhi or the Gateway of India in Bombay.

The first task for a really free feeling India was to commemorate its heroes and defenders and those who repulsed the plunderers and despoilers and build statues and monuments in their honour. This had to be done not only for the freedom fighters of 20th century A.D onwards but for all heroes of all earlier centuries, perhaps from the 9th century A.D. onwards, when invasions or interventions of one kind or another began to happen in India. It is sad that even the city of Kozhikode has not yet erected a memorial to its great Samudrin Raja who initially received Vasco da Gama as a friend from a distant land but ultimately had to drive him out for his intolerance and barbarism.

### II

As I have stated earlier there was truly great suffering in practically every part of the non-European world since 1492 if perhaps not from a somewhat earlier date like A.D. 1450 when the peoples of Africa began to be captured as slaves by the brigands and ships of Europe. The populations of areas of the world which the Europeans found feasible and viable to settle in, like most of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, etc. got completely eliminated of their indigenous peoples during the period 1500 to 1900.

Areas where Europeans could not settle like India and countries of South East Asia because of the warm climate but which were seen to be very fertile were taken control of — their institutions and infrastructure destroyed and most of their people forced to live at the edge of constant starvation.

Large areas of Africa were used to enslave the African

people (from about 1450 A.D. to about 1850 A.D.). It has been estimated that about 100 million Africans were involved in the struggle of capture, resistance, transportation, disease and transporting by sea these human beings from their homeland to the Americas across the Atlantic Ocean. Those Africans who did manage to reach America as slaves are registered in American ports at around 12 million. Other areas of the world were plundered and suppressed in numerous ways.

### III

But this period of open and direct plunder and suppression has ended. The West, since its ending, has gone to other more diabolical ideas of control and the ideology of ordering the world by the few whether it is through political, trade or fiscal institutions or through massive warfare or through the spreading of killer and debilitating diseases. (The spreading of small pox virus in the Americas where it had never existed and where the people had no immunity to it was deliberately done by the West in the 18th century).

However merely recounting the past misdeeds of the West will not set the balance right. It is the non-European world which must think now. If it so wishes or if some areas so wish they could with the necessary effort model themselves after the West. That is their choice. But to most of the non-Western world this possibility may neither be acceptable nor physically or psychologically feasible.

The West went around the world with the idea of plunder as well as conquest in the belief that all life on this planet earth could be ordered and organised according to the understanding of Western man. While the days of plunder and conquest, particularly in the subtle ways I have referred to earlier, may not be over; this belief in a

universalistic ordering and organising of life is no longer valid even according to the Western view.

Human and other living beings who get born on this earth but live in varying regions of it, though similar in many aspects as beings and as differing species, seem to be transformed by the regional environment, their varying spiritual, cultural and material backgrounds and many other explainable and nonexplainable factors, into beings with marked variable characteristics. In the case of human beings they are treated as belonging to different civilisations. In India, the human beings of a locality or a region even identify themselves much more with other beings in their locality or region, than with what is termed as mankind or a large human entity.

The non-European world, if it does not wish to model itself on the European world, or is unable to do so, has to reflect back on its society and institutions before the European intervention. If it seems to still like them and prefers these structures as a way of life, it is possible that it will have to salvage them and give them a new vitality and attractiveness along with functionality. If such salvaging happened and functioning seemed purposeful as well as attractive, the Western mode which has been imposed on it may become just an unpleasant memory.

The West of course will have to work according to its own likes and preferences. But when the West (perhaps several versions of it) and non-West (certainly many versions of it) co-exist in the same space time, it would be the right thing for all concerned that they exist somewhat apart and avoid the possibility of collision one with the other.

(This reference meet at Calicut took place on 26th May 1998.) ■

Digby's '*Prosperous*' *British India*, *Destruction of Feudal Economy -2* ( *Social Change in 19th Century Maharashtra*) and *Guilty Men of India's Partition* by Rammanohar Lohia could not appear in this issue due to space constraints. These will be carried in the October 1998 issue.

# BOOK REVIEW

## *THE BETRAYAL OF EAST PAKISTAN, 1998, BY LT-GEN. A.A.K. NIAZI*

Exe. Edr.

Gen. Niazi's confessional, partisan, utterly self-centred, shamelessly breast-beating account of the events leading to the surrender in Dec. 1971 at Dhaka of the Pakistani army to the combined forces of the Indian army and Mukti Vahini is one of the most significant books that have recently appeared.

The author is obviously a completely worthless worm. But our world is full of comprador worms of all sizes and shapes and even species! What is most fascinating is that these mercenary recruits of the old colonial army do not care whom they hurt in their pursuit of narrow-minded careerist goals. In order to defend his infamous oppressive conduct in the then E. Pakistan, which after his surrender became the independent nation of Bangladesh, Niazi reveals many dark secrets of the Pakistan state and society.

The most important revelation concerns the total failure of the Western Offensive which Pakistan launched on 3rd Dec. 1971; the failure of this diversionary tactic to relieve pressure in the East; the capture by the Indian army of 5,500 sq. miles of W. Pakistan territory; the imminence of the cataclysmic rout that faced the Pakistani Army in the west and the consequent insistence by the Pakistani Supreme Command upon humiliating surrender by Niazi in Dhaka, without waiting for either the arrival of the American 7th fleet in Chittagong or the launch of an attack from the North by the Chinese Army across the Assam-Tibet border.

The documentation provided by Niazi on the above points is thorough, meticulous and complete. Of course, there is a comical side to Niazi. He

repeatedly asserts that India had 'planned' to take Dhaka in 12 days but it could not do so for 13 days! This is really absurd, but characters like Niazi are inherently tragic figures whose entire life is expended in pursuing serio-comic comprador goals. They are made like that! At a personal level they illustrate the adage that you cannot make nations out of pig's ears.

India was a great historic nation. It could not be broken up just to suit the interests of an imperial divide and rule policy.

Pakistan could not become a nation even 24 years after its birth in 1947. E. Pakistan had to be separated and made into Bangladesh.

Not only that, G. M. Sayyad's Jio Sindh Movement demands an independent Sindh. The Balochs and frontier Pathans demand an independent Pakhtoonistan! And as a climax the Mohajir Qaumi Movement, made up of Muslims who migrated from India, demands an independent or virtually independent ('more autonomous than just autonomous') Mohajiristan with Karachi as its base.

*Mankind* supports the demand for independent Sindh, Pakhtoonistan and Mohajiristan. We do not care about the degree of autonomy that may be conceded to them *to start with*. *Mankind* also believes Mohajiristan should be an FTZ (Free Trade Zone), which will use both Karachi and Kandla as outlets and which will allow investments by national and non-residents of all three countries of the subcontinent for free import and export from all three countries (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh)

Anyway, let us allow Niazi to speak for himself.

We pick up the thread from

Chapter 11, 'Dismemberment of Pakistan'.

## Chapter 11 DISMEMBERMENT OF PAKISTAN

When the discussions were being held with Mujib and Bhutto, the people responsible for formulating strategy were Yahya, Admiral Ahsan, Lt.-Gen. Peerzada, and Lt.-Gen. Yaqub. Admiral Ahsan complained to Yahya that whatever was discussed amongst them was immediately known to Bhutto. It was generally believed that Peerzada used to brief Bhutto and Bhutto carried out his moves accordingly.

Nobody could beat Bhutto in intrigue. He assured Gul Hassan that he would be the next C.-in-C., and Air Marshal Rahim would continue as Air Chief. This he had promised them when they conspired against Yahya during their visit to China in November 1971. Lt.-Gen. Gul Hassan did not take any interest in the 1971 war. Whenever I rang him up he would not talk to me. Air Marshal Rahim kept himself and his air force hidden during this conflict. When, in spite of all the difficulties, we still fought well and **could not be subjugated in the twelve days set by the Indians**, Gul Hassan advised Yahya to start a belated, unwanted offensive in the West to hasten our defeat, because he had conspired with Rahim to bring Bhutto to power, for which our defeat and the separation of East Pakistan were essential.

Bhutto had also promised Tikka that he would be made the Chief, and Maj.-Gen. Farman had been assured of a reward for his services. Farman was the cleverest behind-the-scenes manipulator. Lt.-Gen. Tikka was senior to Lt.-Gen. Gul Hassan, who was nevertheless appointed COAS. All the generals senior to Gul Hassan refused to serve under a junior and went on pension except Tikka, who continued serving under his junior, which is normally not done during peacetime. General Tikka Khan never had conscientious objections when his self-

interest was involved. Later Bhutto, in spite of his utter failure in East Pakistan, his failure to launch the Reserve Army's offensive, and his poor performance in the West during **both the national wars**, made him COAS of the Pakistan Army. Had I not refused Farman permission to board the helicopters on 15 December, he would have got a very rich reward. In the event, he got it on return, when he was made Director-General, Military Training, for which he had neither the training nor the experience. He was later

made Chief of the Fauji Foundation, when most of the other officers who had fought heroically and faced danger were unceremoniously retired. Farman was also made a Minister. I later came to know that thorough planning had been carried out. Bhutto was to look after the political side as Foreign Minister and not let national opinion or international actions, particularly in the Foreign Office or the UNO, hamper the break-up of Pakistan. Lt.-Gen. Gul Hassan was to ensure that no military support was provided to fighting formations, particularly Eastern Garrison. Air Marshal Rahim was not to lend support to land or sea battles. I

also believe Gul Hassan had won over Maj.-Gen. Qazi of my 14 Division who started working on his behalf, particularly during the last stages of the war, forcing me to rehash my operational plans. Farman was to create panic in Government House and sabotage the war effort, which he did very cleverly and successfully.

Farman has tried to depict himself as the key man of East Pakistan, around whom the civil administration and military affairs revolved. As a matter of fact he had nothing to do with military matters and military operations. He quotes my signals in his book, but very conveniently omits the signals drafted by him for Governor Malik and sent to the President to create unnecessary alarm in the West. He created such panic by painting a gloomy picture about the war in West Pakistan and about the danger to the President's

personal safety that Yahya had an excuse for not coming to see his people and troops during the entire nine months of hostilities.

As mentioned earlier, on 7 December I conveyed my tactical concept to GHQ, which was approved *vide* their signal dated 8 December. Also on 7 December, a signal was sent to the President by the Governor without my knowledge. It read as under :

A 6905 of 7th December from Governor to the

## BIO-SKETCH OF NIAZI

- Born in 1915.
- Joined British Imperial Army in 1942 and fought as hired mercenary volunteer in the Western Desert, i.e., Egypt-Libya Sector in North Africa.
- In 1943 transferred to Kohima, Nagaland-Manipur Sector, to exhibit valour in imperial interest by fighting against Indian National Army led by Subhash Chandra Bose. INA was supported inadequately by the Japanese Army, which provided no air cover in that fateful year, 1943, on the Burma Front. Thus Niazi scored some cheap and easy victories in a few minor skirmishes, for which his fellow mercenaries awarded him with the title of 'Tiger'.
- Niazi, the comprador mercenary, directly benefitted from the forced trifurcation of India in 1947. Apparently he received 24 medals, including several commendations, and became one of the most decorated soldiers of the Pakistani Army.
- Let us remember that Pakistani Army remained subordinate to British Strategic Command till the mid-fifties and thereafter American Strategic Command took over and made Pakistan a member of both, the Baghdad Pact (MEDO) and the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). Even today this subordination of Pakistan to Anglo-Euro-American Strategic considerations and interests remains vibrant.
- Whilst he was commanding the 10th Division in Lahore in April 1971, he received orders to take over as Commander, Eastern Command in East Pakistan.
- From April 1971 to December 1971, he loyally carried out all the atrocities against Bangladeshis especially against the intellectuals of the then East Pakistan, who were entirely with the Mukti Vahini.
- Niazi, finally and abjectly surrendered to the Indian Army and signed the Instrument of Surrender on 16-12-1971 at Dhaka, as ordered by his West Pakistani superiors.

President. It is imperative that correct situation in East Pakistan's is brought to your notice. I discussed with General Niazi who tells me that troops are fighting heroically but against heavy odds without adequate artillery and air support. Rebels continue cutting their rear and losses in equipment and men are heavy and cannot be replaced, the front in Eastern and Western sectors has collapsed. Loss of whole corridor East of Meghna River cannot be avoided. Jessore has already fallen which will be a terrible blow to the morale of pro-Pakistan elements. Civil administration ineffective as they cannot do much without communications. Food and

other supplies running short and cannot move from Chittagong or within the province, even Dhaka city will be without food after seven days. Without fuel and oil there will be complete paralysis of life. Law and order situation in areas vacated by Army pathetic as thousands of pro-Pakistan elements being butchered by rebels. Millions of non-Bengalis and loyal elements are awaiting death. No amount of lip sympathy or even material help from world powers except direct physical intervention will help. If any of our friends is expected to help that should have an impact within the next forty-eight, repeat forty-eight hours. If no help is expected I beseech you to negotiate so that a civilised and peaceful transfer takes place and millions of lives are saved and untold misery avoided. Is it worth sacrificing so much when the end seems inevitable.

If help is coming we will fight on whatever consequences there may be. Request be kept informed.

I think it was Farman's brainwave to justify his subsequent actions to dismember Pakistan. The President, vide his signal dated 7 December, replied to the Governor as under :

Your flash signal no A 6905 reference. All possible steps are in hand. Full scale and bitter war is going on in the west wing, world powers are very seriously attempting to bring about a cease-fire, subject is being referred to the General Assembly after persistent vetoes in the Security Council by the Russians. A very high powered delegation is being rushed to New York. Please rest assured that I am fully alive to the terrible situation that you are facing. Chief of Staff is being directed by me to instruct General Niazi regarding the military strategy to be adopted. You on your part and your government should adopt strongest measures in the fields of food rationing and curtailing supply of all essential items as on war footing to be able to last for a maximum period of time and preventing a collapse. God be with you. We are all praying.

No strategic concept was conveyed to me by the Chief of Army Staff as mentioned in the above signal.

\*From 7 December onward, I noticed unusual activity in Governor's House. There was an atmosphere of despondency and despair. Governor Malik was naturally worried about the safety of civilians and the unity of Pakistan, but there did not appear to be any urgency at either GHQ or the President's House. I tried to contact the Chief of General Staff, Lt.-Gen. Gul Hassan, but again he avoided talking to me. The Director of Military Operations, Brigadier Riaz, never once communicated with me or my staff officers throughout the war. His deputy, Colonel Qureishi, appeared to be in charge, but he was not capable of handling the situation. The Chief of Army Staff was mostly in the President's House. Therefore, I could not discuss my problems with any responsible person.

The so-called action on the political level was a farce. We had a number of friends in the UNO, but no one from our side showed any interest in raising the matter in the Security Council when India attacked East Pakistan on 21 November. If the aggrieved party itself was not interested, why should anyone have come to the rescue? The high-powered delegation being rushed to New York, led by Mr. Bhutto, apparently got entangled in the traffic jam of his ambitions, and the urgency and gravity of the situation was not its concern. Bhutto wanted it to be that way so that he could accomplish his 'M. M. Ahmad' plan. He first went to Frankfurt via Kabul and Tehran, then to Rome, and finally to New York, reaching there on 10 December, thus taking three days instead of a few hours, and feigned sickness on arrival (with a common cold). En route he met the wife of Mr. Muzaffar Hussain, the Chief Secretary of East Pakistan, in London and told her that she would not see her husband for a long time to come. No wonder: he was forcing surrender which meant that the men would become POWs, not working for an honourable cease-fire which would have saved Pakistan the ignominy

of surrender. Surrender was intended, to smear the army's image and to shatter its credibility to such an extent that people would clamour for Yahya's removal. By his masterly stroke Bhutto killed two birds with one stone and sacrificed Pakistan to his ambition of being the number one man in the country.

With this sudden increase in the Governor's signals, in which he was painting a drastic situation, and Farman's efforts to demoralise him as well as to spread despondency among my staff, the fog was lifting. The conspiracy which my chief of staff had indicated earlier appeared to be taking final shape. I became cautious. One of my staff officers told me that on 9 December, Maj.-Gen. Farman had told him that there would be a cease-fire the next day. Our signal to GHQ on 7 December clearly showed my resolve to fight to the end. There was no such talk or consideration by any one, either in Eastern Command or elsewhere. At least the Governor had neither mentioned it to me, nor had he taken action on the subject at that point.

Many things have been revealed in Maj.-Gen. Farman Ali's book of which I was unaware, and most of what concerned me was never conveyed to me. I was kept in the dark. It appears that he was running a parallel set-up dealing with the Indian C.-in-C. as well as the Russians. Otherwise how could he tell my staff officer on 9 December that the cease-fire would be effective the next day, when the Governor's note for the UNO was sent to the President on 10 December? His book confirms what Maj.-Gen. Nagra of the Indian Army told me, namely, that they knew on 9 December that the end of the war was coming soon. Apparently Farman had been dealing with the Indians through the Russian communication channels. These are the messages which General Manekshaw referred to in his reply to our messages of 15 December when he said that he had already told Farman in his two messages that the troops would have to surrender. General Farman had no authority to deal with any of my Division Commanders, not to mention with an enemy who was out to destroy our armed forces. Why did he then keep his contacts secret from me, the Governor, and GHQ?

On 9 December I informed GHQ that the population was becoming hostile and even night movement was impossible. The locals were providing all help to the Indians and were guiding them through the gaps and the rear. The jetties, ferries, and rivercraft had been destroyed by the IAF. There was extensive damage to heavy weapons and equipment by enemy air attacks. Due to fatigue and lack of sleep for twenty days, the troops were exhausted. In spite of the critical situation in certain areas, I intended to go on fighting and would do my best. I asked for airstrikes and airborne troops for Dhaka, because GHQ had told me that the Chinese had begun to support us. But that proved to be a lie. In a bid to get American naval support, I stretched my resources and kept the seaports of Chittagong and Chalna in my possession, but no American help came. I could have easily abandoned Chalna and brought troops towards Khulna.

The signal from the Governor to the President read



as under :

A 4660 of 091800. For the president. **Military situation desperate. Enemy is approaching Faridpur in the West and has closed up to the River Meghna in the East bypassing our troops in Comilla and Laksham. Chandpur has fallen to the enemy thereby closing all river routes.** Enemy likely to be at the outskirts of Dhaka any day if no outside help forthcoming. Secretary-General UN's representative in Dhaka has proposed that Dhaka city may be declared as an open city to save lives of civilians especially non-Bengalis. Am favourably inclined to accept the offer. Strongly recommend this be approved. *General Niazi does not agree as he considers that his orders are to fight to the last and it would amount to giving up Dhaka.* This action may result in massacre of the whole army, WP police and all non-locals and loyal locals. There are no regular troops in reserve and once the enemy has crossed the Ganges or Meghna, further resistance will be futile unless China or USA intervene today with massive air and ground support. Once again urge you to consider immediate cease-fire and political settlement otherwise once Indian troops are free from East Wing in a few days even West Wing will be in jeopardy. **Understand local population has welcomed Indian army in captured areas and are providing maximum help to them.** Our troops are finding it impossible to withdraw and manoeuvre due to rebel activity. With this clear alignment sacrifice of West Pakistan is meaningless.

The President replied with signal G 0001 dated 9 December 1971 in which I was ordered by the President to accept the Governor's decision and arrange things accordingly. The message to the Governor reads :

Your flash message A 4660 of 9 December received and thoroughly understood. You have my permission to take decision on your proposals to me. I have and am continuing to take all measures internationally but in view of our complete isolation from each other, decision about East Pakistan I leave entirely to your good sense and judgement. I will approve of any decision you take and I am instructing General Niazi simultaneously to accept your decision and arrange things accordingly. Whatever efforts you make in your decision to save senseless destruction of the kind of civilians that you have mentioned in particular the safety of our armed forces..... you may go ahead and ensure the safety of our armed forces by all political means that you will adopt with our opponent.

No political solution was offered at the UNO. What political action could the Governor take in the matter ? His jurisdiction was limited to **East Pakistan, where there was virtually no Government**. The political means, i.e., the Awami League MNAs, were in Calcutta, and the most important person, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, was in West Pakistan. A deal could have been struck with him. A confederation would have been acceptable to him. Why was no suggestion made to have political parleys with him ?

Apparently the decision about East Pakistan was being left to the Governor who, due to the prevalent situation, could not do anything in East Pakistan because the only

other party was India. Foreign affairs is a federal subject and the President should have instructed our mission at the UNO to seek a political solution. He did not do so. Apparently they wanted to fire gun from my shoulders. How could the Governor have ensured the safety of the armed forces, and from whom ? The armed forces were fighting the rebels, the Mukti Bahini forces, and the locals in the interior, and the Indian Army in the battlefield, thus protecting themselves.

On 10 December I received the following signal from COS Army :

For Comd from COS Army. President's signal message to Governor copy to you refers. President has left the decision to the Governor in close consultation with you. As no signal can correctly convey the degree of seriousness of the situation I can only leave it to you to take the correct decision on the spot. **It is however apparent that it is now only a question of time before the enemy with its great superiority in numbers and material and the active co-operation of rebels will dominate East Pakistan completely.** Meanwhile a lot of damage is being done to the civil population and the Army is suffering heavy casualties. You will have to assess the value of fighting on if you can, and weigh it, based on this you should give your frank advice to the Governor who will give his decision as delegated to him by the President. Whenever you feel it is necessary to do so you should attempt to destroy maximum military equipment so that it does not fall into enemy hands. Keep me informed. Allah bless you.

It is worth noting that in the 9 December signal the President was authorising the Governor to take a decision about East Pakistan through political means and to ensure the safety of the armed forces, and in the 10 December signal the COS was hinting that I should accept surrender and destroy maximum military equipment so that it did not fall into enemy hands. This meant that the buck was being passed to me and the Governor so that we take the blame.

**10 December 1971 was the most ominous day in the history of Pakistan**, when one of the conspirators discarded the mantle of hypocrisy and came out in his true colours. On this day **Maj.-Gen Rao Farman Ali**, responsible for Civil Affairs, took it upon himself to initiate an international action without the approval of the President and handed over a top secret signal to **Mr. Paul Henry the UN representative at Dhaka**, about the dismemberment of Pakistan. It came to be known as Farman's Signal because it had not been authorised either by the Governor, who quite rightly had referred it to the President for his consent, or by the President, who countermanded it straightaway.

The Chief Secretary and Farman came to my Command Post on 10 December around noon and conferred with me about the situation on the ground. They told me that since the President had authorised the Governor to take a decision, the latter had sent them to discuss a note intended to be sent to the UNO after the President's approval. I was extremely unhappy with the contents of the note. It meant the death knell for a united Pakistan and great ignominy for

the country, the Pakistan Army, and my troops, who were fighting valiantly to save the integrity of the country.

After a great deal of discussion and consultation, it was decided to await the President's reaction to this signal. I unambiguously told Farman that I should be kept abreast of written or oral discussion with Rawalpindi. I insisted on seeing the President's approval. Finally it was agreed that, instead of communicating my disagreement, it would be written that, 'General Niazi submits himself to your command', meaning that I would only agree to the proposal after the President had approved it. The Signal sent to the President from the Governor read as under :

For President of Pakistan. Your G 0001 of 092300 Dec. As the responsibility of taking the final and fateful decision has been given to me I am handling over the following note to Assistant Secretary General Mr. Paul Mark Henry *after your approval*. Note begins. It was never the intention of the Armed Forces of Pakistan to involve themselves in all-out war on the soil of East Pakistan. However a situation arose which compelled the Armed Forces to take defensive action. The intention of the Government of Pakistan was always to decide the issues in East Pakistan by means of a political solution for which negotiations were afoot. The Armed Forces have fought heroically against heavy odds and can still continue to do so but in order to avoid further bloodshed and loss of innocent lives I am making the following proposals : As the conflict arose as a result of political causes, it must end with a political solution. I therefore having been authorised by the President of Pakistan do hereby call upon the elected representatives of East Pakistan to arrange for the peaceful formation of the Government in Dhaka. In making this offer I feel duty bound to say the will of the people of East Pakistan would demand the immediate vacation of their land by the Indian forces as well. I therefore call upon the United Nations to arrange for a peaceful transfer of power and request : One. An immediate cease-fire. Two. Repatriation with honour of the Armed Forces of Pakistan to West Pakistan. Three. Repatriation of all West Pakistan personnel desirous of returning to West Pakistan. Four : The safety of all persons settled in East Pakistan since 1947. Five. Guarantee of no reprisals against any person in East Pakistan. In making this offer, I want to make it clear that this is a definite proposal for peaceful transfer of power. **The question of surrender of Armed Forces would not be considered and does not arise and if this proposal is not acceptable the Armed Forces will continue to fight to the last man.** Note ends. Gen. Niazi has been consulted and submits himself to your command. *Request immediate approval.*

Farman reproduces the above signal in his book on page 130, but he has wilfully omitted 'request immediate approval', which shows his guilty conscience. Apparently he did not want to wait for the President's approval. The omission should leave no doubt that he disobeyed both the Governor's wishes and my instructions to inform me of the President's decision. In this signal, the President's approval had been requested twice, first at the beginning of the text, and again at the end. It should also be noted that Farman

has omitted the date, time, and group (DTG) from his signal, unlike others replicated in his book. The reasons are obvious. It was typed at Governor's House and signed by Farman. He has tried to confuse the readers, and even the Hamood-ur-Rehman Commission, by indicating that he authenticated it as this was necessary for army communications. This is wrong. **Our signals are signed, and not authenticated as in the US Army.** Apart from this, senior civil officers were allowed to use the military communications network for security reasons. The Chief Secretary could have signed it. Farman also says that when they returned after visiting me, Mr. Paul Henry was waiting for them. Why ? Apparently he had already been told what was coming. Nobody believes that the Governor told Farman to give the signal to Mr. Paul Henry straightaway without awaiting the President's response, because he himself had written 'after approval of the President'.

How is it that a top secret signal, without the approval of the President, was handed to an unauthorised person, who then sent it to the UNO, thereby compromising secret army codes' also ?

The signal had tragic effects on the operations in East Pakistan. In most places the troops were fighting tenaciously according to the plan. **Once the signal went to the UNO and was broadcast by the world news media, it had an adverse effect on the fighting because very few soldiers were prepared to give their lives when a cease-fire was imminent.** After the cancellation, I had a difficult task in recreating their spirit. The psychologically adverse blow had been struck. I kept GHQ and the COAS informed of the situation as it was given to me by divisional commanders, and each report to the COS or GHQ contained my resolve to continue fighting to the last-man, last round. Even after 10 December there was no indication given by us to GHQ that Dhaka was about to fall, or that we were incapable of fighting in and around Dhaka. **Even when the Indian heli-landed and para-landed troops were approaching the outer defences of Dhaka on 13 December, they would have required a minimum of two weeks to build up because their lines of communication and routes of supply to Dhaka were still blocked at various places.** The only land route available to the enemy was Tura-Mymensingh-Tangail. There were sufficient troops of all categories, well over 31,000 all ranks, to defend Dhaka. The Urdu-speaking East Pakistanis and the loyal Bengali citizens were also armed. All preparations for fighting in the built-up area had also been completed. It was this confidence which led me both to issue my statement about 'tanks over my chest' to the foreign correspondents and to send two signals : G-1282 at 1530 hours on 13 December, in which I said 'Dhaka fortress defences well organised and determined to fight it out'; and G-1286, about 2300 hours 13 December, that said : 'moving to built-up area for final battle'. **Of course, there were some among the officers who seemed to be a little demoralised at the impending battle of Dhaka.**

The CGS, Gul Hassan, had telephoned me on 12 December 1971, saying in Pushto, 'yellows coming from

the north and whites from the south' (referring to possible assistance from the Chinese and the Americans). I do not understand why the CGS was bluffing me, but it shows how the plan to blame me for the defeat was being built up.

On 11 December, the civilian officers had moved into Governor's House. They had done a good job of keeping the fabric of civil administration intact. Against heavy odds and in a hostile atmosphere, they stuck to their places of duty without a murmur. They faced grave danger to their lives but they bore all the hardships with fortitude.

**The IAF bombed Governor's House on the morning of 13 December.** At 1230 the Governor informed me that he was resigning as the President was not listening to him — by then it had become evident that the Governor was pressing the President hard to end the war. I therefore conveyed my resolve to defend Dhaka and to fight it out, *vide* my signal No. G 1282 of 131530 December : Alpha. Enemy build-up at Matia sq. 7344 by heliborne troops continues. Enemy at Matia now advancing along road Matia-Darma. Bravo. Details contact by paratroops awaited. Charlie. Enemy conc. also reported at Daud Kandi and two helicopters also landed south of Narayanganj. Details awaited. Delta. Enemy making all-out efforts to capture Dhaka ASF. Dhaka fortress defences organised and *determined to fight it out.*

The war in the west was also not going according to plan. There was a feeling of disquiet and despondency. The spirit of 1965 was nowhere to be seen. **The army in the west had already lost 5,500 square miles of territory.** My COS, Brigadier Baqir Siddique, was constantly in touch with Brigadier Amir Gulistan Janjua, Private Secretary to the COAS. There was no satisfactory action or direction from the Chief of General Staff down to the Military Operations Directorate. In fact, the Director of Military Operations did not contact us even once. Therefore, our contacts perforce went up to Brigadier Janjua, who was helpful. He was enthusiastic in the beginning but after a few days of fighting in the west he told my COS that the offensive had failed. This was despite the fact that West Pakistan had superiority in armour and parity in infantry and had the initiative. **The failure was unexpected and militarily unorgivable.**

On the night of 13/14 December 1971, within a couple of hours of my signal to fight in built-up areas. PS (C) Brigadier Janjua rang up my COS to warn him that an important flash signal was coming. It came at midnight and read as under :

**For Governor and General Niazi from President.** Governor's flash message refers. You have fought a heroic battle against overwhelming odds. The nation is proud of you and the world full of admiration. I have done all that is humanly possible to find an acceptable solution to the problem. **You have now reached a stage when further resistance is no longer humanly possible nor will it serve any useful purpose.** It will only lead to further loss of life and destruction. You should now take all necessary measures to stop the fighting and preserve the lives of all armed forces personnel, all those from West Pakistan and

all loyal elements. Meanwhile, I have moved UN to urge India to stop hostilities in East Pakistan forthwith and to guarantee the safety of the armed forces and all other people who may be the likely target of all miscreants.

Earlier that day, **Governor A. M. Malik** had talked to me on the telephone about the President's order. I told him that I had asked for clarification of the signal from GHQ. He asked me whether I was going to agree to stop the war or not. I replied that I still had every intention of fighting on. **I heard about the Governor's resignation that afternoon,** and soon after that about the strafing of Governor's House. The Governor vacated Governor's House the same day. He wrote me the following letter on 15 December :

My dear Niazi,

May I know if any action has been taken from your side, on Pak Army signal No. 0013 dated 14.12.71 from the President to you and to me as the Governor. This message clearly said (that) you should take all necessary measures to stop the fighting and preserve the lives of all armed forces personnel, all those from West Pakistan and all loyal elements. The signal also says 'you have now reached a stage where further resistance is no longer humanly possible, nor will it serve any useful purpose'. Hostility is still continuing and loss of life and disaster continue. I request you to do the needful.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely,

A. M. Malik

After my talk with the CGS on 14 December, I sent a signal on 15 December at 0910 hrs telling the President that my decision to fight it out still stood. I made efforts to talk to either the President or the COS. In the evening General Hamid contacted me from President's House. In the meantime, Malik had probably talked to the President about my reluctance to implement the orders. I asked my COS Brigadier Baqir Siddiqui, to listen to what General Hamid had to say and to take notes. COS Army emphatically ordered me that I must 'act accordingly; stop the war and contact somebody in Dhaka whom I know'. I argued against this order. He repeated it three or four times and said that **West Pakistan was in danger, the situation was bad and I was to surrender.** I asked to speak to the President. General Hamid told me that he was in the bathroom. **Actually, he was not in the bathroom; he had passed out, being too drunk.** Air Marshall Rahim Khan, who seemed drunk to me, then spoke to me and insisted that I must obey the President's orders.

As a soldier I believed in obeying orders and it was only when COS Army and C.-in-C. PAF had repeatedly ordered me to obey the President and act accordingly, about eighteen hours after the receipt of the President's orders to surrender, that I decided to **approach the American Consul-General.** General Farman insisted that I should use Russian channels but I decided otherwise. My message to the Indian C.-in-C. conveyed my request for a cease-fire under the following conditions :

a. Regrouping of Pakistan Armed Forces in designated

area to be mutually agreed upon between the commanders of the opposing forces.

- b. The safety of all military and para military forces guaranteed.
- c. Safety of all those who settled in East Pakistan since 1947 guaranteed.
- d. No reprisals against those who had helped the administration since March 1971.

Under these conditions, the Pakistan Armed Forces and Pakistan Para Military Forces would cease all military operations.

A copy of these proposals was transmitted to GHQ. I still did not issue orders to formations because I was determined to fight if COS India did not agree to my conditions.

The reply from the COAS Indian Army, General Manekshaw, was received 2330 hrs on 15 December 1971, and it is reproduced below. He acknowledged my communication regarding cease-fire but insisted on surrender as already communicated by him to General Farman Ali in his two messages — of which I was not aware. I did not know why and how and under whose orders Farman was communicating directly with General Manekshaw.

For Lt. Gen. Niazi from Sam Manekshaw, Chief of the Army Staff India.

Firstly, I have received *your communications of cease fire* in Bangladesh at 1430 hours today **through the American Embassy at New Delhi.**

Secondly, I had previously *informed General Farman Ali in two messages* that I would guarantee (a) the safety of all military and para military forces who surrender to me in Bangladesh (b) complete protection to Foreign Nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistan origin no matter who they may be. Since you have indicated your desire to stop fighting I expect you to issue orders to all forces under your command in Bangladesh **to cease fire immediately and surrender** to my advancing forces wherever they are located.

Thirdly, I give you my solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with the dignity and respect that soldiers are entitled to and I shall abide by the provisions of the Geneva Convention. Further, as you have many wounded I shall ensure that they are well cared for and your dead given proper burial. No one need have any fear for their safety, no matter where they come from. Nor shall there be any reprisals by forces operating under my command.

Fourthly, immediately I receive a positive response from you **I shall direct General Arora the Commander of Indian and Bangladesh Forces in the Eastern Theatre** to refrain from all air and ground actions against your forces. As a token of my good faith I have ordered that no air action shall take place over Dacca from 1700 hours today.

Fifthly, I assure you that I have no desire to inflict any unnecessary casualties on your troops as I abhor loss of human lives. However should you not comply with what I have stated you will leave me with no other alternative but

to resume my offensive with the utmost vigour at 0900 hours Indian Standard Time on 16th December.

Sixthly, in order to be able to discuss and finalise all matters quickly I have arranged for a radio link on listening from 1700 hours Indian Standard Time today 15th December. The frequency will be 6605 (6605) KHZ by day and 3216 (3216) KHZ by night. Call signs will be Cal (Calcutta) and Dac (Dacca). I would suggest you instruct your signallers to restore microwave communications immediately. (Emphases added)

I sent a copy of this reply to GHQ and received a signal from COAS, *vide* 0015 of 15 December, **suggesting that I should accept the terms laid down by C-in-C. India.**

The Indians had launched an intensive psychological warfare, spreading rumours through All-India Radio, the BBC, leaflets, and the locals, from 5 December. The message from Sam Manekshaw was forcefully addressed to all soldiers, commanders and officers, giving his personal assurance for their safety and safe conduct to West Pakistan. The leaflets were dropped to units in all areas.

**It was well known that the Russians were openly providing information to the Indians and had supplied the latest bombs that caused irreparable damage to the airfields.** It was also known that they were flying air sorties with the Indians. Russian advisers were also reported to be working with the Indian armed forces. Their Deputy Minister had positioned himself in the Indian Operations Room. In spite of that they were extra kind to Farman.

Farman writes about his conversation with Mr. Popov<sup>1</sup>, the Consul-General of the USSR :

Then he said 'May I make a personal suggestion ? Mukti Bahini is going to kill you. I have a special room prepared for you. Come and stay in that. We will get you out of Dacca safe.'

In the meantime I had sent another signal advising the President to release Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman to keep Pakistan intact. My COS, Brigadier Baqir, tried to contact General Peerzada, but he was not available. Brigadier Ejaz Azeem unofficially told him that the President had written NFA (no further action) on that signal. On return I asked for it, as well as other nationally important signals sent by me and the Governor, for my report and presentation to the Hamood Commission. I was told they were with Bhutto and that I could ask him myself. They were never given to me.

On the night of 15/16 December, **I ordered our helicopters to Burma.** Some interested persons started a controversy about General Rahim Khan's evacuation by helicopter to Burma. He did very well during the insurgency operations as GOC 14 Division and was awarded *Hilal-e-Jurat*. During the war he was commanding an *ad hoc* Division at Chandpur when the enemy broke through nearby and threatened his HQ. He was ordered to fall back on his designated positions for the defence of Dhaka. During evacuation of his HQ some of the ferries got stuck in the *chars* and were delayed. As a result, on their way back to Narayanganj they were attacked by the Indian Air Force. His HQ boat was sunk and we lost many brave soldiers and officers. General Rahim was wounded and was evacuated

to CMH Dhaka. He was evacuated under my personal orders with some important papers to be delivered to GHQ. These papers reached President Bhutto's house and were never made available when required. Separate helicopters were allotted for the nurses. In the darkness, however, the nurses reached the wrong helipad and could not get to the designated one. Their seats remained empty and the helicopters were flown to Burma without them.

Maj.-Gen. Farman insisted that he should also be evacuated to Burma or West Pakistan on the night 15/16 December because the Mukti Bahini would kill him for his alleged massacre of the Bengalis and intellectuals. It was pathetic to see him pale and almost on the verge of a breakdown. I gave him my solemn assurance that I would protect him from the Mukti Bahini and the Indians even at the cost of my life. I only hope that he would acknowledge that, in spite of persistent demands from the Indians and the Mukti Bahini, I emphatically refused to let anybody touch him.

It will be seen that at the end of the war I was still in control of the following :

- a. (1) Dinajpur-Rangpur, Saidpur, Bogra, Nator, Rajshahi, Pabna, Bera, and most of the ferry sites.
- (2) Chalna, Khulna, Faridpur area.
- (3) Bhairab Bazar, Sylhet, Mainamati (Comilla).
- (4) Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Cox's Bazar, Teknaf, Noakhali.
- b. Dhaka Triangle on Mirzapur, Narsungdi, and Manikganj.
- c. Sarwar-Mirpur, Tungi, Dewra, and Narayanganj.
- d. Cantt. and city built-up areas for final fight to the finish.

I never wanted, asked for, or gave any indication for a cease-fire or surrender. My important signals ended with the assertion 'will fight to the last man last round', and my resolve is indicated by the setting up of HQ Eastern Command with communications in the Government Quarters, and by my pleas to the COS Army that I could fight it out. It was General Hamid's and GHQ's orders that I should surrender to save West Pakistan.

Henry Kissinger records : 'There was no question of saving East Pakistan. Both Nixon and I had recognised for months that its independence was inevitable.' He further states : 'We recognised the Indian occupation of East Pakistan as an accomplished fact, our objective was to scare off an attack on West

Pakistan.' The Indians were in occupation of Shakargarh, ready to break out towards Gujranwala-Wazirabad. They were a couple of miles from Marala Headworks and could destroy Pakistan's economy and infrastructure. Knowing this fact I then decided to obey orders and face the ignominy of surrender — which suited all parties : Mujib, Bhutto, the Indians, the Americans, and the Russians.

I quote from the book *Iron Bars of Freedom* by Matiur-Rahman and Waseem Hassan : 'Aiding India in her expansionist venture were a motley collection of friends. First and foremost among them was the Soviet Union, followed by the United States and other lesser powers such as Israel and Afghanistan, all plotted to dismember it.' The French writer B. H. Levy rightly observed : 'The die was cast, the plot was laid, Pakistan was condemned to die, because the great powers had decided unanimously to assassinate her.' Dr. Safdar Mahmood quotes Levy in his own book and writes, 'the plan was hatched between India, Russia and USA to break Pakistan.'

No outsider can break up a country without the assistance of the people of that country. The disintegration of Pakistan was the result of various conspiracies, but in the final analysis the break-up was due to Yahya's desire to retain power, Bhutto's treachery and greed for power, and Mujib's dubious activities in quest of power.

Eastern Garrison was used as an expendable pawn in a game of power-politics. I was made the sacrificial lamb. My position in East Pakistan can be compared with that of the Japanese Pacific Force in World War II — their fifty-eight divisions, with naval and air support, had to surrender unconditionally to save Japan when the Americans dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Syed Alamdar Raza, the last Commissioner of Dhaka, wrote in his book, *Dacca Debacle* : 'He wanted to fight till the end' — 'he' meaning myself, General Niazi.

#### NOTE

1. At a function I had challenged Mr. Popus to a duel for calling the President of Pakistan a drunkard. Most of the diplomats present came and stood behind me. I think it was the American Consul-General who said, 'Well done, General, now forget it, the matter is settled.' I have narrated this incident to reflect the inimical attitude of the Russians, whom Farman had befriended. ■

# ADDA AT NUKKAD

## LETTER FROM SHRI T. PATTABHIRAMA REDDY AND REPLY

2724, Tippasandra Main Road  
Bangalore 560075

Date : 3-7-98

Dear Vinayak, -

Thank you for your letter of 20-6-98. I reciprocate the pleasure in meeting you and Sharayu and listening to the friendly and furious arguments on many subjects.

I agree with you that we have to fire the imagination of the Indian people, for humanity's progress.

1. Defiant and intensive weaponisation, I agree with it. What is the weight of a weak India, preaching non proliferation? It is born out of what is called Stockholm Syndrome, that of the slave hugging his chains. If, as a nuclear power, we say let all the nations of the world give up these terrible weapons and we are willing to do so, then there is some sense in it.

4. I don't understand this point clearly. I subscribe to all the other points. I would like to add one more point to enthuse the entire nation. A garden canal scheme or linking of Ganga and Cauvery, some such mighty task, that will knit the people and electrify the spirit of the nation.

I have not yet been able to contact Ananthamurthy though I tried many times. I think he is not in Bangalore. I am going to Guwahati on Monday to join Kirthana and Konarak. They have been there 3 weeks already. I would like to see Shillong, Gangtok, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Thimpu. We will return by 23rd of this month. I will locate Ananth after my return and discuss about getting permission to serialise Karanth's novel.

Best wishes to both of you. Reminded Nandana about the article.

Pattabhi

Date : 7-8-98

Dear Pattabhi

1. I hesitate about the Grand Garland Canal linking Ganga to Cauvery because MNCs and local compradors have seized hold of all Big Dam Projects. There are already, as per Dr. M. P. R. Reddy, 20 mln oustees in the country, displaced by big dams and other giant public projects. Should we risk adding to this number? I personally feel that before raising the demand for the Grand Garland Canal, we should raise two other demands.

a. We should re-excavate, deepen and extend about one lakh lakes and reservoirs south of the Vindhyas. Literally scores of thousands of such lakes and reservoirs were to be found in pre-British India especially as the Peninsula south of the Vindhyas is granitic and stores water very efficiently. (See Buchanan's report on South and North India, published in an early issue of *Mankind*)

b. In North Gujarat and Rajasthan, there were in operation, miles and miles of contour bunding and water training projects. These are now being rediscovered. Similarly, a "pukur" per homestead should be projected in Bengal, Orissa and Assam. Finally between Chandigarh and Calcutta, a million wells may be dug.

It has been proved that minor irrigation works like lakes, ponds, reservoirs, pukurs, contour bunds and wells are very efficient. Furthermore, they offer very little scope for corruption.

I think our slogans should be  
ONE LAKH LAKES AND  
RESERVOIRS SOUTH OF THE  
VINDHYAS :

ONE MILLION WELLS,

CONTOUR BUNDS AND PUKURS  
BETWEEN HIMALAYAS AND  
VINDHYAS :

2. Point 4 of my earlier letter was about Mohajiristan.

I will elaborate :

Lohia and I have always stood for reunification of India (Confederation / federation of the Socialist States of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) :

An opportunity was missed in 1971, when Indian socialists could have joined hands with the Mukti Vahini to liberate Bangladesh and form a United Bengal, as a part of reunified Socialist States of the subcontinent of India. It is to the eternal shame of the great successors of Lohia (Raj Narain, Madhu Limaye, George Fernandes, Mulayam and Laloo Yadavs and many others) that they stood aside and allowed the Stalinist - Communists of West Bengal to play the neo-colonial game and isolate the Indian people from Mukti Vahini which was formed on Indian soil.

The socialists could and should have seized the initiative in 1971 and forged ahead.

If West and East Germany could unite, if Ireland and Eire could come together in some sort of compromise; if 15 countries of Europe could join together in the EU; there is no reason why India, Pakistan and Bangladesh cannot come together.

The most tragic case is that of Mohajir Quomi Movement (MQM) led by Altaf Hussain. He should have been assisted to make his head quarters in Nepal, or Sri Lanka, or Bhutan or Bangladesh rather than in distant London.

At the time of negotiations leading to Partition of 1947, the desperate old men of the Congress should have preserved at least the Sukkur district of Sindh, Pakistan, as a national home of the Sindhi speaking people.

Mohajiristan, extending from the east bank of Indus to the Rajasthan

border and from Rann of Kutch to the Sindh - Punjab border in the North, as a FTZ (Free Trade Zone) where Nationals and Non-Residents of all three countries would be encouraged to invest in real manufacturing activity. Not screw driver technology! Mohajiristan would use both Karachi and Kandla as free ports. No custom or export duties will be levied by any of the 3 countries of the Indian subcontinent.

The Mohajirs are precisely those who thought that religion made a nation, and migrated from India as instigated by British imperialists and the Muslim League. They could never be integrated into Pak society. In the last 8 years, over 6000 of them have been massacred mainly in the streets of Karachi.

In 1965 and 1971 wars, the Indian Army should have swiftly advanced to reach the Indus river and then held this territory till an overall settlement was reached with Pakistan. An essential part of this overall settlement would have been the liberation of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, plus the formation of a national home for all Sindhi and Urdu speaking Hindus and Muslims.

Indian leadership has always been under the thumb of the Western powers. Anyway, let us make a beginning with Mohajiristan which may remain an autonomous part of Pakistan to start with. Mohajiristan should enjoy the same degree of "autonomy" that is being demanded for Kashmir. Very soon, economic compulsions would lead to a virtually independent Mohajiristan state which would act as a buffer between India and Pakistan. Its FTZ (Free Trade Zone) status would speed up its economic growth to spectacular levels. Almost like Hong-Kong or Singapore.

With warm fraternal regards,

Yours sincerely  
Vinayak Purohit

## COMMUNICATION FROM P. T. VENUGOPALAN

P. T. Venugopalan  
USHUS  
Kodamolikunnu  
Nellikkode post  
Kozhikode dist. Kerala

1-6-98

The Exc. Editor,  
*Mankind*, Pune.

An international seminar on five hundred years of Vasco da Gama was held at Calicut city from May 25 to 28, 1998. It was inaugurated by Haji S. M. Muhammad Idris from Malaysia and presided over by Shri Dharampal. Some foreign delegates participated in the conference: Charles Ahugre (Ghana), Sonia Small Coule (Australia). They represented the Australian aboriginal community and Africa. Claude Alvares and his wife Norma Alvares also participated with Kerala historians M.G.S. Narayanan, M. Gangadharan, R. Kogu and Dr. K. Madhavan Kutty. Trade union leader A. Vasu of Calicut and journalist and environmentalist Civic Chandran were the main organisers of the conference. They have set up a national committee on 500 years in 1996 to plan radical protest against any European proposal to celebrate the arrival of Vasco da Gama in India. Initially, the Government of India brainlessly agreed to collaborate with an Indo-Portuguese Joint Commission on the discoveries to jointly 'celebrate' Gama's voyage to India, but rapidly jettisoned this move in the face of vibrant and angry protests across the country.

The National Committee was formed by a coalition of the Goa Foundation, Third World Network (Delhi) Viniyog Parivar (Mumbai), The Azadi Bachao Andolan (Allahabad) and the National Fish Workers Union based in Thiruvananthapuram. The Other India Press has put together a poster exhibition. This exhibition will be taken around different towns of Kerala.

The organisers of the Vasto Reference will ensure that no official or private function celebrating the arrival of da Gama will take place in

the city of Calicut.

The conference passed a resolution asking the Kerala and the Central governments to remove the monument at Kappad where Vasco da Gama landed. If this is not done in one month, the people will remove the monument. The delegates also conducted a procession to Kappad beach and burned a symbol of Coca Cola and Pepsi.

I am sending you the inaugural address of Haji S. M. Mohammad Idris and the concluding address from Dharampal for publication in your journal.

Yours etc.

P. T. Venugopal

( See pages 49-53 in this issue )

## COMMUNICATION FROM NANDANA REDDY THE CONCERNED FOR WORKING CHILDREN BANGALORE, EXPLORES ALTERNATIVE PATHS OF SUSTAINABLE GROWTH

The Concerned for Working Children (CWC) Bangalore set up the *Gramashrama* project for working children in Basur (Kundapur Taluk, S. Kanara) in 1989. This project was mainly launched to understand the basic problem of child labour and find out alternate ways to alleviate this problem. It has been noticed that the phenomenon of child labour in urban areas is due in great measure to the large scale migration of children from rural areas in search of a livelihood — with or without their families. A study of Child Labour in the suburban areas of Calcutta made by Dr. S. R. Banerjee of Islamia Hospital (Calcutta) revealed that as many as 30 per cent of the 759 working children surveyed had migrated from neighbouring districts and states. While working with the migrant children of Bangalore, some of the deplorable incidents which came to the notice of CWC, made it realise that there was an urgent need to go to the roots of the problem. One incident

shows the sad conditions the children are living in. Some of the children were kidnapped off the streets of Bangalore, imprisoned in an underground hell, and had been mercilessly tortured in a hotel called Ayodhya. They were never paid their due salaries. The proprietor, Chandrashekar, had violated every rule in the book. The wages he promised them were well below the limit of minimum wages, which also he never paid. Besides violating the Payment of Wages Act, he had also violated several sections of the Shops and Establishments Act, such as those relating to night work, minimum wages, hours of work, etc. Fortunately, these children were rescued by the police, which acted, for once, after receiving a complaint.

The CWC therefore sought to better understand the reasons which drive children to the cities. The *Gramashrama* project was essentially launched to work in the picturesque village of Basrur which supplied an unending stream of child workers to city-based hotels and restaurants.

**Bhima** : Initially *Gramashrama* activists ran centres for working children who used to flock to this centre in the evening after finishing their day's work. The CWC brought out *Bhima* a monthly wall magazine in Kannada for working children since Oct. 1989. Children were encouraged to contribute their stories, poems, letters and drawings for this magazine. It was received with great enthusiasm by the working children since they could identify with the "journal". Besides covering children's own contributions, space was allocated also for a column on health, for a 'role model' write up on individual and collective efforts by child workers to better their own lives, and for current news about child labour and related issues including rural-urban migrations. Children eagerly await every issue of *Bhima*, read or have it read to them, participate in discussions of its contents. Sharing one's thoughts and experiences with others remained a great event for the children and also an eye-opener for the rural children planning to migrate

to the cities in search of livelihood. The wall magazine *Bhima* proved to be a catalyst and motivator for the formation of *Bhima Sanghas* or collectives. Children participating in CWC's field work programmes like Bangalore-based *Ankur* and Basrur-based *Gramashrama* formed these *Bhima Sanghas*.

**Bhima Sanghas**: have provided a common platform for the street and working children to address the problems relating to their lives. The need to involve the children in making decisions about themselves was always the primary concern. Children can reach their full potential and realise their rights only when they have the opportunity to express themselves and participate in struggles to secure their own rights. *Bhima Sanghas* were also useful in facilitating mutual contact among children which would promote their gaining confidence. The Bangalore working children launched their *Sangha* on 30th April, 1990 and the Basrur children launched theirs on 14th November, 1990.

**Varahi Parichaya** : Ancient civilisations have flourished on the banks of rivers. Rivers determine the economic well-being of communities. Basrur is settled on the banks of Varahi river and was once a flourishing port town. Agriculture was an important occupation, but the town also supported a large community of skilled artisans e.g. weavers, cobblers, potters, basket-makers, wooden toy makers, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths. Products made by these artisans were exported. But today Basrur has become a hinterland supplying migrant labour to distant cities.

This process of decline of flourishing craft centres began with the establishment of British rule in India and continued thereafter so that local handicrafts have died as a result of lack of demand and alien competition. The artisans have been thrown back on land thus leading to excessive pressure on agriculture. British rule also caused neglect of local irrigation. Today the river Varahi stands silted up and there

has been extensive felling of trees leading to soil erosion and drastic changes in the monsoon pattern. The economic distress resulting from the decline of crafts has led to migration to cities.

In order to help the children to understand these vital links, the CWC, *Gramashrama*, *Namma Gumpu* (organisation of village craftsmen), *Bhima Sanghas* and other like-minded organisations came together to launch the programme of *Varahi Parichaya*. Its four goals were :

- (i) To make the participating children and adults understand the role of the Varahi river in their lives;
- (ii) To identify and map the natural resources in the Varahi region;
- (iii) To promote rural crafts and occupations; and
- (iv) To conserve the environment.

A preliminary survey was conducted along the entire course of the river by the *Gramashrama* and *Ankur* team. Workshops were organised to discuss and analyse the data collected and the methods of collecting the information. Volunteers of *Bhima Sangha*, *Namma Gumpu*, *Gramashrama* and others from various regions participated in these workshops. The findings of the *Gramashrama* team about the Varahi and its banks were incorporated into stories, songs and action by the workshop participants for communicating with villagers living along the coast.

This *Varahi Parichaya* (Getting to know Varahi) programme made people aware that the very concept of development is faulty in India. Local people who have vital and day-to-day contact with their environment must be involved in all the decisions regarding the use of forest, water and other natural resources. The centralisation of the decision-making process in the hands of the urban, upper caste elite deprives the local people of any say in matters that affect them. The Varahi Hydel Project and the Konkan Railway Project are large development projects which by and large bypass the rural people. The electricity generated by



the Varahi Hydel Project will go to the national power grid which gives primacy to the needs of the cities and industrial centres. Similarly, the Konkan Railway is not likely to bring any significant change in the lives of the coastal rural people.

De-centralisation of power where local self-government institutions involve the people at the grassroots level in the decision-making process is the alternative development model.

Traditional occupations need to be revived by adapting them to the changing times and tastes. Appropriate innovations in technology, design and marketing must be presented to the local communities. The rural households will then be able to support themselves.

The children's participation in *Varahi Parichaya* was enthusiastic. They raised very pertinent and incisive questions and showed an awareness of the problems facing their area. They were anxious to help their parents to increase the viability of traditional occupations so that their migration to urban areas would stop.

(Nandana Reddy is the daughter of Snehlata Reddy who was a martyr of Indira's Internal Emergency, 1975-77; and of T. Pattabhirama Reddy, film-maker and poet.)

## COMMUNICATION FROM N. NANDHIVARMAN, GEN. SECY., DRAVIDA PEERVAI

### OPPRESSION OF INMATES IN PONDICHERRY ASHRAM

After the death of the Mother, a handful of her followers have created sub-trusts within the main trust and put their yesmen in key positions. These sub-trusts are used to exploit local labour and the inmates of the Ashram, deny them appropriate wages and the right to agitate for humane working conditions. Mrs. J. Anjani Dayanand, the ex-Chief Secretary of Pondicherry, looks after all the labour in the Ashram. Her former position is useful to the Ashram to shield its

exploitation of workers.

In 1997, there was an attempt to form Aurobindo Ashram Inmates Association but those who took the lead were expelled. And though they have managed to nullify this expulsion at the intervention of the IIIrd Additional District Munsif of Pondicherry, they have been browbeaten to remain silent. The Secretary of the Inmates Association had sought an examination of the accounts of the trust. But the trust is refusing to show the accounts to anyone. Dravida Peervai and D. K. Ramajuman, an ex-MLA belonging to the CPM, have gone to court asking the trust to make its accounts public. Their case is pending before the Principal District Judge.

One dissident in the Inmates Association floated a Beneficiaries Association. As Joint Secretary of the Aurobindo Ashram Inmates Association, he sent a complaint to the Union Home Minister in December 1997 that inmates working in various units under Aurobindo Udyog Trust do not receive any wages and are treated as bonded labour. The Aurobindo Udyog Trust is headed by a 90-year old Goan, Udhar Pinto. He engages the inmates of Aurobindo Ashram in its various business units and pays them a meagre amount of Rs. 175 per month.

The teaching staff of the Aurobindo International Centre of Education have not received their salaries in spite of the Centre receiving government grants.

Domestic maids in the Ashram were given their pay from the centralised Labour Department headed by the former Chief Secretary of Pondicherry, J. Anjani Dayanand. To prevent them from forming a union, the residents who engage them were asked to sign vouchers and collect their wages.

The Ashram laundry has divided its rolls into three units — washing, drying and ironing — though all work is done in the same building.

Former bureaucrats in the Central and State governments are hired by the Ashram to provide a smokescreen for all its illegal activities. The 1500

inmates are cowed down by the threat of losing free boarding and lodging if they protest against their working conditions.

The main Ashram Trust avails income tax exemptions for medical and scientific research. But no research has ever been carried out by the Ashram institutions.

The Ashram Beach Nursing Home has 50 beds and imported machinery. Supreme Court order requires such hospitals to admit at least 40 % locals as patients. But the nursing home does not treat the local population.

An Oriya girl, Kavitha, sustained burn injuries from a stove and was admitted to the Beach Nursing Home. She died in the Home and was cremated without post-mortem. If the Nursing Home admits locals, it will be difficult to treat patients in this manner.

A youth hostel built with a grant from the Human Resource Development Ministry does not admit young visitors from other parts of India who come to participate in sports and cultural activities.

One Vasantkumar Patti who is the brother of J. B. Patti, Addl. Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, N. Delhi, was caught selling Ashram land on the basis of a forged power of attorney, and the prospective buyer has filed a police complaint against him. But the Ashram has not lodged any complaint against Vasantkumar Patti.

Perhaps to whitewash this land scandal, Mr. Purushottam Iyengar, one of the trustees of the Ashram, is trying to persuade the Aravind Eye Hospital of Madurai to set up a unit on the land which was attempted to be sold. The arrangement did not materialise because the Ashram demanded a huge lease amount from the Aravind Eye Hospital for land which they have received from the government on an insignificant lease amount.

The Dravida Peervai is demanding that the government initiate a probe. The Union Home and Finance Ministries must conduct this investigation. Dravida Peervai also wants government takeover of ashram properties spread throughout the

country and abroad, and regulation of its functioning as per proper rules with a transparent and democratic administration.

The present lifelong trustees must go, and proper elections should take place at regular intervals to choose the board of trustees and members of the various internal committees.

## COMMUNICATION FROM PROLETARIAN VANGUARD, MAY - JUNE 1998

### ADVANCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

Lakhs of adivasis have been displaced from their traditional homelands as a result of the setting up of coal and bauxite mines, hydro-electric projects and heavy industries, like the Rourkela steel plant. The uprooted adivasis are being reabsorbed as wage slaves and poor peasants. Money-lenders, landlords, traders, forest officials, timber contractors and police fleece the adivasis.

Malkangiri district in Orissa has seven blocks and a population of 3,20,000. Half of these are refugees from Bangladesh. Koya, Porja and Dorla are numerically the largest three tribes here. Adivasis, Bengalis and other non-tribals are being mobilised in over 200 villages. In the Kalimela region of this district, the work of organising people to resist their exploitation is proceeding fast. The Block Development Officer (BDO) represents governmental authority in Malkangiri. Numerous struggles were taken up targeting the BDOs. Meetings, propaganda campaigns, processions, dharnas, gheraos, bandhs, annihilations and milder forms of punishments are some of the forms of struggle adopted by the people here.

Most of the partial struggles are directed against the government as the demands are related to the government e.g. implementation of various schemes announced by the government; release of funds to the villages; construction or repairs of roads, schools, buses, hospitals,

borewells, etc.; timely release of water from the dam over Patel river. Struggles are also taken up against traders for higher prices for agricultural produce and forest products and against the local moneylenders for charging exorbitant prices for essential commodities.

As a result of the strikes for higher wage rates, the wages in bamboo depots have gone up from Rs. 35 to Rs. 40 in 1996-97.

In the Orient Paper Mill at Malkangiri which is owned by the Thapar group, supervisors working for many years were not made permanent. A strike by the supervisory staff and refusal to transport bamboo resulted in the management agreeing to make all those working for more than 7 years, permanent.

General strikes or bandhs are organised when rallies and dharnas do not bring desired results. A district-wide bandh was organised on April 7, 1998 to demand increase in rates for picking Tendu leaves. Bandhs were also organised to protest against state repression on Jan. 28, June 4-5, 1997 and March 28, 1998. People were actively involved in organising road blockades, demonstrations and meetings.

Between October '97 and January '98, area conferences were held and area committees were formed among adivasi and Bengali-refugee villages.

Bengali refugees constitute half the population of Malkangiri district. The Central and the State governments have resettled the Bangladeshi refugees also in North Bastar, Madhya Pradesh and Gadchiroli in Maharashtra. There are 257 new settlements in Malkangiri. The population of these camps varies from 40 to 500 families. A majority of these families are poor, dalit peasants who lead a miserable existence of semi-starvation. But a few of the Bengali refugees have emerged as contractors, political brokers and lumpen elements acting as police informers.

The mass organisations have mobilised the poor adivasis as well as the poor refugees against the exploitation of the new Bengali

refugee landlords, moneylenders, smugglers, contractors, informers; etc.

The State government in Bhubaneswar and the Central government are intensifying their attacks on the peasant movement in Malkangiri, Koraput, Ganjam, Gajapati and Rayagada. The people of Malkangiri should prepare themselves to face this greater onslaught by the State and extend the movement to other parts of Orissa.

## INDIAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WTO

On May 1, 1998, the Joint Action Forum of the Indian People against the WTO (JAFIP) was formed at a rally in Hyderabad. The All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF) and 50 other peasant, farmer and adivasi organisations from all over India took the lead in the formation of JAFIP. The common minimum criteria was (i) Opposition to IMF, World Bank and WTO; (ii) Opposition to imperialist oppression of the world and the Third World in particular; (iii) Opposition to imperialist funding; (iv) Support to and building of people's movements to resist the imperialists.

A two day convention on April 29-30 took place prior to the May Day rally. The papers presented at the convention were :

1. WTO — An Agent of Global Capital by Shiv Sunder of AIPRF;
2. The Peasant Suicides in A.P. by Raghavachary of Anti-Draught Struggle Committee;
3. WTO and Repression of People's Movements by Prof. Seshaiiah (APCLC);
4. Impact of WTO on Industrial Workers by Pradeep (AIFTU);
5. Impact of New Forest Policy in West Bengal by Khokan Mahato of Biplabi Mazdoor Krishak Samiti;
6. Intellectual Property Rights and the Third World by Prof. D. N. Reddy;
7. Indian People's Movements against the WTO by AIPRF;
8. Alternative Perspective to the WTO Regime by G. N. Sai Baba of AIPRF;

9. Alternative Perspective to WTO by Chalapathi Rao of APRCS.

The following declaration against the WTO was formulated at the convention :

We, the people of India, consider the WTO our brutal enemy. The WTO has acted as the handmaid of MNCs since its inception to strengthen the latter's global control over the political, economic and cultural life of the world.

The WTO is converting the Third World into objects of Trans-national Corporations (TNCs) economy of consumerism which affects all sections of people. It destroys our natural habitats, traditional agricultural and medical knowledge and our cultural diversity.

There is an urgent need for a relentless struggle against the WTO onslaught without which our environment will be degraded and sustainable livelihoods destroyed.

The struggle against the WTO will have to include simultaneously a struggle against the local ruling classes who are subservient to the trinity of WTO, IMF and World Bank.

All the ruling classes, including the *swadeshi parivar* of the BJP have to be exposed for kneeling in front of the WTO while shouting hollow slogans of self-reliance and sovereignty.

**COMMUNICATION FROM  
VOICE OF THE VANGUARD,  
ORGAN OF THE  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
INDIA (MARXIST-  
LENINIST) PEOPLE'S  
WAR, MARCH-APRIL 1998**

The Indian government's policies of liberalisation are deepening the divisions amongst the top brass of the military and the police and amongst their representatives in the government and the bureaucracy.

The consumerist culture, which the liberalisation-globalisation policies promote, is difficult to reconcile with the 'patriotism'

instilled in the army and the police.

The squabbles amongst the top echelons of the armed forces for contracts, deals and political lobbying are growing. The gap between the officers and the jawans is widening. Huge shortages in the officer cadre and the ranks have resulted from neglect of recruitment in the army and there is open discontent following the Fifth Pay Commission wage increments.

In spite of the heavy government censorship, the struggles of the Indian Air Force (IAF) ground engineers, the secret meeting of the Head Constables in the CRPF and the threatened strike by the lower ranking constables of the Tamil Nadu police have been reported in the Indian press. These are only the tip of the iceberg.

The Defence Budget this year has gone up from Rs. 35,620 crore. This is an increase of Rs. 7,822 crore. Half of this amount goes to salaries and allowances. But Rs. 17,000 crore goes to purchases and contracts yielding big kickbacks and commissions to the top echelons of the military and the Ministry of Defence. Massive deals with Russia have been struck under highly suspicious circumstances. Last year, purchase of 40 Sukhoi - 30 fighters worth Rs. 6,330 crore was pushed through with great speed. *Sunday* (7th & 21st Feb. 98) has exposed the dubious character of these deals and the massive kickbacks received. An even bigger deal to buy submarines, helicopters, anti-aircraft missiles, IL-78 aircrafts is under negotiation between the Ministry of Defence and Russia. The close links between the former Defence Minister, Mulayam Singh Yadav and Romesh Bhandari, the UP Governor who is in turn a friend of the two arms dealers, Chandraswami and Adnan Khashoggi for more than 20 years, also raise serious questions about the deals for arms purchases.

In the last two years, political interference in promotions has caused chaos in the armed forces. The promotions of nine major-generals have been held up by the Ministry of Defence from April 1997 because

Mulayam Singh Yadav, the UP Defence Minister wanted two of his hatchetmen to be added to the list and the army chief, V. P. Malik was opposed to this addition.

During December 1997, ground engineers of the Indian Air Force (IAF) staged a series of protests all over the country. In Bangalore at the Air Force Technical College in the first week of December, 1977, about forty wives of IAF engineer officers blocked the convoy of the IAF training command chief. A few days later, 200 wives of serving airmen staged a militant *dharna* at Lohegaon IAF air base at Pune. More violent demonstrations followed at Bhuj Air Force base in Gujarat with wives and some officers smashing the windscreens of police vehicles and pushing police officers.

The Fifth Pay Commission's award of hefty increases in flying allowances to pilots (Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 9,000) and a paltry increase of Rs. 750 to the Ground Duty Officers (GDOs) has led to these outbursts of discontent. GDOs comprise 65 % of IAF officer cadre. The GDOs also resent the foisting of the flying branch personnel over purely technical outfits e.g. missile bases. All major promotions and major perks like foreign assignments go to the pilots.

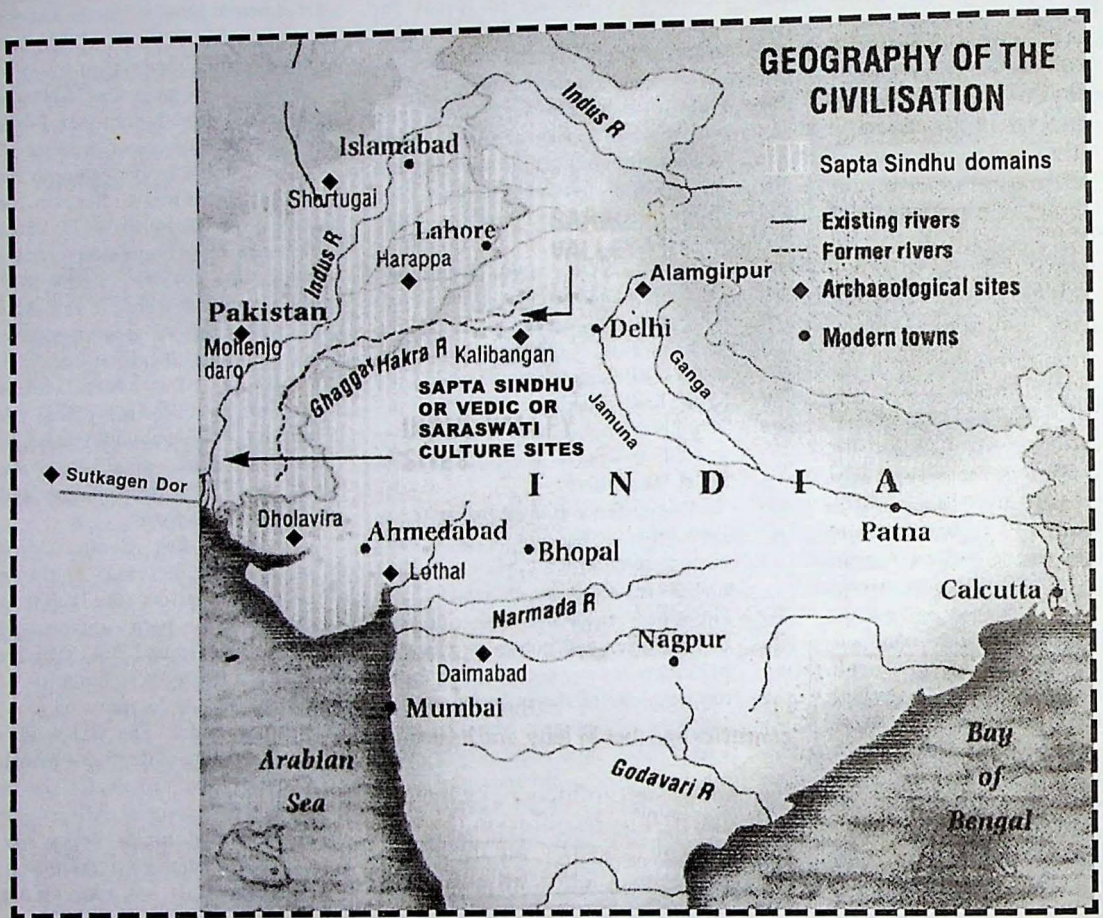
The IAF staff has addressed a letter to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) that three of its officers — Sq. Ldr. Punia, Flt. Lts. Dabbas and Sonam Namgyal — were declared "insane" because they exposed corruption in the force.

In the army and the navy, personnel posted in hazardous areas such as Siachen Glacier and submarine duties are also agitating for enhanced pay and allowances.

In the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), there is simmering discontent over the persisting anomalies in salaries even after the Fifth Pay Revision Commission recommendations.

Out of the 30,000 Head Constables (HCs) in the CRPF who form the middle cadre, about 8,000 are signal staff and work in the

(contd. on pg. 40)



THE SAPTA SINDHU OR VEDIC OR SARASWATI CULTURE OF NORTH-WEST INDIA WAS NOT ONLY THE OLDEST KNOWN TO MANKIND ( c. 4500 B.C. ONWARDS) BUT ALSO THE VASTEST, EXTENDING OVER 1 MILLION SQ. KMS. FROM SHORTUGHAI ( c. 36° N. LAT.) ON THE AMUDARYA ( OXUS RIVER ) ON THE PAKHTOONISTAN- TURKMENISTAN BORDER IN THE NORTH TO LOTHAL ON THE BAY OF CAMBAY, BHAGATRAO AT THE MOUTH OF THE NARMADA, AND TO DAIMABAD IN THE AHMEDNAGAR DISTRICT OF MAHARASHTRA IN THE SOUTH; AND FROM SUTKAGEN DOR ( c. 62° E. LONG.) ON THE MAKRAN COAST IN THE WEST TO ALAMGIRPUR BEYOND THE JAMUNA IN WESTERN U.P. IN THE EAST.