

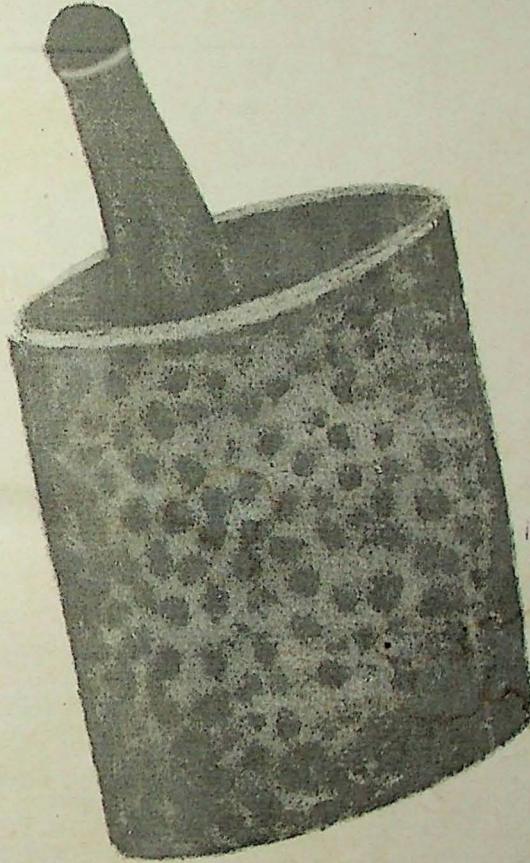
Mankind-Vol-
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MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 2, No. 1, October 1996.

Price Rs. 25/-



Donated by
Dr. VINAYAK PUROHIT
MANKIND, Pune

Khal-Dasta
by Devilal Patidar

The *Khal-Dasta* is the third appearance of a grinding apparatus in *Mankind*, after the Grinding Stone (April 96) and the *Gianti* (June 96).

The *Khal-Dasta*, along with the other two avatars (incarnations) of the common man's humble possessions is the feudal craft manual counterpart of the modern bourgeois factory-made electrical gadget called the *Mixer* or *Pulveriser*.

Every kitchen is a physical-chemical laboratory operated by the simple housewife, who is arrogantly told that she understands and knows very little. Actually she is far more learned than her man, mixes ingredients with a great deal of information and skill. She usually learns all this lore

from her mother, who has learnt it from her mother, and so on. This is traditional knowledge, despised by our Westernised "ape-geniuses", who know nothing, who only ruin the health and the wealth of their elite families. But the generally health-endowing recipes of our fore-mothers are now fast becoming extinct in this world of fast foods and bottled aerated horrible drinks.

The *Khal-Dasta* is a symbol of an age when labour was performed simply, directly and lovingly. Nobody envied another's *Khal-Dasta*, unlike the present day electronic-electric Mixer-Pulveriser-Juicer, which may come with so many alternative attachments and extra fixtures, that the whole neighbourhood becomes aware of

its gloss, its noise, its status and its might. With the *Khal-Dasta* there is nothing loud, nothing to boast, nothing to hide! The life of the family is out in the open, all ingredients are thrown in, one after another, the manipulation by hand, adding love and respect to every leaf, seed, nut, bark, skin, colour, aroma and texture, that goes in to become a health-giving combination.

Of course, one can never return to the world of *Khal-Dasta*. Humanity has harnessed enormous pools of energy. We can't produce enough Khadi to clothe our people decently, for such production will need as many producers as consumers (the Khadi board has discovered that one man can spin-weave less than half of the

(Contd. on inside cover)

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Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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Price Rs. 25/- per retail copy

Rs. 200/- for 10 issues in a year

Rs: 150/- Students' Concessional Rate

Rs. 2500/- for Life Subscription

Overseas Annual Subscription \$ 60 or £ 40

Overseas Life Subscription \$ 600 or £ 400

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DTP by,
New Way Typesetters and Processors,
D-102, Sunita Apts., 1417/18, Kasba Peth,
Pune 411 011.
Tel. No. 45 43 07

Printed by,
Step-In Services,
1311, Kasba Peth, Pune 411 011.
Tel. : 454667

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18 metres average availability of cloth per year, barely enough for the producer's own self). This would entail the total abandonment of all other activities to produce exclusively just wearing apparel. But without food production, men will die, and dead men need no Khadi or any other clothing, except perhaps a *Kafan* or *Chaddar*, which can be, and are usually recycled.

The *Khal-Dasta* is gone forever into the limbo of history. But it has left behind a trail of sorrow, pain and deprivation. The factory-hands gather amidst immense noise, dust and stink, to produce what they will never be able to possess, creating things for others, whom they do not know and producing profits for those whom they hate. The fabricators of all things, possess nothing ! The coupon-clippers who own shares, the mill-owners and the land-owners, the foreman and his brutal gang of supervisors, technocrats and administrators,

they possess everything !

The *Khal-Dasta* reminds us that labour can be humane and human, that the one who mixes and crushes with his/her own hands is a living being, with a beating heart and a thinking mind. However far we may have come along the evolutionary economic path, after all, human needs, hopes and feelings have not changed. It reminds us that let us return to the unalienated man, to the unexploited and unoppressed individual, who is the final arbiter of all history !

To be human, to love and to cherish, what more do we need ? Where is this endless striving for money, things and power leading us ? Only to unsatiability, to jealousy, to war and unending strife, tension and anxiety !

So we may never return to the *Khal-Dasta*, but let us return to the peace that the *Khal-Dasta* signifies and symbolises.

MANKIND'S CREDO : REITERATED, ENLARGED AND UPDATED : OCTOBER 1996

Exe. Edr.

Mankind (1956-67), Founder Editor, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Executive Editor : Dr. Vinayak Purohit), was revived from October 1995.

Mankind's Credo, published in our first number, has been widely circulated and appreciated. We have carried a large number of positive responses to it in our section *Adda at Nukkad* over the last year.

Ours is an ongoing battle of ideological clarification that is bound to be a battle of long duration. It is not easy to present in the limited format of a monthly theoretical and politico-cultural journal, the entire monistic, holistic, rationalist, historical and dialectical materialist view-point of *Mankind*. We have tried our best and invited our readers to an open debate on any issue that they may like to raise. Discussions have been carried on, not only in the Open Forum, i.e. the *Adda at Nukkad* section, but elsewhere in the journal too.

That is why we propose to reiterate and update the prognostications and conclusions of our credo, in the Opening Statement that we shall publish at the beginning of each year in October.

By the way, October is a good month to recapitulate, to sum up, and to prognosticate. October is the month of Lohia's death anniversary and also of the October Revolution of 1917, when the first successful proletarian revolution of the world occurred.

Whilst re-reading the Opening Statement of the Oct. 1995 issue, we feel that we should include a sharper definition of the international context.

Here we propose to rely upon the two editorials that we wrote, in Dec. 1995 : *Capitalism's Second Breath*; and the one just last month : *The Tri-Polar World of the 21st Century*.

We summarise the two presentations that we made under these headings, herein below :

CAPITALISM'S SECOND BREATH

All five great events of the first half of the 20th century (two World Wars, the Great Depression and the Russian and Chinese Revolutions) were unfavourable to capitalism as admitted by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Capitalism's final slide was marked by two developments :

1) 1971 — India created Bangladesh against the wishes and machinations of Anglo-American imperialism.

2) 1975 — Vietnam defeated the mighty American military machine.

After 1975 everything changed.

Capitalism's Second Breath

From 1871, the year of the Paris Commune, capitalism was on the decline.

This was admitted by their own spokesmen :

"The five great events in the first half

of the 20th century — two World Wars, the Great Depression and the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions — were unfavourable to capitalism" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, vol. 4, p. 845).

The creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and the American defeat in Vietnam in 1975 marked the further slide of capitalism.

Of the Great Powers, America was the only country which became richer because of World War II, while Europe almost bled to death. In 1945, America possessed two-thirds of the World's total gold reserves — 20 billion out of 33 billion. This economic power was reflected in US military strength. It

controlled 12.5 million service personnel.

From 1945, USSR emerged as the greatest rival of USA. The intensive phase of the Cold War between these two super powers lasted up to 1985.

But after 1985, with the disintegration of the Stalinist empire in East Europe in 1989-91, capitalism posted a set of remarkable recoveries :

- Germany was reunified and the GDR was dissolved;

- The united Czechoslovak Republic disintegrated into two distinct Czech and Slovak republics;

- Disintegration of Yugoslavia into five constituents (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro and Macedonia FYR) and a civil war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina;

- Hungary, Poland and other members of the CMEA have applied for membership of NATO, EU, etc.

- the USSR has split into fifteen constituent republics and civil wars are raging in at least five of them.

- The end of the Apartheid regime in South Africa with white supremacy intact and stabilisation of the 1967 war gains by Israel with an abject surrender by Arafat's PLO were further major victories for capitalism.

The Indian economic hegemony over the world was subverted by Europe be-

CAPITALIST RESURGENCE

The resurgence of capitalism was marked by 1978 — The acceptance by China of Deng Xiaopeng's turn to "market socialism". Deng inaugurated the so-called era of *Kaifang* and *Gaige*. These were the original Chinese terms, which were translated and popularised later on in Russian by Gorbachev as *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*.

1985 — Gorbachev announces the return to capitalism by way of *Glasnost* (Opening up) and *Perestroika* (Restructuring). Russian state capitalism restructured itself under Stalinist bureaucratic leadership to restore private free market capitalism.

1989-91 — Soviet troops begin withdrawal from East Europe and Afghanistan.

1991-93 — The two Germanys are reunited. The USSR breaks-up into its 15 Constituent units. All the Stalinist regimes in East Europe are overthrown, and new anti-Stalinist regimes are established. Yugoslav Federation also breaks-up. Most East European countries apply for membership of EU and NATO.

1993-95 — Reaction deepens. Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea completely isolated. Vietnam applies for membership of ASEAN. USA re-establishes diplomatic relations with Vietnam and Cuba liberalises in diverse ways.

RATIONALE OF CAPITALIST RESURGENCE

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, the world economy has undergone a structural transformation. Russian attempt to challenge American hegemony without any economic clout ultimately collapsed, and the Cold War's (1945-1985) bi-polar confrontation fizzled out.

In all the economically developed countries, the structure of the economy shifted to : agriculture generating less than 5 percent of the GDP; industry contributing about 25 per cent (of which, manufacturing around 20 per cent); and the services sector registering an enormous disproportionate growth to between 60 and 75 per cent.

The spectacular growth of the service sector was probably on account of three principal developments :

- a) Explosive Spurt in the Youth Market;
- b) Runaway Rise in Real Estate Market and
- c) The Electronic Information Revolution.

Between the two World Wars capitalism had added Public Sector and Welfare Expenditure by the State, to its traditional arsenal of Wars, Depressions and Unemployment, to solve cyclical economic crises. After the Second World War, it added Services Sector Growth and Permanence of the Military-Industrial Complex, along with Super-exploitation of the Third World through Limited Wars, Repeated Devaluations, Unrepayable Foreign Loans, Continuous Adverse Terms of Trade for the Developing Countries, etc, to its armoury.

tween 1830 and 1945. The European ascendancy was followed by an American supremacy from 1945 to 1975. The USSR challenge to the US has officially ended from 1989.

How and why did capitalism acquire its second breath ?

If we look carefully at the macro-economic factors, the tremendous increase in the contribution to the national GDP made by the Services Sector is striking. It is nearly 2/3rds of the total in all advanced countries, in recent times. This contribution is lower only in the case of the developing countries. The Industry Sector's contribution is one quarter to one-third and that of Agriculture is 5 percent for the richer countries. (See *World Bank Reports, 1978-1995*, tables titled "Structure of Production," changed to Table II, "Growth of the Economy" in the 1996 Report)

Thus, while the Industrial and the Agricultural sectors continue to create surplus value that is misappropriated by the ruling classes, it is the Services sector which now contributes between 66 to 75 percent of the GDP.

Brain-washing via religion, sports, arts and electronic media has become a major factor in world economy.

"Free market economy" means not only the acceptance of private enterprise but also that of a whole spectrum of bourgeois cultural products and lifestyles.

The labourer in the Services Sector is pre-eminently a parasitical creature. He is not manufacturing any basic good. He is hanging about the giant urban complexes completely atomised.

How is class consciousness to be imparted to him ? A complicated set of strategies and tactics will have to be worked out to educate this amorphous mass within the Services Sector.

Two traditional strategies have been worked out fully by world capitalism :

(i) Misery has been deliberately accumulated and concentrated in the Third World by burdening it with trade deficits, ad-

verse terms of trade, unrepayable foreign debts and constant devaluations of their national currencies.

Limited wars are continuously instigated among Third World countries for the benefit of the international military-industrial complex. But these two are old strategies of World capitalism.

Three new developments have helped realize the Second Breath of Capitalism :

- (i) The explosive growth of the "Youth Market."
- (ii) The Real Estate Market has suddenly zoomed.
- (iii) The Electronic Information Revolution.

But capitalism is inherently anarchic, oppressive and exploitative. It withdraws too much surplus value out of the total social product and pushes the world economy into cycles of over-production and under-consumption. Capitalism inevitably leads to monopolies, oligopolies, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Therefore, if humanity is to move forward into a world free from war and want, capitalism must be destroyed.

NEW STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISTS

In order to confront the resurgent capitalism, we revolutionaries must improve our combative skills and make our programmatic goals more precise.

The programme of nationalisation must be limited to infrastructure industries and commanding heights of the economy. Co-operatives of farmers and artisans must be helped to grow and flourish.

The planning process must be decentralised and democratised. Workers' control must be established in all sectors of the economy.

Arts and all cultural activities must be kept free from state control. There must be complete trade union, party and parliamentary democracy.

All elected representatives must be capable of being recalled. Special provisions must be made to curb corruption in all its forms, within all public bodies. All citizens must have the right to information.

The Centre-State relations must be overhauled to expand the revenue-earning and taxation powers of the States. The Centre shall deal with Foreign Policy and Trade, Currency, Defence and Inter-State Relations in all respects (Communication, Transport, Commerce, etc.)

Under the new constitution formulated by a new Constituent Assembly of the Federated Socialist States of India, real

NEW STRATEGY-FOR SOCIALISTS

In the new post - 1975 era of Resurgent Capitalism, the humanists, the nationalists, the socialists and the egalitarianists must restructure their programmatic and strategic goals.

The programme of nationalisation must be limited to infra-structure industries and commanding heights of the economy. Democracy must be preserved in all party, trade union and state institutions. Complete freedom of expression in the arts must be ensured.

Constitutional remedies must be provided against corruption and bureaucratism in all forms. Right of information should be available to all citizens and all government transactions must be completely transparent.

The planning process must be decentralised and democratised. Workers control must be established in all sectors of the economy

Total disarmament must be enforced, and all arm stock-piles destroyed.

parliamentary control must pass to the elected representatives of the people, who will dictate administrative directives to the Departments of the Government of India. The Ministers will act as merely the co-ordinating leaders of parliamentary committees which will rule. No bureaucrat will be allowed to possess wealth beyond the average savings from his emoluments. All corruption cases will entail double jeopardy in favour of the citizen who has been unfairly or unjustly treated, once receiving recompense from the state and once by the individual offending bureaucrat. Thus it will become doubly expensive for the state to commit any crime against the common man.

Tri-Polar World in 21st Century

The September 1996 highlights announced by BBC World Television Service included "War with America : A Current Affairs drama set in the year 2013, that imagines the horror of a single

TRI-POLAR WORLD IN 21ST CENTURY

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.

Behind the supremacy of the USA, this tri-centred world is the emerging reality.

The emerging challenge of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific, has been forecast and concretised in *Mankind's* first issue. We had shown there that by 1991, these East Asian countries had begun to gestate about 24 per cent of the world GDP, in Purchasing Power Parity terms, an increase of 10 percentage points between 1960 and 1991.

Let us consider a few straws in the wind :

- The North Atlantic Free Trade Association (NAFTA) between Canada, USA and Mexico is an economic fortification built up by USA and will expand to include Chile, Argentina, Brazil and other Latin American and Caribbean countries. NAFTA will try to exclude Japan and Europe from Latin American markets.

- The China-USA tensions over Taiwan have caused the Chinese government to give a multi-billion dollar contract to Europe's Airbus against America's Boeing.

- Clinton's legislation to permit American interests to sue those who have recently invested in Cuba, Libya and Iran is being challenged by Europe and Canada. America has tried to justify this on the grounds that Cuba confiscated American properties 40 years ago without paying any compensation and the present value of such American claims is \$ 100 billion, or an amount that is 50 times Cuba's annual exports today. This matter is being taken to the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

- The US heavy-handedness in Vietnam and Myanmar is also found distasteful by the European and ASEAN countries.

- China, Iran and Turkey are competing to have a decisive influence over the five former Central Asian Republics of the USSR (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan) which are resource-rich and capital-poor.

- The PRA countries have displaced USA as the principal trading partners of Europe.

- Japan and Europe are vying with each other for a dominant share in the rapidly expanding Chinese market.

- China is likely to become the nation with the highest GDP in PPP terms in the entire world in the coming decade.

- Europe is attacking American obduracy in Iraq.

- About fishing rights in the Atlantic and oil production in the North Sea and all over through the world the oil cartels Shell, Mobil, Chevron, Total, Exxon etc., Europe and America are in conflict.

The cumulative impact of these deals involving Europe vs PRA vs NAFTA, under capitalist conditions, must inevitably be a trade war and an armed conflict.

The Indian comprador ruling elite has sold the country to the neo-colonialists of Euro-America and have excluded themselves from the principal arena of power play in the 21st century.

The tri-faceted dictum of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation" is actually four-faceted — the fourth facet being

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.

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", via one of her multiple Regal titles. She appoints the Archbishop of Canterbury and in consultation with him the other Bishops, in Great Britain and all over the world wherever the Anglican Church functions, to this day. 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.

Europe on the brink of a war with America."

We have been predicting in *Mankind*, the emergence of a three-cornered economic and political contest between a "Uni-Polar America", a resurgent and unified single Europe including Russia and East Europe, and the rapidly advancing nations of the Pacific Rim of Asia (PRA) viz. Japan, China, S. Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and ASEAN.

"Westernisation." This fourth facet is deliberately kept hidden. Retention of English is just one aspect of this Western bias. Our technology and industries are being subordinated to Western multinationals.

We present below in tabular form a summary of world trends that reflect the spectacular rise of the Tiger Economies of the Far East.

SUMMARY OF WORLD TRENDS

Power Bloc	% of World GDP in PPP terms in 1960	% of World GDP in PPP terms in 1994	Rise or Fall % points
NAFTA	34.52	25.81	-8.72
SINGLE EUROPE	25.35	23.03	-2.32
PRA/ARP (Pacific Rim of Asia or Asiatic Rim of Pacific)	14.05	25.97	+11.92
REST OF WORLD (Excluding India)	22.02	21.45	-0.57
INDIA	4.06	3.74	-0.32
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	0.00

Such is the ideological and the international context, under which perforce *Mankind* has to appear and carve out a niche for itself.

However, we could not be what we are without our own special national, colonial-comprador history. This aspect of our reality, we had explored in our second Opening Statement of Nov. 1995. We shall therefore summarise this facet of the Indian reality.

Colonial History

There are a great many misunderstandings about our recent history which have been propagated by white Christian neocolonialists of the day. Many of us, particularly of the comprador elite, have been brain-washed into believing that India has been ruled or successfully invaded time and again from times immemorial.

It all begins with the bogus Aryan Invasion Theory.

We were supposedly invaded first by the Aryans, then by the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Huns, the Mongols, the Turks and so on, ending up with "hundreds of years of rule" by British imperialism.

First of all, the Aryans could not have invaded India because of the simple reason that the Original Home of the Aryans was in India.

It should be emphasised that the Vedas which belong, in the main, to the time horizon of 4500-2500 B.C. contain not even a memory trace of the arrival of the Aryans from anywhere outside the *Sapta-Sindhu* region. All the mountains, rivers and other geographic features, as well as all the animals and plants referred to in Vedic literature are totally and entirely of Indian origin and of Indian provenance to this day.

The second "invasion" in chronological order, was that of Darius I, the Great Achaemenid Emperor, whose satrapies included certain borderlands between India and Iran. The lists and numbers of satrapies of Darius I varied at different times. The earliest is the Bisitun text (518 B.C.), which gives 23 provinces or satrapies and the latest is in his tomb inscription, which lists 30 such lands. (Possessions of Darius I the Great, incidentally, included Thrace and Macedonia in Europe.) Of these, seven, (Khurasan - Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Drangiana - Seistan, Arachosia - Kandahar, Maka-

Makran, Gandhara-Kabul) are even today divided between Iran, Afghanistan and pre-partition India (Satrapies No. 4,5,6,9,10,11 and 13, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973, Vol. 17, pp. 658-9). The eighth territory Hindukush-Sind (No. 14) was the only region falling wholly within India, but it consisted of mainly trans-Indus lands.

Thus, the so-called Achaemenid invasion and occupation of India consisted of only the North-West frontier borderlands and at best, of a minor incursion towards Sindh.

Third in chronological order was the minor intrusion of 4th century B.C., by Alex III, the Insignificant Perso-Macedonian. He was badly beaten and lost his entire army and navy in and around the Baluchistan desert. (See the sections in *Ulti Khopdi* in the first and the second issues of *Mankind*.)

Next in line, fall the bunch of alleged invasions by Indo-Parthians, Indo-Bactrians (transmuted into Indo-Greeks by interested Western imperialists), and Indo-Scythians. Let us, right at the outset, make it clear that these nomadic and seminomadic bands, generally practising transhumance, were (1) entirely of mixed origins; (2) spoke Sanskrit-derived languages; (3) owed allegiance to a motley of religions — Buddhism, Magianism, Manichaenism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism; (One Heliodorus, "ambassador" of a small kingdom in Punjab to Vidisha, a kingdom in Madhya Pradesh, erected a pillar in 2nd century B.C., at Vidisha, near Bhopal, inscribing thereon that he "was a *Bhagavata*," i.e., a follower of Vaishnavism. Menander (fl. 160-135 B.C., claim-

INVASIONS OF INDIA BY INDIANS

The imperialist historians have tried to make out a bogus history of repeated invasions of India by all sorts of aliens. This is obviously false. The Theory of Repeated Foreign Invasions of India has been formulated to break the morale of Indians and to facilitate British occupation of India.

In fact, there has been only one major foreign invasion of India, that by the British from 1757 (Plassey) to 1860 (end of Industrial Revolution in Britain and defeat of the Last Feudal War of Independence, c. 1857-60)

There was no Aryan Invasion of India, since the Original Home of the Aryans was in India, in the *Sapta Sindhu* region (modern-day Afghanistan, N.W.F.P., Kashmir, Punjab, and Sindh).

The so called Achaemenid invasion of 6th century B.C. involved only borderlands and some trans-Indus regions.

Alexander III, the Insignificant Perso-Macedonian, was badly beaten in 4th Century B.C. and the defeated upstart turned back from around the banks of the Jhelum, and lost his entire army and navy in and around the Baluchistan desert. The next bunch of invasions by Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, Indo-Bactrians and Indo-Huns were all by roving bands of pastoralists who were almost entirely Indian in language, religion, costume and culture.

India was the largest and the most populous Muslim nation in the world till the Partition of 1947. Therefore, Muslims were not foreigners; and both the Delhi Sultans and the Delhi Moghuls, settled down quite happily in India as Indians. In any case, the former were Pathans and the latter were Pathano-Turks, and were therefore even in origin largely Indian.

ing to be the greatest of the " Indo-Greek " kings, ruled over Bactria and adjoining lands like the Swat Valley in Kashmir, Kandahar in Afghanistan and up to the Ravi in Punjab. He was converted by Nagasena to Buddhism and the discussion between the pupil and the master has come down to us as *Milinda - panha* (Questions of Milinda, i.e., Menander.) (4) never extended their influence beyond Punjab and Gujarat; and (5) were mostly Indians of N. W. India. In short, the bunch of invasions and occupations of India were, of the same sort as the mythical Aryan invasions by India of India. Unable to find true foreigners, the silly Westerners are con-

HIRED MERCENARIES DO NOT FORM FOREIGN NATIONS

Just because some Indian armies included a few hired mercenaries of Arab, African, Turkic or Mongol origins, their masters did not become foreign nations. In case of the Abyssinians or Habshis, are we to postulate that the Africans ruled over India at any-time? Where was the drain of wealth from one national entity to another, prior to the British capitalist exploitation of India ?

stantly recording invasions by Indians of India!

Next, we may mention the invasion by the Huns, who are very well-known to the Europeans, since they conquered the whole of Eastern and Central Europe in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. In India, the Guptas successfully beat back the Huns, who may be said to have mainly mounted looting raids upon the Gangetic Plains. Their blood-thirsty leaders, like Toramana and Mihiragula, were merely transitory bandits, as far as Indian heartlands are concerned. And unlike the Europeans who went under, Indians were victorious against the Huns. As to who the Huns were, it is not possible to give a definite answer. In my opinion, they must have been an early tribal grouping of the Turks, since the Turks make their debut in history, as recorded by the Chinese, in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D, at about the same time as the Huns. Or they could have been a Turko-Mongol mixed formation, though definite historical identification of the Mongols is from the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. only. Anyway, they were beaten back decisively and disappear from Indian history. Another theory is that the Huns were a branch of the Scythians. If so, then their Original Home was in Indian borderlands.

Next, we may take up the brief Arab piratical raids upon the coasts of Sindh, Gujarat and Kerala in the 8th century A.D. Why such petty thieving raids should be exaggerated into full scale invasions by Western historiographers is a mystery to those only, who are ignorant of the standard procedures adopted by imperialists and neo-colonialists.

The real so-called Islamic invasions of India commenced in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and were supposedly consolidated with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate of 1290 to 1556 A.D. But why should Muslims be considered " foreigners " in India ? After all, Undivided India was the largest and the most populous Muslim nation in the world!

The Pathan rulers of the Delhi Sultanate may have found it convenient to loot Hindu temples in Somnath Patan and Mathura and Kannauj in the name of Islam, but this is a standard feudal ploy of the medieval period, as much in Europe as in India. Needless to add, the Pathan hordes, entirely Indian, speaking Sanskrit-derived languages and dialects, donning Indian costumes, fond of Indian cuisine, belonging to the Indian musical system, why should they be called foreigners ? Furthermore, they did not

BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA NOT RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL, DOCTRINAL OR LITERARY

The British conquered and ruled over India not because they were Christians or Protestants, though some foolish European professors have tried to maintain so, like Arnold Toynbee, Max Weber and R. H. Tawney. Every religion has produced highly successful and immensely rich capitalists ! Especially when we think of Shinto religion of Japan, the Islamic religion of the OPEC countries and the Confucianism of the enterprising Chinese in Mainland China, in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore ! Of course, the Parsi Tatas of India and the Vaishnava Hindu Birlas' empire should not be forgotten !

There was no magic in the European religion, whatever Christian denomination it may have been ! Actually, the Indian religions were far more ancient (Vedic Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Ajivika were all older than Christianity by several millenia and centuries). Not only much, much older but each possessing enormously vaster literatures ranging from the *Vedas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, Upanishads, the Puranas, the Dharma Shastras, the Sutras, the Niti-Shastras* for the Hindus, the hundreds of volumes of the *Tripitaka* and the *Angas* for the Buddhists and the Jains. What is the range and diversity of the Old and New Testaments as compared to these profound tomes!

The earliest philosophers of the world and the greatest in terms of the volume of their output were the Indians. The disputations amongst the Upanishadiks and the Shad-Darshanists (the Six Systems of Understanding) would fill many libraries of the world !

Even in anti-religion, in atheism, the Indians were the first, the oldest and the most continuous: from Charvakas and Lokayats, through Buddha and Mahavira, to the Shad-Darshanists (Brihaspati, Kanada, Kapila, Patanjali, Kumarila, Sayana-Madhava, Shankara, Nagarjuna, etc.), all of whom, according to D. P. Chattopadhyaya (*Indian Atheism*) were basically either atheists or agnostics. In any case they were *Nastiks*, or non-believers in the *Vedas*.

Buddha was, in our view, the greatest dialectician that the world has known. (See his statements regarding the Flame, "that is there and that is not there, it is destroying the oil in the lamp or the wax in the candle, as it destroys itself, whilst renewing itself and appearing to be steady" and "You can never step into the same River twice, as the waters in which you first stepped have flowed away, yet the River has the same identity".)

But Buddha was not a materialist, which Charvakas were. So was Ajita Keskamblin, one of the four Gurus of Buddha.

Therefore the British riff-raff from London streets did not conquer India out of any religious, literary or doctrinal superiority.

drain India of any wealth, they merely redistributed some of it in their own favour and settled down in Delhi as permanent occupants. Why should such people be called foreigners? In fact, Sher Shah Suri drove out Babar the Turk's son, Humayun, and the Sur dynasty ruled till Akbar, whom one can hardly call a devout Muslim, firmed up Moghul rule in 1556.

No doubt, there were slaves of Turkish and Habshi (or African) origin in the entourages of Pathan kings of the Delhi Sultanate. In fact, one of the earlier dynasties of the so-called Delhi Sultanate was designated as the Mameluke or Slave dynasty! But by the same logic, there were French and miscellaneous European officers in the armies of Hyder-Tipu in Mysore, and of the Gwalior Scindia. Does that make Tipu's campaigns French or Scindia's campaigns Franco-Italian? It is silly beyond words!

In that sense, the Indian employer of every European will become a European!

If so, all Christians in Europe will become Palestinians!

Thousands of artisans who depended upon state patronage may have found it politic to convert to Islam in order to retain their clientele. Similarly, many landholders might have changed religion in order to be eligible for state service. As everyone in India is fully aware, it is a common Muslim saying that, "I am only an ordinary Muslim today, but if I have four weeks of affluence, I will become a Shaikh or even a Sayyed!" Religious conversions are nearly always for political convenience and economic well-being.

One of the greatest attractions for converting to Islam and joining a *jihad* army against infidels, was the right of every Muslim soldier to receive a share in the booty collected at the end of the day. This was a privilege that no non-Muslim could ever enjoy. Therefore, every army of freebooters and marauders as it criss-crossed the country, picked up enormous followings of the faithful!

Be that as it may, what is of crucial importance is the matter of drain of wealth. If you settle down in a country, make or retain all your investments in that country, spend and save almost entirely in your chosen country's currency, how can you be considered a foreigner? You are automatically Indian as an economic national entity, whatever may be your race, religion or language.

It is this absence of drain of wealth, and thereby of exploitation, that makes the next Moghul dynasty also an entirely Indian affair.

Thus, the only foreign rulers who exploited and drained India were the Britishers, who may be said to have conquered India by 1818, transformed the Indian economy into a colonial-capitalist one between 1818 and 1860, and occupied India as alien imperialist rulers from 1860 to 1947. They did not rule over India for hundreds of years! These 125 years were the only ones during which India was subjugated by foreigners, in an overall span of about 6500 years of Indian history. I do not think that any other culture or civilisation in the entire world has an equivalent record of resilient autochthony and robust independence.

Let us briefly recapitulate the principal landmarks in the British conquest of India.

"Anglo-French Wars in the Carnatic: 1744-61; Plassey:

PETER THE GREAT ON INDIA

According to the Peter the Great of Russia (1672-1725), "the commerce of India is the commerce of the world and he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe" (Hamilton, *Problems of the Middle East*, p.62)

1757; Acquisition of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and N. Sircars: 1765. First Mysore War: 1767-69; Rohilla War: 1773-74; First Maratha War: 1775-82; Conquest of Gujarat: 1778-89; Second Mysore War: 1780-84; Third Mysore War: 1790-92; Campaign in Ceylon: 1795-97; Subjugation

of the Nizam: 1798; Fourth Mysore War: 1799; Second Campaign in Ceylon: 1803; Second Maratha War: 1803-05; Nepal War: 1814-16; Pindar War: 1817; Third Campaign in Ceylon: 1815-18; Third Maratha War: 1817-19; First Burma War: 1824-26; Bharatpur: 1827; Coorg Conquest: 1834; Sind War: 1843; First Sikh War: 1845; Second Sikh War: 1848-49; First Afghan War: 1838-42; Second Afghan War: 1878-81; Third Afghan War: 1919-21; Tibetan Expedition: 1903-04; Persian War: 1856-57; Annexation of Baluchistan and Makran: 1894; and Campaigns in Manipur, Tirah, Chitral, etc., 1891-97."

A few more landmarks may be noted:

* The decisive overturn in the balance of trade between India and Great Britain occurred in the years 1814 to 1835, or rather more particularly, between the years 1814 and 1821. This is exemplified by the overturn in the exports and imports of cotton textiles.

Overturn in Textiles

Year	British cotton manufactures exported to India	Indian cotton piece-goods imported into Great Britain
	(Yards)	(Yards)
1814	818,208	1,266,608
1821	19,138,726	534,495
1828	42,822,077	422,504
1835	51,777,277	306,68

(Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Volume One, 1961, p. 324)

It is emphasised that when "factories" at Surat and Bombay are mentioned (or at Hoogly, Calcutta, Masulipatan, Madras, Cochin, Calicut, and so on), it does not mean that the English owned or controlled the entire towns. They merely owned or rented certain premises and warehouses, within those towns, which establishments were kept in varying states of armed defensive preparedness. Some were more fortified, some very little. After their triumph in India, British imperialist historians are making out as though they owned and controlled entire townships and extensive surrounding territories which they called "factories". This is silly and childish.

* English was imposed in place of Persian as the official language of administration, justice and education from 1835.

* Rupee coins minted by the East India Company bore the devices of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam, till 1835, and *nazar* or feudal homage paid by the British Commander-in-Chief to the Moghul emperor ceased at about the same time.

* The legal foundations of the property system were reconstituted with the coming into force of the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian penal Code in the years 1859-60. This was the decisive overturn of the feudal prop-

SHIP - BUILDING, AN INDIAN SPECIALITY

According to Parkinson, "in ship-building the Indians probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them" - quoted by Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol.1 1971, p.155.

erty relations and their replacement by bourgeois property forms.

* The last War of Independence fought under feudal leadership was defeated in 1857-60. This war has been termed, Indian Mutiny by British imperialists and as the First War of National Independence by the Indian comrades. As a matter of fact, it was both the last war fought by Indian feudalists against *British imperialism*, and the first war that the rising Indian middle classes ought to have supported, but which they did not, at the time, think of supporting and one which they have gathered the courage to support retrospectively and verbally in recent decades.

Thus, we have in the foregoing nailed several major imperialist lies

One : India was not repeatedly invaded, especially, not by the Aryans, whose original home was India.

Two : There were numerous border fringes, which are to be expected in the nature of things, when enormously large historical entities, like India are concerned, over historic time, from the 46th Century B.C. to the middle of the 18th century A.D. India was so powerful and so resilient that it was unconquerable.

Three : Muslims, Pathans and Afghans were not foreigners and for various obvious reasons, India of the pre-Partition days became the largest Muslim nation in the world.

Four : All the so-called invaders of India were successfully absorbed by the Indian polity and till the middle of the 18th century, the question of exploitation of one people by another and drain of wealth from one nation to another just did not arise.

Five : British imperialism vanquished India not because it was Christian, Protestant, European, White or any such thing, but simply because capitalism provided a superior economic system to feudalism.

Six : it took a very long time for British imperialism to conquer India, from around 1765 to 1860. From 1600 to 1765, they were mere traders and their little fortifications around "factories", or outposts, were the normal precautions taken by traders all over the world to protect their goods. These were not "extensive territorial possessions" in any sense of term. One concrete example will make things absolutely clear.

In 1674, Joshua Child became a Director and a few years later, Chairman of E.I.Co., and for the next 25 years he exercised extraordinary ascendancy on its activities. A distant cousin, John Child, who had served in India since he was a mere lad, had become in 1682, the President of the Company's factories in Surat and Bombay.

The two Childs were determined to vindicate the Company's authority both against English rivals, who threatened to break down their monopoly, and the Moghul rulers, who obstructed their ambition to increase their revenue. The Childs were more inclined to do so, in 1886 as the Company

owed 281, 250 Pound Sterling to native merchants of Surat and it had become inconvenient to discharge even the interest of such a sum. So these agents of an essentially dishonest system of trading involved the Company in a War (1686-9) with the Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire was still a going concern and soon the E.I.Co. found that it could not be defied with impunity. During this Childs' childish war against the mighty Moghuls, the English

suffered severe reverses. In Bengal, the Nawab drove the English out of Hijili where they had taken refuge and cut off their retreat through Chittagong. In other parts of India, the Moghul reaction was equally swift and drastic. The factories at Surat, Masulipatan and Vizag were seized. Bombay was attacked by the Siddi's fleet and the whole island with the exception of the castle was occupied. The English were humbled, and in the words of their historian Mill, "they stooped to the most abject submissions. "They submitted a contrite petition "that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned. "Aurangzeb listened to the entreaties of their envoys and agreed to grant a new firman in 1690, on condition that the Company paid all the dues of the Indian merchants, give compensation for the losses inflicted on the Empire and recalled John Child from India. On fulfillment of these

terms, Bombay was evacuated and the old permits for trade on the West Coast and in Bengal were restored. The Company returned to Bengal, rented 3 villages of Sultanati, Govindpur, and Kalighat from the Nawab, and became a Zamindar. (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Volume One, 1961, pp. 205-7 from where the entire above account has been summarised.) Tara Chand concludes with the following lines :

" They (E.I.Co.) had learnt their lesson. For the next fifty years (i.e. 1700-1750) they refrained from giving any offence to the rulers of India. On the other hand, they resorted to fawning and flattery in order to ingratiate themselves into the Mughal emperor's favour for obtaining privileges and concessions." (Tara Chand has relied upon W.W. Hunter, *A History of British India*, P. Anderson, *The English in Western India* and Mill and Wilson, *The History of British India*.)

As the above example makes clear, it took the British a century and half after arrival in India to even think of subjugating India (1600-1750). It took them another century to carry out this conquest, 1757, Plassey, to 1860, during which the Britishers completed their Industrial Revolution back home with the help of the "primitive accumulation" they had carried out in India.

Seven: It took a fortuitous concatenation of circumstances in Europe and North America for England to emerge as the leading imperialist power of the world, in the

middle of the 19th century.

Portugal, which had pioneered in Far Eastern trade from 1498, was occupied by Spain from 1580 to 1640. The Dutch, who

BRITISH CONQUEST PERIODISED

The British conquest of India may be divided into three sub - periods :

Sub - Period I : 1600 - 1757, when the Britishers were the less important traders in India. They had been soundly beaten by Aurangzeb in the late 17th century, that they did not attempt anything till the middle of the 18th century.

Sub - Period II : 1757 - 1818/60, due to a sudden and chance elimination of European rivals (Spanish Conquest of Portugal 1580-1640; French involvement in the American War of Independence 1761-65; The Seven Years War between Britain and France 1756-63; French occupation of Netherlands and Spain 1793-1814) British capitalism was able to emerge in the forefront and conquer feudal India.

Sub - Period III : 1818/60-1947, as result of the conquest of India, entirely with Indian resources in men, money and materials, Britain was able to complete the First Industrial Revolution (1750-1860) and mercilessly loot India (so - called "primitive accumulation")

THE HORROR OF BRITISH CONQUEST

The Indians were so superior in every respect, that it is impossible to contemplate the low cultural level of the Britisher without a shudder of horror!

were ruled by Spain, fought an Eighty Years War of liberation against Spain and drove the Portuguese out of India and Indonesia. Then, the French and the British engaged in a Seven Years War (1756-63) for supremacy, at the end of which the British prevailed, largely because the French diverted their resources to help the American Colonies to liberate themselves from British yoke (1761-5). A few years later, the French in the course of their Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1814) occupied Holland and Spain, to further accidentally strengthen the hands of England.

Thus, by chance England acquired the opportunity to emulate Duplex and carry out a conquest of India with Indian troops and Indian revenues.

Eight : We must understand the relationship of forces prevailing between 17th and 19th centuries, between England and India. Let us recapitulate.

Besides meeting the home demand, Indian industries catered for the foreign markets as well. Her industrial supremacy which lasted well up to the end of the eighteenth century, gave India an enviable position in the world of commerce and industry. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, "India was the respiratory organ of the circulation and distribution of moneys and commodities of the world; it was the sea wherein all the rivers of trade and industry flowed and thus enriched its inhabitants". (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India*, 1600-1757, p. 37) In the eighteenth century the country was the largest producer of industrial goods in the world. Till about the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost every nation on earth obtained to a large extent its supplies of fine cotton and silk fabrics, spices and indigo, sugar, drugs, precious stones, saltpetre and many curious works of art from India in exchange for gold and silver.

India continued to be a sink of precious metals. Van Twist writing on the wealth of the kings of Hindustan says that, "although there were no gold or silver mines in India, large quantities of both were imported from foreign countries, and it was forbidden to export them." (Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Life*, Lahore, 1929, pp. 56-7) "India is rich in silver," writes Hawkins, "for all nations bring coyn and carry away commodities for the same; and this coyn is buried in India and goeth not out". (*Ibid*, p.57). Terry estimates that "an Indian ship returning from the Red sea was usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in gold and silver." (*Ibid*). He adds, "many silver streames runne thither as all rivers to the sea, and there stay, it being lawful for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities, but a crime not less than capital to carry any great summe thence." From England alone India imported in 50 years from 1708 to 1757 twenty-two million pounds worth of bullion. (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations, op. cit.*, p. 208) Only a fraction of the large imports of specie was used for coinage, the rest went into private hoards and manufacture of jewellery.

"The complaint that India hoards the gold supply of the world is as old as Pliny". (*Historiae Naturalis*, VI, 26). The early Muhammadan historian Shahab-ud-Din notices it (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 583). Bernier complains : "It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in

every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure in Hindustan." (*Travels, op. cit.* p. 202). Dr. Fryer similarly writes, "So that though it be not of the growth of this country, yet the innate thrift of the Gentiles and the small occasion of Foreign expenses, and this humour of their laying up their talent in Napkin, buries the greatest part of the Treasure of the world in India." (*A New Account*

BENGAL LOOT AND DASTAK FAMINE

The rapacity of the E.I.Co combined with the villainy of its servants turned Bengal into a scene of chaos and anarchy. The result was the terrible famine of 1769-70 which genocidally destroyed one-third of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, or approximately one and a half to two crores of human beings.

of *East Indies*, Hakluyt Society, p. 283). "The love of Indians for precious metals and their hoarding habit attracted the attention of early British officers" (See Foster, *Letters Received*, IV, Introduction XXXIII).

Let us adduce a few more concretisations of the balance of economic power between India and Europe.

* In the territories ruled by Akbar, it is estimated that there were 120 cities and 3,200 towns. Agra had an estimated population of 5 to 6.6 lakhs, which was larger than that of London during the same period. Delhi compared favourably with Paris. Ahmedabad was almost equal to London. Lahore was second to no European city and the population of Patna was about two lakhs.

"Although Indian industry remained in the pre-capitalist stage and India did not evolve the industrial middle class, yet, both in variety of output and techniques of production she was, at the time, more advanced industrially than contemporary Europe." Moreland, the historian of India's medieval economy, who was not inclined to exaggerate India's achievements, admitted : "It is still to my mind indisputable that in the matter of industry India was more advanced relatively to Western Europe than she is today." (Moreland, W.H., *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 155-56).

The products of Indian industry not only fulfilled the needs of Asia and Africa, but were also in great demand in the markets of Europe. They reached the Western countries by sea and land routes.

Indian merchants, who were the purveyors of Eastern commodities, were well known and well established all along the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. They were also found in considerable numbers in Kandahar, Kabul, Balkh, Bukhara, Kashghar, etc., in Afghanistan and Central Asia, in Shiraz, Isfahan Ray and Meshed in Iran, and Baku, Astrakhan, Nijni Novgorod, etc, in Russia. According to Peter the Great of Russia, "The commerce of India is the commerce of the world, and ... he who can exclusively control it is the dictator of Europe." (Hamilton, *Problems of the Middle-East*, London, 1909, p. 62)

BRITISH "DEMOCRACY"

During the British conquest of India between 1757 - 1860, Britain was not a democracy, but an oligarchy of the riff-raff, the ruffians, the criminal lumpens and despicable and cruel fortune-hunters, with the electoral franchise restricted to less than 10% of its adult population.

* All the diamonds of the world till 1725 (when they were discovered in Brazil, *EB'73*, Vol. VII, p. 361) from times immemorial, were entirely, totally and completely from India. Surat had almost a world monopoly for diamond polishing.

* Similar to the Surat monopoly in diamond polishing, Madras and Hyderabad had a near-monopoly in boring microscopic holes in pearls, and in threading them, with special needles made in Surat. Unfortunately, this industry has languished, whilst diamond polishing has been revived in a very big way, in the entire belt from North-Gujarat to Bombay Suburbs. Pearls from all over the world, especially the odd-shaped ones, keep arriving in Madras-Hyderabad for further processing. If the Government of India

and the CSIR took some interest, it may even now be not too late to tap the skilled labour pool in Hyderabad, to develop a multi-hundred crore export and re-export trade of natural pearls from India. But, this is a *dalal* nation, who may find it temporarily more profitable to handle cultured pearls imported from Japan!

*India specialised in high quality metalwork in iron and steel, brass and copper, and gold and silver. Every part of the country produced iron, for its own use. Indian swords were highly valued all over the world. Besides metals, Indian mineral products included salt and saltpetre. Enormous cannons were cast in India, which were superior to any in the world till in 18th/19th centuries. (Superior to anything except perhaps those of Ottoman Turkey.) Rocketry was developed to a high level by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, in Mysore (the whole concept was stolen by E.I. Co generals from India without acknowledgement and later claimed as great inventions by British scoundrels.)

* In ship-building, India had no rival, not even Ottoman Turkey, which actually chose to build its fleet in India, with Indian teak. There was a flourishing ship-building industry at Dacca, Allahabad, Lahore, Thatta, Masulipatam, Pulicat, Calicut, Surat, Goa, Bassein, Satgaon, Chittagong and all along the Bengal and Malabar coasts. 40,000 boats plied on the Indus and a flotilla of 40,000 to 50,000 boats was to be found in Bengal. Balkrishna estimates that the total shipping entering or leaving Indian ports annually amounted, in the early 18th century to 3,45,000 tons, of which 85,000 tons were employed in foreign trade. (Balkrishna, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-81).

India built teak ships, which were the largest known to the world at the time, of 1500, 1800 and over 2000 tons burden, pierced for and installed with up to 92 guns, were used often as flag-ships and ships-of-the-line by the British. In the Napoleonic Wars, India-built teak ships were proved to be much superior to English oak. They were almost indestructible and till a year or two ago were used as training ships, after having seen service for a hundred years and more. In the art of ship-building India was way ahead of European nations. Parkinson says, "in ship-building they probably taught the English far more than they learnt from them." (Quoted by Mookerji, *Economic History*, p. 124.) It took especially strenuous efforts by the English to destroy the Indian ship-building industry. (See account in *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, 3 Vols., 1909).

Finally, the Indians were so superior to Englishmen in culture till the middle of the 19th century, that one may say, that the two cultures almost belonged to different species. There are hundreds of such testimonies, but we will take just one as an example.

"I could never make an end of telling such a variety of manufactures as well in gold, silver, iron, steel, copper and other

metals, as in precious stones, choice woods, and other valued and rare materials. For they are all cunning folk and owe nothing to the people of the West, themselves endowed with a keener intelligence than is usual with us and hands as subtle as ours; to see or hear a thing but once is, with them, to know it. A cunning and crafty race; not, however, fraudulent, nor easy to defraud. And what is to be observed of all their manufactures is this, that they are both of good workmanship and cheap; I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians; they have nothing

barbarous and savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt manners and customs of the Portuguese; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning. In fact, the Portuguese take more from them than they from the Portuguese; and they that come fresh to Goa are very simpletons till they have acquired the airs and graces of the Indies. It must then be understood that all these countries of Cambaye, Surat and others (in the region) of the river Indus and of the Grand Mogor, are the best and the most fertile of all the Indies and are, as it were, a nursing mother, providing traffic and commerce, for all the rest; so, too, is the kingdom of Bengal, where their manners and customs are the same. The people, both men and women, are there more cultivated than elsewhere; those countries are the marts of all the ships of India, and their living is better than anywhere else... No people in the world know so much about pearls and precious stones; and even at Goa the goldsmiths, lapidaries and other workmen occupied with the finer crafts, are all Banians (Baniyas) and Brameins (Brahmanas) of Cambaye, and have their own streets and shops." (*The Voyage of*

REGIME OF GENOCIDAL TERROR

British imperialism instituted a regime of genocidal famines as their tentacles spread over the various regions of sub-continental India. From 1765 when for the first time Britain acquired the Diwani (i.e. revenue collecting rights) of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Northern Sircars to 1775, in just ten years they wiped out one - third of the population or approximately one and half to two crores of the Indian poor. (The so-called Dastak Famine of 1769-70 was the major culprit). In 125 years from 1775 to 1900 the mortality from starvation and consequences was 40,000,000. In 44 years, from 1900 to 1944 the number of famine deaths have been placed at 30 million. In short, something like eight and a half crores of Indians were killed by British - made famines from 1765 to 1947. (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, p. 88)

All these famines were famines of purchasing power. Foodgrains and oil seeds remained the principal item of export from India, from the beginning of India - wide direct, British rule in 1860 to the Second World War. (Vera Anstey, *The Economic Development of India*, 1942, Table XVII, and R.C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India, The Victorian Age*, tables on pp. 162, 347 and 532)

"Instead of absolute lack of food, famine under the new conditions assumed the form of a sharp rise in prices and the development of a large export trade in grain... India experienced for the last 40 years of the 19th century, a boom in the grain market and a continuous depression in the labour market" (B.M. Bhatia, *Famines in India: 1860-1965*, 1967, pp. 9,24)

F. Pyrrard of Laval to the East Indies, Volume II, Part I Hakluyt Society, pp. 248-50).

Let us consider the contrast.

"Causes of English victory: It is an amazing fact of history that the agents of this great and irresistible force were largely unscrupulous, greedy, quarrel-some, envious men, and these bad bold adventurers had under their command the rank and file of their fellow countrymen, many of whom were the veritable scum of earth criminals, renegades, half-castes and the riff-raff of all races of Europe — Keith describes Cornwallis' troops as follows: 'His troops, though numerous, some 70,000 in all, were of very inferior quality especially as regards the 6,000 Europeans of the Company's army, the riff-raff of the London streets and the gleanings of the jails, officered by ruined youths or greedy seekers for money'". (Keith, A.B., *A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935*, second edition, 1937, p. 104).

To quote Duplex, "the Company sends out beggars as employees and officers who haven't a shirt to put on their backs".

(Dupleix to de Bacquencourt, February 15, 1753, quoted by Thompson V.M., in *Dupleix and His Letters*, New York, 1933, p. 724).

One who had been an eye-witness, said after he had left Bombay, "I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Their principles of action, and the consequent evil practices of the English forwarded their miseries, and contributed to fill the air with those pestilential vapours that seized their vitals, and speeded their hasty passage to the other world. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissolution of manners, found still new matter to work upon" (Quoted by Anderson, *The English in Western India*, Bombay, 1854, p. 130).

Anderson adds, "all kinds of vice were in the superlative degree, and the most detestable sins were indulged in to an almost unlimited degree." (*Ibid.*, p. 130).

And further, "The Court of Directors must be called as witnesses to show the prevalence of vice. Morals had become so corrupt that they were obliged to interfere, and in 1682 sent out most stringent orders that reformatory measures should immediately be enforced by authority. They remark with severe reprobation the riot, prodigality, carelessness and folly, which were so common. They were determined to check expensive and vicious habits" (Letter from the Court to the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay, dated May 1682, quoted by P. Anderson, *Ibid.*, p. 100).

Lord Chesterfield described George I as lazy, inactive, coarse and lowly sensual, as one who liked the company of wags and buffoons, and doted on fat women. He had no love for England. George II seemed to be a less irascible edition of his father-dull, phlegmatic, time-serving and his intellectual stature was summed up in his classic remark that he had no time for 'bainting and boetry'. Their Parliaments consisted of an office-seeking collection of jobbers, whose members were elected by corrupt pocket and rotten boroughs. The people of London, were a rowdy crowd who paid scant respect to courtesy, law or order. Their insolent hooliganism made walking in the streets dangerous. "Fighting is delicious to our Englishmen", was the opinion of a contemporary. Gin drinking had assumed formidable proportions. Drunken young men committed all kinds of outrages. 'Monocks', 'dancing masters', and 'tumblers', way-laid men and women, beat them, cut noses, rolled matrons in barrels down Snow Hill and committed indecencies.

The constables were tipsy and inefficient. Horace Walpole reports the case of drunken policemen who shut up twenty-five or twenty-six men and women-beggars, a pregnant ill woman and tradesmen — in a round house in St. Martin's and kept them there screaming for water the whole night, with doors and windows closed. In the morning four were found stifled, two died later, and twelve were in shocking state. (The scenario for the Story of the

Black Hole of Calcutta was probably derived from this incident). Thieves, robbers and highwaymen abounded. "One is forced to travel, even at noon, as if one were going to battle," wrote Walpole. Crime, smuggling, gambling, animal-baiting, adultery and profligacy were common. Relations between the sexes were loose.

Fleet marriages, that is "consent and cohabitation", were considered valid. Lecky says "desertion, conjugal infidelity, bigamy, fictitious marriages celebrated by sham priests, were the natural and frequent consequences of the system". Wives could be sold by auction. (Lecky, W.E.H., *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, p. 491., Also Phillips, R.H., *Georgian Scrap-book*).

Religious revivalism with its accompaniments, hysteria, madness and asceticism, belief in miracles, witchcraft, and theological dis-sension, were rampant.

"The conquest was peculiar in another sense. It was achieved wholly at the expense of the conquered, for the Company did not contribute a penny towards the expense of war and conquest. It was remarkable also because the instruments of the conquest were largely supplied by the conquered. In the Deccan wars (1744-54) the Madras army consisted of 300 English soldiers and three to four thousand Indians — Christians, Muslims and Hindus. Clive commanded at Plassey a force of 950 English infantry and 150 artillery and 2,100 Indian sepoys, partly Telingas and partly North Indians — Pathans,

Jats, Rajputs and Brahmanas.

"It is difficult to find a parallel to a victory won so cheaply. At Plassey the British losses were 7 Europeans and 16 sepoys killed and 13 Europeans and 36 sepoys wounded. The gain was domination over the richest province of India - a vast territory yielding a revenue of over twenty-five and a half million rupees a year, and inhabited by nearly thirty million people." (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 1 1971, pp. 223-4.)

We have allowed Tara Chand and all the authorities on which he relies, their full say in the matter. We do not think it necessary to summarise their findings, since it is certain that some of the flavour of the original would get lost.

"The defeat at Plassey exposed all the Indian weaknesses. It brought the richest, and the fairest region of India under the foreigner's yoke. It worked a sudden and radical transformation in the relations of Englishmen and Indians. From a suppliant for favours the Englishman had become a dispenser of boons. Clive struck the first note of truculence in his correspondence with the Nawab of Bengal. Victory made Clive's countrymen insufferably arrogant, overbearing, and cruel. It accentuated ugly traits of character and instigated self-assertion among the members of the conquering race.

"Plassey created a most anomalous situation in Bengal. The conquered country was left without a master. The Nawab was shorn

REGIME OF HYPOCRITICAL HEARTLESSNESS

Indians refused to live under British imperialist rule. The expectation of life at birth in 1921 reached the nadir of about 22 years.

This was the consequence of the genocidal regime of famines imposed upon India by British imperialism. The famines were so regular and devastating that a permanent Department of Famines was created by the British administration. Four Famine Commissions were established by the imperialist rulers. The first in 1867, the second in 1874, the third in 1878-80, and the fourth in 1901.

The First reached the wonderful conclusion that Indian famines were principally due to the excessive reliance by Indians upon agriculture and the lack of alternative occupations. This conclusion was also diabolical: since the British had destroyed Indian industries and forcibly deindustrialised and ruralised the country.

The Third Famine Commission went on record with the statement, "that it was feared by the government of India that the greater and necessary efforts to save all possible lives would go far to render the future government of India impossible. The embarrassment of debt and the weight of taxation, consequent on the expenditure thereby involved, would soon become more fatal to the country than the famine itself." (*EB.*, Vol. 9, p.58b). In short, the Third Famine Commission was of the opinion that for the continuity and economy of the future British administration of India, Indians must die!

of all authority. The East India Company was far away, and in any case, it was a commercial concern not organised for the exercise of political and administrative functions. The Government of England was hardly aware of what the Company's agents were doing and little conscious of its responsibilities towards the conquered people. 'Power', Lecky observes, was practically monopolised by a great multitude of isolated officials, ... far removed from all control, and commanding great bodies of disciplined sepoys.' (W.E.H. Lecky *A History of England till the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 262).

"Some of the officials were 'desperate adventurers of broken fortunes and tarnished honour.' They had come to India at a time when very few of the best Europeans would have considered themselves bound to apply the whole moral law to men of a pagan creed and of a colour differing from their own" (*Ibid.*). The depredations of these men were not unlike the effects of a swarm of locusts settling upon a rich green field. Says Lecky, 'whole districts which had once been populous and flourishing were at last utterly depopulated, and it was noticed that on the appearance of a party of English merchants, the villages were at once deserted and the shops shut, and the roads thronged with panic-stricken refugees.' (*Ibid.*, p. 264)

No moral scruples deterred these greedy officials of the Company from gathering wealth. 'Never before had the native experienced a tyranny which was at once so skillful, so searching and so strong.' (*Ibid.*, p. 264). The writers, factors and merchants of the Company had suddenly become officials with enormous powers. They were paid meagre salaries and were permitted to supplement them by private trade. The conquest of Bengal offered them a golden opportunity. They used their powers to drive their Indian and other rivals out of the trade. They refused to pay customs and transit dues, sold their exemptions to Indians for large sums, intimidated Indian functionaries, prohibited other traders from dealing in goods they sold themselves, coerced the villagers to purchase their goods at exorbitant prices, and to sell their own to them at cheap rates. They monopolised trade in the primary necessities of life and charged famine prices for them. They employed other methods too to swell their incomes. They imposed fines, collected taxes and lent money to the impecunious and improvident Indian nobles and chiefs at exorbitant rates of interest. They practised extortion, jobbery and bribery. Mir Qasim complained to the English Governor and his Council in May 1762 that, 'this is the way your Gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants... Setting up the colours and showing the passes of the Company, they use their utmost endeavours to oppress the peasants, merchants, and other people of the country... In every village and in every factory they buy and sell salt, betel-nut, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things.... They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants, merchants, etc, for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and oppression

they oblige the peasants to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and for the sake of five rupees they bind and disgrace a man who pays a hundred rupees in land-tax; and they allow not any authority to my servants.' (Philip Woodruff, *The Men who Ruled India : The Founders*, p. 106).

"The rapacity of the Company combined with the villainy of its servants turned Bengal into a scene of chaos and anarchy. The result was the terrible famine of 1769-70, which destroyed one-third of the population. The estimates of population vary from ten million to thirty-six million." (See Mill, *The History of British India*, Vol. V, p. 376). Robert takes the figure to thirty-six million and considers that ten million perished. According to Keith the deaths totalled one-fifth of the population, Roberts, P.E., *History of British India under Company and Crown* 1930, p. 167; Keith, A.B., *A Constitutional History of India*, 1937, p. 58)

HUNTER'S HORROR

W.W. Hunter, the great British imperialist historian, upon whom the British lay great store, and one who was the Father of the Imperial Gazetteer Series, has a peculiar laconic way of expressing himself, when it comes to the genocidal famines campaign unleashed by Britain in India : "All the officers, civil and military alike, were tainted with the common corruption. Their legal salaries were paltry and quite insufficient for a livelihood. But they had been permitted to augment them, sometimes a hundred-fold, by means of private trade and gifts from the native powers. Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. Between that date and the governorship of Warren Hastings in 1772, little of importance occurred in Bengal beyond the terrible famine of 1770, which is officially reported to have swept away one - third of the inhabitants." (W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, 1886, p.387).

15 to 20 million Indians are killed, and Hunter has the temerity to write "little of importance occurred beyond! Can cruel chicanery go any further ?

"Hunter quotes a contemporary who states, 'The scene of misery that intervened, and still continues, shocks humanity too much to bear description. Certain it is that in several parts the living have fed on the dead'. (Hunter, W.W., *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 410). Yet the Company remitted only five per cent of the assessment to make good at the expense of the living the losses involved in the wholesale depopulation'.

"The higher officials-the Governors, the Generals, the Councilors, etc., made enormous fortunes from presents exacted from Indian

princes and officials who looked to their favours for the positions they coveted and occupied. James Mill gives an account of the sums distributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal from the year 1757 to the year 1766. The total amount reaches the staggering figure of approximately six million pounds sterling or six crores of rupees. (Mill and Wilson, *The History of British India*, fifth edition, Vol. III, pp. 257-60). This is exclusive of the jagir of Clive, which secured for him the enormous revenue of \$30,000 per annum. Clive returned to England at the age of thirty-four, with a fortune of more than \$40,000 a year, and a sum of \$50,000 for his relatives (Lecky, W.E.H., *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 263; Malcolm, Sir John, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, Vol. II, London, 1836).

"The rank and file among the servants of the company made their own piles. They looked upon their temporary sojourn in the country as a rare opportunity to enrich themselves without the least concern for the fate of the people. The Directors were constrained to admit. 'We think the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a series of the most tyrannic and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country' (Mill and Wilson, *The History of British India*, fifth edition, Vol. III, p. 279).

"The prospects of wealth easily and rapidly acquired excited the cupidity of other Englishmen. The proprietors of the Company and influential persons forced the Company to employ their young relatives and friends in their lucrative service. Covetous men advertised in the English press offering a thousand guineas for pro-

curing a writer's place in Bengal.

"A vast expansion of the official establishment took place, and these highly connected young fortune-hunters were placed in charge of the destinies of millions of Indians. Their own aim in life was to shake the pagoda tree and return home laden with wealth while still in their prime." Writes Keith, (Keith, A.B., *A Constitutional History of India*, second edition, 1937, p. 57) that "the effect of the demands.... was that the fine country which had flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government was verging to its ruin when the English had so great a share in the administration."

"The spirit of greed let loose by Clive affected all sections of English society. The proprietors of the Company clamoured for higher dividends. In 1767, the rate was raised to ten per cent and in 1771 it was proposed to enhance it to twelve and a half per cent. Even the Ministers and the Parliament of England were infected. **The idea that India could be made to pay off the National Debt was extraordinarily captivating, and was bound up with current exaggerated notions of Oriental wealth.** Clive had written to Pitt that the Bengal conquest could 'in time' be used for this purpose, and Beckford thought that 'the East' might become a source of direct revenue. A pamphleteer maintained that India under the direct government of the Crown would yield suffi-

cient profit to discharge the debt' (Holzman J.M., *The Nabobs in England*, New York, 1926 p. 21).

Lecky writes, "without a shadow of authority in the terms of the charter or in the letter of law, the ministers had raised a distinction between the territorial revenue and the trade revenue of the Company. But threatening the former they had extorted, in addition to the legitimate duties which had been paid into the Imperial exchequer, no less than 400,000 pounds a year, at a time when the finances of the Company were altogether unable to bear the exaction. This tribute, which was the true origin of the bankruptcy of the Company, was purely extortionate. In one form or another it was computed that little less than *two million sterling had, of late, passed annually from the Company to the Government* (Lecky, *op.cit.* Vol. IV, pp.. 279-280).

"Clive had debauched the Company, Chatham was concerned lest he should debauch the nation." The danger was real. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, public morality was at its lowest ebb in England. Corruption was rampant. *Pocket and rotten boroughs from which members of Parliament were returned were a saleable commodity.* The King and leaders of parties were eager to purchase them and hence they were anxious to extort large sums of money from the Company. Equally rich servants of the Company who had returned as 'nabobs' were keen upon build-

BRITISH CONQUEST NEITHER OUT OF RACIAL OR CULTURAL SUPERIORITY

Britain managed to rule over India for varying lengths of time in different regions, from about 1765 (Bengal, Bihar, Orissa) to about 1894-97 (Baluchistan, Manipur, Tirah, Chitral etc..) [see above] to 1947, for a period ranging from 182 to 50 years, averaging 125 years for the country as a whole.

Britain enjoyed neither racial nor cultural superiority. Racially the term Indo-Aryan carries no meaning, as Max Mueller, Imperialist populariser, himself admitted. Indo-Aryan is a purely linguistic term. Yet, if in a loose and popular sense, if we admitted to "one language, one race" theory, the Indians are the purest representatives of the Indo-Aryan language, the oldest and greatest Indo-Aryans with the most extensive literature in the world, and in India, Indo-Aryan has been and is being spoken for the greatest length of time, for over seven millennia ! Indic languages are the ideal Indo-Aryan, all other Indo-Aryan languages of Europe and the Middle East being derivatives suffering diverse losses in the course of migrations out of India that reached as far as Ireland, Scandinavia and the Baltic States.

In fact, racially, it has been established by the latest researches that the European Local Race is probably an admixture of the two species *Homo Sapiens Sapiens* and *Homo Sapiens Neanderthalensis*. In other words, Europeans are not full grown human beings. They are mixed up, bastardised and hybridised by traits borrowed from Neanderthal stock, which in evolutionary terms, as everyone knows, was a dead end.

That is why, almost certainly, the inhumanity of Europeans to each other and to other local populations of the world !

The bogus cultural superiority claims of Europeans, made by many 19th century British scoundrels like Macaulay, James Mill, William Bentinck and others are totally hollow as has been proved elsewhere in this article ! The scum of British society came in contact with Indian civilisation in the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. and probably learnt a modicum of culture from the Indians ! They admitted this earlier and many Englishmen themselves wrote as quoted by us here, comparing Britishers to "monkeys" when placed side-by-side with educated Indians ! But this simple truth, backed up by the evidence of continuous export surpluses in commodities, technologies and ideas that India enjoyed for thousands of years, which drained the world's gold and silver hoards to India, year after year, from at least 100 B.C. to 1820 A.D. (Pliny the Elder to George Forster's testimonies), was not admissible once Britain had carried out the First Industrial Revolution (c. 1765 - c. 1860) and converted India's relentless export surpluses into a drain of wealth from India in the heydays of Imperialism (from 1860 to 1919).

But whether the Imperialists of the world admit the correct position as outlined above or not, TRUTH SHALL PREVAIL !

Indian export surpluses in transactions with the world cannot be wished away.

And let us understand that the country which enjoys superiority in commodity exchanges, inevitably and necessarily enjoys superiority in ideas, technologies and culture also !

Furthermore, Europe was able to conquer and hold India for a number of years precisely because European Feudalism was petty and weak, whilst in India-China-Persia, Feudalism was so strong that it was able to delay the rise of capitalist forces. In Europe, the international feudal chain broke at its weakest links, just as today world capitalism is breaking at its weakest links in Asia, Africa and Latin America ! Capitalism is not breaking down where it is strongest in Euro-America-Japan, but here in China-India-Brazil-Nigeria-Indonesia, etc. !

Europe advanced as capitalism triumphed at the end of the Industrial Revolution in the middle of the 19th century, and India and Asia fell behind as capitalism could not shatter feudalism locally.

To conclude, Europe conquered India, as the Capitalist Mode of Production proved to be superior to the Indian Feudal economy, and not out of any religious, racial or cultural superiority !

Man lives by his productive capacity and triumphs or goes under as that capacity advances or declines !

ing up influence in the legislature. An illustration of these tendencies was the general election of 1768 in which as many as twenty-one of them were returned. 'The new Parliament was a true gathering together of the nabobs' (Davies, A. Mervyn, *Clive of Plassey*, 1939, p. 462). There were four Clives among them. The others were men who had played a prominent part in the recent events in India. (By the middle of the 19th century the E.I.Co. Nabobs elected to the British Parliament numbered over 60. I.H. Chapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, Vol. 1, Ch. IV; population of Great Britain in 1751 was 7.25 millions, in 1781, 9.25 millions, and in 1810, 10.94 millions).

The acquisition of a vast and populous territory presented constitutional and legal problems of extreme complexity. The East India Company was a commercial body, a creation of the Government of England. It exercised functions and rights which were derived from charters granted by the head of the State.

Only one more mendacious lie remains to be named. That is about the boast that Great Britain is the oldest democracy in the world. This is an outrageous untruth for it was only in 1921 that the electorate exceeded 50 per cent of the age group eligible to vote. The position is detailed in the table below :

Growth of the Electorate of Gr. Britain

Total Year	Population of Electorate million	Voting Age million	Electorate as % of Pop. aged 20 and over
1831	0.44	10.21	4.4
1832	0.72	10.21	7.1
1864	1.13	13.05	9.0
1868	2.23	13.63	16.4
1883	2.96	16.42	18.0
1886	4.97	17.39	28.5
1914	7.48	24.97	30.0
1921	19.98	26.65	74.0
1931	29.18	30.10	96.9
1970	38.37	39.04	98.3

Source : *Ency. Brit.*, 73 edn, Vol. 17, p. 384

During the period that India was being conquered by Britain (1757-1860). The British people enjoyed a "democracy" of less than 10 per cent. It was an oligarchy of the riff-raff, the ruffians, the criminal lumpens and despicable and cruel fortune-hunters that occupied India.

We have, time and again in *Mankind* reiterated our tri-faceted ideological position. We firmly believe that the solution to India's systematic crisis lies along the triple confluent paths of SOCIALISM, NATIONALISM AND REVOLUTIONISM.

Let us consider each of these facets in greater analytical depth.

The Case For Socialism Restated

It is obvious to us that the next stage in human societal evolution is the coming into being, and flowering of the Socialist Mode of Production.

Some of our venerable and illustrious predecessors like Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, to name just four, have also said so. However, the world vision of this quartet was essentially blighted by a Eurocentric outlook. Perhaps this was inevitable, for all four were the children of the anti-capitalist movement of the European 19th century, which was essentially a century of the imperialist conquest of the world, and of the times when the world economy was being created under capitalist hegemony.

Therefore, we have opted to strike out along the Lohiaite

path of a restructuring of our ideological base along more universal lines. In the course of summing up the contents of *Mankind* in its first year, we have highlighted, the following features of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's vital contributions :

- 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 avasar* (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 shall examine more closely the Lohiaite tenets of Nationalism, Socialism and Revolutionism further on in this Reiterated, Revised, Enlarged and Updated formulation of *Mankind's* credo. At this point, we would like to restate the contemporary case for socialism.

The Modern Case for Socialism

Because of the horrible Stalinist perversion of socialist ideas and of his calamitous leadership of the counter-revolutionary wave that restored bureaucratic state capitalism in Russia between 1924 and 1939, a sort of stigma has come to be attached to the concept of socialism, especially by the careerist intellectuals of the Western world and by their apers and imitators in the Third World.

The economic case for socialism is very simple. The private capitalist owners of means of production withdraw an enormous amount from the total social product, in order to pay to themselves profits, interest and rent. Therefore, a perpetual crisis of overproduction and underconsumption is gestated. This endemic crisis acquires a cyclical form of Stagnation, Recession, Depression and Wars. The amounts kept aside as Depreciation Charges, Reserve Funds and Personal Savings are anarchically used up to promote wasteful and luxurious living for the elite and parasitical, and coupon-clipping lifestyles for the rich, the famous, and the powerful. Bankruptcies and writing downs of assets are systematically organized and when this is not enough, destructive wars are arranged to clear periodically the surplus that has been generated and which has not been matched by release of purchasing power to the working masses. It is not possible, in an unplanned free market manner to match depreciation provisions with genuine infrastructural investments. Speculative raids upon the market fritter away enormous social resources. Subsidies to farmers and welfare allocations to wage earners do not absorb the over-production of basic consumer goods. Millions of small shop-keepers and little hawkers and vendors together with millions of independent craftsmen are ruined and thrown on the rubbish heap of the unemployed, whilst supermarkets and chain stores proliferate, whilst designer goods and supercharged advertising campaigns lust for the last paisa in the hands of the ordinary citizen. Mad consumerism never catches up with the basic pattern of overproduction and underconsumption. Even wars are not enough.

The modern case for socialism is very simple :

- 1) Capitalism is a genetic calamity for humanity. The normal cranial capacity of the human species is 1.3 kg of grey matter. The population of the Earth is about 5.25 billions. Thus we possess as *homo sapiens* only 7 billion kg or 7 mln. tonnes of fundamental scanning material. By inflicting poverty upon the bulk of humanity, by discriminating against all sorts of social segments like women, ethnic and religious minorities, castes and tribes etc., capitalism is today wasting over 90% of this human genetic po-

tential.

Only a self-willed autonomous democratic socialist society can free humanity from the scourge of debilitating and haemorrhaging capitalism. The poor undergo multiple deprivations: in Nutrition, Clothing, Housing, Education and Healthcare, the five fundamentals of life. *Panchabhutas* as we might say in India. The lack of *Panchabhutas* ultimately results in non-development of human genetic potentialities.

2) Environmental Degradation is the other result of free market operations. The limited resources of the planet are mercilessly exploited, in an anarchic, unplanned manner, without thought of our own progeny. Global warming is taking place, acid rain is falling upon nations that are far from the sources of pollution, the Brazilian and Indian rain forests are disappearing, hundreds and thousands of species are becoming near extinct. Bio-diversity and planned growth are anathema to capitalism, and it is impossible to avoid total social and physical disaster if capitalism is not restrained drastically by public prohibitions.

3) Apart from Genetic Waste and Environmental Disaster, Capitalism continuously organises destructions of productive capacities through an endless series of limited and global wars. In an earlier note in *Mankind*, we have presented the data on the Two World Wars of this century (1914-9 and 1939-45). After the end of the 2nd World War, already, by 1988, 145 limited wars have occurred, which have cost many millions in lives and billions in dollars.

It is not possible under free market policies to control competition or contain trade wars. Ultimately the latter must lead to armed confrontations, as determined by cartels of monopolists, specially the giant multinationals that dominate the fields of Energy Production, Armaments Manufacture and Global Financial Operations.

Capitalism requires the preferential extraction of surplus for an elite minority, which lives on Interest, Dividends, Profits, Rents, etc. which after all must leave the mass of the wage-earners with insufficient purchasing power in relation to the total output. Cyclical crises of over-production and underconsumption are therefore inevitable. Periodical destruction and writing down of productive assets become necessary, through wars, bankruptcies, unfavourable terms of trade for the Third World, devaluations of Third World currencies, and so on. All these create tensions across the globe, which must get resolved through big or small wars.

Apartheid, Zionism, genocide, ethnic cleansing, communal riots, famines of purchasing power, forced underdevelopment of parts of the world, these are all necessary concomitants of capitalism.

4) Apart from Endemic Wars, Genetic Waste and Environmental Disaster, Capitalism stands condemned in my view as an immoral system.

Can any intelligent person approve of the horrendous inequalities that prevail between individuals and nations today?

I believe that there is a place for ethical choice, even within the philosophy of materialism.

I do not like to live in such an unequal society as is to be found today. Are the poor, and the oppressed and the humble to be so exploited, so oppressed, so unfairly treated as now? Is it decent to take advantage of them, to con them, to brainwash them, to cheat them, to use them, so mercilessly, so cruelly, so pitilessly?

What has happened to our moral fibre? We watch with equa-

nimity, all that the poor and the downtrodden, suffer so patiently, so silently, so unobtrusively!

I am heartbroken. I cannot bear this injustice, the heartlessness, the indifference of the well-off, the powerful and the influential! I just do not like to live in such an unequal world! For me, to strive for personal aggrandisement is anathema!

I am not referring to the hordes of beggars that one meets at all street corners, though of course that is a horrible sight! But I am talking of the millions of landless labourers who toil so hard in our lakhs of villages, the low caste *dalits*, the oppressed *pidits*, the innocent tribals, the beedi workers, the crores of propertyless dispossessed, the millions of port-workers, construction workers, the factory hands, the railway and transport workers, the skilful craftsmen. What crime have they committed?

The very thought of them robs me of all joy of living. I am actually surprised that I continue to live in such an unequal society!

I know that I cannot activate socialism in a Gandhian small-scale manner! But I am horrified with the way things are.

I do believe that ultimately, it is my moral-ethical choice.

I cannot bear the unequal present. I must have socialism on a grand scale, for all of humanity! There is no other ethical way of finding a reason for living!

5) There are still more forceful reasons for striving towards socialist egalitarianism. Culturally, capitalism is a horror and a disaster!

I am sick of the constant media bombardment of "Sell, Sell! Buy, Buy! Make Money, Loll in the sun, Keep clipping coupons! Personal greed is the highest social good! Emulate the rich and the famous and the powerful! Sell, Sell! Buy, Buy!"

Can we allow such selfishness, conmanship, criminality, violence and consumerism to go on unchecked?

Are we not all children of the same mother earth, with the same appetites and passions, the same failings and weaknesses, the same desires and aspirations, the same hopes and sorrows, the same joys and despairs? Are we one species or many? Are we not all brothers and sisters?

What are we doing to ourselves? All that is humane, decent, fair and just; is all this to be thrown away for the sake of the profits that a few advertisers make? Are we to give up all sense and allow a set of capitalist crooks to brainwash us, eternally?

Have we no manly or womanly choice in the matter?

Jealousy of other Joneses, intrigue and dastardly manoeuvring, one-up-man-ship, taking advantage of the helpless and the ignorant, kicking anyone who is down and out, is this all that we are capable of? Where is all this leading us, if not to eternal strife and endless tension and anxiety?

Why are we doing all this, so atomistically, so egoistically, so selfishly?

What has capitalism done to us human beings?

All that is rotten, and dirty, and heinous and cheap, and vulgar, is the worst within us to be brought up all the time? Is the best to be suppressed forever?

I cannot and will not live like this! *Mankind* cannot live like this.

I am an atheist. I do not believe in any god who is going to guide us. I am a humanist. I know that we must be guided by what

FAMINES AND DEMOGRAPHY

The famines of 19th century British-ruled India, were famines only of purchasing power. Foodgrains and Oilseeds remained the principal item of Indian exports till the 1930s.

British imperialism created conditions in which Indians could not live! The average expectation of life at birth fell to less than 23 in the decade of 1911-21.

NEW C.A.

The New Constituent Assembly will formulate a constitution that will eliminate corruption and enforce official accountability. Under its provisions Lok Sabha will have for the first time true powers over the administration through Committees whose decisions will automatically be implemented by Departments.

good for all of us.

Is it not foolish and stupid on our part to kill fellow beings ? To give them pain ? To deprive them of the essentials of life ? To torture them endlessly ? To support a system which deprives them of Nutrition, Clothing, Housing, Education and Healthcare ?

How can Capitalism that turns men into fiends, be allowed to go on for even a day ?

There are thousands of arguments, economic, political, sociological, biological, cultural, in favour of socialism. But the most overwhelming are the arguments based on ethics, morality, decency, fairness, justice, aesthetics and truth !

This side of the question can never be lost sight of.

The case for socialism is really very simple. It is a moral choice.

I am surprised quite often that people go on with their convoluted exercises in pure cynicism, without bothering about the most essential ethical and aesthetic issues !

Can any human being live in a society where the majority are unhappy and distressed, whilst a minority sets every man at loggerheads with every other man ?

I need socialism, like I need to breathe the free air and drink water.

To me, Socialism is not a distant goal. It is my immediate vital necessity.

I cannot do without it ! I must have it ! I shall have it.

Mankind shall have it.

Does a woman give birth to a man so that he may live in grinding poverty, in existence deprived of all the essentials, so that his brain does not develop at all ? Can such a devilish design ever be attributed to any mother ?

What have we made of ourselves ? What are we doing to each other ? Why are we tearing each other to shreds in World Wars and limited wars, in man-made famines and pestilences, in economic cycles of recession, depression and stagflation ? Are we masochists and sadists, murderers and rapers, thieves and gangsters, that we should deprive innocents of the basic necessities of life ?

Are we men or mere pawns in the Capitalist game of free market self-aggrandisement ?

Enough !

ALL MEN ARE BORN EQUAL AND ARE BROTHERS !

NO MAN SHALL SET HIMSELF APART AND ELEVATE HIMSELF ABOVE OTHERS !

LET THERE BE PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL THE HUMAN BEINGS LIVING ON THE EARTH !

Readers of *Mankind* will excuse this outburst of indignation and passion. Let us return to earth.

TRIPLE CONFLUENT PATH

What has failed in the last half century, in not the individual, as made out by bribed journalists, but the comprador constitutional system, that had been created by the Congress in 1946-9.

The solution to the Indian crisis lies along the triple confluent paths of **NATIONALISM, SOCIALISM and REVOLUTIONISM !**

India has been flung into an all-pervasive, deep-going crisis by the vested interests of the West. Every facet of our collective existence, economic, political, social, cultural and moral has been thrown into a cauldron. It all began in 1765, when Britain acquired the *dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the name of the EICo. and created, within five years, the *Dastak Famine of 1770* which carried away nearly half the population of the provinces, or some two crores of poor and starving Indians died. Between 1770 and the end of British rule, another 6 crores were exterminated by man-made famines (Wadia & Merchant, *Our Economic Problem 1959*, pp. 87-8). The famines of the 18th and the 19th centuries in India were merely famines of purchasing power, which were created as a part of the grand British imperialist strategy of forced underdevelopment and imperial loot. Foodgrains, oilseeds, and beverages remained the most important items of exports till the 1930s. (Vera Anstey, *The Economic Development of India*, 1942, Table XVII. p. 536).

Of this process of *primitive accumulation*, the Indian comprador class was an integral part. That is why nothing fundamental changed in 1947, when India was partitioned and the two Dominions of India and Pakistan were gestated with the intimate cooperation of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. (Later, in 1971, India succeeded in splitting the two wings of Pakistan, but failed to integrate Bangladesh with India).

The acceptance by the Government of India from mid-1991 of the *Structural Adjustment Programme and the Strategy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation* imposed by the *Trimurti* of neo-colonialism i.e. WB, IMF and WTO (the last known till recently as GATT), have created conditions almost identical with those that prevailed in 19th century India, when British-made famines, one after another, ravaged the land and the bones of the Indian weavers, who had for many centuries clothed the entire world with cotton and silk garments, till almost the 1820s, bleached the plains of the Ganga and the hills and plateaus around the Cauvery. Today, the progeny of these weavers, who were deindustrialised, ruralised and pauperised as landless agricultural labourers for

the greater glory of British imperialism, are starving in Utkal, Magadh, Jharkhand, Dandakaranya, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Bhilistan and surrounding tracts. Not only just starving, quite often dying too !

The reconquest of India by the *Trimurti* of Neocolonialism, has been achieved by dividing the Indian polity three ways into a vast mass of the have-nots at the bottom (at least 65% to 75%), a layer of middle class in between (at most 20% to 25%) and a small minority or creamy layer of 2% to 3% at the top, English-knowing, upper-caste and property-owning. In our view, there is no poverty anywhere, like Indian poverty, except perhaps in the "structurally adjusted" sub-Saharan Africa of recent vintage.

The bottom 66% or 75% of India that is made up of the have-nots, is divided into the Tribals (nearly 8%) and the Scheduled Castes (about 16%), and the Dalits or the OBC's (Other Backward Castes totalling the remaining 42% or 51%). That poverty has neither been *hataed* nor have the poor been alleviated nor have welfare measures been implemented. According to Rajiv Gandhi's own oft-quoted formula, barely 15% of the sums allocated under welfare, reached the masses. This is further empha-

sised by two or three tell-tale indices.

The female ratio has dropped to 927 in 1991, from 972 in 1901 and 945/6 in 1941/51. That is, at the level of Indian poverty, even a slight preference in favour of the boy-child, in matters of nutrition, medicine and education, leads to the preferential killing of a girl-child! Had the incidence of absolute poverty been really diminishing why would the female ratio keep falling?

Another startling fact is about employment and job security.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANCE

A revolutionary opportunity exists today of merging Eelam with Tamilnadu and making Tamilnadu into a constituent of a **NEW** Federation of the Socialist States of India. Similarly, a New United Bengal should become a part of the same New Socialist Federation of India.

India has the largest volunteer army, of over two million, in human history, as though Indians had a monopoly over patriotism! That apart, if employment was really growing in India, how is that over two million of our young men are found to be making a career out of killing and getting killed?

Thirdly, if average incomes were rising, why are the figures of the number of landless labourers in agriculture, the lowest paid stratum in society, going up by leaps and bound? Let us look at the record:

"In pre-British India our country was unaware of any such class (of landless labourers). *The growth in the number of the agricultural proletariat is a marked feature of our rural economy.* In 1882, the Census Report gave 7-1/2 million as landless day labourers in agriculture. This number increased to 21.5 in 1921 and to 33 million in 1931. These figures relate to undivided India. In the Indian Union after partition, the Agrarian Reforms Committee estimated the number of landless agricultural labourers at 3-1/2 crores and including dependents at 10 crores (or 100 millions)" (Wadia & Merchant, 1959, pp-305-7).

"The landless agricultural labour households in 1956-7 accounted for 57 percent of total as against 50 percent in 1951" (*India, A Reference Annual*, 1963, p. 215).

"According to the 1971 Census agricultural labourers in India as distinct from cultivators, numbered 4.75 crores (47.5 millions with dependents they would number 136 million), representing 26.33% of the total work force. In 1970-71, the average earnings as wages per man-day for the country as a whole were Rs. 2.03 for the landless worker and Rs. 1.90 for small cultivators (*India, A Reference Annual*, 1992, p. 620).

The statistical picture is increasingly fudged in comprador India. After his magnificent maiden speech made in 1963 in the Lok Sabha, wherein Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had established with the help of official sources themselves, that the income of an average Indian per day was just 80 paise, and in rural India, it was very much lower, Jawaharlal stoutly denied this. Lohia quoted, *India, A Reference Annual*, 1963, p. 145, to show that official statistics established Rs. 297.4 at 1948-49 prices as the per capita income in 1961-62, equivalent to 0.80 paise. Since agriculture on which 75% of Indians were dependent, accounted for only 47% of the national income, it was a mere 38 paise per day for the rural population dependent on agriculture.

Jawahar was incensed at this charge of Lohia, since the latter had earlier proved that Jawahar spent on himself at least Rs. 25,000 per diem. (See Lohia's book "*Rs. 25,000 A Day*") I was present in the gallery when this debate took place, and if I remember right, Nanda, the Planning Minister, intervened to suggest a

compromise figure of 10-1/2 annas against Lohia's 5-1/2 and Jawahar's 15-1/2. It was all too ridiculous for words! Actually, Jawahar's per diem expenditure on himself was absolutely disproportionate, whether the earnings of the average Indian were 38 paise, or 95 paise or anything in between. In any event, the overall average per diem income of an Indian in 1961-62 was just 80 paise or less than a rupee (at 48-49 prices). Jawahar was spending on himself, per day, 25,000 times more than the average Indian.

The female ratio, the immense volunteer army, and the ever-increasing mass of landless labourers, conclusively establish the reality of the continuing and unrelieved Indian crisis.

As opposed to the mass of the have-nots, a creamy layer of compradors, consisting of just 2% or 3% of the population, has garnered all the benefits of the tortoise-pace "Hindu rate of development" that has occurred since 1947. The masses have gained nothing, except a little bit of longevity, which though significant, is still much below not only the advanced West, but also of countries like Sri Lanka and China. From a sub-human level under British rule of less than 23 in 1921 and of about 27 at the end of direct British rule in 1947, the expectation of life at birth in India has climbed to around 61 in 1992, whilst in China and Sri Lanka, it stands at 69 and 72 respectively. *The comprador state of India, from 1947 to 1995, has been the principal engine of primitive accumulation* and has progressively screwed more and more out of the Indian poor, extracting immense taxes in the form of excise duties, customs and sales taxes, and redistributing the same to the rich in the form of tax holidays, depreciation allowances and monopoly profits in a protected market. The 2% or 3% of the creamy layer of comprador class consists in the main of English-knowing upper-caste upstarts, speculators, parvenus, black-marketeers, brokers, commission agents, stewards, pimps and former imperialist-endowed title-holders, and such other bourgeois riff-raff and lumpen capitalists. Class divisions and income disparities have enormously widened and deepened in Indian society, after 1765, after 1860, after 1947, and especially after mid-1991, when the Congress-Bureaucracy combine of Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh seized power and abandoned even the minimal nationalistic and socialist rhetoric that was earlier hypocritically proclaimed by the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty of Jawaharlal, Indira and Rajiv who ruled India from 1946-64 (Jawaharlal), 1966-77 (Indira), 1980-84 (Indira, second term) and 1984-89 (Rajiv).

The roots of the current crisis lie in the rotten compromise struck by the Indian National Congress and its partner, the Muslim

ONE IS TO 25,000

In the fifties & the sixties, Jawaharlal Nehru spent on himself, per day, more than 25,000 times the income of an average Indian. The average annual income of an Indian in 1961-62 was Rs. 297.4 at 1948-49 prices, or 81 paise per day, whilst Jawahar spent on himself at least Rs. 25,000 per day!

League, with British Imperialism in 1947. India did not become independent in August 1947. Two Dominions of India and Pakistan were carved out of the mutilated body of India, as per the vivisectional procedures spelt out by the Indian Independence Act, 1947, passed by the British House of Commons. The opening line of the act reads "An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.... etc, etc."

Jawaharlal Nehru was fully aware of this birth-blemish and basic limitation to the sovereignty of the Indian polity which came into being on August 14/15 1947. *That is why India has two names* ("India, that is Bharat" as per the Indian Constitution, Article 1, Clause 1), and *two National Days*, namely, the so-called Independence Day of August 15, 1947 and the Republic Day of January 26, 1950. Jawahar thought that he could cheat history. He imagined that all he had to do was to get the bogus Constituent Assembly of 1946-49 to pass a resolution of self-empowerment, and then everything would be all right. But an assembly of infamous stooges and estwhile collaborators of imperialism cannot change its character by self-appointment and self-laudation.

A Dominion Assembly, like the CA of 1946-49, with limited sovereignty prescribed by a foreign House of Commons, one-third appointed by the powerless princelings, two-third indirectly elected by British Indian Provincial Assemblies, themselves elected on a basis of a mere 8% franchise, with the electorate divided into 70 different kinds of constituencies, fragmented on the basis of race (Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Tribals, etc.), religion (Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, etc.) caste (scheduled castes), sex (women voted separately), economic status (land-lord, plantation owners etc.) educational accomplishments (graduates), and such other absurd restrictive qualifications, whereby not only certain types of candidates were filtered out by a semi-elective process, but also, they were chosen by *electorates of their own sort* or peers, such a gathering of brokers, *kala gumastas, banians, dubashes, khansamas, stewards, dalals, pimps*, imperialism-endowed title-holders, was not entitled to pass a resolution and arrogate to itself a representative character on behalf of the Indian people.

A climax of comic double absurdity was reached in the CA of 1946-49.

Firstly, the Provincial Assemblies that indirectly elected two-thirds of the CA of 1946-49, were formed as per the provisions of the Constitution of 1935, which had established an electorate of 30 million out of a population of about 385 millions, whilst the elections to the Central Assembly held as per the Constitution of 1919, were with an electorate of just 1.5 million ! It was a strange medley of imperialist-comprador continuity.

Secondly, for the Provincial Assembly elections, the electoral roll of 1937 was used, and for the Central Assembly, presumably, some roll of 1919 to 1934 vintage. So many had departed from the earth, and so many had changed addresses during the intervening war-time years, that in effect, any 'ghost' voted, who-soever was selected by the goons of the Congress and the League election agents. It was a truly ghostly CA of 1946-49, which had no right to call itself anything except a Constitutional Anomaly !

The Constituent Assembly of 1946-49 was a joke and a travesty. The Constitution of 1949-50 (some parts of our present constitution came into force from November 26, 1949, and the rest from January 26th, 1950), *is a betrayal and a farce.*

The present constitution is FOR the benefit of a combine of Congress compradors and corrupt brown-sahib bureaucrats, is BY this unholy alliance, and OF this criminal partnership. It is a Constitution of bureaucratic irresponsibility and unbridled corruption.

The election of a new Constituent Assembly is a matter of

national salvation. This new Constitution would empower the Indian people for the first time to control and rein in the bureaucracy; stamp out official corruption; establish parliamentary control over the executive, including the judiciary, through parliamentary committees that oversee all government departments; grant the right of information to the people; decentralise the police administration to the *zilla-parishad* level; re-form the Central State relations by allocating to the Centre merely Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Finance, External Trade & Customs, Inter-State Commerce, Transport and Communications, and matters that affect the Sovereignty, Unity, Security and Integrity of the Country, leaving all the rest to the States.

The new Constitution will provide for enforceable fundamental rights, which will enable any harmed citizen to claim *double the compensation* for any loss suffered by him out of bureaucratic negligence, injustice and oppression, once from the state and a second time from the officials concerned.

This New Constituent Assembly should be triple in size to the present Lok Sabha, which has merely 550 members for a population

of 900 millions. One-third would be elected by the present first past-the-post geographical constituencies, one-third would be elected on proportional basis through party lists, and the remaining one-third by collegiates of *zilla-parishad* members voting in State-wise groups. (The Rajya Sabha is anomalous both in name and in function and will be abolished). All the MP's would be subject to recall by their electors. There could be other fundamental changes. There will be no Govern-

nors, the Chief Justices of the State High courts will officiate on all ceremonial occasions.

NO bureaucrat will be allowed to have any income or wealth beyond his official earnings. The onus of proof will have to be provided by the *naukarshah* in all cases of corruption. In an official investigation of corruption, the income tax returns of the *naukarshah* and family will have to be provided to the investigators, to the tribunals and to the courts. All cases of official corruption will be completed within six months and will be defended by the officials at their own legal cost. If the *naukarshah* is successful, he can later collect from the state a properly itemised bill of minimal scale expenses. During the pendency of any proceedings exceeding a lakh of rupees, he or she will stand suspended from the date of the filing of the case.

There will be a permanent committee of the parliament, in perpetual session, with quasi-judicial powers, which will deal with all project over-runs in time and cost. All officials found responsible for over-runs of over a year and over a crore of rupees will stand dismissed automatically. All appeals will be exhausted within one year of determination of guilt. What has failed in the past half century is not the average Indian individual, as is usually made out by bribed journalists, but the ridiculous comprador system, which has perpetuated corruption and inefficiency, together with total neglect of the aspirations of the masses.

The Partition of India in 1947 was the greatest crime against the Indian people, perpetrated by the elite-compradors of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League and was supported by the undivided Communist Party of India. The 1947 Partition resulted not only in the killings of 6 lakhs innocents (equivalent to the casualties of a major war), but also caused the biggest

PAKISTAN'S VIOLATIONS

Ethnic cleansing, and Human Rights violations, by Pakistan over the last 48 years, resulting in the overall demographic reduction from 24% minorities to 2 to 3%, must be brought out into the open, and world public opinion mobilised against Pakistani crimes against humanity. An International Commission of experts should be formed, including Jewish experts who have successfully obtained compensation from Germany, and East and South-East Asian experts, who have preferred similar

single event of migration known to human history, of 17 millions. This Partition of 1947 was accepted by the INC and ML compradors, whom Lohia identified as the "Guilty Men of India's Partition" (See Lohia's book of the same name)

The Communists of India had never been a part of the nationalist main-stream of Indian politics. The Second World War which according to them had become a People's War from 1941, carried to a climax their antinational activities. They betrayed the freedom fighters of August 9th, 1942, to the imperialist police, and stood aside from the INA struggles of end-1945 when the masses came out into the streets to protest against the court-martial of INA officers Dhillon, Sehgal and Shahawaz Khan. They supported the historic crime of Indian Partition in 1947. The Communists of India now stand divided into the CPI, CPI(M) and numerous factions of CPI(ML). Some of their leaders have, in recent times, confessed that they made grave errors in supporting the 1947 Partition of India, and in oppressing the anti-imperialist struggles of 1942-1945. It is hoped, that these leaders and their cadres have learnt valuable lessons from not only these pro-imperialist manoeuvres of the war years, but also from the serious strategic errors which they made by propping up the semi-fascist Indira Gandhi regime of 1969-71, when Indira's government survived on Communist votes in the Lok Sabha ! And again in 1975-77 when Indira imposed an Internal Emergency ! Once again, repeating history, the Communist leaders have confessed to their errors in bolstering Indira's Government in 1969-71 and in supporting the Emergency of 1975-77. The Communists have got into the strange habit of confessing to serious errors a few years after committing them repeatedly ! Their basic disorientation is no doubt a consequence of their non-involvement in the national mainstream freedom struggle.

Mankind believes that the solution to the Indian crisis lies along the triple and confluent paths of -

NATIONALISM : without which it is not possible to combat the machinations of the neo-colonialists and without which it is not possible to industrialise rapidly.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM : In the sense that socialism cannot be realised without vibrant democracy, and democracy cannot be made vibrant without socialism.

AND REVOLUTIONISM : which means the exercise of revolutionary will in the most adverse of circumstances, whatever be the new name by which the historic revolutionary urge by the neo-colonialised, limited war torn, compradoristically beguiled and globally brain-washed masses may be more recently expressed.

Above all, *Mankind* will focus upon compradorism which has, in recent times, become strengthened internationally by the Neo-Colonialist regimes, set up everywhere in the world by the OECD countries, including the Nelson Mandela regime in post-Apartheid South-Africa and that of Yasser Arafat in Palestine, which are the latest symbols of betrayal of the nationalist oppressed masses of the Third World. Mandela and Arafat have been appropriately dishonoured with the award of the Nobel Prizes, which they have been compelled to share with three of the worst racialist scoundrels and barbarians known to recent world history (De Clerk, Rabin & Perez). Unfortunately, Mandela and Arafat did not have the moral courage of Le Duc Tho of Vietnam who refused to share the award with Henry Kissinger in 1973, and thus left a shining example of militant moral rectitude for the fighting masses of the world. By the

same token, he exposed the petty and vulgar manoeuvres and intrigues of the innumerable award-seekers of India, who are queuing up for Magasayay Awards, Booker Prizes, Lutyens Medals, and such other emblems of mental servitude.

In India, compradorism rests upon the four pillars of an alleged superiority of the English language, though spectacular scientific and cultural progress is being realised by Japan, Russia, China, Germany and France entirely without any reliance on the English language. The English language does not provide a "window to the world" as alleged by the spineless middle-men of India, but merely an opening to the effluvia of the stagnant gutter of Neo-Colonialism.

The second pillar of Compradorism in India is the Aryan Invasion Theory, which falsely makes out that India has been subject to endless invasions from times immemorial beginning with the supposed Aryan Invasion in 1500 B.C. This Aryan Invasion Theory is a figment of a sick imperialist fantasy. Our *Vedas* know of no Aryan arrivals from outside ! And this is the oldest literature of India and entire world dating back to c. 4500 B.C.! *Vedas* relate to the *Sapta Sindhu* region, which is the oldest riparian civilization of the world, older than those of the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, Mekong and the Huang Ho by over one thousand five hundred years. And Indian history knows of not only the fewest foreign invasions, much less than the endless ones known to Europe, but also exemplifies the innumerable repulsions that India succeeded

STATE'S PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

The State has been the principal engine of Primitive Accumulation in India, collecting through excise, customs and sales taxes, 75% of all government revenue, and redistributing this enormous sum to Indian capitalists in the form of protected markets, monopoly profits, depreciation allowances and other tax benefits and holidays.

in mounting whenever approached from 4500 B.C. to 1750 A.D. The Indian feudal structure was so powerful and resilient that it could absorb for some six millenia, all the external shocks that it received. In fact, the international feudal chain broke down in Europe precisely because there it was weak, petty and worn-out. The historic advantage of backwardness lay with Europe in the Middle Ages.

The third and the fourth pillars of Indian compradorism are those formed by the careers of the allegedly super-geniuses William Shakespeare and Alexander III, who were merely run-of-the-mill performers on the world stage and in the world history.

India's foreign policy has been bankrupt from the start. Instead of pursuing steadfastly, a policy of simple and solid economic gains for the country, J. Nehru was fooled by the cunning flatterers of the West, that he was a world Statesman and Messiah of Peace. Actually, Jawaharlal was made into the "dog walking beneath the cart", who thinks that the weight of the cart is borne by his shoulders. Nehru or India did not bring any peace to Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Palestine or Congo. Jawahar merely provided the cheap policing of the cease-fires and the truces that were arranged by the principal contending parties, who alone determined the peace terms negotiated among themselves. It was the Chinese and the North Koreans on one side and the Americans and the South Koreans on the other, who warred with each other and negotiated the terms under which cessation of hostilities took place at the end of the Korean war (1951-53). Indian policing of the DMZ (De-Militarized Zone) or holding custody of POWS, was at best irrelevant. India carried out minor peon-like chores at the behest of America. Where is the need or the scope to elevate this *Chapras* of American Presidents and British Prime Ministers to the level of a Great Statesman or an Apostle of World Peace ? The same goes for all the other limited wars mentioned in South East Asia, the Middle-East and Africa. How can a parti-

tioned, weak & poor nation like India ever aspire to become the arbiter of the fates of nations across the planet? It was all foolishness and Nehruism!

A golden revolutionary opportunity exists today. The demand for Eelam, or Tamil homeland enjoys wide-spread support on both sides of the Palk Straits, in Tamil Nadu, in Jaffna, in north-east and east Sri Lanka, where 'Ceylon Tamils' are concentrated, and in central Sri Lanka where 'tea plantation labourers or Indian Tamils' are settled. It has been obvious to all for the last thirteen years that the Sri Lankan army is incapable of defeating Prabhakaran's LTTE either on its own, or even with the help of Rajiv's mercenaries.

We are not concerned with what P.V. Narasimha Rao thinks or with the plans of Ms Jayalalitha and Ms. Kumaratunga. Nor even with the strategy and tactics of Prabhakaran. Our sole concern is with the aspirations of the Tamil people both in Sri Lanka and in Tamil Nadu. It is obvious that the Tamil people want to unite in a single Tamil-speaking entity combining Tamil Nadu, Eelam, including the plantation land worked by Tamil labour in Central Sri Lanka, which Prabhakaran has given up without consulting the Tamil people.

Therefore, India should take the initiative to solve the problem once and for all, and merge Eelam and Tamil Nadu, and at the same time include the expanded Tamil Nadu into a new federative unit of the revolutionary, socialist India. This is the only lasting solution to the problem for both India and Sri Lanka.

In fact, the merger of Eelam and Tamil Nadu would reopen the revolutionary possibility that was lost by India in 1971-72 in relation to Bangladesh. If the expanded Tamil Nadu can become a unit of a New Federation of India, as determined by a New Constituent Assembly, similarly, the two Bengals can be joined together as a united part of a New Revolutionary Socialist Federation of India.

Truly, along this path lie the possibilities of permanent solutions to the Kashmir and Pakistan problems too. It is obvious that a fierce and sanguinary ethnic cleansing has been carried out in Pakistan after 1947, with the connivance of Anglo-American imperialism, whereby the population of minorities in Pakistan, which was at least 24% in 1947, has been brought down to 2% or 3% today, in 1995.

India should agitate, in every international forum to demand:

1. The Constitution of an International Human Rights Commission on Indo-Pak Partition of 1947, which resulted in the largest single migratory movement in human history of over 17 million human beings. This commission should include Jewish experts who have compelled Germany to pay billions of marks as reparations to Israel against the Holocaust, and East and South East Asian experts who have made similar demands against the Japanese.

2. Pakistan must be compelled to pay an enormous compensation to India, for the crimes against the minorities and for the ethnic cleansing carried out by Pakistan since 1947, as the bulk of the expelled minorities from Pakistan had to be absorbed by India in the last five decades.

The BJP's constant accusation that the Congress has been appeasing Muslims for the last 48 yrs., is entirely false and besides the point. The Congress has no love lost for Muslims, or any other section of the poor and the deprived in India. At the drop of a hat, Congress has regularly staged innumerable communal riots for immediate electoral gains. Congress was responsible for carrying out the horrible anti-Sikh riots in Delhi in 1984, upon Indira Gandhi's assassination, when over 3000 Sikhs were brutally massacred in Delhi streets in broad daylight in a matter of a few hours. The guilty Congressman of 1984 are just now being brought to trial, after a delay of twelve years! We hope that our judiciary will rise to the occasion and see that the Congress *goondas* are made to pay the price for their anti-Sikh crimes!

The Congress has merely been compradoristically appeasing, the neo-colonial interests of the West. Just as today the Croats, the Bosnians and the Serbs are ethnically and communally cleansing each other, out of their respective territories in the erstwhile Yugoslavia, Pakistan has equally, systematically and inhumanly cleansed the Hindus, the Sikhs and others out of Pakistan, and forced most of them into India. Comprador India has been at the same time compelled to observe virtual silence by the Anglo-American neo-colonialists. According to them, "Pakistan is a rogue country, though as our military ally, it may appear to be nearer to us. However, India must observe the highest possible civilised standards and not make too much out of the obviously ethnic crimes that occurred between 1947 and 1996." It is not good on the part of Pakistan, they say, but then Pakistan is a small country, and should be forgiven for its wayward ways. India is A Great Ancient Civilization, and, they continue, it should overlook and magnanimously forgive Pakistan.

That Pakistan has never been a nation has been obvious from the start. The leader of the Jio-Sind movement, G.M. Sayyed, recently made a death-bed confession, that the greatest blunder he had made, in his long life of 90 odd years, was the support he lent to the demand for Pakistan. An independent Baluchistan government in exile led by the Bugtis already exists in Iran. Similarly, an independent

Pakhtun movement flourished, backed by Afghanistan, till recent times. Another proof of non-viability of Pakistan is provided by the Mohajirs of Karachi and Sind, who are migrants from India and who could never be absorbed in the Pakistan polity, in spite of the passage of fifty years! Their fate was similar to the fate of Biharis in Bangladesh, who could not be absorbed into the new state of Bangladesh which India helped to bring into existence in 1971. The problem of Buddhist Chakmas of Arakan is another facet of the same dictum that religious communities do not a nation make.

In short, the only permanent solution to the Pakistan and Kashmir problems is the disintegration of Pakistan and a reassembling of United Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtunistan into a New Federation of the Revolutionary Socialist States of India.

The internal policies of India lie equally in shambles. The industrial, the fiscal, the patent, the agricultural and all other related policies of the government of India have been pawned to the

THREE SUPREME INDICES

All boasts of poverty-alleviation and job-creation are belied by three indices:

1. The Female Ratio stands at 927, having fallen from 972 in 1901 and from 946 in 1947 to this abysmal level. At the level of Indian Poverty, a slight preference, in matters of nutrition, education and healthcare, in favour of the boy-child results in the preferential killing of the girl-child.

2. India has the largest volunteer army in world history. Over two million of the youth of our country make a career of killing and getting killed! This is their true job security!

3. The army of landless labourers is continuously increasing. We had almost none in pre-British days. Today they number at least 20 crores! They earn less than five rupees a day in rural India!

neo-colonial *Trimurti* of WB, WTO and IMF. National planning has come to an end. Only the "structural adjustment programme" of the Trimurti is being implemented. *MANKIND* pledges itself to fight against this "structural adjustment programme" which has been implemented in 70 Third World countries, without a single success story.

Everything is rotten or foreign or both in India. A small scale industry has come into existence in the environs of Bombay and other metropolitan centres, which stamps completely Indian manufactures, with foreign brand names. USA in India often means the United Sindhi Association of Ulhas Nagar. (now to be renamed Sindhunagar, as if by a change of name, it will begin to stink less). International brand names like IBM, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Nescafe, Sony and hundreds of others have established a stranglehold over the Indian market. The monster of consumerism strides like a colossus over the Indian stage. The bureaucracy has tilted the playing field against Indian entrepreneurs as per the Bombay Group of Industrialists themselves. Swadeshi is anathema to the Congress and its *naukarshahs*.

It is a proclivity of the comprador mind, to attribute imaginary superiority in every respect to foreigners. The compradors crave for some excuse or another to shower praise upon British imperialism, and upon the culture of the Brits in general. The compradors have taken recourse to blatant lies, in order to flatter their neo-colonial masters. Nirad Choudhary, the doyen of these worthless worms, proclaims that every fibre of his being was quickened by imperialism. Ma Choudhary must have been thrilled to the core of her being whilst working out the implications of this encomium. Salman Rushdie, born just when the British jackboot was applying the parting kick to India, of partitioning the country, has discovered that missionary schools and trunk roads were British gifts to India (*Imaginary Homelands*, p. 64).

If so, what happens to the Takshashila University - not school, not even college, but a whole university with 60 distinct faculties of Arts, and Sciences, of 7th century B.C. ? Is the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1983 edition, to be consigned to the waters of the Thames or, to some obscure streams near Oxford and Cambridge ? What about the Universities of Kanheri, Vallabhi, Nalanda, Vikramshila, etc. of later centuries ? What about the thousand of schools and colleges unfortunately called — *ashramas and pathshalas, tols and madrasas* in our languages, attached to temples and mosques ? Perhaps they should be assigned to the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal !

• What about the roads *Uttarpatha* and *Dakshinpatha* linking Peshawar and Patna to Maharashtra and Karnataka, of the Mauryan times which were repaired by Sher Shah and the East India Company in more recent times ? Where shall we throw the milestones, the rest houses and the hospitals which lined these grand trunk roads and happened to be in advance of similar institutions in Europe, by several centuries ?

• Another grey compra eminence V. S. Naipaul, who Dr. Lohia had once calculated to have made as much money out of descriptions of Indian poverty, as has Satyajit Ray or any land speculator

in Bombay city, writes that :

'The Jains are an ancient pre-Buddhist off-shoot of Hinduism.'

Thus making a hash of three religions, which he could have easily avoided by a simple reference to any standard encyclopedia ! In both ignorance and sycophancy, Indian compradors have plumbed the nadir.

A recent controversy started in the London *Sunday Times* by Firdaus Kanga is symptomatic of the compra disease. Kanga found BBC Correspondent Mark Tully's '*No Full Stops In India*, 1991 to be shameful'. As Tully had suggested that, "Anyone who can deny that the British left India a poor and backward country, needs to read a little economic history."

Kanga needs not only to read a little economic history, but also to have his head thoroughly examined !

It is small wonder how smoothly the compra mind slides over the devastating British-made famines of the 19th century, which carried away over eight crores of our countrymen and plunged the average expectation of life for an Indian to less than 23 by 1921 !

A climax of sorts was reached during the live coverage of the Republic Day Parade of 26th January 1995, when the Doordarshan spokesman applauded India for having preserved intact, "the fine military traditions of British Raj" ! Can obsequiousness and boot-licking be carried further, which came on our National Day ?

There are five essentials of life, which we Indians call *Panchabhuta*, namely nutrition, clothing, housing, education and healthcare. On all these five counts, the Congress compradors of India have betrayed the Indian people.

The net per capita availability per day in grams of pulses, the primary source of protein for the poor, has fallen, according to the latest pre-budget *Economic Survey* of 1994-95, from 61 grams in 1951 to 38 grams in 1994. (Net availability is another bourgeois subterfuge

that assumes that the total production plus imports of our country are communistically distributed amongst the people and does not consider their capacity to buy, which is the real problem).

According to the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) document, the total backlog of housing was estimated at 31 million in 1991 and was to rise to 41 million in 2001. It was admitted that "absolutely houseless families were only 6 lakhs in 1981, and are likely to be only a *little higher* in 1991" ! And possibly substantially higher in 2001 ! This is planning for increasing deprivation with a vengeance !

According to the UNDP *Human Development Report* 1994, Indians living in absolute poverty numbered 350 millions, those without access to sanitation 750 millions, illiterate adults of age 15 plus were 270 millions, malnourished children under 5 were 60 millions, the infant mortality rate was 89 (compare China's 27 & Sri Lanka's 71). Is it necessary to continue this litany of the terrible human suffering, that has been imposed on India by the *Trimurti* of neo-colonialism in collaboration with Congress and *Naukarshah* compradors ?

Apart from the Primary Treachery of Partition, the Congress

C. A. OF 1946-9

The C.A. of 1946-9 was a Dominion Status assembly, consisting of *dalals*, brokers, *kala gumastas*, *dubashes*, *khansamas*, stewards, pimps, commission agents, *banians* and former title-holders of British imperialism. It was elected to 1946, partly & indirectly, by Provincial Assemblies on the basis of the 1935 colonial constitution, with electoral rolls finalised in 1937, and the electorate divided into 70 types of communal constituencies. The voters numbered just 30 millions in a population of about 400 millions. It had no power to represent the people of India and had no business to assume such powers for itself.

The Constituent Assembly of 1946-9 is a joke and a travesty. It was a betrayal and a farce. The present constitution of India is *for bureaucrats & brown sahibs, by bureaucrats and brown sahibs, and of bureaucrats and brown sahibs*.

leaders of India have inflicted the following additional punishments upon the people of the country :

- It is a national shame that the free and compulsory primary education upto age 14 promised in Section 45 of the Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 remains unfulfilled upto the present.

- It is a national shame that despite the fact the language of the country was to be Hindi under Section 343 of the said Dominion Status Constitution, and English was to be used only for a transitional period of 15 years, English has been retained upto the present, so that Mark Tully could write in 1988, that "The old colonial mentality still survives - the servile mentality that believes that anything Indian must be inferior... the trouble with English is that it links only the elite... less than 3% are reasonably competent in the language... if English continues, then all the best jobs go to those educated in that language... the upper echelons of Indian society, regard English as one of the greatest gifts of the British. They have made it the language of the exclusive club they belong to and parents who see half a chance of getting their children admitted to the club will make any sacrifice to provide an English medium education for them. The elite are not concerned that English has impoverished Indian languages, and stood in the way of the growth of an indigenous national language". (*No Full Stops in India*, pp. 69, 70, 72, 7 & 8)

- It is a national shame that the Indian Rupee is being repeatedly devalued in terms of the American dollar at the behest of WB and IMF, when the World Bank's own International Comparison Project (ICP) has established that the Indian Rupee at PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) is undervalued in comparison with the OER (Official Exchange Rate) by at least 5.25 times (Tables 1 and 30 of the *WB Report*, 1993). This is as per the admission of the WB itself. In reality, the Rupee at PPP is undervalued by at least 10 to 15 times, as any American tourist to India knows from real life experience.

- It is a national shame that our Rupee which was valued at Rs. 3.3 per dollar in 1947, at the commencement of Congress comprador rule, now stands at the neo-colonial level of Rs. 35.38 per dollar in October 1996.

- It is a national shame that the trade balance of the country from 1949-50 to 1995-96, has been perpetually adverse (except for two years, and that in a minor way) and that under the mono-maniacal and criminally stupid policies of the Narasimha Rao - Manmohan Singh Congress government, the outgos from India both on visible and invisible accounts have grown to such a point that India is on the verge of being thrown into the bottomless pit of the Debt Trap. *The removal of the Rao-Singh government of Congress criminals has become an urgent matter of national salvation.*

- It is a matter of national shame that India's foreign debt should have reached a level of over 100 billion dollars today, almost matching the cumulative trade deficit for the last 50 years. It is the duty of the opposition in the country to inform the G-7 and the OECD nations that the future non-comprador government of India shall repudiate the senseless and wasteful foreign debts accumulated by the Congress *dalals*. There is no other way of coming out of the impending crunch of the imperialist jaws, which are inexorably closing in upon India, in the form of the Debt Trap.

It is urgently incumbent upon India to stop all imports be-

eyond the limit of its exports (and re-exports). It is the continuous deficit in visible trade that is causing the endless demand for incurring foreign debt, the repayment and interest payments relating to which are creating the endless deficits on invisible account. India's foreign debt which stands today, in end-1996, at about US \$ 100 billion, is the principal lever by which devaluations are forced upon India by the neo-colonial powers of the world. We cannot run forever our economy with the deficits on both visible and invisible accounts. The *Trimurti* of neo-colonialism (WB, IMF & WTO) are bound to use our foreign debt as lever for depressing the international prices obtained by our working masses against exports of tea, jute, spices and hundreds of other raw materials and manufactures. *Devaluation means the forcible blood-letting of the people of India!*

Much of the US \$ 100 billion foreign debt of India incurred

by the Congress compradors is a financial cover-up of rampant corruption and gross bureaucratic inefficiency. Opposition parties must unite and from right now forewarn foreign governments that the future government of India will repudiate all the unnecessary, illegitimate and corrupt debts incurred by the Congress party. From the time of Jawahar, who as Dr. Lohia

proved, spent on himself at least 25,000 times as much as an average Indian, and lived and entertained in a grand style in a mansion of 82 rooms, the Congress Party has treated India as its private property, to squander, fritter and ruin, as may please its party leaders from time to time. No self-respecting opposition party or leader should aspire to inherit the ignominious legacy of the comprador Congress Party. *True inheritors, in the narrow sense, can never move beyond the rottenness of the past!*

- It is a matter of national shame that 15% of the male work force and 25% of the female work force, or some 18 crores of the human species should have no regular employment! (*World Resources Report*, 1994-95)

- It is a matter of national shame that the enrollment ratio for all educational levels for age-group 6 to 23 was just 50% in 1990, that malnourished children under 5 numbered 69 million in 1992, that under-weight children under age 5 were 63% in 1990, that the mean years of schooling undergone by our children was just 2.4 years in 1992, that the proportion of GNP spent on public health was a mere 1.3% (against China's 3.5% & Sri Lanka's 3.7%) in 1990, that for state-supported education it was barely 3.5% (Malaysia 6.9%, 4.1% by Mexico and Iran) and that absolute poverty was the lot of 40% of our population! (All data from 1994, *Human Development Report* by UNDP).

- It is a matter of horrible national shame that scores of thousands of crores of public money has been swallowed up by corrupt Congressmen "Trojan Horse" NRIs and local *naukarshahs* during the last few years in the Bofors Scandal, the Sugar Scandal, in the West-land Helicopter Purchase Scandal (which Rajiv had at one stage refused to accept even if gifted, but which he quietly swallowed for Pavan Hans, once certain preliminaries were undergone by sellers), the HID Submarine Scandal (where the Indian Embassy officially discovered a 12.5% under the table payment), the Bombay Stock Exchange Scandal (wherein Harshad Mehta's open accusation of having given a bribe of 1 crores rupees to P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Prime Minister, was never taken to court by the PM), the Real Estate Scams in and around the national and state capitals, the shameful Telecom Scam by ex-

FOUR SUPPORTS OF COMPRADORISM

Compradorism in India rests upon the four pillars of the Aryan Invasion Theory, despite the fact that no such invasion ever took place; the career of the Macedonian Alexander III, the Insignificant; the comic super-genius of the theatreman, William Shakespeare and the bogus superiority and indispensability of the English Language.

adventurer, Jairam Ramesh, associated with the PMO.

All these miserable and heinous intrigues were carried out under the umbrella of a philosophy of Secularism, to deny power to the party that had won the largest number of seats in the General Elections. The BJP was sidetracked by the specious reasoning of Secularism, which has been analysed in another article in this issue on Iraq. Secularism has always meant a coalition of pro-Western elements and the new Deve Gowda government of the UF is faithfully following all the policies of the earlier Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh combine.

As a result of the 11th Lok Sabha elections, nothing has changed in any fundamental sense, except that now there is a little more populism and much more hypocrisy. The same privatisation policy is to be pursued. Insurance sector is to be opened up, and as much as \$ 10 billion per year are to be injected into the Indian economy for the greater glory of the Stalinist CPI, which has pushed two members into the Cabinet, who are vigorously touring the entire country, to expose their intellectual and moral bankruptcy. The other Stalinist outfit, the CPM, is supporting the wretched UF government from outside, just as the discredited Congress Party is doing.

It is all a farce and skulduggery. We can only hope that the Indian people will emerge out of this further trial and will be able to resume their march forward, after a few months, which is the maximum expected life-span of the new setup. The Congress is bound to withdraw its support from this government, as soon as it has sufficiently discredited the United Front for following the same Congress programme, which the people had so thoroughly rejected.

Elections are due in Sept-Oct 1996 to the UP State Assembly, that is, they are due in the largest state of the Indian Union. The comedy is that for UP elections, the UF government is projecting Mulayam Singh Yadav, the leader of the SP as the future CM. The UF government is supported by the Congress, which has entered into an alliance with Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in order to defeat the very same Mulayam Singh of the SP and of the UF government.

Election politics in India have reached the nadir of total absurdity.

What is the sense of the Progressivists calling the Congress a secular force, when the Congress Party carried out the massacre of the Sikhs in 1984 and when the perpetrators of this crime are right now being exposed and punished by the Judiciary in Delhi? Furthermore, the Congress is allied with the BSP which is a completely and self-confessedly casteist and non-secular force, in UP against the UF government's candidates, What a joke and a half!

From the trends of party votes in the UP 1991 Lok Sabha, 1993 Assembly, and 1996 Lok Sabha Poll results it is obvious to us that the BJP will win the forthcoming Assembly polls of September 1996. The basic rationale for our prediction is the division of the votes of the *dalits* and *pidits* of the country between Mulayam Singh's SP and Kanshi Ram's BSP.

The Congress has become totally irrelevant in UP and would poll around 5 to 10 percent of the votes. This means that the 125 seats conceded by BSP to its alliance partner Congress, in the forthcoming elections will be lost to the BJP.

The BJP's vote has consistently been about 30% to 33% in the three polls enumerated above. The division in the votes of the opposition can only help the BJP still further, apart from the Samata Party votes which it may gather this time, because of the alliance with the opportunist George Fernandes and his friends.

Mulayam's own vote bank is less than 25 percent and the Janata Dal in UP has become almost an irrelevant as the Congress.

After the poll debacle in the UP Assembly elections, it is obvious that the United Front Govt's days in the Centre will be numbered. In short, the UF govt. will fall sometime in 1997. As the new BJP govt. of UP will last upto about 2001, and the new general elections for the 12th Lok Sabha will take place in all probability in 1997, it seems to us that for the true nationalist and revolutionary socialists of the country, a critical period is opening up.

Had the BJP been allowed to expose itself thoroughly at the end of the 1996 General elections to the Lok Sabha, the Indian people could have gone ahead much faster.

The 13-day old BJP ministry at the Centre had already in its policy pronouncements backtracked on the issues of Hindi promotion and language policy; on the matter of the Uniform Civil Code and several other important matters like the abrogation of Art. 370 relating to Kashmir and the surrender to foreign multinationals in the Enron case. Just a few months more of BJP rule would have exposed the party com-

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

India should agitate, in every international forum, three demands :

1. The Constitution of an International Human Rights Commission on Indo-Pak Partition of 1947, which resulted in the largest single migratory movement in human history of over 17 million human beings. The commission should include Jewish experts who have compelled Germany to pay billions of marks as reparations to Israel against the Holocaust, and East and South East Asian experts who have made similar demands against the Japanese.

2. Britain must be made to pay for inflicting this enormous tragedy upon the peoples of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

3. Pakistan must be compelled to pay billions of dollars to India, for the crimes against the minorities and for the ethnic cleansing carried out by Pakistan since 1947 from 24% minorities to just 2/3% today, and as the bulk of the expelled minorities from Pakistan had to be absorbed by India in the last five decades.

pletely.

However, as matters stand today, the Indian people are likely to bear witness to a BJP victory in the next general elections and will have the terrible burden of BJP rule for the next 2 or 3, if not 5, years. This is a fearful price to pay, but there are no shortcuts to education of the masses, who can, and should learn only by real life experiences.

We can only be somewhat happy that the turn of events have thoroughly exposed the fraudulent "secular" claims by the Progressivist-Stalinists, the Congress, as well as the UF partners !

LONG LIVE DR. LOHIA !
LONG LIVE NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM !
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY WILL OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE !
DOWN WITH NEO-COLONIALISM AND COMPRA-DORISM !
FORWARD WITH THE FOURTH FORCE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE !
FORWARD TO A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY !
FORWARD TO A NEW PEOPLE-FRIENDLY ECONOMIC POLICY !
FORWARD WITH MANKIND !

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USA COLLABORATES WITH IRAQ TO CRUSH THE KURDS

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Events in and around Iraq in Sept. 1996 show that neo-colonial pressures on the Third World's peoples are relentless and cruel.

What began on and around 31.8.96 as a little factional fight in a little town in North Iraq became a nightmare in just a few days. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani captured the principal centres of power in the town of Irbil, which were previously held by the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massoud Barzani's group. The KDP acting in a typical compradorist treacherous manner, invited Saddam Hussain, who had brutally suppressed the 1991 uprising of the Kurds in the wake of the Gulf War, to come and help the KDP to get the better of the PUK.

Saddam sent his troops to Irbil which is for the moment a part of Iraq, though above the 36th parallel, No Fly and No Military Movement Zone imposed arbitrarily by USA since 1991. No one has contended that one of the major oil producing areas of the world (around Mosul, Kirkuk and Sulaymaniyah) lying in the so-called No Fly Zone of North Iraq, above 36° latitude, is not a part of the sovereign state of Iraq, a member of the UNO, except the Kurds who have been living in their homelands that were divided four ways between Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran after the First World War and the end of the Ottoman empire. The Ottomans were the erstwhile rulers of the entire Kurdistan (except the Iranian part) prior to 1919.

The Kurds are an Indo-Aryan speaking people with an ancient culture. They are racially, linguistically and culturally a section of the Baloch people of the old Indo-Iranian borderlands, who possibly migrated to their present habitat at the end of the Dasrajna (War of Ten Kings) described in the *Rigveda*, when a general exodus of nomadic tribes took place from their centre of origin in India, one that carried the forefathers of all the European peoples

(Dorians, Ionians, Illyrians, Celts, Teutons, Etruscans, Slavs, Balts, etc) to different parts of Europe. These ancient pastoralists were at different times led by the Hittites, the Kassites and the Mittani who have left their impress upon the Ancient Middle East where a *Triveni Sangam* (Triple Confluence) of the Indo-Aryans, the Semites and the Ural-Altaics had been going on from around 3000 B.C. (See S.G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory* 1993; and the encyclopedia *The Cultural Heritage of India*, 6 vols., at Volume 1, chapter 2, p. 50, 2nd ed., 1958-82).

In that remote and enlarged sense, the Kurds are our brothers. They are very old Indian affiliates. Not only their speech, but their religion, myths, oral literature and epic poetry, costumes, cuisine, horse-riding and chariot-harnessing ways, weapons, implements, and overall material and spiritual culture, are all derived from India of the Vedic and Post-Vedic times (c. 4500 B.C. to 700 B.C.)

Kurds may have been the latest pre-Scythian emigrants from the same area — Baluchistan-Seistan, that lies at the meeting point of India, Afghanistan and Iran, say around 1000-500 B.C. Having settled in Kurdistan for many centuries, the ancestors of present day Balochs are supposed to have migrated back to their ancient homelands in 11th Century A.D.

The struggle for the unification of Kurdish lands barbarically divided by Imperialist oil interests in the earlier decades of this century, and violently suppressed by these rascals at frequent intervals from 1919 to the present, is a saga of brave and undying national sentiment. To the short-sighted Progressivists and Leftists (generally made up of former and current Stalinists of various shades and tints) who have persuaded themselves that the World is a Global Neo-Colonial Village, it will come as a surprise, that the poor and the downtrodden of their "Global Village" refuse to lie down and surrender to the multi-national

monopolists, principally oil cartelists, and despite continuous setbacks, repeatedly regroup themselves to batter at the neo-colonial ramparts and fortifications.

Nations are historico-cultural entities that cannot be crushed, so long as a World order of Socialist States (there can be no World Order of Capitalist States as we know from the double tragic experiences of the League of Nations and the United Nations) has not come into being and has not banished both Want and War from the planet.

In recent times, from roughly the Seventies, when the anti-imperialist global movement attained its twin peaks, with the liberation of Bangladesh (1971 present pop. 110 mlns.) and Vietnam (1975 present pop. 70 mlns.) the neo-colonial pressures on the Third World have attained a crescendo. The USSR has been shattered (1989-91), the Stalinist Empire in East Europe is no more, and coincidentally India has been re-conquered (especially from mid-1991, though the process began from 1947 itself). But the arrogant triumph of Neo-colonialism is itself dialectically causing the renewed rise of Nationalism of an infinitely variable spectrum. The Kurds are fighting and there are innumerable criss-cross civil wars going on in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzia, Afghanistan, Iran and adjacent areas.

USA has established extensive bases in Israel, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and in all areas surrounding Iraq. After the Gulf war of 1991, it had unilaterally declared two no Fly Zones: in North Iraq above the 36th parallel, and in South Iraq, below the 32nd parallel. In short, just like the action Israel took after the 1967 War, when it established a Security Zone in South Lebanon, another along the Golan Heights in Syria and in Sinai within Egypt, USA effectively divided Iraq into three: North Iraq above 36°N Lat, a middle portion between 37° and 32°, and a southern section below 32°. The No Fly Zones are constantly patrolled by US, British and French Air forces. No troop movements are allowed to Iraq, no radar surveillance is permitted to it even from outside these zones, no training of troops is allowed, no defense installations, stable or mobile, are permitted and no defensive capability whatsoever is to be organised by Iraq in these so-called No Fly/No Movement Zones. It is to be a no man's land, an empty vacuum, since the safety of US troops requires them to be so.

Further, just now, the Southern Zone has been arbitrarily and suddenly extended by the US to 33°N lat. up to the suburbs of

Baghdad, and 14 fortified sites between 32° and 33° were unilaterally attacked by a US carrier and a submarine located at the head of the Persian Gulf, with 27 + 17 = 44 Tomahawk Cruise Missiles and were destroyed or disabled. Together the two No Fly Zones now absorb about two-thirds of the total area of Iraq.

But why should USA place its soldiers at risk? Let us consider a parallel of recent times.

In 1971, the American 7th fleet had been ordered to proceed to Chittagong in the Bay of Bengal in order to first place the lives of American armed forces at risk, and then safeguard them by occupation and disarming of all those installations in and around the port city of the then fast-dissolving Pakistan. Had General Tikka Khan not surrendered prematurely to Gen. Manekshaw and the Mukti Bahini on Dec. 15, 1971 at Dacca, possibly American "lives" would have initially occupied Chittagong, became "lives at risk" over there, opened a convenient corridor for Pakistani troops to escape to Karachi and remained in possession of an enclave of West Pakistan in East Pakistan for years and years! India, Pakistan, half-formed Bangladesh and USA would have continued negotiations till the cows came home! Just as in Pak-occupied Kashmir! Just as planned from 1948 to the present, for 48 years!

Israel withdrew from Egyptian Sinai in 1982, retaining occupation from 1967 to that time, and Israel remains in possession of South Lebanon and Golan Heights till date, that is 29 years after the 1967 War! We do not know when or whether the No Fly Zones comprising 2/3rd of Iraq are going to end! Who is going to decide their duration and fate? UNO? USA and Britain and France? When are they going to decide? On what criteria?

Nothing is known.

As far as the Coalition of 1991 is concerned, France has refused to extend its patrolling to the 33° parallel, but is continuing to co-operate with USA and Britain in the patrolling up to the 32nd parallel. Russia has threatened to veto any resolution in the Security Council that further abridges Iraqi Sovereignty on its own territory. China has disapproved of American action. Turkey, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have denied to USA the use of their bases for the current action against Iraq. Britain has fully cooperated with USA to underline its "Special stooge and sycophant" role vis-a-vis USA, but boasted of the fact that it made available to USA, its Indian Ocean base in the Maldives, i.e. the Diego Garcia Complex. India was not consulted about Diego Garcia by either Britain or USA.

Because of Turkish, Jordanian and Saudi non-cooperation USA was forced to use international waters of the Persian Gulf for mounting its missile attack on a Sovereign Arab State. Tomorrow it may act in a similar fashion to protect American lives at Dahrán! Who can say that they will not, after the "terrorist" attack on Dahrán Base just a few months ago?

Let us thoroughly understand the geo-politics of the situation.

The Northern No Fly Zone, above 36°, was never intended as a safety zone for Kurds. First of all, half of Iraqi Kurdistan, the region centering on the Suleymaniah oil fields of Kurd Autonomous Region of Iraq always lay outside it. Secondly, late last year and earlier this year the Turkish armed forces, were freely allowed to enter the No Fly Zone of the North, to crush Kurdish nationalists operating in the twilight zone between Turkey and Iraq. The Turkish intrusions were deep, spread over hundreds of miles and lasted for weeks. Today, it has further established a 20-km deep Security Zone, within this region!

USA and Saddam are doing nothing and are watching the killings of Kurds by Turks with ill-concealed glee!

Thirdly, the present intrusion by Saddam's forces occurred obviously from logistical support bases immediately to the south

of the 36th parallel. The USA did nothing to extend their Northern No Fly Zone further south, to say the 35th parallel, which would have engrossed not even half the territory that the extension to 32° from 33° has entailed (Iraq is at its broadest along the 32° - 33° parallel, whilst the country perceptibly narrows down further North and South. Iraq is a bent diamond with girdle at 32° - 33°, where it meets the Jordan border).

In fact, USA watched with glee, the executions of PUK guerrillas carried out by Saddam's forces in Irbil, a task which could have otherwise proved to be a concealed landmine for the Americans, in the Presidential Election Year! Democrat Clinton, fighting Republican Dole, for a second term, faces a daunting task in November 1996, because Dole's electoral promise of a 15% tax cut has proved to be a huge vote-catcher! He did not wish to help the Kurds in any way, not now, as never before. At the same time he had to demonstrate some action against Saddam, whilst preserving huge American stakes in the oil fields of Northern Iraq (as we have stated, Mosul, Kirkuk, Suleymaniah oil fields, all lie within the Kurdistan region). The UN acting at US behest, have just signed a \$ 2 bln. deal with Saddam for "Iraqi oil for imported food", which will improve US position in world trade both ways! So, let Saddam kill and punish PUK guerrillas whilst both US and Saddam carry on a wordy duel that fetches "votes" for both! Clinton will be benefitted in November, and Saddam, who does not depend on votes, is immediately benefitted by anti-US rhetoric and "huge spontaneous popular demonstrations" in Iraq that allow him to continue his personal, brutal, military dictatorship with an aura of "popular acclaim"!

Another piece of disinformation has been spread by Saddam, his stooge the KPD, and by his covert ally USA, that the PUK is an Iranian fifth column amongst the Kurds. But this is obviously a canard: For why would the Iranian support so vigorously a dissident movement which claims the largest chunk of its "national home" in Northern Iran? Iran has most to lose, next to Turkey, if ever an independent Kurdistan is established!

IRAQ IN MIDDLE EASTERN AND WORLD CONTEXT

Now let us look at Iraq in the larger Middle-Eastern context.

● Iraq is the only Arab Shia state in the world. Shias number 52% of Iraq. Iraq is the Arabised, Turkicized, more nomadic part of historic Iran, which at one time (c. 600 B. C. to c. 100 A. D.) extended its frontiers to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

● We have already shown how the master learns from the pupil. Israel had occupied Sinai in Egypt in 1967 and continued to rule it up to when Egypt was let in. The oil of Sinai was fully exploited by Israel from 1967 to 1979-1982 and the accounts have never been settled. (Several billion dollars and barrels of oil are involved). It retained the Gaza Strip of old Palestine; aggressed on Lebanon and occupied an extensive security zone in South Lebanon; aggressed on Syria and occupied Golan Heights; and retains both the latter two areas till today. Gaza Strip and the West Bank of the River Jordan have been handed over to Arafat with municipal and limited police powers. Netanyahu has declared that, "there will be no Palestine State." Arafat, the bogus 1/3rd Nobel Laureate, has been brought to his knees. He will now be made to accept an Israeli Security Zone in Hebron (for 400 settlers), which Israel refuses to quit and another Security Zone in East Jerusalem, and the cup of his utter humiliation and degradation will be kept overflowing!

● In Morocco, at the extreme Western end of the *Maghreb* (which in Arabic means West, and extends from Morocco to Libya, against the *Mashreq*, meaning the East, which encompasses nations from Egypt to Iraq), a Royal Dynasty rules, which is accept-

able to the Anglo-Franco-American Neo-colonialists.

● In Algeria, a fierce struggle is raging against a brutal military dictatorship. The lead in this struggle, at the moment, has been taken by the so-called Fundamentalists, who are democrats and are demanding elections. There are many other smaller revolutionary forces, who are also fighting the West-oriented rulers! As a matter of fact, an election was held by the army rulers (as in Nigeria). The Progressivist-Stalinists of the world, including the French Communist Party, are supporting the horrible authoritarian regime in Algeria, on the grounds, that "there is no viable alternative." Democracy, apparently, is non-viable in Algeria! Viability being decided by neocolonialist outsiders, certainly not the Algerian people!

● Tunisia, I do not have the latest information. I only know that a pseudo-socialist Habib Bourgiba ruled the country for many decades in an authoritarian "Single Party" manner, distributed many million cassettes of his eight-hour long speeches! Several such speeches! Scores of cassettes forming huge sets! Free Distribution at State Expense!

● In Libya, "Fundamentalists" under Mouammar Gaddafi have been in power for the last 35 years.

The definition for "Fundamentalist" is : Forces that are hostile to "Secularists", who are by another definition "Friends of the Neocolonialist West"! That is, Secularists are Pro-Western Forces and Fundamentalists are Anti-Western Movements !

● In Egypt, after Nasser had been overthrown by Sadat, the latter was conveniently assassinated by the CIA, as even Sadat was "not sufficiently pliable"! Hosni Mubarak took over, surrendered as required to Israel, and became the first Great Traitor of the Arabs. There are fundamentalists functioning in Egypt, who periodically kill a few tourists and foreigners. But the movement is weak and sporadic. It is not like Algeria, where literally thousands have been disposed off, by the anti-West forces.

In the rest of the *Mashriq*, in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, so-called fundamentalists are at logger-heads with the so-called secularists.

As stated just now, fundamentalist means Anti-West and secularist means Pro-West.

This is also the definition in India and everywhere in the world as illustrated by recent events in Indonesia and Philippines. The Moros, yesterday's "fundamentalists" and tomorrow's "secularists", have entered into an agreement with Ramos for an Enlarged Autonomous Province in South Philippines, to be created after 3 years. In Indonesia, Meghavati Sukarnoputri (daughter of ex-President Sukarno) is so far supposed to be leading a secular movement. Suharto thinks not, but USA is preparing for Suharto's passing away and for the succession struggle!

In India, the BJP is "fundamentalist"! It cannot be "trusted", because despite its surrender on Enron, it is basically a *movement with a mass base*. It cannot be manipulated as easily as the Congress, or the Bureaucracy, or the Progressivists, who have no backing, except "electoral".

"Electoral" support means that they can manage to rig with money, fear and blackmail, periodic exercises in venting of mass anger, which are generally termed elections by the responsible media!

BJP cannot be trusted. It may act "Swadeshi" in minor matters, for instance, in licensing of *new* foreign owned consumer concerns, or in details of surrender to foreign electronic media. Thus the BJP is "fundamentalist"! But Congress which organised the killing of thousands of Sikhs in the streets of Delhi in 1984, which defends the communal provisions of the Constitution like Article 370, which is against a single Common Civil Law for all Indians, which acts communally in a hundred matters like the

Shah Bano Case, is entirely "secular"! So are the Communist/Progressivists who have nothing except electoral support and can be fully trusted, to be part of, (as with CPI) or to support from outside, (as with CPM), a government of the United Front which is backed by the Congress and the Western powers!

When definitions of terms are themselves such that, any secularist can act in any heinous communal manner but remain a "Secularist", what can be the outcome of any debate! It is a foregone conclusion, all pro-Western elements are by definition super-secular! Nothing can change this fundamental of Secularism!

The world is one of Alice! Any word can mean anything that the Queen wishes!

In Iraq, Saddam is the enemy! Americans are entitled to establish any extent of security zones within Iraq! They can impose their own conditions upon these security zones! ("No Fly" or any other).

In Iran, "Fundamentalists" are in power! Rafsanjani is to be de-stabilised! Therefore he is a super-duper fundamentalist ! He is a fool who wants to support an Independent Kurdistan, that will mean loss of thousands of square miles of his own territory! He is propping up one faction of the Kurds, the Patrotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which Saddam opposes! So let Saddam execute 100 PUK supporters! Why only 100, let him massacre at will, 1000 or 10,000! The Americans will extend the No Fly Security Zone in the south only, so that the measure aggresses over half the territory of Iraq, leaving Saddam free to carry out multiple strikes in North Iraq.

After Irbil, two further towns have fallen to Saddam, all three in the Northern No Fly Zone above 36° parallel! And Turkey has established a 20 km security zone for itself in the same area!

What a world which we inhabit!

Black is White, because Black is pro-west, White is Black, because White is even remotely Swadeshi and Nationalist!

THE JOCULARITY OF THE JARGON OF SECULARISM

Let us take a quick round up of the disposition of forces in the Middle East.

Iraq : In Iraq, the monarchy fell in 1958 and the Ba'th Socialist Party has been in Power since 1968. The Ba'th nationalised the British cartel, the Iraq Petroleum Company, in 1972 with compensation. In 1974 when the fourth Arab-Israeli war broke out, Iraq nationalised the US and Dutch companies, and in 1975 it nationalised the remaining foreign interests in the Basra Petroleum Company.

In 1972, a treaty of alliance was signed with the Soviet Union. In 1973, Iraq joined Egypt and Syria in the war they launched against Israel. In 1975 Iraq and Iran settled their frontier differences in the Shatt-al-Arab (the confluence of Tigris and Euphrates). But after the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, Iraq repudiated the agreement and demanded the establishment of the eastern bank of the Shatt-at-Arab as the frontier.

War broke out between Iraq and Iran in 1980 and continued till 1988. Almost throughout this period, Saddam Hussein Takriti was the blue-eyed boy of the West, particularly of USA, since he was fighting a so-called secular war against Iranian fundamentalists.

In fact, within the last year, British PM John Major has been indicted by a judicial commission for helping Saddam to obtain arms from British armament manufacturers, who are prohibited by law from assisting any combatant in an ongoing armed conflict. Major has not resigned but he was morally bound to do so. (Like the Congress rulers of India, moral bindings mean nothing to British Conservative Party leaders.)

Having armed himself to the teeth with Western help,

Saddam turned upon Kuwait in August 1990, an invasion which led to the Gulf War of 1991.

Now, is Saddam's Iraq a secular force or not? By attacking Iran and helping the West, he is obviously qualified to call himself a great secularist, which is further justified by his having paid compensation for oil nationalisation!

On the other hand, by joining the war against Israel and claiming sovereignty over Kuwait, and because of other anti-West activities, he is equally qualified to be called fundamentalist!

As far as we nationalists and socialist revolutionaries are concerned, we reject the jargon of secularism versus non-secularism. In our eyes, Saddam has become a blood-thirsty tyrant and military despot who has crushed the National demands of the Kurds in 1991 and again in 1996! So far is he from being a socialist, that over the last 5 years he has preferred to starve and deny essential health care to the Iraqi masses whilst he has been building palaces for himself and is rearming the battered Iraqi war machine. His megalomaniacal self projection is also completely undemocratic and disgusting.

Turkey: Turkey has refused to allow the American Air Force to use Turkish bases against Iraq. At the same time, Turkey has established its own security zone inside Iraq within the American No Fly Zone above the 36° N latitude. Turkey has also allowed the Americans to remove about 2,500 (including families) Kurds, who were their spies and agents, through Turkish bases for an airlift, to Guam in the Pacific. Further, Tansu Ciller, former PM and currently Foreign Minister of Turkey, has presided over a meeting in Ankara between the American envoy and Massoud Barazani, leader of the KDP who had invited Saddam to Irbil, Suleymaniah and other Kurdish centres to defeat Jalal Talabani's PUK.

The background to these events is as follows.

For the first time, modern Turkey has a Prime Minister who swears by Islamist ideology, albeit of a moderate hue. In the first week of July, the country's Parliament passed a motion of confidence in the coalition government of the Islamic Welfare Party and the centre-right True Path Party, hitherto avowedly secular led by former PM Tansu Ciller. The new PM is Necmettin Erbakan, the 70-year old leader of the Welfare Party which won 158 seats, the largest number in the 550 member Turkish Parliament, for which elections were held in December 1995.

During her three years as Prime Minister, Ciller convinced most Western leaders that she was the only defence against the Islamists. Under her leadership Turkey adopted an ambitious foreign policy, visualising a dynamic and expanding role for itself in Central Asia. This was a role that Washington had set out for Ankara. Erbakan and his party, on the other hand, campaigned on the plank that Turkey had strayed too far from its Islamic roots and become too close to Israel, Europe and the US.

Erbakan was particularly harsh about the Ciller Government's desire to enter the European Union (EU). He wanted closer economic and political links with Turkey's Asian neighbours such as Iran, Syria and Iraq. He frequently spoke out against Turkey's cooperation with the US in enforcing the inhuman blockade against Iraq. At the hustings he had pledged to take Turkey out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), break off relations with Israel, introduce interest free banking and "liberate Bosnia, Azerbaijan and Chechnya." Erbakan has frequently called for military alliances, passport-free zones and economic union with neighbouring Islamic countries (Source: *Frontline*, Aug. 9, 1996, p. 57)

Recently, Erbakan paid an official visit to Iran and signed a multi-billion dollar deal with the Iranian government. When asked about the Helms-Burden Act passed by the US Congress which prohibits trade with Cuba, Libya and Iran, and which permits US companies to sue those trading with these three "terrorist" states, for

millions of dollars that the American companies can claim to have lost in investments and royalties at any time in the past. When asked by media persons at a press conference at the end of his state visit to Iran, Erbakan replied simply that the American law applied to private companies, whilst his deal was on a govt. to govt. basis which fell outside the purview of the said Act.

Incidentally, 25 percent of the population of Turkey is Kurdish, and 12 million people speak the Kurdish language which is officially banned in Turkey. Imagine 12 million carrying on day-to-day activities, completely illegally!

So, is America's ally and NATO member Turkey a secular force or not?

Israel: Israel is by definition a secular force as it is pro-West, though it is totally racialist and fanatically Jewish, especially under Benjamin Netanyahu's rightist rule.

At the moment of writing (27-9-96), violent riots have broken out at the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip between Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews on the issues of a tunnel built by the Rabin-Perez Government, under the holy Aksa Mosque in east Jerusalem and against Israeli plans to build 1,800 new housing complexes on fresh lands confiscated from the Arabs. There are 30,000 lightly armed Palestinian policemen who are battling alongside the Palestinian youth, the heavily armed Israeli forces who are using helicopter gunships to strafe the unarmed Arab mobs. Already over 15 Israelis and 50 Arabs have been killed and hundreds more wounded. The entire peace process in the Middle East has been brought to a halt and Israel continues to occupy Hebron, Jerusalem, South Lebanon, Golan Heights and also important traffic nodes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Netanyahu has declared again and again that there will be no Palestinian state.

Nobody calls the Israelis rulers fundamentalists though they are brutal racialists and grand consumers of the output of the Western Armaments Industry. We nationalist revolutionaries of the Third World can raise only three rising demands:

1. ISRAEL MUST IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAW FROM GAZA STRIP, WEST BANK, HEBRON, JERUSALEM, SOUTH LEBANON AND SYRIAN GOLAN HEIGHTS.
2. A NEW PALESTINIAN STATE MUST BE FORMED AS PER THE 1948 PARTITION PLAN OF THE U. N.
3. JEWS MAY FOUND A HOME IN SOME VACANT AREA OF AUSTRALIA, CANADA, SAHARA OR SIBERIA AND THE 1919 BALFOUR DECLARATION MUST BE RE-SCINDED.

Egypt: General Abdul Nasser's Free Officers Organization carried out a coup against Egyptian monarchy in 1952. The frontman was Gen. Noguiba who made way for Nasser in 1956. Nasser was succeeded by Sadat in 1970. Though Sadat was an early traitor and attempted to make peace with Israel, he was not pliable enough. He received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978 and was assassinated by American and Israeli interests in 1981.

In the meantime he had concluded a peace treaty with Israel in 1979 which provided for the return of Sinai to Egypt in 3 years.

Hosni Mubarak, even a worse cad than Sadat, continued the neo-colonialist policies of his predecessor. In fact he became the traitor model for Yassar Arafat, who also received a half-Nobel (with Rabin and Peres).

Even after the outbreak of the latest exchange of firing between Israeli troops and Palestinian police, Hosni Mubarak and Yassar Arafat are calling, like typical comprador cowards, for a new Peace Conference in Cairo.

How far do they want to go to lick the boots of the Israelis? Will Netanyahu be allowed to keep a part of Hebron? Will Israel

be allowed to build not 1,800 but a few more thousand New Jewish Settlements in and around Jerusalem ? Will Israel be persuaded to give up half the Security Zone in South Lebanon ? Will parts of Golan Heights be handed back to Syria as a compromise gesture ?

Where will this policy of appeasement and surrender lead to ? Is there a limit to the cowardice and compressibility of the comprador psyche ?

As everybody knows, compromise with a known devil never leads to anything ! The more you give up, the more you will be forced to bow and to swallow !

With their petro-dollars, and instead of depositing millions of dollars in Swiss accounts and buying up real estate in Europe and America, the Arabs must combine to build up sufficient strength to first, reduce Israel to its pre-1967 war boundaries; second, to its 1948 U. N. partition borders and finally to the pre-1919 Balfour Declaration status.

In short, there is no alternative to an Arab Socialist revolution !

Pakistan : Both the Westerners and the Stalinist-Progressivists have been ambiguous about the characterization of Pakistan, which has been an ally of America, Europe and Japan from the 1950s as member of the Baghdad Pact and the SEATO.

As we had noted in our last month's survey, *India And Her Neighbours*, the Pakistani regime is one of the four relic feudal powers in South Asia (*MK Aug/Sept 1996*, p. 48).

Just last week Benazir Bhutto-Zardari's armed police have killed her brother Murtaza Bhutto and the shameless swinish woman is bemoaning the passing away of the last male member of the Bhutto clan (Begum Zardari's father Zulfikar was judicially assassinated by dictator Zia in 1979 and younger brother Shah Nawaz died under mysterious circumstances in France.)

Benazir Zardari has misappropriated all the Bhutto properties in Sind and her husband Asif has masterminded the Murtaza killing.

Stalinist-Progressivists and the Congress Party as compradors are being prompted by the imperialists of the West to support the demand for merger of hitherto secular Kashmir with openly proclaimed non-secular states of Azad Kashmir and Pakistan.

It is obvious that if "greater autonomy than autonomy" is granted to Kashmir, it will surely in due course, if not immediately, merge with Pakistan, which will probably mean that India would have to liberate Kashmir from Pakistan control in another 10 years' time.

However, the tragicomedy is that since the demand for merger of Kashmir with Pakistan is a "Secular Demand", it is impossible to call Pakistan a Fundamentalist State ! And if Pakistan is not fundamentalist, then which country in the world is to be termed fundamentalist ?

Further, just now (26-9-96), Kabul has fallen to the Taliban forces which have been led by Mullah Omar, financed and armed by Pakistan: Former President Dr. Najibullah has been executed and Rabbani has fled to the North, as per Kabul Radio. The Mullah's Taliban forces are so dogmatically fundamentalist that girls have been taken out of schools and no education will be imparted to women henceforth in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan.

Which means that the lakhs and crores of Muslim women and girls being educated in schools and universities from Morocco to Indonesia are all in daily violation of the Shariat.

Since in Kashmir and in Afghanistan, Pakistan stands exposed as a rabid communalist and fundamentalist force supporting the Islamic State of Azad Kashmir and Taliban-led Afghanistan and further Pakistan having constitutionally declared itself

an Islamic State, how is Pakistan to be called a progressive, secular entity, which obviously it is, since Pakistan is pro-West ?!

We leave the problem to the Stalinist fools of the so-called Leftist Movement of India and the world. After all, some genius from the Academy of Sciences, Moscow, will arrive in India and provide a dialectical double-talk formula to guide the stupid Stalinist flock of natives !

CONCLUSION

Through the miasma created by neo-colonial propagandists, we may discern the following:

Three giant groups of cartels are operating and quarreling in the Middle East. The Oil Cartels (Chevron, Total, Mobil, Exxon, Shell) have their own agenda, and so have the Armament Industry giants and the Multinationals of the Financial Sector (Banks, Insurance Companies, International Financial Institutions, Real Estate Operators, etc.)

It is difficult to say who is financing whom, to what extent, and at which point of time.

The British and the American monopoly houses are obviously intimately linked.

The Germans are operating through their close NATO ally Turkey, which was tied to Germany in the First World War. The largest immigrant community in Germany is of Turkish origin. The Krupps Cartel, a vast steel and munitions conglomerate, by a major shareholding, became Iran-influenced (from 1974).

The French are playing a game of their own, partly supporting the Americans and partly opposing them.

As far as India is concerned, there are two immediate issues involved.

a) The Diego Garcia base, in the Indian Ocean, has been made available by one imperialist power, Britain, to another, USA, without any prior consultation with India.

b) The prices of petroleum, oil and lubricants have risen in the international market by 20 to 25 percent, from a range of 17-20 dollars to 23-25 dollars per tonne.

Our imports for 1995-96 totalled 39,445 million dollars, of which the petroleum-oil-lubricant component was \$7,156 millions. This means that our import bill for POL will go up by approximately 25 percent or roughly \$ 1,789 millions.

Thus, American imperialism has added, by its neo-colonialist activities, something like Rs. 62,615 million to our Trade Deficit.

Will our Congress and *naukarshahi* compradors, with their Stalinist-Progressionalist allies, at last realise that America is no friend of India ?

For the time being, Saddam has survived and split the Coalition against him. But he has been forced to suspend operations against those who have violated Iraqi sovereignty and who continue to do so through air patrolling of the two No-Fly Zones above the 36° and below the 33° Parallels. He is not in a position to drive the Americans out of Iraq.

At the moment of writing, it is a stalemate.

However, the jargon of secularism lies shattered!

~ We have briefly referred to the overturn in Afghanistan under Pakistan's influence. A more detailed analysis of Afghan developments will appear in the next issue.

STOP PRESS

Two other developments of interest may be noted :

(i) The world's stock markets are in brilliant form. The Dow-Jones in New York has broken through to 6,000, the London FTSE has for the first time in its history, climbed above 4,000, and the Tokyo Nikkei has topped 22,000. And similar records have been set by Paris, Frankfurt and Milan.

As John Dos Passos, the author of the trilogy, *USA*, wrote long ago :

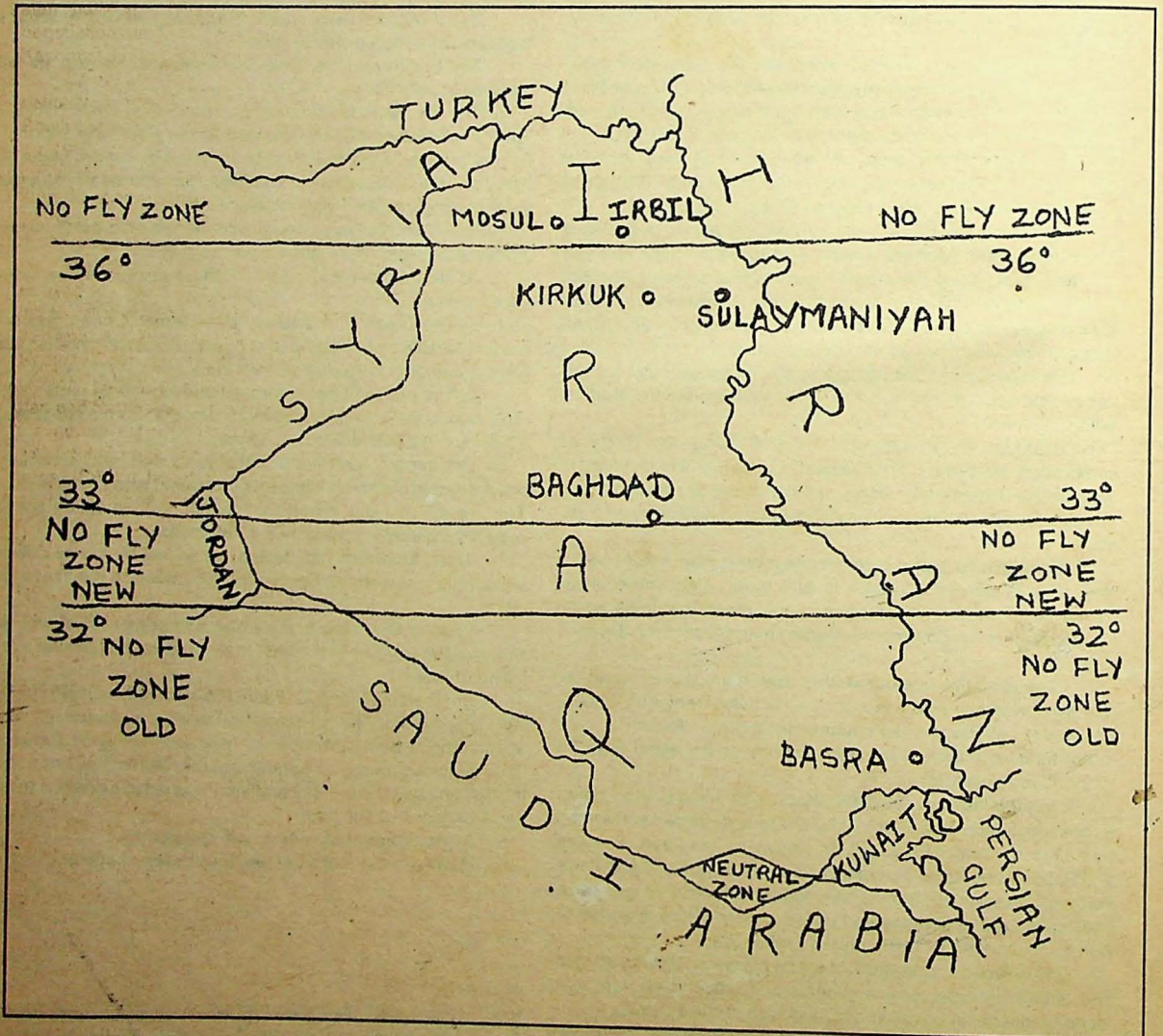
*"Wars, pestilences, famines ...
Good growing weather for the House of Morgan"*

Both Netanyahu and Saddam have proved their worth to

world capitalism. Thanks to them, everywhere the stock markets are in great form.

(ii) Massoud Barzani has had a meeting in Ankara with a high level representative of the American State Department. As expected, nothing came of the meeting. 2,500 Kurds who acted as American agents in Kurdistan have been flown to the US base in Guam island in the Pacific via Turkey. This is a magnificent American contribution to the Kurdish cause ! Henceforth the Kurds will have a base in the Pacific, from where they will be able to fight for the independence of Kurdistan !

Oil prices are booming, stock markets are zooming, Neocolonialism Zindabad !



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PASTE UP TO THIS LINE

ORNISH'S PROGRAMME FOR HEALTH - 3

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

In the last two issues of *Mankind* (No. 9, June 1996 and No. 10, July 1996), we have summarised the factors which cause chronic health problems like high blood pressure, heart ailments, diabetes, etc. and the limitations of the conventional approach to the treatment of these problems by Western allopathic methods. The Ornish programme which is based on naturopathic healing processes (which are in use in India for centuries) was outlined giving its central features.

We continue the summary in this final instalment describing the dietary components of this health programme.

Reversal and Prevention Diets

In the last section of his book, Dean Ornish describes the Reversal Diet which is for those who have coronary heart disease and want to reverse it, and the Prevention Diet for those who want to keep from getting it.

Both diets also substantially reduce the risk of developing other degenerative diseases including obesity, high blood pressure, stroke, osteoporosis, diabetes, gallstones, and cancers of the colon, breast and prostate. Equally important, both diets can help you feel more energetic, think more clearly, and improve your physical performance- in other words to enjoy life more.

These are not diets of austerity or deprivation, although they do require you to make choices.

Most diets do not work for long because people get tired of feeling hungry and deprived. So instead of limiting the amount of food you eat, the Reversal Diet asks you to watch the type of food that you eat, and to select only from vegetarian sources.

In summary, the Reversal Diet

- * is very low in fat and has almost no cholesterol
- * has less than 10 percent calories from fat and little of it is saturated
- * excludes foods high in saturated fat
- * is high in fibre

- * allows but does not encourage moderate alcohol consumption (less than 2 ounces per day)
- * excludes all oils and animal products except nonfat milk and yogurt
- * allows egg white
- * excludes caffeine and other stimulants
- * allows moderate use of salt and sugar
- * is not restricted in calories.

The Reversal Diet consists primarily of complex carbohydrates or starches which are found in vegetarian foods in their natural form e.g., grains, beans, vegetables and fruits. These are very filling. In contrast, simple carbohydrates come from alcohol, honey, sugar, etc. and they give calories without any nutritional value. For this reason, the Reversal Diet asks you to modify (but not eliminate) the use of sugar and alcohol.

Besides being more filling than simple sugars and lower in calories than fat, very little of the complex carbohydrates a person eats is converted into fat. Also the body consumes more calories in digesting and metabolising complex carbohydrates than in digesting and metabolising dietary fat.

The type of food we eat is more important than the amount of food we consume. There is no correlation between calorie intake and body weight. The degree of excess weight is linked to fat consumption, independent of calorie intake.

The second important feature of the Reversal Diet is that it has less protein than the typical middle class urban diet. Too much protein can be harmful for human beings. Protein is made up of amino acids. About twenty two different kinds of amino acids combine to form a vast variety of proteins. Of these, three are critical for the well-being of human body viz. lysine, tryptophan and methionine. Plant-based foods contain these three amino acids in different proportions. Two-third grains and one-third legumes is the ideal intake in our daily diet.

We are likely to be eating enough protein as long as we consume enough non-sugar calories to maintain our ideal body weight.

The Reversal Diet is a very low-fat vegetarian diet, with no animal products except egg whites and non-fat dairy.

Scientific data gathered from various studies suggests a positive relationship between vegetarian lifestyles and reduced risk of chronic degenerative diseases like obesity, coronary artery disease hypertension, diabetes mellitus, colon cancer, etc. Vegetarians also have lower incidence of osteoporosis, lung and breast cancer, kidney stones and gall stones.

The Reversal Diet is vegetarian for the simple reason that cholesterol is only found in meats, poultry, fish and dairy. Animal products are also high in saturated fats which the human body converts into cholesterol. Vegetarian foods are cholesterol free and with only rare exceptions, are low in saturated fat.

Halfway measures are not enough to reverse coronary heart disease for the majority of people. Only a diet almost entirely free of animal fat, oil and cholesterol will significantly lower blood cholesterol levels in just about everyone.

With rare exceptions, our bodies make exactly the right amount of cholesterol to meet their needs. They have sensitive mechanisms which tell the liver to increase or decrease the amount of cholesterol it manufactures as needed.

Fat is 'bad' only when we eat too much of it. On an average, we need less than fourteen grams of fat which our body synthesises into a variety of important substances.

Studies of different populations observed over many years have confirmed that people who eat a low-fat vegetarian diet have low blood pressure, low blood cholesterol levels and low rates of heart disease. People in most of the less industrialised countries of the world eat this way and have low rates of coronary heart disease. The exceptions are found in the upper-class members of these societies who tend to eat and live like their counterparts in the developed countries.

Our teeth are designed primarily for plant-based foods and our intestinal tract is long to allow for the slow digestion of high-fibre plant foods, rather than the short digestive tract needed to process meat and dispose of the resulting toxic wastes quickly.

With increased prosperity, the consumption of animal foods increases and with it, the incidence of coronary heart disease and other illnesses.

Besides the effect on heart disease,

a diet low in animal products decreases the risk of many types of cancer.

Studies conducted in China reveal that although the Chinese consume 20 percent more calories than Americans, there is little obesity in China, since the average Chinese diet is less than 15 percent fat.

The total cholesterol level in human beings is made up of different components including LDL (low-density lipoprotein) and HDL (high-density lipoprotein). The main function of HDL is to remove excess cholesterol from the bloodstream. It helps transport LDL out of cells, into the bile, and out of the body.

To sum up, a vegetarian diet will lower HDL, but it lowers LDL even more, and heart disease is rare in people who eat this way.

SALT

Salt affects our health only to the degree that it causes our blood pressure to increase.

Less than one-fourth of people who have high blood pressure are "salt-sensitive".

The human body maintains a precise concentration of salt. When we eat salt, our body tends to retain water in order to dilute the salt to keep it at a constant concentration. All other things being equal, when the amount of volume (water) increases in a closed system (the human body), the pressure increases. Most people are able to excrete the extra salt and water in their urine, except those who have congestive heart failure or kidney disease.

But a majority of us would benefit if they reduced the salt content in their diet.

STIMULANTS

Caffeine is excluded from the Reversal Diet. Coffee chemically stimulates our sympathetic nervous system and causes a quick rise in the level of adrenaline and other stress hormones. After some time, the energy level tends to fall lower than what it was before drinking coffee, and so we feel like having another cup. This cycle of addiction is much more with stimulants like nicotine, cocaine, etc. This makes it hard for people to stop.

There are four reasons for excluding stimulants from the Reversal Diet. First, they increase the risk of coronary heart disease. Second, they increase the frequency and severity of irregular heartbeats. Third, stimulants make us more prone to the stress response. Fourth, the human body becomes more sensitive to the effects of stimulants when it is on the Reversal Diet.

Caffeine is found not only in coffee, but in cola drinks, chocolate, other cocoa products and regular teas.

When people stop taking the stimulants, they go through a period of withdrawal, i.e. they feel tired and low on energy. But after a few days, these symptoms disappear.

SUGAR

Our blood sugar levels rise rapidly when we eat refined sugar. As a result our pancreas begins to produce more insulin causing the blood sugar level to fall quickly. When the blood sugar level drops, the pancreas begins to stop secreting insulin but this does not happen fast enough. So the blood sugar may drop lower than it was before one ate refined sugar. This creates a feeling of tiredness and being run down and makes one want to eat more sugar. This cycle is similar to the addiction cycle described earlier in the case of other stimulants.

Sugars which are found in complex carbohydrates, in contrast to simple sugars, are absorbed more slowly into the bloodstream and keep our energy levels more constant.

Another problem with sugar is that it is often found in foods

that contain fat. Sugar also adds calories without adequate nutrition and promotes tooth decay.

The Reversal Diet allows but does not encourage sugar except in limited amounts. Reducing the consumption of sugar makes one feel better.

ALCOHOL

Alcohol is not excluded from the Reversal Diet but its daily use is not recommended.

Alcohol has a direct, toxic effect on the muscle of the heart. Over time, it can cause the heart to beat less effectively. This condition is known as alcohol cardiomyopathy. Alcohol is toxic to other organs like liver and pancreas. Less than one drink per day doubles the risk of haemorrhagic strokes. Heavy drinking is linked to cirrhosis, pancreatitis, hypertension, cardiomyopathy and malnutrition.

Alcohol is a major factor in most accidents on the road, at work and at home.

Alcohol provides, like sugar, a lot of extra calories but no nutrition.

For women, there is a link between breast cancer and moderate alcohol consumption.

OMEGA-3 FATTY ACIDS

The omega-3 fatty acids also known as EPA's or n-3 fatty acids are believed to help protect blood vessel walls from the harmful effects of LDL-cholesterol, which is the most harmful type of cholesterol. LDL becomes even more injurious when it is combined with oxygen, i.e. when it becomes oxidised. Omega-3 fatty acids tend to prevent this oxidation. They also prevent blood clots and coronary artery spasm. They decrease the activity of substances which lead to atherosclerosis.

Omega-3 fatty acids are found in fish oils as also in whole grains, beans, seaweed, and soya bean products.

Vegetarian sources of Omega-3 fatty acids are better than fish because the latter contain saturated fat and cholesterol which causes LDL levels to increase. Fish oils may increase the risk of haemorrhagic strokes and may cause insulin resistance. They may elevate blood glucose levels. Fish from coastal waters may be contaminated with pesticides and other harmful chemicals that are released in sea water in urban and industrial areas.

FIBRE

Fibre is the non-digestible part of plants, comprised mostly of complex carbohydrates. It is found in all whole grains, legumes, fruits and vegetables. Refined foods remove much of the fibre. Animal products contain no fibre.

Dietary fibre is made up of both soluble and insoluble forms. The Reversal Diet is high in both types.

Insoluble fibres increases stool bulk thereby curing constipation and decreasing the likelihood of piles, appendicitis etc. They also decrease the amount of time it takes for the food to pass through the intestines. This results in low risk of colon cancer. Wheat bran is a major source of insoluble fibre.

Soluble fibres form gels that delay the absorption of certain foods, including cholesterol. Oat and rice bran, carrots, proteins, found in fruits and beans are sources of soluble fibre. This fibre also increases the excretion of cholesterol in the bile, and slows down the absorption of carbohydrates which helps to keep the blood sugar levels more constant.

The Reversal Diet allows only egg whites and non-fat milk or yogurt (*dahi*) up to 1 cup per day. It includes whole grains e.g. wheat, rice (unrefined), corn, millets, (*bajri*, *jowar*, *ragi* etc.), barley and oats. Vegetables included in this diet are cabbage, carrot,

cauliflower, cucumber, brinjal, garlic, ginger, lettuce, ladies finger (*bhindi*), mushrooms, onion, potato, pumpkin, radish (*mul*), spinach (*palak*), sprouts, squashes of all kinds (*dudhi, turai* etc.), yams (*suran, kand*), and tomato. Almost all fruits are allowed in the Reversal Diet. Similarly beans, lentils are also freely allowed.

Meats, poultry, seafood and egg yolks are not included in the Reversal Diet. Vegetarian foods high in oil e.g. nuts, seeds, chocolate and cocoa products are also excluded.

A diet which is high in complex carbohydrates and low in saturated fat improves one's performance as many athletes are experiencing.

Ornish also mentions his personal experience after switching to a vegetarian diet. He felt more energetic, needed less sleep and maintained an ideal body weight.

Fat does taste good, but as we decrease the amount of fat in our diet, our palates begin to readjust. We lose our taste for excessive fat. The same is true of salt.

The Reversal Diet is a big change and the period of transition when one is changing from the old diet to the Reversal Diet may be difficult but its long term benefits make it worth making the effort.

GETTING STARTED ON THE REVERSAL DIET

On the Reversal Diet, one need not count calories but one needs to keep track of the fat consumed, especially when one eats ready-made food or food cooked in restaurants.

On the Reversal Diet, 15 to 35 grams of total fat or 5 to 12 grams of saturated fats are permitted per day.

The only way to keep your total fat and cholesterol consumption low enough is to eat a low fat vegetarian diet and avoid eating commercially prepared foods.

THE PREVENTION DIET

A number of investigations have shown that in countries where average cholesterol level is around 150, heart disease is very rare.

The Prevention Diet is meant for people who have no coronary heart disease and would like to forestall its onset.

The Prevention Diet allows a higher amount of fat. But the main items to avoid on this diet are meats, ice cream, butter, eggs, nuts, cheese and oils.

CALCIUM

Calcium deficiencies are caused either by too little calcium in the diet, or too much excretion of calcium in the urine. In either case, the body begins to absorb calcium out of the bones to maintain a constant calcium level in the bloodstream. Over time, the bones become depleted of calcium and fracture easily.

Post-menopausal women are especially vulnerable. Before menopause, high oestrogen levels in their bodies protect women against osteoporosis (brittle bones). Giving oestrogen to post-menopausal women may prevent osteoporosis but it increases the risk of developing breast cancer.

It is observed from studies of different populations that vegetarians excrete much less calcium, and that is why they have very low rates of osteoporosis even though their dietary intake of calcium is lower than those on a meat-eating diet. Vegetarians also absorb more of their dietary calcium.

Urinary calcium excretion was 50 per cent greater on the animal protein diet than on the vegetable protein diet. This calcium loss predisposes the body to osteoporosis as well as kidney stones.

It is less expensive to eat vegetarian foods than meat.

Smoking cigarettes is as physiologically and psychologically addictive as smoking crack, cocaine or injecting heroin.

When one inhales cigarette smoke, it reaches one's brain within six seconds, twice as fast as if one injected heroin.

Because nicotine is so addictive, it is very hard to stop smoking. When smokers try to quit, the relapse rate is high. The withdrawal symptoms when one quits smoking are unpleasant and include restlessness, irritability, drowsiness, headaches, stomach and sleep disturbances, and difficulty in concentrating. There is also a tendency to gain weight even if the food intake remains the same as the body metabolism slows down when one quits smoking.

These physiological symptoms are acute for up to two days after the last cigarette and gradually become less intense over a period of two weeks. The psychological addiction lasts longer. The desire to smoke can persist even for years, particularly in stressful situations.

Nicotine can affect so many of the human brain hormones. These hormones are called neuroregulators and are powerfully involved in feelings of well-being. By altering these chemicals, nicotine helps a person cope better with stress and the demands of daily living. Depending on the dose, nicotine can make a person calmer or more aroused. Smokers can adjust these brain chemicals to make them feel more aroused or more relaxed. Thus, smokers use cigarettes to control their moods.

WHAT NICOTINE DOES

Smokers often view smoking as a type of risk-taking behaviour. They realise if something harmful happens, they are endangering their life; but they feel that if they are lucky, they might grow old without any harmful effects.

But each cigarette you smoke affects your health, even if you do not get heart disease or cancer in later life. Nicotine, like emotional stress, stimulates the sympathetic nervous system and causes the body to produce more stress hormones such as adrenaline. These changes cause the heart rate and blood pressure to increase, the blood to clot more easily and arteries throughout the body to constrict.

The blood vessels to the skin also constrict and the skin wrinkles more quickly. That is why nicotine or stress can age a person faster.

*Blood vessels to the heart constrict, causing chest pain and heart attacks.

*Blood vessels to the brain constrict, which can cause strokes.

*Blood vessels to the hands and feet constrict, causing them to be cold. In people with diabetes, this can lead to gangrene and amputation.

*Blood flow to the sexual organs decreases, making the smoker impotent.

*Nicotine decreases our senses of taste, touch and smell, three of the most important senses of pleasure.

*Women smokers are three times more likely to be infertile than non-smokers and reach menopause earlier than non-smokers. In men, smoking decreases sperm count and motility.

*Over a period of time, nicotine damages the lining of the arteries in the heart and body, thus causing blockages and decreasing blood flow.

*Nicotine like chronic stress, causes the body to produce excess cortisol which suppresses the immune system and increases the formation of arterial blockages.

*Nicotine increases the tendency of the heart to beat irregularly, increasing the risk of cardiac death.

*Smokers inhale a number of toxic gases. Some of these expose smokers to long-term risk of cancer. Every puff introduces gases into the lungs, irritating them and causing more mucus to be produced. Smoking weakens the capacity of the immune system to attack harmful bacteria and viruses and it also paralyses the natural cleaning mechanisms of the lungs, building up mucus and making the smoker more susceptible to bacterial and viral infections.

THE HEALTH EFFECTS OF SMOKING

Smokers run two and a half times the risk of a heart attack as non-smokers. Thirty percent of cancer deaths are due to smoking. Lung cancer is one of the most difficult cancers to treat. Chronic bronchitis and emphysema cause another 15 per cent smoking-related deaths. Smoking increases the risks of stroke, peripheral vascular disease, osteoporosis, glaucoma, and cancers of the mouth, oesophagus, larynx, bladder, pancreas, stomach, kidney and cervix.

Smokers have twice the amount of peptic ulcer disease. They also have higher rates of asthma, allergies, gum disease, headaches, and cough. Diabetics who smoke are eight times more likely to have complications than non-smoking diabetics.

In pregnant women, smoking retards foetal growth and leads to higher incidence of birth defects and sudden infant deaths.

Children of smokers have more frequent bouts of bronchitis and pneumonia and a higher incidence of respiratory diseases in later life, even if they never become smokers. Wives or husbands of smokers run 25 percent greater risk of contracting lung cancer than non-smoking spouses of non-smokers.

Ornish's Opening Your Heart Programme deals with the underlying causes which lead people to smoke and offers them something better in the place. It is easier to make comprehensive life style changes than to make a few.

Meditation techniques described in the second part of Ornish's book (*Mankind*, No. 10, July 1996) help one to concentrate better. The stress management techniques based on *yoga* help in achieving a more peaceful state of mind. They can also help us to achieve a greater control over our body and emotions. Smoking only creates an illusion of control. Smoking decreases one's awareness of physical pain and emotional distress. But meditation makes us more aware of pain and helps us to tolerate it better and use it as a catalyst for healing that pain. Smoking is difficult to stop unless the smoker deals with emotional and spiritual issues such as loneliness, isolation and unhappiness.

SHORT-TERM BENEFITS OF QUITTING

- a) Food will taste and smell better.
- b) Those who already have heart disease will feel a decrease in the frequency and severity of chest pain almost immediately.
- c) It is becoming socially less acceptable to smoke. Smoking is banned in many public places, trains and buses. Many work places also prohibit smoking.
- d) It saves money to quit smoking.
- e) There will be fewer colds and infections. The chronic cough will disappear.

LONG-TERM BENEFITS OF QUITTING

- a) The risk of lung cancer is reduced by 60 percent for an ex-smoker five years after quitting smoking.
- b) The risk of a heart attack is reduced by 50 percent one year after quitting and after 10 years of quitting male ex-smokers have the same mortality rate from heart disease as non-smokers.

HOW TO QUIT

The single most important factor for people who successfully quit smoking was the belief and confidence that they could do it. Most people who eventually quit smoking were not able to do it the first time.

Ornish has noted in the course of his experiments with his Opening Your Heart programme that practising this programme on a daily basis is one of the most effective ways of quitting smoking.

Dr. Tom Ferguson in his book *The No-Nag, No-Guilt, Do-It-Your-Own Way Guide To Quitting Smoking* lists many resources that a smoker can draw on to stop smoking.

*Set the date for stopping smoking when one is *not* likely to be under a lot of stress.

*Keep plenty of fruits and salad vegetables ready to munch on.

*Avoid caffeine as it increases the craving for nicotine.

*Avoid alcohol as it diminishes self-control.

*Ask friends to be supportive.

*Read about the effects of smoking and how other people have succeeded in quitting.

*Avoid social gatherings where there will be smoking and drinking during the first few weeks after one stops smoking.

HOW TO EXERCISE

Most of the health benefits come from very moderate but regular exercise, e.g. 30 minutes a day of walking or any other light work like gardening.

Fitness and health are not the same. Exercise done is not enough to make you healthy. To achieve good health, exercise is an essential part of a comprehensive lifestyle programme.

Regular exercise increases the number of small blood vessels to your muscles, thereby supplying them with more blood and oxygen. It can also help in reducing the percentage of body fat, in increasing bone density and in reducing blood pressure.

It is not advisable to exercise on a full stomach. Exercise should also not be undertaken after smoking or drinking alcohol. Exercise in very warm or very cold weather also puts an extra burden on the heart.

To sum up, walking thirty minutes a day or one hour three times a week is enough to provide one with most of the benefits of exercise.

REVERSAL AND PREVENTION DIET FOODS

Vegetables, grains and dried beans are the backbone of these diets. Fruits should be added whenever possible. Salads or uncooked vegetables e.g., cucumbers, carrots, onions, lettuce are also an essential part of these diets.

For those who are used to eating non-vegetarian food daily, it may be better to make gradual changes e.g. giving up red meats first, then poultry and fish. The same goes for high-fat dairy products which can be slowly substituted by skimmed or low fat products.

INGREDIENTS

Grains: Grains are the seeds of grasses. Those most commonly eaten are wheat, rice, millets (*jowar, bajra* and *ragi*) and corn. These grains should be used without refining them.

LEGUMES OR DRIED BEANS

Lentils, peas and beans of different kind have proteins and other nutrients. To draw maximum benefit from their protein, these must sometimes be eaten with grains.

Herbs and Spices

Tulsi (basil), *tej patta* (bay leaf), coriander, *puḍina* (mint) are freely available and have medicinal properties apart from the distinctive flavour they add to food. A few *Tulsi* leaves eaten raw every day are a part of all Indian naturopathic diets.

Saunf (aniseed), *elaichi* (cardamon), *dhania* seeds (corianders), *jeera* (cumin seeds), *methi* (fenugreek seeds), *dalchini* (cinnamon), *haldi* (turmeric), *adrak* (ginger), *lasoon* (garlic), *rai* (mustard seeds), *jaiphal* (nutmeg) are some of the spices which not only add flavour to food but have many health giving nutrients.

For example *methi* or fenugreek seeds when sprouted and eaten as salad can lower the blood sugar in a few days. Garlic and onion eaten raw lower blood pressure and cholesterol.

The last section of Ornish's book gives recipes for vegetarian dishes. Most of these include some ingredients which are suited to Western cooking.

But most of the everyday vegetarian food eaten in different parts of India would be suitable for both the Reversal and Prevention Diets of Ornish.

MANKIND

Fdr. Edr. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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FOREIGN CONTROL OVER INDIA'S SOVEREIGNTY : POLITICAL INTERVENTION BY MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES

Abhay Pratap

Today, more than 3,000 multinational companies have spread their tentacles in India and hundreds of others are waiting to enter our country. Most of these companies have a total budget which is many times more than that of the Indian government. The subservience of the Indian economy to the interests of these foreign multinationals is now turning into interference in India's political life. Foreign intervention in our government and political life through these foreign companies is growing very rapidly. This article presents the dangers inherent in this political subservience to the multinationals.

Recently, the military government in Nigeria and the notorious multinational, Shell, which is known for its environmentally harmful policies, have combined to execute the well-known human rights activist, environmentalist and playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight of his associates. This joint oppression of the Ogoni tribe to which Saro-Wiwa belonged shows how the rulers of Nigeria are controlled by the multinational company.

If we look at recent history, we will find many examples of the multinational companies' intervention in the internal politics of third world countries. In some cases, they have influenced the elections in order to bring to power a government which will be favourable to them. In other cases, they have overturned governments which were not amenable to their pressure. We should remember that the East India Company was also a foreign trading company which came to India to trade, but acquired political control over India.

The political machinations of these multinationals can be seen in many events such as the overturn of the Mossadegh

government in Iran in 1953, of the Sukarno regime in Indonesia in 1966, and the assassination of Allende in Chile in 1973 with the help of the CIA. All these actions compel us to take serious notice of the intervention of these foreign companies in Indian politics.

There are instances where the arms manufacturing multinationals have given bribes to the politicians, bureaucrats and top armed forces personnel of many countries in order to secure arms contracts. They are known to allocate amounts in their budgets for the purpose of influencing the

ATTITUDE OF INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES TO MNCs ENTRY INTO INDIA

While most of us know about the economic domination of these huge corporations, not many people are fully aware of the dangers of their political intervention in our country. But before we outline the dangers inherent in the infiltration by the MNCs in our internal national politics, let us examine the standpoints of the different political parties on the related issues of liberalisation and the entry of the foreign corporations in India.

existing laws and constitutional provisions as well as to get new laws passed which will make their operation in these countries easy. These activities of the foreign companies have been pinpointed by many investigating committees and some of these companies have been forced to acknowledge this fact.

Against this background, the rapid rise in the number of foreign companies entering India after 1991 should make every Indian conscious of the dangers of their intervention in our national politics. Today, more than 3500 MNCs are already in India and hundreds are waiting to enter.

While most of us know about the

economic domination of these huge corporations, not many people are fully aware of the dangers of their political intervention in our country. But before we outline the dangers inherent in the infiltration by the MNCs in our internal national politics, let us examine the standpoints of the different political parties on the related issues of liberalisation and the entry of the foreign corporations in India.

CONGRESS — A PUPPET IN THE HANDS OF MNCs

The policies of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation were vigorously pursued by the Congress under the leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao. These policies were *not* adopted after any democratic endorsement by the Indian electorate. They were imposed on India by the G-7 countries and the international finance institutions like the World Bank and the I.M.F. The Indian government at the centre capitulated under the pressure and the governments in the states fell in line. Now the central government is trying to create public opinion in support of these policies by using the government-controlled publicity media. Instead of formulating political and economic policies in the interests of a majority of Indians and in democratic consultation with the people, the international finance institutions are dictating these policies to a pliable government in the interests of the MNCs and the G-7 countries.

The Congress Party has thus become a representative of the MNCs, World Bank and the IMF in India. It is not likely to change this line and if it returns to power, the Congress will not hesitate to bring about even constitutional amendments to allow these foreign interests to loot India freely. The Congress, which was in power at the centre till recently, has already changed many laws and carried out constitutional amendments to facilitate the unfettered operation of the MNCs in India. Thus, it is not at all an exaggeration to designate the Congress as a puppet of the foreign corporations in our country.

THE MNCs STRANGLEHOLD ON THE BJP AND THE SHIV SENA

Next we will examine the standpoint of the BJP which is aspiring to form the next government at the centre and is the largest national party if we go by the results of the 1996 elections. The Shiv Sena is an ally of BJP and both these are right wing parties. The BJP is known as a nationalist party and

there was an impression at one time that it was strongly opposed to the entry of the MNCs into India. This was due to its proximity to bodies like the Swadeshi Jagran Manch which are committed to *Swadeshi* or encouragement of indigenous enterprise. With the beginning of the New Economic Policy in the 90s, the struggle for *Swadeshi* or indigenous economic enterprise was undertaken by small organisations and movements of local people in different regions of India. BJP used the public opinion in favour of *swadeshi* for winning the elections and then discarded all ideas of an indigenous economic initiative. Today BJP leaders Lal Krishna Advani and Murli Manohar Joshi and Shiv Sena's Bal Thackeray speak freely against *Swadeshi*. The foreign jaunts of L.K. Advani and Atal Behari Vajpayee are being funded by American institutions like Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. These foundations are using these leaders for propaganda in favour of multinational interests but that does not seem to deter these leaders. They hold press conferences in the course of their tours abroad where they categorically state that they are not at all opposed to foreign capital and the multinationals.

Bal Thackeray ridicules the idea of *swadeshi* as boycotting the electric bulb. He says that it is a totally out of date concept. The Chief Secretary of the BJP government in Gujarat states in a meeting of the Indo-British Business Association in London that Gandhi had chased British companies out of India but we have come to invite you back. A controversial electricity generation project like Enron is scrapped by the BJP-Shiv Sena govt. and is then renegotiated without inviting open tenders with some insignificant reduction in cost and a marginal increase in the share of the new state government.

When the proposed Patents Bill is taken up for voting in the Lok Sabha, BJP leaders Advani, Vajpayee and Murli Manohar Joshi remain absent. All these facts indicate that the nationalism of these right wing parties cannot last in the face of the aggression of the multinationals upon India. These two parties have joined the reception committee to welcome the multinationals. It will be futile to expect any opposition to the New Economic Policy from them.

THE CPM'S LAL SALAAM TO THE MNCs

West Bengal, which has a Communist Party (Marxist) government ranks second only to Maharashtra in the amount of foreign capital invested there. The state govt. in West Bengal has proposed a legislative amendment to allow the multinationals to acquire land freely and without any limit. This proposed legislation is awaiting the consent of the President. Privatisation of public sector industries is proceeding with great speed. The CPM leaders who were initially attacking the central government's New Economic Policy as re-enslavement of India have changed their

CONGRESS A PUPPET OF MULTINATIONAL INTEREST

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tune and in January 1995, the CPM Politburo has given its total support to the economic liberalisation in West Bengal. Nrupen Chakravarty, a senior party leader and a member of the CPM Politburo was expelled for opposing this change in the CPM Policy. Jatin Chakravarty, a minister in the West Bengal government had to resign for his criticism of the party's attitude towards the multinationals. Another minister, Vinaykrishna Chaudhary who accused his government of underhand collaboration with contractors was also pressurised to resign. The son of the CPM Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu, is an industrialist who is collaborating with many foreign companies. The CPM leaders at the centre lament degradation of India's culture when Sushmita Sen is chosen 'Miss Universe' but Jyoti Basu's grand daughter participates in similar beauty contests. In the face of all this evidence, it is futile to expect the CPM to take a principled stand against the multinationals. It has become a supporter of multinational capitalism in an overall climate of globalisation. Their basic communist principles lie in tatters and they have become supporters of multinational capital in order to preserve their rule in West Bengal. Their *lal salaam* (red salute) is directed towards the MNCs in place of Marx and Lenin.

SURRENDER OF OTHER PARTIES TO THE MNCs

Janata Dal, Samajwadi Janata Party, Telugu Desam and other regional political formations also present a strange picture. The multinationals have been given a free entry in U.P. by Mulayam Singh Yadav; in Bihar by Laloo Prasad Yadav, by N.T. Rama Rao in Andhra and by Deve Gowda in Karnataka. These chief ministers have undertaken foreign trips to invite MNCs to come to their states.

Laloo Prasad Yadav assured the MNCs during his visit to the United States that they would not be let down in Bihar the way the BJP-Shiv Sena govt. scrapped the Enron deal. N.T. Rama Rao of Telugu Desam was opposed to the entry of the MNCs before he became the Chief Minister of Andhra but changed his tune after coming to power. Out of a total of 35 electricity generating projects in Andhra, 34 have been awarded without inviting open tenders. Many of these were negotiated

THE BJP LEADERS HOBNOBBING WITH FOREIGN INTERESTS

The foreign jaunts of L.K. Advani and Atal Behari Vajpayee are being funded by American institutions like Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. These foundations are using these leaders for propaganda in favour of multinational interests but that does not seem to deter these leaders. They hold press conferences in the course of their tours abroad where they categorically state that they are not at all opposed to foreign capital and the multinationals.

during N.T. Rama Rao's tenure. The MNCs have been allowed to acquire land on a vast scale for commercial cultivation of prawns and this has displaced large numbers of local population. The Karnataka government has allowed unfettered entry to foreign companies in that state. Hinduja who were involved in the notorious Bofors deal are developing a city in Karnataka. The land development laws have been modified by the Deve Gowda ministry in Karnataka to permit unlimited acquisition of land by the MNCs. A new type of multinational landlordism seems to be developing in Karnataka. Thus all these parties have also surrendered completely to the foreign corporation.

ALL THE PROMINENT OPPOSITION LEADERS HAVE MISLED THE INDIAN PEOPLE

All the opposition leaders in parliament have taken no concrete steps against the New Economic Policy and the GATT Agreement. The shadow boxing that these leaders have indulged in was clearly seen during the Budget Sessions of the parliament for the last four years. The hypocrisy of the opposition leaders was fully exposed when the Patents Bill was presented to the Lok Sabha in April 1995. It is well-known that the Patents Law is the most controversial part of the GATT Agreement. This agreement is an important step in the efforts of the G-7 countries to consolidate their neo-colonial aggression on third world countries. In India, the patents law in the GATT agreement had evoked the strongest opposition.

When the Patents Bill was presented to the Lok Sabha, all the important opposition leaders were absent. This bill sought to bring about changes in our patents law to favour the GATT Agreement. Those absent from the Lok Sabha included Chandrashekhar, George Fernandez, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani and V.P. Singh. Thus the bill was passed in the Lok Sabha by 12 votes. If all the opposition leaders who had vociferously spoken against the Patents Bill earlier had remained present, the bill would never have been passed. This shows the duplicity of our opposition leaders. When the Patents Bill was stalled in the Rajya Sabha, a functionary of the MNC, Glaxo, in America stated that the billions of dollars he had spent to get this law changed by the Indian government, were wasted. How and for whom these billions of dollars were spent is the important question.

INDIAN POLITICS AT DANGEROUS CROSS-ROADS

Today, all political parties in India are vying with one another to facilitate the entry of the MNCs in the country. What should cause concern is that despite this surrender by the political parties, the G-7 countries, World Bank and IMF are pressurising India to speed up economic reforms.

In May 1995, the American economic daily, *The Wall Street Journal* (which is associated with a multinational), published an appeal to Indian industrialists to directly participate in politics and take over the Indian government. According to this journal, P.V. Narsimha Rao was not implementing economic reforms vigorously enough (22.5.1995)

On one of his visits to the USA, in 1995, P.V. Narasimha Rao has promised a dual citizenship (orange card) to foreign capitalists who invest in India. We have to seriously reflect what will be the impact on our political system, of giving Indian citizenship to foreigners.

In August 1995, *the Wall Street Journal* lambasted the Indian politicians for keeping India poor by not pursuing economic reforms seriously. It went on to say that it awaits the appearance of an Indian leader who will challenge the present-day Indian leaders and hold them responsible for India's poverty.

Is the *Wall Street Journal* awaiting the emergence of an Indian leader who will win elections with total dependence on the MNC funds

? There are many politicians in India today who are from families owning industries which have collaborations with the MNCs. Perhaps the *Wall Street Journal* wants a complete takeover of Indian Politics by these leaders or by an 'orange' card holder. These are the preliminary steps the foreigners are taking to intervene directly in our internal politics.

The MNCs have funded Indian political parties. Choudhary Charan Singh, a former prime minister, has given figures of funds given by a foreign corporation to different political parties in India in his book *The Frightening Economic Situation in India (Hindi)*. In the present situation, these MNCs are capable of footing the total expenditure of an Indian election.

THE CPM'S LAL SALAAM TO THE MNCs

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The newly-formed "Congress of People" has decided to accept foreign funds for elections. They hope to get Rs. 200 crores from different countries for fighting elections in India. Ram Jethmalani, Prem Sahni and R.K. Tiwari are a few of the prominent names associated with this 'Congress of People'. They want to contest 250 seats and hope to play an important

role in Indian politics. They are repeatedly meeting Frank Wisner, the U.S. Ambassador in India and the American corporate sector has promised them full help.

This new trend in Indian politics will increase the interference and the pressure of foreign elements in the country's economic and political life.

The politics of defection will also be used by the foreigners to bring about changes favouring their interests. Our political life today is dominated by leaders who have no loyalty to any principle or any party. They can be bribed to follow any group. The BJP which won 176 seats in the last UP assembly elections claimed to have the support of 216 MLAs. In November 1995, out of a total of 16 independent MLAs in Gujarat, a bloc of 13 wanted to join the Congress at one time. All these tendencies are dragging our political system in a direction where a political party will not need the electoral support of the people or any ideology to win elections. Only money power which enables them to buy seats will mean victory in elections. The MNCs with their immense budgets may float a political party in India to safeguard their interests. The increasing electoral strength of independent candidates also creates a situation which may help the greater control of the MNCs over India.

Even if a few representatives of the MNCs manage to enter our parliament they can create a climate favourable to the foreign corporations by bribing enough parliamentarians to get legislation passed to facilitate the operation of the MNCs in India. This is not a flight of fancy but a logical and strong possibility based on their activities in India and other third world countries. Before we lose our

political sovereignty, we should gear ourselves to fight a new war of independence in India.

(Shri Abhay Pratap is the Editor of *Nai Azadi Oodghosh*, a journal published from Allahabad. This article is translated from Hindi and appeared in No. 72, December 1995 Special issue of that journal)

THE PATENTS BILL AND THE DUPLICITY OF INDIA'S OPPOSITION LEADERS

When the Patents Bill was presented to the Lok Sabha, all the important opposition leaders were absent. This bill sought to bring about changes in our patents law to favour the GATT Agreement. Those absent from the Lok Sabha included Chandrashekhar, George Fernandez, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani and V.P. Singh. Thus the bill was passed in the Lok Sabha by 12 votes. If all the opposition leaders who had vociferously spoken against the Patents Bill earlier had remained present, the bill would never have been passed.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EDUCATION : SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES

Dr. Indrajeet Alte

Overall development for the country necessarily means development of people of the lowermost strata. To this end, various constitutional provisions and schemes were consciously chalked out and implemented at various levels. The scheduled castes and tribes make up the largest section of the most neglected *Dalit Samaj*, for whom these schemes are designed.

According to the 1991 census, the total strength of the scheduled castes is 13 crores, 82 lakhs, while that of the scheduled tribes is 6 crores, 78 lakhs. That is, they make up 16.48% and 8.08% of the total population of the country, which is 84.63 crores. Taken together, nearly 1/4th of the total population is made up of these castes & tribes. A great deal was said about the overall development of this 1/4th section of the population. Due to this publicity, a great deal of misgivings spread among the different sections of society. Demonstrations against reservations of seats for backward castes is the cumulative result of these misgivings.

Since, it is not possible to touch upon all aspects of the development of backward castes in this small article, I have tried to concentrate only on the obstacles related with their educational development. One thing needs to be emphasized. Although this section makes up 25% of the total population, not even 1% of the total expenditure (starting from the 1st Five Year Plan to the latest) has been earmarked for the economic development of this section. This is the harsh reality. This fact can be clearly seen from the 2nd Five Year Plan, the scheduled castes received not even 1%

of the total allocation. Considering this historical fact, the disparity between the actual provision for the development of the *Dalit Samaj* and the government propaganda is very clear.

I would primarily like to consider in detail, the post SSC scholarship scheme.

The Govt Of India started the Post-SSC scholarship scheme, for the first time in the year 1944-45. In order that the spread of education may take place and the overall development of these needy students may take place; In the year 1944-45, 114

students of scheduled caste were given this help. In the year 1948-49, only 81 students of the scheduled tribes were given the scholarships. In July 1989, this was modified to include those students who were working and whose monthly income did not exceed Rs.1500. In 1990-91, in all 14 lakh students all over the country benefited by this scheme. The Central Government assumed that the total number of students of backward castes would go up to 16 lakhs, and made provision of Rs. 46 crores for the year 1992-93.

This scheme was also supplemented by a similar one to help Pre-SSC students of the Bhangi Samaj from 1977-78. In 1991, this scheme was further improved so that students were given Rs.24 per month (Std.I-V), Rs.40 p.m/ (Std.VI-VIII), and Rs.50 p.m (Std.IX & X). The day scholars are helped in this way, while students living in hostels are given Rs. 200-250 p.m. According to this scheme, for a period of 12-16 years, provision was made for Rs.11 crores; out of which the Central Govt. had utilized Rs. 4.43 crores, until Dec. 1992. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the overall development of any society depends on the education of its members.

If we consider the increase in the Cost Of Living Index in relation to the industrial worker, in the period 1982 - November 1995, it can be seen that the index which was 100 in 1982, reached 315 in November 1995. That is, the cost of living increased by more than three times.

Table 1

Duration of The Five Year Plans	Total Expenditure (In Rs. Crores)	Expenditure For Scheduled Castes (Rs. Crores)	Proportion To Total Expenditure
1st Plan 1951-55	2069	28.87	1.40 %
2nd Plan 1956-61	4800	27.50	0.57 %
3rd Plan 1961-66	10400	30.00	0.29 %
Annual Plan			
1966-67	2221	12.17	0.55 %
1967-68	2246	12.08	0.55 %
1968-69	2950	13.58	0.41%
4th Five Year Plan (1969-74)	24882	100.00	0.40%
5th Year Plan (1974-78)	39303	111.59	0.28 %
6th Five Year Plan (1981-85)	71000	626.50	0.88 %

Source: 1) *Plan Documents Of The Government of India*

2) *Scheduled Castes And Development Programmes In India* - V.B. Krishnaiya Chetty. Vohra Publishers And Distributers, Allahabad, 1991. Page No 23.

Similarly, according to the new method, the same index if taken for the urban workers in 1984-85, as base year = 100, has been found to have changed to 247.

The Cost Of Living Index for agricultural labourers, if 1960-61 is taken as the base year = 100, has been found to have increased to 1405 in November 1995.

This Cost Of Living Index meant for different classes has been found in all to have increased at least three times. (see Table 2)

Table 2 : Increase In The Cost of Living Index

Group And Base Year	Index
1. Industrial Worker (1982 = 100)	315
2. White collared urban workers	247
3. Farm Labourer (June 1960 - July 1961 = 100)	1407

Source:- *Economic And Political Weekly* - 11 November 1995.
P W Research Foundation - Current Statistics

In brief, it can be said that in the last ten years, the cost of living has increased nearly more than three times. Similarly, the *Economic Survey* 1994-95, published by the Government of India, shows this index to be 311 in November, if 1982 = 100. This index indicates the increase in foodgrain prices. In short, in the period 1982-95, the cost of foodgrains has been found to have increased more than three times.

Similarly, apart from foodgrains, the index for ordinary items, during the same time period generally has been found to have doubled (see Table 3)

**Table 3 : All India's Consumer's Price Index
Industrial Worker Base Year 1982 = 100**

	Food Grain Index		General Index	
	93 - 94	94 - 95	93 - 94	94 - 95
April	253	284	285	269
May	255	288	246	272
June	262	294	250	277
July	266	301	253	281
August	270	304	256	284
September	275	309	259	288
October	279	311	262	289
November	284	313	265	291
December	281	-	264	289
January	277	-	264	-
February	280	-	265	-
March	281	-	267	-

Source: *Economic Survey* 1994-95, Government of India, New Delhi, page no S 71

Naturally, the brunt of this increase in prices is borne by the economically poor class, and the question of feeding the family becomes the most important. Education becomes a secondary issue, and all members of the family from the smallest child to the grown ups struggle to find any kind of job. Out of helplessness, at times, school-going boys and girls must give up education halfway through in order to earn a living. The ill effects of this on our educational development are either an overall decline in the number of admissions or increase in the number of drop-outs.

In this context, the 28th *Report of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes And Tribes* has been published, which gives

detailed figures. If we look at these figures, it is seen that the total drop-out rate of the scheduled castes and tribes (1st to 5th) is 59.2% ; whereas rate upto 8th standard is 74.76%. Upto 10th standard, the rate is 85.72%. In short, if 100 students take admission in the 1st standard, only 15 will go upto matriculation.

In Maharashtra also, this drop-out rate is 78.61% (Table No 4)

Table 4 : 1986 (Enrolment Ratio) For SC/ST students

	Enrolment Percentage Of Schedules Castes	Enrolment Percentage Of Schedules Tribes
Std. 1st to 5th	17.35%	8.07%
Std. 6th to 8th	14.94%	5.07%
Std. 9th to 10th	13.41%	4.29%
Std. 11th to 12th	11.45%	2.69%

School Drop-Out Rate For Scheduled Castes (1981-82)

All India Drop-Out Rate	Drop-Out Rate For Boys	Drop-Out Rate For Girls	Total Rate
Primary Level			
1) Std. 1st to 5th	56.43%	64.24	59.21%
2) Middle Level Std. 6th to 8th	-	-	74.76%
3) Secondary Stage Std. 9th to 10th	-	-	85.72%

Drop-Out Rate For Scheduled Castes in Maharashtra

	Boys	Girls	Total
1) Primary Level	54.89%	68.00%	60.50%
2) Middle Level	-	-	67.86%
3) Secondary Level	-	-	78.61%

Source: 1) *Report of The Commissioner For SC/ST 28th Report 1986-87*, Page No 312,313.

Similarly, the drop-out rate for scheduled tribe students upto 10th standard is 91.65% at the All-India level, while in Maharashtra it is 90.55%.

In short, out of every 100 students who take admission in the 1st standard, only 10 students reach upto SSC (See Table 5)

Table 5 : Drop-Out Rate For Scheduled Tribes' Students (1981-82)

All India Drop-Out Rate	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary Level			
1) Std. 1st to 5th	71.57%	73.43%	74.00%
2) Middle Level Std. 6th to 8th	-	-	84.99%
3) Secondary Stage Std. 9th to 10th	-	-	91.65%

Drop-Out Rate For Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra

	Boys	Girls	Total
1) Primary Level 1st to 5th Std	70.41%	80.18%	74.22%
2) Middle Level 6th to 8th Std.	-	-	85.08%
3) Secondary Stage 9th to 10th Std.	-	-	90.55%

Source: 28th Report Of The Commissioner Of SC/ST, 1986-87, P.314

Proportion Of Admission To Degree, Post-Graduate Professional And Technical Courses; SC/ST To Total (1978-79)

	Proportion of Scheduled Castes	Proportion Scheduled Tribes
India	7.36%	1.68%
Maharashtra	8.81%	1.82%

Source: 28th Report Of SC/ST Commissioner, 1986-87, P.316, Annexure IV

In my opinion, the main reason for this drop-out rate, is the high level of poverty in the society. Out of the remaining students, only those students who can clear exams, can benefit from the scholarship scheme.

But, the amount of this scholarship is very small, in comparison to the continuously increasing prices.

In the recent years, the available scholarships and the increase in the same can be estimated from Table VI. As seen in this Table, this increase from 1981 to 1989 for different classes is Rs.15 to Rs.280 or this increase is found to be 121% to 240%.

Table 6 : Increase In the Scholarship and Cost of Living Index and Their Difference (1981 - 1989 - 95)

	Percentage Increase In Scholarships	Dearness Index	Difference
1. Group A	140%	289	- 149
2. Group B	131%	289	- 158
3. Group C	131%	289	- 158
4. Group D	134%	289	- 155
5. Group E	121%	289	- 168

Now, if we consider comparatively the increase in the Cost Of Living Index and the scholarships given, the increase in the Dearness Index is nearly two times the increase in the scholarships. (See Table VII)

At this point, reference must be made to another very important matter, which is that the prices of foodgrains have increased more than three times. Therefore to reach higher educational levels with this frugal scholarship, is a very precarious task for the *Dalit* students. Due to this, in order to make two ends meet, at times, these students are seen to take up jobs if they want to pursue higher education.

A victim of this problem, Dashrath Ganpath Khandare is a fresh example, who succumbed in the recent Garware Company

Bomb Blast. Apart from this, thousands of *Dalit* students work at times in hotels as waiters, and several other menial chores. Inspired by the ideology of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, they complete their education in very unsavoury circumstances. This is the tragedy of their educational development.

Therefore, if the Government genuinely feels that these castes should progress educationally, and participate in the nation - building process, it should raise the scholarship rates by linking them permanently to the Cost Of Living Index.

Secondly, like many other states, if a relatively more developed state like Maharashtra, contributes an equal amount to the scholarships as the Central Government, it will be a decision in keeping with the progressive image of the state.

Thirdly, while approving scholarships, the Government makes a distinction between day scholars (who live outside hostels) and hostelers (who live in hostels). This is not only unfair, but also encourages several Universities to produce false certificates and documents. This is because they compulsorily have to attach a certificate of "Approved place of Residence" (Hostel).

Table 7 : Increase in Scholarships In Recent Years

Group	The Amount Of the Scholarships (In Rs) Hostelite Students (1981)		1989	Percentage Increase In Scholarships
	Boys	Girls		
Group A	185	195	280	140 %
First Year	185	200		
Second Year Plus	125	135		
Group (B)	130	145	190	131 %
1st Class				
After 2nd Year	125	135	190	
Group C	130	145		131 %
Second Year Plus	115	130	175	134 %
Group D		75	85	
Group E	80	95	115	121 %

Source: Government Of India, Ministry Of Welfare

1) Regulations governing the award of scholarships during the academic year 89-90 onwards, applicable from 1st July 1981, Page 2 & 3.

2) Regulation governing the award of scholarships during the academic year 89-90 onwards, applicable from 1st July 1989, Page 2,3.

Fourthly, another defect of this scheme, is that it lacks incentives. Meaning that if a student passes in first class, he should be given at least 25% more by way of scholarship money, so that students will be motivated to improve their academic performance.

Lastly, the present condition for eligibility to scholarship which is the parents income should not exceed Rs. 2000, should be changed to Rs.5000. This will restrain malpractices and bring about more effective implementation of this scheme.

In my opinion, considering the present high cost of living, these scholarships should be quickly enhanced in keeping with the foodgrain prices. For different study courses, that rise will be as follows: While deciding these scholarship rates, I have used the following method. Uptil the last week of November 1995, the Dearness Index has the base year as 1982. As a result, the scholarship of 1991 has to be updated according to the 1995 index.

While doing this, in 1981, the Government had made two groups, boys and girls while giving scholarships. In this scheme, girls were given ten to fifteen rupees more than boys. But, in 1989 circular, this rate has been made uniform. Therefore, notwithstanding this difference of Rs.10 to 15, the highest rate should be taken into account and the recent increase must be considered in comparison with the increase in the price index and on that basis this raise has been suggested. For this purpose, a new index given by Galak Research Foundation has been used.

First, the new index belongs to the recent years, Secondly, the base years are similar and thirdly that index is somewhat similar to the foodgrain index of the Government. For this reason, in table number 2, 315 is taken as the index for industrial workers. According to this, the amount of scholarships must urgently be raised at least as much as is shown in the following table.

According to this, the rate of increase of scholarships, for every group must necessarily be raised as shown in the following table.

Table Demonstrating Increase in Scholarships

Classification Of Students	The Maximum Amount of Scholarships in 1981	The Index For 1995	Expected Rise In (Rupees)
1. Group A First Year	195	—	—
Second Year Plus	200	315	630.00
2. Group B First Year	135	—	—
Second Year	145	315	456.75
3. Group C First Year	135	—	—
Second Year	145	315	456.75
4. Group D First Year	115	—	—
Second Year	130	315	409.50
5. Group E - First Year	75	—	—
Second Year	85	315	267.75

At this point, one thing must be mentioned. The Government increased the scholarship in 1989 (As already shown in Table Nurjber 6), it is clear from the figures that this raise is very insignificant.

While increasing these scholarships, no consideration was given to the cost of living or an arbitrary method was adopted. It is difficult to understand what is the scientific basis for this method.

Therefore, those who are genuinely interested in the educational development of the backward castes of this country, must consider this question very seriously and to that end attempts for raising the scholarships must be made at all levels because educational development is the base of not only economic development but an all-round development.

I hope that, from my humble effort, the administrators and also those concerned about the welfare of the Dalits as also the social workers will be inspired to make a more substantial effort to improve the educational allocations to scheduled castes/tribes students.

(Dr. Indrajeet Alte, is professor of economics, in the Peoples' Education Societys' Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Arts And Commerce College, Aurangabad.

Translated by Dr.Purnima Pathre from Marathi, from *Prabuddha Bharat*, Vol.4, Nos. 11 & 12, June 1996.)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

KANDALERU DAM OUSTEES

KANDALERU PEOPLE APPEAL AGAIN TO THE SUPREME COURT AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FOR PROTECTION AGAINST INDIFFERENT STATE GOVERNMENT, CORRUPT OFFICIALS AND IGNORANT POLITICIANS AND LEGISLATORS - FIRST HAND REPORT FROM 'VARTHA' CORRESPONDENT OF RAPUR (Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh).

Kandaleru oustees face starvation Rehabilitation without Human Rights Diaspora of Dalits and Tribals.

The Telugu daily 'VARTHA' March 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1996 has for the first time highlighted the plight of six thousand families displaced from 24 villages of Rapur, Podalakur and Chegerla Mandalams of Nellore District. These twenty-four villages are located in the Kandaleru submergence zone. They are listed as follows: Thanamcherla, Nellepalli, Tumayi, Pokurupalli, Regadapalli, Kummaragunta, Vandluru, Munagapadu, Penubarthi, Ramkuru, Netnaru, Kolapanayudupalli, Nagavaripalli, Obulayapalli, Gundavolu, Samkrantipalli, Gilakapdu, Chuttupalem, Dachuru, Kambalapalli, Suddamalla Thokanchi, Peramkonda.

In the Government Order dated 1-12-1988 (G.O.Ms.No.324) the displaced families would be compensated for the acquisition of their lands and houses, and the landless peasants among them would have their monetary compensation deposited in the bank, so that they could be paid monthly allowance for their existence. Further the displaced families would be selected for employment at the rate of one person from each family for their livelihood. Although relocation and resettlement of displaced families have yet to be rehabilitated in the selected centres, with all the infrastructure and minimum facilities for human habitation. The displaced families were assured by the government umpteen times during the last one decade and more that their present habitations would not be submerged before rehabilitation has been completed according to the directions and instructions of the Supreme Court and the World Bank

guidelines in several well known instances.

Now what has happened all of a sudden in the wake of the release of a limited quantity of water into the Kandaleru reservoir after the heavy downpour during the North-East monsoon in October-November 1995. Kummarigunta, Kamballapalli and Vandluru have been submerged completely and Thokanchi, Suddamalla, Thanamcherla, Lingapalem and Dachur have been partially submerged, compelling the people to vacate their village homes with bag and baggage and run for their life even before the resettlement sites have been prepared with minimum human rights absolutely essential for the protection of their right to live as human beings. The microscopic minority of well-to-do agricultural families possessing patta lands, and valid documents have been compensated however in-adequately and been fending for themselves, either in some of the remote villages of the Kandaleru back-waters, without starvation or migrated to towns and settled down. They are mostly upper caste families. But the tribals and Dalit families who form the majority in several villages, but do not even have valid legal documents for their tiny patches of land, and hence the promised compensation has yet to reach their hands. They are the wretched of the earth, who have to make their miserable living as unskilled labourers at construction sites, or rickshaw pullers or as a last resort as beggars at railway stations or bus-stands and bazaars in the towns.

Here is a breach of trust which cannot go unchallenged in any civilized community. It is true that the Lok Ayuktha came to the rescue of some aggrieved peasants in the early years of the acquisition, but the vast majority have been going from pillar to the post, and agitating time and again for their human rights.

It is now evident that the State Government has been callously indifferent to the plight of displaced families.

I have sent petitions under the Public Interest Litigation Act, and drawn the attention of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice of the High Court in Hyderabad and also sent to the Editors of all English and Telugu daily news papers in Andhra Pradesh.

The latest publication of the plight of displaced six thousand families by the special reports of Prabhat Vartha of the new Telugu Daily *Vartha* on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of March 1996, should open the eyes of the authorities concerned, and enable the Supreme Court, High Court and National Human Rights Commission to come to the rescue of the displaced thirty thousand people of the submergence zone of the Kandaleru Reservoir without further delay, and assure them human rights.

One full year has passed since I drew the attention of Chief Justice Ahmadi of the Apex Court regarding the plight of the thirty thousand oustees officially called displaced people. I also appealed to the High Court of Andhra Pradesh to direct the state government to offer succour and sustenance to the oustees. Today when water has been released on a limited scale into the Telugu Ganga Canal, the peasants are leaving their hearth and home to live in those so-called rehabilitation centres where there are neither houses nor fertile lands for cultivation. There are thousands of landless labourers whose lands have been acquired by the government without payment of monetary compensation on the ground that their lands are not registered in their name, and hence no valid documents are available. Thousands of tribals and Dalits are now eking out their livelihood as unskilled labourers or unlicensed porters at Railway Stations and Bus-stands. Old people have become beggars in the bazaars of Gudur, Nellore and other smaller towns. News-papers including dailies and weeklies in the state have not publicised their conditions in the past years while the legislators and politicians are either ignorant of their condition, or unwilling to learn from the notorious rehabilitation centres elsewhere in India in recent years.

Who will move the dishonest ruling classes and reform the corrupt bureaucrats who are exploiting the oustees day in and day out. The majority of the displaced people still await relocation and resettlement.

May I appeal to the National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi once again to call upon the state government to do their duty, and follow the well known guidelines on resettlement and rehabilitation. The resettlement centres are Sankrantipalli in Rapur Mandalam, Chittupalem in Podalakur Mandalam and Kottur and Bujabuja Nellore in Nellore Mandalam. Why did not the state government build some houses for the displaced people who are asked to settle in the above four villages? Did not Late N.T.Rama Rao in his election

four of Rapur promise houses, lands and fair compensation, as well as the infrastructure for civilized life in those areas? The state government which has built six lakhs houses for poorer classes during the last five years could have spent a fraction of the budgeted allotment for building some houses for the displaced poor peasants. It is not too late to divert some funds for the resettlement centres to provide the essential facilities for these poor peasants, artisans, dalits and tribals who form the vast majority of the displaced people of these submerged villages. Today their plight should evoke the sympathy of any civilised government. That the displaced persons should be the beneficiaries of the reservoir and be resettled in the command areas of the Telugu Ganga is a well-known guideline for the Telugu Ganga authorities. I request the National Human Rights Commission to visit the new Rehabilitation centres and investigate the injustice done to the displaced poor people of the new centres in Sankrantipalli, Chettipalem and Bujabunellore and Kothur and call upon the State Government to provide human rights to the unfortunate victims of an unjust administration regulations. I once again appeal to the Supreme Court, and the National Human Rights Commission to order immediate investigation of the administration of resettlement and rehabilitation in the above centres and help the oustees to recover the lost human rights without further delay.

The local MLA held a Press Conference on 20.7.96 to announce that he has invited the displaced people to place their grievances before the District Collector at a meeting of all the 24 villages to be convened by him sometime in August 1996. We still await the deliverance of the poor oustees from their hellish conditions of distress at the rehabilitation centres.

M.P.R.Reddy

M.Pattabhrama Reddy, Ph.D.,
KAVALI,
9-25-60, Janathapat,
KAVALI - 524 202, Nellore District, A.P.

12-8-1996.

To
The Secretary General,
National Human Rights Commission,
NEW DELHI - 110 001.

Dear Sir,

Sub : KANDALERU backwaters inundating 24 villages of Rapur Mandal in District of Andhra Pradesh - Compensation not paid for houses in Gundavolu and other

villages - Rehabilitation not completed - World Bank and Supreme Court guidelines violated - Implement National Policy on Rehabilitation - Your intervention solicited by six thousand families of Displaced people in great distress.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has just now decided to release the Srisaillam water to fill the Kandaleru Reservoir, and to supply drinking water to Madras City. But the backwaters of Kandaleru have inundated several villages which are likely to be submerged. The displaced people, numbering about thirty thousands have to be relocated, resettled and rehabilitated in centres selected by the authorities arbitrarily. You are aware that the displaced people have to be resettled, and rehabilitated fully with all human rights before they are compelled by inundation to vacate their ancient homelands. It is reported that the people of Gundavolu village have not been paid compensation for their dwelling houses. Some of their lands, especially pasture lands owned by them and situated outside the villages have not been notified by the Government for acquisition. Is it fair to ask the peasants to give up their houses and lands without receiving compensation? The poor peasants who have no legal documents have not been paid any compensation. It is obvious that the project authorities, who are in charge of rehabilitation are ignorant and indifferent to the National Policy on rehabilitation and are violating the guidelines of the World Bank and Supreme Court judgements on rehabilitation.

I had earlier requested the Chairman of the National Human Rights Commission to investigate and intervene in the matter and help the displaced people to regain their human rights. Now that hundreds are compelled to run for shelter from the inundated villages with bag and baggage, who will succour these unfortunate people in distress?

I shall be much obliged if you would use your good offices immediately to persuade the State Government

1) not to release water into the Kandaleru reservoir, which is inundating villages;

2) to pay the full compensation before acquiring lands and houses;

3) to complete rehabilitation with human rights before compulsory ejection of displaced people from their houses and lands;

4) to implement the well known guidelines of the World Bank and the judgements of the Supreme Court; as well as the National Policy on rehabilitation.

I request you to treat this as urgent

in the interest of the oustees who look up to you protection.

Your's sincerely,

M. Pattabhrama Reddy

Letter from Kashinath

Kashinath
R/o B7-F 16, LIG Quarters,
Mukharamjahi Road,
Hyderabad A.P.

4.9.96

Dear Shri Vinayak Purohit,

Com. George Fernandes has moved a Bill in the Lok Sabha for the Right to Work, which is enclosed herewith along with the letter of our Forum, addressed to several M.P.s requesting them to participate in discussion on the Bill when it comes for discussion in the House.

Along with it is the Manifesto of the Forum for Right to Work.

I request you to kindly introduce the above to all of your readers and oblige.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Kashinath

**GEORGE FERNANDES' BILL IN
LOK SABHA FOR THE RIGHT TO WORK**

Honourable Members of the Lok Sabha,

Now it is beyond dispute that the Right to work is essential for the Right to Life as guaranteed in the Indian Constitution. According to Justice Chandrachud, in order to live one must have food, and in order to have food one must have livelihood or employment or work. Hence without the Right to work as fundamental, the fundamental Right to Life, as guaranteed in our constitution, has no meaning at all.

Hence a writ petition No.5006/85 was moved in A.P. High Court for the Right to Work, which was admitted and adjudged, and the petitioner got Employment. Now our Forum is preparing to move a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) writ on the same lines in order to cover the whole country for the Right to Work.

But the main forum for the Right to Work is the Indian Parliament. Hence Shri. George Fernandes, the then Minister of the V.P. Singh Government, caused for that Government, in 1990, to introduce a Constitution Amendment Bill to ensure the Right to work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution. But before it was materialised, the said Government was forced out. Otherwise we would have had a quite different history of our times.

Now Shri. George Fernandes, M.P. has introduced a Bill in the Parliament to make the Right to Work fundamental. His move is in line with several such Bills moved in the Parliament, the last of which was one by Shri. Thumpon Thomas, M.P., from Kerala in 1988. It was hotly discussed in the House by seven M.P.'s - five of the Congress, one of the T.D.P. and one of the R.S.P. Later, on the request of the Forum, many Leftist M.P.'s also promised to participate in all such deliberations in future.

Shri George Fernandes, M.P., has been supporting the noble cause of the Right to Work for a long time and in every manner. His latest move in that direction is the Bill he introduced in the Parliament for the Right to Work. It will appear on any coming Friday in the House for discussion. Obviously it becomes the duty of every Leftist and Patriot M.P., irrespective of his Party Affiliation, to participate in its deliberation with all power and enthusiasm at his command and see that the Bill is turned into a legislation to make the Right to Work fundamental for all the Citizens of India.

I, therefore, request your goodself to do the needful and oblige.

With deep regards.

Yours sincerely,

Kashinath

General Secretary, Forum.

THE RIGHT TO WORK BILL, 1996

By Shri George Fernandes, M.P.

A BILL

to provide for right to work for all citizens who have attained the age of eighteen years but have not attained the age of sixty years.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Forty seventh Year of the Republic of India as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Right to Work Act, 1996.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, 'State' includes the Central Government, the State Government and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of Government of India.

3. All citizens who have attained the age of eighteen years but have not attained the age of sixty years shall have the right to work.

Explanation- For the purpose of this section, "right to work" means provision of employment in public services or opportunities and facilities for self employment or in private service.

4. (1) It shall be the duty of the State to take necessary measures to ensure that

every citizen has equal and adequate opportunity to work.

(2) The State shall arrange its economic and developmental priorities and organise public investment in such a manner so as to ensure the achievement of the objectives referred to in section 3.

5. The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the purpose of this Act.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Article 41 of the Constitution of India directs the State, among other things to make effective provisions for securing the right to work, within the limits of its economic capacity and development. For want of any mandatory provision in the Constitution, this article has remained only on paper nearly 17 years after the Constitution was enacted.

In recent years, employment situation has deteriorated and hopes of getting employment are receding everyday despite various assurances of creation of new avenues of work. Only when the State is directed to reorder its priorities and reorient its developmental and economic programmes it will be possible to secure work for the several crore jobless people in the country.

If immediate measures are not taken to ensure work to the jobless, the social fabric of the nation is bound to break setting in motion tragic events that may endanger our nation's survival.

Hence this Bill
George Fernandes
New Delhi
June 17, 1996

MEMORANDUM REGARDING DELEGATED LEGISLATION

Clause 5 empowers the Central Government to make rules for carrying out the purposes of the Bill. Since the rules will relate to matters of detail only, the delegation of legislative power is of a normal character.

MANIFESTO OF THE FORUM FOR RIGHT TO WORK

By
KASHINATH, M.A., LL.B.
Freedom Fighter
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TOWARDS A BETTER DEMOCRACY

1. Democracy has come to stay in India, and our Constitution says that India is a Socialist Republic.

2. But what kind of democracy and socialism we are enjoying here even 49 years after Independence?

A Citizen in India does not enjoy the Rights which are enjoyed by a prisoner. A Prisoner enjoys the fundamental rights of (1) Food (2) Cloth (3) Shelter (4) Medical aid when sick, whereas a citizen is free to strave and perish on the road. This leads the citizens to commit crimes in the name of religion, language and region etc.

3. Hence Democracy is of no use unless socialism is established practically. At present India is a socialist country on capitalist lines.

4. Can we establish Socialism through democracy as suggested by Jawaharlal Nehru? We can, but it is very difficult because of our present democracy which is inherently defective.

5. This is capitalist Democracy - Present day oligarchy. As oligarchy was the selfish rule of the wealthy few in ancient Greece, so is our present democracy. It is the selfish rule of the few rich who are elected to rule the country on the strength of money. Election on the strength of character or patriotism is purely an exception. Under these circumstances it is immaterial which party rules the country, the real power will always be with the capitalists or their agents. It is the dictatorship of the capitalists in league with the imperialists.

6. It is inherently corrupt because of money power, endangering even the safety of the country. It makes politics a business of the capitalists, who invest money in it to make more money.

7. It will establish socialism in India, if at all, not before 22nd-century. England is the example, where the Labour Party assumed power several times without establishing socialism. Capitalist rulers merely talk of socialism to perpetuate their rule.

8. The Naxalites, therefore, say that the shortest way to socialism is that of violence; socialism can be established through the barrel of gun only.

9. But the other shortest way, devoid of violence or gun, is that of The Right to Work. It will guarantee to every citizen of India at least the basic necessities of life. It is the shortest way to establish socialism through democracy. Under socialism nobody will go to bed without bread.

10. *Under the Right to Work* (livelihood) as a fundamental right to all

citizens of India it will be immaterial which party rules the country, because the *Constitution will force every government*, irrespective of its party affiliation or doctrine, to have socialist economy in order to provide work or livelihood to all the citizens, and the country will automatically move towards SOCIALISM without violence or waiting for centuries together. Right to Work is the only way to save democracy for socialism or to establish democracy. If the Right to Work is not given and implemented, then Naxalism will be the only way open for India towards Socialism.

11. Right to work is quite possible now in India as no political party is opposed to it. It can be implemented through "Reasonable Restrictions", as was planned by the previous V.P. Singh government.

12. Let nobody go to bed without bread. Let every citizen have the Right to Work or livelihood, otherwise he or she will adopt crime as the livelihood.

**Letter of Invitation to the
IIIrd Open World Conference
October 20, 21, 22, 23, 1996**

Dear friends,
Dear comrades,

Having been given the mandate to organise the IIIrd Open World Conference for the Workers International, the Workers Party has convened its executive committee. We discussed the object of this IIIrd Open World Conference. Our discussion has led to a proposal that we want to submit to you : should not we debate, in our conference, the meaning of the offensive led on an international scale to deregulate labour rights, and on the means to oppose it ?

More specifically : should the IIIrd World Conference decide an International Day against Deregulation-Privatisation Destruction

Why such a proposal ? If one objectively observes the situation the world over, he will note that deregulation is the master word of all the policies directed against workers and peoples. At the very moment when we write you this letter, the G7 summit is being held in the city of Lyon in France by the 7 richest countries of the world. This summit has been prepared two months ago by a first meeting of the governments of these 7 richest countries of the world in another French city Lille.

What is the on the agenda of these G7 meetings of Lille and Lyon ? Let us quote a press dispatch on the subject :

"The April G7 on job of Lille devoted to the preparation of the Lyon summit of the seven has resolutely aligned itself on ... the necessity to profoundly deregulate

the labour market...." "A job for life" can exist no more, "it is necessary to loosen the security belt", the ministers of the 7 great industrialized countries hammered. It is necessary 'to fit some maladjusted regulations (and) to facilitate the passage from a job to another'... The ministers have positively referred to the work of the OECD, work that advocates the need notably to do away with the minimal legal wage and all limitations to dismissals as well as a minimal intervention of the State in the right to work." (AFP)

There are no limits to the deregulation offensive in most African countries already, the vast majority of the population has fallen into the so-called "informal" sector, that is to say is deprived of rights, statutes, social protection. The G7 agenda clearly indicates the will, not only not to remedy to this state of things, but to spread it all over Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America. Some do not hide their aim : "In Great Britain, 25% of the active population have part-time jobs. The government estimates that this figure will reach 30% at the end of the century. Approximately 12% are independent, they will be without doubt 15% in the year 2000. For the moment our country counts 8% unemployed people. Consequently, more than 50% of the active population will soon have left the framework of the enterprises." (Charles Handy, interviewed in the Belgian review *Talent*)

"The Pakistanisation Of Whole Sectors of Society"

In France, a weekly magazine draws the following picture of the labour market :

"Is not the estimation of the number of people "inactive by force" in France today around 5 millions ? One Frenchman out of five in the age to work is therefore reduced to the status of "worker without work"... The contract of undermined duration that incarnates all the gains of the salaried society since two centuries is in free fall : it represented 80% of the labour conventions in 1975 against 55% in the near future. To imagine tomorrow, it is simple, it suffices to look at today : 70% hiring are made under the regime of contracts of determined duration or by means of interim."

(*L'Express*, March 14, 1996)

And the same weekly, although a follower of economic liberalism and a deregulation fan, worries nevertheless about what it calls "the Pakistanisation of large sectors of society" already expressed in the fact that labour accidents figures are 3 time higher among wage-earners with precarious contract than among classic wage-earners in a country like France. And

in a recent statement the president of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, dared propose to replace the notion of "a job for life" by the notion of "job potentiality" ! Is it necessary, is it possible to stop this process? The aim of the world conference is to reply to this question.

In the richest industrialised countries, the example given to generalise deregulation is the USA. They are presented as an example of economic recovery creating jobs. But what jobs ? In the United States, half of the 8 millions jobs created between 1980 and 1986 are paid with miserable salaries which are 60% inferior to those in industry; close to 43 millions people have no Social Security and over 50% of the unemployed perceive no allowance. What they multiply, what they generalise are casual jobs, deregulated jobs without guarantee, without protection. And also, through the implementation of the North America Free Trade Agreement, more than 200 000 jobs in the United States, 1 million of jobs to Mexico are to disappear.

IMPOSSIBLE TO LET THEM GO ON !

Thus deregulation translates everywhere in the world in the destruction of labour, that is to say the destruction of the labour force which can only exist in as much as it operates. Thus, in 3 years, from 1991 to 1994, the European Union has lost half of the 10 million jobs that had been created in the five preceding years. Even the Social and Economic Council of the European Union has been prompted to say that "never since the war, Europe had known such massive job losses". Impossible to let them go on ! In all countries, indignation rises against these murderous plans. In all countries, workers are seeking for the ways and means of resistance.

The deregulation offensive, officially developed in the name of the preparation of the conditions of economic recovery, has but one aim : lower the cost of labour everywhere in the world, submit the labour force everywhere in the world to unlimited exploitation, transform everywhere in the world the productive class into a class of slaves mercilessly exploitable at will.

In order to attain this aim, it is necessary to break down labour regulations, to jeopardise Labour Codes and do away with all the social laws won since 150 years by the action of wage-earners.

But it is also necessary to put in question the very existence of independent union organisations dedicated to the defence of wage-earner interests alone.

The social summit of Copenhagen

in March 1995 had made obvious this will to transform trade unions into cogwheels of the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and, to transform independent unions in each country into instruments of the States' policy.

When we held our workers conference in Banska Byathea (Slovakia, March 1995), we warned against the consequence of this policy :

"This is a genuine civil war waged against the labour force, destroying whole branches of industry... All the most imperious necessities of human beings' survival fall under the tyranny of speculative economy, expressing the States' absolute subjection to financial capital, and leading humanity to rain and decadence... Everywhere international institutions and governments invite workers, to renounce the struggle to improve their living conditions, in the name of the crisis. They demand always more sacrifices, under any available pretext.... Everywhere, in industrialised countries as in countries "in development process", retirements, public health are at the centre of structural adjustment plans.... It is for this purpose that the IMF wants to impose on a world scale the looting of all resources for speculation : reduction of salaries in all countries... privatisation of all public services, destruction of all collective systems of social protection won by the class struggle of the exploited and oppressed people." (Extracts from the final declaration).

Since this conference has been held, the relentless attempt to transform trade unions into mere instruments to accompany the international institution policies has gone on increasing. But a phenomenon of resistance to trade unions integration also develops in parallel.

INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEES EXIST IN 71 COUNTRIES ON THE SOLE BASIS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Trade union delegates, activists met in Geneva at the occasion of the ILO 83rd session in a meeting called by the International Liaison Committee. They adopted the following resolution :

"The International Liaison Committee (ILC), that summoned a meeting in Geneva on June 9, 1996 at the occasion of the ILO 83rd session, intends to specify its purpose and its place

"The ILC intends to work at the research of forms allowing to elaborate common projects. As a free association present in 71 countries, the ILC is attached

to unite activists, groups and trends on the sole basis of the labour movement independence from governments, States and international institutions.

"Thus defining its purposes and its place, the ILC do not try to be substitute, in one form or another, for national or international labour organisation that participate in the ILO, least of all to be considered as an ILO structure.

"The ILC has been established as an international mode of connection and co-operation between activists, organisations and trends which determine freely their respective initiatives besides, for the purpose to insure the defence of workers rights and gains against the policy of generalised deregulation which plunges populations in exploitation, war, misery and famine the world over.

"The undersigned participants to the Geneva forum on their personal capacity, decide to set up a liaison committee in order to continue and amplify international actions :

"For the defence of men and women workers' claims, against child labour.

"For the defence of Labour Codes, against deregulation;

"For the defence of unions' independence."

IS IT POSSIBLE TO ALLOW THIS SITUATION TO DEVELOP WITHOUT FIGHTING BACK?

We know that the origin of this deregulation-destruction offensive is nothing else but the way in which a system based on the private ownership of productive means work in conditions more and more dominated by the mechanisms of the world-wide speculation and the frenetic race for profit. Over 1000 billion dollars are daily exchanged on the stock exchange places of the planet. Profits realised in speculation reach skyrocketing heights.

In the case of the USA, the same amount of time has been necessary, 15 years, from 1980 to 1995, to see the population living with an income on the threshold of poverty increase by 50%, and for the shareholder capitalisation in Wall Street to be multiplied by 3. And these figures are identical all over the planet. The rich never became so rich, poor people never became so poor. In each country, on each continent and on the international scale, the gap between the richest 1% of the planet and the 20% poorest people does not cease to widen. Is it possible to allow this situation to develop without fighting back?

But we also know that the world over,

whatever the difficulties, workers, peoples, organisations, activists of all trends and all origins, seek to organise the resistance to this policy of deregulation-destruction-privatisation, and this is precisely what leads us to summon the October 1996 World Conference. And we have been able to measure in the last period, to which extent the intervention of workers and their united action had already begun to shake these destructive measures.

In Europe, the first revolts against the sadly famous "criteria of convergence", the powerful strike and demonstrations movement of November-December in France, have seen workers rejecting the destruction of their rights and mobilising with their unions to preserve their social protection regime and, therefore preserving the organisations' independence. These movements have found their continuation in the workers' General Strike in Belgium and, more recently, in the most important worker demonstration known in Germany since more than 60 years with the march on Bonn of June 15. The Maastricht Europe, that has no other function than to put workers down on their knees, to destroy their social conquests and their organisations, is vacillating.

THE CREATION OF A LABOR PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

On the American continent, the constitution of a Labor Party, an independent labor party supported by large sectors of the union movement, expresses the will to resist of very large sectors of the North-American labour movement. This political independence, expressing itself through an independent labour party, constitutes in its turn a point of support for the resistance, the defence of the workers' gains and organisation for the workers the world over.

In China itself, the multiplication of workers strikes and the first groupings preparing independent unions, as the international workers commission of inquiry in China reports show, expresses the extent to which Chinese workers refuse to be, more or less, the experimental laboratory for the world-wide return to slavery.

THE WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA HAS NOT FULFILLED ITS OBJECTIVES

And even in ex-Yugoslavia, where 5 years of war have provoked the death of 300,000 people while 4 million people were displaced, a worker activist can establish the following balance sheet. The war has filled some of its objectives, but not its main objective: it has stopped the masses movement, it has destroyed one of the most

fundamental conquests of the Yugoslav peoples, that is to say the federal framework of Yugoslavia, it has made possible the military occupation of Bosnia, but it has not crushed all the conquests of the Yugoslav workers.

There are these elements and many others, as we all know. Therefore, it seems to us that we could debate together in the course of our Open World Conference the possibility to take a world-wide initiative against deregulation. In France, delegates gathered with a common will to prepare a national forum against deregulation, have gathered on June 15 and have submitted the following proposal: "is it not necessary to organise at the fall of the year a national demonstration in Paris against the government responsible for the deregulation-destruction, a national demonstration to regroup the workers from all backgrounds and different political views in an action in common which is the only way to force the government to withdraw its plans?" The first information that we have collected show that this call meets a very large echo.

A WORLD-WIDE ACTION DAY AGAINST DEREGULATION – PRIVATISATION-DESTRUCTION PLANS

Under what forms and in what conditions, taking into account the specific situation in each country and in each continent, could we decide such a day? This is what we want to submit to your thinking before the world conference.

Indeed, workers and people the world over face difficult times. But have they another choice than to unite their forces on the international scale in an joint offensive against the deregulation plan? It is in this framework that we propose to debate the proposal of a **world-wide action day against de-regulation-privatisation-destruction plans**

In this framework we propose that specific communications be prepared that will be presented during our world conference, either in the plenary session or in commissions. Especially, we suggest that communications be already prepared on the following points:

- Union independence and defence of unions after the Geneva forum and constitution of the liaison committee (Alioune Sow, Senegal)
- The balance sheet of 5 years of war in Yugoslavia, the struggle against war (a worker activist of Yugoslavia)
- The light for the political independence of the labour movement, the meaning of the constitution of a Labour Party and the action against the NAFTA (an

American trade unionist)

- Consequences of the privatisation measures and how to struggle against them (a union leader from Mexico)
- Deregulation, flexibility, rights and guarantees (a trade unionist from France)
- The struggle for the ILO convention 138, that is to say the prohibition of child labour (members of the International tribunal against Child Labour, coming from Great Britain and Algeria)
- The proposal of an European initiative against the Maastricht treaty and for workers and people's unity throughout Europe East and West (a delegate of the British Labour Party)
- The struggle for rights and guarantees following the international workers commission of inquiry in China (a representative of the international workers commission of inquiry)
- The situation of the youth (a commission coming from the International Youth Conference that meets before the World conference)
- The situation of working women and the fight the preservation of their social and democratic rights.

Here is therefore the proposal that we wanted to make. We ask all organisations, groups, tendencies or activists participating to the 113rd World Conference to let us know their proposals in return.

The International Liaison Committee is a grouping of militants, workers, groups, tendencies, organisations who are on an equal footing in a common framework: that of the independence of the working class and the free discussion, guaranteed by the financial independence (the Open World Conference will be exclusively financed by the endorsement of workers, activists and organisations associated in its preparation).

Consequently, the proposals formulated by the Executive Committee of the Workers Party are only proposals. The conference will have to decide itself a definitive agenda. But, of course, a good organisation of our work supposes that organisational and agenda proposals be prepared in advance.

Also, we wish for the greatest number among you to be able to reply, give their point of view and, thus, we could send in the beginning of September a new mail modifying and specifying the agenda according to the replies collected.

Hoping to meet you in Paris on October next,

Please receive, dear friends, dear comrades, our fraternal greetings.

Dear friends and comrades,

We confirm hereby that the Third Open World Conference organised by the international Liaison Committee will take place on October 20, 21, 22, 23 in Paris. You have been informed of the conclusions reached by the International Tribunal against Child labour, held in March 1996 in Mexico with the attendance of large delegations from 16 countries of Asia, Africa, Americas and Europe.

The verdict of the Tribunal rightly underlines: "The Tribunal was also presented with a document titled" *Convention on the Rights of Children*" adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 20, 1989.

Noting that in no section does this UN Convention call for the abolition of child labour; noting that its article 32 (the only one pertaining to child labour) limits itself to invite the ratifying states to "establish a minimum age, or various minimum ages, for employment" without specifying what this minimum age should be; and further noting that 23 years after it was written, ILO Convention N 138 has been ratified by only 46 countries, whereas the UN Convention on the Rights of Children has been ratified by 184 countries, the Tribunal can only conclude the following: *The UN Convention on the Rights of Children is used against ILO Convention N 138-in particular by governments that have not ratified the ILO convention.*

Whereas the ILO convention affirms the objective of eradicating child labour, the UN Convention is silent on the matter. Whereas the ILO convention bans child labour at the very least for all children up to the age of 15, the UN Convention leaves it up to the governments to set the minimum age for employment.

The Tribunal notes that governments that refuse to ratify ILO Convention N 138 have moved quickly to ratify the UN Convention, indicating thereby their willingness to use the UN Convention as a means to get rid of the ILO convention altogether, thereby allowing the extension and generalisation of child labour. This goal, in fact, was made public by many government representatives at the November 1995 general assembly of the ILO."

This question is decisive: fighting against child labour means fighting against generalised job deregulation.

In France, the Workers Party (PT) published a declaration (enclosed) which underlines that on April 24, three draft decrees (on the organisation of social

security, the hospital reform and work conditions for private physicians) will be on the agenda of the Ministers Council while on the same day a law reforming social protection is submitted to the Parliament. In this declaration we show that what is at stake is a "genuine upheaval of all political and social relations in society".

The African Conference preparatory to the III Open World Conference is to take place in a few days. Its discussion will be centered on the structural adjustment plans dividing Africa into a "useful" versus a "useless" Africa, on the defence of trade unions' independence to protect Labour Codes and the workers' gains and demands.

In all countries, on all continents, the destructive social policies of the big international institutions-IMF, World Bank, lead to similar effects and therefore reinforces the struggle for the unity of workers on all continents and on a world scale. Let us take for instance the USA, the most powerful country of world.

"Even when they have a job, some Americans do not escape poverty. In 1977, 5,9% of the workers were considered as poor; in 1993, this figure reaches 7,4%. The percentage of poor families with children has doubled and reaches 12%. In 1979, the 1% of the wealthiest possessed 22% of the nation's wealth. In 1993, that same 1% controlled 42% of the country's wealth." (The Economist, February 24, 1996).

In the USA themselves, the workers and the population are the victims of this policy for profit of the capitalist minority. In these conditions we must be very attentive to the movement leading thousands of trade union officials and activists to prepare a conference to set up a Labour Party on June 1996 in Cleveland.

In the USA, as elsewhere, this question of the labour movement independence is a central one. This movement towards building a workers party in the USA is an expression of the workers resistance against the IMF destructive plans of the World Bank on a world scale.

The November-December movement in France was similarly the first mass movement against Maastricht, the European Union and the IMF. It is part of the same movement as the common strike of Ukrainian and Russian miners in the Donbass minefields K to have their wages paid, for the defence of their gains against the IMF restructuring plans.

This same will to stop the IMF policies is expressed by the tube workers and miners mobilisations in Romania, the teachers' general strike which has been going on for two months now in Belgium,

and the movements in Africa against the restructuring plans. All these movements have a common feature: independent workers' organisations are necessary.

Therefore we consider that the Geneva meeting of June 9, 1996, convened by Tafazzul Hussain's Open letter at the occasion of the ILO yearly assembly, is very important in the fight against all the manoeuvres to associate workers' organisations to the IMF plans under cover of a "social clause". It will be the first stage of the centralisation of all our initiatives to prepare the III OWC.

We ask you to discuss how to organise this II Open World Conference and to send us your remarks, proposals and contributions on the way to organise it. As for us we wish to raise the following issues:

- Balance sheet of our activity since the II open World Conference. This could be presented by the Workers Party as its task was to hold the International Liaison Committee secretariat.
- Organisation of the discussion around themes on the basis of specific reports:
 - * Workers party/Labour Party/Political Independence, by the US delegation
 - * Deregulation, by the French delegation
 - * Trade union Independence-Account of the Geneva meeting- T.Hussain
 - * Privatisation, by the East-European delegations
 - * IMF and wars, by the African delegations
 - * Child Labour, by the Mexican delegation

We can also use the Open World Conference to organise continental commissions or thematic ones. Please send us your suggestions.

Besides, because of delays, we wish to receive as soon as possible the confirmations on your arrival and especially all the necessary official information, in order to be able to follow the necessary procedures to obtain visas.

Fraternal greetings.

For the Workers Party National Bureau

Daniel Gluckstein

Letter from Krishnanath

29th August, 1996

Dear Vinayak,

I remember to have sent you a copy of my note on "The Future of Tibet". As I was travelling, I did not expect to hear from you. But did my letter and the Note reach you ?

Please find enclosed here a note on Haus Sonne. I was there, on August 6 - 13, 1996. It is a remarkable "home of sun,"

and home of Christian Leppart and Eva. I may write more about Christian. For the moment, perhaps this will do.

I am here until mid-October, 1996. In any case, I shall receive letters to C/o The Study.

Trust this finds you and Dr. Sarayu in good health.

With regards,
Yours sincerely

Krishnanath

ON HAUS SONNE

At the instance of Friedrich Grohe and subsequent invitation from Christian Leppert, I could make it to Haus Sonne in the Southern Black Forest area of Germany. What is Haus Sonne? Where is it? What is it like? I never knew. I tried to locate it in the detailed Atlases at the Krishnamurti Centre, Brockwood Park, England. There was no mention of Mullen-Aitern, the village which formed the part of the address. That whetted my curiosity. What is Haus Sonne? I kept asking.

I was in Koln-Bonn, for a Sino-Tibetan dialogue towards a peaceful solution of the Tibet issue held in Bonn, June 21-22-1996. My host, Mrs. Zorn translated Haus Sonne as "sun house". Haus is house, and Sonne is sun. So Haus Sonne is sun house. What is it like? And where is it? It was not known to any of my German friends in Koln-Bonn.

I moved back and forth from and to the Krishnamurti Centre, Brockwood Park during my visit to Western Europe. As the time to visit Rougemont-Sannen approached closer, I could find a folder at the school entitled "Haus Sonne". As I glanced through, it stated: "Haus Sonne is a vegetarian health-food Guest House at a quiet, high altitude on Belchen in the Southern Black Forest. It is "non-alcoholic and non-smoking". This suits me fine. I was born and brought up at the Kashi Vidyapitha in such a milieu that despite my youthful attempts to break away from vegetarianism I could not do it. I am happy that I could not. And now I would not. So, I thought this is the place for me.

Further, "the house [of sun] is a typical Black Forest house with hipped roof, wood shingles, wood panelling inside, a tiled stove and fireside bench. Yet many things are different: solar panels heat the water; a photovoltaic plant provides electricity; and there is, a modern wood-heating system. The guest rooms are furnished ecologically [and aesthetically simply and elegantly]. The intention is to preserve the reliable experiences and develop them ecologically. Haus Sonne is the place to practise the [synthesis of] the

old and the new, to test and to live it.

"The location is unique, at an altitude of more than 3,000 feet on the protected side of the famous Belchen (the third highest mountain in the Black Forest). It is high above the fog banks of the valleys. The name Haus Sonne, "sun house" does not come by chance — the sun smiles upon the guests for more than 1600 sun houses a year.

"The kitchen is vegetarian using only organically grown ingredients. The breakfast buffet offers a variety of fruit, cereals, home-made whole grain bread, cheese, yoghurt, honey, jam, vegetarian and vegan spread. There is a choice of black and herb tea, real and herbal coffee, and milk. The dinner buffet provides fresh salads, a health-food meal and delicious dessert. There are always home-made cakes, nuts or cookies and delicious soup at lunch. Hikers can make their own sandwiches.

Lest this turns out to be a brochure of Haus Sonne, I must intervene to say that the House of Sun is more than a vegetarian, non-alcoholic, non-smoking retreat. It is a home away from home of our two dear friends, Christian Leppert and Eva Wollweber. They are trying to practise the intention of Haus Sonne. They represent a fast disappearing tribe of sentient beings who practise what they profess and test that and live that.

The Study, Bangalore

Krishnanath

Letter from M. Sunny and Reply

Sunny M

4 A, Pocket C
Siddhartha Extension,
New Delhi 110 014.

Dear Vinayakji,

This occasional was printed about 4 years ago -

You can go through it if you like - it is meant to talk to today's young in a language that is informal. Many of the issues which are "big" and real — resource limitations, equitable development, true spirituality, man/woman relationships - most probably you will get angry at the style and content of presentation — if you could just go through it and critique it not for *Mankind* but as a personal correspondence, it would be interesting and enlightening.

I had written a letter which was published in *Mankind* of July 96, to which your reply was quite angry. I respect your understanding, but if your magazine is going to "explore the problematic of the

present" then you also have to respect that there can be other ways of reaching the same goal — like the incredibly diverse Indian way of "saguna" — different temperamental, spiritual, activist modes of reaching a comprehensive understanding of past, present and the desired future.

What I really love about your intellectual and philosophical meanderings is the ultra feeling of rootedness in the cultural space of India — of being second to none in intellectual analysis of events on a global scale. Of espousing and practising creative thought which is not following a fad or feeling inferior to those American universities - the greatest monopolisation of thought ever in the world, for before, every culture at least philosophised and experienced life for itself — now we do it only if America accepts it. So to support an Indian intellectual initiative whose spiritual centre is on this soil I would like to renew the subscription.

Maybe your way of achieving justice, beauty and understanding for a better society is not the way of majority but still what matters most is the purity of intent and passion behind it - for anyone can say the right slogans in an ad-lib world where every image and vision is manipulated along with beings and becomings. To truly liberate inner and outer spaces we need to be open to new ways of liberation which each generation discovers afresh. Its like someone in a village once told me not to worry too much about Power politics because everyone oppresses who one can, like this farmer who said that I oppress my wife and children so I am oppressed by those who can do this to me. So women and children who are 75% of world population are never heard and on their shoulders runs Indian farming - all the daily routine - men operate tractors or give the painful work to women - which is always repetitive, boring and soul-killing- so they can politicise in village dhabas or think of big civilizations to use their children as fodder - Ecology, feminism, inner creativity and cooperative work unions - Constructive spaces are as important as Activist spaces - one cannot survive without the other.

Yours

Sunny M

Dear young Comrade Sunny,

I am happy that you have come back to me, after our July exchange of letters.

You must not try very hard to be just clever. It is not necessary, as far as I can see from your letter and the little publication which I have glanced through, you are a very intelligent young man. I can see

energy, enthusiasm, promise and idealism. Even brilliance ! All very commendable qualities.

All this needs to be organised, systematised and focussed.

Please pick up a good topic (Man-Woman Relationships Over Historic Time or In Comprador Society; Neocolonialism in Mass Media, or anything else that you like)

I think "Spiritualism", Eclecticism, Gurugiri and Buwabaazi of the entire rainbow gamut, are mirages and blind alleys. But then, I am an unrepentant atheist.

I do not respect religion but I respect the religious feelings of others. Not merely as a "sigh of the oppressed" but also as a "comforting reassurance" !

Frankly, I am not interested in such flights of fancy. I am "bored" with them, as you might say.

It is not clear to me in which direction your interests and talents lie. At the moment, you are enjoying verbal expression, but expression without direction only adds to confusion.

In this world, there is not much to laugh at, nor to be gay and light-hearted and joyous about ! We must wait till the people laugh !

Till then, only irony, sarcasm and bitterness. Let us try to create the conditions under which the whole people can laugh and enjoy their surroundings and labour with happiness in their hearts. If we laugh now, prematurely, in isolation from the masses, we can only laugh as madmen, or as cruel brutes.

I am not angry with you and have never been. I am merely a little weary and a bit wary.

But, ideas and thoughts, are very serious things. They are not playthings, like coloured balloons. We have only one lifetime, and let's not fritter it away in a prolonged, playful, adolescence. We must no doubt appeal to the young, but not on their childish terms. We must treat the "young" as "serious adults". That is the only way they will grow up and become grown ups.

Please help me to spread the word of *Mankind*. Enlist a few more subscribers and send me some orders for the Bound Volumes if you are not too busy. Or whenever you are less busy.

With warm personal regards.

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

LOHIA'S LAST SPEECH IN LOK SABHA

Parliament Debate on Limit on Expenditure, Lok Sabha, August, 4, 1967

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, the founder leader of the Socialist Movement in India and "the stormy petrel of the Indian Politics" has passed away on 12th October 1967. Published below is his last speech in the parliament.

Rammanohar Lohia : Mr. Speaker, the debate on Three annas versus Fifteen annas was the prelude, a diagnosis. Today's debate on fixing a ceiling on expenditure at Rs. 1500 a month is the remedy. Let me clarify a point. The value of the rupee has been changing; six months earlier I would have set the limit at one thousand rupees, and still, if my proposal is accepted by the government, the value of this Rs. 1500 would rise to nearly two thousand rupees because the value of rupee would undergo an increase of at least 25 per cent.

A question is often raised by hon. members : How to do it? The idea is alright. But how to achieve it? We impose income tax to the extent of Rs. 65000 on a lakh, we have the wealth tax and we tried with the expenditure tax; and we could not bring about a reduction of incomes; so what is the way out? My answer is go to the roots. Such roots form where superfluous and luxurious spending flows. I take up the example of private cars of which we have at present around 400,000 in the whole country. At the rate of Rs. 500 as monthly cost of maintaining a car, a ban on private cars alone would yield a saving of Rs. 250 crores. Even if the gap in transport may have to be filled up by more buses, taxis and staff cars for government or private institutions, we can count the saving at Rs. 200 crores.

I have not raised the problem merely from the view point of social justice. We have to build the nation, from poverty and want, to sufficiency in goods. If those who are at the helm of affairs for building the nation, adopt costly and luxurious ways of living, how can they ask the populace to labour on empty stomachs...

Shri J. B. Kripalani : But they do say all that.

R. Lohia : Yes, they say so, but won't set an example. That is why I was going to say something about government servants. We have around one crore of them.

Shri J. B. Kripalani : Not servants, they are masters.

R. Lohia : That is because our society is government oriented, and the government is bureaucracy oriented. The people are servants of the government and the government is the servant of the bureaucracy. I shall be able to finish my speech in time if Dada (Kripalani) won't interrupt me any more. There are about one crore government servants most of whom are in no way connected with processes of production. They are just pen-pushers. It is something like the application of Parkinson's Law in other countries — posts are created to fill them with one's kinsmen from caste, family, provincial and linguistic considerations. These may be anywhere between twenty and forty lakhs, who do not have any work to do. If we take the smaller figure it works out at a saving of around Rs. 300 crores....

An hon member : Do you mean to give them the sack?

R. Lohia : Why not, if they are sitting on the chest of our people doing nothing and if we can save Rs. 3000,000,000? But the rulers can't take such a step until they themselves are prepared to share hardship. My intention is not to keep them unemployed, but to transfer them from pen-pushing posts to productive posts, so that instead of being parasites on the meagre national wealth, they can add to it. This, indeed, is one of my objects of raising today's debate. What is happening today? Every section, every group is clamouring for dearness allowance. Shri Banerjee is encouraging such agitations.

If I were a labour leader, I would agitate for bringing down the expenditure of richer sections, so that prices could be brought down....

S. M. Banerjee : I have told Indiraji about it.

R. Lohia : The expenditure of the Birlas, the bureaucrats and all sorts of wealthy men has to be brought down in order to build a just and prosperous society.

My figures may not be taken as accurate. I sometimes underestimate out of too much caution. I say one thousand crore rupees will be saved this way, although my guess is fifteen hundred crores. Two cabinet ministers, Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Asoka Mehta, have put this figure at 25 crores. Shri Mehta had his better days when, if I may say so, he was in full bloom, although I don't know if Shri Desai ever had his full bloom days. I shall read out something that Shri Mehta wrote in his abler days.

"In India 0.14 per cent takes five per cent of the national income".

Which would mean that about seven lakh persons or one hundred and fifty thousand families ge. around ten billion rupees according to the present estimate of our national income.. Since Shri Mehta wrote this book, i.e., 1953, disparities have increased. But even if we go by the old figure of ten billion rupees and apply to it my rule of Rs. 1500 a month, the total expenditure on the one and a half lakh families will come to Rs. 250 crore rupees leaving a surplus of 750 crores.

If I am accused of taking advantage of what Shri Asoka Mehta might have written irresponsibly, I may base my calculations on businessmen, some of whom are sitting here right beside me. I know some of them in a friendly way, for although they belong to the Swatantra Party they are young men and talk interestingly. All of them are not like Shri Lobo Prabhu who seems to be always haunted by the Constitution. There is Shri Piloo Modi and there is Shri Manu and just at the moment there is no fear of any conflict with them. Since I am not going to launch any detailed discourse on the distribution of national income. I only point out that if my proposition is made the law, there would be a saving of 57 crores according to the publications of the chamber of these businessmen. The records of the Income-Tax Commissioner are a wrong guide, for a number of people evade taxes, they don't pay any income-tax. If we treble or double the amount it comes to at least 114 crores. This figure relates only to the industrial sector. If we make a similar estimate for the non-industrial sectors, we have around 300 crores.

In the earlier debate Shri Nanda, the then Minister for Planning, had come down to seven and a half annas as the daily income of sixty per cent of our population, when I stood on three annas. If we take Shri Nanda's calculation as the basis, or make it even eight annas, we arrive at a saving of 6000 crores, or of 9000 crores, according to my statistics.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : When you are calculating the incomes, I have to count the time for this debate. Many members want to speak and only two hours have been allotted. So I shall give you only twenty minutes, which means you must finish by one 'O' clock.

Shri Madhu Limaye : Scrap the lunch hour.

R. Lohia : I have not yet said even half of what I want to speak. Much of my time is spent in extraneous interpolations.

My estimate of 6000 crores may be wrong since all this money does not go to the rich. A part of it is with the middle classes. So I only emphasize that my original one thousand crores is not wrong.

Once, Noble-prize-winner Pauling came to India and observed that people's conditions were falling. That gave rise to a controversy. His statement was never controverted satisfactorily. If we take the National Consumption Survey of the Government the intake of such food as fat and sweets has become less for the lowest twenty per cent of the population.

I may be accused of pleading for the removal of incentives. Work would suffer if we remove incentives. Some time back, Rajaji was living in a house of twelve hundred acres. Now he lives in a house that has a plot of about one fourth of an acre, and he works more at this older age. I hope he will continue to be active till he is hundred. Money or profit incentive is not inseparable from work.

The relationship existing between the businessman and the bureaucrat has to be borne in mind. We have about twenty to fifty lakhs of them. The Karachi resolution committed a great mistake that must no more be repeated. This resolution intended to limit the incomes of officers and ministers and leave them in an island of idealism and austerity surrounded by the sea of temptations from businessmen who were free to live luxuriously. Ministers and officers will be honest when we curb the expenses of the businessmen.

I may also be accused of unnecessarily stressing on the need to curb income and expenditure instead of advocating nationalization. I may submit that I go further. If the ceiling on expenditure makes some business houses feel that they no more have any incentive to work, their concerns should be the first to be nationalized. Or, we offer different sorts of incentive. People are generally anxious about their children. A part of the money diverted from current consumption may be converted into twenty-year bonds in favour of the successors. My plan is for twenty years, after which the country will be prosperous and we can be liberal in our expenditure. For twenty years we shall have to be strict, austere and industrious.

Some people point at me. We are living in a society of privileges. My salary is Rs. 500, but the amenities in the shape of cheap house etc. really make it two and a half thousand rupees a month. In the same way, the ministers who get salary and amenities of sixty thousand per month take about eight lakh rupees annually. There is no limit to extravagance. As I have told the House earlier, replacing two lifts in the Rashtrapati Bhavan had been estimated at forty lakhs. The official documents show the expenses on the Prime Minister or the President at 20 or 30 lakhs. I have demonstrated by facts and data that their personal expenses come to around a crore of rupees in a year. We cannot increase production if we imitate the Europeans and American standards of living. For twenty years, let us first produce wealth. I shall not have much objection to these imitations after that.

I myself want to live in comfort. Who does not? I was once chummy with a Russian. He started coming to me twice or thrice a day. Those were the days before Tashkent. He might have been something like the Russian CIA. He advised me to aircondition my house if I wanted to work efficiently for the poor. I told him, I shall think of it after making my country as prosperous as his.

I am not advocating that people should abdicate good things of life. Only religious persons can do so. Religious men operate through impulsion and saintliness. Politicians operate through impulsion and laws. We are not here to preach saintliness, but to enact laws so that crores of men would be benefitted.

A great reservoir of such mass benefit will be to plan for full-irrigation. I have estimated very broadly; its cost will be anywhere between 40 and 100 billions. I am, however, certain that such a gigantic work cannot be undertaken without largescale recruitment of volunteers. And volunteers won't be coming forth unless we set before them the example of sharing the general hardship.

Another query that is often flung at me is why I am not much interested in the question of private and public sectors. That is less fundamental to me. I see no difference between Jamshedpur and Rourkela. The same loot is there in both the places; the same bureaucratic domination, extravagance and exploitation of labour. Sometimes it is worse in Rourkela, where you may find more nepotism and corruption. Both the public sector and the private sector businessmen, seem to be pleading for expansion so that their goods could be exported against the import of foodgrains which we need not produce at home. This is sheer ignorance that has ruled our planning for the last twenty years. We have set up such bogus industries as produce rayon, nylon and terylene and neglected irrigation.

The basic problem is that of property; that of the desire for property and of the institution of property. Marx propounded a solution in respect of the institution of property, and the Upanishads contain a solution for tackling the desire of property. We need a political philosophy that would tackle both. My proposal aims at curbing the desire for wealth, as well as altering the institutions of wealth.

In the beginning I gave the example of private cars. I shall cite also the example of schools. Five to ten lakh children pay a monthly tuition fee of fifty to hundred rupees in addition to bus, dress and food charges. If we abolish these schools and establish only one type of schools for all children we shall save sixty to hundred crores.

I shall conclude by appealing to all members to pay attention to both the aspects; the curbing of the desire for luxuries as well as bringing about changes in the institution of property. I have tried to present a solution, a way out for the nation as a whole, to which no other politician in the country has given serious thought till now.

Rammanohar Lohia : I am glad that in three weeks the hon. Finance Minister has travelled from twenty five to fifty crores. Three weeks ago, he had said that we could save only 25 crores by this method. At this rate he may arrive at my figures in six months.

Shri Morarji Desai : I said, at the most fifty crores, if all those measures were taken.

R. Lohia : Don't scream when your neck is caught. I have talked of a thousand crores, and I have calculated them from various angles in my earlier speech. Now I shall no more waste my time in repetition. I have to say to Shri Ramamurthi and Shri Sharma that I have deliberately tried to limit expenditure. Because there are officers and ministers whose salary income may be three or five thousand, but if the amenities are to be counted in terms of money the total will come to ten, fifty or a hundred thousand rupees. When I say expenses, these include both the salary and the amenities. Ours is a society of special amenities par excellence. I have explained the amenities in my own case. It will be very hard to give up these amenities voluntarily. If we make a law all of us will be compelled to leave them. I must also make it clear that Rs. 1500 is for a family, not per head. I have left a margin for five hundred to a thousand rupees per month to be deposited for the

future use of one's children. This amount will in no case be left in the personal custody of the depositor. I shall warn my communist friends not to run after the public sector in which officers will have a salary of three thousand but get amenities worth fifty thousand rupees a month.

I always exercise control over myself and shall do so while replying to Shri Somani. I have in the past raised questions about diamonds and mink coats. The relationship of businessmen and bureaucrats is age-old. So he is annoyed; that is perhaps natural.

The ghost of incentives has been raised again, and I wish to reply to it without anger. Shri Morarji Desai has said about these one lakh men. They may be twenty lakh from the point of view of Rs. 1500. And I can say in a very cool manner that I won't mind if these twenty lakh people are finished. Those who get incentive only from fat money and luxurious living are not needed by this country, and it is better if their existence is obliterated from the face of the earth. If there are only twenty lakhs we can close our eyes on them. We must begin to search for incentives that would activate not twenty lakhs, but the remaining 49 crore and eighty lakh inhabitants of our country.

I may tell those who have talked of diamonds, that in our country there is silver worth about six thousand crore rupees. I have been given these figures by a friend from the Swatantra Party - and gold worth about four thousand crore rupees and diamonds and other antiques about five thousand crores rupees (interruptions). These costly metals worth around fifteen thousand crore rupees are lying there for no purpose. I want laws and regulations to be framed in order to... (interruptions). Shri Somani, I know would like to use these costly materials for other ends. The government has told us that sixty thousand dollars, i.e. over four and a half lakh of rupees were once spent by a business house of India to bring about a special supplement of the New York Times (for boosting up a political personality).

Some hon. members including Dr. Sushila Nayar misunderstood me when they alleged that I wanted to dismiss 20 lakh men doing clerical work. No, I only want to switch them on to

productive branches.

Dr. Sushila Nayar : Lohia Saheb, how would that save the salaries, which you are aiming at?

R. Lohia : I am sorry that I don't have the time to explain in easier terms. Money is saved when you put them to productive work. You are sitting now beside Shrimati Vijayalakshmi, she will explain to you how it happens... (interruption). Misunderstanding may lead to injustice. You see what happened in Uttar Pradesh. I felt really miserable when three thousand women were retrenched.

Dr. Sushila Nayar : You should teach them not to do so.

R. Lohia : Some members asked me to set an example through my governments. I have no government. It may come, if Shri Desai becomes my follower or if my colleagues here go to occupy those benches. And wherever there are ministers who listen to me I ask them to be different. I have asked them not to keep police guards at home or when they are on tour... .

Difficulty in calculation crops up because of the two standards. According to Shri Desai, after the income-tax on income slabs above a lakh of rupees, only 8 thousand is left. But people who know from experience tell me that in actual practice about fifty thousand remains. The government records are no true guide in this matter.

I have been criticised for pursuing a political line of bringing Swatantra and Communists together. I ask them why shouldn't I? If the Congress is defeated and reduced to a small group, I may include the Congress men as well but not so long as it is of a monster's size. My dislike for the Congress is not permanent. My anger passes over very soon. I am in search of co-operation. I know that Swatantra members want to cut down bureaucratic expenditure; and I hope to get communist support in reducing capitalist accumulation and extravagance. So why should I not try to get the help of both simultaneously? As the army marches ahead some people will drop out. But if the army moves on it will reach the destination. That is the way to build a new India.

MYTHS ON TOURISM

FACTS AGAINST MYTHS

Vikas Adhyayan Kendra

COMMENT

(With cooperation from Kevin da Silva of INSAF, Goa)

"The national bourgeoisie organises centres of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the name of tourism and...will be built up as a national industry...the national middle class will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for Western enterprises, and it will...set up its country as the brothel of Europe..."

-Frantz Fanon, "The Wretched of the Earth", 1961

India today has been made to adopt another development strategy — tourism development — to attract tourist dollars as a buffer against balance of payment deficits and to service foreign debt which stood at \$104.3 billion on March 31, 1996 (*The Observer of Business and Politics*, 29.4.96). India was not given any option but to accept 'in toto', the demand-led model of international tourism by the World Bank. In 1992 the Government thus launched the National Action Plan (NAP) for tourism that had no place in the previous policy of self-reliance. The Plan as part of the process of liberalisation and globalisation, upon which the NAP rests, affects particularly the service sector, allowing TNCs and other foreign investments into hotel and resort development. The country's natural resources — beaches, ecosystems, etc., — are to be marketed in exchange for tourist dollars, technology, and TNC know-how. As a new 'mantra' tourism today is the newest 'cash crop'. The 'swadeshi' tourist industry — also in their quest to conquer new markets — are planning to commodify the country and communities into quick-fix commodities and parcel them out while they are still 'unspoiled'. A rapacious search for new destinations with the same recipes selling escapism, have been finalised through joint-ventures, luring the 'nouveau riche' to take holidays abroad, viz.,

* *Discover-the World* Marketing of Miami;

Eurail of London; *K.D. River Cruises*

of Europe; *Cunard of Modis*; Thomas Cook, etc., will operate through their Indian agents to sell destinations;

* *L & R Leisure* of UK tied up with *Sterling Holiday Resort* (I) to own and operate India's first privatised super luxury tourist train, the Royal Indian, costing around 20 crores, to lure high-spending European tourists;

* In Goa, *Prestige Holiday Resorts* has invested in time share resorts through its affiliate the *Royal Goan Beach Club* which has already purchased four prime properties in the State with a turnover of Rs. 45 crores;

DEVELOPMENT OR DISPOSSESSMENT?

These developments are the result of the view of tourism as a vital development model, launched in the 60s by the UN and its various agencies including the ILO, WTO and the World Bank. The World Tourist Organisation (WTO) founded in 1972 - not committed to any values, traditions, etc., of the South - set up data banks and consultancy on Western lifestyles and international standards in tourism services. 1967 was even designated as "The Year of the Tourist" by the UN, mobilising resources to fund tourism research, and to promote the tourism industry in the region. Northerners were encouraged to travel to the South to instill modern values and outlook. The South was thus opened up socially, culturally and economically - to widescale exploitation - packaged and sold like hotcakes as a destination for cheap, exotic and unspoiled holidays. Since then, tourism has been one of the key factors in the SAPs. Through development loans, peasants, fishierfolk, hunters, etc., dispossessed by these and other SAP projects, were converted into guides, butlers, cooks, salesgirls, etc. Those who have not been absorbed are turned into itinerant street hawkers, pimps and prostitutes. Thus, the tourist industry has become a serious human rights issue: the displacement of people from their ancestral homes.

As much as it is all about physical movement, tourism is also about ideology

- the inequalities of global trade and aid - and a set of presumptions on leisure, rest and gender. The normal need for rest and recreation is commodified into a consumer product, slickly and aggressively packaged and marketed like toothpaste. It is thus a politically sensitive industry globally not merely because political developments influence the flow of tourists from the North to the South, but because of its impact on cultures of the South. Hawaii, Philippines, Thailand, Sri Lanka are classic illustrations of the havoc of mass tourism. They are today paying a heavy social cost by way of drugs and AIDS, degradation of tourist areas and eco-systems, and the exploitation and oppression of women and children through sex tourism, pedophilia, etc. Now Interpol identifies Goa as the new nerve centre for paedophile sex tourists following a crackdown on child prostitution in Thailand, etc. On March 21, '96 a child sex racketeer, Freddy Peats of UK was sentenced to life for sexual offences against children in his orphanage at Fatorda-Goa. Little wonder that mass tourism's disastrous impacts are reaching a flash point in a number of countries.

SIGNPOSTS TO TOMORROW

* In Egypt, militant groups and Islamic fundamentalists have targeted the industry with shooting and bombing campaigns claiming that tourism is an affront on Islam and the Islamic way of life. On April 18, 96, 18 foreign tourists were gunned down near a tourist hotel outside Cairo near the famed pyramids; (*Indian Express*, 19.4.96)

* An E-mail message from Mexico at the *Center For Education and Documentation* (Bombay), reports police repression on a group of villagers from the nature reserve of Ajusco-Chichinutzin. Since mid-1995 the villagers have been protesting against a golf course in a mega-project in the valley. On April, 10, 96 the police opened fire, wounding a number of the peaceful protest marchers. One activist, Marcos Gutierrez, was later found dead of bullet injuries. The National Commission of Human Rights indicted the police force, the chief of police and 60 constables were arrested.

To deal with such negative impact, the industry's response has been to get their window-dressers to present the "industry good practice", and jumped on the band-wagon of "alternative tourism" tagging "eco-friendly tourism" to their tourist brochures.

Given this state of affairs there is need to dispel the long-standing cliches on tourism and its 2-way production of

illusions, the tourist getting a false picture of the South and the local people, a false picture of the 'rich' North; to expose also the farce in the name of "eco-tourism", etc. Above all, to dissect the tourist industry in terms of how it is constructed and imposed on the South, debunking the homogenised 'Western services' model of tourist development. There is need to instead show that tourism has to be located as part of the wider debate on how to bring about an authentic "new world order." in which people themselves, rather than foreigners and local vested elites, determine and control their lives.

MYTH :

International tourism is a boon to the South, a vehicle of social change and the 'engine of modernisation' and development helping to equip it with modern skills, technologies, promotes native handicrafts, etc.

FACT :

This is old hat. It was first tried on in the West Indies at the turn of the present era where the rhetoric of economic development was involved to justify tourism! That tourism has accomplished little is evident from history as well as several studies.^{2, 9-12}

COLONIALISM, VERSION 3.11

It has failed in altering the basic relationships rooted in the colonial past. Travel receipts, however bountiful, have failed singularly to generate economic development let alone all-round development. Instead tourism contributes directly to further institutionalize conditions of underdevelopment, and the pattern of dependency is being reconstructed particularly in small island economies like the West Indies. Capital continues to flow abroad and remains beyond the access of these economies.

This anomalous situation is the direct result of the very model of development being promoted. This claim is moreover a northern perspective. However, from the standpoint of the South, tourism is a potent vehicle of domination and exploitation embedded in the division of the world into "developed" and "underdeveloped". The "developed" are modern and therefore ideals to be emulated by the South. However, the North, with all its modernisation is in a state of serious crisis, riddled with the virus of economism, consumerism and hedonism with a heavy toll on local and universal values. This virus-laden model being implanted underlines the text of the above claim.

*The "modernisation" claim stems from the rationale that tourism being one of the largest and fastest growing industries, after oil and automobile industry, serves as an 'efficient engine of rapid modernisation;' a quick-fix tool in bridging the gap between the rich North and the poor South. But this is basically a strategy to take advantage of the exotic natural resources, cheap labour and low cost of living, in short, the poverty of the people. Whatever limited gain tourism development programmes have, through this strategy, cannot compensate for its adverse effects - the stark reality of pockets of affluence amidst mass poverty.

The model impoverishes, disempowers and dehumanizes the cultures and civilisation of the South. In terms of application it cannot be replicated in conditions of the South.

Mainstream tourism is constructed in such a way that human relationships are patterned in a way that the whims and fancies of foreign tourists take precedence over the more critical needs of the locals in the South leading to a number of problems. Besides, in the North the basic structures of the economy, viz., the primary, the secondary and the tertiary sectors form an interlocking whole. In the South this is not so where these structures have a weak agricultural base and the services are over-inflated due to aid,

loans, etc. Hence, in the North a tourist hotel in the tertiary sector will have positive dynamic repercussions in the primary and secondary sectors, and the opposite is the case in the South.³ Besides, tourism in the South is mainly made up of service activities directed to foreigners and largely contributes to the emergence of middle classes whose reflexes are economically and culturally conditioned towards the West while the local population is subjected to major upheavals which disrupt social structures, and relationships.

Furthermore, as a result of the actual presence of tourists, the socio-economic and cultural impact of international tourism production technologies is obviously reinforced by the demonstration-effects;¹ like the mass media, the spectacle of tourist life-styles communicates the consumption models of the North with negative impact. Firstly, to some extent they impinge upon and destroy local and national identities; and secondly, because they present a partial and distorted image of the rich North, of certain social classes, of certain forms of behaviour.

These demonstration-effects are particularly marked in countries that had been disrupted by colonialism and now by urbanisation and industrialisation. Besides, there are economic and cultural changes which modify the actual structures of these societies. It is the nature and culture of these societies that are for sale or at any rate those aspects which can find a place in the exotic dreams of tourists and in the stereotyped merchandise of the tour operators. Consequently, they are to some extent converted into a fetish, a spectacle, and reduced both to serving the tasks expected of them by tourists and to accepting what the tour operators offer them in exchange. Finally, very often the tourists through their ignorance of local culture, their buying power and their stereotyped demands, have sparked off the mass production of what can only be called 'kitsch' or 'airport art.'

Finally, as a result of international tourism, more the South imports, the smaller their share of the profits. In many of these countries, a significant proportion of tourist equipment and consumer products is imported (hotel supplies etc); the substantial infrastructural works required by mainstream tourism (large hotels, roads, etc.) are partly carried out by TNCs which also assume responsibility for a large part of the operations associated with tourism (hotel chains, airlines, tour operators); and finally rising prices and inflation linked to the high purchasing power of the high-spending tourists, aids in devaluation of the local currency and hence of foreign exchange earnings.

In addition, there are problems relating to employment, which are often more costly in terms of investment than jobs in other sectors of manufacturing and industrial production, and which require a narrow range of qualifications. For all these reasons tourism per se does not lead to development. It can only serve as a complementary sector at best. There cannot be a policy of developing tourism for its own sake — policies which have taken the means for the end — and stressing the need to incorporate tourism policy in a global approach to national development. Clearly, therefore, it is not tourism that leads to development.¹ On the contrary its the country's general development that makes tourism gainful.

MYTH :

Tourism earns foreign exchange for countries in the South.

FACT :

Tourism does bring in foreign exchange and rectifies regional imbalances, etc. However, the tourist dollar does not remain in the country. It is repatriated by TNCs who own the airlines, the hotels, tour agencies and the like. That is, what comes in as foreign

exchange goes out as easily through what is known as foreign exchange leakage (the estimate of the percentage of incomes from tourism returning to the North) due to the high import content of tourism in the South. The leakage is further accentuated by various government incentives as evident in the NAP for tourism through tax exemptions, long term loans at low interest rates, and the provision of various facilities.

The various tax incentives to attract investment both local and foreign etc., enable investors to earn super profits. When all the various concessions are totaled up, there is evidently almost nothing left for the government. For instance :

* in HongKong,* apart from air-fares, the visitors spend 60% on shopping, 24% for hotel, 10% for meals outside of hotels, 3.2% for entertainment and 3.2% for tours. Most of the tourist dollars are thus spent on shopping in Hong Kong. Most of the items of purchase are high consumer goods like electronic equipments, etc and which are imported or made from imported material. Thus, it is estimated that not less than 80% of the profit from tourist revenue is repatriated to TNCs. The following illustration is an example of what can be found in most countries of the South.

In a reply to a Parliament question in 1995, the Civil Aviation and Tourism Ministry stated that during 1993-94 the profits repatriated by top 25 airlines amounted to Rs. 2,07,547 lakhs. Of this Lufthansa, Gulf Air and Singapore Airlines, the top three airlines, repatriated Rs. 30,791, Rs. 21,128 and Rs. 18,319 lakhs respectively.

MYTH :

Benign alternatives like green-eco-nature, etc. can offset the adverse effects of mass tourism and benefit the locals, preserve and enhance their culture and civilisation.

FACT :

At best these are short-term measures and the claim is an exaggeration according to the US based Center For Responsible Tourism.⁵

ECOLOGY OR ECONOMICS??

It maintains that many tour operators simply place "eco" in front of what they have always been doing without changing at all. The US Adventure Travel Society is more direct : "Economics is the engine that powers the vehicle of eco-tourism." And good business it is, growing at the rate of 25 to 30% in the 90s according to a Stanford University Research Institute Study. The following further illustrates the force of this claim.

* Maurice Strong who organised the UNCED "Earth Summit" was accused in May 1992 of illegally establishing a \$5 million posh beach resort in a protected nature reserve, set aside for the Bribri and Cabecar indigenous people, who were not informed of the development until construction was finally over;

* In Belize, the Government made a secret deal with an American entrepreneur from Mississippi to build a \$1 billion resort on Ambergris Caye, an island rich in wildlife and Mayan artefacts without informing the local people. This "integrated and ecologically sound resort development"covering some 20,000 acres, two-thirds of the islandincluded 5 star hotels, condominiums, duty-free shops, golf courses and polo fields;

* In 1992 the World Bank allocated \$ 130 m. to support the tourist industry in Egypt — 3 posh tourism complexes with accommodation for over 10,000 foreign tourists and 5000 employers.

* At the Nagarhole "National Park", part of the Nilgiris Biosphere Reserve in Karnataka, the Adivasis viz., Bette Kurumbas and Jen Kurumbas were displaced to establish a tiger sanctuary, where some 20 sq.km. of forest was burned after wildlife guards

were accused of killing a poacher.

Moreover , "Eco-tourism" is highly consumer-centered, catering mostly to urban elites and to the *nouveau riche*. Mega resorts e.g. Bekal in Kerala, including luxury hotels, condominiums, shopping centres and gold courses are increasing in nature reserves in the name of "eco-tourism." Such projects build completely artificial landscapes, tending to move out plant and wildlife species, even entire eco-systems, diverse local social and eco-activities get replaced.

As for preserving and enhancing local cultures, ethnic groups are considered as a major asset in attracting tourists, an 'exotic' backdrop to nature and wildlife.

Ecotourism and wildlife tourism can be subject to ruthless plunder. Unlike nationals, foreigners are prohibited from acquiring of wild life. There are instances where residents get the wildlife and lend or sell it to foreign zoos. The profit margin is huge. For example, an elephant calf costing Rs. 50,000 fetches about Rs. 17 lakhs in the North. Another problem with wildlife of tropical regions in the zoos in the North is that the chances of their reproduction are very slender. Consequently, semen and blood samples to test for diseases brings an enormous price.

ALTERNATIVE TOURISM ?

"Alternative tourism" the other buzz term has a more intensive impact since it results in a more intimate contact between the "guest" and "host", as in the case of Jaisalmer (AIDS, drugs, sex) and Khajuraho (pauperization of the local communities). This is because the host populations are unaware of the lifestyles and expectations of the guest - and yet, the guest enters into the most private aspects of the host's life. Similarly with "sustainable tourism". The Himalayas are today the world's highest garbage dump; indigenous people in Gir and Rajaji national parks are being displaced from notified areas. And heritage hotels are bringing 'modernisation' into remote villages where 'havelis', forts and palaces in Rajasthan are being spruced up as 5-star hotels for high spending tourists - all in the name of tourism development.

Evidently, efforts like alternative tourism etc. are coopted by the mainstream tourism industry which then promotes these as alternatives that enrich the variety of their tour efforts. The cooption is possible because alternative tourism programmes have never challenged either the profit structure and the commercial premises of the tourism industry or the development process as a whole. As Tujan Jr.⁶ maintains that as long as the key aspects of tourism - travel arrangements, carriers and accommodations "remain under the control of TNCs, alternative programmes will simply become their extensions. Second, for as long as such efforts remain essentially the sale of services to the affluent tourists the programme remains within the framework of commercial enterprise, maintaining the basic inequality of the relationship and contending with the market forces as a junior partner or an extension."

MYTH :

Golf courses with their ambiance are the greatest tourist attractions and their wide, open and green spaces are eco-friendly areas.

FACT :

The eco-friendly appearance of golf courses conceals the enormous quantities of chemical fertilisers and pesticides that are used in giving the course their extra green look. These include chemicals like zeolite, a carcinogenic, that are applied to the soil to promote growth of grass. The use of acrylamid, an extremely toxic soil coagulating agent (to hold water in the artificial lakes), is

widespread. A carcinogenic artificial coloring agent is also used to enhance the look of the greens. The average amount of agrochemical used generally on a course is around 1,500 kg annually. Mineral-, plant, and animal based and compound chemicals are used for soil improvement.

HIDDEN HANDICAPS

A full-fledged golf course with leisure facilities involves hundreds of acres of land, huge amounts of water in water-scarce areas and soil and ground water contamination. Constant watering poses additional problems. A 18-hole golf course, consumes 5,000 cubic meters of water a day, enough for 2000 families. In Malaysia, the Government has been paying over \$7.5 million for a pipeline to feed water to a golf course resort on Redang Island from the mainland areas of Terengganu, where a cholera epidemic had earlier broken out owing to poor supply of clean water. In most courses the entire topography has to be changed to suit the game. The top-soil is removed and the vegetation replaced with varieties of imported Bermuda grass like Sahara and Tid Dwarf. Removing trees and vegetation from prospective sites for such non-essential leisure pursuit leads to gullying and erosion, and in order to build the system of reservoirs and drainage pipes to irrigate the courses, natural slopes and ground water levels are changed. This weakens the underlying foundation of the site and makes it more prone to damage from the natural elements. To grow grass like Sahara, etc. alien to the soil means the use of pesticides. Not only do the such toxic chemicals pollute waterways, but up to 90 percent of these when sprayed on the course ends up in the air affecting the health of the golfers, caddies and residents with skin diseases and other allergic reactions.

* On the Japanese island of Hokkaido, at the Sapporo Kokusai Country Club in Hiroshima, the managers had sprayed organic copper compounds on the golf course to keep it from rotting under the winter snow. When it rained, the chemical drained into the water system, killing over 90,000 fish in a nearby aquaculture project. There have also been many cases of allergic rhinitis, chronic rashes and asthma. The incidence of asthma in this town is five times the island average;

* At the Delhi Supreme Court a writ petition has been filed against the Delhi Golf Club for using several protected monuments as a dumpyard, a cloakroom and a swimming pool with the management prohibiting repairs and maintenance of some precious monuments.

Golf courses are an environmentally unsound form of monoculture with exotic soil and grass, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides and weedicides as well as machinery are all imported to substitute natural ecosystems. (Pratap Chatterjee, *Multinational Monitor*, November 1993) And during the monsoons the water from these courses initially drains into holding ponds, and when the inflow exceeds capacity, these ponds suddenly release enormous quantities of water. Occasionally, the holding ponds itself will be breached, causing damage downstream.

MYTH :

Alternatives like eco, nature-etc., are certainly no panacea to the problems of mass tourism. Yet, their potential benefits outweigh any problem or past mistakes which can be solved or avoided in the future with more political will and better planning and management.

FACT :

The claim conveniently overlooks the political and economic structures of tourism and the realities of private corporate interests, highly centralised and bureaucratic decision-making and

the control of nature and people underlying the whole development process. In essence, as Enloe⁷ reveals, tourism is not just about escaping work and drizzle; it is about power, increasingly. Transnationalised power. Organisations like the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the World Resource Institute (WRI) have been regularly identifying geographically isolated areas with fragile and vulnerable ecosystems and cultures in the South so as to turn them into nature reserves and national parks for conservation an eco-tourism.

WHEN THE TOURISTS FLEW IN

The Finance Minister said "It will boost the economy, the dollars will flow in."

The Minister of Interior said "It will provide full and varied employment for the indigenous."

The Ministry of Culture said "It will enrich our life.....contact with other cultures must surely improve the texture of living."

The man from the Hilton said "We will make you a second Paradise; for you, it is the dawn of a glorious new beginning!"

When the tourists flew in our island people metamorphosed into a grotesque carnival-a two - week sideshow

When the tourists flew in our men put aside their fishing nets to become waiters, our women became whores

When the tourists flew in, what culture we had flew out of the window. We traded our customs for sunglasses and pop. We turned sacred ceremonies into ten-cent peep shows.

When the tourists flew in local food became scarce, prices went up, but our wages stayed low.

When the tourist flew in we could no longer go down to our beaches. The hotel manager said "Natives defile the sea-shore".

When the tourist flew in the hunger and the squalor were preserved as a passing pageant for clicking cameras — a click eye-sore !

When the tourists flew in we were asked to be "side-walk ambassadors" to stay smiling and polite to always guide the "lost" visitor.

... Hell, if we could only tell them where we really want them to go !

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OPERATION SONAGACHI

Sujata Singh

India has been labelled as a dormant volcano for HIV and AIDS pandemics. The National AIDS Control Organisation estimates that 5 million individuals would be infected in India by the year 2000 and the number of AIDS cases would exceed one million. The present rate of seropositivity is 7.29 per thousand people.

Heterosexual promiscuity has been the chief mode of transmission of HIV in India so far, except in the north eastern state, accounting for 42.2% of infection among 18291 sero-positive cases (NACO, May 1995). Roughly 80% of the reported AIDS cases have been caused due to multipartnered sexual relationships.

Commercial sexworkers and their clients are regarded as a significant reservoir for sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS. Hence Sonagachi, the oldest and largest red-light area of Calcutta, was selected to initiate a STD/HIV Intervention Programme in 1992, in consultation with NACO, Govt. of India, and with technical support from WHO. It was subsequently funded by NORAD and ODA.

Four main areas have been grouped together under Sonagachi area. These are (i) Sonagachi, (ii) Rambagan and Sethbagan, (iii) Jorabagan, and (iv) Rabindra Sarani

Sprawled over Ward 18 of Calcutta Municipal Corporation (CMC) in northern Calcutta, Sonagachi falls in the jurisdiction of Bartala Police Station. The area is bounded by Grey Street in the north, Beadon Street in the south, Chittaranjan Avenue in the east, and Rabindra Sarani in the West.

Rambagan and Sethbagan are situated in Ward No. 26 of CMC, in close proximity to Sonagachi. The main road bordering these areas is Rabindra Sarani. Jorabagan is another colony of brothels, lying in Ward 21 of CMC.

Brothels of Rabindra Sarani are positioned in Ward 20 of CMC in multi-storied buildings next to tramline, opposite Sonagachi.

Sonagachi constitutes one of the oldest and largest redlight areas of the city. It comprises three or four-storeyed ancient

crumbling houses overlooking a chaotic din. Below is a veritable maelstrom where sex workers, hawkers, revellers, bicycles, scooters and rickshaws jostle for space in narrow congested lanes. Yet, an estimated 400 sex workers reside here in nearly 370 brothels. There may be seasonal variation in numbers of upto 1000. September and October are the peak months as the Puja season attracts a horde of revellers and consequent promise of bigger earnings. Another 1500 floating sexworkers may also be found in the vicinity. The community relies on the 20,000 or so men who visit Sonagachi.

Each of these tenement buildings houses several brothels and the number of rooms vary from 5 to 25. Accommodation is as diverse as a cramped, badly lit cubbyhole to a spacious airconditioned room. Predictably, sanitation and civic amenities are in deplorable conditions. Instances of four to six sexworkers sharing a room (partitioned by curtains) are a common feature. A wide assortment of sexworkers from different parts of India, Bangladesh and Nepal have congregated here. The age structure ranges from 13 to 45. Income varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2000 per night. Sexworkers may operate independently or under the control of Madams/pimps. The latter collect one-fourth of the earnings while madams take a clean fifty per cent "adhia" system. Rent is given on a daily or monthly basis.

Sonagachi boasts of a long tradition of sex trade, with a regular influx of young girls from remote places. Besides, there are also the victims of degenerating family conventions, who have been reduced from singers and dancers to sexworkers. A common denominator is an impoverished background from where most of them hail.

Twelve clubs in this area mainly cater for youth activities. Numerous wine shops exist here. Cinema hall is conspicuous by its absence. Eleven private clinics operate here — nine run by qualified medical practitioners and the rest by quacks.

The name Sonagachi originates from Sanah-ul-lah. According to traditional hearsay, Sanah-ul-lah was a dacoit. After

his premature death, his destitute and widowed mother pretended that her deceased son had become a Ghazi. Consequently, the "dargah" of Sanah-Ghazi conferred its impact on an adjacent street name viz. — Sanah ghazi Lane. Over the years, the denigration of Sanah Ghazi became "Sonagachi" and hence, the name of the area.

It is almost impossible to specify how and when flesh-trade spread its roots over the area. As the British soldiers were increasingly carrying STDs from India to their motherland, the English Government was compelled to intervene. It enacted the "Indian Contagious Diseases Act" in 1868 for the effective control of STDs. Sonagachi came into the limelight when preliminary surveys were being carried out, before the Act was enforced. It was then identified as the most significant red-light area of Calcutta.

With such a background in perspective, a STD/HIV Intervention Programme (SHIP) was initiated in September 1992 by National Aids Control Organisation (NACO) with sponsorship from World Health Organisation at Sonagachi, consequent to a community based cross-sectional survey. The field workers of Society for Community Development (SCD) took part in this survey. The survey team examined the sociodemographic aspects, sexual behavioural practices and STD and HIV infections. It is a collaborative Project of All India Institute of Hygiene & Public Health and two Non-government organisations, viz — Health & Eco-Defence Society and Human Development & Research Institute. Since 1994, Mahila Sangha (of Seth Bagan) and Socio & Legal Aid Research and Training Centre enlisted to broaden the support system of the AIH & PH and NGO Conglomerate. Since 1995, the sexworkers forum, Mahila Samanyaya Committee, became an active participant of the Project.

It was not an easy task to start the Programme. Sexworkers (SW) had to be convinced that neither would the Project advocate against prostitution nor would it undertake any activity that would upset their professional practices directly or indirectly. At the very onset it was clearly established that the Programme was not one of rehabilitation. Besides, all power lobbies (related to the trade) had to be pacified or brought under the folds of the Project. It was, and still continues to be more of a power game, where various conflicting forces like political parties, youth groups, police, the mafia, landlords, private practitioners, etc. maintain a delicate balance. Hence, the Project has to

intervene in a manner which can fulfil the objectives without disturbing the existing balance of power.

Following a pre-designed methodology, a baseline survey was conducted from April to June 1992 in Sonagachi area. To obtain proper representation, multistage sampling was done. A sample of 450 was selected at random to provide a reasonable estimate of the prevalence of STD among the sexworkers. The floating variety, who rented a room temporarily to entertain clients, were difficult to enumerate and, therefore, excluded from the survey. Table 1 illustrates the actual figures assessed. Sexworkers have been stratified into three categories, mainly on the basis of

Category	No. of Brothels	No. of brothels selected	Total No. of SW in all brothels	No. of SW selected & examined	Per-centage examined
A	78	12	724	81	11.1
B	187	28	1772	209	11.7
C	97	25	1168	160	13.7
Total	362	65	3664	450	12.2

professional charges. Water and sanitation benefits, and possession of modern amenities like electric fan, radio, TV, furniture, were also considered. Sexworkers, whose professional charges rated higher than Rs. 100 per client, were grouped in A category; those with charges between Rs 50 and Rs 100 were included in B category; and, those with charges below Rs 50 were in C category. Number of sexworkers chosen in each category was proportional to the total number of sexworkers in each stratum. 12% of the total sexworkers were surveyed. Generally, 6 to 7 sexworkers were randomly selected from each of the 65 brothels. In case the number of sexworkers in a brothel fell short of the required size, the deficit was made good from the next brothel. Replacement for non-responders" was also done in a similar manner.

Social workers from the Society for Community Development (SCD) were the interviewers. Field coordinator and Principal Investigator from AIH & PH supervised the field work regularly. A questionnaire was used to collect information from the sexworkers regarding their personal habits, customs, sexual behaviour and practices and health status. They were first interviewed and then motivated to visit the clinic.

For the purpose of survey, a clinic was established in the heart of the red-light area in two-rooms offered by a local club, free of cost. Two STD specialists were deputed by the Calcutta National Medical College to attend the clinic. They were responsible for physical examination and collection of samples for laboratory investigation.

All laboratory tests were done at the Bacteriology Department, Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine (STM).

84.9% of the sexworkers interviewed belong to the age group 15-29 years. Lowest age recorded was 13 and the oldest were above 45 years of age. Literacy rates were low. 84.4% of them were illiterates. Penury and deprivation were the main factors responsible for these women joining the sex trade (see Table 2).

Many have been misled. Addiction to alcohol was the commonest habit among all categories of sexworkers. Majority of the sexworkers had 3 to 4 customers a day. Weekly income varied

Table 2 :
Distribution of SW According to Reasons for Entry into Sex Trade

Reasons	No. of SW Category A	No. of SW Category B	No. of SW Category C	Total No. of SW	Total %
Acute Poverty	32	127	62	221	49.10
Willingly	8	10	21	39	8.67
Family Dispute	17	40	40	97	21.56
Misguided	19	21	30	70	15.56
Tradition	5	9	7	21	4.67
Kidnapped	0	2	0	2	0.44

from Rs 1000 to more than Rs. 5000 (category A), between Rs. 500 and Rs. 5000 for category B, and less than Rs. 300 to more than Rs. 1000 for category C. Usual method of sexual intercourse was penovaginal — 98.7% but 74% also practised oral sex. Group sex was indulged in too. About 40% of the sexworkers had children. Of the 450 sexworkers examined, only 45% took precaution against pregnancy (in some form) and only 27% regularly (always). Only 2.7% used condoms always or often. 69% of the sexworkers knew about STD and only 31% had heard about AIDS.

On smear examination of endocervical specimens, 10.5% were positive for N gonorrhoeae and on culture 4.9% were positive. T Vaginalis was detected in 11.1% and C albicans in 23.2%. Serological tests conducted for Syphilis, found 58.8% reactive by VDRL test and 63% by TPHA test. Out of 360 sexworkers, 80.5% were found to be infected with one or more STD causative agents. Among the 151 asymptomatic females 124 (82%) were infected with one or multiple STD causative agents. Five out of 442 serum samples were positive for HIV infection — the positivity rate being 1.1%.

The overall objectives of the projects are :

A. (i) To reduce the incidence of STD and HIV infections among sexworkers and their clients in the target area through adequate provision of health services.

(ii) To develop and implement appropriate laboratory support services for STD case management.

(iii) To provide an entry point for education and awareness raising activities, and for condom promotion among the focus groups.

B. (i) To maintain and expand the current relationship of trust and confidence, established between the survey team and the community, to generate support for AIDS prevention programme.

(ii) To increase the awareness of STD and HIV/AIDS among sexworkers, madams, pimps and clients.

(iii) To motivate sexworkers and clients to use condoms for every sexual encounter.

C. To develop generic guidelines for the progression of intervention in similar areas.

A Health Service Centre was opened in the premises of a local youth club, *Palatak* in 1992, in the heart of this redlight area. Not only sexworkers but also the members of their families are attended to. Though the emphasis is on sexual health, people utilise the clinic for general health purposes, too.

At present the clinic follows the syndrome based management. Keeping in view the high prevalence of Syphilis among the sexworkers, a modified strategy was introduced to

screen the high risk population who are attending the clinic, for Syphilis serology.

Two STD specialists attend the clinic (in turns) and are responsible for physical examination and collection of samples for laboratory testing (when required.) The Health Centre functions from Monday to Saturday, 11 am to 2 pm, when business is at its lowest ebb. On an average, 35 to 40 patients attend the clinic daily and receive free treatment. The majority, more than 70% are female sexworkers and their family members.

An evening clinic was also initiated in the same locality — in the premises of another club, *Swapan Smriti Sangha*, in 1993. This clinic functions from 5.30 to 7.30 pm Monday to Friday, and mainly caters for clients. Three doctors attend the clinic in turns. Every Tuesday morning, polio and immunization programme is held in this clinic for the children of the sex workers and others. On an average, 12 children avail of this benefit.

The acceptability of both the clinics in the community, is evident in the increase of patients. When the clinic had started, 168 patients attended in the first month. Whereas, in December 1994 the number had reached a high of 834. Easy accessibility, proper timing and quality health care are liable for the overwhelming response from the local populace. The number of attendees increased to 875 in June 1995.

70% – 80% of clinic attendees are sexworkers and their families.

30% – 35% of clinic attendees have STDs.

An innovative approach was undertaken to disseminate information. It was to recruit educators from the sexworkers

themselves as they would be able to interact better with their peers. Thus, the peer educators came into being. Initially a group of peer educators were selected, trained and sent to the field for direct association with the community. Now, the number of peer educators is 65. None of them has left the job as yet.

To ensure accuracy of messages and approaches, each batch of peer educators were trained for a period of six weeks, regarding the basics of STD/HIV and AIDS. They received both theoretical and practical training. Though working in groups, most of them are quite competent in pursuing their work independently.

The whole of Sonagachi area, has been divided into 10 subdivisions. Field workers, in groups, have been assigned the responsibility of carrying out IEC activities and condom programming in each zone. 65 sexworkers have been chosen and trained as peer educators. They work in these 10 groups headed by 7 supervisors. Zones are generally interchanged after some length of time.

The fieldwork begins at 10 am in the morning and continues till 1 pm. Peer educators contact 40 to 50 sexworkers and 10 to 15 madams daily. They encourage the sexworkers to attend the clinic for regular health checks. It is this personal communication which serves as the major strength of the strategy adopted so far. Flipchart is commonly used for communication. Video shows are organised from time to time, depending on the availability of space and electrical connection. Apart from this, a ventriloquist programme has also been used successfully to promote the message of AIDS among sexworkers, clients, pimps and other members of the community.

(Frontier : Calcutta)

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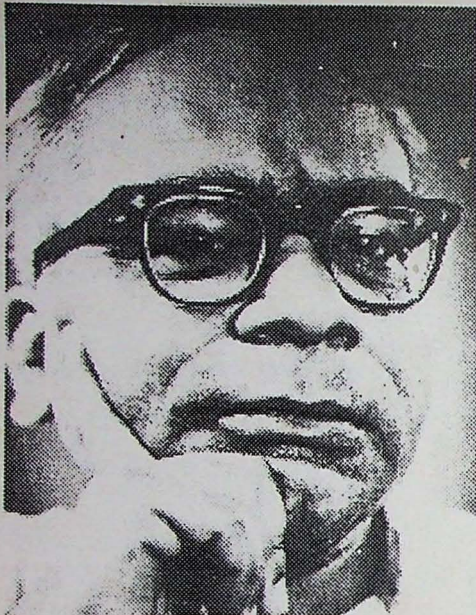
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Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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.
- 1964** - Arrested in USA for breaking the Colour Bar.
- 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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