

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 1, No. 11/12, Aug-Sept. 1996.

Price Rs. 25/-



Tala-Chabi
by Devilal Patidar

Tala-Chabi (Lock and Key) are symbols of Private Property. No one needs a *Tala-Chabi*, if there is no private property to which exclusive access is not to be claimed!

But this is not the *Tala-Chabi* of the Bourgeois Period, of the humdrum sort, boringly stereotyped and mass-produced, without regard for craftsmanship, as a part of a labour-process which is not controlled by the labourer. This is a *Tala-Chabi* set that is to an extent carefully crafted, though the key is a mere algebraic block. But look

at the flared ends of the lock, the curvature of the semi-circle that is inserted in the cylinder, the stops that obstruct the key-ring from going in too far. All these elements bespeak of an era, where private property has certainly come into being, but which is less alienated than in an industrial capitalist society. This *Tala-Chabi* belong to late medieval, feudal times, when the craftsman was not entirely dead, though he was dying. He still made the whole *Tala-Chabi*, not just the barrel, not just the hook, not just the key, not just the inner levers. That is what

they do now, robbing the labourer of all joy in the product of his labour!

That is why, this *Tala-Chabi* set is only half ugly, not completely ugly, as fetishes created by modern day industrial labourers are!

May we look forward to a time, when labour will be restored to both joy and dignity, when man will glory in his effort, when life will be rewarding for the labourer, who is the creator of all that is beautiful upon this earth!

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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Cover Design is by Shri Devilal Patidar, Head of the Department of Ceramics and Pottery, at Bharat Bhavan, Bhopal. Students of art may note that the white area in the design is the white of the paper.

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 11/12

Exe. Edr.

TRI-POLAR WORLD IN 21ST CENTURY NINE LESSONS FROM AUGUST 9, 1942 STALINISM AND SECULARISM *SOU CHUHE KHAKE BILLI HAJ KO CHALI* A NOTE ON HOW NOT TO PERIODIZE AND OTHER FOIBLES OF ACHIN VANAIK THE CONGRESS NEVER FOUGHT FOR INDIAN FREEDOM MANKIND COMPLETES ONE YEAR : A SELF- ASSESSMENT AND SUMMING UP

In the September 1996 highlights announced by BBC World Television Service, the following Special Programme has been included "War with America : A Current Affairs drama set in the year 2013, that imagines the horror of a single Europe on the brink of a war with America."

Personally we did not think that the conflicts between Europe and America will grow so fast, that the propagandists of Europe will begin to prepare their people mentally for a violent confrontation with America as early as in the year 2013 AD.

We have been predicting in *Mankind* the emergence of a three-cornered economic and political contest, between a "Uni-Polar America", after the demise of the USSR in 1989-91, of a USA which has begun to think that it is the master of the world, and a resurgent and unified, single Europe which has begun to flex its muscles; and the rapidly advancing nations of the Pacific Rim of Asia (Japan, China, S. Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and ASEAN) which have begun to play a powerful role in world affairs.

Behind the supremacy of the USA, this tri-centred world is the emerging reality. Under the present conditions of capitalist domination of the world economy the possibility of a war between these three continental centres of power is very real ! Nay, such an armed conflict between USA and Allies, Europe and Allies, and China-Japan and Allies is almost an inevitability.

We quote from our editorial "Asia-Europe Summit Confirms Mankind's Forecast" in *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 7, April 96, p. 3 :

"We have been analysing in the

columns of *Mankind*, the emerging trends in the world economy.

We draw our readers' attention in particular to the following contributions :

"1. *Capitalism's Second Breath* (*Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 1995, pp. 3-7) Reproduced by *Frontier* (Calcutta, Vol. 28, No. 27, Feb. 10, 1996, pp. 4-8)

"2. *India's Place in the Sun* : 4/5 (*MK*, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb. 1996 pp. 43-58. Also available as *Special Statistical Supplement*)

"3. *The London Economist follows*

TRI-POLAR WORLD IN 21ST CENTURY

Behind the supremacy of the USA, this tri-centred world is the emerging reality. Under the present condition of capitalist domination of the world economy, the possibility of a war between these three continental centres of power is very real ! Nay, such an armed conflict between USA and Allies, Europe and Allies, and China-Japan and Allies is almost an inevitability.

Mankind's Lead (*MK*, Vol. 1, No. 6, Mar. 1996, pp. 7-8)

In Table III : *The Exploiters Club in India's Place in the Sun*, *MK* 4/5, we have presented data relating to the 15 members of the European Union.

"Further, in Table V : *The Emerging Challenge of East and South-East Asia*, of the same No., we had given the data for ASEAN plus China, Japan and South Korea.

"For the convenience of our readers, we present alongside a recapitulation of our earlier presentation.

• "It will be seen that the emerging

challenge of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific, had been forecast and concretised in our first issue (*MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1995, pp. 62). This was reproduced as Table V, *The Emerging Challenge of East and South-East Asia* *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb 96, p. 56). Today (1991) these East Asian countries gestate nearly 24% of the world GDP, in PPP terms, and that this represents an increase of 10 percentage points in proportionate strength over the three decades, 1960 to 1991."

Not only have we given all the statistical data, but also we further reiterated this in an analysis of the life and works of Leon Trotsky ("*Relevance of Trotsky*" in *MK* Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 1995 p. 36.) Trotsky in his last days had visualised a growing conflict between Europe and America, but he was ignorant developments in non-European nations. We had enlarged Trotsky's analysis to include the Pacific Rim of Asia, or PRA in short).

It is our firm belief that the 21st Century, at least the first half of it, will be dominated by this triangular conflict between USA, single Europe (which would probably include Russia and Eastern Europe) and PRA (the Pacific Rim of Asia).

There are many straws in the wind which point to the same conclusion.

• The USA has built up its own economic fortification, the NAFTA (The North Atlantic Free Trade Association) between Canada, USA and Mexico, which is going to be expanded very soon to include, first, Chile, and then other Latin American countries. This is an attempt to exclude and discriminate against both Europe and Japan in the Latin American markets.

• The tensions between China and Taiwan have already induced China to award a multi-billion dollar contract to Europe's Airbus against America's Boeing, and may have other significant consequences.

• Cuba has already caused a major rift between USA and the European members of the OECD. In fact, even Canada, out of the NAFTA alliance, has challenged American efforts to abridge its sovereignty. Clinton has signed a bill which would permit American interests to sue those trading partners of Cuba who have recently made investments in Cuba, on the grounds that Cuba had confiscated American properties some 40 years ago and had not compensated the Americans. Europe is strongly objecting to this arm-

twisting by America and very soon this matter will go to the Hague, to the International Court of Justice.

- With regard to Vietnam and Myanmar too, the US is pursuing a policy of heavy-handedness, which the European countries on the one hand and the ASEAN members on the other, find rather distasteful.

- There is an intense struggle going on between China, Iran (a staunch anti-American force), and Turkey (a NATO ally of Europe and a probable member of the EU in the near future) for decisive influence in the five former Central Asian Republics of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) which are all resource-rich and capital-poor; and which were all "under-developed" by Stalin's Russia!

- Already the PRA countries have displaced USA as the principal trading partners of Europe (See *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 5, Table 2)

- Japan and Europe are vying with each other for a dominant share in the rapidly expanding Chinese market. Japan has, for the first time, officially "apologised" for its aggression upon China between 1931 and 1945. It has not yet acknowledged financial claims from Chinese and Korean citizens for its imperialist crimes against them, but this is bound to follow. (For Korea, Japan has recently created a private fund to compensate the Korean "comfort women" or "State-commandeered prostitutes", and their heirs, for the horrors perpetrated upon them. A miserable sum of \$ 10,000 is being offered to each victim, but this is sure to increase in coming days, since the Korean women are actively protesting at Japanese meanness)

- Japan is playing, or is trying to play a clever game, trying to balance its economic relations between Europe and America.

- China is forging ahead so fast, that it will probably become the nation with the highest GDP in PPP terms in the entire world in the next 5 to 10 years. Its population of over 125 crores when multiplied by a rapidly increasing per capita income, which even if low at per capita level (it was already \$ 2330 in PPP terms in 1993, as against India's \$ 1230, Table 30, *World Bank Report*, 1995), makes the national aggregate truly formidable. Comparatively USA has only 1/5th of China's population, so that as soon as China's per capita is more than 1/5th of the American

per capita, the national aggregate will over-reach that of USA! (China is only 1/10th in per capita PPP terms, of USA at present!)

- With regard to Saddam Hussain's Iraq, Europe has been pressing for the lifting of the UN embargo for a long time, against American obduracy.

- About fishing rights, already there are large conflicts between NAFTA's and Europe's perceptions in the North Atlantic.

- In Oil Production, Europe's Shell is already, fighting a propaganda war against American interests in Nigeria!

- Turkey, as Europe's thrust, has already signed a multi-billion dollar agreement with Iran,, America's *bete noire*.

- In almost every major international financial or industrial deal, these days, it is always Europe vs PRA vs NAFTA. Under capitalist conditions, the cumulative impact of all these deals, must inevitably lead to a trade war and an armed conflict.

India could have played a creative role, and its foreign policy directors could have bargained adroitly between USA, EU and PRA. But the Indian comprador ruling elite has sold out the country to the neo-colonialists of Euro-America for a mess of potage, and have excluded themselves from the principal arena of power-play of the 21st century.

India has been reconquered by the West, and its cowardly and short-sighted ruling class elite can only look forward to being kicked about by all the three leading contenders for the Great Power Status of the 21st Century.

I do not know whether to call the third group PRA, Pacific Rim of Asia, or ARP, Asiatic Rim of the Pacific. Anyway, the name does not matter. The countries concerned are Japan, Korea (perhaps reunified), China (certainly reunified with Hong Kong, Macao and perhaps with also Taiwan), Taiwan (if still separate) and ASEAN (which by itself includes Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Brunei)

But then, who could have predicted that a great nation like India will commit national *harakiri*

in the years 1991-96 and allow itself to be reconquered by the West? We must always remember that the trifaceted dictum of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalization", is actually four-faceted, with the fourth face, "Westernization", deliberately omitted.

PRO-BRITISH BIAS INGRAINED IN PROGRESSIVISTS - STALINISTS

Foolishness and falsity seem to be the hallmarks of our Progressivist - Stalinists. As they say, you can take the horse to the watering place, but cannot make it drink water.

At the second meeting of the *Mankind Vichar Manch* held on 4th August 1996, one R.P. Nene presented his weighty thoughts on the subject of secularism, which in totality were a farrago of nonsensical lies. His praise of arch-imperialists Macaulay and Bentinck would have put to shame the patriotic fervour of an English schoolboy.

First of all, Britain could not have introduced the concept of secularism in India, as, to this day, Britain has never been a secular country. Queen Elizabeth-II is the Head of State as well as the supreme authority of the Anglican Church, and is called "Defender of Faith", as one of her multiple Regal titles. She appoints the Archbishop of Canterbury and in consultation with him the other Bishops. To my knowledge, this fact has never been disputed either in India or in Britain or anywhere else!

Her representative in India was the Viceroy and Governor General. As Governor-General, he was superior to all other Governors. As Viceroy, he was the Head of the Anglican Church in India, and till 1947, there was an Ecclesiastical Department which spent millions every year on the spiritual and material welfare of Christians, permanently or temporarily resident in India. Till 1947, the Government of India was therefore not a secular power. (Even thereafter it has not been one, but that is a different story).

To take another example, Japan is not, and has never been a secular power. The Emperor Akihito of Japan is the Head of State as well as of the Shinto religion.

The other European powers were even less secular than England. The missionary fanaticism of the Portuguese is well documented. The Dutch were equally virulently Protestant. Spain led the Counter-Reformation Movement in Europe and that is why Philippines is a Catholic country. France was staunchly Catholic. After the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, it became increasingly Conservative and Catholic.

In Britain itself, the Catholics did not attain civil equality till the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

Retention of English language as the prime language of India is just one proof of the fundamental Western bias of our contemporary culture. The poisonous Western influence has permeated every sphere. Our industries are oriented West-wards. Our technology has been subordinated to Western multinationals. Our air is full emanations from the West-oriented Electronic Moguls.

There is nothing Indian in sight! And that is our National Tragedy!

If it all comes our way, India's Great Power Status (including a veto-wielding permanent seat in the Security Council) will arrive in the second half of the 21st century, after 2050!

In the meantime, the immediate future belongs to the Triumvirate (Trimurti, as we call it) of Europe, America and the Tigers of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific! They may go to war amongst themselves, or they may hide their fangs and claws for a decade or two, anyway, world politics will be entirely determined by them in, at least, the first half of the 21st century!

Congress-Comprador - *Naukarshah* India will be nowhere in the picture for at least the coming five decades!

NINE LESSONS FROM AUGUST 9, 1942

My association with the August 1942 Movement began precisely on 9th August, 1942.

Early on the 9th morning, we had gathered in thousands at the Gowalia Tank Maidan where the AICC session had been held during the preceding 2 or 3 days.

I had taken no interest in the Congress confabulations since I thought that matters were completely obvious. The British had to be kicked out and there was no need for any debate about it. I felt that the time for talk and palaver was past. It was time for action.

Our first experience with tear gas was at Gowalia Tank Maidan. The middle class housewives learned to douse us with bucketfuls of water from the balconies and we learnt to seize the split second to hurl back the tear gas shells as they fell in our midst. I became quite an expert and managed to throw back at the police the fuming cannisters before they became too hot to handle!

But that was several months later.

Immediately on 9th August 1942, at Gowalia Tank Maidan, a rumour spread that Kasturba would address a rally in the afternoon at Shivaji Park. I don't know who started the rumour,

since Kasturba had been picked up with Gandhi at 4 O'clock in the morning. But those were the days when rumours had a nationalist purpose and we wanted to believe in them!

At Shivaji Park, the police were in occupation of the centre of the ground and we were all around the periphery and in the sidestreets that flowed out of the Shivaji Park circle like the spokes of a wheel. The police were armed with lathis and guns.

But we were unafraid. It was an exhilarating game. The crowds would occupy one segment of the rim, the police would rush at them, and the targetted segment would dissolve into the sidestreets, whilst another bunch would advance at some other point along the rim and occupy for a few minutes an area, to be addressed by a series of impromptu orators.

I was one of the occupying forces of a part where the Shivaji Park Gymkhana stands today. A young Parsi girl, she must have been pretty, began to address us. A police posse rushed towards us. I saw a constable raise his *lathi* (stout long stick) to hit the young lady-speaker. I only remember that I intervened. . . .

I was felled to the ground. The tender skull of a 15 year old was broken and so I lay for about 2 or 3 hours in a pool of blood of my own creation on the green grass of Shivaji Park.

A charitable Marwadi private ambulance service carried me to the corridors of the KEM Hospital at Parel, where I was allowed to bleed for a further 4 hour period by the Congress Dean of the KEM, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who later became Congress CM of Gujarat and HJH Commissioner for India in London. He was a stickler for correct procedure, and would not operate, or allow anyone to operate upon me, without prior signature by guardian upon a proper form, absolving the hospital from all adverse eventualities.

My mother, suffering from typhoid, was confined to her bed and my elder sister was less than 18 and was disqualified to sign as

my guardian. Eventually, my future mother-in-law, nursing my mother, when the telephone call reached home (from name on railway season ticket, there being only two Purohits in the then Bombay Telephone Directory and only one at Vile Parle), had to rush to the KEM, and with the help of her nephew Dr. S.C. Seth, then houseman at KEM, later Head of Nanavati Hospital, Vile Parle, made the papers ready.

SECULARISM NOT RELATED TO SCIENTIFIC TEMPER !

As far as Racialist discrimination is concerned, Anti-semitism, prevailed as a powerful political force in most European countries. In Russia, the Jews could reside only in the Pale, and Pogroms were systematically organised to liquidate them physically and culturally.

Secondly, secularism has nothing to do with the cultivation of the scientific temper as is exemplified by the twin cases of Britain and Japan.

Unless, it is contended by someone more schoolboyish than Nene, that the country which successfully carried out the First Industrial Revolution (1760-1860), namely Great Britain, lacked the scientific temper!

The same can be said about the scientific temper in Japan, which also carried out a mighty Industrial Revolution after the 1868 Meiji Restoration, which actually concentrated all powers in the hands of the Emperor, who was the head of the Shinto cult.

Thirdly, by the word secular, what is meant in India is *Sarva Dharma Samabhav* (Equal Regard for All Religions, which is its exact opposite). Promotion of all religions, equally, leads to intensification of all kinds of *Gurugiri* and *Buwabazi*. It means that Dharendra Bramhacharis and Chandraswamis flourish. It means that Deve Gowda is entitled to promote notions of astrological interference in our day to day life. It means that Deve Gowda must enter the Prime Minister's residence at an auspicious time, even before PV Narasimha Rao has quit the place as per the advice of the latter's gang of "astrologers". It means that architectural policy and promotion will henceforth be according to the dictums laid down in *Vastushastras*.

It is all too silly for words. In Europe, secular merely meant non-sectarian. Actually, most European governments had their strong religious roots in one of the three Christian streams (Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox).

Thus, in reality, even non-sectarian was narrowed down to mean "not-flagrantly sectarian". Great hypocrisy was practised by the statesmen of each European bourgeois nation, to promote their special sectarian predilections, whilst pretending to be neutral and non-interfering in religious matters. The pretence was merely skin-deep.

I was operated upon for a compound fracture of the skull and managed to survive. A one inch diameter part of my skull has disappeared forever. For a long time I could tap the skin covering the hole and feel the vibrations into the throat. Now the skin has hardened. There is no feeling. There is no fun in tapping the spot. Anyway, the hole in the skull made room for my brain to expand and I am sure it did!

Such is the resilience of youth that within 3 weeks I was moving about and had begun to map my suburb and mark the roads which would form the beat of street leaders whose principal task was to distribute underground bulletins full of nationalist rumours which we savoured.

I joined the Yusuf Meherally Socialist group and in a matter of days graduated to operating the primitive cyclostyle machine, which churned out the bulletins which I carried in simple *thailas* to cover my distribution network from Bandra to Andheri.

Simultaneously, and against the elementary principles of clandestine organisational probity, I also joined a sabotage squad which was supposed to disrupt communications and cause general mayhem. We attempted to remove fish-plates from rail tracks, but we succeeded only once, as the tools were inadequate. We placed small fire bombs in telephone connection boxes but most of our devices proved to be duds. I did climb 2 or 3 poles to snap with pliers the telegraph wires that ran along railway tracks between Andheri and Borivali, a belt which was largely wilderness in those days.

My first arrest was in December 1942 on the charge of "attempting to burn a policeman alive" by striking him on the chest with a burning torch that we had carried in a torch-light procession. After many months the one-eyed magistrate of the Bandra court raised a loud laughter when he informed me that he was releasing me from the charge, but I must go back with the police to the jail where I had been placed under preventive detention.

That was the case of George VI, the kleptomaniac stutler who was king of Britain, versus Vinayak Purohit. Detention was the consequence of my third arrest.

In between, in February 1943, I had been charged with

possession of "illegal literature". I got out of that case also.

Then I went underground but when colleges reopened in mid - 1943, my mother forced me to return to college and resume studies. All that happened was that I attended my classes for just a fortnight before the police arrived one early morning, and served me with detention orders under the Defence of India Act.

I freely admit that I had in an un-Gandhian manner lied to the police about my age in order to be eligible for the adult jail and detention camp for political prisoners. (Otherwise I would have been sent to the juvenile delinquents facility at Umerkhadi)

There are several lessons that I learnt from my personal participation in the August movement.

One : In the course of a revolutionary struggle and popular mass movement, the cadres and the people learn very fast. In a matter of 10 or 12 weeks, I evolved rapidly, from a simple young nationalist, I became in turn a socialist, a terrorist, an agit-prop activist, a Marxist - Trotskyist, and a working class agitator.

Two : The August Movement was dead as a dodo at the end of just 2 or 3 months, in Bombay city and suburbs. In the metro cities, we youngsters kept on flogging ourselves, but the wide middle class sympathy, rapidly evaporated like the morning dew. There were several cases when the targeted house-holders refused to receive our underground Congress bulletins. Street leaders increasingly failed to distribute the copies delivered to them. Ultimately, they turned round and refused to receive the bundles. Within two months, my distribution network was shattered.

Undoubtedly, at the district level, in the countryside, the *patri sarkars* or *prati sarkars* did continue to function for variably longer periods (This issue contains another contribution by MPR Reddy on one such favourable development in Satara area of Bombay-Maharashtra)

Prati Sarkar, in Indian languages, means 'Alternative Government' and *Patri Sarkar* translates as 'government by underground bulletins'. Both terms are used to designate the temporary dual power situations, that arose in some districts of rural India, indicating that the peasants possessed a far greater

CHAT SHOWS IN AMERICA

The Americans are a strange people. They bring out into the open and boast of things most civilized people would be ashamed to admit and would like to keep hidden from public view.

Chat shows on television are a craze with Americans. Thousands of them queue up for the few seats available, every day, in front of the great *trimurti* of national networks, namely, the ABC, NBC and CBC (American, National and Columbia Broadcasting Corporations).

There are scores if not hundreds more of local TV and radio stations, which either repeat the national nonsense, or generate similar stupidities of their own.

Larry King of CNN claims to have indulged in this national American pastime for the last 35 years having interviewed over 30,000 empty-headed, blue-blooded Americans.

Oprah Winfrey earns over \$ 1 billion per year out of this racket.

Phil Donahue, who has been at it for 28 years owns a country retreat near New York that is spread over scores of acres. He was completely nonplussed when Katherine Hepburn in an interview reported by himself said that she couldn't recognize him and had not heard of him!

These and other luminaries of the chat world promote pornography, scandals, gossip, fashion, consumer fads, money-making schemes, conmanship and such other seemingly innocent foibles of the capitalist world that is generally known "as the world of the Rich and Famous", or simply as "High Society".

Periodically, having exhausted all vacuities, these chat show principals interview each other!

It is almost like adults exposing themselves to each other and laughing uproariously!

Everyone of them, the participants, the comperes, the producers and the advertisers are publicity hounds. All that they seek is the limelight, even if for a fraction of a second, even if all that they are capable of, is ignorant foolishness and idiotic clowning.

Whilst selecting channels, if I catch a glimpse of Larry King, Oprah Winfrey or Phil Donahue, or any other of their colleagues, I immediately switch channels. I have developed a horror reaction to these chat shows which are so immensely popular in America, and which fetch their producers literally millions for nothing!

IT IS NOTHING.

Except for the rich and the famous who want to breed mindlessness!

sustaining power than the urbanites, in those days, and perhaps even today. This was also proved by the *Tibhaga Movement* of West Bengal, the *Telangana Movement* of Andhra Pradesh, and the numerous Naxalite outbreaks, which are constantly recurring in remote tribal tracts to this day.

Three : We, the cadres of the 1942 movement, were too few in numbers, quite raw and untrained, and rather disorganised. That is why some of us performed multiple tasks, like frontline elements who participated in torch-light processions and organised demonstrations; led strikes in colleges; became members of sabotage squads whilst carrying on underground activities, distributing proscribed literature and even leading working class strikes. I did all these things simultaneously without any regard for elementary rules of clandestine work.

Logistics was even poorer. The tools for removing fish-plates were often useless, and the small cigarette-tin fire bombs supplied to us were, more often than not, duds. **It's a searing memory of inefficiency and even irresponsibility.**

Four : We had no sense of either a national or even regional strategy. We did not know what we were aiming at. Nobody had taken care to spell out our strategic goals, far less our programmatic aims. It was just chaos and mayhem. **Activity without purpose and enthusiasm without aim.**

Five : Comprador Congress treachery was apparent even in those days. Gandhi had denied any responsibility for the 1942 outbreak. But that was not all. Second and third rank Congressmen, fully collaborated with the Imperial Administration. For instance, the morning of 9th August, 1942, found in Dr. Jivraj Mehta, a mere *naukarshah*. He had not alerted his staff at the KEM, to handle the Nationalist casualties, which had begun to stream into the KEM hospital, since the morning of the fateful day. Bureaucratic rules about signing of forms, were meticulously observed all through. **Mehta did not budge even when the injured were dying, as they lay in the corridors of his hospital.**

Certainly, they made the effort to trace my residence from the railway season ticket, and fortunately, we had a phone and there were very few Purohitis in the telephone directory of those days. But what about those who did not have home phone connections, or if there were too many residential connections against a particular surname, or still further, the injured person had carried no identification papers in his pocket?

It is a sad story that such a non-nationalist should become a respected Congress leader in the years to come, and climb to the seat of power as Chief Minister of an important state (Gujarat)! And that he should represent our country, in Great Britain which

had been the ruling imperial power of those days!

Six : The Communist-Stalinists of those days, played a most despicable role vis-a-vis the August Movement. They had suddenly discovered that the same war which they had been calling an "Imperialist War" from 1939 to 1941, had miraculously

transformed itself and had become a "People's War", after Hitlerite hordes had invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941.

The Stalinist - Communists, fully and enthusiastically participated in every dirty deed to support British Imperialism from 1941-1947 (See a separate item in this issue about their criminality in association with British Imperialism.)

The nadir of despicability was reached by the Stalinist - Communists, in relation to the August 42 Movement. **They penetrated the underground organisation of Nationalists, Socialists and Trotskyists and betrayed them to the police,** an infamous record for which their leaders are begging forgiveness every now and then.

In my case, what happened was that as Trotskyist - Marxists of the BLPI (Bolshevik Leninist Party of India, Burma and Ceylon), we had built up a cell in the General Motors Assembly Plant in Bombay. I was a member of the cell, along with several Ceylonese comrades and brave Nationalist members of the GM staff like Karkal, Kodiyaal and Udyavar. We led a strike at the GM Plant. Unfortunately, our cell was penetrated by a CPI swine (He called himself Dravid), and this *agent provocateur* betrayed us to the police. The police swooped down on us in July 1943 and almost

all of us were picked up from our 5 or 6 hide-outs in the city.

Leslie Gunewardene and Colvin R. DeSilva successfully eluded the police till the end of the war. They later became ministers in the Srilanka Government. Dr. N M Pareira, later Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in Sirimavo Bhandarnayake's government in Srilanka, momentarily succeeded in running off to Ahmedabad, but was finally caught and confronted by Dr. Vikramasinghe of the Ceylon CPI and Dr. Kulkarni of the Bombay CPI, who identified him at police behest.)

Seven : Our enemies were much better organised than us. Since we were Bolshevik-Leninists of the BLPI, a unit of Trotsky's Fourth International, the police brought a specialist from Scotland Yard to supervise our interrogation. (I am not sure of the spelling, but he was one Paddenrow.)

To confront Dr. N M Pareira, arrested in Ahmedabad, they brought Dr. Vikramasinghe, Secretary of the CPI, from Ceylon, who knew NM very well, and one Dr. Kulkarni from the Bombay CPI, who had come to know Pareira in Bombay.

Paddenrow organised our interrogations in a very

QUARTERBACKS IN HISTORY

I do not know exactly what has gone wrong with the Americans. They are great humorists, mostly unconscious.

One Jack Kemp has been picked by Republican Presidential aspirant, Robert Dole, as his Vice-Presidential running mate.

Larry King, a talk-show nonentity, in his coverage of the Republican Nomination Convention taking place right now (mid-Aug. 1996) at San Diego (California), was enquiring from diverse Republicans about the credentials and character of this Kemp.

Kemp's simpleton brothers, and governors of several republican states, and other thick-skulled elements of the American Right, wanted to shower compliments and encomiums upon poor Kemp.

They didn't know what to say! Ultimately, Larry came up with this nugget : "The Kemp family is the only one in history that had 3 quarter backs in football!"

One hears in utter disbelief!

What an illustrious family!

The only one in history, MIND YOU, IN ALL HUMAN HISTORY, to have THREE QUARTERBACKS, in the game of so-called American Football! (which nobody but Americans play!)

How incredible!

This is Kemp, the third quarterback of the Kemp family, who is going to try to become the Vice-President of the most powerful country in the world, and who is going to be acclaimed by former Presidents Nixon, Reagan, Bush, and their wives!

What a galaxy of nit-wits! What a circus of farm animals?

intelligent manner. He kept us apart in different police lock-ups, and even in different barracks of the same jail and repeatedly confronted us with the differing statements we had each made in isolation from the other.

I paid a heavy price at my young age for "crossing the lines". I suffered solitary confinement for one month, as I was returning to my barrack after meeting my comrades. We were often trapped in contradictions. He also knew how to blow hot and cold. After a gruelling session, he took two of us out for a lavish dinner with drinks, to the famous Nanking Chinese restaurant in Bombay. He was a worthy adversary in intellectual debates relating to some finer points of Marxist doctrine. He prepared himself thoroughly before each interrogation.

Eight : Of course, the police committed several blunders too.

For instance, in my case, on the same night that they had picked me up, they also picked up one Chandu Purohit from Vile Parle (East), just because he happened to be a Purohit, whom they were looking for in Vile Parle. They also picked up a Dr. V. Vohra, who later became Head of the Radiology Department, of Tata Cancer Hospital in Bombay, just because they thought, that the V stood for Vinayak (His first name was Vyankat, as they discovered later. They let him go after 3 or 4 days from the police lock-up, though actually he was an active member of the BLPI. The further confusion of arresting one Dr. Jagannath Vohra, who was a semi-Stalinist, was an added comical twist to the mess. I want to make clear that Jagannath Vohra, though a Stalinist, did not, to my knowledge, collaborate with the imperialist police.)

Nine : One last conclusion. All the dirty deeds of physical torture were carried out by Indians. I nearly lost my left eye when one Sub-Inspector Satam, gave me a blow, and my spectacles flew off to the other end of the torture chamber.

The blows on my ear-drums were delivered by one Inspector Sashe in charge of the Santa Cruz (West) Police Station, in those days. These blows left no visible mark, but my hearing has been permanently impaired, by perhaps twenty percent or so. I still talk loudly on the assumption that my listeners are able to hear as little as me.

The Scotland Yard man handled us with kid gloves. But all his Indian subordinates were cruel sadists, and fell over each other to curry favour with their White bosses.

I am merely recording this personal data as a historic diary of what transpired in those wonderful 1942 days. I learnt a lot from my participation in the 1942 Movement and I am proud to have made by humble contribution to the liberation of my oppressed land. **Nothing I have written above, should take anything away from this positive gain that our generation made, in the course of the 1942 August Movement.**

STALINISM AND SECULARISM

The Stalinist - Progressivists of India, have never been, and are not a secular political force.

As the undivided Communist Party of pre-1947 days, the CPI actively supported the Muslim League demand for the partition of the country. This was done on three grounds :

1) On the specious theory that India is not a nation, but a conglomerate of many sub-nations.

2) That, British Imperialism was a progressive force from the time of its earliest aggression on India, but specially during the IInd World War, when it was an ally of Stalin's Russia and Chiang's China.

3) On the straightforward communal theory that Muslim India and Hindu India (meaning thereby non-Muslim India) were two nations and that "Punjab Muslims" formed a separate nation.

a) About the Sub-Nation Theory, the less said the better, because where will you draw the line and stop? If Maharashtra is a nation or a sub-nation, then what about Konkani, Khandesh, Vidarbha, Marathwada and Desh? (Desh is the term commonly used to designate the old Swarajya Provinces of the Maratha Empire, in Western Maharashtra, above the Ghats). Similarly, in the Hindi-speaking belt, how many little states are to be created, named Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Uttarakhand, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Awadh, Bhojpur, Malwa, Chhattisgarh, Mewar, Mewad, Marwar, Magadh, Mithila, Jharkhand, and so on?

We have given the concrete examples of only Maharashtra and the Hindi belt, but, from every part of the country examples can be multiplied.

2) British Imperialism was never a progressive force and ample proof exists that it de-industrialised, ruralised and impoverished India. From the time that it acquired the Revenue Collection Rights (The *diwani*) in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars in 1765, British Imperialism began to apply the surplus from land revenue collections as "Investments" to purchase goods from India without remitting gold and silver, as hitherto. This created a drain of wealth from India, under various disguises (like "Home Charges", "Interest on Loans held in London", and so on). With the help of this Indian Loot, a form of "Primitive Accumulation", Britain completed the world's first Industrial Revolution (1760-1860). The drain of wealth from India encompassed the total ruin of Indian economy, society and culture. The bones of the weavers and other craftsmen of India, bleached the plains of the country. A series of terrible famines of purchasing power ensued and over eight crores of our countrymen were carried away by British-made famines.

Industry under feudalism was far more advanced in India, than industry under incipient mercantile capitalism in Europe, in the period prior to 1765. It is from the time that the Indian loot reached the shores of Britain and Europe, after 1765, that India fell behind and Europe advanced to the forefront.

Thus, Imperialist Britain was not a progressive force in India, but a force that imposed backwardness, under-development and retardation on India.

There was no reason to support Britain during the IInd World War, because Britain was pursuing racialist, fascist and colonialist policies in India; had killed off-over 8 crore Indians in British-made famines, between 1765 and 1947; and had utterly ruined Indian trade and industry, for the benefit of British trade and industry. Britain was out-Hitlering Hitler in India, and the expulsion of Britain from India was the primary task of the Indian Revolution.

In recent times, Stalinists have made some noises admitting the error of their ways in opposing the August 1942 Movement, and in supporting the British - imposed Partition of the country in 1947 (EMS Namboodripad, P Sundarayya, etc) But characters like Irfan Habib of the Aligarh University, whose father wrote a most wretched communalist history of the Delhi Sultanate, has chosen to inherit the communalist virus ("*Social Scientist*" Volume 23, Number 4-6, April-June 1995). Irfan still maintains that Communist collaboration with British Imperialism and the Muslim League, was correct at that time.

Let us recollect that the Stalinist-Progressivists of the then unified CPI of India, vigorously and enthusiastically supported the British -prompted Muslim League demand for partition of the country. In none of the provinces which eventually became East and West Pakistan, was there a Muslim League ministry after the 1937 elections. In the 1937 colonial elections, in east Bengal, later to become the nucleus of East Pakistan - Bangladesh, with the addition of the Sylhet district of Assam, Fazlul Haque's Krishak

Lok Party had come to power. The CPI intrigued with the 40 European members of the Bengal Assembly of those days, to bring down this popular government and replace it with a government led by K Nazimuddin, who was the leader of the M L Assembly Party and who represented the hoarders and speculators, that created the Bengal famine of 1943. Thus, the Cultural Squad under the direct supervision of the then CPI General Secretary PC Joshi, presented dance dramas to decry the hoarders and speculators in food grains and essentials, in theatrical extravaganzas like *Navanna*; and *India immortal*, whilst the political wing of the party intrigued to bring about the rule of the same hoarders and speculators, who were organising the 1943 famine!

Similarly, in Sindh, the Allah Baksh Government was brought down by a single European vote in the Assembly. Punjab was headed by a government of the Unionist Party leader, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who was conveniently assassinated. In the NWFP, there was a popular Congress Ministry (Baluchistan did not have any Assembly)

The CPI, not only supported partition vigorously, but fully participated in the imperialist machinations to bring down non-ML popular governments in both the East and West wings of Pakistan, throughout the period, 1941-47. Most of the Muslim leaders of the CPI migrated to Pakistan upon its formation. The Punjab provincial secretary of the CPI, Mian Iftiqaruddin, actually joined the Muslim League.

In the post-partition period, in India, the CPI vigorously defended its pro-

GERSON COSTA AND OUR NEO-COLONIALIST NAUKARSHAHI

During my last trip to Bombay I had a strange encounter :

After making my usual book purchases in the morning, I landed up at my favourite joint from college days to the present, stretching over a span of fifty four years, at the Wayside Inn. This island of peace and gourmet's delight (they used to serve a fabulous Mixed Grill, which due to age and diabetes, I haven't been able to partake of in recent years) stands almost at the third corner around the Kala Ghoda circle from the Elphinstone College, the Jehangir Art Gallery, through the Wayside Inn, then in a wide sweep to the old University Department of Economics and Civics, via the old Watson's Hotel Building, where the first movie film was shown in 1896, ending up with the David Sassoon Library right next to the Elphinstone College.

The Kala Ghoda Circle is one of the most famous in Bombay's urban history and is full of nostalgic memories for me. About all that, some other time!

I accidentally happened to share the table with Gerson Costa and I was reminiscing about my long association with the Wayside Inn, when Gerson began to explain to me, why he was in India.

Gerson is a copywriter working in his native Sao Paulo, where, by the way, lives a Maharashtrian multimillionaire (I think the name was Marathe or Mahatre, or something like that) whom I was supposed to have interviewed way back in 1965, but got diverted to Brazilia of those days, which was the newly-constructed capital of Brazil.

It seems that Gerson wanted to get out of the rut and learn film-making. He had been to the Pune FTII, which is right next door to *Mankind's* present office and my residence, which is at Damle Path. Gerson had also been to a similar technical-training facility in Orissa. At both places, his admission applications had been turned down for identical reasons : Brazilians are not eligible! He had been advised to approach appropriate institutions in North America and Europe ! Gerson had not asked for any financial assistance and he was willing to pay the tuition fees, which in our devalued currency, mean nothing ! Nevertheless, he was turned down and shown the door.

I was astounded and couldn't believe my ears ! Therefore, I called Parvez Patel, my friend and proprietor of the Wayside Inn, to come and bear witness. Gerson repeated his tale of woe.

Brazil is a Third World country, and the biggest by area and population in Latin America. As a leader of the NAM movement, India is supposed to cultivate the friendship of, and deepen the cultural contacts between developing countries. Parvez Patel provided the simple expletive : "Our bureaucrats are real bastards !"

There is no limit to the anti-nationalism of our *Naukarshahs* ! They actively work against the national interests, instinctively, and also as trained professionals. They are taught to kowtow to the West, they are brainwashed by generations of text-books written from Macaulayan days, they are bred for pure careerism; they are utterly inefficient, secretive, selfish, greedy, patronising,, pretending to be always superior, and constantly looking for the main chance to make some graft money ! I do not know whether the Information and Broadcasting Ministry at the Centre, which runs the Pune FTII, and its counterpart at the state level, which is managing the Orissa outfit, will sit up and take notice.

In any case, I would request Gerson Costa to take up the matter through the foreign ministry of Brazil. I am sending a copy of this issue of *Mankind* to I.K. Gujral, the Indian External Affairs Minister and to C.M. Ibrahim, the Info. & Broad. Minister.

Pakistan stance. In Hyderabad and in Travancore-Cochin, the CPI opposed the merger of these States with India and in the former, actually allied itself with the goons of the Razakar Movement.

From the beginning, the Communist-Stalinists, have supported the retention of article 370 of the constitution, granting special status to Kashmir, which is a pure communalist provision.

Even today, they are demanding a "greater autonomy than autonomy" for the state of Jammu and Kashmir, whose majority population lives in Jammu and Kishtwar, and whose majority area lies in Ladakh and Baltistan. The state language of Kashmir is not Kashmiri but Urdu, and both Pakistan and the so-called Azad Kashmir occupied by Pakistani troops, are entirely non-secular, Islamic Fundamentalist states with Urdu as official state language ! The repositories of the Kashmiri Sufi culture, the Kashmiri Pandits, have been ethnically cleansed out of the Kashmir Valley and are covering in refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi.

The demand for "greater autonomy than autonomy" in Kashmir, is a pure communal demand, sponsored by Pakistan.

There is no guarantee that the Indian Army will not be called upon to liberate Kashmir, after Pakistan has occupied the area, in the manner that the army had to carry out the task in Bangladesh.

The coming elections to the J & K Assembly, are entirely fraudulent. Upto now, this assembly had 75 seats, of which 45 had been allocated to the Muslim minority area of the Kashmir Valley, whilst the bulk of the population, living in Jammu, Kishtwar, Ladakh and

Baluchistan elected only 30.

In the coming elections, the seats have been increased to 87, to ensure even a greater preponderance to the Kashmiri Sunni Muslim Minority.

The demand for "greater autonomy than autonomy", is not a demand for the development of Kashmiri language and culture. It is a surrender to Pakistan's proxy war in Kashmir, as supported by Anglo-American Imperialism. Let us not forget that the revenge upon India, which Pakistan has been seeking since 1971, when Bangladesh was created, is fully backed by Anglo-Americans, who also were humiliated at the same time. Britain had created Pakistan and it was deeply chagrined when India created a separate Bangladesh. The American Seventh Fleet was steaming towards Chittagong, to protect American lives, when precipitously General Tikka Khan, chose to surrender to the Indian Army and the Mukti Bahini in Dacca on December 15, 1971. But the gains on the battle-field, were thrown away by India under the Shimla Agreement of 1972, under Anglo-American pressure, by the comprador Congress PM, Indira Gandhi.

The Stalinist-Communists, stood aside from the gigantic developments of 1971.

How these bankrupt fellows have the temerity to call themselves secularists is a real mystery, since they do not stand for a Uniform Civil Code for the country.

The Communists have always electorally aligned themselves with purely communal forces as in Kerala elections, where they have even formed coalition ministries with Muslim League leaders.

On the contrary, on the two issues of abrogation of the communal provisions of article 370 and the Uniform Civil Code, it is the BJP which is more secular than the Communists.

Furthermore, the communists have joined Deve Gowda's ministry, which swears by the Indian membership of the British Commonwealth, whose Head is Elizabeth II, the Head of the Anglican Church in Great Britain.

How the so-called Communists, supposed to be atheists, can bring themselves to pay homage and obeisance to the Head of an alien Christian Church, like the Anglican Church, passeth understanding. Specially after the collapse of their Russian mentors, the Stalinist-Communists, have been rudderless, undisciplined and completely disoriented. There is no future in Stalinism, not even a present. But, they have been so thoroughly and mentally enslaved, that they are unable to free themselves from lifelong habits of servitude. Freedom of thought inspires them with the fear of the unknown, like the children who fear to go in darkness!

"SOU CHUHE KHAKE BILLI HAJ KO CHALI"

This simple Indian proverb means, that "the cunning crook who has killed and swallowed a hundred living creatures, is pretending to be sanctimonious by proceeding on a purificatory pilgrimage!"

Both Congress and the Communists fully participated in the heinous British imperialist policy of Partition of the country in 1947.

This Partition was one of the greatest crimes against humanity, known to history. At least, 6 lakh innocents were massacred, and 1.7 crores of human beings became refugees, the largest single event of refugee creation known to human history.

The Congress party contributed the lion's share, next to

British Imperialism and the Muslim League, since it was the acquiescence of Gandhi, Nehru and Patel in the shoddy deal that clinched matters finally. As R.C. Majumdar, the noted historian, points out in his *History and Culture of the Indian People - Volume 11; Struggle for Freedom*, Gandhi wrote as early as in April 1942: "If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with the Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition", (*Harijan*, 18 April, 1942; quoted by Majumdar, page 709).

Majumdar concluded that like Nehru, Gandhi also admitted not only the possibility but almost the inevitability of Pakistan. As quoted above, he wrote categorically in the *Harijan* in 1942 that *if the vast majority of Muslims want to partition India, they must have the partition* and in 1944 he actually carried on negotiations with Jinnah on this basis (*Ibid*, page 769).

These Gandhi - Jinnah talks commenced on 9 September, 1944, and continued till the 27th, but the two failed to reach agreement because of Jinnah's excessive demands. As quoted by Majumdar, "Gandhi proposed that only the Muslims living in Baluchistan, Sindh, N.W.F.P. and parts of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, who desired to live in separation from the rest of India, should form the new state" (*Ibid*, page 713).

This was exactly the State of Pakistan as it came into being in 1947. The whole of Baluchistan, NWFP, and Sindh; part of Punjab and Bengal; and the district of Sylhet from Assam

CONGRESS NEVER A SECULAR PARTY

The Congress has never been a secular party, and has never found it necessary to explain whatever communal decisions it has taken in its career. Of course, like all parties of the propertied interests, it has always employed hypocrisy in all its dealings.

ultimately formed the two conglomerates of West Pakistan and East Pakistan, separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. What came to be called India, was the result of the trifurcation carried out in 1947! In 1944, Jinnah had demanded the whole of the six provinces. What he got from the British with Congress agreement was a truncated Pakistan out of a truncated India. It was a sad story both ways! But the tragedy was inevitable, under the *Divide Et Impera* policy of British Imperialism.

I may add a personal note of having heard a national broadcast by Gandhi on the AIR. In those days, Gandhi's argument and exhortation to the Indian people to accept partition, was a most peculiar one. Gandhi's appeal was that "since their leaders had accepted partition, the people had no choice but to go along with the decision of their leaders."

Lohia's *Guilty Men of India's Partition*, confirms the scenario outlined above. Patel and Nehru spoke in support of Partition, and Gandhi also "reluctantly and with a heavy heart, conceded the demand for partition at the Congress Working Committee meeting, that settled the matter."

It was not only acceptance of partition in 1947, which condemns both the Congress and the old united Communist party to non-secularism. Even after 1947, both have remained totally non-secular. We will deal with the Congress first.

In all the eleven general elections, the Congress Party has consistently tried to inflame communal passions, in order to secure Muslim and other communal vote banks.

As recently as in 1984, the Congress Party staged the Sikh massacre in Delhi killing between 3000 and 6000 in a few hours in revenge for the assassination of Indira, by her Sikh bodyguards.

The preservation of clause 370, of the Indian Constitution, which concedes a special status to Kashmir on entirely communal grounds; and the non-promulgation of a Common Indian Civil Code

for all communities, provide further proof of the essentially non-secular character of the Congress.

Rajiv's surrender on the Shah Bano case once again proved Congress's communal character.

The Congress has never been a secular party, and has never found it necessary to explain whatever communal decisions it has taken in its career. Of course, like all parties of the propertied interests, it has always employed hypocrisy in all its dealings.

The question is not whether Congress is communal or secular. But, if it is non-communal, then from when did it become so?

It has accepted the division of the country on communal lines, so thoroughly, that it has never demanded a reversal of Partition. In 1971, it did not merge Bangladesh, which had been liberated by the Indian Army and the Mukti Vahini, with West Bengal. Even today, the Congress does not want a re-united India, that is, a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The Congress seeks to perpetuate the communal division of the country, carried out by imperialist forces in 1947. Congress policies run counter to the basic urge of Indian people for a re-unification of India, that would allow them to drastically reduce their expenditure on defence. If defence expenditure can be substantially reduced, the Indian people will breathe easier and many development projects will immediately obtain the financial support that they need, even under capitalist conditions.

Even technically speaking, the Congress has never stood for secularism upto 1930. They passed at the annual Congress sessions, a resolution of loyalty to the British Crown, which crown is "the Defender of the Faith". The British king is the Head of the Anglican Church, and those that hold allegiance to British Crown, can never be considered secular.

Also Congress was involved in a thoroughly communal movement, the Khalifat, till Turkey abolished the Khalifa (1919-23).

Right upto today, India remains a member of the Commonwealth, whose head once again is the same British Crown, and India has consciously accepted the British monarch as the symbolic head of the Commonwealth.

Therefore, how can the Congress claim that it is a secular party? The whole controversy is a farrago of nonsense!

The BJP leaders who accept India's continuance as a Commonwealth member, should realise that under the formula evolved by Jawaharlal Nehru, India is being forced to pay homage to the head of the Anglican Church.

I do not think that the average BJP member is aware of this anomaly against the very tenets of Hinduism, irrespective of the sect to which the Hindu belongs, under the formula evolved by the comprador Jawaharlal Nehru to retain the Commonwealth connection. India inclusive of its 82% Hindus, is being compelled to pay homage and obeisance to the Head of a sect of devout Christians !

Mankind does not urge the breaking away from the Commonwealth on such religious grounds as above. There are far more weightier economic grounds on which we should as a nation break away from all sorts of neo-colonial ties. The British Commonwealth is just one such chain that binds us.

Nevertheless, every true Hindu (and also every true Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist or Jain) should ask his conscience the simple question : Is it ethical and moral on their part to swear allegiance to the head of a foreign church?

The BJP in particular should demand that India must leave the Commonwealth, unless and until, Elizabeth II resigns her position as head of the Anglican Church! Let them try it!

Let the secularists of the Congress and the Stalinist

Communist Parties, try it.

That would absolutely prove their secular credentials!

A NOTE ON HOW NOT TO PERIODIZE AND OTHER FOIBLES OF ACHIN VANAIK

Achin Vanaik has written a book (*India In a Changing World*). He divides the period from independence until 1989 into three parts : 1947-62 : the "Nehru era" : 1962-71 the period which he describes as "the most uncertain period of independent India's existence regarding its foreign policy" and 1971-1989 which he calls "India's search for power."

This is what comes of light-minded compradorism! A brave but completely stupid effort at periodisation and phasisation, which are the central concerns of history.

Nehru died in harness in 1964 and hence the Nehru era cannot end before that, which means that there is an overlap of two years with the next period of 1962-71 according to Vanaik's schema!

Why 1962 should be distinguished so emphatically is not clear, for the Indo-Chinese border skirmish might have been fatal to Nehru's soaring ambitions but by itself it was never such a world shaking event ! Not even in India, where there was no political change and where a small-time Congress politician, Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66) took over from Nehru quite peacefully. Shastri died in Tashkent in January 1966, his death hastened by reports from India that the people had reacted angrily to his signing the Tashkent Accord or rather the Tashkent surrender, under pressure from the U.S.S.R. The war with Pakistan of 1965 had been won by India's army but the Indian National Congress signed away the gains under Neo-Colonialist pressure, classically mediated by Brezhnev's Russia!

And all these events of 1964-5, have nothing to do with 1962 !

The same thing happened in 1971. Having achieved the extra-ordinary feat of breaking up Pakistan and creating Bangladesh, against strong Anglo-American plus Chinese opposition, India once again frittered away the gains of the war-field, to compradorist surrender at Shimla.

Secondly, Vanaik's periodisation or phasisation takes no account of basic economic data! In other words, his schema is not historical materialist at all, but just eccentric and eclectic! The planning process, which had been initiated in 1951 (and there was an extensive background even to 1951! There was a Bombay Plan, of the industrialists; there was a Congress Committee on Planning headed by Subhash Bose and later by J. Nehru, assisted by K.T. Shah, and there was a Peoples' Plan by M.N. Roy; and so on)

This planning process collapsed in 1966 and there was a so-called "Plan Holiday" of three years from 1966-69. India never recovered the planning momentum after that!

Instead of 1971-89, being the period of "India's search for power" (according to our eccentric eclectic Achin Vanaik), India reached the acme of power, precisely in 1971 with the successful intervention by the Indian Army and the Mukti Vahini in Bangladesh, which achieved that country's birth, and separation from Pakistan! This was the high point in comprador India's independent career! In fact, creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and US defeat in Vietnam in 1975, are the two greatest triumphs of the anti-imperialist wave of the post-WW II period!

The Russian collapse of 1989 is not of critical importance for India as it may be for Russia and Eastern Europe. The reconquest of India was realised by the Trimurti of WB, IMF, GATT-WTO from mid-1991 onwards.

Actually, the disastrous policy of liberalisation and surrender

to foreign interests had commenced from the 1972 Shimla Conference itself and this policy was recklessly pursued by Indira who declared the Emergency from 1975-77 to hide her crimes and failures. After she returned to power in 1980, she frittered away our foreign exchange resources with mad abandon, partly in order to rehabilitate her "foreign image", that had received a battering in 1975-77. Achin Vanaik would be well advised to study the five tables published in *Mankind*, Nov. 95, No. 2, India's Place in the Sun-2, pp 92-98; Table - 1 - Trade Balance, 1949-95; Table 2 - Exchange Rate 1946 September - 1995 October; Table 3 - Terms of Trade; Table 4 - External Debt of India; and Table 5 - Debt Servicing (From these five tables, Vanaik would be able to pick up the material for a future periodisation schema that he may try !)

What happened after mid-1991 was an open confession of surrender and bankruptcy by the Rao-Singh government ! But still, from the comprador point of view of Vanaik, 1991 could form a bench-mark !

Notwithstanding his aforesaid blunders with regard to the idiotic periodisation schema of 1947-62, 1962-71 and 1971-89, which makes no sense whatsoever, let us look at some of the other nuggets, let fall by our author. *Van-naik* (the Jungle Leader) constantly talks of "Political Realism", by which he obviously means some sort of comprador realism! According to him "The realists ignore the complex character of the notion of national interest." This is simply ridiculous! Compradors can have no notion of national interest! Their entire purpose in life is to make a little commission and pimp for the powerful of the West!

Vanaik then goes on "to discuss non-alignment and India's major role in it" (A.S. Abraham, *Real Dead-End*, *Indian Express*, 26.11.95)

This is hilariously funny! How can the compradorist rulers of India, be non-aligned in any real sense of the term! How can India ruled by the Congress-*naukarshahi* combine, under the Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, have ever played any major role in NAM?

This is simply too ridiculous for words! Non-aligned with whom? With the West whose culture and brain-washing the Indian ruling elite had totally accepted for the last hundred years? Do Macaulayan types, "Indian in colour, but English in intellect, and thoughts and manners", can such apes ever have a human-Indian elan ?

Let us record here that the Indian National Congress was founded by Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy of India, in 1885, with the assistance of the retired Home Secretary, A.O. Hume, ICS, who remained the Congress Secretary continuously for twenty-two years. Till the end of the First World War, the first resolution to be passed at every annual session of the INC by the suited, booted and bow-tied gentlemen who came together for the annual jamborees, was a resolution of loyalty to the British crown! *The Congress did not demand Independence of India till 1930!* The 1920-21 Gandhian Movement of Non-Co-operation was withdrawn before it was launched! The 1931 Movement was one of Salt-Satyagraha or the freedom to manufacture salt without payment of excise! It was a "symbolic struggle!"

All the three decisive movements of the 1940s, which resulted in the attainment of partial freedom by India, were either disowned by the Congress (The August 1942 struggle); OR were opposed by the Congress (the Anti-INA Officers Trial Demonstration of end-1945); OR were directly betrayed by the Congress (The February 1946 Naval Ratings Mutiny was comprehensively betrayed by Vallabhbhai Patel)

Another gem from Vanaik is "India, by the end of the eighties, seemed to be poised for making significant strides as 'the pre-

eminent regional power' and a possible 'world power' in the global sweepstakes."

This is totally fantastic! After 1971, December 15th, when the Pakistan army surrendered to General Manekshaw in Dacca, there has been nothing but a continuous and steady decline for India, beginning with 1972, when the Shimla Agreement was signed, and 90,000 Pakistani Prisoners of War were released without solving the Kashmir Problem!

From then, nothing has ever gone right for India. There was the Internal Emergency of 1975-77 and the collapse of the Congress comprador regime in 1977-80. There was a further collapse of the planning process. We had a Draft Fifth Five Year Plan of 1974-79! Then there was a hurried little document put together by P.N. Haksar in 1976. Then there was another Draft Five Year Plan Document signed by Lakdawala for an overlapping period 1978-83. Then a regular Sixth Five Year Plan for the period, 1980-85, with a foreword signed by Indira Gandhi, with a senseless quotation from Tagore, for another overlapping period of 1980-85.

Who was conducting "the search for power" at this time, Mr. Vanaik? What did this "search" amount to, and where was it leading India, my dear compra lefty?

After that, Indira was assassinated in 1984 by her own bodyguards, and subsequently, Jayawardene, the Sinhalese fox and CIA agent, induced Rajiv to send an Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) to Sri Lanka, the first such excursion (1987) outside the international borders of India, after the 1971 successful foray in Bangladesh.

Rajiv's IPKF had to beat an ignominious retreat after a bloody combat with the LTTE guerrillas, in 1989.

Was it a "search for power" or was it a search for a low point, a nadir? Does a self-respecting searcher for power behave like this? Does it air-drop material aid to LTTE fighters, and then enter into an agreement with the sovereign govt. of Sri Lanka in 1987, to induct an IPKF into Sri Lanka, and then turn around and fight the LTTE guerrillas? Does it then retreat from the battlefield with a bloody nose and expect any country in the world to respect its armed might and/or its "policy of non-alignment"?

Are Mr. Vanaik's feet on the ground? Or, is he acrobating and somersaulting in the limbo?

Lastly, let us consider the terminal point of 1989. What's so significant about 1989 for India? 1989 was certainly important for Russia and East Europe, but it was not at all so for India. Let us remember that the whole of Europe was marginal to world history till the Islamic conquest from the 7th century A.D. to the Crusades in the 11-12th centuries A.D. and till the Ottoman conquest of South-West Europe or the Balkans from the 14th century to the 19th. We repeat, Europe was marginal to world history till the early and late Middle Ages. Further, Russia was marginal to European history till the end of the rule of the Golden Horde in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D.

Undoubtedly, Russia entered the mainstream of Great Power struggles in the 18th and 19th century, when Tsarist conquests extended the Russian Empire from the Baltic and the Black Seas to Alaska, covering more than 1/7th of the world's land surface. Additionally, there unfolded the first great proletarian revolution of the world in 1917. However, this was an accident of history, and very soon between 1924-39, Stalin led the counter-revolution to establish a bureaucratic state capitalist regime which went under in 1989!

Thus, 1989 is not an earth-shaking event, either for the world or for India. The counter-revolution had already occurred in Russia after 1924, and the State Capitalist Russian Bureaucrat surrendered formally in 1989 to the forces of "market socialism" or "market

capitalism"! Between 1939 and 1989, the Russian Nationalist Forces had merely resisted the Euro-American pressures without any economic or technological strength. Such a purely super-structural struggle was bound to fail and it did.

Traditionally, in colonial and comprador India everything used to be considered from the Euro-centric point of view! Actually, as demonstrated above, this was a falsified worldview! Europe was of little importance in the world till very late in the medieval era, till the 16th century conquest of Latin America by Spain.

Later on, in the contemporary period, the fancy jet-setters began to make the world Russo-centric! This vision was equally false, and if anything, even flimsier.

Let us conclude : Achin Vanaik's periodisation schema is utterly childish and is an eccentric and eclectic fanciful reconstruction of real history. There are no periods like the three suggested by Vanaik (Nehru era, 1962-1971 and 1971-89). Mr. Vanaik would be well-advised to study a little more economics, a little more political economy, a little more history, in fact a little more of everything!

THE CONGRESS NEVER FOUGHT FOR INDIAN FREEDOM

This may be sound fantastic but this is absolutely true. The Congress has adopted the Goebbelsian technique of repeating the lie *ad infinitum*, to make the lie appear true. Under Indira, who had never personally participated in the freedom struggle, though old enough to do so (see, my article in old *Mankind* 'A Little Liar Rules the Land'). Under the liar Indira, the Congress party in power even instituted belatedly a Freedom Fighters Pension Fund, in order to bribe the hitherto neglected freedom fighters and to associate Congressmen with the freedom struggle retrospectively.

I emphasize that the Indian National Congress never fought for India's freedom.

The Congress might have demanded all sorts of things, including *Swarajya* that was not *Swatantrya*, according to Gandhi's verbal jugglery; and *Swatantrya*, that was not full independence according to Lokmanya Tilak, C. Rajgopalchari, K.M. Munshi, and many many others (*Swatantrya* was actually equal to Home Rule under British Hegemony, as per Tilak, Kelkar, Khaparde and other Pune stalwarts. Incidentally, poor 14th Dalai Lama is today arguing that "by freedom, he does not mean independence" — *Indian Express*, 19.8.96, Dalai Lama now merely wants some form of "autonomy" under Chinese Rule !)

We repeat that the Congress might have demanded many things, dreamed of many things, and even launched movements for all sorts of objectives, like freedom to make salt without paying excise, or make speeches against the declaration of war by the Viceroy in 1939 without consulting the Provincial Assemblies, and so on. *Our contention is merely that no mass movement or struggle was ever launched by the Congress to seek Indian Independence.*

The Congress was started in 1885 by Viceroy Dufferin and retired I.C.S. Home Secretary A.O. Hume to divert the opposition movement into safe channels (See Mujumdar ed., *HCIP*, Vol. X, Chapter 15, page 524-69).

A.O. Hume remained the General Secretary of the Congress for 22 years, upto the year 1907, until the Surat Split between the

so-called Congress Moderates & Extremists. At the same time, the British bribed the Parsee community through Pherozeshah Mehta, and J.N. Tata who was given the license to start the Tata Iron & Steel Works in Jamshedpur. The Communal Electorate provisions of the Morley-Minto Reforms were also implemented at that time and the Muslim League was promoted in 1906 with a Rs. 6 Lacs *sarkari* loan to the Nawab of Dacca. The Aga Khan was made to carry out a Command Performance at Simla in 1906, with the Nawab, to demand separate Electorates for Muslims. The demand was immediately granted !

To cut the long story short, the Congress was split, the opposition communal parties were vigorously bolstered, even though all of them were within the range of 'Safe Comprador Politics'.

Until 1919, the first resolution to be passed at all annual sessions of the Congress was a declaration swearing eternal loyalty and fidelity to the British crown.

Till 1929 the Congress had not even demanded Indian independence. Therefore the question of fighting for it, never arose. Even in 1929 the resolution that was passed with Gandhi's amendment was to the effect that if Britain did not grant Dominion Status to India within one year, the Congress *will be free to ask for Independence.*

It is presumed that technically atleast Congress stood for freedom after expiry of the "one year" (1929-30), but there is no formal resolution to that effect in subsequent years.

Let us recollect that the 1921 non-cooperation movement threatened by Gandhi, was withdrawn before its launch, via the Chauri-Chora incident.

The 1931 Salt *Satyagraha*, *Civil Disobedience Movement*, the Dandi March, and all those theatricals ended up in the miserable Gandhi-Irwin pact of 1931 after which Gandhi rushed off to the Round Table Conference in

London, and Irwin proceeded to hang Bhagat Singh, Sukhdeo, Rajguru, probably having obtained Gandhi's assurance that Congress protest against these executions will be in a low-key manner. (See R.C. Majumdar, op.cit.)

The thirties were a hectic period for Gandhi, he not only participated in the Round Table Conference, as the sole representative of Congress, but also created a network of NGOs to propagate *Khadi and Village Industries, help the Harijans, promote Hindi, the Charkha, the cow and so on.* He also brought out the *Harijan* in several language editions. By the year 1937, the Congress plunged into the provincial assembly elections and this time from the beginning Gandhi allowed Vallabhbhai and Jawahar to function freely. There was no controversy, as in the previous decade about "Council Entry" vs "No Changers".

In the twenties, Motilal Nehru, Jawahar's father, and C.R. Das has been forced to form a *Swarajya* party outside the INC, in order to continue comprador collaboration with British imperialism under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms of 1919-21.

This time, in the thirties, Gandhi had surrendered in advance and in many provinces powerless "popular" ministries had been formed, in most places led by the Congress.

In all this period following the withdrawal of the 1931 Salt *Satyagraha* and *Civil Disobedience Movement*, there was no

CONGRESS NEVER FOUGHT FOR INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

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question of demanding or fighting for any kind of Indian Independence. It was all Constructive Programme and Parliamentary Elections (to a "Non-Parliament" !)

After the unilateral declaration of war on behalf of India against the Axis Powers, by the Viceroy in 1939, Gandhi followed a policy of "Non-Embarrassment". As part of this policy, Gandhi launched an *Individual Satyagraha* movement in 1940, so as to allow Britain to settle down and pursue uninterruptedly its war effort. (See Official White Paper, *Correspondence With Mr. Gandhi : August 1942 - April 1944*, published by GOI, 1944, pp. 15, 40, 41).

Let us note that Gandhi firmly repudiated any responsibility for the 1942 Movement :

"Credit is given to Gandhi for carrying out this glorious revolution which led us to our goal of freedom. Both the assumptions are opposed to actual facts. It is well-known, and the Congress was the first to admit, that the movement collapsed in two months' time and India had to wait for five more years before it achieved freedom under very different circumstances. Similarly, far from claiming any credit for achievements of 1942, both Gandhi and the Congress offered apology and explanation for the 'madness' which seized the people participating in it. Jayaprakash Narayan most emphatically asserted that 'to fasten the August programme on Gandhiji is a piece of perjury of which only the British ruling class can be capable.' The correspondence between Gandhi and the Government of India is conclusive on this point." (See R. C. Majumdar ed., *History and Culture of The Indian People*, vol. XI, chapter 28, page 673, where he has quoted *Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi August 1942-April 1944 and the Official Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress of the 11th December 1945*, which has been cited from Bejan Mitra and Phani Chakraborty, ed., *Rebel India*, 1946)

It is especially emphasized that in order to participate in the final round of negotiations with British Imperialism for Transfer of Power, the INC had to eat the humble pie and officially repudiate the 1942 Movement by a formal resolution of the Working Committee on 11.12.45.

Nothing more need be or can be said !

As far as Subhash Bose's INA Army was concerned, the Congress Opposition was clear, from the time of Gandhi-Bose conflict over Presidentship of the Congress in 1938-39, Haripura-Tripuri Sessions, and from the time of the INA formation in Malaysia-Burma in 1941-43, and occupation of part of Manipur and Arakan in 1941-43 by INA.

Thereafter, the Anti-INA Officers Trial galvanised the country. (Dhillon, Sahgal, Shah Nawaz Khan, a Hindu-Sikh-Muslim trio, were stupidly put on trial together, by the idiotic Commander-in-Chief of India Gen. Auchinleck, which trial unified the entire country, and Bhulabhai Desai, by leading the defence team, suddenly catapulted himself as a rival to Jawahar Nehru for the *gaddi* of the first Indian PM. Desai became so cocksure as a result of his triumph at the Red Fort Trial that he even signed the notorious Desai-Liaqat Pact. Unfortunately he counted his chickens before hatching them. Gandhi betrayed Bhulabhai Desai thoroughly and comprehensively, thus enabling Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel to become the first Premier and Vice-Premier of India.

As far as the third significant Mass Movement of '40s decade is concerned, the RIN sailors were betrayed by Vallabhbhai Patel who was flown to Bombay from Delhi by Imperialist Commander Godfrey. By this simple gesture the British indicated that they were not in a position to rule India by their own White force.

Stafford Cripps challenged Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, to get passed with his Conservative support, a resolution enabling the government to send a force of five million

Britons and to approve a cost of five hundred million pounds sterling for their upkeep and maintenance in India, at an average cost of just £ 100 per year per head. Churchill had no answer, especially because war-weary Britain was facing at that time soldiers' riots from Tokyo to Singapore, everyone in uniform demanding immediate repatriation "home" i.e. Great Britain.

Thus if it was not possible to hold India with the help of British Personnel and at British Cost, the only alternative was to try to hold India with Indians paid for by Indian treasury. But the INA Army and the Anti-INA Trial Demonstrations and the RIN Mutiny had made it clear that Indian jawan was no longer loyal to the British crown. At the end of the INA Trial Dhillon, Sahgal and Shah Nawaz Khan could only be cashiered. They could not be sentenced to death as demanded by the prosecution.

Though Vallabhbhai came and stabbed the Naval Ratings in the back, there was no guarantee of their future loyalty ! The small Indian Air Force had refused to bomb the ships lying in Bombay harbour waters. The Shore Batteries had refused to fire on the Rebel Ships !

There was no alternative for British Imperialism, but to retreat, as they could not allocate White troops and imperial money for retention of India, and further could not any longer trust Black Indian natives to defend the Empire ! That is why we Socialists and Revolutionaries led by Lohia, had projected the dynamic slogan : "AAKHRI DHAKKA EK DO !" (Give the last push to break the camel's back !)

To sum up, the Indian National Congress, a Comprador Organisation right from the beginning, never launched any struggle for freedom !

Neither did it support any on-going agitation, started by some other party, which had as its aim the complete, total and unconditional freedom of India.

India's freedom was actually in defiance of the Goebbelsian Propaganda stunt by the Congress, and in reality had been achieved by the anarchist-terrorists of the old days, like Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad, Khudiram Bose, Jatin Das, Kalpana Dutt and such other revolutionaries; and by Forward Blocists and INA fighters led by Subhash Bose, Mohan Singh and others and finally by Socialists led by Lohia and others. On this 49th Anniversary of Pseudo-Freedom, and on the Eve of the 50th year of our Compromised Comprador Existence as a Nation, let us try to have a clear historical perspective.

The Indian National Congress never launched or supported any struggle for freedom. They talked a lot, shouted at many street corners, hypocritically conducted many great rebellious campaigns in the press, made many demands for freedom to manufacture salt, and such other trivia, even went to jail for no discoverable purpose at all, bore many imperialist atrocities with stupid fortitude, successfully spun many million metres of cotton yarn, demanded freedom of expression without any idea of what to express, participated or collected votes from 12-14% of the Indian population who alone were entitled to vote till the end of British days, made many anti-liquor, anti-foreign cloth, pro-Khadi, pro-Harijan gestures; but the Congress never fought for any kind of Indian freedom.

Gandhiji's movements from 1921 (withdrawn before launch), or 1931 (for symbolic objectives), or for Quixotic Freedom of Speech in Wartime (1940), were entirely compradorist. Gandhi had never fought for the Black People's Freedom in South Africa. He had vigorously supported British Imperialism in both the Boer War and the Zulu War.

(Contd. on Page 16)

Congress, Never In Any Freedom Fight Chronology of Congress Shame

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| 1885 | Indian National Congress, founded by Viceroy Dufferin and Retd. ICS Home Secretary, A O Hume, who controlled INC as Founder-Secretary for 22 yrs, to 1907. | |
| 1905-11 | <i>Swadeshi, Boycott and Anti-Bengal-Partition Movement</i> led by Bal, Pal, Lal (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai) | |
| 1906-09 | In 1906, the Nawab of Dacca was bribed with a <i>Sarkari</i> loan of 6 lacs, to form the Muslim League. He, with the Aga Khan, gave a "Command Performance" at Shimla and presented Viceroy Minto with a demand for Seperate Muslim Electorates, which was immediately granted by Britain in the Morley-Minto Reforms Package of 1907 (announced) and 1909 (implemented). | |
| 1907 | Surat Congress Splits between Moderates and Extremists. Moderates were led by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, knighted in 1904, who, sitting on the dias received a Puneri <i>chappal</i> , on the face, obviously thrown by a Tilakite.

Radicals force Hume to retire.

Parsees bribed, like the Muslims, with knighthoods and other favours. Jamshedji Tata allowed to start the Tata Iron and Steel Works in the same year as the Surat Split. Tata collected an enormous public subscription running into crores, for TISCO shares. | 1932-40

Gandhi's hands were now overfull :

a) Collecting lacs of rupees to run his Constructive Programme Institutions, like <i>Khadi and Village Industries Association, All India Spinners' Association or Charkha Sangh, Hindi Prachar Sabha, Go Seva Sangh and Harijan Seva Sangh.</i>

b) At the same time, he brought out the <i>Harijan</i> in multiple language editions.

c) He was deeply immersed in the Parliamentary Elections, under the new 1935 Constitution that was implemented in 1937.

d) He was also busy with combating (i) Subhash Bose and his followers, who were demanding immediate struggle against British Imperialism; (ii) the Congress Socialists, who were also erratically pressing for the same; and (iii) the supporters of M.N. Roy, who had opportunistically joined the Congress Left.

Gandhi launched the Individual <i>Satyagraha</i> Movement demanding freedom of speech in war time, an obviously absurd demand, as a part of his overall policy or Non-Embarrassment to British Imperialism |
| 1915-1918 | Gandhi follows up his support to British Imperialism in the First World War, by "Non-violent" activities, like gifting an Ambulance Corps in London to the War Effort, and with a Recruiting Sergeant's campaign in Gujarat, for which he received a Kaiser-i-Hind medal, which he returns in 1919 as a protest against the "Khilafat Wrongs". | |
| 1919-1923 | Gandhi leads, with Ali Brothers, a Khilafat Movement in support of the distant Turkish Religious Head, the Khalifa. The Khilafat Movement ends suddenly as Kamal Ataturk abolishes the Caliphate in 1923. | 1941-1947

All the three mass movements of the '40s which forced British withdrawal from India, were either repudiated by the Congress, like the 1942 Movement; or were abstained from by the Congress, as in the case of the Anti-INA Trial Demonstrations, which swept over the country at the end of 1945; or openly betrayed by the Congress, as in the case of the RIN Mutiny and Bombay Protest Movement of February 1946.

Ultimately the Congress, the Muslim League and British Imperialists arrived at a rotten compromise, fully supported by the miniscule Communist Party, which was a tailist force attached to the Muslim League. One of the greatest tragedies in human history happens. The Partition of India trifurcates the country into West Pakistan, Residual India and East Pakistan, causing the loss of six lac lives, and the creation of seventeen million refugees, the largest such event known to human history. |
| 1921 | The Non-Co-operation Movement is withdrawn before launching, on the excuse that a violent incident occurred at Chauri Chora, a remote village in U.P. It is not certain whether the Khilafat Movement was to become a part of the Non-Co-operation Movement, or vice versa. In Gandhi's parlance, <i>Asahakar</i> and <i>Khilafat</i> were the obverse and reverse of the same coin. But neither implied a struggle for freedom. | |
| 1931 | The 1931 Movement was a <i>Satyagraha</i> (Truth-insistence) or Civil Disobedience agitation in favour of the right to manufacture salt without payment of excise. This short-lived movement was quickly concluded by the so-called Gandhi-Irwin Pact, after which Gandhi packed off to participate in the Second Round Table | |

(Contd. from p. 14)

Gandhi never wanted Total Freedom for India ! He never strove for a complete break with Britain ! For him as for the 14th Dalai Lama, freedom only meant a semi-slave or a semi-serf existence within the over-arching imperial dispensation.

We are in a small minority ! We admit that ! But we cannot be silent ! History will find out ! The People of India will discover their true history, as they begin to liberate themselves from current comprador rule !

MANKIND COMPLETES ONE YEAR : A SELF-ASSESSMENT AND SUMMING UP

Mankind completes one year with this issue. *The Contents and Simplified Index* for No. 1, Oct 1995 to No. 6, March 1996 appear on pages 33-36 of this issue. (Inclusive of a double number 4/5, Jan-Feb 1996, and a *Statistical Supplement* of International Comparisons of 201 nations and territories).

The Contents and Simplified Index for the second half of the year, comprising *MK* No. 7, April 1996, to double number 11/12, Aug.-Sept. 1996, will appear in our next issue.

It has been an exhilarating experience.

On the one hand, our small team of less than half a dozen, at any one time has successfully and regularly produced a very high quality journal as acknowledged by many of its learned readers. The then Prime Minister of India, P.V. Narsimha Rao found it "stimulating". (Probably he was the only Congress leader, who could have read *Mankind*.) Many others have encouraged us by showering encomiums, all of which we shall treasure for a long time.

Our circulation is not vast. We never intended that.

We merely wished to present a new vision and express the ideological viewpoint of the *dalits* and *pidits*, the exploited, the oppressed, and the despised, of the vast desolation that we call India.

We believe that in our own humble and simple way, we have begun the process of rewriting Indian, and to some extent, World History.

We humans cannot even begin to think of changing or influencing the contemporary currents that form the mainstream of today's reality, unless we comprehend where we stand, what are our surroundings, what is the necessity of the change that is taking place and why are we going where we are going.

Mankind is pledged to explore the problematic of the present, which is but a momentary pause in the spiral of inexorable transmutation of all past into the future.

We humans alone make history, but we can make it only as we live and make a living, only as the necessity enjoins !

We take a monistic, holistic, dialectical and historical-materialist viewpoint of history.

We act as the mode of production and its particular phase formation demands, necessitates, and allows. We cannot generate history out of nothing, or out of miracles, or

out of ideological constructs fantasised by us. We can only move as the wind of material existence ordains.

We have only to become conscious of the tasks that material history has posed upon us. And history, has posed those tasks precisely because *Mankind* has acquired the ability to resolve them. **Historic tasks arise as man rises in strength to face and overcome these tasks. In fact, he could not become aware of them unless he was capable of solving them.**

Therefore, *Mankind*, both journal and humankind, are eternally optimistic. Man's creative energies are ever expansive. Therefore all present travails and frustrations are merely passing phenomena.

Man cannot go into reverse gear and return to the hunting, fishing and food-gathering past. Man has, and will always move forward. Therefore capitalism which dwarfs and aborts the genetic potentialities of the have-nots through penury and cultural backwardness, cannot last forever.

The dark night shall end. It has to. Otherwise society must move backwards to feudalism, to pastoralism, to slavery, to, as aforesaid, hunting-fishing-and food-gathering !

There is no way of unlearning, of unknowing, of unbecoming. To be, to become, and to pass away as transformed, this is all that is possible.

To die, to end, to finish, is an illusion. One cannot cease

HUMAN BEINGS AS INSTRUMENTS OF HISTORIC FORCES

We act as the mode of production and its particular phase formation demands, necessitates, and allows. We cannot generate history out of nothing, or out of miracles, or out of ideological constructs fantasised by us. We can only move as the wind of material existence ordains.

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to be *ab initio*. Once we have come into being, we cannot never have been. As the Buddha said, we cannot step into the same river twice. Or, as he put it on another occasion, the flame once lit can neither remain the same nor can it be blown away. It has always been !

We repeat, death is an illusion. Nothing has ever, or can ever, cease to be. As soon as it has

come into being, it has impacted upon the environment, which has been, be it infinite-simally, transformed. The next being must and will always find the environment, the ambience, the totality, transformed, however slightly.

The flow of events is inexorable and is unidirectional.

**TIME IS NOTHING BUT A SEQUENCE OF EVENTS.
SPACE IS THE ARENA IN WHICH THE EVENTS OCCUR.**

The human species cannot become unborn. It cannot revert to unicellular existence.

Similarly, societal evolution cannot revert to barbarism and savagery, though capitalism does organise momentary throw-backs to geno-cides, to concentration camps, to racialism, to slavery, to apartheid, to Zionism, to limited wars, to neo-colonialisms, to cultural invasions and to ethnic extinctions.

But all these reversions are transitory and pass away in history.

Human society has hitherto always managed to escape in the nick of time and to march forward to an ever expansive future.

At least, *Mankind* so believes !

Let us return to the Earth from our philosophical flight. Let us place ourselves in a geostationary orbit, from where we are perforce destined to return to Earth.

Incidentally, some friends of *Mankind* inhabiting the cyberspace have promised or threatened to place *Mankind* on

the Internet. We are rather bemused if not bewildered. We welcome it, and would request them to keep *Mankind* informed of whatever they hear from outer as well as inner space.

Not to be isolated, *Mankind* has sought actively for friends abroad, in Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, in Northern Ireland; in Hamas and Hezbollah in the Arab lands; in Cuba in far-away Caribbean; and in LTTE in nearby Eelam.

We had a response from Gerry Adams, though not as unequivocal and fulsome as we might have desired.

In India also we notice a number of signs, small as they may be, of change. A number of little radical and revolutionary journals have appeared, e.g. *Nai Azadi* from Allahabad. Some journals have chosen to reproduce material from *Mankind*, e.g. *Frontier* from Calcutta. We have just this week received *Indian Socialist* from Koddalloor, Kottayam, Kerala. Many have written to us identifying *Mankind* as a new and authentic voice.

World in Crisis

Amongst the most important editorials that we wrote, we may count the following:

1. *Capitalism's Second Breath*

We pointed out that the world scene had been completely transformed after 1975.

Upto 1975, we could count several major convulsions, all entirely unfavourable to capitalism.

a) The five convulsions listed by the *Ency. Brit.*, 1973 edn, which the editors of the *EB* had themselves found to be unfavourable to capitalism,

LIFE ON MARS

American scientists have recently claimed that fossilised bacterial traces have been found in rocks scattered on earth that had arrived long ago, as a result of turbulent events that occurred on Mars millions of years ago.

Boot-lickers of the powerful the world over, are falling over each other to praise the great achievements of American science and to raise its glory sky high, space high and Mars high!

The Chinese have sounded the only sensible note of scepticism.

They have correctly pointed out the short-lived *hoo-haa* that the Americans had created a few years ago in favour of similiar grandiose claims of having achieved 'cold fusion' (fusion of hydrogen nuclei at low or ordinary temperatures, releasing enormous energies).

BBC is still repeating those lies, this week in *Horizon*!

We may add the social science case when the *National Geographic* discovered a rare Philippino tribe, hitherto completely unknown, that was still living at a cannibalistic or hunting-fishing and food gathering stage in the middle of the twentieth century. (Leni Riefenstahl, the Hitler-favourite Nazi film-maker, had "discovered" such a tribe in Ethiopia, 2/3 decades ago!)

It was proved beyond doubt that the *National Geographic* (and *Leni*) claims were fraudulent.

It was all a hoax!

No doubt, since there are billions of galaxies in the universe, and trillions of sun-like stars with planetary systems attached to them, it is absolutely certain that however small a chance there may be, of the optimum combination of circumstances and events; to arise, that may gestate carbon based life, as we know it, there will be quite a few inevitabilities for extra-territorial existences. That is not the point.

The point is about the distances involved. Even for light to reach us from those remote regions of the universe, it takes millions of light years!

To travel to such destinations, we would need to move through hundreds and thousands of generations confined to space crafts!

Surely, life is not unique to Earth. The geocentric world was a myth. The heliocentric world was also a fairy tale. The fable of our galaxy, or even of the Local Group of 17/18 Galaxies being the centre of the universe, lies shattered.

The universe is, so far as we know, entirely unpatterned. There are no favoured areas! There are no lumps or concentrations anywhere!

Philosophically, I cannot believe this. There has to be a pattern. There must be regularities, however asymmetrical they may be.

It cannot be all nonsense.

However, astronomical investigations, so far conducted by eclectic minds, do not support the philosophic vision of the Necessity of a Pattern!

Anyway, returning to the healthy Chinese scepticism about grandiose American scientific claims, common sense requires that we support the Chinese.

The Americans are a foolish people, who have been brain-washed and maddened by capitalist excesses. I don't think that they are capable of making any significant, basic or fundamental discovery in their present state of socio-psychological torpor! Their culture is in a blind alley!

The Americans may be winning Nobel prizes, but the next generation of profound new discoveries will probably come from Europe and the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific. India is nowhere and has no chance! Unless the state ceases to stultify young minds with deadly doses of English!

Great Depression and the Russian and Chinese revolutions of 1917 and 1949.

b) To the above five we may add the overturn of bourgeois and fascist governments in Eastern Europe and the installation of state capitalist communist regimes in the three Baltic republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania (All between 1945-49).

c) The installation of a state capitalist communist regime in N. Korea (1945-50).

d) The overthrow of the Batista regime by Fidel Castro in 1959.

e) The partial overturn of the 1947 Indian partition imposed by British imperialism through the separation and liberation of Bangladesh (E. Pakistan) by the combined forces of the Indian Army and the Mukti Vahini (the latter formed on Indian soil in Calcutta) in 1971.

f) The victory achieved after 30 years of prolonged struggle by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front in a direct war with France and USA (1945-75), and the consequent partial liberation of Laos and Cambodia.

g) The compromised and botched up national liberation movements posting multiple victories from the 1940s in Asia and from the 1960s in Africa, which seriously weakened world capitalism.

Against this, we had noted that since 1975 the world situation had been transformed by several important developments:

a) The Communist

namely, the two World Wars, the 1929 Bloc had disintegrated beginning with China where Deng's *Kaifang*

and *Gaige* and "market socialism" had triumphed from 1978, to be followed by Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* from 1985. As a climax, the Berlin Wall collapsed in 1989 and the USSR disintegrated by 1991. All the 15 Republics of the erstwhile USSR are now independent and E. Germany had to be reunited with W. Germany. Czechoslovakia has split into the Czech and Slovak Republics. The six-nation Yugoslav Federation has been broken into bits with Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro and Macedonia now standing as independent republics. Vietnam has been forced to join ASEAN and only North Korea and Cuba momentarily continue in their old state capitalist ways. But even these two last outposts of communism are besieged.

b) Simultaneously, India has been overtly recaptured by the neo-colonialist powers, under the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB, IMF and WTO which is euphemistically called a policy of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalization" in India.

We had pointed out in our important editorial 'Capitalism's Second Breath' that the reasons for this calamitous development were in the main four :

a) The enormous increase in the specific weight of the Service Sector in the national economies of the world, with Services absorbing nearly 2/3rds of the GDP.

b) The explosive growth in the Youth Market.

c) The cumulative stupendous, parasitical growth of the Real Estate Market in every part of the world.

d) The Information Electronics Revolution.

2. During the last year, two other inter-related editorials that we wrote in the columns of *Mankind* may prove to be of somewhat long-term significance.

a) *The Asia-Europe Summit* (MK, Vol. 1, No. 7, April, 96, pp. 3-5), where we demonstrated, with economic data, the resurgent pattern of a three-way division of the world's wealth between USA and its Allies, Europe and its Allies and the emerging Tiger economies of the PRA (Pacific Rim of Asia, or ARP, the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific).

b) *Tri-Polar World of the 21st Century* (MK, Vol. 1, No. 11/12, Aug-Sept. 96), in this issue, where we have tried to prove that a trade war is fast developing between the above three conglomerations of Great Powers, and that such a trade war, under present capitalist conditions, is bound to eventuate into an armed conflict, probably in the first half of the 21st century.

Mankind's Credo

3. Perhaps as important as the above two has been **MANKIND'S CREDO** which we wrote for our first issue (Oct. 95), where we denounced the present Constitution as a farce, a joke, a travesty, and a betrayal. We gave a call for a new Constituent Assembly to be elected for the first time on the basis of a universal, direct, adult franchise and a New Economic Policy that will project the needs and aspirations of the Indian masses. We called for a Fourth Force of the Indian people to overturn and replace the

present comprador capitalist and *naukarshahi* regime which had seized power in 1947 following a compromise with British imperialism and a partition of the country, that is possibly the greatest horror story of the 20th century.

It is not possible to summarise adequately this editorial and we propose to re-issue the same, with some updating and further elaboration in our next issue (Oct. 1996)

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-67)

Another notable achievement of *Mankind's* first year has been the rekindling of interest in Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's ideas and contributions to revolutionary socialist thought.

We have focussed attention on the dynamics of Lohia's thought, a senior comrade who passed away in 1967, some 29 years ago. Amongst the most valuable aspects of Lohia's thought, we consider these to be the most important :

a) Economic thought, based on essential, ethical and moral values of a philosophy of egalitarianism

b) The nationalist fervour with which he viewed the world in transition from Nation States to a World Government.

c) The exercise of a Revolutionary Will to transform the conjectural and momentary social reality.

d) The theory of *vishesh avsar* (special opportunity) for the downtrodden and the despised, i.e., the *dalits* and the *pidits* of this country.

e) A view of world history that does not accept the primacy of Europe.

We have reproduced in *Mankind* in its first year, the following most important contributions of Dr. Lohia.

1. *Banish English* (MK Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct 95, p. 37-41)

2. *Lohia's Wheel of History Reviewed* (MK, Vol. 1, No. 3 Dec. 95, p. 13)

3. *A Lost Chapter* (MK, Vol. 1, No. 7, Apr. 96, p.13-19)

4. *Three Facets of My Credo* (MK Vol. No. 9, June 96, p. 27-40)

Apart from a detailed exposition of our analysis of the national and international situation, and a recapitulation of Dr. Lohia's vital contributions, *Mankind* has focussed on three other important areas : History, Art and the Statistical expression of the major trends in our political economy.

Our endeavour has been in all these three areas of History, Art and Statistics to provide to our cadres, complete data, meticulously sourced, so that the sensitive and the concerned are able to quote authoritatively when arguing with their adversaries. At the same time, these sources provide the cadres with guidelines for further reading. Thirdly, the intelligent reader is not required to mention or quote from *Mankind*, because he can check up and use the sources himself as basic authorities.

History

We have in our presentations relating to History, deliberately avoided the dry, academic textbook approach. We have tried to relate current events to their past backgrounds and to draw lessons

SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA'S THOUGHT

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from the ever-dynamic movement of history itself. After all, Today is a mere of conjunction of All Past and All Future !

Such an approach to current events, i.e., to history-in-the-making, has enabled us to completely bypass Western European and Neo-Colonialist misinterpretations of Indian and World History. We firmly believe that India will not be able to liberate itself from Neo-Colonial Westernisation until Indians have re-written their own and the world's history ! **Historiography is at the centre of history-making. We must know where we stand and where we are going before we actually embark on the journey to transform Indian and World socio-political reality.**

There are three parts into which we may divide *Mankind's* historical approach. In the first part, we may place the significant contributions by Lohia, S.G. Talageri, S.R. Rao, R.C. Dutt and other scholars, who have collectively enriched our knowledge of our past, and who have sustained the ongoing historiographical efforts of the Executive Editor, who is about to publish his work-in-progress : *Twentyfive Essays in Indian History*.

The second part of *Mankind's* contributions in the field of history, consists of the reproduction of nine essays from the Exe. Edr's. forthcoming publication, mentioned above.

The third part may be said to comprise of the original contributions made by *Mankind*, and its Exe. Edr., such that provide us with a deeper historical rationale for the current comprador reality.

The fact is that our comprador reality is so ugly and repulsive that not enough attention has been paid to its concrete existence. On the one hand, there are the flights of fancy and its reiterations by rote of hypocritical ideals. On the other, there are the inarticulate mumblings of hybrid, bastardised, imitative subcultures of the *nouveau riche* yuppies. **But there are no concrete, real-life studies of the horror that is India of the last half century : a nation without a national soul, communicating with its elements in an alien tongue, escaping away to the enticing West in the millions as NRIs, criminally corrupt, *naukarshahi* deadened; oppressed by murderous and raping upper caste elites; ruled by an irresponsible and inefficient officialdom; exploited to the point at which skin and bones can yield no more blood; this reality of concrete India has not been explored, the nuances of the ambience have not been brought out.** This is the lacuna, the gap, the hiatus which *Mankind* seeks to bridge. In the section *Ulti Khopdi*, and occasionally else-where too. We have sounded the tocsin !

The world is open before us. The future is struggling to be born. We Indians who were masters of world civilization from 4500 BC onwards, must take our rightful place under the sun. Who or what is going to stop us, if we but have the will and the desire ? We shall overcome !

Let us list the essays of the first group at the outset;

1. From *The Economic History of India* (1901) by R.C.Dutt, we have reprinted extensively :

Summary of Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Report on Economic Conditions in Southern India*, dated 1807 (3 Volumes), and *Northern India* (edited by Montgomery Martin and published after Dr. Buchanan's death), dated 1838 (also 3 Vols.)

in *MK*, Vol, No. 2, Nov. 95, pp. 12-26

Further instalments of R.C. Dutt's *Economic History of India* were published as follows :

MK, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 95, pp. 85-97.

MK, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb. 96, pp. 86-96.

MK, Vol. 1, No. 6, Mar. 96, pp. 56-63.

MK, Vol. 1, No. 7, Apr. 96, pp. 53-59.

MK, Vol. 1, No. 9, June 96, pp. 62-67.

2) *Wheel of History* by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (*A Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec., 95, p. 13).

3. Seven Racialist Christian Imperialist Lies relating to the Aryan Invasion Theory, *suddenly discovered by Western historians in the latter half of the 19th century*, were refuted on the basis of the evidence provided by S.G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory* (1993) and Dr. S.R. Rao, *The Decipherment Of The Indus Script* (1982) in *MK* Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, p. 25.

In the second part of our History series, we have reproduced the following nine essays from the Exe. Edr's. forthcoming publication *Twentyfive Essays in Indian History* :

1. *Sangha Feudalism : 700 BC - 300 AD*, *MK* Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct 95, pp. 63-91.

2. *Intricacies of India's Land Tenure Systems; Ibid.*, pp. 92-97.

3. *Samanta Feudalism : 300-1300 AD*, in *MK* Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov 95, pp. 62-84.

4. *Art And History*, *ibid*, pp. 85-6.

5. *Architecture : Background and Balance-sheet*, *ibid.*, pp. 87-94.

6. *Fallacy of the Asiatic MOP*, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 95, pp. 44-64.

7. *Pastoralist Class Society : c. 4500 - c. 700 BC*, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb 96, pp. 68-95.

8. *The Gazeteers*

as *Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process*, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 6, Mar 96, pp. 47-55.

9. *Art As History*, *MK*, Vol 1, No. 8, May 96, pp. 48-59.

In the third group are our original essays written especially for *Mankind* in which we identified the Four Pillars of the comprador ideological structure as follows :

Pillar No. 1 : The Aryan Invasion Theory, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, pp. 25-27.

Pillar No. 2 : The enormously bloated claims made about the border skirmish that involved Alexander III, The Insignificant Perso-Macedonian, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, pp. 28-30.

Pillar No. 3 : The Imperial Shakespeare Industry, which elevated a petty theatre-owner-producer-actor-playwright of the Elizabethan period into a Univesal Genius, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, pp. 31-36 and *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov. 95, pp. 38-40.

Pillar No. 4 : The retention of English as the prime language of India in the interests of neo-colonialists and their local compradors, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, pp. 36-41, and *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov. 95, pp. 41-43.

Art and Culture

We have chosen to publish a large number of articles on Art and Culture in *Mankind*, because we believe that this is a field in which not enough has been done to explain the developments from the historical and dialectical materialist viewpoint.

Further, we believe that, we Indians, and art students

INDIANS MUST REWRITE ART HISTORY TO SET RIGHT THE NEO-COLONIAL BIAS

We Indians, and art students generally from Asia and the Third World, must rewrite the history of Indian, World and Western Art, before we expel their biased efforts. We should know that we will not be able to challenge the material might of the West, until we have ceased to be brainwashed by them.

The assault by the West upon our values is all-sided and all-enveloping.

generally from Asia and the Third World, must rewrite the history of Indian, World and Western Art, before we expel their biased efforts. We should know that we will not be able to challenge the material might of the West, until we have ceased to be brainwashed by them.

The assault by the West upon our values is all-sided and all-enveloping. The West considers its art achievements as *non pareil*. Marx himself used this term to describe the achievements of Greek Art. But this was, frankly speaking, a prejudiced philistine view which Marx had absorbed uncritically from his surroundings in the heydays of world imperialism, around the middle of the 19th century. Marx was guilty of this uncritical acceptance of petty bourgeois West European notions, both with regard to art achievements of the East, as also with regard to the general history of the non-European world. His ideas of the Asiatic MOP were completely silly, nebulous and reactionary. (Reference may be made to our article *Fallacy of the Asiatic MOP*, which has already been cited.)

Mankind's endeavour has been to fill out the gaps left in by the generally accepted classical vision of the theory of historical and dialectical materialism.

Amongst the important articles that *Mankind* has carried in its first year relating to the fields of Art and Culture, we draw our readers' attention to the following :

1. Shakespeare, as aforesaid.
2. *Art And History and Architecture : Background and Balance sheet*, also cited above.
3. *Art Systems of Russia and India*, MK, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec 95; pp. 18-20.
4. *Manifesto on Revolutionary Art* by Breton, Rivera and Trotsky, *ibid*, pp. 42-43.
5. *Comprador Science and Technology*, MK, Vol. 1, No. 6, Mar. 96, pp. 32-43.
6. *Art As History*, also cited above.
7. *The Glory of Indian Music*, MK, Vol. 1, No. 8, June 96, pp. 44-46.
8. *Neo-Colonialism in the Arts*, MK, Vol. 1, No. 10, July 96, pp. 30-42.

Statistics

We have given a lot of attention to the Statistical Section in *Mankind*, so as to equip our cadres with all the essential data. We have been careful to source all the material most meticulously, so that our readers and the cadres can check the data and study further.

Every number of *Mankind* has carried valuable statistical material, from which we single out the following as the most significant :

1. In the first issue itself, and in the double-number 4/5 of Jan-Feb '96, which was also reprinted as Statistical Supplement, we made the comparison of the GDP of 201 nations and territories for 1960 and 1991. We have compared 1960 with 1991 as National Proportions, and attempted to expose the dynamics of the international situation.

2. In issue No. 2, we went into the minute details of *India's Transactions With The World*, and gave complete data on the Balance of Trade from 1950 to the present, the movements of the Official Exchange Rate, the Terms of Trade, the Cumulative Foreign Debt, and figures of the Outgo due to Debt Servicing.

3. We have given details of the increase in assets of the country's principal monopoly business houses in both the May and July issues.

I am told by supporters of *Mankind* that all these three compilations have been much appreciated by political activists and that they have been xeroxed and widely circulated. I am very happy about these developments and I welcome this kind of *samizdat* which extends the reach of *Mankind's* ideas. After all, that is what *Mankind* intends to achieve — the spread of ideas that undermine the *status quo*.

There are many more things that one can mention in retrospect, for instance, Devilal Patidar's magnificent drawings, which have been appreciated by many readers. There is beauty in everything that is a product of human social labour.

But we must stop somewhere. Otherwise the retrospect will become an endless exercise in self-laudation.

Mankind itself is a labour of love for our small team. *Mankind* was never intended for grand circulation or to make money. I only hope that, whatever its shortcomings, especially in the matter of proof-reading of the first few issues, it has served some social purpose.

I was reluctant at my age to make the laborious effort of reviving *Mankind*. But I think it was all worthwhile.

History shall judge !

Even if just a few young men and women in India, have been provoked by *Mankind* to think anew and seriously, about the plight of our nation in the comity of the nations of the world, *Mankind* would have served its purpose.

History shall judge !

HOMAGE TO QUIT INDIA MARTYRS

THE PRATI SARKARS : 1942-46

Dr. M. P. R. Reddy

Jawaharlal Nehru, who wrote the earliest account of the Quit India Revolt in his well-known *'Discovery of India'* (1946, reprinted Bombay 1969) had no knowledge of the Satara Prati Sarkar. He wrote about the impromptu frenzy of the mob (p. 489). He referred to Quit India Movement as the greatest event in India since the Mutiny, but lamented: "The people forgot the lessons of nonviolence which had been drilled into their ears for more than twenty years." (p. 487). The authors of *Advanced History of India*, (R. C. Majumdar and others) which is a prescribed text for Civil Service Examinations in India during the last twenty years, have not even mentioned Satara in their chapter on the Freedom Struggle.

The official source book — B.G. Kunte (ed) *Congress Activities 1942-46*, Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement Vol. IV (Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay

1977 — almost ignores the Prati Sarkar. Nana Patil who was the most important leader of the Satara Prati Sarkar, rarely figures in the writings of leading Indian historians in the Post-Independence era. Satara however figures in the recent writings of Bipan Chandra and Sumit Sarkar. It goes to the credit of Gyanendra Pandey who has edited a book of research papers on Quit India Movement, in his *'The Indian Nation' in 1942* (1988) in which Gail Omvedt has written a paper on The Satara Prati Sarkar.

Where conventional historians have failed to recognise the historic significance of Satara Prati Sarkar, Pandey and Omvedt have traced the achievement of Nana Patil and Kisan Vir and their comrades in the Quit India struggle, especially the Satara Prati Sarkar in 1942-46. Although the Congress Socialist leaders like Achyut Patwardhan kept in touch with these grass-roots freedom fighters, when Gandhi

practically called off the movement and advised the underground freedom fighters like Arun Asaf Ali, to surrender; the Satara leaders not only rejected his advice, but continued to fight till the RIN Revolt followed in their footsteps. But when the RIN revolt was also nipped in the bud, the Prati Sarkar leaders had no alternative but to lay down their arms. The Congress Socialist leaders who became national heroes in the first flush of freedom, soon gave up their militancy and joined the compromising bandwagon of the national leaders in 1947.

PRATI SARKARS AND INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

It is high time that the modern Indian historians revised their history text books, and brought them up-to-date by devoting a separate chapter to Satara, and Midnapore parallel governments with an eye to historical objectivity and love of truth.

The story of the Prati Sarkars reads like that of the Maquis in occupied France. The heroes of Satara were men and women from the grass roots. Yet these were the people who formed a parallel authority to the British government and who organised a state which had all the essentials of a republic.

It is a matter for gratification that on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the Quit India Movement, the Government of India decided to erect national memorials in honour of the Satara, Midnapore, and Ballia heroes. A Maharashtra scholar, Shinde, has published a detailed history of the Satara Prati Sarkar, and several monographs written in the vernacular languages have been brought out. It is high time that the modern Indian historians revised their history text books, and brought them up-to-date by devoting a separate chapter to Satara, and Midnapore parallel governments with an eye to historical objectivity and love of truth.

In a reported encounter between Gandhi and Nana Patil in May-June 1944, (Gail Omvedt in Pandey, *The Indian Nation in 1942*, p. 223) Nana Patil spoke to Gandhiji,

'I don't know how the activity I and my coworkers have done in Satara district

fits in with your philosophy of truth and non-violence, but in doing our work we tried to implement your principles as far as it was possible. We wrecked trains, but we did not wreck a single passenger train, but we broke the hand that was responsible for a murder, a rape or a robbery; we also beat police informers. But if we had not done that we would not have been able to do anything. We would not have been able to organise a movement. The advice you gave us in August 1942 to do or die, and the advice you gave us if national leaders are jailed, then every Indian should consider himself to be independent and organise a movement to throw out the English according to his own understanding, was what we followed. We fought the English through the guerilla methods of Shivaji Maharaj.'

Gandhi replied, "Nana Patil, whether your movement fits in with my philosophy or not is not so important as the fact that you kept the 1942 freedom movement alive, and Satara has defended the name of that movement. I am one of those who feel that the violence of the brave is better than the non-violence of the cowardly." The

district of Satara was always at the helm of social and political struggle. In 1942, hundreds of people young and old, left home to join the struggle. Nana Patil, Kisan Vir, Baburao Charankar, Barde Guruji, Yeshvantarao Bhavar, Sadu Pendharkar, Kashinath Deshmukh are no more with us but because of their courage and sacrifice, they will for ever live in our memory. One also

remembers the brave sons of Sangli and Kolhapur districts. What the conventional historians of India ignored, was highlighted by a sensitive young journalist, who recorded the eye witness accounts which were published by a contemporary weekly journal, *The Blitz Weekly*, *I have shed my tears*, 1947, pp. 150-153.

The story of the Prati Sarkars, according to him, reads like that of the Maquis in occupied France. The heroes of Satara were men and women from the grass roots. Yet these were the people who formed a parallel authority to the British government and who organised a state which had all the essentials of a republic.

The parallel government that held sway in Satara area owed its success to the brave Nana Patil and his colleagues.

Karaka noted that in Satara however, those who went underground did not leave the district. They had won the confidence

of the people to such an extent that they could move about freely in the villages without the government being able to uncover information about their movements. That is why the struggle in Satara was one continuous rebellion from 1942 to 1945 (*Ibid*, p. 153-154).

Would the NCERT, the Publication Divisions of the State and Central Governments, and the text book writers of India, at least now, revise their history of the Quit India Movement, and tell the students and people the truth about Satara? In the history of India, one can hardly find an instance of so much territory being ruled by a people's movement in total defiance of alien rulers for so long a time. Nana Patil had reached the very hearts of the people.

The brightest and most glorious facets of the movement were the parallel governments set up in Midnapore in Bengal, in Ballia in Uttar Pradesh and Satara in Maharashtra. The parallel government in Satara and Sangli lasted for a long time. An effort was made to eradicate anti-social elements, to give land to the landless, to put an end to the domination of money-lenders and to strive for realising the dream of Gandhiji. (*Janata*, 1991, p. 36)

In Ballia in U.P., Satara in Maharashtra, Midnapore in Bengal and Bhagalpur in Bihar, people succeeded in establishing a *Swaraj* Government and thereby paralysing the entire British government administration.

Vidyut Vahini — the military wing of the parallel government was organised in Mahishadan, Tambuk, and Nandigram sub-division of Bengal.

Parallel organisations like courts, thanas, jails and camps were organised in many localities; volunteers served as national police and courts decided many pending cases. (*Ibid*, p. 69)

"This spontaneous insurrection is condescendingly recognised by official historians — at least those of democratic temper — as a necessary evil, the responsibility for which falls upon the old regime. The real reason for their attitude of indulgence is that "spontaneous" insurrection cannot transcend the frame work of the bourgeois regime." (Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, 1970, p. 1019).

"A bitter hostility to the existing order and a readiness to venture upon the most heroic efforts and sacrifices in order to bring the country out upon an upward path — this is the new political consciousness of the revolutionary class and constitutes the most important active premise of a revolution. (*Ibid.*, p. 1204)

"But the masses did not, do not and cannot possess arms

in large quantities. Does that mean that the masses are doomed to defeat? No, it does not.

"However important weapons are, it is not in weapons that the most essential strength lies. Not the capacity of the masses to kill but their readiness to die, that, gentlemen of the court, is what we believe ensures in the last count, the success of a people's rising.

"When the soldiers sent out in the streets to repress the masses, find themselves face to face with the masses and discover that the crowd, the people will not leave the streets, until it had got what it wants, that it is prepared to die, corpses upon corpses pile up when they see and are convinced that the people have come out to fight in earnest to the end, then the soldiers' hearts will falter as they have always done in all revolutions for they would be forced to doubt the stability of the order which they serve, they will be forced to believe in the triumphs of the people.

Leon Trotsky, 1905, pg 410-11

On the eve of the August struggle Gandhiji recited to the press correspondent a poem of Shelley in which this militant call to action occurs.

Rise like lions after slumber

In unvanquishable number

Shake your chains to earth like dew

Which in sleep had fallen upon you.

You are many, they are few.

In the Quit India struggle, over 10,000 people are known to

have died in police and military firings. It has been acclaimed as a People's Revolution by recent Indian historians. In the first flash of righteous indignation thousands of common people went out to do or die. During the first few weeks hundreds of miles of railway track, was dismantled, telegraph wires were out all over India, with the result that district administration in Eastern U.P., Bihar, Satara in Maharashtra, Midnapur in Bengal collapsed. Only an empire on war footing could have restored the communications to carry on administration. Although Gandhi was not there in their midst to give them instructions they had already decided that they should do everything to paralyse the government without directly injuring life. They were not there to kill but to die and sacrifice at the altar of freedom.

Addressing the Congress delegates on

the night of 8th August, Gandhi said "I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom here is a *mantra*, a short one that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and every breath of yours give expression to it. The *mantra* is, Do or

THE GLORIOUS RECORD OF PRATI SARKARS IN RURAL INDIA

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Vidyut Vahini — the military wing of the parallel government was organised in Mahishadan, Tambuk, and Nandigram sub-division of Bengal.

Parallel organisations like courts, thanas, jails and camps were organised in many localities; volunteers served as national police and courts decided many pending cases.

Quit India was a popular nationalist upsurge which went beyond the limitations of Gandhian non-violence. It was the peasant leaders, the grassroots kisan militants, who took the struggle under their leadership and gave it an unprecedented militancy, in the areas where kisans fought against talukdars and zamindars in the thirties. Under the leadership of Kisan Sabhas, the masses released their revolutionary energy and destroyed symbols of imperial administration. J.P. said "We have declared ourselves independent and also named the British as an aggressive power. We are therefore justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhi's principles that is not my fault".

Die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt. We shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery". Quit India was a popular nationalist upsurge which went beyond the limitations of Gandhian non-violence. It was the peasant leaders, the grassroots Kisan militants, who took the struggle under their leadership and gave it an unprecedented militancy, in the areas where kisans fought against talukdars and zamindars in the thirties. Under the leadership of Kisan Sabhas, the masses released their revolutionary energy and destroyed symbols of imperial administration. J.P. said "We have declared ourselves independent and also named the British as an aggressive power. We are therefore justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhi's principles that is not my fault." (Jaya Prakash Narayan, *Towards Struggle*)

(Gyanendra Pandey, *The Indian Nation in 1942*, Calcutta 1986, p. 12)

"The situation that created chaos and anarchy, which Gandhi preferred to slavery, was fraught with danger to the British overlordship in India. The Viceroy Linlithgow privately described the uprising on August 42 as 'by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and extent of which we have so far concealed for reasons of military security' "

(G. Pandey, *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-2)

In the districts of East Khandesh, Satara, Broach and Surat, peasants took part in guerrilla type attacks. From August 1942 to January 1944, 664 bomb explosions took place in India, of them 447 or 76 percent occurred in the Bombay presidency. A new

generation of peasant leaders who came forward to organise the masses, and their leader was Nana Patil, whose name is associated with the Prati Sarkar of Satara. His name has yet to be included in our history books because the gains of Quit India were appropriated by the Congress leaders who were in control of the organisation in 1945. Nana Patil and his comrades laid down arms in 1946 just after the RIN Revolt shook the British raj in India. When he confessed before Gandhi that he organised armed revolt in the Prati Sarkar, Gandhi told him, "Nana Patil, I prefer the violence of the brave to the non violence of the cowardly."

The short sighted Communist historiography dismissed the Satara Prati Sarkar of 1942-43, as pure banditry (DD Kesambi, *Exasperating Essays*, 1957, p. 18).

They have recently confessed that this interpretation of the 1942 freedom struggle was wrong. Here is a confession from the Communist leader Sundarayya, who wrote as follows in 1972.

"Our party should have actively participated in the struggle against British refusal to form a national government by real transfer of power and against resorting to repression. While at the same time we could have continued our campaign of educating our fighting people not to be dragged into support of Hitler's and Japanese war, but preparing them too, if they ever happen to occupy our country" P. Sundarayya *Telangana People's Struggle and its Lessons*, pp. 24-25)

(Dr. M.P.R. Reddy is an old Socialist, currently focussing his agitational intervention on the rehabilitation problems faced by the oustees of dams.)

OMISSIONS AND INCLUSIONS

Our regular features, *Ornish's Programme for Health - 3* and *World Of Permanent Revolutions*, could not be accommodated in this issue as we had to give higher priority to Studies relating to the August Movement; to the Union Budget of 1996-97 and to foreign policy matters pertaining to India and Her Neighbours and to the emerging Tri-Polar World of the first half of the twenty-first century.

The omitted regular features will appear in the next issue.

INDIAN BUDGET 1996

Vinayak Purohit

The Indian budget is very often conceived by our mediemen in apocalyptic terms. The whole matter is presented as though cataclysmic and earthshaking events and decisions were taking place. Prannoy Roy, and Vinod Dua flatter and consult one Ninan, as though he were an oracle. Millions of words are published by the Indian press as though momentous events were taking place. The little factotums of the Congress Party and the *naukarshahi* who have clawed their way into the Finance Minister's *gaddi* carry on the charade as though they were the arbiters of history.

This is sheer nonsense. The GOI's revenues compose merely 10 percent of the national GDP (Table 5, p 11, *Economic Survey 1995-96: An Update*)

● As for the total expenditure, it amounts to less than 17 percent (16.7 percent) and the fiscal deficit is estimated at 6.7 percent. This is a mere guessestimate. The Actuals may be double the Budget Estimate and even the Revised Estimate available much later in the financial year, can be different.

Our government is run by the bureaucrats. There is no effective control by Members of Parliament over the finances of the GOI. The Annual Budget merely formulates certain targets for the *naukarshahi* to aim at. Everything would be revised, re-revised, redefined, reformulated, in the course of the year as it suits our officialdom. Which Finance Minister has ever been hauled up by the Lok Sabha for exceeding or undershooting any Budget Item ?

This is all make - believe and *tamasha*.

In any case, the entire annual expenditure of the GOI is a mere one-sixth of the national GDP. Of this 16.7%, one-fourth is consumed by paying out of Interest. 12 paise in the rupee goes to Defence, which is an area that is not even scrutinised in great detail by the MP's. (see Pie-chart, "Rupee Comes - Rupee Goes", *Times of India*, 23 July

1996). Add to this the cost of the gargantuan *naukarshahi*, which may be taken as 6% of GDP. (see, CMIE, *Basic Statistics, All India*, Vol 1, 1990, Table 8,9)

In short, the three — Interest, Defence and Bureaucracy — consume 43 percent out of 16.7 percent! That is, even in the matter of Expenditure, the Finance Minister's discretion amounts to, at the most, some 7% of the GDP. Is this a matter of any significance for those who are not pecuniarily and speculatively interested in shares and bonds ? Supposing the RE shows a trend exactly opposite that of the BE, would it make any difference to the people of India?

It is all a charade and make-believe! It is mere Theatre of the Absurd! And of Media Hype!

Taking the three fundamental indices of the Indian economic crisis:

● The unstoppable decline in the Female Ratio. Its movement has been as follows in this century :

Census Year	Sex Ratio
1901	972
1911	964
1921	955
1931	950
1941	945
1951	946
1961	941
1971	930
1981	934
1991	927

Source: *India, Reference Annual, 1994, p.18.*

Are Chidambaram's budget proposals designed to make any impact on these horror statistics? Are the allocations to health care, (especially with regard to Maternal Mortality), and Education

women? Does he care about such things, even to the extent of getting to know about them?

Secondly, what about the relentless increase in the number and proportion of the landless? It was 13% of the then national population of 356 million or 46 million (*India Reference Annual, 1953, p.7.*)

In 1987-88, 228.2 million were employed in rural India (Table 6.1, 6.6 and Eighth Plan, Part I). Of these 34.7 percent, or nearly 79 millions, were Casual Wage Workers, i.e. landless labourers, in the Rural Sector. This is the official admission, but in reality an immense proportion of the Rural Self Employed (56.7%), are poor and marginal farmers, who are forced to slave for daily wages.

On the whole, *Mankind's* estimate is that at least 20% of our population of 846 million in 1991 now falls in the category of landless labourers, or something like 169 millions !

● Another proof of the worsening situation of the rural poor is provided by the voluntary nature of the Indian Army. More than 2 million of our youth have accepted the career path of killing and getting killed.

There are no complaints from any quarter about shortage of cannon-fodder at the lowest level. The *jawans*, mainly landless labourers, throng ceaselessly the army's recruitment centres in rural India.

Recently, a shortage of officers has been felt :

"Admitting that there was a shortage of officers in the Indian army, General Roy Chowdhury, Chief of Army Staff, said the shortage was 12,000 and not 30,000 as reported in some quarters. If, the younger lot were less inclined to join the army today, it was because they were attracted to better pay and perks. Army is a hard and a dangerous life and does not, perhaps, seem to hold the charm that it once did for the young man." (*Times of India*, 4 Aug. 1996)

Has Chidambaram made any budget proposal which would increase employment opportunities for the Indian youth to such an extent that the Army would be forced to institute a compulsory draft of citizens for defence ? Does Chidambaram possess an IQ, and a social and moral sensitivity, which would enable him to comprehend this aspect of Indian reality ?

Let us conclude this section of our critique of the 1996 Budget.

INDIAN BUDGET

Our government is run by the bureaucrats. There is no effective control by Members of Parliament over the finances of the GOI. The Annual Budget merely formulates certain targets for the *naukarshahi* to aim at. Everything would be revised, re-revised, redefined, reformulated, in the course of the year as it suits our officialdom. Which Finance Minister has ever been hauled up by the Lok Sabha for exceeding or undershooting any Budget Item ?

(particularly for Adult Literacy and Primary Education) such that would reverse the trend of the century? Does Chidambaram even know that, at the level of Indian poverty, our society is actually eliminating

Contrary to popular belief, the Finance Minister exercises a minimal influence on events.

His Revenue collections are a mere 10 percent of the GDP, of which nearly a quarter are Internal and External Borrowings. These have to be performed (to the extent of 23% of 10% of GDP, i.e. 2.3% of GDP) to partially match the 25% of 16.7% of GDP on the Expenditure side, (i.e. 4.2% of GDP that is to be paid out.) That is, overall, the FM receives 2.3% of GDP and pays out as much as 4.2% ! He is in a terrible dilemma. How can he have any discretion or manoeuvrability in this regard ?

Similarly, in the matter of Indirect Taxes (Excise and Customs), Manmohan Singh and other Congress FMs have already reached the proportion of nearly 40% of the Revenue collections. What is Chidambaram going to do ? He can make only minor adjustments within the Excise and Custom segments of the Revenue side of his budget. He may raise across the board, Custom rates by 2% and lower duty on electronic parts and finished goods by 5 to 15% or carry out such rather cosmetic exercises favouring one business group or another, as he has done in his first budget, which was preceded by a terrific hike of 25 - 30% in the administered prices of POL (Petroleum Oil and Lubricants).

The latter increase (including increase in LPG domestic gas) have already triggered an inflationary spiral. The Railway Budget

has enhanced the tariffs on goods and on long distance passenger traffic, by express and mail trains. Taxi and autorickshaw fares have already been put up. Thus inflationary pressures have already gathered steam. How much of a leeway can Chidambaram have ?

Let us take up the Expenditure side. Overall it is 16.7% of the GDP. Of this, Interest payments on past loans, which cannot be tinkered with, if the Govt. is to remain solvent, take up 25% or 4.18% of GDP.

Defence absorbs 12%, Subsidies 7%, and *Naukarshahi* about 6%, making a grand total of half the total Expenditure.

Let us look more closely at the table Budget At A Glance, which follows immediately.

It will be noticed that the figures fluctuate very widely. We have not gone into the figures of BE and RE of the years 1980-81 & 1990-91. We have deliberately chosen only the last 3 years, namely, 1994-95, 1995-96, 1996-97 to illustrate the wild behaviour of our *naukarshahi*.

It will be easily recalled by our readers that at the end of the last year, there was a mini-crisis in the U.S. precipitated by the refusal of the Republican Congress to allow Democratic President Clinton to do as he pleased with Borrowings. Ultimately a compromise was arrived at and hundreds and thousands of

BUDGET AT A GLANCE

(In Rs. Crores)

1	2 1980-81 Actuals	3 1990-91 Actuals	4 1994-95 BE	5 1994-95 RE	6 1994-95 Actuals	7 1995-96 BE	8 1995-96 RE	9 1996-97 BE
1. Revenue Receipts	12,419	54,954	86,084	88,770	91,083	1,00,787	1,10,191	1,30,345
A. Tax Revenue (net to centre)	9,358	42,978	62,742	64,987	67,454	74,374	81,088	97,310
B. Non-Tax Revenue	3,061	11,976	23,342	23,783	23,629	26,413	29,103	33,035
2. Capital Receipts	7,261	38,997	59,615	67,502	68,695	66,364	65,213	67,737
A. Recovery of Loans	2,104	5,712	6,700	6,700	6,345	6,730	7,411	7,048
B. Other receipts (mainly PSUs disinvestment)	-	-	4,000	5,767	5,607	7,000	1,392	5,001
C. Borrowings & other liabilities	5,157	33,285	48,915	55,035	56,743	52,634	56,410	55,688
3. Total receipts (1+2)	19,680	93,951	1,45,699	1,56,272	1,59,778	1,67,151	1,75,404	1,98,082
4. Total Expenditure	22,256	1,05,298	1,51,699	1,62,272	1,60,739	1,72,151	1,83,004	2,04,660
5. Revenue Expenditure	14,455	73,516	1,18,811	1,22,902	1,22,112	1,36,328	1,43,522	1,61,820
A. Interest payments	2,604	21,498	46,000	44,000	44,049	52,000	49,920	60,000
B. Subsidies	1,851	12,158	9,463	12,810	10,250	-	11,440	11,327
C. Defence expenditure	3,604	10,874	16,169	16,611	21,350	-	26,000	19,418
D. Naukarshahi civil & paramilitary	6,396	28,986	47,179	49,481	47,463	-	56,162	71,075
6. Revenue Deficit (1-5)	2,036	18,562	32,727	34,132	31,029	35,541	33,331	31,475
7. Capital Expenditure	7,801	31,782	32,888	39,370	38,627	35,820	39,482	42,840
8. Capital Deficit Surplus (2-7)	- 540	+ 7,215	26,727	28,132	30,068	30,544	25,731	24,897
9. Budgetary Deficit (6+8)	2,576	11,347	6,000	6,000	961	4,997	7,600	6,578
10. Fiscal Deficit (1+2A+2B-4 = 2C+9)	7,733	44,632	54,915	61,035	57,704	57,634	64,010	62,266
11. Primary Deficit (10-5A)	5,129	23,134	8,915	17,035	13,655	5,634	12,010	2,266
12. Naukarshahi (central only) Burden as % of GDP Civil and Paramilitary only, excluding Armed Forces	5.23	5.46	5.52	-	5.56	-	5.40	5.94

government servants, who had been thrown into a limbo, managed to recover and restore normalcy.

In India, the Parliament has no control over the corrupt and over irresponsible Indian *naukarshahs*. The Annual Budget is a mere camouflaging exercise for them. They do window-dressing in any manner that they like. We may consider the following concrete cases :

- The 1995-96 BE in Line 2B, Other Receipts - mainly PSU disinvestments, was Rs. 7,000 crores. The RE came to Rs. 1,392 crores, and the BE for next year is once again Rs. 5,001 crores !

- In Line 5C, Defence Expenditure, the RE for last year was Rs. 26,000 crores, but BE for next year has been placed as Rs. 19,418 crores.

- The Budgetary Deficit shown in Line 9, the Actual in 1994-95 was only Rs. 961 crores, against a RE of Rs. 6000 crores for the same year.

- The concept of Primary Deficit was for the first time introduced by Chidambaram, the figures are fluctuating in a crazy manner. The 1991 Actual was Rs. 23,134 crores. The 1994 BE was Rs. 8,915 crores. The RE rose to 17,035 crores for the same year and the Actuals were down to Rs. 13,635 crores. The BE for 1995-96 was merely Rs. 5,634 crores and the RE more than doubled for the same year to Rs. 12,010 crores. For the coming year, the BE is suddenly down to Rs. 2,266 crores.

Its like the Bihar Fodder Scam. The bureaucrats of the Animal Husbandry Dept. (and many other departments, as was found later), drew amounts from the Treasury which bore no relation to the Budgetary Provisions. The criminal and corrupt *naukarshahi* in Bihar merely proved that budget sanctions are totally redundant in their case.

Sources and Notes to Budget At A Glance :

Col 4 : Budget Estimates for 1994-95, from *Economic Survey, 1994-95*, Table 2.1, p. 15

Col 5 : Revised Estimates for 1994-95, from *Economic Survey, 1995-96*, Table 2.1, p. 18

Cols. 6-9 : Actuals for 1994-95, B.E for 1995-96, R.E for 1995-96 & BE for 1996-97, from Budget Papers by Chidambaram.

Line 5D : B.E and R.E of Cost of *Naukarshahi* (Line 5D) for 1994-95 worked out from Total Revenue Expenditure (Line 3), less Interest Payments (Line 5A), Subsidies (Line 5B), and Defence (Line 5C). But Defence Costs include Emoluments of Personnel of Army. Thus the total cost of our gargantuan *naukarshahi* is in excess of the figure shown here, which by itself was 5.52% of 1994-95 GDP of Rs. 854,100 crores.

The cost of our bureaucracy was just 3% in 1950-51 and rose to 6% (both inclusive of defence personnel) in 1988-89. (See CMIE, *Basic Stats. All-India*, Vol. 1, Table 8.4) Actuals for 1994-95 for Subsidies and Defence, worked out from Table 5 (*Economic Survey Update, 1995-96*) which provides GDP proportions for Subsidies and Defence, which has been omitted by Chidambaram from his Budget Papers.

Why the Finance Ministry constantly chops and changes its presentation of successive budgets is a big *naukarshahi* mystery. Manomohan Singh gave data on Interest Payments, Subsidies and Defence separately for a number of years, and kept hidden only the "excessive" administrative costs from public view, which we have brought to light in line 5D. Manmohan and Chidambaram have added to the process of obfuscation, by creating multiplicity of Deficits of which these are now 5.

1. Revenue Deficit Revenue Receipts minus Revenue Expenditure. This is simple to understand !
2. Budgetary Deficit Total Revenue Receipts minus Total Expenditure after allowing for Capital Account Surplus. This is also not difficult to follow.
3. Capital Deficit / Surplus This is All Receipts on Capital Account , less all Expenditure of a Capital Nature. This item has been in Surplus for the last few years.
4. Fiscal Deficit This has the formula $1 + 2A + 2B - 4 = 2C + 9$. That is, Revenue Receipts + Recovery of Loans + Other Receipts, namely PSU disinvestments, - Total Expenditure = Borrowings + Budgetary Deficit. I do not know of any sensible use for this formula. But may be !
5. Primary Deficit This is a new useless concept introduced this year by Chidambaram to fudge matters even more. The formula is Fiscal Deficit (itself a fiction) minus Interest Payments. Of what possible use is this formula ? And to whom?

Line 5 D

As for the B.E. of Interest Payments, Subsidies and Defence for 1996-97, we have them from *Frontline*, 9.8.96 (Interest Payments) and *Times of India*, Pie Chart "Rupee Comes, Rupee Goes" (Subsidies and Defence), 23.7.96. Taking 1996-97 B.E. for Revenue Expenditure @ 1,61,820 crores, we can derive from the Times Pie Chart, 12 p. for defence and 7 p. for Subsidies or Rs. 19,418 crores for Defence and Rs. 11,327 crores for Subsidies.

Thus the total for B.E. of 96-97 for interest Payment = Rs. 60,000 crores + Defence Rs. 19,418 crores + Subsidies Rs. 11,327 crores comes to Rs. 90, 745 crores. Deducting this from Total Revenue Exp. of 1,61,820, we get a figure of Rs. 71,075 crores as the Cost of *Naukarshahi* in 1996-97 (not counting the Armed Forces)

If we assume a GDP at current prices of Rs. 10,40,000 crores and further assume that the rate of growth of this GDP will be atleast 15% at current prices (It was 13.9% in 92-93, 14.9% in 93-94 and 18.5% in 94-95 [quick estimate], the projected estimate of GDP in 96-97 at current prices would be Rs. 11,96,000 crores of which Rs. 71,075 crores as *naukarshahi* cost for Rs. 96-97 would be 5.94% (plus, of course, the armed forces).

Line 5 D :

It is true that the total amount debited to Revenue Account may contain some items of material consumption like paper, pins, pens, etc. Of course, computers, steel cupboards, typewriters, furniture, etc., will be debited to Capital Account and depreciation provided for them, but there may be petrol consumption, car maintenance and repairs, and repairs and maintenance of the luxurious

PWD and Forest Bungalows and Govt. guest houses which the *naukarshahi* has provided for itself all over the country, and such other incidentals.

We have two major submissions to make in this regard :

a) **We should not allow nit-picking perfectionist arguments to camouflage the sinister desire to avoid truth. After all, we must pursue our enquiries as good nationalists, socialists, and human beings to get to the core of the matter.**

b) Even the "material consumption" against Revenue Account will be found to be related to the perks of the *naukarshahs*. Last year, I stayed at a Govt. guest house in Kodaikanal where I paid a bill of Rs. 5/- per day for a suite of nine rooms !

The rule in India is the higher you stand in the social and political hierarchy, the less you pay for all facilities and the more you loot the common people.

The number of privileges attached to being a *naukarshah* are endless. You will have a dozen subordinates in attendance all the time. The police will accommodate you to the utmost. Boarding and lodging in Govt. run guest houses will be given to you dirt

cheap, transport will be requisitioned for you at throwaway prices, liquor will be procured almost free of charge, etc.

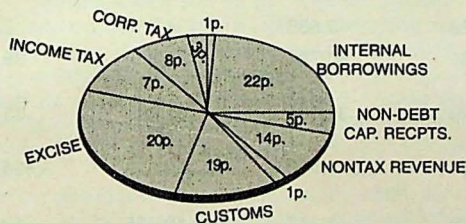
I do not know whether women are procured, but it is very likely that in case of a special request it would be provided. For instance, when Sukarno visited Delhi in the heydays of the NAM movement, our Ministry of External Affairs officials procured prostitutes from GTB road by the scores as Sukarno was very lavish in his hospitality, especially when the bill was to be footed by some foreign govt. outside Indonesia.

That is why Lohia insisted that not merely the incomes of the naukarshahs should be capped, but that their expenses should be vigorously monitored.

Anyway, most of the material consumption items against the Revenue Account of the Budget would be related to the "non-wage benefits" of the bureaucracy. Therefore, on the whole, our categorisation of line 5 D under the formula Revenue Expenditure - (Interest Payments + Subsidies + Defence) = Salaries and Perks of the *Naukarshahi* is near the truth, at least to the extent of 95% and over.

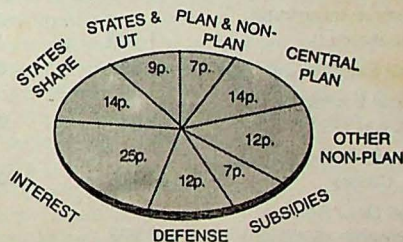
BUDGET : 1996-97

RUPEE COMES



22p. Internal borrowings
 20p. Excise
 19p. Customs
 14p. Non-tax revenue
 8p. Corporation Tax
 7p. Income Tax
 5p. Non-debt capital receipts
 3p. Borrowings from RBI
 (91 days Treasury Bills)
 1p. Other taxes
 1p. External borrowings
TOTAL RECEIPTS
 1996-67 (BE) Rs. 1,98,082 crore
 1995-96 (RE) Rs. 1,75,404 crore

RUPEE COMES



25p. Interest
 14p. Central Plan
 14p. States' shares of tax & duties
 12p. Other non-Plan expenditure
 12p. Defence
 9p. State & UT Plan assistance
 7p. Non-Plan assistance to State and UT govts.
 7p. Subsidies

TOTAL EXPENDITURE
 1996-67 (BE) Rs. 2,04,660 crore
 1995-96 (RE) Rs. 1,83,004 crore

BUDGETARY DEFICIT : Rs. 6,578 crores

INDIA'S TRANSACTIONS WITH THE WORLD
Economic Survey Update 1996-97

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS : KEY INDICATORS

(In US \$ million)

	1990-91 Actuals	1991-92 Actuals	1992-93 Actuals	1993-94 (Q.E.)	1994-95 (Q.E.)	1995-96 (Q.E.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Exports	18,477	18,266	18,869	22,700	26,857	32,430
2. Imports	27,914	21,064	23,237	23,985	31,672	39,445
Of which : POL	6,028	5,364	6,100	5,650	5,928	7,156
3. Trade balance	-9,437	-2,798	-4,368	-1,285	-4,815	-7,015
4. Invisibles (net)	-243	1,620	842	970	2,191	1,930
Non-factor services	979	1,207	1,128	777	-494	-68
Investment income	-3,752	-3,830	-3,422	-4,002	-3,905	-4,487
Pvt. transfers	2,069	3,783	2,773	3,825	6,200	6,150
Official Grants	461	460	363	370	390	335
5. Current Account Balance	-9,680	-1,178	-3,526	-315	-2,624	-5,085
6. External assistance (net)	2,210	3,037	1,859	1,700	1,250	996
7. Commercial borrowings (net) @	2,249	1,456	-358	1,252	1,029	82
8. IMF (net)	1,214	786	1,288	191	-1,146	-1,710
9. NRI deposits (net)	1,536	290	2,001	940	847	1,365
10. Rupee debt service	-1,193	-1,240	-878	-745	-1,050	-963
11. Foreign investment (net)	68	154	585	4110	4,895	4,077
of which :						
(i) DFI (net)	68	154	344	620	1,314	1,981
(ii) FIs	0	0	1	1,665	1,503	1,892
(iii) Euro equities & others	0	0	240	1,460	2,078	204
12. Other flows (net)+	2,318	271	-243	1,735	1,556	-1,681
13. Capital account total (net)	8,402	4,754	4,254	9,183	7,381	2,166
14. Reserve movement -(increase)	1,278	-3,576	-728	-8,868	-4,757	2,919
15. Total External Debt (\$m)	83,959	85,334	89,986	90,723	95,321	99,040*
16. Official Exchange Rate (Rs. per US \$)	17.943	24.474	30.649	31.366	31.366	35.000**
17. Total Debt Burden in Rs. Crores	1,506,476	2,088,464	2,757,981	2,845,618	2,989,838	3,466,400
18. Total Debt Service Payments (\$ million)	8,982	8,250	7,658	8,347	10,955	12,625

Q.E. Quick estimates

@ Figures include receipt on account of India Development Bonds in 1991-92 and related repayments, if any, in the subsequent years.

+ Include, among others, delayed exports receipts and errors & omissions. For the year 1992-93, it also includes errors & omissions arising out of dual exchange rates applicable under the Liberalised Exchange Rate Management System (LERMS)
* *Econ. Survey 1995-96*, p. 12

** At present 35.70 (9.8.96) but placed minimally at 35.00 average for the year.

Source : Line 1 to 14 and 18 : *Economic Survey Update 1996-97*, Table 6, p. 15.

Line 15 : *Mankind*, Nov. 1995, p. 97.

Line 16 : *Mankind*, Nov 1995, p. 96.

Line 17 : Derived from lines 15 & 16.

NEO-COLONIAL RECONQUEST OF INDIA

India's transactions with the world are on a disaster course — for India! India's comprador ruling classes have been so cowardly and spineless that they have allowed the colonial bureaucracy of the British period to continue to rule India under the Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 in which the Parliament is powerless, and the Executive is all powerful.

Thus these wretched *naukarshahs* have sold out the national interest, especially from mid-1991. P.V. Narasimha Rao gave in to the hardened villain Manmohan Singh, who accepted the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB, IMF and WTO under the guise of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation".

So bankrupt is our "liberal bourgeois" leadership that they never asked Manmohan Singh and his *naukarshah* cohorts to present any plan at all for the repayment of the enormous external debt that stands today at over \$ 100 billion. The Repayment Plan suggested by Manmohan Singh and gang may be hollow or illusory or bogus. But that is a subsequent and secondary matter.

The plain fact is that the *naukarshahi* of the Finance Ministry has no plan whatsoever. The powerless MPs have never even raised the issue of Programme of Repayment! On the contrary, as we have earlier shown in *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov. 1995, pp. 95-98, our Foreign Debt is forever mounting up because our Balance Payments are forever in the deficit. Ultimately and naturally, the Trade Deficit gets translated into Foreign Debt.

Neither Manmohan Singh's budgets from 1991

to 1996 nor Chidambaram's first budget 1996-97, propose any measure to stem this blood-letting, i.e., this death-inviting outflow. Look at Lines 3 & 5, *Trade Balance & Current Balance* of our accompanying Table - *India's Transactions With The World*. The adverse balance was over US \$ 9,000 million in 1990-91 and is today (1995-96) over \$ 7,000 million. (In rupee terms it was over 169,300 crores in 1990-91 and stood at over Rs. 245,525 crores in 1995-96)

This is a bleeding which no country in the world can ever allow. Even the richest country in the world would bleed to death! And India is one of the poorest!

Our *naukarshahs* have no macro-economic long-term perspective. They are pure careerists and look forward to career-end jobs in the WB and IMF. These miserable *naukarshahs* cannot have a macro-economic or nationalist perspective. The Congress compradors, who should have provided some nationalist long-term guidance and vision to paid government servants, have been too stupid, too supine, lethargic, cowardly and short-sighted to lead the nation. Thus an utterly impossible situation has arisen.

The propertied classes are being led by the nose by their own paid bureaucrats, and the bureaucrats have no goal, aim or vision.

Thus, India is being bankrupted right in front of our eyes. It is being made to tolerate a permanent trade imbalance and an endless mounting external debt. This debt burden results in continuous devaluations of the currency which, in turn, frustrates and zeroes the export drive whilst fuelling endlessly the

inflationary spiral.

Under the present comprador *naukarshah* leadership, whether formed by the Congress or supported by the Congress from outside, India will inevitably be bankrupted, dismembered, shattered and destroyed. Further trade deficits will require further foreign debts which in turn will necessitate rescheduling of the Debt Burden. This has happened in Latin America (most recently in Mexico), in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Russia. Every rescheduling of the debt burden enlarges the total debt as we have noted in *Mankind* in the case of Russia. The total net burden of rescheduling of debt over the last 3 years has resulted in its increase from \$ 80 billion to \$ 140 billion. Russia has already become a client state of the OECD and has been dismembered in front of our eyes.

Kashmir and Bhutanisation of India

The same will happen to India. Kashmir autonomy is already being demanded, even beyond

article 370 of the Indian Constitution (which in itself was a anomalous communal concession made by Jawaharlal Nehru, the arch comprador, at the behest of Mounbatten and British imperialism.) Even greater autonomy than autonomy is being demanded by Pakistan as prompted by the United States and Britain who lost face when India liberated Bangladesh in 1971.

As soon as this "greater autonomy than autonomy" has been realised for Kashmir, where a non-representative

Assembly of 87 is to be elected by a minority of Muslims living in the Kashmir Valley from where the Pandits have been ethnically cleansed, the scene will shift to the North-East, where, the CNN claims that already 3 Constitutions of India are in operation (those of India, Assam and Sikkim), apart from the fourth one of Bhutan. The Nagas, the Bodos, and other tribal entities are already demanding the Bhutanization of the region.

Overlapping with both the processes of Kashmirization and Bhutanisation, a separatist movement already lurks just beneath the surface in Tamil Nadu and Eelam.

In the same manner as 1991 in Russia, India will be shattered and dismembered probably between 2001 and 2011.

Is there any awareness on the part of the turn-coat Chidambaram, or by the Congress-supported UF government, or by the Congress-promoted Common Minimum Programme, of the dangers that face the country? Are there any macro-economic measures being taken through the 1996-97 Budget or outside it, to combat the nation-shattering trade imbalances, foreign debts and devaluations? Does Chidambaram want us to look forward to the inevitability of utter ruin?

Depoliticisation of Economics

In the interview over Doodarshan that immediately followed his budget speech, Chidambaram claimed that the issue of Disinvestment of the PSUs has been "depoliticised" (Interview with Roy-Dua gang on budget presentation day at 9 p.m.)

In a strong statement issued on 9.8.96 the CPI-M which is

COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME IS CONGRESS LIBERALISATION IN POPULIST LANGUAGE

Under the present comprador *naukarshah* leadership, whether formed by the Congress or supported by the Congress from outside, India will inevitably be bankrupted, dismembered, shattered and destroyed. Further trade deficits will require further foreign debts which in turn will necessitate rescheduling of the Debt Burden. This has happened in Latin America (most recently in Mexico), in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Russia. Every rescheduling of the debt burden enlarges the total debt as we have noted in *Mankind* in the case of Russia. The total net burden of rescheduling of debt over the last 3 years has resulted in its increase from \$ 80 billion to \$ 140 billion. Russia has already become a client state of the OECD and has been dismembered in front of our eyes.

An Analysis : The Indian Budgets 1950-1996

1 Year	2 G.D.P. (At current prices) Rs. crores	3 Tax Revenue (Rs. crores) Direct	4 Indirect	5 Total Rs. crores	6 Direct	7 Tax Revenue as % of GNP Indirect	8 Total
1950-51	9,366	231	428	659	2.5	4.6	7.1
1951-52	9,966	243	531	774	2.4	5.3	7.8
1952-53	9,774	248	461	709	2.5	4.7	7.3
1953-54	13,638	240	473	713	2.3	4.5	6.7
1954-55	10,073	237	523	760	2.4	5.2	7.6
1955-56	10,258	255	558	813	2.5	5.4	7.9
1956-57	12,217	293	646	939	2.4	5.3	7.7
1957-58	12,598	323	789	1,112	2.6	6.3	8.8
1958-59	14,034	336	817	1,153	2.4	5.8	8.2
1959-60	14,793	371	914	1,285	2.5	6.2	8.7
1960-61	16,201	420	1,040	1,460	2.6	6.4	9.1
1961-62	17,177	467	1,190	1,657	2.7	7.0	9.7
1962-63	18,476	574	1,408	1,982	3.1	7.7	10.8
1963-64	21,237	707	1,714	2,421	3.3	8.1	11.5
1964-65	24,765	763	1,931	2,694	3.1	7.8	10.9
1965-66	26,145	775	2,273	3,048	3.0	8.7	11.7
1966-67	29,571	832	2,594	3,426	2.8	8.8	11.7
1967-68	34,611	859	2,779	3,638	2.5	8.0	10.5
1968-69	36,674	910	3,013	3,923	2.5	8.2	10.7
1969-70	40,387	1,043	3,353	4,396	2.6	8.3	10.9
1970-71	43,163	1,091	3,864	4,955	2.5	9.0	11.6
1971-72	46,257	1,275	4,515	5,790	2.8	9.8	12.6
1972-73	51,005	1,470	5,175	6,645	2.9	10.2	13.1
1973-74	62,007	1,653	5,876	7,529	2.7	9.5	12.2
1974-75	73,235	1,968	7,515	9,483	2.7	10.3	13.0
1975-76	78,761	2,643	8,834	11,477	3.4	11.3	14.6
1976-77	84,894	2,776	9,926	12,702	3.3	11.7	15.0
1977-78	96,067	2,878	10,689	13,567	3.0	11.2	14.2
1978-79	1,04,190	3,057	12,735	15,792	2.9	12.2	15.2
1979-80	1,14,356	3,387	14,709	18,096	3.0	12.8	15.8
1980-81	1,36,013	3,575	16,746	20,321	2.6	12.3	14.9
1981-82	1,59,760	4,461	20,089	24,550	2.8	12.6	15.4
1982-83	1,78,132	4,835	22,985	27,820	2.7	13.0	15.7
1983-84	2,07,589	5,355	26,471	31,826	2.6	12.9	15.5
1984-85	2,31,343	5,806	30,640	36,446	2.5	13.4	15.9
1985-86	2,62,243	6,574	36,987	43,561	2.5	14.2	16.7
1986-87	2,92,949	7,328	42,714	50,042	2.5	14.7	17.2
1987-88	3,33,201	7,867	49,962	57,829	2.4	15.1	17.5
1988-89	3,95,782	9,386	56,525	65,911	2.4	14.5	17.0
1989-90	4,56,821	11,165	66,528	77,693	2.4	14.6	17.0
1990-91	5,35,534	12,259	75,464	87,723	2.3	14.1	16.4
1991-92	6,16,799	16,656	86,542	1,03,198	2.7	14.0	16.8
1992-93	7,05,328	19,386	94,779	1,14,165	2.8	13.5	16.2
1993-94	8,01,032	21,712	1,00,248	1,21,960	2.7	12.5	15.2
1994-95	9,45,615	27,278	1,17,094	1,44,372 (RE)	2.9	12.4	15.3
1995-96		26,682	1,14,263	1,40,945 (BE)	3.1	12.7	15.8
1996-97		27,594	1,17,081	1,44,675 (BE)	-	-	-

Sources :

- 1) Col. 2 : GDP, *Economic Survey 1995-96*, Table 1.4, pp S-6 & 7.
- 2) Col. 11 : Total Expenditure, *Economic Survey 1995-96*, Table 2.3, pp S-40
- 3) Col. 13 : Interest Payments CMIE, : *Basic Statistics, Vol. 1, All India*, Aug 1990, Table 7.18, *Eco. Survey, 1995-96*, p. 19, Table 22
- 4) Col. 9 : Total Receipts, for 1980-81 and 1990-91 to 1994-95, *Economic Survey 1995-96*, Table 2.1, pp. 18.

An Analysis : The Indian Budgets 1950-1996

(Rs. Crores)

9 Total Receipts Rs. crores	10 Col. 9 as % of GDP	11 Total Expenditure Rs crores	12 Col. 11 as % of GDP	13 Interest Payments Rs. crores	14 Col. 13 % of GDP	15 Naukarshahi Cost Rs. crores	16 Col 15 as % Share of GDP
-	-	503.7	5.4	71	0.8	256	3.0
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	3,751.2	7.0	-	-	-	-
-	-	(Total of 1st Five Year Plan)	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	7,822.6	11.2	-	-	-	-
-	-	(Total of 2st Five Year Plan)	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	193	1.2	538	3.8
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	15,260.8	14.2	-	-	-	-
-	-	(Total of 3rd Five Year Plan)	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	13,481.4	13.4	-	-	-	-
-	-	(Total of Annual Plans)	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	32,993.7	13.6	-	-	1,635	4.5
-	-	(Total of 4th Five Year Plan)	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	882	1.4	-	-
-	-	9,784.9	13.4	1,001	1.4	-	-
-	-	12,036.5	15.3	1,228	1.6	-	-
-	-	13,150.1	15.5	1,374	1.6	-	-
-	-	14,985.6	15.6	1,521	1.6	-	-
-	-	17,717.2	17	1,829	1.8	-	-
-	-	18,504.3	16.2	2,210	1.9	-	-
19,680	14.47	22,494.8	16.5	2,657	2	5,307	4.8
-	-	25,401.2	15.9	3,195	2	-	-
-	-	30,493.7	17.1	3,938	2.2	-	-
-	-	35,987.7	17.3	4,796	2.3	-	-
-	-	43,878.9	19	5,974	2.6	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	53,112.4	20.2	7,503	2.9	-	-
-	-	64,023.1	21.8	9,236	3.2	-	-
-	-	70,304.6	21.1	11,236	3.4	-	-
-	-	81,402.3	20.6	14,261	3.6	18,492	6.0
-	-	95,049.4	20.8	17,710	3.9	-	-
93,951	17.54	1,04,972.9	19.6	21,498	4	-	-
1,04,559	16.95	1,12,730.7	18.3	26,596	4.3	-	-
1,10,306	15.64	1,25,926.9	17.8	31,075	4.4	-	-
1,30,893 (RE)	16.34	1,45,788.0	18.2	36,741	4.6	-	-
1,59,778 (Ac- tual)	16.90	1,69,438.8 (RE)	17.9	44,000(RE)	4.6	-	-
-	-	1,80,158.4 (BE)	-	52,000(BE)	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sources (Contd.):

- 5) Cols. 3-8 (1950-89), CMIE, *Basic Statistics, Vol. 1, All India*, Aug 1990, Table 7.6.
- 6) Cols. 3-8 (1989-90 to 1992-93) *Economic Survey 1994-95*, p. 23, Table 2.8.
- 7) Cols. 3-8 (1993-94 to 1995-96) *Economic Survey 1995-96*, p. 25, Table 2.8.
- 8) Cols. 3, 4, 5 (1996-97) *Indian Express*, 23.7.96. Cols. 6, 7, 8 derived from same.

one of the ruling parties of the United Front govt., has bitterly complained that Chidambaram is proceeding beyond the CMP and is planning the first two tranches of disinvestment even before the Disinvestment Commission envisaged in the CMP has been set up. (*Ind. Exp.*, 10.8.96)

In other words, the CMP is a pure camouflage by a treacherous man who merely masked the old liberalisation programme in populist language, which he then termed CMP. Having patched up a compromise extending from the genuine-Right to the pseudo-Left, known as the current UF programme, Chidambaram is now proceeding with his constitutional executive powers to depoliticise and sanitise the same rotten economic programme that had led to the greatest Congress defeat in electoral history, just two months ago.

What Chidambaram means by depoliticisation is actually surrender by the Leftist and Centrist parties to the Congress economic programme of which originally Chidambaram was a co-author with P.V. Narasimha Rao's stooge Jairam Ramesh, and with Manmohan Singh's stooge, M.S. Ahluwalia, who continues to rule as Finance Secretary.

1996 Budget — A Litany of Regression

Now let us quickly glance at some of the other heinous trends reflected by the 1996 Budget :

- Our taxation structure has been highly regressive, right from the start. In fact, as we have noted repeatedly in *Mankind*, the Indian State has acted as an engine of "primitive accumulation"

for the benefit of the Indian and foreign capitalists over the last 50 years. We have already published complete data on the extraordinary increases in assets that have been achieved by the top-most Indian and foreign business houses (*Mankind*, No. 8, May 1996, p. 65 and *Mankind*, No. 10, July 1996, p. 17)

We now publish the Table of Direct and Indirect Taxes, (pp. 30-31) and their proportions vis-a-vis each other from 1950-51 to the present. Whilst direct taxes as proportion of GNP has remained about the same throughout the last 50 years, ranging from about 2.3% to 3.3%, the indirect taxes have gone up stupendously from 4.6% of GNP in 1950-51 to 15.1% in 1987-88 and even now stand at about 13%. Thus the poor in India are providing the capitalist state with four times the tax revenue that the capitalists themselves give up.

- Another noticeable feature of our regressive budget is the relentless increase in the burden of interest payments. They rose from a mere 71 crores to 52,000 crores (B.E.) in 1995-96 or by over 700 times.

The ordinary man in India does not owe any govt. loan, except perhaps through his Small Savings, Provident Fund Contributions and Insurance Premia. The bulk of these interest payments are received by the Indian rich in one way or another. Anyway, the interest payments compose currently 6.2% of the national income.

Objectively, this may not amount to much, but the point is that our administration is so corrupt and inefficient that the whole burden of internal debt represents an item of colossal fiscal waste.

ERRATA

Dr. Sandhya Kanade, our computer consultant, informs us that a most atrocious error has been committed, whilst entering the data in our Statistical Supplement and the issue of Vol I, Nos. 4/5, Jan-Feb 1996, p. 50, where against Taiwan, in the col. Population 1960, instead of just 16.2 mlns., a figure of 1061.00 has occurred, causing an attribution of 26.23% of the world population to the territory. It is a gross error which we regret overlooking whilst reading the proofs. The total world population will therefore change from 4044.47 mlns. in 1960 as shown at the bottom of col. 3, to 2999.67 mlns. and Taiwan's population will also change from 1/4 of the world population to 1/2% (0.54) of it. Other proportions will also alter, notably that of China, from 16.18% to 21.82; of India from 10.58% to 14.26; of Japan from 2.33% to 3.14%; of the Soviet Union from 5.30% to 7.15%, and that of the U. S. A. from 4.47% to 6.02%.

We shall be bringing out a Revised Series of International Comparisons of GDP, in PPP terms, as national proportions of the base year 1960, as well as the latest year for which statistics are available, viz. for mid-1994, very shortly, probably in the November 1996 issue.

We are a very small team, and so many months later, we can only regret and rectify.

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PASTE UPTO THIS LINE

SINO - TIBETAN DIALOGUE TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE TIBET ISSUE

Krishna Nath

The Krishnamurti Centre
Brockwood Park,
Bramdean,
Hampshire S 025 OLG
UK

July 1, 1996

Dear Vinayak,

Thank you very much for your letter of June 8, 1996.

I received it when I returned from Koln-Bonn. Even otherwise, I could not have traced your Julia. Sorry.

As I perhaps mentioned to you, I had gone to Koln-Bonn for participating in the first public dialogue between Tibetan and Chinese youth and their friends. The dialogue went on very well. On the eve of the dialogue, Bundestag, the lower house of German Parliament, discussed and passed a resolution criticising China's suppression of human rights in Tibet. You might have noticed that the Chinese government protested rather vehemently. And the German government rather firmly. I do earnestly feel that this process of liberation of Tibet needs to be strengthened. If you feel the same way, please do something about it through *Mankind*.

Please find enclosed herewith a note on the Sino-Tibetan Dialogue, Bonn, June 21-22, 1996.

Trust this finds you all well.

I am leaving on Wednesday, the 3rd July, for Oxford, Birmingham and London. I come back to Brockwood Park on the 7th July. Then I leave for Geneva-Rougemont on the 13th July. My address until 13th August, 1996 is as follows :

C/o Mr. Friedrich Grohe
Chalet Solitude
CH - 1838 Rougemont
(Switzerland)

Please convey my greetings to Sarayu and other friends.

With all the best
Yours,

Krishnanath

Dr. Vinayak Purohit, Editor *Mankind*
Encl : As above

Tsewang Norbu, Chairperson of Association of Tibetans in Germany sent the following circular along with an invitation and the programme schedule to my Bangalore address. At the instance of Norbu La and subsequent encouragement from Dr. Anand Kumar, I could make it from London to Koln-Bonn to participate in the Sino-Tibetan Dialogue. This was the first public conference with Tibetans and Chinese engaged in frank and open debate about the future of Tibet and its impact on the future of China and Asia. This public event was organized on June 21-22, 1996 in Bonn by the Association of Tibetans in Germany on behalf of the Tibetan Communities in Europe (from Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Switzerland and Germany) in cooperation among others with the Heinrich-Boell-Foundation and the Fredrich - Naumann - Foundation.

The intent of the dialogue is as follows : "Tibet remains one of the most physically contested regions of the world. Tibetans maintain the invasion of 1949-50 by the army of the People's Republic of China was an act of aggression by its powerful neighbour and a breach of national sovereignty. The Chinese claim that Tibet always has been, and always will be part of China and that the invasion was an act of 'liberating' the people of Tibet

from internal and external enemies.

"Undeniable is the damage caused to the culture, to the people and to the integrity of the nation of Tibet during the past four and a half decades. The Buddhist religion which forms the foundation of Tibetan culture has been ruthlessly suppressed and over 99 percent of the monasteries (over 80 percent already between 1959 and 1966) destroyed. Human rights abuses - imprisonment for political belief, torture, show trials, forced abortions and sterilisation - continue after years of systematic cruelty. No opportunity for political expression exists in Tibet today.

"The Tibetan people maintain a campaign to find diplomatic means of ending their dispute with China. The internationally respected leader of the Tibetan people, the XIV Dalai Lama, and the Government-in-exile of Tibet have sought a chance to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government but have been rebuffed. Several governments around the world including those of the EU and USA, the European Parliament and many national parliaments recognise that the logical next step would be for the Chinese Government to enter into talks without pre-conditions and have promised to support such an initiative.

"A step toward finding a diplomatic end to the Tibetan issue is dialogue between exiled Tibetans and activists of Chinese democratic movement. The Chinese democratic movement has made a firm commitment to human rights and democratic ideals, principles shared by the Tibetans.

"Dialogue between the Tibetans and the Chinese democracy activists has been maintained in exile since the events of 1989 when the Tiananmen Square demonstrations were brutally suppressed and some activists escaped to the West. Such dialogue is the foundation for better understanding and cooperation between the Tibetans and Chinese for the future.

"The closed and non-public colloquium "Sino-Tibetan Dialogue" in May 1990 in Danneberg, Germany organised by the Amnesty International (ai) and the Society for Endangered Peoples in cooperation with the Heinrich Boell Foundation brought together a group of Tibetans, Chinese and their friends from Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and France for the first time. This dialogue process was continued by the Tibet support group, Germany in co-operation with the Gustav-Heinemann Academy in Malente/Germany in two week-end seminars "Sino-Tibetan Dialogue" in 1993 and "China and

her Cultural Ideology pertaining to Tibet, Eastern Turkestan and Inner Mongolia" in May 1995.

"The time is now right for a public conference, with Tibetans and Chinese engaged in frank and open debate about the future of Tibet and the influence of the issue on the future of China and the entire region. This conference constitutes three parts : 1) Contradicting views, 2) Towards a Better Understanding, and 3) Solutions and Future Structures.

I was invited to make a presentation on "The Future of Tibet and World Community" on June 22, 1996 in the afternoon session on "Solutions and Future Structures" Edgar Luch presided over the session. I had sent a note on the future of Tibet. But spoke extempore. It was simultaneously translated into German and listened to with the help of ear phones. The transcript of the tape is yet to be made. The note is as follows :

THE FUTURE OF TIBET

1. Dialogue is a conversation between two or more persons. The one at hand is between friends of Tibet and China. We are like two friends talking to one another over a cup of coffee. The question arises, can there be a dialogue among so many friends? Perhaps, the numbers do not matter. It is the sharing of common concern regarding freedom and democracy and peace, or lack of them, that really matters. Then a participatory consciousness emerges among the participants. A communion of sort, not just communication, comes about. Let us see what happens as the dialogue between two friends goes on and on and on.

2. The future of Tibet is at the focus of the dialogue. And it depends on the world community, and not on Tibet alone. Bonn has over the years, hosted many hearings and dialogues on the Tibetan question. Friends of Tibet look forward to this dialogue as a significant step towards a peaceful solution of the Tibetan issue.

3. The future of Tibet is in a way linked up with the future of China. Freedom and democracy and peace are indivisible. If there is no freedom of belief and expression in Tibet, it cannot prevail in the mainland of China. It became evident to the Chinese youth during, and even before and after the massacre at Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

Taking the cue from one of Chairman Mao's well-known articles entitled "China's two possible destinies", I may be permitted to say that there are two possible destinies for China. One is that Han China continues to violate all human rights i.e. freedom and right to dissent; and refuses to share the fruits of economic growth

and modernisation with her own young men and women; as also with the young and coming generation of peoples of Tibet, Eastern Turkestan and Inner Mongolia. The contradictions within and between the mainland China and its borderlands and colonies go on mounting up, finally leading to the fall of China's land empire, like the Russian empire in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Or else, China voluntarily opts out and opens up flood-gates to freedom and peace and love to its own youth, as also the present and coming generations along and beyond its borders. I am especially mentioning youth, because it is their world. The senior citizens have had their innings. It is the youth who really lives; the senior citizens have only past memories and present anxieties and future fears.

4. It is suggested rather naively that the future of Tibet is the concern of Tibetans alone. The people around the world are concerned about the sufferings of Tibetans in exile. They wish them freedom from exile. But they ask, what can we do about it? The governments of the world dare not interfere in this. If we go into it, it is the greed of the huge Chinese market in the West, and the fear of China in the East, especially in India after the Chinese invasion of October 1962, that is at the back of all this and more. It is evident. But how do we go about it? The United States of America and Europe as leaders of the so-called free world and India have a major responsibility in all this and more. Of course the future of Sino-Tibetan relations, or lack of them, depend finally on the young generation of the two nations. How do they respond to the challenge of change is the principal concern of the dialogue.

5. A dialogue may help open up the closed minds. The two sides to it can listen to the genuine despair and hope of the other. And in listening to the other, putting oneself in the place of the other, the Chinese youth in exile in the position of the Tibetan youth in Lhasa and in exile in India, Germany, Switzerland and around the world, may open the door. Can we help bring about this quality of listening to the other in this dialogue. This is a humble beginning. And if it goes on well, the first step may well be the last step towards freedom and democracy and peace in Tibet and China and the rest of the World.

Krishna Nath
14th June, 1996

(Krishna Nath is an old Lohiaite and a member of the Mankind Advisory Board)

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Index for the second half of the year 1995-96, from Vol. 1, No. 7, April 1996 to Vol. 1, Nos. 11-12, Aug. - Sept. 1996 will appear in the forthcoming October, 1996 issue of *Mankind*.

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS 1996

Exe. Edr.

Life is so rich and varied that even in this small segment of the world, consisting of just 10 countries and territories out of the 200 - and odd units of the world, divided principally under nationalist and / or neo-colonialist pressures, there have been so many small and big upheavals and intricate developments that it is very difficult to discern a pattern in them.

Nevertheless, we have made an effort.

Table 1 presents a conspectus of developments, in the 10 countries and territories (the 7 members of SAARC, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives, plus three neighbouring borderlands - Afghanistan, Tibet and Myanmar) in a more or less chronological order from the 1940s to the 1990s, though in many cases reference had to be made to a few earlier events.

The reader will be able to follow the happenings of the last half century in parallel columns, so that he may interrelate them easily. Table 1A summarises the political developments in a nutshell, by showing the changes in the designations and names of the real centres of national power.

The asterisk mark is very important, and readers are requested to observe the mark very closely. It indicates how the internal national balance of forces shifted so as to elevate now this, and then that, personality into assuming the role of arbiter or near arbiter of his/her country's destiny.

Table II provides complete information on the economic status of each of the chosen 10 countries and its proportionate share of the world's "worldly goods". Table III continues the economic study and describes the transactions of the world with the 10 territories of South Asia.

As stated above, there have been multiple rapid developments in the region. One can almost say the region has been in perpetual turmoil over the last 5 decades.

In order to concentrate the data and summarise its contours, we have presented a last Table which appears at the end of this article under the title Decisive Developments.

We have observed these Decisive

Developments under 5 principal heads, in a sort of descending order of arbitrary and reactionary control of the native populations.

I. Theocracies, headed by a Lama (Tibet) or a King who also heads the principal monastery (Bhutan).

II. Feudal Regimes, headed by King (Afghanistan and Nepal) or Sultan (Maldives) or effectively controlled by a *Pendhari* regime of landlords/*zamindars* and their goons (Pakistan)

III. Bourgeois Colonial Rule, with various degrees of compromise with feudal relics and within a straitjacket of a *naukarshahi*, which in itself was a carry-over from feudal times.

This category also had to include the period of subjugation of Afghanistan by the Soviet army from 1979 to 1989, and the period of civil war from 1989 to 1994, from which time to the present a peculiar form of Pakistani hegemony is being imposed.

It also includes the colonial rule imposed on Tibet by China from 1959, when the 14th Dalai Lama chose exile in India. There is a very low-key internal turmoil going on in Tibet since 1959 to the present. This issue of *Mankind* carries a contribution by Krishna Nath on the Sino-Tibetan Dialogue that has just concluded in Bonn, W. Germany.

IV. Comprador Bourgeois Rule, or Semi-Freedom of a Botched-up Sort ! (India, which was a British Dominion till 1950, and which has remained a full-member of the British Commonwealth under the formula "the Government of India accepts the British King as the Symbol of free association and Head of the Commonwealth" [*Ency. Brit.* 1973 edn., Vol VI, p. 186]; and Sri Lanka, which retained Governor Generals appointed by the British crown till 1972.)

V. Relative Independence under a weak military dictatorship. (Myanmar, that was Burma till 1989, and which has just been admitted as observer to ASEAN in 1996)

BANGLADESH (1971-96)

Out of the above paranthetical identifications, Bangladesh has been

excluded as it is a new nation, which came into being only in 1971. Since 1975 upto 1990 it was ruled by two generals, Ziaur Rahman and H.M. Ershad. Thereafter, Khaleda Zia, wife of the assassinated General Ziaur Rahman, ruled in a semi-militarist manner, and only two months ago Hasina Wajed, the daughter of the old democratically elected President Mujibur Rahman who had ruled from 1971 to 1975, has come to power.

Democracy, even of the comprador sort, is very fragile in Bangladesh, and may not last many months.

TIBET

Tibet was an independent country for hundreds of years, and in fact had ruled over China itself several times. The Tibetan script is derived from Pali-Sanskrit, though the language is Sino - Tibetan. Its religion is a Lamaist offshoot of *Vajrayana* Buddhism, which is the third important "vehicle" (*yana*) of Buddhism distinct from *Mahayana*, which spread via the north west of India through Afghanistan, Sinkiang, Mongolia, to China, Korea and Japan; and *Hinayana* which spread from south-east India to Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

Vajrayana spread from eastern India through Bhutan and Ladakh to Tibet and Mongolia, where it crossed the Mahayanist path.

The costume, the cuisine, and the flora-fauna of Tibet, along with many other cultural features, are affiliated to India and not at all to China.

Tibet was never a part of India as the British tried to make out till 1905-11 upto which time they made several military incursions in order to conquer independent Tibet.

Nehru's India inherited this British imperial complex about Tibet, and tried to pressure its colonial trading outposts in Tibet till 1954 when China put an end to the extra-territorial rights which these trading stations had enjoyed. Actually, even independent Tibet should have excluded such violations of its sovereignty.

But the most important point is that the theocratic regime of the Dalai Lama collapsed as soon as China entered and occupied Tibet (1949 to 1954, first stage; and 1954 to 1959, second stage).

Tibet had every right to remain independent, as it had been for several centuries, at least from the 8th to the 20th.

But Tibetan cries for help against Chinese aggression were initially not heeded by the stupid comprador Jawaharlal Nehru.

At the time that he chose to assert

himself in 1962, it was already too late and neither Great Britain, nor United States were in a position to guarantee Tibetan independence.

This resulted in the greatest debacle of Nehru's life. It shattered his mental balance and his health. He died in 1964, his end hastened by the humiliation that China had inflicted upon India in 1962.

At this point of time, in 1996, the Tibetans scattered in exile all over the world, but heavily concentrated in India, have no choice but to arrive at some humiliating compromise with the Chinese.

The 14th Dalai Lama, who is a pleasant personality, realises that his Nobel Prize is worth nothing to the Chinese who have militarily occupied the whole of Tibet, and there is no power on earth which can dislodge them, at least in the foreseeable future, at least upto 2050 AD.

The sad story is that Nehru's India was not in a position to defend Tibetan independence in the period 1952-62, and China managed to swallow this large, sparsely populated land rich in enormous unexploited mineral resources, which it has just begun to discover.

BHUTAN

The King of Bhutan whose native Lepcha population is in a miserable minority, and where the immigrant Nepali settlers are in a majority, has managed to maintain his dynastic rule upto the present. The king of Bhutan, Jigme Syngye Wangchuk, is the controlling head of the Central Monastic Body at Thimphu and Punakha.

Recently, there have been turbulent riots between the Lepchas, and the immigrant Nepalis, a number of whom have been expelled and are gathered together in refugee camps in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya and Sikkim.

Bhutan's foreign policy is under Indian control, but the control is being gradually loosened by the Anglo-American and Bhutanese interests.

As a matter of fact there is a demand from some of the "Seven Sisters" (Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, residual Assam and Meghalaya) of the North-East for the Bhutanisation of their relations with Delhi, by which they of course mean "virtual independence."

AFGHANISTAN

Let us recollect that Afghanistan was a part of India from the Rig Vedic and Mahabharata times to the 19th century. Urban cultures affiliated to the Saraswati Civilization have been found at Shortu-Ghai on the banks of the Amu Darya (Oxus) which forms part of the Afghano-Soviet border. Mauryan inscriptions and Buddhist remains have been found in hundreds of sites in Afghanistan, notably at Bamian. The Mughals ruled over Afghanistan and Babar's tomb is located there.

The language Pakhtu which the Afghans speak in their northern tribal tracts and the Pushtu which they speak more to the south, is a daughter language of Sanskrit.

Afghanistan came into being as a buffer state between the British Empire and the Czarist Russian Empire in the middle of the 19th century. Its borders were not settled till the Panjshah Agreement of 1905-07, and the border was drawn between Afghanistan and India in a completely arbitrary manner, dividing the Pathan people in the two countries.

NWFP came under Congress rule in 1937 under the leadership of the Khan brothers who had led the Red Shirt Movement of the 1930s.

The Indian National Congress totally betrayed the Congress Party of the NWFP, under British pressure, and handed over a

province where they had a clear majority to Pakistan. (Pakistan was allowed by Britain to have East Bengal separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory, but India was not allowed to have NWFP, which had a common border with Jammu and Kashmir! But such were the consequences of imperialist machinations of those days.)

Since Afghanistan itself was an artificial Russo-British creation, and since Pakistan was itself a further British creation, there has been a Movement of Independence fought by the Pathan people of the North-West for the last 7 decades. It was overtly encouraged by the Afghan government of King Zahir Shah from 1947 onwards, and by his cousin and Vizier, Daud Khan, who was in power in those days. In 1963, Daud was forced to resign and relations were restored with Pakistan. Daud returned to power in 1973 when the Pakhtoon Movement received a boost, but American manoeuvres against the USSR in Afghanistan finally led to Soviet intervention and invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Soviet occupation continued upto 1989, after which Afghanistan plunged into a civil war with a triangular contest between the Uzbeks in the north, the Tajiks in the west, and Pathans in the south. The Uzbeks have been more or less driven out. A struggle is going on between the Tajiks and the Pathans. For the moment, the Pathans led by the pro-Pakistani Taliban extreme fundamentalist movement from Kandahar (ancient Gandhar), have reached the environs of Kabul, but Kabul has not fallen to them. The US is backing Pakistan but President Rabbani is hanging on, possibly encouraged by Iran and some of the Central Asiatic Islamic, newly independent republics of the former USSR.

NEPAL

Like Afghanistan, Nepal is that part of historical India which the British could not conquer.

The Rana dynasty of the Peshwa type, of Prime Ministers, closely identified with British imperialist interests, was overthrown in 1951 in a sort of Nepalese version of the Japanese Meiji Restoration of 1868.

King Tribhuvan who had been reduced to a cipher by the Rana-British combination seized power and actually came to Delhi to plead with the comprador idiot Jawaharlal Nehru to accept accession of Nepal to India.

The utterly brain-washed slave of British imperialism that was Jawaharlal Nehru, spurned Tribhuvan's offer, which had been made under the pressure of the popular movement that had ended the hundred years of oppressive Rana rule.

As popular fervour subsided in Nepal, Tribhuvan returned and became King, in fact as well as in name.

The cowardice of the Congress compradors of India is really unfathomable! They let slip a golden opportunity of reunifying a subcontinental, federal India.

Tribhuvan, his son Mahendra and his grandson Birendra continued to rule Nepal autocratically, whilst making all sorts of pseudo-democratic gestures like "Panchayati Raj", etc., till 1990 when ultimately some form of democracy was restored.

In 1991 M.P. Koirala came in power, but because of his corrupt administration he lost the elections of 1994 when a Stalinist Communist Manmohan Adhikary came to power.

However, the king and other conservative Nepali feudo-bourgeois forces combined, and in two years managed to get rid of Adhikary to install Sher Bahadur Deuba, the present Prime Minister, from 1996.

MALDIVES

Maldives was under British protection till 1953 when a stooge Sultan was installed as a figurehead.

The British recognised the independence of Maldives in 1965. But before that, they had leased out Gan Island with the consent of their stooge Sultan. Since 1978 Maumun Abdul Gayum has been in power. In 1988, with Indian aid, Gayum survived a coup attempt made by some Maldivians who attacked Maldives starting from a base in Sri Lanka.

Maldives has made some noises for restoration and for enhancement of lease rent for the Gan Island base of the British Navy in the Indian Ocean. But the Americans are slowly taking over from Britain.

PAKISTAN

It is impossible to cover all the important details of Indo-Pak relations over the last 50 years in this brief article.

The major developments are well known. Pakistan remained a Dominion till 1956, under the same India Independence Act passed by the British Parliament in 1947 under which India had terminated its Dominion status in 1950.

Thereafter, in 1958, Ayub took over following a military coup. In 1969 Ayub was deposed by another military upstart, Yahya Khan. In 1971, Yahya was forced to hand over power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a consequence of the Pakistani debacle in Bangladesh.

Bhutto pretended to have restored some kind of a "democracy" in 1973 after having successfully negotiated the Shimla Agreement with India. Indira had saved Bhutto's *gaddi*, since under Anglo-American imperialist pressure she had not pressed for the abject surrender which her victorious army had achieved with the help of the Mukti Vahini on the battlefields.

But Bhutto's rule from 1973 to 1977 never changed the real balance of forces inside Pakistan. The effective rulers in the countryside remained the same, the *Zamindars* (landlords) and their goons. In 1978 another general, Zia-ul-Haq staged a coup and judicially assassinated Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Zia was himself assassinated via an "accidental air mishap" in 1988.

After that, the sorry tale of Pendhari landlord-goon control in the countryside, and of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement in the urban areas, continues. The MQM representing the Muslim refugees from India, are demanding a separate, almost independent status within Pakistan, shattering forever the myth circulated by British imperialism and the Stalinist-Progressivists that religion can form the basis for a national demand.

INDIA

We have nothing more to state as readers of *Mankind* are completely familiar with our standpoint on Indian politics.

We may only state the five major revolutionary opportunities that came to the Indian comprador capitalist class, and all of which were frittered away.

1. In 1947, the negotiations with Britain were conducted in a most inapt fashion.

If Pakistan could have Bangladesh in a far away corner of India, there was no reason why the Congress province of NWFP led by the nationalist Pathan forces of the Red Shirt Movement, could not have NWFP, which had moreover a common border with Jammu and Kashmir.

Furthermore, if Sylhet, an Assam district with a razor thin Muslim majority, could be handed over to Bangladesh - East Pakistan, why could not the Sukkur district of Sind become a part of Rajasthan? The Thar desert stands artificially divided today between Sind and Rajasthan. This would have placed Indian troops on the east bank of the Indus river, and West Pakistan would have been virtually divided into two land masses.

2. In 1949, in the course of the negotiations leading to the

Indo-Bhutan Treaty, India should have insisted upon a much closer union.

3. In 1951, as aforesaid, King Tribhuvan came to Delhi begging for accession to India, which offer, the comprador mental-slave Jawaharlal Nehru repulsed.

4. In 1971, India lost another golden opportunity to merge Bangladesh, just liberated by its Army and the Mukti Vahini, with W. Bengal to form a united Bengal that could have been a part of a federation of the states of the Indian subcontinent.

5. In 1983, India lost a further opportunity of merging Eelam with Tamil Nadu to form a new unit of the federation of the Indian subcontinent.

SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka retained the British connection for even a longer period than Pakistan. The Governor Generals were appointed by the British Crown till 1972.

A further betrayal was the Indian acquiescence in the dirty British imperialist - comprador Sinhala conspiracy to divide the Tamils of Ceylon who formed over 1/3rd of the population into 3 groups - Ceylon Tamils (concentrated in Jaffna and the north-east), Indian Tamils (concentrated as plantation labour in central Ceylon) and the Moors (Muslim Tamils spread over east Ceylon). Nehru, Shastri and Indira entered into all sorts of rotten deals with the Sri Lanka government to take back lakhs of Tamils who had for generations no other native land than Sri Lanka.

Even after 1972, the comprador control of politico-economic affairs in Sri Lanka is much more servile and knee-bending than in India.

J. R. Jayawardhene actually managed to get an Indian force to fight the LTTE, which his little Sri Lankan army was not able to do on its own. Rajiv had to hastily withdraw the IPKF from Eelam.

In spite of the reoccupation of the Jaffna peninsula by the Sri Lankan army in early 1996, there is a virtual stalemate in the guerrilla war between the Tamil Tigers and the official Lankan army. In the long run, it is obvious that as long as they are backed by the Tamil people, the Tamil Tigers must ultimately prevail.

MYANMAR

The only truly independent country of South Asia is Burma/Myanmar.

There are several reasons for this.

1. Burma was a very rich country which fell into imperialist clutches rather late in the 19th century (1886). Therefore, British imperialism did not have enough time to ruin the country before 1942, when Japanese imperialism drove out the British. The British army was thoroughly humiliated in the course of its retreat across Burma.

2. Subhash Bose was able to form his Indian National Army (peak strength 40,000) on Burmese soil, and drove back the mercenary British Indian Army from a part of Manipur and Arakan, apart from the INA occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar islands.

But Japanese imperialism had attempted too much and could not have digested all that it had sought to swallow at the first gulp. The might of the American military machine had begun to throw back the Japanese by 1943 itself. By 1944, Japan was already on its knees, begging for surrender terms, when the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 made them opt for unconditional surrender! The sudden and premature Japanese surrender completely exposed their hollow claims to abiding valour!

3. In Burma, the Japanese forces had not only collaborated with Subhash Bose, but with Aung San who was in effective control

TABLE 1 : INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS : 1940s TO 1990s

YEAR	INDIA	PAKISTAN	BANGLADESH	SRI LANKA	NEPAL
1930				1931 Donoughmore Commission gives Adult Franchise.	1911 King Tribhuvan crowned.
1940s	1946 Sept. Interim Govt. with Nehru as Vice-Chairman of Viceroy's Council.	1947 Formation under India Independence Act. Pakistan remained British Dominion for 9 years, even formally.			
	1947 Formation of "Dominion Status" Nation under British Act passed by House of Commons in London.	1947-1977 Pakhtoonistan movement supported by Pathan masses, and hesitantly and intermittently by the Afghan govt.		1948 Adult Franchise for Tamils eliminated as Independence arrives.	
	1948 Pak invades Kashmir. Beaten back, but Mountbatten forces India to refer Kashmir to UN, which decides on Plebiscite following withdrawal of troops by Pakistan, a precondition that remains unfulfilled till 1996.				
	1949-50 Indian Constitution passed by a farcical comprador constituent assembly.				
1950s	1950 Tibetan independence not defended by India.	1955 The provinces of Punjab, Sindh, the Northwest Frontier, Baluchistan, and several princely states were merged to form the administrative unit of West Pakistan.			1951 Rana dynasty overthrown. King Tribhuvan in power.
	1954 Tibet taken over by China.				
	1956 Reorganisation of States.	1956 Proclaimed Islamic Republic.			1959 First Parliamentary Govt. headed by Bisweswore Prasad Koirala.
		1958 Ayub's Coup.			
1960s	1962 China defeats India.	1960-1990 G.M. Syed's 'Jio Sind' Movement is actively opposed by the landlord-clerical regime of Pakistan that has remained in power throughout its history.			1960 Govt. dismissed. King Mahendra's personal rule.
	1964 Nehru Era Ends.				
	1965 War with Pakistan. Tashkent Agreement, gives away war gains made by India. Public outcry shocks Lal Bahadur Shastri, who passes away in Tashkent.	1969 Ayub deposed by Yahya.			1961 15 feudal chieftainships integrated into the Kingdom.
1970s	1971 Indian Army and Mukti Bahini liberate Bangladesh.	1971 Yahya hands over power to Bhutto.	1971 Formation.	1971 JVP guerilla war started.	
	1972 Shimla Agreement, signed under Neo-colonial pressure gives away war gains once again.	1970-1990 A Govt.-in-Exile for independent Baluchistan formed in Iran. Bugti of the Red Baluch Movt. has been leading the campaign for separation from Pakistan. The merger of Baluchistan into W. Pakistan in 1955 created great resentment, & though reversed now, it has fuelled the fire of the independent Baluch movement.	1975 Mujib overthrown and assassinated. Zia-ur-Rahman's coup.	1972 Ceylon renamed Republic of Sri Lanka. Jayawardhene becomes President.	1972 Birendra succeeds King Mahendra.
	1975-77 Internal Emergency declared by Indira.			1978 Tamils given Secondary Status.	
	1977-79 Janata Party in Power.	1977 Bhutto deposed by Zia-ul-Haq.			

TABLE 1 : INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS : 1940s TO 1990s

	BHUTAN	MALDIVES	AFGHANISTAN	TIBET	MYANMAR
1926	King Jigme Wangchuk crowned.	Under British Protection till 1953, with a stooge Sultan as figurehead.	1933-1973 King Zahir Shah's rule.	1940 The 14th Dalai Lama (Btsan-dzin-rgya-mtsho) was enthroned as Ruler, both temporal and religious.	1947 Aung San and Cabinet Ministers Murdered.
1949	Indo-Bhutan Treaty of friendship.		1947-1979 Independent Pakhtoon Movement rages for a merger of N.W. Pakistan with Afghanistan.	1949 Communist triumph in China.	1948 Independence with U Nu in power.
					1948- Communist Rebellion, 1950 Karen Uprising, Kuomin-Kang Intrusion, Other Kachin Shan, Kayah dissident movements.
1952	King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk installed.	1953 Becomes a Republic under Amin Didi.		1950 Tibet appeals for help from India and Britain and the appeal fails to obtain support.	
1953	National Assembly (Tshogdu) reconstituted.	1954 Sultanate briefly restored.		1950-51 Chinese invasion of Tibet.	1956-62 See-saw political upheavals between U Nu, U Ba Swe and Ne Win.
				1959 Popular rising in Lhasa.	
				1959 Dalai Lama escapes to India.	
			1961 Pakhtoon Movement reaches a climax — Diplomatic Relations with Pakistan snapped. Border closed.	1962 India unable to protect Tibetan independence.	1960 Sino-Burman Frontier Treaty.
		1965 Britain recognises Maldives as independent.			1962 Gen. Ne Win captures power. Ne Win remains in effective control of Burma-Myanmar for 26 years till 1988.
		1968 Republic Restored. P.M. Ibrahim Nasir becomes President.	1963 Daud Khan resigns as PM. Md. H. Malwandalal new P.M. Relations with Pakistan restored.	1962 Chinese invade Assam from Tibet.	
			1964 New Constitution for Afghanistan.	1963-1971 No foreigners allowed to visit Tibet.	
			1965-1972 5 PMs assume office in a round robin.		
1971	Bhutan joins the UN.			1970-1990 Tibetans continue to fight a losing guerrilla battle with Chinese army of occupation. (Total population of Tibet estimated in 1971 at 1.3 mln).	
1972	King Jigme Singye Wangchuk installed.		1973 Monarchy overthrown and Daud returns.		
		1978 Maumoon Abdul Gayoom President.	1978 Coup by Noor Taraki. Daud killed.		
			1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.		

TABLE 1 : INDIA'S NEIGHBOURS
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS : 1940s TO 1990s

YEAR	INDIA	PAKISTAN	BANGLADESH	SRI LANKA	NEPAL
1980s	1980		1981	Zia assassinated.	
	1984		1982	Sattar overthrown by Ershad.	
	1989-91			1987 IPKF sent with consent of Jayawardhene here.	
		1988	Zia killed in plane crash.	1988	Premadasa President.
		1988	Benazir in power.	1989	Emergency ends after 5 1/2 years. UNP wins. IPKF withdrawn. D.B. Wijetunge becomes P.M.
		1989	Pak accepts Bangladesh and rejoins Commonwealth.		
1990s	1991	1990	Benazir dismissed and Nawaz Sharief in power.	1990	Ershad deposed.
		1990-96	Mohajir Qaumi Movement erupts in Karachi and Sindh Province, toll mounts to thousands and is an ongoing guerrilla battle with no end in sight. MQM is the party of "Refugees" from India numbering millions of families that migrated from India in 1947.	1991	Khaleda Zia comes to power.
	1996			1994-1996	Chandrika Kumartunga President.
		1993	Sharief dismissed.		
		1994	Benazir back.		
					1990 Lokendra Bahadur Chand new figure-head P.M. Movement for democracy.
					1996 Elections held. Adhikari dismissed. Sher Bahadur Deuba comes to power.

TABLE 1 A : POWER CENTRES OF SOUTH ASIA
1940s TO 1990s

INDIA	PAKISTAN	BANGLADESH	SRI LANKA	NEPAL
Head of State	Head of State	Head of State	Head of State	Head of State
a) Governor - General and Viceroy 1943-47 Lord Wavell. *	a) Governor - General 1947-48 Mohammad Ali Jinnah. * 1948-51 Khwaja Nazamuddin. 1951-55 Ghulam Muhammad. *	President 1971-72 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. * 1972-73 Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury. 1973-75 Mohammadullah. 1975 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. * 1975 Khandokar Mushtaq Ahmad. 1975-77 Justice Abusadad Mohammad Sayem. 1977-81 Maj. Gen. Ziaur Rahman. *	a) Governor - General 1948-49 Sir Henry Monck-Mason-Moore. * 1949-54 Viscount Soulbury. 1954-62 Sir Oliver E. Goonetilleke. 1962-72 William Gopallawa.	King 1911-55 Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah. * (Real Power exercised from 1951)
b) Governor-General 1947-48 Lord Mountbatten. * 1948-50 C. Rajagopalachari.	1955-56 Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza. *	1981-82 Abus Sattar. 1982-83 Justice Abdul Fazal Mohammad Ahsanuddin Chowdhury. 1983-90 Lieut. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad. *	b) President 1972-78 William Gopallawa. 1978-88 J.R. Jayawardhene. * 1988-93 R. Premadasa. * 1993-94 D. B. Wijetunge. 1994 - Chandrika Kumartunga. *	1955-72 Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah. * 1972-91 Birendra Bir Bikram Shah. *
c) President 1950-62 Rajendra Prasad. 1962-67 S. Radhakrishnan. 1967-69 Zakir Hussain. 1969-74 V. V. Giri. 1974-77 Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. 1977-82 Neelam Sanjiva Reddy. 1982-87 Zail Singh. 1987-92 R. Venkataraman. 1992-97 Shankar Dayal Sharma.	b) President 1956-58 Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza. * 1958-69 Field Marshal Ayub Khan. 1969-71 Maj. Gen Yahya Khan. * 1971-73 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. * 1973-78 Fazl Elahi Chaudhurl. 1978-88 Gen. Zia ul Haq. * 1988-94 Ghulam Ishaq Khan. 1994-96 Farooq Ahmad Leghari.	Prime Minister 1991-96 Khaleda Zia. * 1996 - Hasina Wajid. *	Prime Minister 1947-52 The Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake. * 1952-53 Dudley S. Senanayake. * 1953-56 The Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotelawala. * 1956-59 SWRD Bandaranaike. * 1959-60 W. Dahanayake. 1960 Dudley S. Senanayake. 1960-65 Mrs. Srimavo R.D. Bandaranaike. * 1965-70 Dudley S. Senanayake. * 1970-77 Mrs. Srimavo R.D. Bandaranaike. * 1977-78 J. R. Jayawardhene. * 1978-88 R. Premadasa. * 1988-93 D. B. Wijetunge. 1993-94 Ranil Wickremasinghe. 1994 Chandrika Kumartunga. * 1994-96 Srimavo Bandaranaike.	Prime Minister (or equivalent post) 1951-55 M. P. Koirala. 1956 Tanka Prasad Acharya. 1957 K. I. Singh. 1957-59 Subarna Shamsheer Parna. (as head of the Adv. Council) 1959-60 B. P. Koirala. 1963 Dr. Tulsii Giri. 1966 Surya Bahadur Thapa. 1969-73 Kirinidhi Bista. 1973-75 Nagendra Prasad Rijal. 1975-77 Dr. Tulsii Giri. 1977-79 Kirinidhi Birsta. 1979-83 Surya Bahadur Thapa. 1983-86 Lokendra Bahadur Thapa. 1986 Nagendra Prasad Rijal. 1986-90 Marich Man Singh Shrestha. 1990 Lokendra Bahadur Chand. 1990 Krishna Prasad Bhattaral. 1991-94 M. P. Koirala. * 1994-95 Manmohan Adhikary. 1995-96 Sher Bahadur Deuba. *
Prime Minister 1946-64 Jawaharlal Nehru. * 1947-50 Vallabhbhai Patel. * (Vice Premier) 1964-66 Lal Bahadur Shastri. * 1966-77 Indira Gandhi. * 1977-79 Morarji Desai. * 1979-80 Charan Singh. 1980-84 Indira Gandhi. * 1984-89 Rajiv Gandhi. * 1989-91 V. P. Singh. * 1991 Chandrasekhar. 1991-96 P. V. Narasimha Rao. * Manmohan Singh. (Finance Minister) 1996 H.D. Deve Gowda. * P. Chidambaram. (Finance Minister)	Prime Minister 1947-51 Liaquat Ali Khan. * 1951-53 Khwaja Nazamuddin. 1953-55 Muhammad Ali of Bogra. 1955-56 Chaudhuri Muhammad Ali. 1956-57 H. S. Suhrawardy. 1957 I. T. Chundrigar. 1957-58 Feroz Khan Noon. 1973-77 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. * 1985-88 Muhammad Khan Junejo. 1988-90 Benazir Bhutto. * 1990-94 Mian Nawaz Sharief. * 1993-94 Moeen Qureshi. Interim PM 1994-96 Benazir Bhutto. *			

* Real Power Centres

Table : II India's Neighbours :
Economic Status 1960 & 1991

	Pop. (Mid 60s) (mlns)	% of World Pop 1960	Per Cap. 1960 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1960 PPP US \$	% of World GDP 1960	Pop. (Mid 91) (mlns.)
India	427.80	10.58	617	263952.60	4.07	866.50
Pakistan	45.85	1.13	820	37597.00	0.58	115.80
Bangladesh	51.45	1.27	621	31950.45	0.49	110.60
Sri Lanka	9.90	0.24	1389	13751.10	0.21	17.20
Nepal	9.18	0.23	584	5361.12	0.08	19.40
Bhutan	0.85	0.02	Nil	0.00	0.00	1.50
Maldives	0.09	0.00	Nil	0.00	0.00	0.22
SAARC Total	545.12	13.47	-	352612.27	5.43	1131.22
Afghanistan	13.74	0.34	775	10648.50	0.16	20.98
Tibet	-	-	-	-	-	-
Myanmar	22.25	0.55	341	7587.25	0.12	42.76
Neighbours	35.99	0.89	-	18235.75	0.28	63.74
SAARC + Neighbours	581.11	14.36	-	370848.02	5.71	1194.96
For internal comparisons						
China	654.49	16.18	723	473196.27	7.29	1149.50
USA	180.67	4.47	9983	1803628.61	27.79	252.70
OECD	-	-	-	-	64.30	-
ASEAN	216.47	5.35	8191	159838.08	2.47	446.2

* Population of Tibet estimated at 1.5 mln in 1950 and 1.3 mln in 1970 as per *Ency. Brit. 1983 Macro*, Vol. 18.

R : PPP calculated by Regression Method by *World Bank*

O : PPP calculated by Observed Method by *World Bank*

Sources for Tables 1 & 1A

Table 1 (India's Neighbours : Political Developments)
Compilation from *EB '73 & EB '83*, and *Manorama Yearbooks*, 1981-1996

Table 1'A (Power Centres of South Asia)
The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan and the Maldives (ed) Francis Robinson, 1989

1. India : *ibid*, p. 173
2. Pakistan : *ibid*, p. 201
3. Bangladesh : *ibid*, p. 217
4. Sri Lanka : *ibid*, p. 223
5. Nepal : *ibid*, p. 230
6. Bhutan : *ibid*, p. 232
7. Maldives : *ibid*, p. 229
8. Afghanistan : *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, (ed) Joseph E. Schwartzberg, 1978, end papers, Also *EB '73 & EB*

Sources for Tables II & III

Table II (India's Neighbours : Economic Status 1960 & 1991)
Mankind Statistical Supplement, Vol 1, No. 4/5
Jan-Feb 96

Table III

1. Official Exchange Rates from *Manorama Yearbooks*.
2. PPP true Exchange Rates from *World Bank Reports*.
3. Trade Balances from *World Bank Reports*.
4. OECD Imports of Manufactures from *Asian Development Outlook 1995 and 1996* Asian Development Bank.
5. Total External Debt from *World Bank Reports*.

Table : II India's Neighbours :
Economic Status 1960 & 1991

% of World Pop. 1991	Per Cap. 1991 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1991 PPP US \$	% of World GDP 1991	Comp. Bet. 1960 and 1991	Area in '000 km ²	% of the World Area
16.14	1900 R	493136.00	5.69	+ 1.62	3288.00	2.43
2.16	1570 R	181806.00	0.63	+ 0.05	796.00	0.59
2.06	990 R	109494.00	0.38	- 0.11	144.00	0.11
0.32	2580 R	44376.00	0.15	- 0.06	66.00	0.05
0.36	1130 R	21922.00	0.08	- 0.00	141.00	0.10
0.03	620 R	930.00	0.00	-	47.00	0.03
0.00	1200 O	265.20	0.00	-	0.30	0.00
21.07	-	851,929.20	6.93	+ 1.50	4482.3	3.31
0.39	700 O	14685.30	0.05	- 0.11	652.00	0.48
-	-	-	-	-	1221.70	0.90
0.80	650 O	27792.70	0.10	- 0.02	677.00	0.50
1.19	-	42478.00	0.15	- 0.13	2550.7	1.88
22.26	-	894407.20	7.08	- 1.37	7033.0	5.19
21.41	2040 R	2344980.00	8.10	0.81	9561.00	7.06
4.71	22130 R	5592251.00	19.33	- 8.46	9373.00	6.92
20.07	-	-	60.65	- 3.65	-	25.85
8.31	-	-	4.10	1.63	-	3.30

Table III : India's Neighbours : Transactions with the World

Name of Currency	Official Exchange Rate			True PPP Rate in 1993	Trade Balance			OECD Import of Manuf. [⊕] % in 1993	Balance of Payment Transfers 1993	Total Ext Debt 1993 min \$
	1973	1981	1996		1976	1986	1993			
Bangladesh Taka	Same as Pakistan	15.57	39.80	6.79	- 350	- 1,821	- 1,729	0.11	243	13,879
Bhutan Ngultrum	Same as India	31.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
India Rupee	8.20	7.91	35.00	7.62	- 91	- 7,835	- 4,368	0.67	- 315	91,781+
Maldives Rufiya	-	7.60	11.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nepal Rupee	10.91	12.00	49.40	9.20	- 65	- 317	- 490	0.02	- 195	2,009
Pakistan Rupee	4.76	9.90	30.85	6.11	- 990	- 1,993	- 2,864	0.20	- 3,327	26,050
Sri Lanka Rupee	-	14.01	49.81	10.00	- 21	- 733	- 1,331	0.11	- 381	6,783
SAARC	-	-	-	-	- 1,517	- 12,699	- 10,782	1.11	- 3,975	140,502
Afghanistan Afghani	70-75	44.25	3,462	-	- 98	- 882	-	-	-	-
Myanmar Kyat	4.64	6.63	6.36	-	+ 70	- 318	-	0.00	-	5,478
China Yuan	-	1.58	8.43	1.77	-	- 12,024	- 11,344*	3.94	- 11,609	83,800
USA Dollar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.01	-	-
OECD Various	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78.97	-	-
ASEAN Various	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.54	- 13,179	193,664

⊕ This is a true index of the level of industrialisation reached by a country. The OECD imports 79% of its manufactures from its own members. China has now begun to export to the group, to the extent of 4%, Japan's individual share is 10.67%, India's is a mere 0.67%. ASEAN members together account for 4.54%.

* In recent years China had a surplus trade balance with USA of about 10 to 30 Bln \$ annually.

+ India's total external debt in 1995 (end-March) was \$ 99,042 with, and today in mid-1996, exceeds \$ 100 bin.

of vast areas in Burma between 1942 and 1945.

4. After 1945, Chiang's forces remained in control of parts of north-east Burma and refused to acknowledge British suzerainty. Thus like Sukarno in Indonesia, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, Aung San came to power as the British negotiated their withdrawal from Burma.

5. Burma refused to join the Commonwealth in 1948 and struck out on an independent path.

6. Burma was a very rich country with a surplus trade in timber (Burma teak was very well known in India and all over the world), petroleum, gems (jade and ruby), and even rice. This economic strength imparts an independent character to the average Burman which is difficult to imagine in cowardly and poor India-Pakistan-Bangladesh.

7. The Anglo-American imperialist powers have been manoeuvring for the last so many years to dislodge the Burmese generals from power. But from 1962 to the present, the generals have refused to budge (Ne Win to 1988, Saw Maung to 1993 and Than Shwe to the present)

Aung San Suu Kyi is like many recent Nobel Prize winners - useful as a probe but unable to do anything substantial. She remains under house arrest or equivalent, and harangues the crowds from behind picket fences. (Though a digression, I would like to mention that impotency has affected several recent Nobel winners like Suu Kyi, the 14th Dalai Lama, Yasser Arafat, and Nelson Mandela, who is running a pro-White administration in S. Africa. Why do these cowardly fools accept the Nobel Prizes? What do they think they are getting? Do they know how much they are giving?)

We have summed up the principal or decisive developments in Table IV which brings this article on India and its neighbours to a close.

Let us sum up the half century's experience of these ten countries of South Asia.

THEOCRACIES

Only one country Bhutan has remained a Theocracy from the '40s to the '90s.

Tibet escaped from theocratic rule of the 14th Dalai Lama, to become a colony of the state capitalist China.

FEUDAL REGIMES

In Afghanistan, the feudal regime of Zahir Shah ended in the '70s, but the one-party rule of Taraki, Amin, Najibullah etc., lasted only a short while. State-capitalist Russian occupation extended from 1979-1989, and for the last seven years a civil war has been raging between pro-American Pakistan-supported fundamentalist Taliban guerrillas, and the pro-Soviet and pro-Iranian forces represented by President Rabbani.

In Nepal, the feudal regime of the Ranas continued in power directly under kings Tribhuvan, Mahendra and Birendra, till just a little while ago. Even today the king's influence is paramount, and Prime Minister Deuba rules on royal sufferance.

In Maldives the Sultanate ended with direct British rule, but

Maldives is a very small country with virtually no resources.

In Pendhari Pakistan, the Generals have ruled for most of the time. From the beginning, there have been Secessionist movements in Sind, Baluchistan and NWFP, to which, in more recent times, the violence of the Mohajirs of the MQM has been added. It is almost a civil war that is raging between the MQM and the Mrs. Zardari government, and thousands of followers of MQM have been killed by- the Pakistani army in and around Karachi over the last 4 years. The MQM leader, Altaf Hussain, has been conducting the campaign on behalf of the Mohajirs from London. The thoroughly discredited and corrupt Benazir Zardari government continues, without even a pretence of being able to maintain law and order.

BOURGEOIS COLONIAL RULE

This has disappeared from the entire region.

COMPRADOR CAPITALIST RULE

This has come as a basic "stable socio-economic" formation in India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

A civil war is raging in Sri Lanka.

In Bangladesh a military regime which ruled for most of the years of independence, has just given way to a very fragile democracy.

From 1991 to 1996, Khaleda Zia, wife of the assassinated Gen. Ziaur-Rahman, ruled by rigging elections. Ultimately, the opposition parties united to expose her rigging and Khaleda was forced to hold a fresh election after having made way for an interim neutral government. The new elections promptly caused Khaleda's downfall. But Hasina Wajed, the new PM, and daughter of Bangladesh founder Mujibur Rahman, has been forced to compromise with another military dictator of the past, Gen. Ershad, who is out of jail on parole. In short, the situation in Bangladesh is on the verge of a civil war, not entirely dissimilar to the one in Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, where similar internal strife has become open warfare.

In India, a shamocracy has somehow carried on, but the reconquest of India by the Neo-Colonialists has been successfully carried out from mid-1991. These Euro-American forces are now poised to shatter and to disintegrate India still further. Dissident movements in Kashmir demanding "greater autonomy than autonomy"; the demand for the Bhutanisation of the entire north-east of India, including Sikkim, Bhutan, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Gorkhaland, Bodoland and Assam, and the surreptitious secessionist movement in Tamil Nadu, are combining with diverse Euro-American interests, to dissolve Indian unity. India is too big, too populous, too rich in resources to be allowed to remain united for long by the Neo-Colonial great powers of the world.

INDEPENDENCE

Myanmar is the only country of South Asia which has realized virtual independence. It has just strengthened its ties with the ASEAN.

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from Hasmukh Baradi and Reply

Hasmukh Baradi,
5/57, Nav Nirman Nagar,
Naranpura,
Ahmedabad 380 013

18.6.96

Respected Vinayakbhai,

I received No. 8 issue of *Mankind*.
Very happy.

I find that "Art and History" and "Art
as History" express views that I admire.

Everything in your magazine is
extremely useful.

I am sending my annual subscription.
Yours sincerely,

Hasmukh Baradi

12.8.96

Dear Hasmukhbhai,

I am glad that you have liked "Art And
History" as also "Art As History". Why don't
you translate the same in Gujarati and
perhaps we can publish this as a booklet.

In *Mankind* Nos. 1, 2 & 6 (Oct., Nov.
1995 & March 96) I have written about
Shakespeare as an Imperialist Industry. I
have attempted to expose the social roots
of this "collective genius of the Elizabethan
period" (late 16th, early 17th centuries), and
have tried to show that in a period of
legitimised and state-supported piracy,
buccaneering, privateering, banditry, etc,
it was not possible to conceive of Great
Theatre, especially by sychophantic
courtiers like Willy, "the upstart crow" and
"Shakes-scene" !

I have also shown the precise route
by which Shakespearean rubbish had
travelled to India via the Kemble family and
the Parsi-Urdu-Gujarati theatre. I have
quoted at length Voltaire's and Leo
Tolstoy's sharp attacks on Willie, the Giant.

As I was telling you over the phone,
looking back, I find that I have matured
rather slowly, almost agonisingly. I have
lived more than nine lives of the proverbial
cat.

I awakened to reality and life with the
ventilation in the skull created by the blow

of the police *lathi* precisely on 9th August,
1942. Thereafter I became, in quick
succession, Socialist revolutionary,
terrorist, underground activist, Marxist
Trotskyist, trade unionist, labour lawyer,
full-timer, journalist, art critic (all the arts
in turn beginning with classical North Indian
Music) clerk, technocrat, typography and
layout expert, copywriter, designer,
architect, landscapist, painter, liaison man,
agency owner, academician, sociologist
.... I tend to forget even the number of lives
I have led... Ultimately, a theoretician re-
viewing the entire gamut of human
existence in the columns of *Mankind*.

I am completely at peace with myself,
and look forward to my last days, answering
questions about everything under the sun,
fearlessly and passionately. And I keep
learning ! I now see only the line on the
horizon from below which an effulgent red
flood tide is about to break through.

I have no hope except for the poor,
the downtrodden and despised and the
exploited of my country, my world and my
species.

Keep sending me your reactions to
the material that appears in *Mankind*. After
all, I write for you and ilk.

With best wishes,
Yours

Exe. Edr.

Letter from Niranjana Mehta and Reply

Niranjana S. Mehta
B.E., F.I.E., FIV, MACE
Chartered Engineer
Approved Valuer, Loss Assessor &
Surveyor
M & J Combines,
Churchgate House,
32-34 Veer Nariman Road,
Bombay 400 001

21.5.96

Dear Dr. Purohit,

I am sorry I could not return your call
yesterday morning as I had to leave home
immediately after you rang up for a site -
meeting.

I tried to contact you on telephone

yesterday afternoon and to-day but there
was no reply on both your numbers. I have
been reading your articles but I feel that
your views are very strong and criticism of
Dr. Singh and Govt. economic policies very
harsh. I am not sure whether your
telephones are out of order or you are out
of station

With regards,
Yours sincerely,

Niranjana Mehta

2.8.96

Dear Niranjana Mehta,

I rang you up that day to inform you
of the lead *Mankind* had taken over the
London Economist and all others, in the
methodology of presentation of data
relating to international comparisons of
national incomes. I had compared national
incomes on PPP basis in October last year,
whilst the *London Economist* had followed
several months later, probably informed by
their Delhi correspondent who might have
come across a *Mankind* number. I had not
only compared the absolute values of GDP
in PPP terms, but had taken two further
steps. I had given the world totals and
worked out the national proportions, and
further, compared the 1960 PPP data with
1991 ! Thus providing a historic series over
30 years ! I wrote to the Editor of the
London Economist inviting him to take these
two further steps, which has been acknow-
ledged formally !

But our country is not in a mood to
evaluate intellectual achievements. Wild
consumerism and perennial obsession with
cheap Westernised masala culture
prevails. I had rung up several eminent
Gujarati journalists of the city to take note
of this humble contribution by *Mankind*. All
of them promised to come and visit me.
None did !

This is the state of our society.
Compradorism has reached so deep down,
that our so-called intellectuals are all
seeped in the same filth ! They are willing
tools in the hands of foreign interests. They
attend seminars sponsored by foreign
multi-nationals to promote Western values
and attitudes. The locals have even lost
their capacity for self-correction !

It is from within such a horrible
ambience that I am bringing out *Mankind*.
Your point about "strong views and harsh
language" has to be viewed from two
opposite angles :

1. Have you Rotarians, Lions, Giants
and other Service Club Members through
the technique of soft-soap and soft

language, achieved anything for our people over the span of the last 50 years from 1947 ? Have you given our citizens, not a socialist set-up, no, no, just ordinary liberal, somewhat humane, relatively fair and just, government ?

Look at our country ! Does P. V. Narsimha Rao resign after suffering the greatest debacle in the history of the ruling party ? After obtaining merely an exemption from personal appearance in a cheating case, where he will appear through his lawyers, and where even this exemption is merely interim, does he still resign ? NO ! He is obviously guarding his ill-gotten personal and family wealth !

The Minister for Environment actually diverts the Beas River for the benefit of Span Motel, owned by him and his family !

How many more examples of shameless chicanery and reckless criminality do you need ?

2. The last government of P.V.N. Rao admitted in the Supreme Court that a "nexus" existed between Congress Ministers, *Naukarshahs* and criminals, and pleaded "helplessness". Our country is in a terrible state as you well know ! An indescribable anti-intellectual and criminally vulgar atmosphere prevails. Don't you think that one of the contributory causes for this situation is your collective preference for soft-soap and soft-language, which encourages our corrupt and criminal rulers to hope that you will always be ready for a compromise, since your language itself indicates such possibilities ?

Does one tell the rapist "Please, Sir, take care that my glass bangles do not break !"

I urge you and your friends like Laxmidas Kapadia, Mr. Ajmera and other Rotarians and Service Club members, to return to the older path of calling a spade a spade, of clear and sharp thoughts that get expressed in similar language, of genuine disgust with vulgarity and cupidity, of not being afraid all the time, of closing the door to future compromise right at the outset by frank and forthright speech and writing, by true concern for the plight of our people !

Please think about it !

With best wishes

Yours Sincerely,

Exe. Edr

Letter from Madhava Rao and Reply

M. Madhava Rao,
D. No. 2-6-8/1,
Vishnalayam Street,
Kavali - 524 201
Nellore Dist. (A.P.)

Dear Dr. Purohit,

Namaste, I read the *Mankind* issue of October 1995 sent to me by my friend and colleague Dr. M. Pattabhi Rama Reddy, and the issue of May 1996 sent by Ravela Somayya. I am impressed by the articles in the magazine and I am sending my annual subscription through the enclosed D.D.

I was a member of the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India from 1944 till it was merged with the Socialist Party in 1948. In my BLPI days I used to hear of one Vinayak Purohit as a comrade of the unit in Bombay. Are you the same ? Do you remember to have heard my name ?

I worked as a reader in English in a local college (Private) and retired. After Dr. Lohia revived the S.P. in 1955, I was with him, more often as a sympathiser of the Party. I shall do whatever I can in the matter of enrolling subscribers to "*Mankind*"

Hoping for better acquaintance in the future.

Yours sincerely,

M. Madhava Rao

8.6.96

15.7.96

Dear Madhava Rao,

It was good to hear from you after such a long interval. Yes, I was the BLPI member from Bombay of whom you heard in the forties.

I did not join the PSP in 1952, and re-established my links with Lohia in 1955-56, just as you did. I was in Hyderabad for the *Angrezi Hatao* Sammelan presided over by Satyen Bose. I wrote a small article for *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 1, way back in 1956. We must have run across each other in Hyderabad in those days.

I am very happy that we have re-established contact, and I thank you for your offer to do as much as you can for *Mankind*.

I look forward to hearing regularly from you.

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

Letter from M.P.R. Reddy

M.P.R. Reddy,
Camp 9-62/2, Ramanthapur,
Hyderabad - 500 013

My dear Dr. Vinayak Purohit,

Your letter dated 6.6.96 inviting me to join the Editorial Advisory Board of *Mankind*.

I wonder what special merits in me have prompted you to confer this rare honour on me.

I am neither an erudite scholar nor an active citizen. Considering my 74 years of age, defective eye sight and physical disabilities of a septuagenarian.

I am not a prolific writer. Long ago I published an article in old *Janata* in 1953, and a few pieces in English *Swatantra* in 52-54. Subsequently I have been teaching history in Madras and Kavali.

I have published a few research papers in *Journal of Indian History* in 1960, 1970s and edited a *Journal of Andhra History* after retiring from service. I have not published any serious articles except a booklet entitled *Verma And His Times*, and a book entitled *Peasant and State in Modern Andhra History*.

I am an unknown mediocre scholar, but I have always admired political philosophers like Trotsky, Laski, Lohia and other men of action.

If you insist, I shall be a member of the *Mankind* family, but neither my age nor merit deserve such recognition.

Thanking you,

With regards.

M.P.R. Reddy

P.S. I shall certainly promote the circulation of *Mankind* among my friends in Andhra Pradesh.

Dear friend,

It is proposed to start a Human Rights Centre at Kavali, preferably in Visnodaya Campus. This is an extension of the work I have been carrying out in recent times, regarding the Rehabilitation of Displaced People. My effort has been to popularise not only Human Rights Education in Kavali, but also to promote human rights knowledge and its ramifications among different strata of society in accordance with the norms laid down by the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi, and similar organizations, like the Amnesty International, the Vigil India movement, the PUCL and other human rights associations functioning in India. The centre will not only

study the human rights situation in India, and in the 170 nations which are members of the UNO, but also prepare introductory literature for Human Rights Education in the universities, colleges and schools in our country. The NHC in India has already initiated steps in this regard, and in coordination with UGC and universities, the NCERT and Human Resources Development Ministry has been preparing reading material on human rights education. Some universities have already taken steps to introduce human rights in the curriculum of the under-graduates and postgraduate studies. It is heartening to note that the Indian Law school of Bangalore has already been training the police personnel in human rights education. Unless this educational effort permeates the entire law and order personnel, and the judicial machinery, as well as the bureaucracy in India, the governance of welfare departments will not be sufficiently humanised, to empathise with the sufferers in the prisons, factories, fields, and society.

Since the Emergency (1975-77), human rights problems have been taken up by social activists all over India. The philosophy of our national movement for freedom was fashioned by men like Gandhi, Nehru, Jayaprakash Narayan and Lohia who popularised the basic rights of the people, since Independence, and all shades of political doctrines have made human rights fundamental to democracy in India.

In recent years social activists like Bahuguna, Medha Patkar and Amte have brought to the forefront, environmental issues of paramount importance. Numerous non-government organizations have sprung up the world over and their power and prestige have influenced U.N. conferences on human rights, population, women, social development and the habitat at Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, Beijing and Istanbul. We have to study the documents and replenish our knowledge of human rights.

In recent months I have been endeavouring to study and monitor the problem of Rehabilitation of Displaced People in 24 villages in Kandaleru submerged areas, which is concerned with the restoration of the human rights of 30,000 people of five thousand families. I have drawn the attention of INHC to their plight, and now they have agreed to take up the matter with the government of Andhra Pradesh. Meanwhile social activists, economists and other intellectuals, members of parliament and A.P. Legislative Assembly, are being requested to monitor the rehabilitation

process with a view to bringing immediate succour to the suffering oustees, now stranded at the rehabilitation centres.

I have been endeavouring to enthuse Visnodaya, and its founders, educationists and students and teachers to help us monitor the problem.

It is the aim of the Human Rights Centre to study all such problems and contribute our mite towards a better life for the wretched of the earth everywhere.

The Human Rights Centre has requested Sr. SR Sankaran I.A.S. (retd.), Dr. Vinayak Purohit, editor *Mankind*, D. Ramachandra Reddy, Dr. J. Sessa Reddy, Dr. Raghava Reddy, M. Madhava Rao, Ravela Somayya, N.V. Ramaniah and several others to help us broaden the basis, deepen our understanding, expand the extension of education of our younger generations, and to enrich the Human Rights Centre, in the years to come. I request you to signify your consent to be its supporter, and promote the endeavour to build up the centre.

M.P.R.Reddy

Yes, I readily consent.

Exe. Edr.

Letter from U. K. Sengottaian

U. K. Sengottaian
44, Kovalan Street,
E.B. Colony,
Erode 638 001

1.7.96

Dear Sir,

I am happy and grateful to you for having included my name in the Advisory Committee. I will do my best in the interest and betterment of *Mankind*. I will write detailed letter regarding other aspects. Sorry for the delay in writing this letter. Herewith I am sending a D.D. for Rs. 200 towards the amount due from me. (This is meant for the copies of *Mankind* ... Vol I, No. 8 = 5 copies and Vol. I No. 9 = 5 copies)

With regards,
Yours sincerely,

U.K. Sengottaian

Letter from Vinod Payyada

Vinod Payyada
Thodannur,
Vadakara 673 108

26-6-96

Dear Vinayakji,

I have seen your letter when I returned home after Party's national council meeting in Orissa and I received 5 copies of June issue. In my opinion as a young man and not much experienced person, I am not competent to sit in the Advisory Board. I can do work for *Mankind* as far as possible even though it is a small one. I shall try to come for the meeting in September if I am not otherwise engaged in party work. Organisational elections of the party is going to be held from August to December.

Let me know whether the persons who are enrolled by me have sent subscription. If not I will contact them. I have already sent reminders to them.

Now I am sending an address
P. RAJEEV
THAMBRA KETIL HOUSE
PO MEMUNDA
VADAKARA (Via)
KOZHICKODE (Dt)KERALAM
Please enroll him from May onwards.
I have given issues of May and June to him.
Nothing more now.
Sorry for the late reply.
With love

Vinod Payyada

Letter from Devail Patidar and Reply

Respected Vinayakaji,

I have received your letter.

I could not meet you in Bombay as the dates of my scheduled exhibition were changed. I will come and see you in Pune.

In your letter, you have written about the sale of my drawings. I want you to treat them as the property of *Mankind*. You can sell them as and when you receive an offer. I do not wish to receive any money from their sale. Working in association with you is sufficient reward for me. We are able to manage with my job and Shikha's assignments. If the sale proceeds of my drawings can help in financing even one issue of *Mankind*, I think they will have served their purpose.

I have talked to my artist colleagues and they are also willing to contribute. If it can be arranged, we could hold a group show in Pune, the sale proceeds from which will be our contribution to *Mankind*. This show can be under the auspices of

Mankind and I can get the cooperation from my friends in other parts of the country.

My work is going well. These days I am making a series of sculptures of table clocks. Exhibitions of these sculptures have been held in Delhi, Indore and Bombay last month.

Shikha's project work is also going well. She is trying her best so that Guldi and Dada can move into their own house soon.

If you think that it is possible to hold a show in Pune, I can come to Pune to plan the event.

Devilal Patidar

17.6.96

Dear Devilal,

I was very happy to receive your last letter which you have forgotten to date but which I received last week.

You have paid the greatest compliment that any artist can pay to an art critic, when you wrote in your earlier letter that my captions and comments on your drawings published on the front page of *Mankind* gave you a new insight into your own work. This is what art criticism should be. Genuine, good criticism must enlighten the artists, social scientists and other art critics. I am glad that I have been able to do something at this level.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart - both you and Shikha, for your generosity in making a gift of your drawings to *Mankind*.

Now about the future plan of action. I think it would be best if you and Shikha could come down here for a day or two. We have a spare bedroom with two beds and an attached bathroom. You will both be quite comfortable here and you can make it a short holiday for yourself and Shikha.

The first annual meeting of *Mankind* Advisory Board is taking place on September 22, Sunday, at our place in Pune.

I am making you a member of the *Mankind* Advisory Board and you should come for that September meeting if you can.

But that is far away and it is not absolutely necessary. We should meet before that, if possible. Please come as soon as you can so that a number of issues can be sorted out in person. The issues which we should discuss at an early date are as follows :

1. We should publish your drawings as a prestigious art publication with all my captions on the reverse side. I will write a

special introduction dealing with Indian art history.

I think I picked up about 10 or 12 drawings from you in Bhopal and subsequently you sent another dozen. Sussposing out of these 25 we select about 15 or 20, then we need something like 30 more to make a set of 50 for the book. That means that you must work out yourself or get a group of young talented fellows to produce about 25 or 30 excellent drawings.

If you can do it, nothing like it. If you can get some assistants to help you that will also be alright provided the drawings reflect that spirit of affection and friendliness towards the humble things of life. I am sending a list of themes or concepts and you can think of many more. Shikha can think of quite a few herself!

I need your latest photo and bio-data for this purpose.

We will find a very good title for this little art publication.

Or if we make this art publication a composite one of pottery and ceramic sculpture, then we need two things -

a) a complete set of excellent photographs covering every theme that you have explored in potlery and ceramics, like insects, lanterns etc.

b) Even if we include pottery and ceramics in the publication, we will still need 10,15,20 drawings to make a fine set of drawings fit for publication as an art book. More when we meet and discuss.

2. Your idea of holding an exhibition in Pune to be sponsored by *Mankind Kala Manch* is excellent.

I have already moved in the matter and enquired about the dates and other particulars from Bal Gandharva Sabha-graha which is managed by the Pune Municipal Corporation. The gallery, I am told, has wall space for about 35 paintings and there would be enough floor space for about 6 pottery ensembles. Perhaps somebody in Bharat Bhavan is already familiar with the Bal Gandharva Gallery. I will send exact particulars later on, and in fact when you come here we can all go and preview the premises. (Gopal Adivrakar, President Bombay Art Society, tells me that Bal Gandharva is not a small gallery. It is a middle sized one which will take about 60 paintings on the walls, and 12 pottery/ceramics heaps.)

After the dates are fixed up, we will prepare the draft of the brochure-cum-invitation card. Please select the artists who will be joining together for the show. I will visit the gallery after I return from Mumbai on 21st June. (I am proceeding to Mumbai tomorrow, the 15th of June.) (This letter is being posted from Bombay.)

I can speak to Gopal Adivarekar, if you are having any difficulty about getting dates from Jehangir Art Gallery. You can ring me up in Mumbai. The numbers are in *Mankind* issues.

For the Pune exhibition, you and/or Shikha and/or any other artist can come down and I am thinking of arranging one or two small lectures during the fortnight or month of our show. I can handle one lecture and we can invite either a local Pune person or a Bhopal person of your choice or some all - India personality of your liking for the second lecture.

Little things lead to big developments. We met in Bhopal, on a few occasions and I casually picked up some drawings about which I had not yet made up my mind as to exactly what I would do with them.

I suddenly had a flash and decided to front page *The Chappal*. One thing led to another and now we are discussing an exhibition of you and your friends and a little art publication!

Well! Things are moving along quite well, don't you agree?

Ittefaaq and Niyati?

With warm fraternal regards to you and Shikha (and not forgetting Gul and Prabhat),

Yours Sincerely,

Vinayak Purohit

Enclosed : List of suggestions for 20-30 drawings.

SHORT LIST OF SUGGESTIONS

I	II	III
a bench	a patela	a plough
a chair	a kaddu (ladle)	a fishing trap, net, etc.
a table	a jhari	a rain-covering of basketry
		a headdress
a waste paper basket	a spoon (no fork)	
a bed	a koita	other instruments
charpoy	a plate or two	
a sadadi mat	a frying pan	a weapon of rural-folk type
Some furniture & furnishings of rural folk type	a polpat (chakla) and velan (rolling pin)	
	other implements & household articles of rural-folk type	
	a sadadi mat	

Letter from Viniyog Parivar & Reply

Mahajanām,
510, Prasad Chambers,
Vardhaman Sanskriti Dhan,
1st Floor,
Avantikabai Gokhale Street,

Respected Shri Vinayakji,

You may have come across an issue of 'Nai Azadi Udghosh' which is a magazine in Hindi being published from Allahabad by Shri Rajiv Dixit and his team. This organisation wished to come out with a special issue in December 1995 and publish therein articles focussing on the hegemony of multinationals and Western Powers. They had approached us for a few articles to be included in this issue. We had sent an article written by 'our Shri R.K. Joshi, as also a series of three articles by late Pandit Prabhudas Bechardas Parekh. In addition, we had sent your article (originally written in English) exposing the drawbacks of our Constitution (and duly translated in Hindi by our Shri Joshi). Your article also was published in the same issue in your name only.

We hope you would not mind taking liberty like this, as we were sure that the ideas propagated by you in your articles needed wide publicity and this issue was offering an opportunity for the same. 'Nai Azadi' has subscribers throughout India and is mailed to several N.G.Os. also

We enclose herewith a copy of this issue.

The Editor of the Magazine had subsequently sent a letter of thanks to all the contributors of the articles. However, as the magazine did not have your postal address they sent your letter also to us which we are enclosing herewith. Please excuse us for the delay. Subsequently, the same organisation has come out with a collection of a few articles as a special book, and in that collection also your article has appeared. We enclose copy of a letter received from them in this connection. You may be getting your copy of this collection of essays directly from the institution, now that they know your address from a copy of this letter being mailed to them.

Thanking you,
Yours faithfully,
for VINIYOG PARIVAR

A. M. PAREKH
Trustee

Encl : as above

N.B. A copy of the articles by Late Pandit Prabhudas Bechardas Parekh referred in the letter is also sent herewith.

Letter from Editor, Nai Azadi Udghosh and Reply

Nai Azadi Udghosh
Gandhi Bhavan,
Chatham Lines,
Allahabad 211 002

26.2.96

Respected Dr. Vinayak Purohitji,

Greetings !

This special issue of *Nai Azadi Udghosh* is in front of you as a result of a sustained team effort. Your cooperation in the publication of this number has been very enthusing for all activists here. Your contribution has played an important role in making this issue of *Nai Azadi Udghosh* a milestone.

In the short time since this issue came out we have received letters from hundreds of readers praising it. Many of these have appreciated your article in our journal. We are sending two copies to you. Please let us know if you do not receive them within ten days.

To thank you for your co-operation will be a mere formality, as you are a comrade in a common mission. We would expect similar contributions from you in future.

Yours etc.

(Abhay Pratap)
(Translated from Hindi)

Dear Shri Abhay Pratap,

Thanks for your letter of 26.2.96 which belatedly reached me via Viniyog Parivar Trust. I am happy that many of your readers found my articles praiseworthy. You may send the book 'Angrezon Ki Gulami Se Bahurashtriya Gulami Tak' to me in Pune.

I have revived Dr. Lohia's *Mankind* from Oct. 1995. I am sending by separate book-post the latest issue of *Mankind*.

I am usually in Bombay during the middle of the month for one week out of four. The Bombay address and Tel. Nos. as well as the Pune ones will be found in *Mankind*.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

Letter from Lingraj

Lingaraj
Samata Bhavan,
Bargarh

31.7.96

Dear Sir Vinayakji,

I am in receipt of your letters and copies of *Mankind* regularly. I feel guilty while writing you. I have not yet been able to make a single subscriber of *Mankind* here. We have been publishing one Oriya magazine from here. Mobilising money for that purpose, I have not given a special drive for *Mankind*. However, in this month I am thinking of mobilising some subscribers.

In the meantime, I was a bit busy for some other organisational work. Henceforth I shall try to write regularly in the form of 'Orissa Newsletter' for *Mankind*.

With warm regards,
Yours,

Lingaraj

Letter to J. S. Verma

Dear Justice Verma,

The elections to the 11th Lok Sabha just held have been entirely unfair, unfree and unequal as is established by attached complaint to the Chief Election Commissioner.

I have been sending one issue of *Mankind* to Chief Justice Ahmadi and a copy of *Mankind* is available in the Nehru Memorial Museum Library, Teen Murti House.

The inequality of votes between Indian citizens within each major state is such a scandalous matter and is such a flagrant violation of the elementary principles of democracy that no comment on my part is necessary.

You may act as you think best.
Yours Sincerely,

Exe. Edr.
(The letter to the Election Commissioner was published in No. 10, July 1996.)

Letter from Julia Zimmermann
and Reply

Am Buchel 71
53173 Bonn

22.7.96

Dear Vinayak,

I got informed by Hector Abhayawardhana, Colombo, you still remember me. Thank You!! I too remember you, only, I am afraid I would not recognise you we would meet.

Last Year November I guided a German group of archaeologists better, pre-historians, to several sites in East and South India, from Konarak to Madurai. So I have been unable to come to Poona. This year could be a little, little chance, because my stay in India will be perhaps in the first 10 days of November 96. I will try to arrange a meeting, either Poona or Bombay.

Hector, whom I visited along a questioning research about Dr. Lohia, (... I have joined University after retiring and I choosed Indology and have now the idea to bring out a small biography about Dr. Sahib...) told me, you are publishing a revived *Mankind*. That's wonderful-

I am very keen for getting your issue.

In November I like to meet some friends too. I want to visit the Archives for Lohias juridical/political difficulties, esp. with Nehru family. I shall go again to Nehru Memorial Centre in Delhi. I had been there in 1993 for 4 weeks.

You see, nothing is lost, I remember very well. I am no more working, as I told before, but I try to continue the studies in present days history and Sanskrit, and too I am working in my suburb for the Social Democrats.

Hope this finds you in good health. With kind regards to you and your wife and the hope, you can answer.

Yours sincerely,

Julia

12.8.96

Dear Julia,

I am sure I will recognise you, and you me, when we meet. There are many vicissitudes in life and we pass through them. The important thing is our total ideological vision and commitment.

Apart from *Mankind*, I will be publishing, very shortly, "Twenty-five Essays in Indian History", from which nine essays have been reproduced in *Mankind* so far (Till recently, my forthcoming book was titled "Ten Essays in Indian History", but has been converted to "Twenty five Essays...")

You may send your personal cheque on any German bank account for DM 100 as annual subscription for ten issues or preferably, DM 1000 as life subscription. I will get it encashed by my local bank. You must also help me to get a few more subscriptions from friends and institutions in Germany. I am losing quite a lot of money and if a few good friends like you help out, I shall be able to run *Mankind* for a longer time. (In case I close down the journal in less than 10 years, you will receive equivalent value of my books for the balance amount.)

I do not know how rich you are, how much you can afford. You have two options : DM-100 for 10 issues in a year, or DM 1000 for life subscription. (Guaranteed by my books as stated above.) The Third option of doing nothing is of course there ! Ha ! Ha !

I am sending a bound volume covering the period Oct. 1995 (I brought out the first issue on Dr. Saheb's death anniversary, 12th Oct) to March 1996, including a double number for Jan-Feb as well as a Statistical Supplement.

I am very proud of the fact that I have made a significant statistical methodological contribution in the area of international comparisons. I based my comparisons on PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) data which the *London Economist* has followed. Secondly, I made the world totals and gave national proportionate shares, so that the comparison is made sharper. Thirdly, I made a historic series for 1960 and 1991. I have invited the *London Economist* to take the next two steps following *Mankind's* lead.

I will complete one year in September, '96 and will send you a bound volume for the second half of the year in late September.

Hector is an old friend and in fact we met first when he was a student in Wilson College in Bombay in 1942. Unfortunately, Sri Lanka, when it became free in 1948, withdrew the franchise from the Tamil

plantation workers, who had formed the proletarian electoral base of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party. This loss of working class base led to further fearful consequences, and ultimately to coalition politics which in turn led to LSSP's and Hector's degeneration. Hector also married a UNP millionairess who had the Coca Cola concession in Ceylon. Kusala, Hector's wife, died some years ago. She had contested one general election on the LSSP ticket, but that was during LSSP's dying years. The LSSP today has one member in Parliament, against the 40-odd that they had at one time. It's a long story.

I find that I am more isolated than ever before. I have remained a nationalist, a socialist, and a revolutionary. I have matured as a thinker and a writer, very slowly, until I could answer hundreds of questions, Earlier, I did not feel like giving short term, specialized, compartmentalized replies.

Now everything is alright. I am at peace with myself, and I have the answers to most of the questions. All I want to do is to find the time to write two or three books, plus an autobiography. I am in a hurry and I have no time for anything else. I have just not kept in touch with "the odd set."

Please come and stay with us when you are in Pune in November or later. I have a guest room with an attached toilet and you will be quite comfortable here.

It's cool in Pune in the evenings throughout the year (20° - 25° C) and humidity is low. It will be 15° at night in November (Deep in winter, sometime the minimum touches - 2° in Pune. But that is very rare.) It will be definitely warmer than Delhi winter, or the weather that we experienced in Rudra Prayag and Dev Prayag.

My wife Dr. Sharyu Mhatre-Purohit is also like me a Ph. D. in Sociology. Her thesis was on 'Social Change in 19th Century Maharashtra' whilst mine was on the 'Arts of Transitional India : 20th Century'. My work has been published but not hers as yet. We received our Ph.D's within a few months of each other, in the mid-1970s.

With warm personal regards from both of us and looking forward to meeting you soon.

Exe. Edr.

INDIA AND OLYMPICS 1996

Vinayak Purohit

I had intended originally to write a piece on the Sociology of Sports, centring on the Centennial Olympics held in Atlanta, USA, in July-August this year.

But though *Mankind* is a theoretical journal, I had to postpone the larger task to a future date, in order to accommodate my answer to the central question: Why is India genetically unqualified to achieve anything at all in the Olympic Games? Are its 900 million people destined to be a big zero forever in sports?

It is like asking a poor malnourished illiterate landless labourer in India: Why are you not living up to your human genetic potentialities?.... What can the poor man say?

Capitalism enforces poverty upon the mass of people and wastes away ninety percent of humanity's genetic potential! For the thinking and concerned Indian intellectuals, it should be obvious that CAPITALISM IS A GENETIC CALAMITY FOR HUMANITY!

Similarly, Comprador Capitalism in India, under the tutelage of the *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO, as defined by their Structural Adjustment Programme, denies to the Indian youth, the normal genetic capabilities that the average human the world over possesses.

We might attempt the wider question of the sociological trends that are exposed by the Olympic Games at some later date. Here we deal with the more urgent problem faced by India in the sporting field.

Let us face the question squarely: why does India have such a miserable record in the Olympics? No Indian has ever won an individual gold medal at the Olympics. Except for Norman Pritchard, the Calcutta Anglo-Indian, in 1900 at Paris, in the 200 metres sprint, when the Olympic games were in their infancy and when a lot of freak results were contrived by umpires and judges, no Indian has ever won even an individual silver medal at the Olympics. At the individual level, the best Indian performance has been a bronze in wrestling by Khashaba Jadhav in bantam-

weight free style division in 1952 at Helsinki, and a bronze in Tennis by Leander Paes, another Calcutta Anglo-Indian, just the other day at the Centennial Olympics at Atlanta.

The only other Indian victories have been in the team event of field hockey.

Hockey was originally a British speciality. Before 1928, hockey had been held only in London 1908 and Antwerp 1920. At the London 1908 Olympics, only 3 nations had participated. Great Britain was represented by 3 teams from England, Scotland and Wales, apart from a team from Ireland.

At the 1920 Antwerp games, Great Britain once again won. Hockey was a game promoted by the British Indian Army and India had a continuous winning streak from 1928 onwards to 1956. In 1960, at

COMPRADOR CAPITALISM ENFORCES POVERTY ON MASS OF PEOPLE

Capitalism enforces poverty upon the mass of people and wastes away ninety percent of humanity's genetic potential! For the thinking and concerned Indian intellectuals, it should be obvious that CAPITALISM IS A GENETIC CALAMITY FOR HUMANITY!

Similarly, Comprador Capitalism in India, under the tutelage of the *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO, as defined by their Structural Adjustment Programme, denies to the Indian youth, the normal genetic capabilities that the average human the world over possesses.

Rome, India lost to Pakistan and won back the gold, at Tokyo in 1964. But thereafter, it was nowhere in the picture except momentarily in 1980 at Moscow, a Games boycotted by the West and its stooges like Pakistan.

It must be noted that India's outstanding and isolated gold streak, provoked intense jealousy from the West. Over the years, the European members who dominated the Rules Committees, managed to change the complexion of the game. The Indian style of hockey favoured short passes, dribbling and field goals. The Europeans favoured long passes, astro-turf surface, a game of brawn and muscle, and of continuous technical infringements. In recent years, almost always the result is achieved through penalty corners. There

are hardly any field goals.

Anyway, even in the team events, India has been nowhere in hockey during the last several Olympics.

Further, in the Asian Games, and the SAARC Games, the same sharply declining trend can be seen. In the early years, India used to win many medals at the Asian Games. Today, it wins hardly any. Even in the highly restricted SAARC Games, confined to 7 nations of South Asia, the continuous erosion of former Indian glory is a noticeable feature.

There must be a reason for this outstanding negative performance. **After all, India is a nation of about 90 crores. How can such a huge chunk of humanity be so untalented, so as to fail to produce a single gold medalist?** Even the singular team gold medals that they held for many years mainly as an Anglo-Indian army legacy, was lost 28 years ago, at Mexico in 1968. (The boycotted 1980 Moscow Games do not count.)

There must be a sociological reason, or more than one reason, for the Indian debacle in sports!

First of all, let us note that this debacle and darkness are an overall feature of Indian culture. There is nothing

at which we Indians excel. In scientific research we haven't done anything notable since 1930, when C.V. Raman won the Nobel Physics (even that was for a relatively minor achievement, according to S. Chandrashekar, his nephew and half-Nobel laureate) The half and quarter Nobels won by S. Chandrashekar in 1983, and Hargobind Khurana in 1960 were won by US citizens of Indian origin, and cannot count as Indian triumphs.

The Peace Prize by Mother Teresa in 1979, is of no consequence.

The only other Nobel triumph, the Literature Nobel in 1913 by R Tagore, was of extremely dubious merit, since none of the awarding judges had read Tagore in the original! It was an outright manoeuvre by imperialist Britain to disorient the Swadeshi movement.

Be that as it may, in every field of Art, Science and Culture, we Indians have had nothing fresh, indigenous or original to contribute for roughly the last one hundred years.

The areas of classical Music and Dance may be considered exceptional, which we may go into on another

occasion. (For those who are curious, we may refer them to Vinayak Purohit, *The Arts of Transitional India : 20th Century; 2 Volumes; 1986-1988*)

The night seems to have descended upon India, in every field of human endeavour. The colonial period 1860-1947 was a total blank. But even the half-liberation achieved from 1947, under Comprador aegis, has been almost equally blighted.

Why should this be so ?

It is obvious that there is something fundamentally rotten and wrong with our socio-cultural leadership.

Human potential is, in its raw, native form, almost equal all over the world. There must be special constrictive factors operating in Indian society, which condemn Indians to a specially low record of human achievement.

Therefore, let us examine the list of unique features of Indian societal existence, which in their combination, seem to blight every aspect of our polity and culture.

Let us list these unique features :

1) The Adverse Female Ratio, which has been falling continuously, almost without remission, from 1901, when it stood at 972, to 1991, when it reached the abysmal level of 927. In no other large nation of the world, has this phenomenon occurred. (The parallel examples of Saudi Arabia or Nepal are totally irrelevant)

All over the world a contrary movement has been taking place. The number of female participants at Olympic games has grown by leaps and bounds, from nil in 1896, to over 1/3rd (34.4%) at the Centennial Olympics of 1996 in Atlanta. More than 3000 women athletes participated at Atlanta. The number of events in which women can compete have grown prodigiously. A host of new disciplines were added for women this year, like football, softball, the triple jump, the 5000 metres race, the 4 x 200 metres relay in swimming, and so on.

We are not claiming that equality has been established between men and women at the Olympics. Men still dominate and contend for 63 more gold medals than women. Women remain barred from Olympic wrestling, boxing, the pentathlon and weight-lifting. But, women have in the rest of the world surged forward very dramatically. And the trend continues. The Games of the year 2000 scheduled for Sydney, will have, inevitably more women's events than ever before.

However in India, if overall demographic trends are any indicator, things are moving in the reverse gear. At the level of Indian poverty, the slightest bias, in matters of nutrition, education and health-care, in favour of the boy-child, results in the selective killing of the girl-child. Maternal mortality is running in India at five

times the European level, and stands higher even in comparison with the level prevailing in our neighbouring South Asian countries.

There is something horribly wrong with the way Indian society treats Indian women. This is bound to have long-term and persistent socio-cultural impact.

2) The second deleterious and debilitating unique feature of our social set up is the Voluntary Army.

We have the largest voluntary army of over 2 millions in human history. The youth in India is forced, in general conditions of terrible job insecurity, to opt for a career of getting killed and killing.

This is a most disturbing, if not alarming feature of our political economy. The macabre truth is that the youth of our enormous country is impelled to join the armed forces in such huge numbers, simply because they have no other viable alternative.

We will not here go into the question of the horrible inequalities that prevail in our army. The jawans who are the sons of our landless labourers and marginal farmers, are treated as bonded personal slaves by the upper caste officers, who have so many personal servants, attached to each, that this feature itself becomes a point of attraction for them to join the army !

The youth in other countries find gainful employment in diverse occupations. There are job-training schools which provide them with technological assistance. There is Unemployment Insurance in most Western countries. Innumerable educational institutions in the OECD countries offer sports scholarships in universities to talented youth. The BBC and CNN have just shown video

clippings of a Beijing state-run School of Excellence, which trains 5000 young children to excel in sports, gymnastics, acrobatics, music, dance and dozens of other disciplines.

In contrast, we have hundreds of public schools and similar institutions which cater to the untalented rich brats. In medical colleges, engineering colleges, management institutes and other facilities for training professionals, scientists and technicians, the rich pay fabulous Capitation Fees and get their low-grade progeny admitted. The highest value is attached to bureaucratic status. Doctors and engineers after qualifying, join the IAS. There are stupendous and fast gains to be made by corrupt methods, in the administrative services.

The idealism of the youth is completely aborted. The aim of every young man is to join the rat race, and make money as quickly as possible. Those that fail to join the bureaucracy, either emigrate and become NRIs, or, failing all else, join the

INDIAN WOMEN AND OLYMPICS

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army and the police.

This is the real situation in the job market of which the symbol is the huge Indian Mercenary - Voluntary Army.

3) Another unique feature of our societal organization is the horrendous social discrimination pattern that prevails. Some observers prefer to call this, the Caste Factor.

It is not just a question of poverty, which, of course, is a crucial factor in any case. But, in addition to economic poverty, there is the added feature of the crudest form of social discrimination and oppression.

For instance, the proportion of population below the poverty line in rural India, in 1977-78 was 51.2%, and for the SC and ST in the same year, it was 64.6% and 72.4% respectively. (See *India - A Reference Annual 1991*; pp. 19 and 21)

That half the population in rural India should be living below the poverty line, as recently as in 1977-78, is one thing.

But, the further dimension is even more excruciating. In the same year, nearly two-thirds of those belonging to the Scheduled Castes were living below the poverty line! And nearly three-fourths of those belonging to the Scheduled Tribes!

This is not all! The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes form more or less one-quarter of the population of India. In addition, there are tens of millions of Other Backward Castes, who suffer from an almost equal degree of social discrimination. The insignificant minority of the *dwijas*, the so-called "twice-born", comprising of Brahmins, Kshatriyas-Rajputs and Vaishyas-Baniyas, probably not comprising anything more than 2 or 3% of the Hindu population, oppress and exploit these OBCs, as ruthlessly as the SCs and STs.

Indian society presents a terrible picture of social and economic inequality. Very nearly one-fifth of the population, (17.4%, to be exact) consists of non-Hindus, namely Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains etc. (*Ibid*, p 18). By a separate and slightly overlapping count, (for there are SCs amongst Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists too!), the SCs and STs number 15.8 and 7.8% respectively (totalling 23.6% precisely). All of them suffer from severe to average social discrimination, which means that they receive poor education, minimal health care, fewer job opportunities, poor housing, and so on.

Furthermore, there are the unjust and unfair social discriminations practised against the OBCs.

In such a horrendously non-egalitarian society, how can we expect that elan, that fervour, that cohesive social bonding, which alone can propel the individual or teams to strive for high levels of endeavour in any field, whether sports or otherwise?

I believe that, the Caste Factor, with its attendant evil configuration, is the leading factor that is responsible for our sporting and cultural debacle.

4) But there is yet another factor which destroys the creative urges of our people, specially our youth.

Only a set of lunatics, intent on committing national

***harakiri*, could have contrived the continuance of English as a national language of India, that is, the prestigious and primary language of education, administration, justice, culture and communication.**

India possesses the largest number of illiterates in the world, and the aim of imparting education to them in English is so stupid and self-defeating, apart from being unbearably expensive, that only an effete elite of compradors and criminally corrupt bureaucrats could have conceived of and implemented such a language policy.

As Mark Tully, resident representative of BBC in India for 20 years, has put it succinctly: "English unites only the elite in India."

Universal literacy is impossible in India, universal primary education is out of the question in India, genuine and creative scientific research and technological growth is ruled out in India, till English is banished and is replaced by a combination of Hindi and the regional mother tongue.

The language policy of the State directly and intimately affects the students and the youth of India. The creative urges of the young people in India are blighted, thwarted and aborted by the continuation of English as the national language of India. **Our exploited and oppressed masses, particularly their young progeny, are condemned forever to a diminished and dwarfed existence, as long as the bias in favour of English remains.**

Look at China! It has accepted Mandarin as the common national language,

and its young men and women are lifting gold medals and breaking world records!

Look at even the small countries of Europe, like Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland. There, the people conduct their business in their own respective national languages. There, education is imparted in their own national languages. There, scientific research is conducted in their own national languages, however small the areas and populations may be. Look at Japan and South Korea and Taiwan!

We see a direct link between language policy on the one hand, and cultural achievements on the other. And between English Retention and Sports Failures!!

5) Apart from the foregoing four major reasons for the contrast between Indian non-achievement and the achievements of other Third World countries, **there is a fifth reason: that of general neglect of education and health care in our country.**

All the UNDP reports of the 1990s, emphasize the low allocations, as percentage of GDP, by India, in favour of education and healthcare. This is a universally acknowledged fact, and we need not adduce elaborate statistics to show that many countries of the Third World are far ahead of us in matters of State support to education and health services.

Nevertheless, a repetition, in a brief table, of well-known data, may not be out of place:

IMPOSITION OF ENGLISH RETARDS CREATIVITY OF INDIAN YOUTH

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Comparative Allocations for Education and Healthcare

Public Expenditure On Health As A Percent Of		Name Of Country	Public Expenditure On Education As A Percent Of	
GNP 1960	GDP 1990		GNP 1980	GNP 1992
0.5	1.3	India	2.8	3.7
1.3	2.5	Argentina	2.7	3.1
2.6	2.0	Venezuela	4.4	5.3
2.0	3.4	Chile	4.6	2.9
1.2	5.4	Algeria	7.8	8.1
2.0	1.8	Sri Lanka	2.7	3.3
1.3	2.1	China	2.5	2.0
0.6	2.8	Brazil	3.6	4.6
1.1	1.7	Kenya	6.8	5.4
0.3	1.8	Pakistan	2.0	2.7
0.3	1.2	Nigeria	6.4	-
-	1.4	Bangladesh	1.5	2.3
0.2	2.2	Nepal	1.8	2.9
0.7	2.3	Ethiopia	3.3	5.1

For comparison, we may note the following ratios in advanced countries.

Total Expenditure On Health, Public, And Private, As Percent of GDP		Name Of Country	Public Expenditure On Education As
1960	1991		Percent Of GNP 1992
5.3	9.9	Canada	7.6
5.3	13.3	USA	5.3
3.0	6.8	Japan	4.7
4.3	7.1	France	5.7
3.9	6.6	UK	5.2
-	3.0	Russian Fed.	4.0

A further proof is provided by the outstanding national achievements of athletes like PT Usha, Shiny Abraham and others, all hailing from Kerala, which is a state that enjoys high female ratio, near-universal literacy and better than average healthcare facilities

6) Further, a sixth reason for our sorry sporting state may be adduced.

Corruption has reached such a stage, that malfeasance of public funds in our country is no longer a matter of ethics or morals. **Corruption has become an economic dead weight.**

Readers of *Mankind* are well aware of the horrendous dimension of corruption in our country. Hundreds and thousands of scams involving tens of thousands of crores of rupees, are almost a daily occurrence (See Table : *The Economics of Corruption*, in *Mankind*, Vol 1, Number 1, October 95, p. 44, for a sample. Since the publication of that table, many more gigantic scams have come to light !)

Corruption has reached ludicrous proportions in our sports bodies. The IXth Asian Games were utilised by Rajiv Gandhi, even before he became Prime Minister, to promote extreme forms of consumerism. The Asian Games Village is now being sold off to NRIs, according to a game plan conceived by Rajiv and his gang years ago. **Sporting facilities are put up all over the country, at the cost of our poor masses, which are never utilised for any sports events.** Take for instance the Jawahar Lal Nehru International Stadium, constructed at Kochi at the cost of Rs. 70 crores. Not a single sporting event has been held there. The only

"action" the stadium has seen are the gyrations of pop star Alisha Chinai, and the Kerala Film Awards Nite. (Exposes of sports corruption would themselves make up many volumes by now. One example may be cited : *Sports And Stadia*, in *The Week*, August 4, 1996)

It is an endless litany ! Police officers, Army brass, and Sports and Culture Ministers of states and the Centre, are the shameless culprits who, regularly swallow millions upon millions, year after year ! Every International Meet is an excuse for them to go on spending sprees and pleasure junkets, with their families, at the cost of the poor masses.

Several scores of Ph.D. theses may be easily written about the dirty deeds and coups perpetrated under the benign umbrella of the Sports Authority Of India.

How can any kind of sport thrive in this wretched "India that is Bharat" ? Is there an honest sportsman alive in this country, whose heart has not been torn apart at the sight of the devastation that has been going on for the last 50 years ?

7) To top it all, there is the hard-to-swallow fact of total absence of nationalism and patriotic feeling in our country.

The entire Liberalisation Programme of the government of India is anti-national, right from Nehru's days, when Elizabeth II was given a gala reception in 1961, as though she were a true goddess, whilst Jawahar frittered away our Sterling Balances, worth nearly \$ 5 billion, on third-rate British imports (See *Mankind*, Vol 1, No. 2, November 95 in the statistical section, *India's Place In The Sun* : 2, pp. 80-84). From the time that English was retained as our prestigious, prime national language, the nationalist spirit has been totally absent amongst our ruling classes. More specially, after Indira's return to power in 1980, and from which time, to boost her personal image abroad, she went on a spending spree of mind-boggling dimensions ! Indira rightly felt that her reputation had been tarnished by her Emergency Record of 1975-77. She attempted to whitewash her black deeds with a series of Festivals Of India Abroad, celebrated in a grand manner, each Festival costing millions of dollars, at the cost of the Indian poor.

With the adoption in mid-1991 by the Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh Government of the policy of "Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation", which itself is a euphemism for "Westernisation", a climax has been reached of Anti-Nationalism ! Everything Western is considered to be the Most Excellent !

I can provide a classical symbolic example from my personal experience. I was in jail with my old friend and architect Laxmi Bhandare during the 42 August Freedom Movement. I suddenly ran into him at the Samovar, the Jehangir Gallery Canteen, in Bombay one day, after a gap of several decades. Upon his warm invitation, I visited him in Goa, where he had settled down as a practising architect, after Goa's liberation in 1961. One evening, he gently chided his son in my presence : "This young man prefers tinned imported salmon, to fresh fish caught in the Goa waters. Can you believe it ?"

I was stunned ! An old-fashioned Congressman's own son preferred stale, unhealthy tinned stuff to something fresh and nourishing !

Such is the state of our comprador society ! The yuppies of our metros meet in clubs and at parties, where their sole occupation is to correct each other's English pronunciations, and grammar. They go on picnics, where they must have beer from cans, and they play endlessly *Antakshari*, singing the most vulgar and cheap masala movie songs in completely tuneless, discordant voices. To hear them cackling and guffawing, from even a great distance, is enough to send a shudder down one's spine !

What a society we have created ?

It passeth criticism !

It almost passeth comprehension !

To sum up, we believe that the following seven unique features of Indian society and political economy are entirely responsible for our miserable sporting record.

1) Adverse Female Ratio of 927 females per 1000 males in 1991.

2) The largest Voluntary-Mercenary Army in world history is the Indian Army.

3) Cruel and relentless oppression and exploitation of the lower castes (both SCs and OBCs), minority communities (specially the SCs amongst Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists), and the Scheduled Tribes, by the insignificant minority of *Dwijas* or upper castes forming at best 2 to 3% of the population. This social discrimination extends from birth

to death, and hurts the self-respect and sense of human dignity of the vast majority of our people.

This may be summarised as the Caste Factor.

4) The policy of continuance of English as the State-supported prestigious national language of India, which places the overwhelming majority of the people of India, at a disadvantage, and selectively thwarts the aspirations of the youth of the country.

5) General State neglect of Education and Health, which prevents the bulk of the population from realising its full potentiality.

6) The horrible dimension of utter corruption, not only in general, but particularly in the sphere of sports.

7) The total absence of the Nationalist spirit in our comprador society.

INDIA, CHINA, CONGRESSISM, AND COMMUNISM

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

The conflict between India and China must be viewed from the four angles of India's northern frontier in the Himalayas, comparative total strength of both the nations and their speed of growth, India's foreign policy and Tibet.

BHUTAN, SIKKIM & URVASIAM :

Let us take the northern border first, which includes Ladak, Bhutan, Urvasiam and Nepal. In spite of repeated warnings since 1950, the government of India has done nothing to harden this area. These people and the regions have been deliberately kept soft, as a standing invitation for foreign aggression. It is an essential part of our defence to strengthen and harden these people. Hardening does not mean mere arming them with weapons, but strengthening their morale, their way of thinking and their living conditions. But what the conditions of these people are in actuality - the Prime Minister told us recently after his visit to Bhutan and expressed his happiness and joy at what he saw. There were no roads, no schools, no newspapers and no industries in Bhutan! It seemed as if the words belonged to a man who had grown old and worn out in the vices of the world and sought asylum in a place which was free from modern complexities. Would a Prime Minister be ever happy to declare that his country's frontiers' people have no communication, no education, no enlightenment and living standards worth the name? How else does a country invite aggression from another?

About Urvasiam, the first thing that should strike our mind is that for twelve years, our government has not found a name for a big region of the country and calls it N.E.F.A., which is an abbreviation from the English "North Eastern Frontier Agency." And this is not a small area of a

few miles, as such casual naming may suggest; its area is around 35,000 sq. miles. The Indian equivalent would be Uttara Purva Simanta Anchal, which is not a phrase of any one language of India, but is Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese etc. at the same time. Such comprehensive nomenclature and what a beautiful name you can have by joining the first letters of the first, third and fourth words and the second syllable of the second word, URVASIAM, as if to signify the home of Urvasi, the mythical nymph. We don't come across Rambhas, Menakas and Tilottamas

THE PARAMETERS FOR VIEWING THE INDIA-CHINA CONFLICT

The conflict between India and China must be viewed from the four angles of India's northern frontier in the Himalayas, comparative total strength of both the nations and their speed of growth, India's foreign policy and Tibet.

in our day-to-day lives and it would be a really joyous invention to call an area by a famous beauty of our myths.

And until very recently, it was an offence in this Urvasiam to keep pictures of Gandhi, or any other leader, or of any gods and goddesses. It is unbelievable for those who are not informed about such things that for twelve years, in a part of independent India it was a crime to have Gandhiji's pictures. How could this happen? This area is under the direct administration of the centre and the latter has appointed Mr Verrier Elwin, an expadre, as advisor to the government on tribal affairs: I won't say much about it beyond that the government could not find anyone more suitable than a foreigner as its advisor on matters relating to the frontiers of India. Now the Prime Minister and Mr. Elwin have together arrived at a

principle of protecting the existing culture, manners and modes of living of these adivasis of Urvasiam - the Mismis, Dafflas, Ahoms and so many others - by completely separating them from the rest of the people of India. At Gir in Madhya Pradesh, similarly, some 400 to 500 square miles have been protected for the lions. Nobody can shoot animals there but one can go, if one wishes to, and see things there. But the tribal humanity is treated still differently from the Gir lions. They are put in a cage unobserved and untouched by the outside world, so that their colourful dresses, their bow and arrow, their dances and songs may continue unaffected. How ignorant and how dangerous! An area of more than 30,000 sq. miles is kept in cold storage, insulated from any further development, with its people eternally condemned to the primitive stages of life!

So that is how the government of India has treated Bhutan and Urvasiam, the two important chunks of India's northern frontier. About Sikkim I shall say this much that although it is under India's protection its people have not yet been given the right to elect their representatives to the Indian parliament, whereas the ruling group, which consists of a few people of the Raja's caste, has the privilege of nominating representatives to the Lok Sabha

numbering more than what is warranted by the population. A few people of Sikkim had met me sometime back with a proposal to start a popular struggle there. I am, however, not left with much courage any more for sponsoring such struggles. In this context I may relate what happened in Nepal ten years back.

NEPAL AND LADAK :

These four divisions of our northern frontier, viz. Ladak, Bhutan, Sikkim and Urvasiam, have been kept soft and vulnerable as a direct result of the government's policies. But Nepal, the fifth link, is not so vulnerable now as it was ten years ago, because a popular struggle had been launched there successfully and some sort of a democratic government has been already brought into existence. At that time, when a popular struggle in Nepal was launched, all such people who are considered to be responsible leaders of the country, were against it and held out the warning that Indians helping in this struggle would be responsible for spoiling the neighbourly relations between India and Nepal. Among them were all Congressmen, and Mr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, the present chief minister of West Bengal went

to the extent of making a public statement against the agitation. The present premier of Nepal, Mr. Vishweshwar Prasad Koirala, had met me after my arrest in Goa. Many others, in the form of delegation of young men and students, also had come to tell me that while I was trying to liberate Goa, I did not care how things went on in the state on our northern border. However, I advised Mr. Koirala to seek the help of Congress leaders since it was a big problem and my party was after all not so big. He informed that he had already been disappointed in those quarters and that is why he came to the Socialist Party. My next advice was that since he was in Bihar he should go and meet Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who also belonged to Bihar. After a few days, he again came back to tell me that nobody was prepared to take up the cause and I should any how come forward to help in the struggle against the Rana rule.

So I agreed and took up their cause and organised as much help as was possible on my part. While the struggle was on, a tirade of ridicule and disapproval was let loose against us from the Indian press and public platforms, accusing us of harming the India-Nepal relationship. Not that these people and Congressmen did not wish to strengthen the border but viewpoints differed. These people were of the view that the northern border could be well protected if India remained on friendly terms with whatever government there was in Nepal, while according to the other view, Nepal would have remained vulnerable if the Rana rule continued and so the proper thing was to awaken the masses and establish a people's rule in place of the old style feudalism.

The struggle went on for about four years and these two views stood in relief all this time. Ultimately Ranashahi was brought down and the Nepali congress, for that was the organisation through which the agitation had been carried on, is now ruling that country. Now where are the Prime Minister and others? On which side are they? Some people believe that I can start a thing, up to a point advance it, but fail in the end. I shall not indulge in its verification. The truth is deeper than that. A poor man seeks the help of a poor man, but when attains his own riches he finds it suitable to leave the old companion and goes over to the rich, trying meticulously all the time to avoid unpleasant reminders of the past humble comradeship.

And this becomes necessary to a certain extent. Direct relations between those who sit in the throne of Kathmandu and those sitting in Delhi are inevitable. Whether it was in respect of Nepal or independence or world peace, people like me should have the satisfaction of doing their own duty. It is not to be worried about if such things do not afterwards further our own interests. In any case one work got done. The people of Nepal have succeeded, however partially, in establishing their control over Nepal and it is not so easy now for a foreign aggressor to tempt the people in Nepal as in the case of Bhutan, Sikkim, Urvasiam or Ladak.

As for Ladak, it seems that Chinese incursions into this territory have been a systematic and planned thing for the last two or three years. A road was built there and occupation took place. What was the Indian government doing when all these were happening? The Prime Minister was cunning enough to admit the lesser guilt and thereby cover up the greater one. He told the parliament that it was a mistake not to have informed the parliament and the people about it. People thought the Prime Minister was honest enough to confess a guilt and forgot the greater evil. The

greater evil was that the government had done nothing about it; it had taken no action to strengthen the northern border of India.

For the last ten to twelve years, the Himalayan borders were kept weak and I should say knowingly. A great misconception was that the Himalayas were too big and impenetrable to need protection and a second, that friendship between India and China was too old to take an evil turn. There was a tendency to deprecate any attempt to awaken this apparently dormant border. But the border was not asleep. It was wide awake. It was awake even in history. People came and went through it. Nine years ago, a Himalayan Policy had been formulated at non-governmental levels with a view to strengthening the people of the borders mentally, politically and economically. Some work, too, had been started in this direction, for, apart from the armed aspect of defending borders, there is also the other important aspect, to keep the people of the borders alive and kicking which should never be lost sight of. In spite of all these warnings the government did not open its eyes.

The government has indulged in mean excuses, such as calling the occupied land hilly and barren. No Indian ought to have uttered such words about his own country. It is like calling the fingers of one's mother, useless projections or her nose a blot. Generally such things are not said. But it reveals how weak and unthinking the government's outlook on the border problem has been.

MODERNISATION - TWO WAYS :

Now let us look at the problem from the angle of the comparative internal strength of the two countries, India and China. I am not an apologist for China, nor do I approve of its communism. But I cannot close my eyes to facts. I recognise the facts of Chinese growth without the least liking for China's communism. China is today producing steel to the tune of one crore tons annually whereas

India's output is 25 lakh tons. Coal output in China is 35 crore tons as against 5 to 6 crores of India. In agriculture, India's 5 to 6 crore tons is over-matched by China's 20 crore tons. The population of China is only one and a half times more than that of India, but probably less.

Some differences in production would have been inevitable had India taken to pure Gandhism and China pure Marxism. India could have increased her steel production by 6 or 7 lakh tons annually, through the mobilisation of the lakhs of indigenous blacksmiths who are spread all over India. But India was so much drunk with the imitation of Russia and America that it could not see anything beyond establishing a few big plants like Durgapur, Rourekela and Bhilai. China, on the other hand, set upon increasing steel output by using also the thousands of village backyard furnaces.

Modernisation has two aspects; modernisation of production and that of consumption. Even in case of production there should arise the question as to what sort of machinery should be adopted in developing a poor and underdeveloped economy, in what special ways should science be applied to industry. This problem will arise when a good government comes to rule in India. But here I shall concern myself with the modernisation of consumption, which has been suppressed in China. Whereas India goes on wasting the much needed money of a poor country on modernising consumption. We have to build up factories and we need capital,

INDIAN RULERS' MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE HIMALAYAN BORDER

For the last ten to twelve years, the Himalayan borders were kept weak and I should say knowingly. A great misconception was that the Himalayas were too big and impenetrable to need protection and a second, that friendship between India and China was too old to take an evil turn.

but how can we have it for production purposes when so much is spent on luxuries? Nearly a half or more of the money set by for plan expenditure in India is used for modernising consumption in the construction of luxurious mansions, luxurious airports, luxurious trains and so on. The expenses of our big men are really astounding. There is a great and striking difference between the standard of living of our administrators and that of Mao tse-Tung, Chou en-Lai or Ho Chi Minh. The last mentioned is perhaps the best example in this respect. He is so plainly dressed like an ordinary man of Indochina that it would be difficult to take him for anybody else if one meets him on the road without any previous acquaintance with his face. In China it is the same and I think in Russia, too, during the first 30 or forty years of revolution there was not much difference between the people's dress and the rulers' dress. India is different. The ruling class fastidiously maintains a different apparel. Whether it is the western tie with coat or the ancient churidar, there is that resort to a visible difference which would immediately brand a man as belonging to the ruling groups. In the last twelve years of freedom there has been a deliberate effort in establishing this level of distinction.

There is still another important factor which separates the people from the rulers in India. The rulers of China, Indo-China, and Russia of the revolution period did not think that the public use of a foreign language was necessary for the country's progress. They did not think that their languages were too poor to cope with the modern needs.

A chief reason why China's pace of development was greater than India's was this narrowing down of the differences between the rulers and the ruled in their language, dress and ways of living, whereas in India, the estrangement has been ever on the increase.

Take science for another instance and what do we find? India went on building imposing architectures for housing the laboratories, and there must be by now 15 or 20 such buildings dedicated to science, so that a visitor from outside gets the impression that India is making great leaps forward in science. In China, or Europe, considering the earlier stages of scientific development, the first thing has been to discover the scientist, to find him out and nourish his work. In India, the building comes first, then equipment and, last of all, the student. In China or for that matter in a true process of development, the order is just reversed. Everything in India has been made to stand on its head for the last twelve years.

FOREIGN POLICY :

Passing on to the third angle of foreign policy, I am reminded of an apt and pithy headline I came across in a recent issue of the weekly *Chaukhambha* : "The Bhakra and the Panchasheel have been washed away simultaneously." The internal temple, for that is how Bhakra is regarded in relation to the internal policies of the government, and the external temple, Panchsheel, have been swept off together. All the evils and weaknesses are being exposed in a synthetic, symbolic manner. What is Panchsheel uptill now but a hollow phrase, whose utterance gives some sentimental satisfaction to the people and the government? And whenever a foreign dignitary came and mouthed these phrases once or twice in his statements the people and the government used to think that their policy had been successful and accepted by the world!

Nothing concrete has been achieved in the last ten or twelve years in the field of foreign policy. Of course, the Indonesia affair

is a different matter and we may be able to find one or two such other examples. That is all. Otherwise the history of our foreign policy is a history of mere words, attractive words. And the people were caught in the net of words. Now the situation is changing and the people are able to grasp the situation. Whether it is the Goa problem or Kashmir or the question of northern borders, the foreign policy has turned into a fiasco everywhere. Ordinarily people realise the gravity of a problem only when it hits them with all its force. They should have read the writing on the wall — they should have known that a government which cannot utilise the internal strength of the country for economic growth, which is responsible for weak and harmful industrial policies, can never formulate a strong and positive foreign policy. The Indian government says with pride that its foreign policy is independent of both the Atlantic and Soviet camps. But like a cunning grocer, the Indian government has indulged in playing tricks with the scales to deceive the customer. It is another matter that those who have been watching this performance have been so foolish as not to find out this trickery. From 1952 to 57, the foreign policy of the Indian government was pro-Russian and now it seems to be leaning towards the Atlantic camp. If, as it professes, the Indian government had considered every problem on its merits, and supported, let us say, Russia on the Kenya problem and America on the Hungarian problem then, of course, it would have been

understandable. But the truth is that it has been leaning towards the American and Russian camps for three or four years alternatively. It seems that the camp which gives more gets greater support. It is also possible that when the internal agents of a particular camp become stronger or weaker, policy changes in external affairs are made accordingly. Perhaps the government now believes that the

agents of the Russian camp, the communists, have been domesticated and cannot create much trouble for the time being.

The Lebanon affair is a case in point. When the American forces landed in the Lebanon it seemed as if the third world war might break out. Though there were various hitches, the situation was pretty serious. At that time, there were talks of a summit conference and the Russian government suggested that India might be invited to this conference. The Indian government's mouth watered at this suggestion and the prime minister said that they would certainly not shirk their responsibility but they would not go to the conference if only one side invited them : both the camps should extend the invitation. How absurd! How can the Indian government, even if it wants to, take part in the summit meet, if only one side invites it? It is obvious from this incident that the chief aim of the Indian foreign policy is to provide some important position to the rulers or the ruler of India. Somehow they must acquire a name, fame and a place in history. Now that the expected invitation from the other side hasn't come, it is possible that they have been hurt and learnt a lesson that such low trickery is not sufficient for getting recognition from both sides.

Something about the summit conference, because it may materialise, now that Mr Eisenhower and Mr Krushchev, leaders of the two most powerful nations, have already met. I shall be glad if some accord between Russia and America results from such a conference. For the cunning and beggarly politicians of the whole world will find themselves unemployed; they will be forced to stand on their own legs. This is necessary for the physical and spiritual well-being of the world.

THE GAP BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE RULED IN INDIA

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TIBET :

When Tibet was first invaded about 10 years back by the Chinese army, what exactly were the opposition parties and the government doing? Both the government and the opposition parties have been sources of confusion with regard to foreign policy. Today some gentlemen are being very sympathetic to the Tibetan cause and the Dalai Lama. It seems as if neither Bhoodan nor Gramdan but Tibet-daan is the most important question of Indian policies today. When the Chinese monster grabbed Tibet ten years ago no one said a word about it; but now when the monster wants to devour its prey there is a lot of breast beating. Both the government and the people of India by their inaction and passivity did a great harm to Tibet, the world and our own country. At that time also a few people like me had said that a monster was killing a baby. And some people had remarked that I wanted to create bad blood between India and China. Indian foreign policy specialises in sugary words such as *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai*, *Hindi-Rusi bhai bhai* and now we may have occasion to hear *Hindi-Amriki bhai bhai*. And if the British queen Elizabeth comes to India, then our sugar-coating industry will reach its high water-mark. Indians and Englishmen have always been brothers and if the brotherly climate is not enough, a sisterly climate may also be created! This kind of false sentimentalism has been the curse of Indian foreign policy.

Not only the India government which has never considered any problem seriously and sincerely but the educated people of India have also failed in their duty. They dubbed men like me who dare to speak the truth as hot-headed and rash, and those who always hide the truth were showered with praise. Now everyone knows in what harm all this has resulted. Tibet should be free as it has always been. I would like to tell those who swear by history that at one time Tibet had ruled China. Then why don't they make China a part of Tibet? These people talk of treaties and documents but forget the abiding factors of history.

Talking of treaties, I agree with the Chinese that the MacMahon line is imperialistic. The name itself proves it. Of course, my interpretation is different from theirs. The correct name of the highest peak in the world is Sarga Matha. I have not invented this name. The people of Nepal call Mr. Everest by this name. So the old name, the original and the real name has been supplanted by a name given by foreigners, and the educated people of our country follow it. Yet, it would be foolish to say that as the name is Mt. Everest there is therefore no such peak. The reality is that we, the brown, black and yellow people, were enslaved and the English or European names became common. MacMahon line is an imperialistic name but the land across it is not imperialistic. Though I would accept it as a correct demarcation between India and Tibet it has to be changed when Tibet becomes part of China.

Tibet should be free. And if the question of closer relations is raised western Tibet including Mansarovar is closer to India than to China from all points of view. From historical and cultural points of view Tibet is definitely closer to India than China. Their script, language, religion, way of life all these go to prove that there has been a larger measure of Indian influence on Tibet than the Chinese influence. Perhaps, even when it is true, one should

not talk of 'influence'; it would be better to say 'exchange of ideas' between two countries than talk of the influence of one over the other. The word 'influence' in this context assumes an imperialistic tone, it creates misunderstanding and mars friendly relations. Here I would like to point out that just as in the case of Nepalese struggle against the Ranas, so also with regard to the Tibetan problem political leaders and political parties of India have taken a wavering stand. I recognise the religious authority of Lamaism apart from my personal like or dislike. Some may want that like all organised religions, Lamaism should also go. That is for the Tibetan people to decide. But the political and economic powers of Lamaism must go. The Lamas possessed large tracts of land in Tibet as also political authority. Sympathy for Tibet does not necessarily mean sympathy for the Dalai Lama and sympathy to the Dalai Lama does not mean that we should accept everything that he says. No doubt the Dalai Lama today has become a symbol of Tibet's struggle for freedom, its sufferings and endurance. It must be clearly understood that a positive foreign policy can be built only when our friends and neighbours are made strong. It is quite obvious that 40 lac Tibetans rotting under the political authority and economic privileges of the Lamas can never become a strong nation. Had there been agitations against the Lamas 15 to 20 years back, something good could have been achieved.

Considering the Indo-Chinese conflict from all angles one is startled to find that India's borders are extremely weak. Even its heart Delhi and its surrounding areas are weak. And the

INDIAN RULERS' ATTITUDE TO CHINESE TAKEOVER OF TIBET

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government asks us what should be done. It is a very strange manner of putting things. First it follows a weak and harmful policy and when the hammer falls on the head the people are asked to supply the solution. When America started giving military help to Pakistan the people were instigated to organise demonstrations against America. Now the people are being instigated and encouraged to demonstrate against the Chinese to join armed forces etc. A man like me, a common citizen, can only ask this government to take back the territory the Chinese have captured by whatever means it thinks fit -

through her Panchsheel diplomacy, with Shri Krushchev's help or by any other method. The Indian government should take whatever steps are necessary in this direction, with determination and strength. Some people demand that military action should be taken. The Indian government, which does not want to do anything, says that it is not a civilised approach to a problem. And so in this way a false controversy is started. We are not concerned with all that we demand our areas should be taken back!

Now I am not one of those who talk about shedding their last drop of blood. I sometimes wonder at these gentlemen that though they have been talking in this manner for the last two or three months they still seem to be hale and hearty, though by now all their blood should have been completely drained away. Even Gandhians, old and new, are talking in this vein. They have started flourishing their unsheathed swords in the air. I don't like armed forces, in India or elsewhere. It would be better if violent actions and armaments are given up completely. If the world wants to make any progress; it will have to give up armed forces. But when there is an army it should be properly administered and used.

Neither of these things is being done in India.

Our armed forces are not being properly administered to day. As usual the government lied when it said that there are no group, political or caste considerations in the matter of promotions. A number of officers have resigned. In the last eight months two officers have resigned. For the present I shall give out the name of one officer - Shri Jai Singh Apji. If there is an occasion I will reveal the other name also. The Thimayya-Menon episode is a part of this bungling in the administration of our armed forces. Different newspapers have interpreted it in different manners to suit their own interests. There are demands that if Mr. Menon is guilty; he should be removed, and if Gen. Thimayya is guilty he should be sacked immediately. But no one talks about the man he appointed them. After all what exactly is the difference between Mr. Thimayya and Mr. Krishna Menon? One is a man of the British Right while other is a man of the British Left. That is, if Mr. Thimayya has been brought up by the British right-wing politicians, Mr. Menon has been brought up by the left-wing politicians of Britain. Yet if ever I have to choose between Mr. Thimayya and Mr. Krishna Menon I will choose the former. After all, his profession is such that he will prove to be a man of devotion and loyalty. It is there in the military profession as such. Therefore if I were ever forced to choose between the two, provided both are civilians and not that one is a civilian and the other a military man, and to choose whom I would believe Mr. Thimayya more than Mr. Menon.

The problem is not civilian versus military, nor one of temperamental differences as given out. The real problem is ignored, the problem of mal-administration in the army, of group politics. Maybe even Mr. Thimayya is part of the group-politics. Those people who today are engaged in issuing certificates of good character have pushed the problem of maladministration in the army to the background.

Coming back to the border problem, I won't talk about military action, nor about the last drop of blood, nor do I want to say that I shall support the government. I am not the sort of man to say that I shall support whatever action this government takes to defend the integrity of India. It is a meaningless and foolish language. How can I support a government which has kept the borders in a state of confusion and weakness, tried to sugar-coat the Tibetan tragedy, followed a wrong policy in regard to the agrarian and industrial problems and which in its foreign policy puts consideration of the prestige of a few persons above the considerations of benefit to the country and humanity? Our only demand is that our areas should be taken back without much delay. And we shall certainly fulfil our duty in a crisis like this. We shall try our best to keep up the morale of the people and keep alive the love of the country in their hearts. And whatever difficulties we may have to go through, we shall not flinch from our duty and will try to imbibe our people with the same spirit.

TRAITORS AND PATRIOTS

There are the questions of patriotism and treachery. These questions arise because there is in our midst a party which gives some hope to the Chinese and Russians, the Communist Party. What is betrayal of the country? This word should be properly understood. Not that I am going to prove that communists are not traitors. Yet it would be better to understand the nature of their treachery so that in a time of crisis we may not be caught napping. Bibhishan was also a traitor but he betrayed his country for the great cause of truth and justice. In the same way, if there are certain people who are prepared to betray their country because according to them communism will bring about a just and good government, then at least the people of India should be able to understand it in the traditional background. There have always

been and there shall always be people who are ready to 'betray' their country for the sake of truth and justice, according to their own conceptions of justice and truth.

Should only those who support the enemy be called traitors? What about those who have been the cause of the country's weakness at a time of crisis, who have continually kept the borders in a state of weakness? A mistake or two can be forgiven. But when absolutely nothing is done about the problems of language, price, agriculture and industrial growth, then it becomes a serious matter.

The Socialist Party has always launched agitations in these directions. But the parties like the Praja Socialist Party have always launched agitations which instead of strengthening the country weaken it. They are the people who swim with the current whether it is the current of Tibet or of Samyukta Maharashtra. Sometimes I too lose hope about the socialist movement; yet it should always be remembered that the Indian Socialists are engaged in the task of finding out and strengthening new and positive paths in politics. Today Sri S. M. Joshi talks about pushing out communists from the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, because, he says, they are traitors. Didn't Shri Joshi see their treachery in 1942? What about Hungary and Tibet? But Shri Joshi perhaps thinks that anybody who can be helpful in winning the elections is good enough only so long as he is useful. A P.S.P. leader told me, without being asked, that they formed the front with the communists simply because their very existence was at stake. It is obvious now that a party like the PSP cannot exist without MLAs and MPs, specially when it is a question of competition with us. If our party wins more seats then naturally the PSP will die. So for the PSP the supreme problem is to exist, to exist at all costs. I told him that when it is a question of principles and life, it is better to perish than sacrifice principles; your death will not go in vain, it will produce new growth.

I shall not for a moment be surprised to find the self-same persons, who are raising a hue and cry that the communists are traitors, entering into electoral alliances with the Communist Party in 1962 as they did in 1957, in their anxiety to reap a good electoral harvest. And then a thousand and one reasons of democracy will be found out. Therefore, we must have the entire picture before our eyes while examining the word 'treason' in all its implications. It is clear from the foregoing that I do not hold communists as patriots. But I have seen so many varieties of treason in the last 15-20 years that I should be on my guard. Ten or fifteen years from now, I thought communists alone were traitors. I was angry with them, even from within the heart; anger of the mind is, of course, always there. Now I have found out that the self-styled patriots are also traitors. May be on account of their follies, or selfishness, or the so-called duty to save one's life in peril, or on account of the fact that they use the office for self-glorification and not for changing the world for the better. Under the circumstances of all-round betrayal one must be on one's guard while branding any one party or group as traitors.

Now I may relate a recent conversation which I had with a communist. In days gone by he was with us. He is a labourer and has some regard for me. When he met me this time we had an open-hearted talk for about three hours. In the beginning he had thought that there would be greater comradeship among communists. But he found that it was not even that much as there was in his old party. Asked if he felt alienated, he said, no; now he has settled down. Initially he felt rather upset. But now he has calmed himself. He is there and shall remain there. He made this much clear to me at the outset. Then he said communist leaders committed a grave error. They issued statements which showed as if they were not patriots. A clamour arose within the Communist Party and men like him raised voices of dissent. Now some of the

communist leaders were talking all right. For they also say that they will defend the country and her frontiers if there is an aggression.

When we took up issues one by one he laughed, bringing arguments to an abrupt end. "It is all a manner of speech," he said. "Who sheds blood and who does not? Had the communist leaders adopted this manner of speech from the outset, we need not have faced many troubles."

Finally I asked him what he meant when he said that they would defend India. "Can you really fight for India against China?" He said: "Why not? We must have the country's freedom intact." "Don't be in a hurry," I pleaded. "Talk patiently. Tell me if you consider what China has done now aggression or not?" "I don't." "In case Chinese armies march on the Delhi roads to liberate you, will you consider it to be an aggression or not?" "It cannot happen. It is well-nigh impossible. India will turn communist only when the masses of their own will put communists into power. Hence the question does not arise."

"What happened in Kerala? Was not democracy butchered there?"

"Yes, it was."

"If any force could save democracy there, would you not have welcomed it."

"By all means we would."

"Just exercise your mind a bit more. Suppose Kerala has moved to the north and is Himachal Pradesh, and communists rule there. Delhi government puts an end to the communist rule and democracy is butchered. And then neighbouring China opposes the Delhi government to save democracy. What will you do then?"

"Then it is a different matter."

I have seen many a treason in my life. And I am intensely angry with treason. And I want to save my country from treason, but from the real traitors. I do not mind talking a word or two with love and affection with such peasants and workers who are rather innocent people. Those who are continually weakening the country on account of *apad dharma*, the duty of saving one's existence at any cost, or for self-glorification are the more serious traitors.

How do the communists continue to remain strong in spite of the evil they are? It is erroneous to think that we can do our duty and also dispose off the communists by calling them 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists'. Communists have been disposed of in this fashion twenty times in the past. They have committed a thousand and one sins and yet are gaining strength or maintaining whatever strength they have. They put an end to the civil liberties in Russia and yet did not lose strength. They slaughtered thousands in the Hungarian revolution and yet did not lose strength. They occupied Tibet forcibly and yet did not lose strength, national or international. They aligned with British imperialism in India in 1942 and sabotaged India's freedom struggle; and yet they did not lose strength. What is the reason behind this stubbornness of their growth? Beware of such Indian leaders as believe that they have finished the communists with such abusive phrases as 'traitors' and 'fifth columnists'. What sort of traitors are these who continually go on increasing their might!

I may point out here two such reasons. One is their internationalism, their sputniks and luniks. When a Hungary is enacted and people's minds get ruffled, even members of the Communist Party become shaky, there comes the sputnik and starts revolving round the earth or dashing towards the sun or the moon. And the ruffled minds settle down again. They say to themselves: No matter what sins are there, after all our sect is a mighty one and can alone deliver the goods to mankind! Try to understand the mind of the communist, and also the man who

changes his mind at the sight of the communist might. A man like me has never learnt to do so. Sputnik or no sputnik, my mind about Russia and China and communism will remain the same. In the same manner I have said many a time that howsoever wealthy America may be, my opinions about capitalism will remain the same. But the great majority of the people in India or elsewhere, look at the sputnik, its radiance and might, and change their minds.

There is yet another reason. When exploitation and tyranny are rampant and good men do not resist injustice by good means, bad men will win over mass support by their evil means. In the last 12 years tyranny has prevailed in respect of prices of food grains and inequalities of income and the insecurity of the common man is growing day by day. If the right type of parties do not come out to fight these tyrannies non-violently and do not help the masses against the government and their bosses, Communists will certainly win over the masses through their vile methods of resisting exploitation. This is rather simple.

If we keep in mind these two factors, it is easy to realise that communists cannot be done away with in India or elsewhere by simply calling them traitors.

COMMUNISM VS. CONGRESSISM :

Recently the communists enacted a big agitation in Bengal. Big in the sense that many a life was lost; some 60-70 persons were killed. The communists agitations in India at the present are to a certain extent similar to those in pre-de Gaulle France. They indulge in bloody violence and disorder for three or four days in a year and let the government alone for the rest of the year. All this goes on as if there were an understanding between the two.

What type of agitation was this? I have come across only two types of propaganda about it. The communists and communist-supporters call it a mass upsurge. Whereas the anticommunists point towards the cruelty and savagery of the communists and the loot, arson and murder and damage done to the country by them.

The food agitation deserves a closer study than all this. It has, of course, revealed the unmitigated evil on which the Congress administration and the Communist party are alike built. But to say this is not enough, for there is no alternative to them at present.

I may relate here a few incidents. On the 1st September police inflicted savage injuries on the demonstrators, numbering around 40,000. Some say nearly 500, yet others say around 1,000, persons were beaten by police lathis resulting in serious injuries to the bones of the arm, back or leg. While thinking of Communist cruelty we should not forget the Congress cruelty which preceded it, otherwise our judgement about the whole affair is liable to go wrong.

I have been saying all these years that Communist maggots grow on the Congress dunghills. You cannot wipe out the Communist maggots alone, unless you also simultaneously sweep out the Congress dunghills.

The essential background to the food movement goes far beyond the existing political parties in the state, for it is on the one hand a matter of history and on the other a question of certain inherent social and economic tensions. Everybody knows that if Bihar and Uttar Pradesh exhibited crowd bravery during the struggle against British rule, Bengal was notable for individual bravery. There were occasional exceptions to this, as for instance the Midnapore masses, but by and large it was the terrorist in Bengal which produced unexcelled individual bravery. Such individual bravery is not an unmixed good, particularly when its inheritors are a party like the Communists.

By a curious twist of fate, the bulk of living terrorists as also

their tradition were swallowed up by the Communist Party. The communist vilification of Netaji Bose should have prevented this development. But the fact that no other political party accepted the creed of violence in its basic theory or practised it effectively as the Communists did on however few occasions, decided the issue. Unless the theory and practice of civil disobedience are able to produce such acts of individual bravery as would link them up with the terroristic politics against the British rule, there can be no hope of dissociating that great tradition from communism.

The other feature of the situation which is perhaps obvious in so far as communism in West Bengal is concerned, is to a certain extent anti-Marwarism. One half of industrial and trade wealth is owned by the rich Marwaris, who because of their language, dress and other styles of living are not a part of the mass of the people and therefore become targets of attack, and the Communist Party of India is able to swallow and make use of the mass emotion against them. But the actual expression of this mass emotion is despicable in the extreme. It vents itself against the poor man from the Hindi speaking areas and also the poor Marwari, for the rich man makes use of his powers and he is also otherwise protected. An eminent geographer once described Calcutta as the city "par excellence" in all the world where money is respected most and men least - among these men are particularly Biharis, the Eastern Uttar Pradeshis, Oriyas, Telugus and now the East Bengal refugees. The bulk of these men draw to themselves the emotion of hatred which is originally generated against the rich Marwaris. The result is most disastrous. It has destroyed the universalist character of what is generally known as the cosmopolitan character of this city, India's largest and most consequential. It has also given to economic movements of progress, a curiously reactionary twist. Instead of generating opposition to the Marwari capitalist as also the Bengali capitalist and landlord, Communist and such like movements are splitting up the ranks of the mass of the poor.

I do not know how far the people of West Bengal have been able to see the curious kind of cowardice that is inherent in Communism. Between the 1st and the 4th of September Communist leadership fled from the field of action, while many bloody acts were taking place. The Communists might try to assert that they were in jail, which would be a lie considering the very large numbers of them who were out.

A rumour is afloat that Communist leader Shri Jyoti Basu was "absconding" in Mr Bidhan Chandra Roy's place and was comfortable there. Maybe it is not true. But I shall not be surprised if it were true. For Mr. Bidhan Roy has a niece called Sri Renu Chakravarti, who is a Communist. If she has a room in her uncle's home what is there to wonder about? And if she keeps her leader in that apartment, what can the poor uncle do about it?

I may also add to the foregoing that after all India's political parties are of the same stock - the middle class. The fight among them is like the quarrel between partners of the same family.

The Communist leaders were not to be found anywhere in the field between September 1 and 4. In the violent battle the general is always in the rear; in the battle of satyagraha the general

is ever in the front. If a believer in satyagraha is accused of flying from the battlefield he will feel hurt and may subsequently correct himself. But for one who believes in violence in his heart it is the rule!

The theory and practice of constitutionalism cannot save Bengal nor India from communism. In a situation as the present, its first attempt will be to finish the Communists by calling them traitors and ruffians. But since they cannot be finished that way the false fears of impending communist rule will be raised, along with frantic appeals to strengthen the Congress. I may categorically state here that if Congressmen like Mr. Nehru continue in office and the internal and external weaknesses continue, Communist rule would be established in India. Such parties as the Congress and the PSP are destined to fail.

The only way to check Communist rule lies in awakening the masses for putting an end to the Congress rule as early as possible. Those who have lost faith in people's strength and who

do not want to have people's movements and those who want to solve the country's problems by words alone, have only one way. They find Communists gaining strength, and side with the Congress to save themselves.

What might save the situation is not a party of extreme constitutionalism but peaceful action. Nothing large-scale is immediately possible in states like West Bengal. What should be done is to build up pools of sanity, incessant person to person conservation as well as public meetings on the basis of cutting away from the evils of Congressism and Communism and at the same time agitations wherever possible and civil disobedience wherever

ANTI-MARWARISM OF CPI IN WEST BENGAL DEGENERATES INTO A CHAUVINIST ATTACK ON ALL HINDI SPEAKING PEOPLE

The other feature of the situation which is perhaps obvious in so far as communism in West Bengal is concerned, is to a certain extent anti-Marwarism. One half of industrial and trade wealth is owned by the rich Marwaris, who because of their language, dress and other styles of living are not a part of the mass of the people and therefore become targets of attack, and the Communist Party of India is able to swallow and make use of the mass emotion against them. But the actual expression of this mass emotion is despicable in the extreme. It vents itself against the poor man from the Hindi speaking areas and also the poor Marwari, for the rich man makes use of his powers and he is also otherwise protected.

necessary against governmental policies of food, caste, language and the like.

Today the conflict is between 60 crore Chinese on the one hand and 40-50 lakh Indians on the other. Unless India's women, backward castes, workers, peasants, shop-keepers and minority Muslims and Christians are raised, how can they ever be prepared to defend the country? Strengthening the country should mean this in concrete terms - the uplifting of the 39 crores who from the depressed and backward classes of India.

Those who tax their mind quite a while on the question of India and China come to the same conclusion in all sorts of round about ways: Increase the country's strength and might. Then alone China's challenge can be met. When China does nothing to the British and Portuguese enclaves of Hongkong and Macao, but intrudes in Ladakh and Logju and interferes in Indonesia with regard to the settlement of the overseas Chinese question, she is acting in the traditional styles of power politics, which is to engage in combat with the weaker rather than the stronger foe. When the India government does nothing in Goa, is somewhat on a par with Pakistan and practises its guns in the bloody massacres of Kharswan or the Naga hills, it is prudently choosing its own people as the target least likely to retaliate with effect. Panchsheel or peaceful co-existence to the strong and the gun against the weak is the policy alike of India and China. Till the country gains strength the India government's policy is only a policy of impotent Kautilyism. For Kautilyism goes with strength and not weakness.

THE BOMBAY INCIDENT :

Let me also refer to the Bombay incident. Letters were exchanged between governments of India and China on this affair wherein reference was made of the Socialist Party. I do not like to deal with it at any length. For the prime minister has apologised for what he wrote to China about the Socialist Party. When a person apologises, in whichever way, one should accept it. It is true that had the prime minister tendered his apology stating reasons for the same, he would have done good to himself and the country at large.

In a demonstration in Bombay, a few socialists threw some tomatoes and eggs on Mr Mao tse-Tung's portrait. This antagonised the Chinese government. They wrote that it was a "huge insult" and the Chinese can never forget the incident, not in a hundred years. Maybe it is Chinese

way of writing. They used very harsh words. The India government in its reply said that this was an act of the Socialist Party, which is a small group and which has split away from the bigger socialist party called the Praja Socialist Party. There is nothing to be surprised at the statement. It is natural for the elder brother to praise the younger one and if the prime minister encourages the PSP it is only to add to his own strength. This party, the note adds, is of no consequence. They are a small band of irresponsible persons with no effective voice in the country, and are continually indulging in objectionable activities against the government, and so forth.

When I heard about the incident six or seven days after its occurrence, I said it would have been better if such a thing had never happened. There has been a tradition in European democracy to express one's intense dislike of a person or policy by throwing rotten eggs and tomatoes on the person concerned. Of England it can be said, that there is no leader who has had no experience of rotten eggs and tomatoes quite a few times, cannot be deemed fit to become the prime minister. Democracy does not mean the imitation of traditions of England, Germany or France. Certain things are customary in those lands. Indians do not dwell deeply on such matters and consider the throwing of rotten eggs

and tomatoes as something very foul. Foulness is not the only thing behind throwing rotten eggs. Whenever an Englishman or a Frenchman throws anything at a person he does not want to cause injury. Also, in Europe nobody will perhaps object to the throwing of rotten eggs for there is hardly any person who does not take eggs. But one half of India's population does not take eggs. All

these things are to be thought of. Whosoever in India throws rotten eggs and tomatoes on a person must be a bit childish. And then the western tradition is to throw rotten egg etc. on the person, not on his portrait. Your victim should have a chance to retaliate. Throw it on the leader of the government of your own country if you at all want to throw it. But so long as frontiers between countries exist and there is a native and a foreign land, one ought to discern between the two.

Since the prime minister has apologised we should not be swayed by anger but should think coolly over it. The prime minister should not have written to a foreign government about his own countrymen so carelessly. It may be true to say that we are not a party of sufficient strength. Had we taken to violence and throwing bombs, the government would not dare to speak out so loosely about us. But we are determined to go the non-violent way, come what may. In the last three years 25 thousand of our men went to jail and a few died in jails, but Socialists did not throw back even a pebble.

What, after all, is a small party? Our party is small, if smallness or bigness is measured in terms of seats in the parliament and assemblies. Owing to our rules allowing only those seats to be contested where our party membership is one percent of the total voters, we contested only 300-325 seats in the last election. We should see that we contest some 1500 seats this time so that we win around 200-250 seats. We must now do away with this state of being a small party. For this comes in the way of practising our principles. How these 1500 seats are to be contested? With 'Clearance' and existing conditions or in some other ways, is to be thought of.

(Translated and Adapted from a Hindi Speech)

A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE CPI RULE IN W. BENGAL

The only way to check Communist rule lies in awakening the masses for putting an end to the Congress rule as early as possible. Those who have lost faith in people's strength and who do not want to have people's movements and those who want to solve the country's problems by words alone, have only one way. They find Communists gaining strength, and side with the Congress to save themselves.



Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia
b. 23. 3. 1910 - d. 12. 10. 1967

- 1932 - Ph.D. in Economics, Berlin University Thesis on Salt Tax & Satyagraha in German.
- Oct. 1934 - Bombay - Establishment of the Socialist Party. Lohia on its national executive edited *Congress Socialist* from Calcutta.
- 1936 - Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Indian National Congress.
- 1938 - Resigned as Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee.
- Aug. 1942- May 1944 - Led underground struggle against the British, Congress Radio broadcasts, published pamphlets, attacks on govt. establishments.
- June 1946 & Sept. 1946 - Arrested in Goa, twice for challenging Portuguese Rule. Tortured and brought to the border and expelled to "India".
- May 1949 - Arrested for supporting the Nepali agitation against the Ranas.
- 1949 - Patna, President of Hind Kisan Panchayat.
- 1956 - President of the newly formed Socialist Party at Hyderabad. Editor of *Mankind* - Led from 1956 to death, innumerable struggles against Indian dalals of Anglo - American imperialism.
- 1963 - Elected to Lok Sabha. Made his famous maiden speech, spread over 3 1/2 hours, bringing out data on the abysmal level of income of the average Indian. His attack on Jawahar for spending 25,000 times more on himself rattled and unnerved the Prime Minister.
- 1967 - Died prematurely on 12. 10. 67 as a result of hospital negligence at former Willingdon Hospital, now renamed Dr. R. M. Lohia Hospital, New Delhi.

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