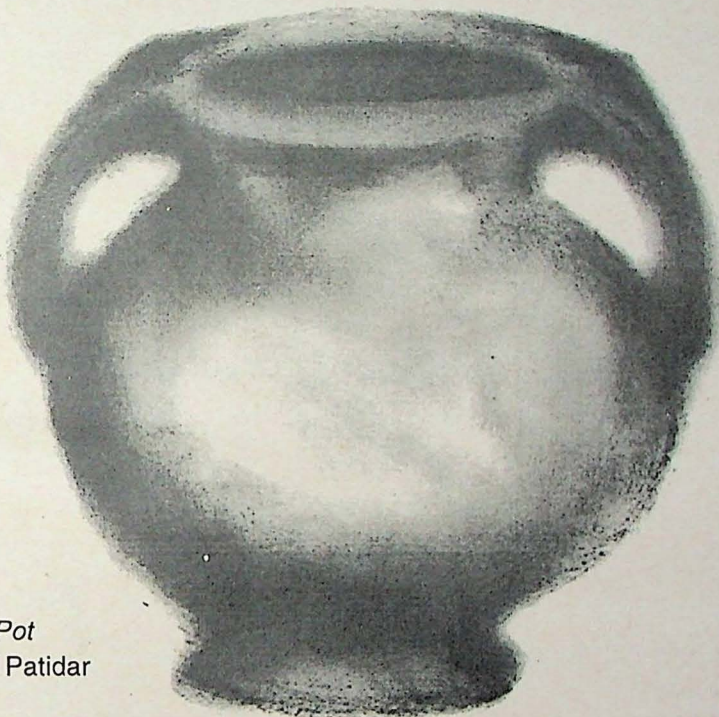


MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 2, No. 2, Nov. 1996.

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The Pot
by Devilal Patidar

Pottery is synonymous with settled human habitation. That is, with human civilisation as such.

The earliest social formation was the Hunting, Fishing and Food Gathering community. Such communities were perforce nomadic. A successful hunter had to vary his trek, drive his quarry towards traps and snares, stalk the sites of usual water holes frequented by animals and somehow maintain the element of surprise. Otherwise animals are clever enough to avoid capture.

The hunter usually brought the animal carcass to his cave, where the women and children of his group, clan or tribe had found some shelter. There the animal would be skinned and its flesh and meat would be either roasted upon an open spit fire, or

divided into pots with water and other ingredients and boiled or fried.

Thus the pot makes its entry with the earliest semi-permanent or permanent cave shelter, lean-tos, and other protective, more or less weather-proof habitations.

Of course, with the acceptance of agriculture, the kitchen becomes a necessary corollary of human existence. And kitchen means essentially a place where a fire and a pot are brought together.

An immense variety of pots and cups and fired clay containers have been utilised by humanity in the course of our societal evolution and development.

These utensils have been called an immense number of names i.e. ceramics, earthenware, stoneware, porcelain, majolica, delft, and so on. We will not go

into the defining characteristics of each type of fired clay work. The crux of the matter is that pottery and ceramics are shaped clay lumps made permanent by fire.

At another level, the pot is a simple, familiar, humble accompaniment of human life. Falling into the group of useful things with which we have been illustrating the cover pages of *Mankind*, like the *Grinding Stone*, *The Container*, *The Ghanti*, *The Lalten*, and so on. It is quite apparent that Devilal Patidar does not look upon these common objects with contempt or arrogance. The artist finds beauty and joy wherever light falls and illumines an object.

We may say that the artist celebrates the whole of human life of labour. He finds joy in it and loves every aspect of our essential humanity.

MANKIND

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AN OPENING STATEMENT

Exe. Edr.

**A PAIR OF WITCHES EXPOSED
THE UP ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1996
THE FARCE OF ELECTIONS
JAMMU AND KASHMIR ASSEMBLY
ELECTIONS 1996
IN COMPRADOR INDIA, EDUCATION
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NEO-COLONIAL PLOYS
M.F.HUSAIN'S TIRESOME ANTICS
HISTORIC JUSTICE WELCOMED !
WAGES OF SIN EXTRACTED !**

A PAIR OF WITCHES EXPOSED

Kapila Vatsyayan is a *naukarani* who is the epitome of bureaucratic conceit, arrogance and know-all pretentiousness.

From a small time dancer, she somehow became a *naukarani* in the Culture Department many years ago. I do not

know whether she exactly emulated Pupu Jayakar's career path of selecting and colour-matching Indira's blouse-sari-ghagra ensembles. But that is very likely, since prior to Pupu's advent, she was very close to Indira on a personal level.

This *naukarani* has written a number of pretentious tomes. I was told in Delhi long ago that at least a few of them were ghost-written by young academic aspirants. Be that as it may, not one book by her contains a single significant insight into any aspect of our art scene or art history.

These are the *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis*, who are frightened out of their wits when the Congress party loses national elections. They become orphans, and they wail and whine, and pine for the

return of their patrons, who not only allow them to freely loot the public exchequer, but who also defend the *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis* upto the end.

ACADEMICIAN LACKEYS OF CONGRESS BOSSES

Just as every important Congress leader has a coterie of *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis* attached to him, just as a select bunch of journalists surround every luminary, similarly every ambitious Congress minister has a group of pet intellectuals, servile academicians, and arty-tarty toadies attached to him in a tripartite personal entourage. As a member of the perennial Congress retinue, Kapila served all three functions at the same time. **Thus cost-wise she came very cheap.** She could write and brief journalists, pretend to be an intellectual/ academician and at the same time profess to be a culture-vulture.

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Sonia Maino was an air-hostess when she encountered Rajiv Gandhi. She was the daughter of a loyal supporter of

Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy. Rajiv didn't mind that and in a true democratic spirit of accommodation even changed his name to Robert in order to have a second ceremony in a Catholic Church after his civic registration of marriage with Sonia. I do not know whether further Hindu and Parsi ceremonies were performed by the couple. K.R. Malkani, BJP leader and editor of BJP organ *Observer*, did not mention these additional religious rites in his exposé. I think he merely, referred to the Roman Catholic rites, which Rajiv / Robert had undergone.

Sonia was a very enterprising woman. Sanjay made her an insurance agent for his Maruti Enterprises, and Sonia collected a few lakhs as agent's commissions. Later, she assisted her mother-in-law to drive out Maneka Gandhi from the family residence around midnight of a fateful day. Sonia also owned and managed a lucrative business in the export of coffins, fashioned out of valuable Himachal Pradesh timber.

I do not know and do not care to remember other nefarious activities by the Sonia-Rajiv pair. Anyway, after Rajiv's assassination, Sonia made the necessary decision to remain in India in her palatial home to look after her two brats, Priyanka and Rahul, and to also guard her property,

partly inherited from Rajiv's ill-gotten gains and partly indirectly inherited from the same source via her own father. The sources of her father's wealth were

the remittances that she contributed to send from India, and I am told that Mr. Maino re-willed it back to her when he died.

Some time ago, *India Today*, carried a comprehensive report on the Trusts managed by Sonia. Hundreds of crores of rupees formed the corpus funds of these trusts.

Sonia's prize possession is the Indira Gandhi National Centre of the Arts (IGNCA). In a swift coup carried out last year, under the shadow of the threat of Congress defeat in the impending 11th Lok Sabha elections of April-May 1996, the six trustees of the IGNCA made themselves into trustees for life. This "Gang of Six" comprises of Sonia Gandhi, former

President R. Venkatraman, former Prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, cultural czarina Pupul Jayakar, former media advisor to Indira Gandhi, H.Y. Sharada Prasad, and retired secretary in the Department of culture, Kapila Vatsyayan.

Pupul Jayakar is hell bent on being kicked on her posterior repeatedly. She had made herself life trustee of the Bharat Bhavan, Bhopal, and had been subsequently forced to relinquish her plum post by the new BJP govt. of MP. She has refused to learn from experience and consented to become "life trustee for life" of public funds in IGNCAs last year.

I hope that she will be given another hefty kick on the backside very soon by the new non-Congress govt. at the centre.

I do not know how ex-president Venkatraman dared to carry out such a disgusting manoeuvre in broad daylight. Public funds cannot be misappropriated by life-time trustees.

Sonia of course has no shame. She can and did sell coffins to fill her coffers. Manmohan Singh wanted to give her 50 crores in his first budget, which the parliament shot down.

"The govt has already invested Rs. 120 crores in IGNCAs since it was established in 1987. This includes a grant of Rs. 50 crores as a corpus fund - the largest handout to any government funded cultural institution in the country. But the IGNCAs most valuable asset is 21 acres of land stretching along Rajpath, from the Janpath intersection to the tip of India Gate. Other than these extravagant gifts, the Ministry of Human Resources Development (HRD) is committed to spend another Rs. 160 crore on the IGNCAs buildings." Computing the net value of the IGNCAs when completed, we may estimate as follows:

1 acre = 43,560 sq.ft.

21 acres = 914,760 sq.ft.

@ Rs. 100,000 per sq.ft = Rs. 91,476,000,000 (Even if we assumed a price of merely Rs. 10,000 per sq.ft. the price of the IGNCAs Complex cannot be less than a thousand crores).

There can be no property in Delhi worth more than the IGNCAs property at the corner of Rajpath and Janpath, extending upto India Gate. We are taking a conservative valuation of 1 lakh per sq.ft. and we arrive at a figure of Rs. 9,147 crores. To this must be added the value of the construction which should be around Rs. 250 crores. In short, we may place the real estate worth at about Rs. 10,000 crores.

Is this an amount which the poor people of India are going to allow the Congress- *naukarani* combination to swallow up as life trustees ?

"The sweeping amendments to the IGNCAs original trust deed was hastily ratified on May 18, 1995, by former HRD minister Madhavrao Scindia. Summoned by the high-powered 'Gang of Six', he accepted the changes without question. "The changes were not even examined by the ministry," says an HRD official. Article 7.2 of the deed was changed to create a new category of life trustees. Sonia Gandhi became president of the board of trustees for life while the others were made life trustees. The original trust deed, gazetted on March 19, 1987, had clearly

stipulated that IGNCAs trustees would have 10 year terms. One-third of them were to retire when their terms lapsed in 1997 and the vacancies were to be filled by the government.

"In yet more audacious changes, the 'Gang of Six' has arrogated to itself extraordinary powers. Any three or four of the life trustees can henceforth appoint more 'ex-officio' and 'co-opted' trustees. They can amend the original trust deed without the govt's permission. And they have eliminated the President of India's authority to order a review of IGNCAs affairs.

"In other words, they can co-opt a series of yes-men and yes-women to enforce their decisions and are no longer accountable to the govt. for any further changes they might make. They are also beyond the purview of the President for taking any corrective measures.

"Article 24 of the original deed states that it can be 'amended, altered or modified ... only with the prior written approval of the Govt. of India'. In the changed deed, these operative words have been

omitted. Article 25 of the original deed says that the President, as Visitor of the IGNCAs, can from time to time set up a committee to review its functioning, and that the committee's recommendations 'shall be binding on the Trust'. This article has been dropped altogether.

"Sources in the Department of Culture, HRD Ministry, which, apart from the IGNCAs, funds more than 30 top national institutions (among them the Gandhi Smriti, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, National Museum and the three national academics in Delhi; The Victoria Memorial in Calcutta; and the Salarjung Museum in Hyderabad) say that there is no precedent for such absolute control in any other constitution. A senior official sarcastically describes the IGNCAs deed alterations as 'a marvel of post-modern constitutional engineering'. He pointed out that the interest on IGNCAs corpus fund alone was greater than the annual budget of the three national academics put together. "That

DEFECTS OF CONSTITUTION

The defects of the present Constitution of India, as determined by a self-appointed Dominion Status assembly of 1946-49, are obvious and may be briefly stated :

1. It has entrenched Executive Irresponsibility.
2. It has provided for extreme and overt Corruption, which has gone absolutely unpunished, and for Cost and Time Overruns for all State Undertakings.
3. It has provided for total absence of real Parliamentary control over the *Naukarshahs*.
4. It has sanctioned a system of built-in Legal Delays that has negated the Rule of Law.
5. It has allowed for absence of Right of Information.
6. It has permitted Supremacy of English (as extended from time to time)
7. It has sanctioned no Right to Work or Living or Social Security for "We, the people" (our Preamble too)
8. It has granted unlimited powers to the Congress Speakers, who have thwarted even discussion rights to MPs, on the grounds, mainly, of something being a State Subject, or being Subjudice or being inconvenient to the establishment.
9. It has usurped all State Rights and Revenues, making India, a super-centralised administrative entity.
10. It was called into being whilst India was still under the imperialist iron heel in 1945-6.
11. It has perpetuated a highly biased and elitist educational system.

makes the IGNCa the p̄aramount body of cultural patronage in the entire country."

"Although the track record of members of the 'Gang of Six' confirms their ability to cling to positions of power and patronage, senior bureaucrats ascribe the authoritarian amendments to Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan.

"Apart from being a life trustee, she is also the IGNCa's academic director and the only fully paid member of the 'Gang'.

"A former civil servant, an academic and an ardent supporter of the Gandhi family, she was due to retire as Secretary (Arts) in the Department of Culture in 1986 but continued on extensions till 1990.

"The post was specially created for her to nurture the IGNCa, before she could move in, *in situ*, with a rank of Minister of State.

"She is probably the only Secretary who retired as Minister of State with full perks and privileges and without ever facing an election," says a senior bureaucrat.

"And, now, by virtue of being both the IGNCa's life trustee and academic director, she is, in theory, Minister of State for life."

"Curiously, Dr. Vatsyayan's sister-in-law, Usha Malik, Secretary of the Sangeet Natak Akademi, has lately been in the eye of a storm for refusing to quit despite the Govt's argument that she cannot be given a second two-year extension.

"Contacted for a response to the constitutional changes, Dr. Vatsyayan declined to comment.

"HRD officials predict a rocky path ahead for the IGNCa, and quote the controversial case of Bharat Bhavan in Bhopal, established in 1982 by a legislative Act, with three life trustees - Arjun Singh, state cultural secretary Ashok Vajpayi and painter J. Swaminathan. "The BJP government amended the Act in 1990 and threw out the life trustees. It is lucky for the IGNCa that there is a Congress-friendly Government at the Centre or else all hell would have broken loose by now," says one. (*Ind. Exp.* 24 Sept 1996)

The ruling elite of India has reached the nadir of chicanery and fraud. They are misappropriating hundreds of crores of rupees, as manoeuvred by this worthless *naukarani*, who has no ethics and no morals.

I am sure that the future Government of India, after an overturn will hang Kapila Vatsyayan and Sonia Gandhi from the public square as Mussolini and his mistress were hung in a public square of Milan, 1945.

Unfortunately, the public hanging will prevent the two witches, Kapila and Sonia, from being burnt at the stakes!

THE UP ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1996

In India, all elections are sham. People vote for powerless bodies. We have listed very often the fundamental shortcomings of our constitution, which merely empowers a *naukarshahi*, and

enables a few politicians of the parties in power to loot the people in partnership with the irresponsible, secretive and criminal bureaucracy.

When the Central Lok Sabha itself is a gathering of showpieces, who conduct their thieving and robbing activities in public view, what is the value and worth of state assembly elections? It is a **double zero**!

However, such periodical rearrangements of the privileged classes, are to an extent indicative of mass moods and popular psychology!

The results from the UP assembly elections, Sept-Oct. 1996, indicate that contrary to our earlier prediction of a straight forward facile victory for the BJP, the outcome was a hung assembly, with no party enjoying a majority.

The BJP has lost ground, its popular vote is down by 2% from 33% in 1993 to 31% now, and it has merely secured the

dubious distinction of being the largest single party with a strength of 177 in a house of 425. Just in April-May parliamentary polls it had captured some 60 more assembly segments, i.e., an equivalent overall, of 237 assembly seats! (That is why, our prediction went astray!)

In merely four months the saffron wave has been checked and has receded!

It seems to us that since all elections are to powerless bodies, the electorate has ceased to expect anything from such futile exercises. Therefore freak results, which change in just 4 months, or less, become the norm!

The reasons are, on second thoughts, rather ob-

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 the British Imperialism. It was elected in 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 million 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 & brown sahibs and of bureaucrats & brown sahibs.

vious:

1. The party President L.K. Advani has been charged-sheeted in the Jain Hawala case. The BJP image is no longer even apparently clean! It may not be as black as that of the Congress, but it is certainly quite grey!

2. Its alliance with Samata party of George Fernandes and Nitesh Kumar has yielded nothing. The Samata opportunists have managed merely 2 seats, against their former associate Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party's victories in 109 constituencies.

3. The events in Gujarat have exposed the BJP as merely another combination of careerists and power-seekers, as faction-ridden as the Congress. Shankarsingh Vaghela has broken the State BJP Unit and at least 40 odd MLAs seem to have walked away from the BJP calling themselves Mahagujarat Janata Party, leaving a mysterious number behind in the parent party. In an unprecedented and unprincipled move, the Deve Gowda government has exercised its authoritarian powers under section 356 to dismiss the Gujarat government without verification of strength on the assembly floor, a practice which the Janata Dal and all its UF associates had condemned vigorously all through the years of Congress misrule. The Congress had misused Art. 356, at least 80 times over the last forty years and all the constituents of the

UF had suffered heavily as a consequence. But such is the logic of alliance with the Congress, that those tainted by association become twins of the INC in practice ! Readers of *Mankind* will recall that we have repeatedly stated that those who seek to inherit the Congress-*Naukarshahi* comprador state of India, as it was founded in 1947, are bound to emulate all its evil propensities ! You cannot retain Art. 356 in the Constitution and not exercise the undemocratic powers that flow from it ! You cannot ally yourself with the Congress, without contracting the deadly "AIDS -HIV" Congress virus !

4. The 13 day Central Ministry of BJP had already been blackmailed into surrendering on all important policy issues :

- Vajpayee had declared that English will retain its primacy. No attempt will be made to vigorously promote Hindi ! Comprador culture will endure!

- Uniform Civil Code was not a priority on the BJP gov't's agenda.

- Abrogation of communal Art. 370 relating to exceptional grant of additional powers to Kashmir, was also not a priority.

- The New Economic Policy dictated by WB, IMF and WTO and accepted by Rao-Singh gov't. from mid-1991 was by and large, with minor modifications, quite acceptable to the BJP.

- The Pro-Western tilt of the Congress-*Naukarshahi* gov't. would be continued by the BJP.

Thus the BJP fought the UP elections with hands tied behind its back! There was no central issue ! Corruption could not be made one, because of Advani's involvement in the Jain Hawala scam !

Mathura and Varanasi temple reconstructions are out of the question because of Muslim backlash ! Uniform Civil Code, Kashmir, Hindi Promotion are all non-priorities ! So what is left ? How could the people vote against Congress and for a Congress-clone ?

But such is the irony of Indian shamocracy that the BJP is again in the centre of things. The cynical and vulgar opportunist Kanshi Ram is openly in the market and is bidding for BJP support to install his protegee Mayawati into the CM's gaddi !

The scenario is too comic for words ! Kanshi has given a 24 hour ultimatum to Congress to force UF to support Mayawati's candidature ! BSP may have merely 67 seats against 177 of BJP and 109 of Mulayam (and 133 of UF as a whole), but he wants Congress with 33 seats to compel Mulayam with 109 and UF with 133, to elevate Mayawati !

What a farce Indian elections have become !

Mulayam and Deve Gowda are being openly insulted ! However they are both amenable to bowing and scraping and to immediate and abject surrender !

Are cupidity, cynicism and greed for power greater anywhere else in the world ?

With only 67 seats, having lost the elections very badly, and having come back with fewer seats than in 1993, Kanshi Ram is ordering the Congress and the UF to fall in line behind Mayawati, otherwise he will obtain BJP support !

In short, *Mankind's* prediction of BJP victory is about to come true, inspite of BJP's defeat ! Ha ! Ha ! What a travesty and a half !

Deve Gowda has covered himself with shit, by helping Narasimha Rao to extricate himself from multiple corruption cases !

- His Law Minister Ramakant Khalap of Goa, belonging to a party of exactly one in the Lok Sabha, instructed gov't. lawyers to

NOT oppose Rao's bail applications !

- On security grounds, Rao is being allowed to NOT appear in court, and NOT to go to jail, since according to a Supreme Court judge, M.M. Punchhi, who is about to be elevated as Chief Justice, on out of turn and trumped up grounds. Security Guards were present at the time of Narasimha Rao's birth; and they took care of him whilst Rao was plotting a sympathy wave for the Congress in 1991; and are duty bound to guarantee Rao's life against all dangers; unless otherwise sanctioned by the Supreme Court !

Jyoti Basu is competing with Deve Gowda in the Clowning Stakes ! He has pontificated that a "moratorium should be declared on Corruption for the next five years " (*Ind. Exp.*) Of course, not on corrupt practices of politicians in power, but on enquiries against them ! Have ex-Stalinist goons anywhere in the world fallen lower ?

THE FARCE OF ELECTIONS

As we were writing the above lines, the news has appeared that President's rule has been extended in U.P. for a period of 6 months, thus rendering the electoral process null and void.

All words fail me in describing this utterly absurd situation !

We do not know how many crores were spent by the Government, the political parties and the contestants, for this election. All that expenditure has been to no purpose.

It is strange logic ! The UF government, and the Congress and its allies can indulge in any amount of horse trading and form the shabbiest of opportunistic alliances, but the BJP is not to be allowed any room for manoeuvring, even though it may repeatedly obtain enough votes to become the largest single party in UP, or at the Centre, or in Gujarat ! Why are the UF parties and the Congress afraid of the Indian people ? Surely the Indian people can be trusted to modulate their future voting behaviour on the basis of the knowledge they have gained about BJP's dirty deals. Why are they in such a hurry to prevent the BJP from entering into dirty deals ? Let the House meet under the orders of the Speaker of the last Assembly and let it proceed to elect a new Speaker who will then call upon the leader of the largest party to form the government and obtain the necessary vote of confidence.

This is the simple, direct, democratic thing to do. Why is the Governor being brought into the picture at all ?

All right ! If the present Constitution requires that the Governor summon the Assembly, which is an entirely undemocratic way of doing things, so be it ! Let the Governor call upon the new members to meet in session, and let the Assembly decide whether any party has the requisite strength on its own to rule the State or whether it can cobble together a coalition with independents or with small parties to secure a majority in the House. Why is the Governor being allowed to pre-judge matters ?

This Romesh Bhandari has spent a lifetime stooging for the Congress and he was transferred from Goa to Lucknow by Deve Gowda as instructed by ex-PM Narasimha Rao, without consulting the Cabinet or the Home Minister. The same Bhandari is now nullifying the Assembly elections!

It is high time that the nationalist and socialist revolutionaries of India sat up and took serious notice of the horrible and tragic farce that is being played before our eyes! The poor in India are being bled white! Money is being squandered away in hundreds of crores of rupees, and all this in the name of secularism and democracy?

Have the Indian people lost all sense of proportion and

propriety?

What is going on?

Kanshi Ram blackmails the Indian National Congress and

demands that the Congress force the UF govt, of which Kanshi Ram's party in Parliament is not a member (see our analysis of 1996 Lok Sabha Elections), to accept the candidature of his pro-

IMPERIALIST WORKERS !

From Oct. 12, 1996, huge demonstrations by the proletariat of Paris are taking place, led by the formidable CGT. The workers of Paris were marching and protesting against the cuts in the defence budget, announced by the Chirac-Joupe government.

It is an extra-ordinary situation ! The Cold War has ended, the Stalinist Eastern European Empire is no more, the USSR has split into its 15 constituent units, the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak Federations have broken up, East Germany has been reunited with the West, and yet the French working class doesn't want the defence budget to be cut !

After all, the French armament manufacturers can only sell their output either to the French government, in which case, the defence budget will not go down, or the arms production must be diverted with redoubled fury, to exports to the Third World, who in turn must be induced to fight many more limited wars in order to maintain high wage and employment rates in France.

This is a ridiculous situation ! The workers of France or Great Britain never helped any National Liberation Movement in any colony, in the hey days of their world empires. But, for them to come out in the streets, and demand their right to continue the production of lethal weapons, is absolutely amazing !

Marx preached that the workers of the world have nothing to lose but their chains, but the European proletariat has never been internationalistic in outlook. The European workers and farmers slaughtered each other, in their millions, during the two world wars (see *Mankind*/Vol 1, No.9 June 96, p.3 ff for estimates of casualties and cost of the two World Wars fought during the years 1914-19 and 1939-45).

Several European powers acquired colonies in the 18th and 19th centuries. Not only Britain and France, but no other proletariat of any European Imperialist country, (Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Denmark) ever helped the people of a colony to liberate themselves.

The TUC in Great Britain, faithfully stood by successive Conservative and Labour governments, and vigorously supported the anti-Indian campaigns launched by the British ruling classes. In fact, the Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, was responsible for imposing the Communal Award (1934) upon India, which ultimately led to the Partition of the country in 1947.

This Partition was no ordinary event. 600,000 innocents were massacred and 17 million human beings migrated, from India to Pakistan and vice versa. **The largest single event of migration known to human history !**

The European proletariat knew that the high standards of living and wages, employment rates, and social security benefits, enjoyed by them, were all *directly related to the super-exploitation* of the workers and peasants of the Third World. Even today, they know that without neo-colonial machinations through the WB, IMF and the WTO, they would not be as well off as they are. They know, full well, that the side of the bread that is buttered is the neo-colonial side.

Workers of the world unite ! That's easy to shout to gullible proletariat of the poor, developing countries. But, **the golden chains** that bind fat, white working masses of Europe, increasingly infiltrated by millions of immigrants from abroad, **are too valuable to discard or break.**

We, nationalist and socialist revolutionaries of India, must learn a valuable lesson from the CGT-led marchers of Paris in October 1996 ! **We must never be taken in by the high-sounding and idealistic, internationalist and humanist slogans thrown up by the Labour Leaders of the West.**

We know who they are and what their words are worth !

Workers of the world must **first smash neo-colonialist forces** and **take concrete steps** to realise a World Federation of Socialist States. **Only after that**, We shall talk of the international unity of the working class !

FORWARD TO A WORLD FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST STATES !

SMASH NEO-COLONIALIST OPERATIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD !

DOWN WITH BRAIN-WASHED IMPERIALIST WORKERS !

FIRST END EURO-AMERICAN NEOCOLONIALISM !

NEXT, LET THERE BE A WORLD WORKING CLASS UNITY !

DOWN WITH REFORMIST UNIONISM THAT PROMOTES NEO-COLONIAL SUPER-PROFITS !

LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST NATIONALISM !

tege Mayavati as the Chief Minister of UP! Kanshi has just 67 members in a house of 425! The Congress has only 33! And this is to be for the sake of thwarting the largest single party in the House, the BJP, with 177 members and lacking only 38 more to secure majority. (There are at least 13 independents in the house!)

Nowhere else in the world have we noticed any attempt by any party that is pretending to be democratic, such antics! After all, coalition governments exist all over Europe and scores of Christian parties make and break alliances with all sorts of political formations in order to form and reform governments. I have just heard over BBC and CNN today that in the last 3 years, Japan has had two coalitions and four different Prime Ministers. Italy has had 57 governments in the last 51 years. France, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and many other European countries have witnessed hundreds of coalitions.

Why are the Indian compradors so mean? Why are they so frightened? Let the BJP hang itself with a long rope! The example of Enron in Maharashtra which the BJP denounced and then renegotiated, clearly shows that the BJP would not take many weeks to betray the Indian voters!

Mankind firmly believes that an unworkable Constitution which elevates the executive to supreme power, must break down repeatedly!

Secondly, the present Constitution allows full scope to corruption and denies to Indian citizens the basic right to information. Such a Constitution encourages opportunism amongst powerless elected representatives. Any excuse, then becomes valid for these bankrupt politicians and corrupt *naukarshahs*, to behave in a wilful, autocratic and irresponsible manner.

Deve Gowda and his minion Romesh Bhandari have wasted crores of rupees which belonged to the Indian tax-payers. They have nullified Indian democracy and proved that we have a regime that is sham, fraudulent and criminal!

How long will Indian intellectuals and the Indian people continue to tolerate the Congress and the UF circus of despicable, anti-democratic acrobatics?

JAMMU AND KASHMIR ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1996

The Jammu and Kashmir Assembly elections 1996, have resulted in a landslide victory for the National Conference led by Farooq Abdullah. His party won 57 out of 87 seats. After his victory, some independents and one or two Congressmen have joined him, thus making his majority overwhelming. Farooq Abdullah is a notoriously corrupt son of Sheikh Abdullah, and has enjoyed two earlier stints of misrule from September 1982 to July 1985 and from 1986 Nov. to 1990 January.

Since he was not able to loot the public treasury to an adequate extent, he is now being given a chance to augment his personal fortune to any extent he likes.

Farooq is supposed to have won the elections on the issue of "greater autonomy that autonomy".

On what grounds is the "super autonomy" being demanded?

* As we have noted earlier in *Mankind*, autonomy is not being demanded for Kashmir on any cultural or linguistic grounds. The state language of Kashmir is Urdu and the repositories of Kashmiri Sufi culture, the Pandits, have been ethnically cleansed out of their hearths and homes and are covering in refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi.

Autonomy is not a secularist demand because both Pakistan occupied Azad Kashmir and the Pakistan state itself are non-secular, and are Islamic states by self-proclamation.

* What is the guarantee that Indian troops will not have

to liberate Kashmir, in the same manner as they liberated Bangladesh, once Pakistan establishes predominant influence over Kashmir?

The bulk of the geographical area of J&K state lies in Ladakh and Baltistan where there is no dissidence and no demand for autonomy. The majority of the population of the J&K state lies in Jammu and Kishtwar region, where also there is no dissidence and no demand for autonomy. Thus the central issue is : are any three and a half talukas of India entitled to demand superautonomy on the grounds that the Inter Services Intelligence Agency of Pakistan desires this? Are USA and UK entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of India?

* If it is contended that Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to India very reluctantly, and desired accession on matters only relating to defence, currency and communications, the question is : why are the Maharaja's words or his desires at all relevant? Who was this wretched princeling? He should have welcomed Pakistani troops in 1947-48 and affiliated himself with Pakistan! Once he acceded to India, it is for India to decide which subjects and to what extent they will be handled by the Centre, and which other subjects and to what extent, by the States. It is not for some degenerate feudal relic to decide forever the Centre-State relations between members of the Indian polity.

Maharaja Hari Singh was nothing until the British imperialist scoundrels decided to confer the right of secession and accession upon him, all of a sudden in 1947-48 without consulting the Indian people.

This right the miserable Maharaja exercised in that fateful year, half a century ago. As soon as he exercised the right granted to him arbitrarily by imperialism, India acquired an external border with Pakistan and China, and further acquired the right to determine the shape of State-Centre relationships for Kashmir.

* The J&K State Assembly has been totally unrepresentative right from the start. Its strength was 75 upto the present poll. A minority of its population living in the Kashmir valley elected a majority of the Assembly members, 45 against 30 elected by the majority of the state population. With an increase in the number of seats to 87, this assembly has been further skewed.

Though Farooq claims to have won some seats in Jammu as well as Ladakh, the whole shamocratic exercise is nonsensical. The Indian Army "persuaded" the people to vote for Farooq's National Conference because that is what the Deve Gowda govt, overwhelmingly desired.

Farooq has decided to join the UF govt. in Delhi and he is going to appoint a man in Deve Gowda's Cabinet of crooked opportunists.

Now a committee will be appointed to scrutinise details of the super autonomy to be granted to Kashmir. Farooq made a tearful promise of "remaining a part of India" when taking oath of office, but so long as the people of India do not have the right to acquire property or hold jobs, or freely enter and leave Kashmir, all assurances of being a part of one nation, are fraudulent and deceptive. Either Kashmir acquires the same status as other states of the Indian Union, or Kashmir will become the starting point of swift disintegration of India.

It is true that the present Centre-State relations are lopsided in favour of the Centre and many more powers should devolve upon the States. But that is a different matter, that will be decided by the Indian people. Maharaja Hari Singh's wishes or commitments have nothing to do with the process of restructuring the future Federation of the Socialist states of India.

IN COMPRADOR INDIA, EDUCATION IS A STRUGGLE

On 23.10.96, 5 students of the FTII commenced an indefinite hunger strike as part of the general *hartal*, over their two-point demand for restoration of the 3-year course, approved by the Academic Council of the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII) on 18.9.96, but illogically and insensitively reversed by the Governing Council and by the Information and Broadcasting Minister, C.M. Ibrahim. It would be advisable for Ibrahim to devote whatever little time he has to spare from his momentous manoeuvre to induct Mayawati, the "Dalit Kanya" in the UF cabinet, and devote a few seconds to more important matters, that have placed in dire straits the children of the *Janata* that he claims to represent.

Before the commencement of the fast, Dr. Vinayak Purohit, Executive Editor of this journal, author of *Sociology of Indian Films*, 1991, and *Arts of Transitional India : 20th Century* 1988, and frequent visitor to the FTII in the past years as Guest Professor, addressed the students at the Gate, with a few words of encouragement. Dr. Purohit said that it was a simple matter of bad faith. A corrupt, irresponsible and criminal *naukarshahi* had seized power in 1947 with the help of a gang of the then British imperialist rulers and comprador Congress politicians. It had become all-pervasive and all-knowing. It was rank bad faith and treachery on the part of the Governing Council to go back on the assurances and official recommendations given by the Academic Council, at the end of the earlier round (April 1996) of student agitation.

Dr. Purohit also released the latest issue (# 2, October 1996) of *Titash* the journal of the Students Association of the FTII.

The five students on fast belong to both first and second year batches. Their names are Lalit Tiwari, Shirsha Roy, Fauzia Fatima, Argya Basu and Nihar Ranjan Bhattacharya. The students have also sought to arrest the privatisation and auto-finance measures being introduced by the institute authorities for student batches who will be entering from this year onwards. The authorities have proposed an enhancement of tuition fees by 30 to 40 percent, as the first step in a long series. Such increases should be rescinded. This process of step by step enhancement of student fees leading to total auto-finance is a trend in the wrong direction and will eventuate in big corporations, especially ad agencies and media barons, or very affluent sections of society, sponsoring students and monopolising the public education facilities.

The crisis at the FTII, it is reliably learnt, has been precipitated by one Ravi Gupta, a worthless *naukarshah* member of the Indian Police Service, who has manoeuvred to place himself at the head of the National Film Development Corporation and thus climb into a niche in the Governing Council of the FTII. All this, Gupta was able to accomplish, during the recently-ended tenure of the infamous ex-PM P.V. Narasimha Rao, who is an accused in multiple criminal trials now underway in Delhi. Rao was temporarily at large for High Security Reasons, though an accused in numerous criminal cases, ranging from simple cheating (Lakhubhai Pathak case of 1 mn. US \$, with co-accused the notorious godman and influence peddler Chandraswami, alias Nemi Jain, presently lodged in Tihar jail), forgery (St. Kitt's Case), bribery (4 JMM MP's case of receiving Rs. 3.5 crores from Narasimha Rao's agents), and general widespread misappropriation of funds from diverse sources (1 crore from Harshad Mehta, unknown amounts from Sukh Ram, from S.K. Jain of Jain Hawala Fame; and from the 133-crore Urea Scam

perpetrators, which sub-gang included PV's son Prabhakar Rao, and several other such defalcations.)

It appears that this upstart and boulder from the Police called Ravi Gupta, took the initiative in over-turning the September decision of the Academic Council and of Mahesh Bhatt, the Chairman of the FTII, in favour of the restoration of the three years course, making it a prestige issue. Gupta has obviously powerful links in the I&B ministry, which has unnecessarily involved itself in an unseemly manner in an entirely academic matter. A meaningless and dilatory fax message was read at the gathering of students by Shammi Nanda, Student Association President, from Javed Akhtar, Private Secy., to the I&B Minister, which said that the Minister had received the representation from the Student Association, had spoken to Mahesh Bhatt, and feels that it will require time for him to decide. Ibrahim advised the students not to take any action till he had had time to ponder over the matter!

It is sad that students in India are being forced to go on hunger strikes merely in order to ensure that they receive proper and useful education spread over a fair span of time! Under present abysmal standards of education, it is obvious that two years is hardly any time to prepare the students for a professional career in the wild jungle of the commercial free markets of the Bombay Bollywood and in the Chhota Bollywoods of Madras, Bangalore, and Hyderabad. A student does need more time to learn and absorb, the teachers being what they are (largely hesitant souls, who have opted for the low-paid safe teaching jobs, fearing their failure in the market-place of masala film production).

One can only hope that sense will prevail in the I&B Ministry, and that the new UF government of "the simple farmer" Shri H. D. Deve Gowda, will prove in action that it is more sensitive to *Janata's* demands, and is more civilised and cultured than its predecessor Congress government, which had no time for anything else and wholly devoted to the generation and management of financial scams, designed to somehow beat the Criminal Procedure and Indian Penal Codes and its loose crime-crushing provisions.

Imagine an ex-PM being involved in a section 420 case!
Can India sink lower!

We trust that the travails of the FTII students will be short-lived, that breach of faith will be acknowledged by I&B Minister, and faith restored by reintroduction of the 3-year course and a reversal of the ferocity of the "Privatisation and Auto-Finance" launched by the earlier Congress Govt. of Narasimha Rao - M. Singh under the new UF government.

The last development is that CM Ibrahim has through the National Broadcast over DD and AIR, invited the strike leaders to Delhi for talks on 29th Oct. We have not been officially informed of the students' response but we have been reliably told that the student's leaders will meet the minister, without accepting any pre-conditions (like withdrawal of hunger strike, etc.) Since there is no written fax message as yet from Shri Ibrahim, it is not known whether he has set any preconditions.

It would have been better for the minister to demonstrate in action that he is qualitatively different from his Congress predecessors, by taking his special plane (he is the Civil Aviation Minister too) to Pune to meet the hunger strikers and other student leaders in person. Shri Mahesh Bhatt, Chairman, had already flown to Bangalore, where Ibrahim was politicking for the Janata Party candidates for Bangalore Municipal Corporation, and then found the time to come down to Pune to meet the students. This was a very decent gesture by Mahesh Bhatt.

Ibrahim could have invited the student leaders for talks many weeks ago. Anyway, it is better late than never. But since the Min-

ister is responsible for the delayed response, causing the students to go ahead, it is obvious that he should not set any *naukarshahi* preconditions.

The Postal and Telecom strike is not being withdrawn (portfolio in the hands of Beni Prasad Verma of Mulayam's Samajwadi Party, and in fact the Army has been inducted as strike breaking agents.)

I think working class action all over the country is heating up, as the expectations of the people are running high, whilst through the Common Minimum Programme and in other ways the defeated Congress is pressurising the UF govt. to perform dirty deeds against the people so that a situation of " no difference " is created amongst the voters. As soon as this goal of a forced apathetic reaction on the part of the people has been achieved, the Congress will surely withdraw support to Deve Gowda and precipitate a mid-term Parliamentary poll.

Another indication is Congress ally Kanshi Ram's forthright physical assault upon journalists yesterday (25.10.96). Kanshi Ram is the *goonda* whose protege Dalit Kanya Mayawati is being thrust upon the UF govt. by the new Congress President Sitaram Kesri. Kanshi Ram and his followers have battered Delhi journalists, wrecking cameras and other valuable equipment, and sending 4 media persons to hospital, precisely because he is being thwarted in his bid to drag both the Congress and the 13 party UF alliance behind his favourite Mayawati. Kanshi is being forced to negotiate with the BJP on unequal terms and the BJP is demanding not only Deputy CM's post in UP, but also 3:1 proportion in Ministry in BJP's favour!

Thus a small event like a hunger strike by FTII students is getting embroiled in much larger national whirlpools : UP Assembly elections, Bangalore Municipal Corporation's elections, Kanshi Ram's frustrated casteist politics, the general rise in temperature of working class struggles in the country, Congress strategy to discredit the UF govt. to the point of causing " popular apathy", the BJP's efforts to rein in Kanshi Ram's Dalit hordes, and so on.

THIS IS INDIA 1996, WHERE EDUCATION IS A FIERCE STRUGGLE !

STOP PRESS

We have just heard that the students of the FTII have won a partial victory after their meeting with the I&B Minister on 30.10.96. A reference is to be made once again to the Governing Council, in order to reinstitute the 3-year study course.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZES AS NEO-COLONIAL PLOYS

We draw the attention of the readers of *Mankind* to MK Vol 1, No. 10, July 1996, pp 48-49, where we have replied to Peter Manuel's letter from New York and where we have published two boxes on Amboina and East Timor. These two boxes we are re-printing here.

Mankind was prescient! At the time when he was an absolute unknown, *Mankind* had identified Jose Ramos Horta, the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize part-winner, as an East Timorese of almost pure Portuguese descent, who had the looks of a ruffian and a CIA-agent, who was appearing on CNN claiming horrific atrocities by the Indonesians against the people of East Timor!

To the credit of *Mankind*, let it be noted that the person whom *Mankind* has identified as an enemy of the national liberation

movements in the Third World, be it Indonesia or India or any where else, is bound to be rewarded sooner or later by the neo-colonialist powers of Euro-America! Not necessarily with the Nobel Peace Prize everytime, but some big moolah is likely to come his way if *Mankind* has identified the person as the enemy of the people!

I am not claiming any great influence or circulation for *Mankind*. I am only asserting that logically, and delving into the essence of the ideological standpoint of *Mankind*, he who is identified as the villain by us is sure to be recognised as a hero by our class enemies!

This is exactly what has happened in the case of Jose Ramos Horta.

The other half of the 1996 Peace Prize was bagged by Reverend Belo, another East Timorese and a Roman Catholic priest. What great leverage USA proposes to acquire through this half-Nobel to Belo, a Christian priest with a following of at the most a few hundred thousand in an Islamic country, with a population of 190 millions, can only be left to the imagination of our readers. But America is desperate because originally the CIA had projected Suharto and had cuddly relations with him for the last 30 years. Now in all probability, Suharto is dying, and America is preparing for the succession struggle. The East Timorese are nothing, are not even *chirkoot* pawns! They will be abandoned without ceremony as previously the Amboinese were. America just wants some time to manoeuvre and it has started the game with the East Timorese and possibly also via Meghawati Sukarnoputri.

In the meantime, it should not escape the sharp notice of *Mankind* readers that Indonesia has launched its prestigious symbol, the national car, which has been named Timor, like Malaysia's flagbearing automobile Proton. It is not likely that Indonesian generals fattened by three decades of bribe-taking, will relax their grip on the new prestigious name, Timor, or even on East Timor.

In *Mankind* Vol 1, No. 11/12, Aug/Sep. '96, p. 48, we had penned the following para : ' Aung San Suu Kyi is like many recent Nobel Prize winners - useful as a probe, but unable to do anything substantial. She remains under house arrest or equivalent, and harangues the crowds from behind picket fences. Though a degression, I would like to mention that impotency has affected several Nobel winners like Suu Kyi, the 14th Dalai Lama, Yasser Arafat, and Nelson Mandela who is running a pro-white administration is S-Africa. Why do these cowardly fools accept the tainted Noble Prizes ? What do they think they are getting ? Do they know how much they are giving ?'

The Noble Peace Prizes over the recent years have been particularly obnoxious and have been awarded to the worst foreign agents in Third World countries (Even the Second World was thought to be penetrated by the 1990 award to Mikhail Gorbachev). The most blatant and shameful awards were to the racialisists De Clerk in 1993 and Yitzak Rabin and Shimon Peres in 1994, under the camouflage of honouring the comprador traitors Nelson Mandela and Yasser Arafat (In the same way, several years earlier, the warmonger Henry Kissinger had been honoured along with Le Duc Tho of Vietnam, but who rent asunder the bourgeois chicanery by refusing to share the prize with the scoundrel Henry Kissinger. We have been referring to the symbolic gesture of defiance by little Vietnam repeatedly in *Mankind's* Credo published Vol 1, No. 1, Oct. 95 and republished in Vol 2, No. 1, Oct. 96)

The Nobel Peace Prize though nominally awarded by the

Norwegian Parliament, is really under the influence of USA. It must also be remembered that Norway is a loyal member, from its foundation, of NATO, the military arm of Euro-American neo-colonialism. We may also recollect that Norway brokered the recent shameful deal between the PLO and Isreal, a deal that is so one-sided that Arafat is now begging on his knees in front of Netanyahu that Palestine may be at least considered a semi-State, that Hebron be evacuated, that free movement between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank may be permitted, and also between Arab enclaves within the West Bank and between them and Jerusalem. From the time of Tyrgrve Lie, the first Norwegian General Secretary of the UN, Norway has been deeply involved with the USA in all major "dirty tricks", usually instigated by the CIA. Now

to this illustrious band of traitors and foreign agents planted in the Third World by the US- Norway Nobel Peace Prize Selection Committee, the names of Reverend Belo & Jose Horta have been added.

In an Islamic country of 19 crores, Belo and Horta belonging to a miniscule Roman Catholic minority in East Timor, numbering hardly 7 lakhs, are to become the spearheads of a Great Liberation War of the East Timorese! No reason has ever been advanced as to why the CIA's darling general Suharto should act against the Papuans of East Timor when no such complaints are being made by the much larger number of Papuans who live across the Timor Strait in Irian Barat, which is the western part of Papua New Guinea.

AMBOINA : A TOMBSTONE IN THE DUTCH IMPERIALIST CEMETRY

Amboina : An island in the Moluccas province of the Indonesian Archipelago, area 314 Sq. miles, pop. (1957) 72,679. As the Portuguese have acted in East Timor, so had the Dutch in Amboina. As imperialist sponsors of fissiparous antinational "movements"!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EAST TIMOR : A NEO-COLONIAL DIVERSIONARY TACTIC

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

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

East Timor has a land area of 14,925 km² (0.78% of the land area of Indonesia) East Timor was under Portuguese occupation and the Portuguese refused to quit till they were forcibly kicked out, in 1974, when East Timor was merged into Indonesia. Thus, it will be seen that East Timor is an insignificant part of Indonesia being less than one percent of its area.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The American attempt at subversion is so silly and absurd that it is doomed to failure.

I feel that General Suharto's real health condition has become known to the Americans. That is why they are so desperately clutching at straws like the East Timorese Catholic duo, whose only qualification is that they had consistently supported the classical colonial regimes of the Dutch and the Portuguese over Indonesia upto 1949 and 1975!

M F HUSAIN'S TIRESOME ANTICS

Readers of *Mankind* know that we have identified Husain as a cad, a small-time cheat, a time-server, and an operator for whom no publicity stunt is taboo.

We had noted that Husain was a strong supporter of Indira's Emergency regime in 1975-77; that the executive director of *Mankind* was a witness to his prostration at the feet of Rajnarain in 1977 and that he slid back to the status of a devotee of Durga-Indira from 1980. Whoever is in power, that person is God and Muhammad combined to Husain.

It is not necessary to use a steam roller to crush a vulgar butterfly and irritating gnat like Maqbool Fida Husain.

He is a greedy and worthless cad, who borrows paintings sold earlier to a patron and friend, on the grounds of holding a Retrospective, and then resells the works at higher prices, which amount he quietly pockets in its entirety!

The man is beneath contempt.

Now the comprador repositories of culture are out in the streets, to defend Husain's artistic rights to freedom of expression in general, and of freedom to render Indian Goddesses in nude in particular. Khajuraho and Konarak are being cited, as though the lilliput and micro-organism, Husain's output was capable of being compared to masterpieces of Indian Art!

Let us have some intellectual honesty and decency in disputation!

If Husain is such a great iconoclast and a dazzling spirit upholding the right of freedom of expression, why doesn't he dare paint the Prophet, not in the nude. Oh no!, just his portrait, completely covered! Or why doesn't he paint the Prophet's wives, again completely clad?!

After all, they were about ten, each with distinct personal and tribal traits, which could be investigated and discussed. Why does he insist on depicting saints and goddesses of non-islamic religions? Proverbial Hindu tolerance is not to be made into a shield by cowardly communalist bullies!

Supposing some member of the Sangha Parivar decided to exercise his right of freedom of artistic expression and painted the Prophet and his wives? What will Husain and his supporters say to that? Or must India be racked continuously by public riots, caused by trivialities?

After all, what was Salman Rushdie's crime? Rushdie had merely fantasized that, at a certain point of time, the prostitutes of Baghdad had done a roaring business, after rechristening themselves with the names of the Prophet's wives! This was a stupid under-graduate joke by a little mind!

Husain doesn't have the intellectual ability to be either an atheist or an agnostic. His attempt to portray the great religious faiths of the world in a grand mural, is a ludicrous and idiotic attempt. The poster-painter of yesterday's film heroines, is qualified to paint only a close-up of his own boots, rather of his filthy, infection-bearing bare feet!

It is like the stage and film actors who begin to give themselves grand airs, because some silly financiers and petty direc-

tors, have given them a chance to portray some important historic characters, in a stage-drama or on the big/small screen!

These painters and actors are like the dogs who march underneath loaded carts, carrying illusions that they are the load-bearers.

Nobody has yet threatened Husain with any physical harm but the Bajrang Dal swiftly brought Husain to his senses by attacking where it hurt most, Husain's purse! They destroyed some scribbles and coloured doodles of Husain at that Gufa in Ahmedabad.

The coward Husain immediately caved in. The bubble was swiftly punctured! Forgotten were his earlier defiant statements, asserting his democratic freedom to interpret, criticise and venerate in his own unique personal manner! Husain apologised fully and unconditionally!

But remember, Husain is a dog with a twisted tail. After apologising unconditionally and prostrating himself at the feet of Rajnarain, he reverted to his evil ways, to boot-lick Indira's feet!

Furthermore, he has tasted blood! He has received tremendous publicity, for something trivial and inconsequential. He is not going to give up, the theme of goddesses. In fact, for him, Madhuri Dixit is Saraswati, Durga and Laxmi, all rolled into one. Therefore, he will assert his right to artistic expression and persist in his stupid vulgarities.

Our comprador culture deserves upstarts and bounders like M F Husain! And Husain complements and makes complete our compra culture!

HISTORIC JUSTICE WELCOMED!

We are not liberal bourgeois reformers and therefore are not enamoured of "judicial activism" of recent vintage. We know what the judiciary is. It is merely one of the four wings of the *naukarshahi*, the civil service, the army, and the police, being the other three. This is the *chaturang* or *shatranj* of the bourgeois state's repressive class rule. Chess lovers know, in the old feudal army, (as of India), there were 6 forces - the king, the vizier (the Western queen), the elephant (the Western rook), the camel (the Western bishop), the horse (the Western knight), and the foot soldiers (the Western pawns). Perhaps that is why the Indians called their game *Shatranj* (6-sided play) from which the Persian *shatranj* and the European chess must have been later derived.

We don't have to delve deep into the judiciary's murky past. Supreme Court Justice Ramaswamy escaped impeachment by blackmailing Congress MPs into abstention. Led by Bhagwati, the Supreme Court sanctified India's heinous Emergency. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court was forced to resign after getting caught in a Hawala scandal. It is not necessary to multiply such shameful instances. Right now there is Justice Punchhi sitting on the Supreme Court bench, who feels that the special security cover should be made available to Narasimha Rao till his death, even if that occurs in prison. Rao is not Narasimha, but a Karna born with an impenetrable armour, and no judge can deprive him of this armour, unlike what Krishna managed on behalf of Arjuna in the old days.

However, *Mankind* warmly applauds the Supreme Court judgement delivered by Justice Kuldip Singh and Justice Faizanuddin on November 4, 1996, ordering Capt. Satish Sharma, ex-pilot, ex-Rajiv crony, ex-Petroleum Minister, to pay Rs. 50 lakhs to the govt. exchequer as exemplary damages for the "illegal and arbitrary" allotment of 15 petrol pumps to his relations and friends.

"The court said while deciding the damages it had come to the conclusion that since Sharma was dealing with public prop-

erty (petrol pumps) and he was a trustee of these properties, the "government by the people" had to be compensated. "We further direct that the sum shall be paid by Sharma within nine months from today. The sum of Rs. 50 lakhs if not paid by that time shall be recoverable as arrears of land revenue," the judges said in their order (*Ind. Exp.*, 5 Nov. '96)

Over the last 50 years, the Congress - *naukarshah* regimes have filched hundreds and thousands of crores from the people of India. Never has a single penny been returned to them. This is the first time that an evil wrongdoer, caught with his hands in the till, is being ordered to compensate the sovereign and free people of India.

Mankind congratulates loudly and clearly Justices Kuldip Singh and Faizanuddin for their bold step.

As readers of *Mankind* know, this is a comprador Constitution, designed to protect and promote a corrupt and irresponsible bureaucracy. Nevertheless, to find a way out of the comprador maze and punish a criminal-in-power, is a wonderful innovation!

Now the Supreme Court must take heart, and use Sharma's proven swinishness and salutary punishment as a precedent, and settle scores with other malefactors and rascals.

Mankind demands that lakhs and crores be realized immediately from the following wrongdoers :

- Sheila Kaul, the former Housing Minister, must be made to disgorge the crores of rupees of black money that she managed to collect from those who received "out of turn" allotments of houses, flats and shops.

- Former Finance Minister Manmohan Singh declared at the time of the Harshad Mehta Securities Scam that he was "not going to lose his sleep over the spectacular rise (Sensex at 4,600 and above) in the Bombay Stock Exchange." Since Harshad Mehta and other scamsters, hawalamen and cheap *goondas* robbed the nationalised banks of the country, and as the people of India own these banks, Manmohan Singh must be made to pay hundreds of crores back to the people of India. To those who are anxious to certify that Manmohan Singh is personally not corrupt, *Mankind* wants to make it clear the question is not of personal impropriety. The matter is of breach of trust and mismanagement of public property. Let Manmohan recover the entire amount from other looters. That is not our problem. That is Manmohan's private worry. Let the Supreme Court act on behalf of the people of India and recover the entire amount lost by the nationalised banks.

- P V Narasimha Rao has cheated Lakhubhai Pathak of one lakh dollars. That could be considered a private feud, provided Narasimha Rao were not a Prime Minister. Since Narasimha Rao cheated Lakhubhai in his capacity as Ministers, Lakhubhai is entitled to receive full compensation from the govt. of India who must collect the full amount from Narasimha Rao.

In the St. Kitt's forgery case, Narasimha Rao harmed V P Singh and Ajay Singh because of the authority he possessed as External Affairs Minister. Therefore he must compensate the people of India for "breach of trust". Later the people may award any compensation that they like to V. P. Singh and his son which is appropriate and which VP and Ajay may reasonably demand.

As for the thousands of Sikhs killed in Delhi riots whilst Narasimha Rao was Home Minister, the entire amount of compensation must be recovered from Narasimha Rao and the Congress Party. Let the Congress Party collect voluntary contributions from its members and sympathisers. That is a Congress problem. The people of India are not concerned. What the Supreme Court and the Delhi High Court have to do is to meet the demands of natural justice. Let the 3000 or 6000 Sikh victims' families be fully and fairly compensated at the cost of

Narasimha Rao, Buta Singh, HKL Bhagat and other living or dead Congress leaders and their heirs. To the extent that Rajiv was involved, Sonia must pay up.

In the Urea Scam, Narasimha Rao's liability is very clear. He must pay up with interest the entire Rs. 133 crores advance paid to Karsan, less whatever is recovered from Karsan, its owners and its Indian partners and agents.

As far as the JMM bribery and vote buying case is concerned, here again it is not a personal matter. Rao faced the no-confidence motion as PM of India, and saved his *gaddi* through bribery as PM. 'Exemplary damages' must be paid by him for demeaning and defaming the democratic regime that belongs to the people of India.

- Former Telecommunications Minister Sukh Ram must not only pay all the money he received as cash bribes, but all the properties, shares, gold, jewellery, etc. that he made during the period that he was public servant. If this "self-made Minister" pleads lack of means or bankruptcy, let the Congress Party repay to the people of India all the loss suffered by the people due to Sukh Ram's wrong doing. After all it was the Congress Party that made Sukh Ram, a worthless scoundrel, a Minister!

- Similarly down the line, the Congress Party whose nominees have committed the overwhelmingly largest number of crimes against the Indian people during the last 50 years, must be made to pay back to the last penny all that they have stolen from the poor people of India. After all, the MRTPL houses whom we have named in our earlier statistical compilations (*MK*, May 1996, p. 65 and July. 1996, p. 17), including especially, the Tatas, Birlas, the Ambanis, Ruias, Goenkas, Singhanias, Thapars, Mafatlals, Mahindras, as well as the owners of multinationals like L&T, ITC, Hindustan Lever, ICI, etc. who have built up assets worth thousands of crores of rupees with the help of licences, quotes and permits, granted by successive Congress governments from Nehru to *naradham* Rao, should compensate the Congress Party.

After all, historic accounts must all be settled and we must all remember that history forgives and forgets nothing and no one.

WAGES OF SIN EXTRACTED !

We have already reported on the first piece of good news that appeared in the morning papers of 5 November, 1996. At last Satish Sharma has been ordered to compensate the poor people of India for his loot of the public treasury.

A second news item was also on the positive side. Delhi magistrate Prem Kumar denied bail to *Naradham* Rao, but gave him time to appeal to the Supreme Court.

But a third item of wonderful news appeared on the same 5th November morning. When it rains, it really pours ! At about 3 o'clock in the morning of 5th Nov. 1996, President Leghari, at long last acted and dismissed Benazir Bhutto's corrupt, inefficient and murderous government, called for elections on Feb 3, 1997, and appointed Meraj Khalid, former Speaker as caretaker P.M. Benazir's husband Asif Zardari has been arrested along with Punjab Governor Saroop Khan.

It is no use citing numerous past cases of dismissals of "elected" governments. Elections in Pakistan are even more farcical than in many other shamocratic elections in the Third World ! In our article on "India and Her Neighbours" (*MK*, No 11/12, Aug/Sep 1996, pg 39-49), we have placed Pakistan in the feudal category along with Afghanistan, Nepal, and the Maldives. There are no democratic elections in Pakistan, as Land Reforms were never carried out. The entire Pakistan countryside continues to be ruled by zamindars and their goons.

We have disliked, hated and held in contempt this rubbishy woman Benazir Bhutto from the beginning. She is the epitome of compradorism. Her father was the usual worthless Sindhi landlord/ zamindar. He studied in Britain and USA. Benazir herself has some silly English University background. The father Zulfikar was executed by the Army Chief Zia-ul-Haq in 1979.

After her father's death, Benazir put on the airs of a martyr and used her pretty face and Anglo-Pakistani accent to make a mercenary marriage with Zardari, a Baluchi zamindar / landlord who belonged to the same feudal set. The marriage took place in 1987, and taking advantage of the exile of her two brothers, this criminal couple seized all Bhutto properties.

One brother was assassinated in France whilst in exile, the other brother Murtaza dared to return to Pakistan but Benazir's police murdered him in September this year.

The criminal couple thought that their seizure of ancestral Bhutto property could no longer be challenged.

Zardari was known all over the world as " the 10 percent man " during Benazir first stint as PM in 1987-90. During her second term, the current one from 1993 to 1996, he elevated himself, to become famous/notorious as " the 40% man " ! He acquired property worth millions of pounds in England (country house and estate in Surrey, flats in London etc.) Zardari flew to London about a week ago to leave his three children there and returned to brazen it out in Pakistan.

Normally, *Mankind* would be sympathetic to a woman Prime Minister. but Benazir was a rotter to the core. She was so stupid and irresponsible that the only Guinness World Record that she holds is probably that of gestating two brats whilst in office ! As though family planning did not exist !

Benazir ordered the killing of her brother Murtaza for somewhat mysterious reasons. Of course, she secured all the Bhutto properties, and there was no love lost between Murtaza and Zardari. Still Zulfi Bhutto's wife Nusrat was attached to her son and Mrs. Zardari needed to preserve as many of as her Bhutto connections as possible. But politics in Pakistan has a Byzantine flavour ! Not everything is brought out into the open !

But we should not attach too much importance to Murtaza's killing. After all Benazir was responsible for the killing of over 5,000 members and followers of MQM (Mohajir Quami Movement) which represented the Indian muslims who had migrated and settled in West Pakistan after 1947. The MQM provided the classic refutation of the Anglo-Pakistani thesis and theory that

Hindus and Muslims constituted "two nations"!

Deve Gowda has announced that the Benazir downfall was an internal affair of Pakistan ! The man is simply non-compos ! Does he think that the world arena is the same as the Karnataka countryside ?

Mankind believes that India should come out into the open and demonstrate its solidarity and fraternity with the people of Pakistan. Since August 1996 we have entered into the fiftieth year of fractured independence. We should abolish all visa restrictions between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. We should also free all genuine 100%. Pakistani manufacturers from custom duties. We should build up at a massive scale, and at the grass roots popular level cultural, contacts between the peoples of Pakistan and India.

What are we afraid of ? We must remember that we fought for the freedom of Pakistan and did succeed in freeing them from British yoke. In the freedom movement we were Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs all together. We fought in Punjab and Sindh, and in Frontier Province and in Baluchistan as one nation.

The Muslim League never fought for Pakistan's freedom. They merely inherited from amicable negotiations and decisive help of British imperialism.

We are not sorry that the Pakistanis obtained the gift of freedom from British imperialism out of the Indian people's freedom struggle. We are happy that we forced the retreat of imperialism both from India and Pakistan.

That is why we have the moral right to demand the reunification of the peoples of India and Pakistan and demand all such steps as would lead to such reunification !

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN !

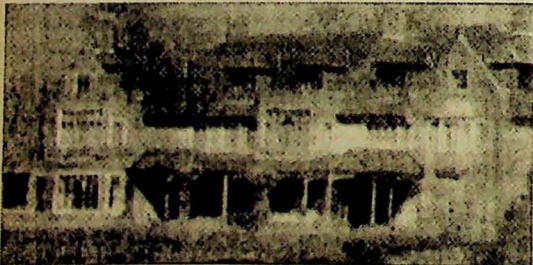
DOWN WITH THE LANDLORD - GOONDA RAJ OF THE BHUTTOS AND THE ZARDARIS !

LET ALL VISA RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN BE REMOVED !

LET CUSTOM BARRIERS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BE DRASTICALLY LOWERED, AND FOR 100% PAKISTAN MANUFACTURES BE ABOLISHED !

LET US CELEBRATE THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE WITH A REUNIFICATION OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN !

HAWALA REAL ESTATE



Zardari's Rockwood Estate in Surrey, Southeast England

Area	355 acres
Value	Around £ 2.5 million (Rs. 12.5 crores)
Current Owner	Bought in the name of an off-shore company registered on the Isle of Man, for Asif Zardari. Proof : Threats to sue newspapers for libel for printing these allegations not pursued.
Previous Owners	Unnamed Hong Kong businessman. The exiled King Constantine of Greece.
Basic	Nine bedroom mock-Tudor house, with an indoor swimming pool.
Extras	A landing strip.
Security	Wired up with a 'state-of-the-art security system', linked directly to Scotland Yard.
Improvements	Rejected : Application to Surrey Council for permission to build an 'Arabian Stud Farm' on the grounds. Accepted : Application to build loose (horse) boxes on the estate.

Source : *Indian Express*, Aug. 29, 1996.

SINDH IS BURNING

H U Bhatti

Sindh, a land of peace and harmony, covers an area of more than 50,000 square miles, extending northwards from the Indian Ocean and straddling the Indo-Pak border. Watered by mighty Indus River, Sindh is rich with agriculture and natural resources including oil, gas, coal, diamonds, gold and uranium. Inhabited by approx 40 million Sindhis, descendants of original inhabitants Dravidians and subsequent settlers, with their distinct culture, language and civilisation i.e. Indus Civilisation, considered to be about ten thousand years old, and still surviving in the villages and towns of Sindh.

Throughout its ten thousand years history, Sindh has largely remained independent, except for few small periods in between, until 1843 when it was conquered by the English. In 1947, when British rulers decided to leave India, instead of restoring the independent status of Sindh, as per the traditions, Sindhis were asked to join India or Pakistan. Having no other choice i.e. independence, Sindhis decided to join the newly created state of Pakistan on the basis of Pakistan Resolution of 1940, which promises ".....the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

However, these promises were never fulfilled by the subsequent governments and the military dictators, who have ruled the country for most of its life, resulting in the separation of Bangladesh and discontent among the remaining nations. This discontent is further enhanced by the lack of government which ensures the basic rights to all the people and prevents exploitation by the majority province.

Sindh with its immense richness has always attracted invaders including Zarthushtra and his followers, Alexander and the Greeks, Persians, Mongols, Arabs, settled in Sindh and native Sindhis were forced to leave their country. Furthermore the transfer of population continues to take place, resulting in the disproportionate imbalance of the population resulting in the increasing tension between the native

Sindhis and immigrant Muhajirs. This tension between the communities further heightened by the demand by the immigrants for a separate homeland dividing Sindh into two portions, and the use of force to achieve this objective, evidenced by the present crisis in Karachi, the capital city of Sindh.

It is estimated that there are more than five million illegal immigrants in Sindh including Biharis, Bengalis, Burmese, Afghans, Vietnamese, Bosnians, etc. Sindhis feel threatened by the continued illegal immigration and settlement of Muhajirs in the urban towns and neocolonisation and settlement of Punjabis, in the rural areas, supported by the military dominated by Punjabis. As per the government figures, more than 8 million acres of land has been allocated to military personnel and other settlers in Sindh, forcing the native Sindhis to abandon their centuries old ancestral villages and homes, without due compensation or alternate arrangements.

The continued involvement of some political parties in terrorism including torture and murder of innocent civilians, as also evidenced by Amnesty International (AIINDEX : ASA 33/05/93) is beyond dispute.

The most prominent among them being Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), who have reportedly been involved in the kidnapping, torture, rape and murder of many innocent civilians, specially Sindhis. On 1st October 1988, more than 200 innocent women, children and elderly people were massacred by terrorists, and the victims identified the assailants as the MQM activists to the then Chief minister of Sindh, Akhtar Kazi. The cases registered against the terrorists are still pending in the courts, but the offenders have been released for political reasons, whereas the victims are still awaiting legal relief and compensation.

Since then, there have been numerous other testimonies and evidence of the continued involvement of MQM in

the terrorist activities including kidnapping, torture, rape and murder of innocent civilians, political opponents and their own dissidents.

One of the senior and prominent journalist Mr. Salahuddin, Editor of the magazine ' *Takbir* ' was recently assassinated by the terrorists in his office. It is reported that he was a strong opponent of MQM and had vowed to expose their activities.

On 26th of January 1995, a coach full of passengers, leaving from Karachi for the interior of Sindh, was put on fire by the terrorist who claimed to belong to MQM, resulting in the death of nine innocent civilians including women and children, and injury to several passengers.

On 6th June 1995, eight innocent Sindh government employees, were shot dead by the terrorists who claimed to be the members of MQM Altaf Group. They claimed to have deliberately targeted the Sindhis, from the 300 staff members in the Sub-registrar office in Liaquatabad stronghold of MQM Altaf Group.

The continued and uncontrolled fighting for supremacy between the two groups of MQM, i.e. Altaf group and Haqiqi group, has resulted in the unnecessary loss of the life of their workers and innocent civilians, and paralysed the life of Karachi.

Although the infamous military operation which resulted in the blatant violation of human rights and unnecessary loss of life, was supposedly stopped and military abruptly withdrew to the barracks in the beginning of December 1994. The military has been replaced by the paramilitary forces, working under the command of the military Generals, to achieve the objectives of the hurriedly aborted military operation ' *Operation Blue Fox* ' Moreover, military still continues to interfere in the civilian matters, beyond its constitutional jurisdiction.

On 30th January 1995, a centuries old Sindh village in Hyderabad, was demolished by the military personnel, in spite of the court injunction and innocent villagers including women, children and elderly people, were detained in custody by military without giving any reason, and the relatives threatened with reprisals if the issue was further raised in court of law or press.

The military personnel involved in cold blooded murder of ten innocent villagers from Tando Bahawal, who were picked from their village and shot dead in cold-blood, still remain to be punished as per the decision of the court martial, more than

three years after the incident. Similar operations have been reported from various other parts of Sindh, and as the persons so kidnapped by the security forces either disappear never to be seen again or their dead bodies are found dumped in the canals or by the roadside.

In November 95, four undercover agents of the security forces tried to kidnap Photto Khaskheli, an innocent villager from the village of Khair Mohammad Jarwar. In the struggle that followed, the car was surrounded by the villagers, hence the undercover agents opened fire with automatic weapons, on the unarmed crowd, and three villagers were severely wounded, one of them later died in the hospital. Police refused to file the FIR by the villagers, but later the Captain of the Rangers force filed an FIR against the villagers, who were wounded and in hospital because of resisting the unlawful arrest and kidnapping.

In January 1996, four innocent villagers were killed by rangers in cold blood in broad day light in the village Khuram Jagram near Patan Lakhani. In spite of immense public reaction including the resolution in the Provincial Assembly, National Assembly and Senate, no action has been taken against the culprits, and the government refuses to hold an independent judicial enquiry into the incidence.

So far the authorities have failed to restore the law and order situation in spite of the Operation Clean Up, which has resulted in the loss of life of many innocent civilians, political activists, police and military personnel.

There has been widespread and systematic blatant violation of human rights including Rape, Torture and Death in Custody by the security forces. This has also been reported by the UN Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Amnesty International, as highlighted by Bacre Waly Ndiave, UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions E/CN.4/1994/7, E/CN.4/1995/61 and Amnesty International Reports AI INDEX : ASA 33/05/93, AI INDEX : ASA 33/01/95, AI INDEX : ISBN 0-86210-245-6.

The most notable among them being the cold blooded murder by the security forces of Shaheed Mohammed Yousuf Jakhri, Vice Chairman of World Sindhi Congress, Mujeeb Aijaz Jatoi, Ali Hyder Shah Khadim and Subho Indhar, Gulloo Machi, and others, are some examples of

the utter disregard by the authorities of the human rights of detainees and the disrespect for the human life.

Shaheed Mohammed Yousuf Jakhri, Vice Chairman of World Sindhi Congress, was arrested by security forces on 6th June 1992, and taken to the military camp near Pano Aqil, where he was tortured to death, and his body was returned to the relatives on 12th June 1992. The post-mortem of the dead body showed that acid was poured in the eyes, there were marks of electrocution, burning and physical violence.

The relatives have unsuccessfully tried to file the petition in the courts of law, and even the highest court of the law in the country have failed to provide them relief and culprits are at large, as the security forces are granted legal immunity from prosecution for any crime committed in good faith as per the Presidential Ordinance promulgated on 19th July 1992.

Large number of political activists, students and intellectuals are in prison, some detained without trial, including Bashir Qureshi, Dr Dodo Maheri, Raees nabi Bux Bind MP, Ghulam Hussain Unar, Amir Bux Umrani, Dr Maqbool Khushik and others. It must be noted that Bashir Qureshi has a liver abscess, and was forcibly removed from the hospital and tortured in prison, and he is denied the proper medical care for the life threatening condition. (NB : Ghulam Hussain Unar died on 25th January and circumstances surrounding his death are not clear yet),

Torture and death in custody, specially of the political activists, by the police and security forces is common. It has been widely reported that individuals after being arrested and interrogated by the police and security forces are killed in cold blood showing an encounter, instead of producing them before any court of law. Among such cases are included Faiz Jakhro, Sahibkhan Chandio and six other Jeay Sindh activists killed recently in Karachi.

Rape and torture by the security forces and police is common in Sindh, and the victims are denied legal relief as the security forces are granted legal immunity from prosecution. Recently a senior journalist Gul Mohammed Mirbahar was arrested by the police on the instigation of the local Member of Parliament, and was tortured and sexually assaulted. In his statement, he has accused the Chief Minister of Sindh, and other senior officials of involvement in the crime.

Rape of the women prisoners and

innocent civilians by the security forces and police is common, as reported by Amnesty International and various human rights organisations and the press. The most infamous incident was in the constituency of the Prime Minister, where five young girls were raped by the police, while they were visiting their relatives, wrongfully arrested and detained at the police station, and the government tried to cover up the case for several days.

In January 1995, a 16-year old girl Kuki was raped by two army soldiers in broad day light, in Hyderabad, the second largest city of Sindh, and was admitted to hospital in unconscious state. So far no action has been taken against the culprits and the family is denied any legal relief.

Torture of the detained persons, sometimes merely on the suspicion of crime and without warrants, to obtain confession is a common practice in all the police stations. Specially created torture centres, operated by the CIA, FIA and the military, exist in all the major towns of Sindh. The centres are used to obtain confessions, through torture and intimidation, from the political activists and innocent civilians, sometimes merely on suspicion of crime.

The common methods of torture include physical beating, using instruments like 'Sachputri' and cuts with razor blades, stripping naked and typing up in the freezing cold, keeping the prisoners in dark cold damp rooms called 'Refrigerators' and denying them sleep for long periods of time, hanging upside down for periods of time without food or drinks, electric shocks, etc.

Torture cells are also operated by the terrorist organisations, and used for the torture of political opponents, usually with fatal results. Common methods of torture include drilling holes in the bones with electric drill machines, incising with razor blades, burns and electric shocks, etc.

The tradition of the intimidation and persecution of political opponents by the subsequent governments seems to be increasing in intensity with time. Use of emergency powers and Section 144 to suppress the freedom of speech and movement, arrest, imprison and torture of political opponents seems to be wide spread and common practice. Use of Exit Control List and refusal of some foreign mission to grant visa without the permission from the government of Pakistan, further exacerbates the problem of political persecution.

Dr Munawar Halepota, Secretary

General of World Sindhi Congress and Human Rights International, while on a visit to Sindh, was arrested on 28th November 1995. He was detained incommunicado at various places including CIA Centre Hyderabad, FIA Safehouse Islamabad and death cell in Rawalpindi Jail for more than a month, during this period he was denied any medical or legal aid, including visits from the lawyers, family or friends. After the increasing international and internal pressure for his release, he was forcibly deported on 4th January 1996.

Imprisonment of the members of parliament and opposition leaders and denying them the parliamentary and legal rights, is a practice which was inherited by the present government and is being repeated without any consideration of the human rights of the detainees.

Recently police raided the house of Ismail Rahoo, a prominent Sindhi opposition leader and former Minister in Sindh Government, with the intention of arresting him without any court warrants, and his absence harassed the family members. It is reported to have happened on the instigation of the local Member of Parliament, who is a close associate of the husband of the Prime Minister. Shaikhoo Rahoo, uncle of Ismail Rahoo, died in Central Jail Hyderabad on 1st February 1996, as the authorities refused to provide him with necessary medical treatment. Even after death, his body was chained with hand cuffs and leg fetters.

It is also alleged that the security forces have recruited undercover agents to eliminate Sindhi political activists, and this view is supported by the suspicious circumstances surrounding the murder of some prominent political activists. The most notable being Saifur Rehman Jatoi who was shot dead by unknown assailants and the police have failed to trace any clues.

On 28th August 1995, an attempt was made on the life of Gul Mohammed Jakhriani, a prominent Sindhi nationalist leader. Unknown assailants fired upon his car, while he was going to Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre in Karachi. The car was damaged severely but fortunately he survived with few cuts and bruises.

Similar attack occurred on Rt Hon Syed Imdad Mohammed Shah, former Parliament Member and leader of Opposition Sindh Assembly, s/o His Excellency G M Syed, on 22nd January 1996. Again the car was severely damaged, but the passengers luckily survived with minimal injuries.

His Excellency, G M Syed, 92 years old, Father of the Sindhi

nation, passed away in Karachi, on 25th April 1995.

G M Syed was put under house arrest on 19th January 1992, and his house was declared a sub-jail. During his political career, G M Syed was detained without trial, for more than 80 years since the creation of Pakistan, until his death and was adopted "Prisoner of Conscience" by Amnesty International and by Human Rights International.

On 11 the March this year, G M Syed was admitted in Jinnah Post Graduate Medical Centre in a critical state, after initial refusal by the hospital administration. He was denied proper medical care, resulting in the deterioration of his condition.

In spite of appeals from Amnesty International, Human Rights International, various NGOs, Parliamentarians and personalities throughout the world, the Government of Pakistan refused to try him in any Court of Law and provide the necessary facilities for his medical treatment abroad.

Retd. General Nasirullah Babar, Federal Interior Minister, later proudly boasted in the national assembly that "...we will not try G M Syed in court of law, as we do not want to make a martyr of him, but we want him to die a natural death".

Human Rights International strongly feels that the deliberate delay of the authorities of implementing the adhoc procedures for him to be transferred and treated abroad, obstructed any possibility of saving his life.

World's oldest surviving civilisation is under threat of extinction from terrorism, settlement of illegal immigrants, cultural dilution and persecution by the establishment, which has resulted in the blatant violation of human rights including Rape, torture and death in custody of innocent civilians and political activists.

In the absence of any constitutional protection, Sindhis feel that their social, cultural, economic, civil and political rights are being held hostage at gunpoint by one of the ruthless armies which has repeatedly massacred its own people and innocent civilians around the world. Hence, Sindhis demand the right of self determination as per international covenants.

Peace and stability in the region, which is strategically vital for the world peace, cannot be ensured unless the expansionist ideas of the military are checked and violation of human rights stopped. It has been proposed to the government of Pakistan to release all political detainees and restore the historical national rights of Sindhis, including the right of self determination.

(Frontier, Calcutta)

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Exe. Edr. and Asso. Edr. of *Mankind* will be attending the 23rd Indian Sociology Conference which is being held at Kolhapur from 23-25 Nov. 1996 (Theme : Ecology, Society and Culture). Therefore there is a possibility that the December issue may be delayed by a few days.

The Editorial team will be visiting Kerala in the latter half of December 1996, and early Jan. 1997, and the joint number Jan/Feb. 1997 is scheduled to be published in the first or second week of Feb. 1997.

All contributors and subscribers may please note.

CORREA AND HIS CLUB MANIA

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Charles Correa, one of our leading comprador architects, has enjoyed the limelight for many years, and of course the huge income that goes with the limelight. Architects are in many ways comparable to cine stars and pop singers. Once they have become socially prominent and begun to shine in the media, innumerable private commissions automatically follow. Then they begin to think that they are capable of tackling macro-level problems of urban living, regional planning and urban renewal. They know nothing about economics, even less about social history and political struggles between classes, and yet begin to pontificate about large issues, even claiming philosophical insight and profundity.

Charles Correa has always thought of himself as too clever by half. Amongst his outstanding achievements we may note the following :

- The absurdly comic Parsi topi non-shell structures that he designed for both the Bharat Bhawan, Bhopal, and the Portuguese Church, Dadar. These are just senselessly heavy and expensive concrete slabs, that are rounded and extended walls, on the lines of the "stupid" curved ceiling placed by Corbusier on top of the High Court Building in Chandigarh. "Stupid" is a word Correa is very fond of, as Shila Nair reports in the *Afternoon Despatch and Courier* of Oct. 13, 1996. (Since Ms. Nair is as ignorant about architecture as Correa is about journalism and writing, she fails to apply the "stupidity test" to Correa's own works !)

- श्री Kanchanjunga Apartments in Bombay and the LIC Office Building in Delhi, which are both crass, commercial matchbox type structures without any redeeming features, but both of which make fancy fashionable gestures. Like the high level floating slab of the LIC Office, Delhi, or the funny looking interplay of the rotated apertures and solid blocks of the Kanchanjunga millionaires' quarters, Bombay.

- Correa also designed and

presented at a thumping cost of Rs. 40 lakhs the *Vistara* (Architectural Travelling Circus) as part of the Festivals of India Abroad series, in Moscow and Tokyo in 1988. Correa tried to hide his ignorance of

URBAN LAND AND CAPITALIST FREE MARKET

The problem is turned upside down and becomes rephrased as a fetishistic symbol : How is a section of the urban landscape to be utilised, beautified and recycled ! But the central problem is of living human beings. The central issue is of how to utilise the land on which the textile mills have stood for decades, and which has been irrigated by the blood and sweat of thousands and lakhs of mill-workers, for three generations, how is this land to be used to help the poor mill hands lead a better and more prosperous life within a great and developing Indian nation !

The central problem is not about land or capital or machinery or building or raw materials and commodities ! These are all fetishes ! These are alienated images of an upside down world !

The central problem is always of human beings! There can be no beautification of any chosen area, unless the vast mass of the human beings living and toiling in the Parel mill area and in Bombay city can find beauty in the renewed, recycled, refurbished cityscape!

Indian architectural history behind a lot of tantric mumbo-jumbo. Correa's frantic attempts to architecturally articulate the "Mandala" and the "Bindu" were absolutely farcical and hilarious. (See Vinayak Purohit

in the collection *Sociology of Art and Politics, A Note on Vistara*, 1989)

- A climax of architectural nonsense was reached with the *British Council Headquarters* in Delhi, which was included in his *The Ritualistic Pathway* portfolio, 1994. This building represents the most blatant and vulgar surrender by a colonial architect to the surface ornamentation carried out by a British imperialist painter named Hodgkin. No one can see the building which gets completely hidden behind the overpowering abstract calligraphic dark doodles of Hodgkin. No Correa is to be seen anywhere! And on top of it, I saw a BBC coverage where Correa was proudly showing to the video cameraman a *tantra* snake-spiral motif done flat on the ground, size 1 metre square. It was almost unbelievable! What has architecture, modern and Indian to boot, to do with such mumbo-jumbo ? How is the *Kundalini* motif carved intaglio into 1 sq. m. of concrete slab, related to the massive structure of the Council Building ?

The man is a charlatan. He is a publicity hound, who wants to draw attention to himself at any cost; and is obviously using some *tantric* jargon to distract and befuddle his plutocrat patrons and the fashionable journalists and critics !

TOWN PLANNING, BEAUTIFICATION AND HUMAN NEEDS

In 1991, the Congress Government ruling the state mooted a proposal to study the pros and cons of recycling surplus mill land. The Shiv Sena-BJP government took up from where its predecessor had left off, and commissioned an expert committee headed by Charles Correa to undertake a survey and present a plan proposal for the efficient redeployment of mill land, if and when the government was ready to take the bull by the horns.

We can see the capitalist free market system's central bias. First of all, the problem is turned upside down and becomes rephrased as a fetishistic symbol : *How is a section of the urban landscape to be utilised, beautified and recycled !* But the central problem is of living human beings. The central issue is of how to utilise the land on which the textile mills have stood for decades, and which has been irrigated by the blood and sweat of thousands and lakhs of mill-workers, for three generations, how is this land to be used to help the poor mill hands lead a

better and more prosperous life within a great and developing Indian nation !

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The central problem is always of human beings! There can be no beautification of any chosen area, unless the vast mass of the human beings living and toiling in the Parel mill area and in Bombay city can find beauty in the renewed, recycled, refurbished cityscape!

Charles Correa and his committee members have the temerity and the utter gall and cheek, to suggest that they have nothing to do with the larger social problem !

Actually, the basic fault lies with the politics of the Congress and Shiv Sena - BJP governments. The problem of mill lands is not an architectural or urban renewal problem. Why should specialist fools and expert ignoramuses like Charles Correa, D M Sukhtankar (former Municipal Commissioner), Deepak Parikh (Chairman, HDFC), A. N. Kale (Director ES & P, BMC), V. K. Phatak (Chief Planner, BMRDA) and G. S. Pantbalekundri (Deputy Secretary, Urban Development Department), be exclusively asked to give an opinion on this vital socio-political issue ? The issue concerns economists, sociologists, politicians, trade unionists, social workers, environmentalists, seriously concerned intellectuals and society in general. If any committee is to be appointed, that is the task of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. For such a big problem like three square kilometres of prime land in the premier commercial city of India like Bombay, the total value of which land is estimated to be worth between Rs. 15,000 and 20,000 crores, and land on which in 1980, 2.32 lakh workers were employed, and on which even today 80,000 are labouring, for such a gigantic socio-economic problem, it is the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly that should appoint a Task Force. In fact, going further, if India is a vibrant democracy, a Special Referendum should be held to elect members of the said Task Force.

Be that as it may , after whittling down and inverting the problem in a fetishistic manner, and after converting a social crisis into a beautification, landscaping, and heritage preservation exercise, Correa proceeds to reduce the problem to a nullity. According to the Afternoon Despatch and Courier report, Correa explained, "Firstly, I have to make this clear that we as an expert committee were not concerned about whether a mill was viable or not. But on the basis of an estimate of which mills could be dispensed with, which should be left intact and which could be partially run, we drew our plan of redefining the estates. Our priority lay in carving out the proportion of mill land that could be given back to the city." (ADC, 13.10.96)

Actually, this profession of priority is pure bullshit and camouflage. The real anxiety is to hand over as much as

possible quantum of land to the mill owners without arousing violent public reaction. Thus, the central idea is to hand over the maximum possible to the mill owners, whilst hypocritically pretending that the new distribution is being done on an equitable basis.

This is exactly what shameless Correa proceeds to do. The ADC report continues, " According to Mr. Correa's 'Save Lower Parel' scheme surplus mill land should be distributed on a tripartite basis that keeps everyone contended. Our Committee has suggested that one-third of the land should be given to the owner, one-third to MHADA and PSU's for housing and 'nonpolluting' industrial projects and one-third should be repatriated to the city in the form of open spaces."

Only an ignoramus will be impressed by this tripe!

Consider the following facts : Under the current Revised Development Control Rules of 1991, section 58, 15 percent of the surplus land is already freely available to the textile mill owners. Some nine schemes are already being implemented, engrossing this 15% to their exclusive financial advantage. Since there are some 54 mills in the city, many more schemes are in various stages of formulation and clearance under the DC 91 rules. The approximate value of just this 15% of total mill lands is about Rs. 3000 crores!

Thus, the Correa Committee's recommendation that 33 percent be handed over to the mill owners' means that the mill owners, share will be immediately more than doubled to 33 percent. In other words, they will put in their pockets, approximately Rs. 3,600 crores, as a " Correa Bonus".

Now let us consider the second portion of the 33 % to be given to MHADA (Maharashtra Housing and And Area Development Board) or to the PSU's (to the 25 PSU mills belonging to the National Textile Corporation). " Handing over " does not mean transfer of ownership to MHADA. It only means that the development schemes submitted by the mill owners will bear the stamp of approval by MHADA, like the 9 schemes already being implemented which involve residential housing, commercial offices, shopping complexes, and so on.

This means that a second Correa Bonus of 33% additional land, worth 6,600 crores of rupees, will be made available to the mill-owners!

Now that 66% of the land is disposed of in favour of the mill owners, we come to the last portion, of one-third that is to be handed over to the Bombay city as open space, for gardens, boulevards and clubs! !

Already the DC rules provide for 15% to be left as "open spaces"!

So the first point is that these so-called open spaces are to be increased by merely 18%. Thus the mill-owners get 66% freed for non-mill development, and the third party, the people of Bombay city , get only 18% ! This is not an equitable distribution at all. It is

MILLOWNERS BENEFIT BY CORREA COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

Thus, without inspection or survey general recommendations have been made to favour the millowners. This is to ensure that they open the doors the next time ! Not only that, there are further inducements offered.

"The study group's initial report may have evoked mixed reactions in the press, but it has certainly thrown up several interesting ideas - the creation of museum being only one. Other ideas include the setting up of a bus depot inside the Kohinoor Mills near Sena Bhawan in Shivaji Park ... **And a part of the surplus land could be used for commercial development.**"

That is the purpose of the whole bloody exercise ! Textile workers may go to hell. A heaven for shoppers is to be created immediately !

a pure sleight of hand trick by amateur magicians and illusionists of the Correa Committee!

Secondly, according to the Bombay Municipal Corporation Development Control Rules, open spaces do not mean "open to the sky". It could mean Community Facilities of all sorts especially Club Houses for the elite.

That is why Correa has been talking about the use of surplus land, not only for the residential purposes, but for all sorts of "community purposes" too.

Thus another, or third Correa bonus or third Correa Scam is being organised ! In the name of open spaces and beautification, club houses for the rich are being planned !

Let us be clear that the Correa Committee was allowed to visit only the 25 NTC owned mills in the Public Sector only. The private mill owners refused access to the Committee. Thus the Report is in the wraps. *The Afternoon Despatch and Courier* reporter had to get clearance from the Mantralaya before Correa would speak to her (Ms. Nair admits this in the course of her report quoted above.)

She is not the only one to whom the report is being deliberately and selectively leaked. The following pure gold nuggets were revealed to Gunwanti Balram of the *Times of India*.

"The Committee has identified heritage structures in individual mill compounds.... These structures will be listed as soon as possible by the BMC's Urban Heritage Conservation Committees headed by Sukhtankar, a member of the Committee)

" Given that it was denied access to the 30-odd private mills in the Parel area, the study group's first set of suggestions is based on its survey of the NTC mills, which have between them 5.6 lakh sq. metres of surplus land available for development. It will compile the second part of the report only when it is allowed into the private mills. It has however, made some general recommendations for private mills as well." (*The Sunday Times of India*, 13.10.96)

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BEAUTIFICATION WITHIN POVERTY ! CORREA FOLLOWS SATYAJIT RAY!

The Times leakage continues : " Potential museums and bus depots apart, the mills hold other great possibilities : removing the compound wall of the India United Mill on Cadell Road, for

instance, would open up a whole new water front for the city. The 48,414 sq. metre open site presents a "unique opportunity" to create a seaside space as vibrant as Chowpatty, reveals the report. A public garden and a club for water sports could be established here."

Obviously, the membership of the water sports club would be such as would attract thousands of former and current textile workers and their families into the clubs !

The report continues with its glittering galaxy of superb suggestions : " Some mill buildings would make ideal art galleries and artists's studios. Among others, the weaving sheds in Madhusudan mills in Parel's Gawli Passage would make a wonderful exhibition space because they get the North light, the report points out. The Tata mills near Parel station could house not only an art gallery but also restaurants, offices, garment industries and a club. The Gold Mohur mills on Dadasaheb Phalke

Marg in Dadar, with its grand chimney (a landmark), could house a hospital, dispensary, eatery, godowns and shops as well as a club ... The report emphasises that pedestrian plazas should be created ... Covered shopping arcades should be built ... We hope the government implements the recommendations, and soon".

Some people have water on their brains ! Some others have clubs on theirs ! Correa has managed both ! He has water sports clubs, that too for mill hands !

Can anything be more cruel ? Bombay mill workers have sold and mortgaged all their possessions after the 1982 marathon strike led by Datta

Samant, precisely when the mill owners had unsold cloth bales piled up in their godowns during a recession.

These workers have not had their claims settled for years ! They are now being invited to join the various clubs in India United Mills, Tata Mills and Gold Mohur Mills being planned for them by the Correa Committee. Having joined these wonderful clubs, they are also to move about freely and gaily in the pedestrian plazas and shopping arcades which are being designed for " mass use"!

Under the guise of beautification, opulent surroundings are being created for the people of Bombay by their architects, journalists and other experts like Heritage Sukhtankar, not forgetting museologists curating textile museums and art connoisseurs frequenting art galleries and artists painting with " north light " (how lucky!) in Gawli Passage and similar Seven Wonders of the World ! Comprador genius Satyajit Ray didn't change the village in *Pather Panchali*. He merely made Harihar, Sarbojaya, Durga and Apu accept joyfully the poverty that was their lot ! Satyajit Ray merely changed men's minds !

But Charles Correa is not an architect for nothing ! He changes villagescapes, neighbourhoodscapes and cityscapes with equal ease and facility. *Wahre beta Charlie ! Kya teri tarif karun ! Tu to savaya Sheikh Chillii nikla !* (Bravo, sonny Charlie, how can I praise you enough ! You have proved yourself to be superior to Don Quixote !)

THE PLIGHT OF BOMBAY MILLWORKERS AND THE CORREA COMMITTEE REPORT

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The Correa Committee has decided to beautify Bombay very thoroughly. We are removing poverty from Bombay by creating pedestrian plazas, shopping arcades, water sports clubs and other clubs, art galleries and studios with "north light" through Gawli Galli and such other splendours, all designed to fit the pocket of the jobless textile worker who has not been paid his dues for many years ! What a splendid prospect !

LOKSHAHI HAKK SANGATHANA REPORT

Before we conclude our critique of the Correa Committee Report, as selectively leaked to the Press, we shall make a short detour and make a few remarks on the report by the Lokshahi Hakk Sangathana, entitled *Murder Of The Mills*.

Murder Of The Mills is a study made by a group of well-intentioned enthusiasts. But it suffers from several important shortcomings.

Firstly, it lacks balance. The most trivial is mixed up with the very significant in a completely helter skelter fashion. Interviews with suffering mill hands, references to historical developments, criticism of government policies, quotes from important bureaucrats, and so on, have all been jumbled up and presented, as though all these elements were equally relevant without the slightest regard for logical organisation and neatness of presentation ! Its a kind of potpourri which lacks a central vision and focus.

Secondly, it lacks breadth of historical and current vision. An effort should have been made to present some data on the world context, the position of textile industry over the last 10 or 20 years internationally, and the total world export of textiles, etc. Within this overarching world context, India's position and problems could have been examined. And again, within the Indian context, Bombay's place could have been spelt out.

Thirdly, *Murder Of The Mills* is strangely uncurious about some very significant aspects.

For instance, it is noted on page 34 of the LHS Report that : "The Mill sector accounts for only 6.4 percent of cloth production. The handloom sector produces 21.6 percent, while the bulk of India's cloth - 72 percent - comes from the powerloom sector. This is quite a reversal of the position in 1950, when the mills produced 79.3% of the nation's cloth, the handloom sector accounted for 17.4 percent and powerlooms a mere 3.3 percent".

The upshot has been that Bombay *girangaon* has shifted from Parel in the heart of the city to Bhiwandi on the northern outskirts.

Now why did this happen ? The insightful answer to this query should not be in purely descriptive terms, that is, that powerloom owners pay only 27 paise per unit against the organised mill sector that pays Rs. 2.56 per unit of electricity ; or that the powerlooms evade excise duty ; or that the wage cost for every worker in the mill is Rs. 5,100 per 8-hour shift, against Rs. 1,800 for a 12-hour shift in the powerloom sector (p. 35).

This may all be true, but why did this come about ? The Congress was in power in the Centre and in Maharashtra for most of the time, and from the beginning amongst its consistent backers were the textile magnates. Then why did the government policies shift to place the millowners at a disadvantage ?

Has there been a technological change ? Has electric power and its easy distribution caused the advantages of centralisation to disappear in the case of the textile industry ? Has the advent of synthetics and the sharp increase in knitting machines, as compared to old-fashioned weaving machines, or some other technological change in dyeing and printing and finishing sectors, have such changes affected the overall balance ? What is happening in China, Hong Kong and Thailand ? And why did the Congress party decide to ditch the textile magnates ? Exactly what has been going on ?

Fourthly, what is the future of the Indian Textile Industry ? What is happening in textile centres outside Bombay ? In Madras, Madurai, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Ahmedabad and Surat ? Can we make some sensible prognostications about the fate of the Indian textile industry, in the time frame of the 9th and 10th Five Year Plans (1997-2007) ?

Mankind welcomes the efforts of the Lokshahi Hakk Sangathana. However, it merely whets the appetite and leaves many important questions unanswered.

CONCLUSION

Coming back to the partially leaked first half of the Correa Committee Report, we may sum up.

* The central problem is not of mill lands, but of mill hands. The problem is not of beautifying *girangaon* with all sorts of commercial buildings, restaurants, art galleries, shopping arcades, museums, elite clubs and artists' studios with north light in Gawli Galli, but to make the life of the labouring population more joyful, meaningful and fulfilling.

* The Correa report is a trickery and a sleight of hand. Millowners are being allowed to get away with murder ! In that sense the inquiry report by the Lokshahi Hakk Sangathana is absolutely correct. *A Murder of the Mills* is being carried out in broad daylight.

* The people of Bombay, and Maharashtra, must be allowed to hold a referendum on the issue. Comprador architects, pseudo-heritage-preservers, museologists, builders of restaurants, shopping arcades and commercial offices, and *naukarshahs* of the Urban Development Ministry, MHADA, BMC and such other evil institutions, and the millionaire millowners should not be allowed to decide the fate of mill lands.

* There is no beauty in Bombay. Beauty, or the absence of it, resides in the lives of the people of Bombay. Granite stones and neon lights and some shrubbery cannot cover up the crimes that our comprador elite is daily committing upon the people of Bombay and the country.

MYTHS ABOUT LABOUR ISSUES

FACTS AGAINST MYTHS

Dr. Ernesto Norohna

Comment

On the eve of Independence the structure of large-scale Indian industry was dismal and the State had to initiate industrialisation. It played an important role in capital accumulation and in channelising resources into the industries earmarked for priority development. It therefore resorted to planning, a system of control, protection to Indian industries and setting up of public sector enterprises. Thus emerged a massive organised sector employing a large work-force. A number of legislations were subsequently enacted by the government to protect labour. These laws covered rights and privileges and guaranteed certain levels of income and proper working conditions. The government also set up an industrial dispute machinery to resolve industrial conflict.

By the mid-1960s, however as industrial growth began losing its momentum, the IMF intervened. It insisted that India liberalise imports and stimulate exports by depreciating the rupee, implement strict monetary and fiscal policies, provide incentives for investment, ban strikes and freeze wages. By the mid-1980s these policies were adopted and strictly adhered to. Since then, the so-called globalization process has taken over control and market-based development

has been embraced. International markets have been forced open with emphasis on trade and exports. Accordingly, the government is not to interfere in the economic activities by preventing inflow of foreign goods and capital or burden the private sector with unnecessary regulations. By this same logic the public sector is being privatised to mobilise resources with public expenditure on welfare activities scrapped, resulting in the retreat of the 'Welfare State'. Nehruvian State intervention has thus receded while metropolitan capital is making headway, raising the legitimate fear of recolonisation but in a more refined form.

Against this background there is also a growing demand for curtailing government intervention and dilution of labour laws supposedly to improve the employment situation. Security that is being provided to the organised sector is to be scrapped as this is assumed to cause industrial sickness. Flexibility in the employment and payment of wages to workers is emphasised, and the National Renewal Fund (NRF) is supposed to provide for retraining facilities, redeployment, voluntary retirement and employment opportunities. All these developments and issues are however based on a number of fallacies including the perverse definition of employment,

etc. Such myths need to be dispelled and facts on the reality of the employment situation be highlighted.

MYTH

Liberalisation will lead to increase in employment in the organised sector.

FACT

The liberalisation programme will lead to higher unemployment rates rather than increasing employment in the organised sector. The annual growth rate of employment in the manufacturing sector has been declining. When the period of liberalisation is compared to the period prior to liberalisation it can be seen that in spite of the increase in the annual growth rates of output there has been a steady decline in employment. (Tables 1 & 2)

Thus the economy is caught in the situation of jobless growth. The data reveals that the annual growth rate of output jumped from 2.9 percent in preliberalisation period to 8.5% during the period of intensive liberalisation but the annual growth rate of employment fell from 1.81% prior to liberalisation to 0.40 percent during the phase of intensive liberalisation. In fact even in the public sector, employment fell to 2.47 percent in the liberalisation period from 5.30 percent prior to liberalisation. Pertinently, the private sector showed a negative growth of employment during the phase of intensive liberalisation.

This point was stressed upon by Munde (1991) in his study which states that in spite of high growth rate, by 1994 the stabilization programme will raise the unemployment rate from less than 4% in 1991-92 to 5% in 1993-94 implying an additional employment of 4 million persons in 1992-93 and 1993-94. In a low growth rate scenario the unemployment rate was predicted to be 6% in 1992-93 and 7% in 1993-94. In absolute terms, the additional

TABLE I ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF EMPLOYMENT
IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

Period		Growth Rate (per cent per annum)		
		Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
Pre-liberalisation	1970-71 to 1975-76	5.30	1.03	1.81
Mild-liberalisation	(1976-77 to 1980-81)	7.00	1.46	3.18
	1981-82 to 1984-85)	5.75	0.32	1.36
Intensive-liberalisation	1985-86 to 1989-90	+2.47	-0.39	-0.40

Sources : Computed from the data given in the Report on Currency and Finance (1990-91) and earlier issues.

**TABLE 2 ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF OUTPUT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
(PER CENT PER ANNUM)**

Industrial Group	Period			
	Pre-liberalisation	Mild liberalisation	Intensive Liberalisation	
	1970-71 to 1975-76	1976*-77 to 1980-81	1981-82** to 1984-85	1985-86 to 1990-91
Basic Industries	4.4	4.6	8.8	6.7
Capital goods	5.4	5.3	6.3	15.1
Intermediate goods	2.6	4.4	6.1	6.4
Consumer Goods				
a) Durable	1.2	8.9	14.4	12.0
b) Non-durable	1.5	4.3	4.0	6.9
Overall	2.9	4.8	5.8	8.5

* Growth rates are based on old index of industrial production
 ** Growth rates are based on new index of industrial production (base 1980-81 = 100)
 Source : RBI, Report on Currency and Finance (1990-91) and earlier issues.

TABLE 3 GROWTH RATES OF EMPLOYMENT BY MAJOR SECTORS 1973-88

Major Sectors	1972-73 to 1977-78	1977-78 to 1983	1983 to 1987-88	1972-73 to 1987-88
Agriculture	2.32	1.20	0.65	1.37
Mining	4.68	5.85	6.16	5.47
Manufacturing	5.10	3.75	2.10	3.61
Construction	1.59	7.45	13.69	7.23
Electricity Gas				
Water Supply	12.23	5.07	1.61	7.06
Transport Storage and Communication	4.85	6.35	2.67	4.65
Other Services*	3.67	4.69	2.50	3.65
Total	2.82	2.22	1.55	2.17

* Usual principal and Subsidiary Status.
 Source : NSSO and Expert Committee on population projections.

unemployment in 1993-94 alone would be 10 million due to stabilization. Such a situation could exacerbate the problem of unemployment.

In agriculture too the growth rate declined from 2.32% to 0.65% between 1972-73 to 1977-78 and 1983 to 1987-88. (Table 3).

That is, the absorption in the agricultural labour force is extremely low. Further, with the growth rate of employment falling

to 1.5% in 1983 to 1987-88 and population growth increasing by 2.1% there would be serious problems of unemployment. Apart from mining and construction, there has been a decline in the growth rate of employment in all the other sectors intensifying the casualisation of labour.

This process of casualisation becomes clearer from Table 4. However it is more dominant in the private sector than in the public sector. A significant increase in the informal activity can

TABLE 4 GROWTH OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE 1990S (PER CENT PER ANNUM)

Sector	Total Employment Growth (1981-91)	Public Sector	Private Sector			Percent Share of	
			Organised	Unorganised	Total	Unorganised	
						1981	1991
Primary	2.05	2.10	-0.38	2.26	2.24	98.50	98.70
Manufacturing	1.30	2.84	-0.60	1.52	1.16	73.10	74.70
Construction	3.93	1.07	2.45	5.18	5.07	68.80	77.50
Trade and Commerce	3.99	4.75	1.26	4.19	4.09	90.50	90.90
Transport, storage and communication	2.56	1.23	2.33	3.81	3.74	54.80	61.30
Other Services	4.13	2.21	1.87	5.69	5.36	55.10	63.50
Total	2.34	2.22	0.10	2.61	2.53	89.70	90.60

Source : (1) Census of India, 1981 to 1991

be perceived in construction where the percent share went up from 68.80 to 77.50 between 1981 to 1991. This was also significant for transport, storage and communication and other services wherein the percent share of unorganised sector rose by about 8% in both the cases between 1981 and 1991.

This process of casualisation has received a fillip as many companies since 1980s banned recruitment and sub-contracted part of the production process. In the Mumbai-Thane region several companies had banned recruitment. (Table 5)

Some of these companies had subcontracted nearly 100 percent of their production in 1993 as compared to 1980, where it did not exceed 15% of the production for the companies detailed in Table 6.

This often leads to job losses. For instance in the case of Hindustan Lever, the employment was reduced by nearly 50% between 1977 and 1993. This reduction in labour force was specifically brought in 1988 via lockout in Hindustan Lever's Sewri Unit.]

TABLE 5 BAN ON RECRUITMENT IN MUMBAI-THANE

Company	No recruitment in the unionised category since (main unit)
1. Rallifan	1970
2. Blue Star	1981
3. Ralliwolf	1980
4. Larsen & Toubro	1984
5. Special Steels	1980
6. Murphy	1981
7. Bush	1982
8. Philips	1985
9. Crompton Greaves	1984
10. Hindustan Lever	1982
11. C.P.Tools	1984
12. Gabriel (India) Ltd.	1985
13. Asian Paints	1982
14. Bayer (India) Ltd.	1985
15. Ciba-Giegy	1982
16. Geoffrey Manners	1985
17. Glaxo	1980
18. Nicholas	1978
19. Pfizer	1984
20. Merind	1979
21. Sandoz	1983
22. Unichem	1979
23. Parke Davis	1978
24. Cadbury	1985
25. Colour Chem	1980
26. Nocil	1985
27. Herdillia	1986
28. Voltas	1988
29. Procter & Gamble	1982
30. Godrej Soaps	1986

Thus, increasing investment in the private sector does not result in employment in the organised sector. Instead with growing capital intensity there could be a decline in employment and worsening of the working and living conditions of labour. For instance in 1950 it was estimated that an investment of 10 million would create 11,000 jobs. During 1980-87, 70,000 jobs were added in the organised sector while capital exceeded Rs. 7,00,000 million. Thus Rupees ten million generated one job on an average

in the organised sector in the 1980s. The Nhava Sheva Port near Mumbai employs ten times less manpower than Mumbai. The Vishakhapatnam Steel Plant generates 14,000 jobs for an investment of Rs. 80,000 million while a joint sector steel plant provides 400 jobs at an investment of Rs. 4,00,000 million. Thus workers are the main victims of the so-called liberalisation/globalisation agenda. Not only has unemployment affected their living conditions but also decimated their organisations. Furthermore reduction in welfare expenditure results in a double attack on their living conditions.

MYTH :

As labour market lacks flexibility and labour laws are too rigid, exit policy is therefore an imperative need.

FACT :

The World Bank makes a strong plea for doing away with most, if not all regulations that provide protection to the formal sector as this, according to them leads to dualism at the cost of employment. It envisages that the future prospects of the workers can be bright only if they forego most forms of security and protection. Therefore, the privileged treatment enjoyed by the formal sector should be abolished and replaced by casual employment, fluctuating wages and variable hours of work. The Bank states that labour standards are set at levels appropriate for rich countries and therefore are untenable vis-a-vis low and middle income countries.

In keeping with the above view employers are demanding annulment of chapter V-B of the Industrial Dispute Act 1947 which permits lay off, retrenchment and closure of all undertakings where more than 100 workers are employed only after prior permission is obtained from the government. This according to them (employers) induces rigidities resulting in sickness of the organisation as a whole. However, in practice there is no restriction on closures. Closures according to Dutt(1993) take place in violation of all labour laws and are often used as an instrument for forcing labour to accept retrenchment. Closures take place on the following pretexts :

1. Precipitation of a strike or lockout as a means of stopping operations on the claim that situation is beyond management control.
2. Stopping payment for utilities such as power, water and electricity or even repayments of bank loans leading to cutoff of supply which forces the plant to close down.
3. Closing the plant so that the workers recourse to the legal system can be delayed. (Ind. Journal of Labour Economics, 36(1).)

The method used for closure by the Bombay Textile Mills

TABLE NO 6 PRODUCTION TRANSFERRED TO OUTSIDE THE MAIN UNIT

Company	(percentage of total production)	
	1980	1993
Pfizer	8	38.61
Cadbury	7	30
Hindustan Lever (Soap)	0	15
Hindustan Lever (Detergent)	5	50
Rallifan	10	50
Murphy	15	100
Bush	10	around 100

STATUTORY DUES OF WORKERS OF TEXTILE MILLS UNDER LIQUIDATION IN AHMEDABAD

Name of Unit	Date of Closure (Month/Year)	No. of Workers	Total Workers Dues (Rs. 1000)	Average Dues (Rs./Worker)
New Gujarat Synth. 1	08.86	1,300	68,500	34,250
New Gujarat Synth. 2	09.86	1,600	25,600	32,875
Aryodaya Ginning	07.87	2,600	81,900	31,500
Commercial A'bad	05.84	1,500	51,000	34,000
Jubilee Mills	03.87	3,600	106,138	29,483
Aryodaya Spinning	11.86	2,500	68,400	27,360
Vijay	01.88	1,600	52,725	32,953
Bansidhar Spg. & Wvg.	09.85	1,300	38,100	29,308
Amruta	11.90	2,300	52,053	22,632
Vivekanand	04.87	1,500	45,700	30,467
Ramkrishna	03.87	2,200	80,300	36,500
Bharat Suryodaya	10.86	1,500	45,600	30,400
Ajit	11.87	1,500	41,650	27,767
Omex	08.86	1,500	44,800	29,867
Prasad	11.86	1,400	37,500	26,786
Total		28,600	866,966	30,314

was nonpayment of electricity bills. Only in the case of Mukesh Mills, Section 25 (0) of the Industrial Dispute Act, 1947 was resorted to :

Mill	Method
Mukesh Mill	Section 25(0) I.D. Act 1947
Bombay Mills	Non-payment of electricity bills
Shrinivas Mills	-do-
Modern Mills	-do-
New Great Eastern	-do-
Raghuvanshi Mills	-do-
Kamala Mills	Stoppage of loans to be paid
Source : Labour Commissioner's Office Bombay	

Apart from this, employers also enjoy substantial amount of flexibility with regards to the payment of statutory dues to workers during the time of closure. For instance 28,600 workers of 15 closed textile mills of Ahmedabad have not been paid Rs. 866,966,159. These dues include salary, earned leave due, bonus, gratuity and retrenchment compensation.

Besides this, industrial sickness also induces flexibility, adversely affecting the trade unions, collective bargaining rights and gains made under the Industrial Dispute Act, Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Wages Act and Factories Act, have to be given up. Threat of closures have virtually forced unions to sign away all past gains and accept job cuts in favour of flexibility, greater work load and laws, fragmentation of the organizational power of labour and enhanced managerial control over the labour process, thereby minimising labour costs and at the same time retaining flexibility with respect to variable capital and adequate supply of labour.

Besides this, the government has promoted flexibility through the back door, the cornerstone of which is the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) and the contract system. Between Oct 1992-Oct 1994 about 73,287 workers were reduced via the Voluntary Retirement Scheme.

The VRS and the contract system reinforce each other. Many old permanent jobs vacated via VRS are converted into contract and new jobs even though of perennial nature are kept as casual

and on contractual basis. Thus employers take advantage of the situation, and are able to hire-and fire, pay poor salaries and are under no obligation to pay gratuity, provident fund or terminal benefits. Thus creating a situation of maximum flexibility in the employment of labour.

Apart from this ambiguity, the definition of the "employee" gives employers substantial leverage in escaping the provisions of various laws. Since there are a number of legislations, a person may be an "employee" under some laws but may not be so under others. An employer escapes establishment of the nexus with employees by designating workers as "trainees", "apprentices", "learners", "improvers", "consultants" or "retainers". Workers are also encouraged to change names two or three times a year and persuaded to form self - managed cooperatives to take up contracts. Syndicate arrangements also exist between employers where workers are exchanged during the year forcing them to resign every time they are re-employed. Besides, employers describe work and responsibilities in ways that the definition of "workmen" does not apply, obtain exemption and relaxations

VOLUNTARY RETIREMENT SCHEME

Reduction of workforce in CPSUs from Oct 1992-Oct 1994

Textiles	35,000
Heavy Industry	24,729
Surface Transport	6,000
Chemicals and Petrochemicals	1,400
Fertilisers	1,000
Mines	1,000
Steel	1,000
Tourism	1,000
Water Resources	1,000
Defence	550
Civil Supplies	450
Food Production	158
(60 PSUs from 12 ministries and Total administrative departments involved)	73,287

permissible in certain statutes for establishments, industries in states that allow greater flexibility and limiting the nature and duration of period of work so that the statutory provision is not satisfied. Moreover employment security regulations has undergone changes since 1980s. Restrictive provisions on employment have been challenged in the courts, collective agreements renegotiated and Central and State governments have supported employer-oriented restructuring.

Comment

As discussed above, the issue of the Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) was promoted supposedly to enhance the competitiveness of the corporate enterprise. The protagonists of the Scheme argue, among other things, that this is a better option than retrenchment. In their view, retrenchment is difficult to implement as it would lead to industrial unrest. Thus the VRS package that the management has to offer is an attractive offer to the employees.

While the management insist that the problems of industrial sickness can only be resolved through the VRS, trade unions, on the other hand, have failed to respond adequately to such measures and to the managerial manoeuvres in particular. The VRS was launched in the early 80s by several leading corporate enterprises with the aim of getting rid of "uncompromising elements" among the staff and to simultaneously silence the labour unions by offering them the so-called incentives and compensations. However, surveys conducted by voluntary and other bodies have revealed that the VRS has ultimately led to nothing but misery for the labour class who had been hoodwinked into opting for it.

Apart from the VRS controversy there is the so-called proposal of the social clause in relation to labour. It was at the 1995 World Summit for Social Development at Copenhagen - a largely hegemonic manoeuvre on the part of the North than its purported claim of solidarity with the South - that the one effort which was greatly torn - tomed about was India's "victory" in rejecting this double-edged development proposal. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that creating linkages between international trade and labour is a dubious trick, using noble ideals for promoting the economic interests of the minority rich, viz, the decision-making powers that lie solely in the hands of WTO mandarins. Yet, there is no escaping the crucial question, "Can there be much cause for celebration of this victory for national sovereignty considering the country's track record is particularly woeful as far as implementing the international conventions it has signed: on minimum wages, conditions of work, child labour or the rights of Dalits and indigenous People?"

Given this context it becomes imperative to expose such fallacies, etc, on these and related issues by powerful international lobbies and locals who manufacture such concepts primarily in their lobbies and locals who manufacture such concepts primarily in their own interest but under the facade of being 'in solidarity' with the working class.

MYTH

Industrial sickness is due to the increasing intensity of labour strikes.

FACT :

No doubt that industrial sickness is on the rise and has afflicted not only some traditional industries like cotton textiles, jute and sugar but also some industries like engineering, chemicals, rubber, cement, electrical and paper. The total bank credit locked in 2,23,809 sick/weak units as on 31st March 1991 was Rs. 10,786 crores. However, this situation has not come about

TABLE 1

Reasons for sickness	Percentage of total no. of occurrences (2427)
A. Internal Factors	
i) Project Appraisal deficiencies	08.4
ii) Project Management deficiencies	47.4
B. External Factors	
i) Other than Marketing (Non availability of raw materials, power shortage, change in Govt policy, increase in overhead costs etc.)	22.9
(* Strike accounts for 1.5% of the total number of cases)	
ii) Marketing (Project obsolescence market saturation, recession)	09.8
iii) Others	11.5

Source :Session of ILC, New Delhi, January 1995 Agenda Notes.

due to strikes which accounted for merely 1.5% of the closures. On the other hand, project management deficiencies account for 47.4% of the cases.

Moreover the data on man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts were always higher than those of lockouts up to the mid 1980s. Since then the man-days lost due to the lock-outs have increased, except in 1986 when strikes were higher. This means that the period of liberalisation does not augur well for labour. However, a more reliable index of intensity of industrial dispute is the number of man-days lost per dispute. (Table 2)

The number of man-days lost per strike increased from 2,683 in 1961-65 to 11,041 in 1986-88 while lockouts increased from 12,609 to 42,741 in the same period. In the pre-liberalisation phase (1961-75) average number of days a worker was involved in strike was 8.8 but in lockouts it was 28 days. But in the post-liberalisation phase as against the average involvement of 14.7 days in strike, average duration lockouts rose to 64 days. Similarly, the intensity of lockout against strike which was 3.0 during 1961-75 increased to 3.6 during 1976-88. Thus in the liberalisation period employers have become aggressive while labour docile and workers are hardly responsible for sickness. With regards Public Sector Units lack of autonomy, takeover of sick private units, the objective of social service and mismanagement have led to sickness which cannot be attributed to stringent labour laws. (Table 3)

Thus, to state that the workers create problems of industrial sickness is false.

MYTH :

The main role of the NRF is to provide insurance, training and redeployment of workers who have been offered voluntary retirement.

FACT :

As stated earlier, globalisation will result in higher unemployment rates, rather than creating employment opportunities. In such a situation retraining becomes a meaningless exercise. However assuming that there might be an improvement in the employment situation the formal sector the budgetary allocations and retaining suggest otherwise. There is minimal emphasis on redeployment an renewal as compared to

that on redundancy via the voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS), further aggravating unemployment and casualisation of labour.

For instance 90% of the budgetary allocation of the NRF for the years 1993-94 and 1994-95 was meant for VRS payment to the workers of central and state PSUs. Thus the VRS is not likely to help workers rehabilitation as no adequate support exist today in the field of training, self-employment programmes, financial counselling etc. By June 1994 only 266 workers received training with their redeployment not ensured. Apart from this, the NRF package designed by the government is still not implemented fully. For example, the unemployment insurance scheme is yet to be finalised, special areas generation yet to be designed and area regeneration activities are yet to be taken up.

Moreover as seen in the Table 4, the amount of allocation was almost stagnant between 1992-93, 1993-94 and 1995-96 and the number of workers to be covered is on the decline inspite of the growing displacement as discussed earlier. Thus the funds provided may be meagre to meet the challenge of increasing redundancies due to closures and sickness and may hardly provide for VRS leave alone providing for retraining and redeployment. For instance some experts state that the corpus contemplated for sick PSUs is so small that even a meagre sum of Rs. 1.5 lakh per retrenched worker will cover the compensation claims of barely 3-4% of the total number of employees in the 58 sick units. For 4.5 lakh workers the amount needed at the rate of Rs. 1.5 lakh is Rs. 6750 crores, but the government allocated just Rs. 700 crores. Thus the NRF is grossly inadequate and lacks any commitment to provide for retraining and employment generation.

MYTH :

The Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) is voluntary in nature.

FACT :

Though termed voluntary, the VRS according to a study by the Maniben Kara Institute, Mumbai, is not voluntary. Sixty-two

percent of the workers interviewed stated that they did not accept the scheme on their own free will, but out of compulsion of some kind or the other. This fear in most cases was equated to an uncertain future induced not only by the anti-labour, pro-rich policies of the government but also deliberately perpetuated by various employers by using naked threats of retrenchment, lockouts and closures as in the case, for instance, of NOCIL, a subsidiary of the Mafatlal Group. In another case, illustrated in The Lawyers Journal, #9, 1994, Krishna Hedulkar (48) was coerced in May 1993 by the management of the Blue Star Ltd., Company, Mumbai, into accepting the VRS. Hedulkar filed a case against Blue Star in the Industrial Court at Tardeo. In August 1993 the High Court upheld the earlier decision of the Industrial Court and denied the company a reappeal and Hedulkar was reinstated into the company.

Besides, workers are often forced to resign, not given work; intimidated by thugs or lured into accepting VRS by showing misleading video shows on luxuries that can be theirs or are even offered gifts under a lottery system as in the case of Hindustan Levers Ltd. In some other cases, like the Bush Electronic company, they have resorted to down right cheating. First the workers are induced into accepting VRS and later are forced to invest the sum into the company when the company expresses its inability to pay them.

Thus the VRS is a coercive and involuntary instrument in the hands of employers to retrench labour and weaken the trade union movement, and it in no manner helps the workers.

MYTH

Through the VRS, the workers can invest their earnings in various investment scheme or in self-employment opportunities which will enrich them and thereby improve their living standard considerably.

FACT

The study conducted by the above institute also showed that those who accepted the VRS were in a dismal state. In most cases

**TABLE : AID FROM NRF FOR VRS SINCE '93
(AS ON 31.10.1995)**

Name of the Ministry/Department	Expenditure (Rs. crores)		
	93-94	94-95	95-96
Department of Chemical and Petrochemicals	41.2	25.5	
Department of Fertilisers	0.5	3	4.35
Ministry of Civil Aviation & Tourism	8.64		
Ministry of Civil Supplies, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution	7		
Ministry of Defence	10	12.23	
Ministry of Food Processing Industries	2		
Department of Heavy Industry	179.09	85.22	6.37
Ministry of Mines	82.48	35	
Ministry of Surface Transport	36.2	17.07	
Ministry of Textiles	129.95	40	10
Ministry of Water Resources	6		
Department of Atomic Energy	5	5	
Ministry of Steel	34	37	11

Source : Ministry of Industry

According to this latest data available with the Ministry of Industry, assistance under the NRF for Voluntary Retirement Scheme for workers of public sector units dropped sharply in the first 10 months of the year 1995. The number of employees in the Central Public Sector Units availing VRS has also shown a decline. While in 1992-93, 38626 workers availed VRS, the number was 31613 in 1993-94 and 7375 in 1994-95. (Abhik Ghosh, *The Economic Times*, Dec. 4, 1995)

the workers had no alternative income. The VRS money or the so called Golden Handshake helped them only for a short time but once this got over their trouble started. In another study by B. B. Patel and Cowlagi of the Gandhi Labour Institute, Ahmedabad, two-thirds of the 60,000 textile workers displaced in Ahmedabad had become hawkers and taxi-wallahs. Many had taken to driving autorickshaws and several others were employed as petty shopkeepers. Still others looked towards other family members earnings for sustenance. Thus a vast majority of workers opting for VRS have been adversely affected with only a small portion of the lumpsum remaining and a major portion gone in repayments of loans or expenses like marriages etc. The rising prices have added to their misery. Many, in order to overcome this crisis look out for jobs but hardly come by one. Those who are fortunate find them only in the unorganised sector. The condition of women employees was even worse, as those who opted for the 'Golden Handshake' could not get gainful employment elsewhere unlike their male counterparts who somehow managed to get alternate employment to make ends meet.

MYTH :

The implementation of the social clause vis-a-vis workers may not be detrimental to the interests of the countries of the South.

FACT :

The Social clause is a protectionist measure to implement unilateral trade sanctions on the South which supposedly, has certain competitive advantages over the North.

However, such standards set by the North are ambiguous

and do not apply universally to all the sectors of the economy as many economic activities are outside the purview of global trade. The South is thus being made a scapegoat for Northern job insecurity in that, this is supposedly due to poor labour standards of the South and not due to any faulty macro-economic policies of the North. But it is far easier and convenient for the North to put the blame on those outside their own society!

At any rate, the implementation of the Social Clause would ultimately enable the North to also abrogate to itself the role of Trade Unions and NGOs thereby undermining the very independence and role of these institutions.

On the other hand TUs and Managements do need to improve the lot of the working class by way of living and working conditions particularly those of the vast majority of the unprotected labour in the unorganised sector comprising of 92% of the total labour force, as stated above. Moreover, there are already laws the Government has enacted on issues that are common concerns to the social Clause principles. There is, for instance, the Equal Remuneration Act, Child Labour Act, The Minimum Wages Act, etc. but these all remain merely in status book.

To this extent therefore, the Social Clause may force the government to implement pro-labour policies. However, our approach to the Social Clause needs caution as well as pragmatism. Efforts should be made so that the entire gamut of industries are covered by 'just' labour laws.

(ERNESTO NOROHA, Ph.D. is a scholar at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, (TISS) Mumbai and has just completed a study on the "Displaced Workers of a closed Textile Mill of Ahmedabad" as part of his Ph. D programme at the TISS, Courtesy : Vikas Adhyayan Kendra, Mumbai)

TABLE 4. BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL PLAN OF NRF (US \$ MILLION)

Uses of Funds	1992-93		1993-94		1995-96	
	US \$	No. of workers	US \$	No. of workers	US \$	No. of workers
A NGRF						
(1) VRS payments						
(i) NTC restructuring	121.7	40,000	66.7	20,000	66.7	19,382
(ii) DIC restructuring	33.3	6000	33.3	6000	-	-
(iii) Other units	150.0	24,845	150.0	24,845	66.7	11,642
	305.0	70,845	250.0	50,845	133.4	31,024
(2) Ahmedabad textile mills	50.0	32,000	-	-	-	-
(3) Other units (BIFT)	50.0	8,287	166.7	27,623	266.7	44,197
Sub-total	405.0	11,132	416.7	78,468	400.1	75,221
B EGF						
(1) JRY	166.7	-	166.7	-	166.7	-
(2) NRY	11.7	-	16.7	-	33.3	-
(3) Counselling, training and other services	33.3	-	50.0	-	50.0	-
(4) Area regeneration schemes	16.7	-	16.7	-	16.7	-
Sub-total	228.4	-	250.1	-	266.7	-
			16.7		16.7	
Total	633.13	111,132	683.3	78,468	683.3	75,221

Based on NIC corporate plan and NIC VRS requests received by the NRF

Based on discussions with NTC

Based on 1992-93 VRS requests submitted to NRF and MOI estimates as to 1993-94 and 1994-95 requests valued at average payment per worker 1992-93 (excluding NTC)

Based on discussions with trade unions and government officials in Ahmedabad.

Budget numbers received from MOI. Number of workers computed on the basis of average expected compensation payment in 1992-93 as per VRS requests on NRF.

TABLE 2 INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES : STRIKES & LOCKOUTS - 1951 TO 1990

Year	No. of Disputes			No. of workers involved			No. of Man-days Lost(000)		
	Strikes	Lock-outs	Total	Strikes	Lock-outs	Total	Strikes	Lock-outs	Total
1961	1,240	117	1,357	432	80	512	2,969	1,950	4,919
1962	1,396	95	1,491	575	130	705	5,059	1,062	6,121
1963	1,364	107	1,471	491	72	563	2,229	1,040	3,269
1964	1,981	170	2,151	876	127	1,003	5,724	2,001	7,725
1965	1,697	138	1,835	889	102	991	4,617	1,853	6,470
1966	2,353	203	2,556	1,262	148	1,410	10,377	3,469	13,846
1967	2,433	382	2,815	1,340	151	1,491	10,565	6,583	17,148
1968	2,451	325	2,776	1,465	204	1,669	11,078	6,166	17,244
1969	2,344	283	2,627	1,687	140	1,827	15,477	3,571	19,048
1970	2,598	291	2,889	1,552	278	1,828	14,479	5,814	20,563
1971	2,478	274	2,752	1,476	130	1,615	11,803	4,743	16,548
1972	2,857	386	3,243	1,475	262	1,737	13,748	6,796	20,544
1973	2,958	412	3,370	2,358	187	2,545	13,862	6,764	20,628
1974	2,510	428	2,938	2,710	145	2,855	33,643	6,619	40,262
1975	1,644	299	1,943	1,032	111	1,143	16,706	5,195	21,901
1976	1,241	218	1,459	550	186	738	2,799	9,947	12,748
1977	2,691	426	3,117	1,912	281	2,193	13,410	11,910	25,320
1978	2,762	425	3,187	1,690	226	1,916	15,423	12,917	28,340
1979	2,708	340	3,048	2,714	159	2,873	35,804	8,050	43,854
1980	2,501	355	2,856	1,661	239	1,900	12,018	9,907	21,925
1981	2,245	344	2,589	1,261	327	1,588	21,208	15,375	36,583
1982	2,029	454	2,483	1,191	278	1,469	52,113	22,502	74,615
1983	1,993	495	2,488	1,167	294	1,461	24,921	21,937	46,858
1984	1,689	405	2,094	1,726	223	1,949	39,957	16,068	56,025
1985	1,355	400	1,755	878	201	1,079	11,487	17,753	29,240
1986	1,458	434	1,892	1,444	201	1,645	18,824	13,925	32,749
1987	1,348	451	1,799	1,495	275	1,770	14,026	21,332	35,358
1988	1,304	441	1,745	937	254	1,191	12,530	21,417	33,947
1989	1,397	389	1,786	N.A.	N.A.	1,384	10,700	21,960	32,660
1990(p)	1,366	1,825	N.A.	N.A.	1,388	10,640	13,450	24,090	
1991	684	279	963	N.A.	N.A.	599	3,540	6,200	9,740

* Include 41.40 and 13.38 million mandays lost due to Bombay Textiles strike during 1982 and 1983 respectively.

(p) Provisional.

Sources : (i) CMIE (1991) Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, Vol 1.

(ii) Ministry of Labour, Government of India, Annual Report (1991-92). Vol. 1

TABLE 3 SELECTED INDICATORS OF INTENSITY OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

	Average no. of days a worker was involved in strike		Individual intensity of L over S	No. of mandays lost per dispute		Social intensity of L over S 5=4/3
	Strike	Lockout		Strike	Lockout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
1961-1965	6.3	15.5	2.5	2,683	12,609	4.7
1966-1970	8.5	27.9	3.3	5,113	17,253	3.4
1971-1975	9.9	35.7	3.6	7,212	16,740	2.3
1976-1980	9.3	48.3	5.2	6,675	29,892	4.5
1981-1985	24.0	70.7	2.9	16,076	44,631	2.8
1986-1988	11.7	77.6	6.6	11,041	42,741	3.9
1961-1975	8.8	28.0	3.2	5,344	16,273	3.0
1976-1988	14.7	64.6	4.4	10,840	39,136	3.6

Note : L stands for Lockouts and S stands for Strikes.

AFGHANISTAN 1996

Exe Edr.

I was in Kabul some 30 years ago. It was a memorable experience.

When I disembarked at Kabul airport, I decided to hold on and to change my dollars in the city, thinking that I would get a better rate. It was a Saturday afternoon. By the time we reached the hotel (nice name, Pastinchey, whatever that may mean in Pashtu), all banks were closed.

Registering at the hotel was no problem since my stay was for quite a few days, and by the time the banks would have reopened. Luckily for me, at the reception desk, I met an Australian gemmologist who wanted to share his room, so even this technicality was resolved. (He wanted to save money to buy more of lapis lazuli I also bought a sizeable chunk of this lovely pure indigo-violet gold-dusted rare mineral stone under his guidance on Monday following). That evening my dinner was with the Ceylonese Ambassador to Kabul, and as he sent his car to pick me up from the hotel, I did not feel the pinch of hunger till next morning.

I didn't know what to do I didn't want to confess to anyone about my silly mistake at the airport, and I didn't want to get caught, on the first day of my long World Tour which was to go on for many months, trying to exchange dollars for Afghans through some unauthorised dealer.

I was standing in the middle of the road, musing and staring at the middle distance, and watching from the corner of my eye the magnificent samovar shining and resplendent, in a small tea kiosk, standing out from a background of tier upon tier of lovely porcelain bowls. Piping

hot tea was being dispensed to customers, along with huge naans of 3 feet length, upon which liberal sprinklings of sugar

the tea-stall owner. Perhaps he was also overjoyed to hear Roshan Ara. He invited me to draw near and handed me a beautiful ceramic bowl along with a huge chunk of naan and a saucer in which lay a small heap of sugar. They didn't care for pickles or such other savouries in Afghanistan. Sugar, to provide instant energy, was their preference.

I explained to the good man that I had no money. He told me simply "Parwah nahin" I felt that we had broken through the linguistic barrier. We were both Indians under the skin. (I repaid his "loan" of 20 Afghans, the following Monday afternoon) Kabul was wonderful, out of this world,

thrilling! Sitting in the sidewalk cafe, Khyber, one could see, all around, snowcapped Hindukush ranges. Small caravans of asses passed along, their backs loaded to bursting point, with open-mouthed sacks full of brilliant red tomatoes and other fruits and vegetables. Small rosy-cheeked boys sat on the asses. It was like sitting in a bowl which had a white rim with colourful rustic figures decorating the body curvatures. I think Kabul is indefensible once the enemy has reached the top of the surrounding hills. Though I am no military strategist I think I understand why Massoud abandoned Kabul once Taliban forces had reached its outskirts.

The Afghan-Pathan women were very beautiful. There were always a number of them on the streets, and I actually became friendly with the teller who changed my travellers cheques on more than one occasion. They usually wore a sort of uniform: black skirts, black

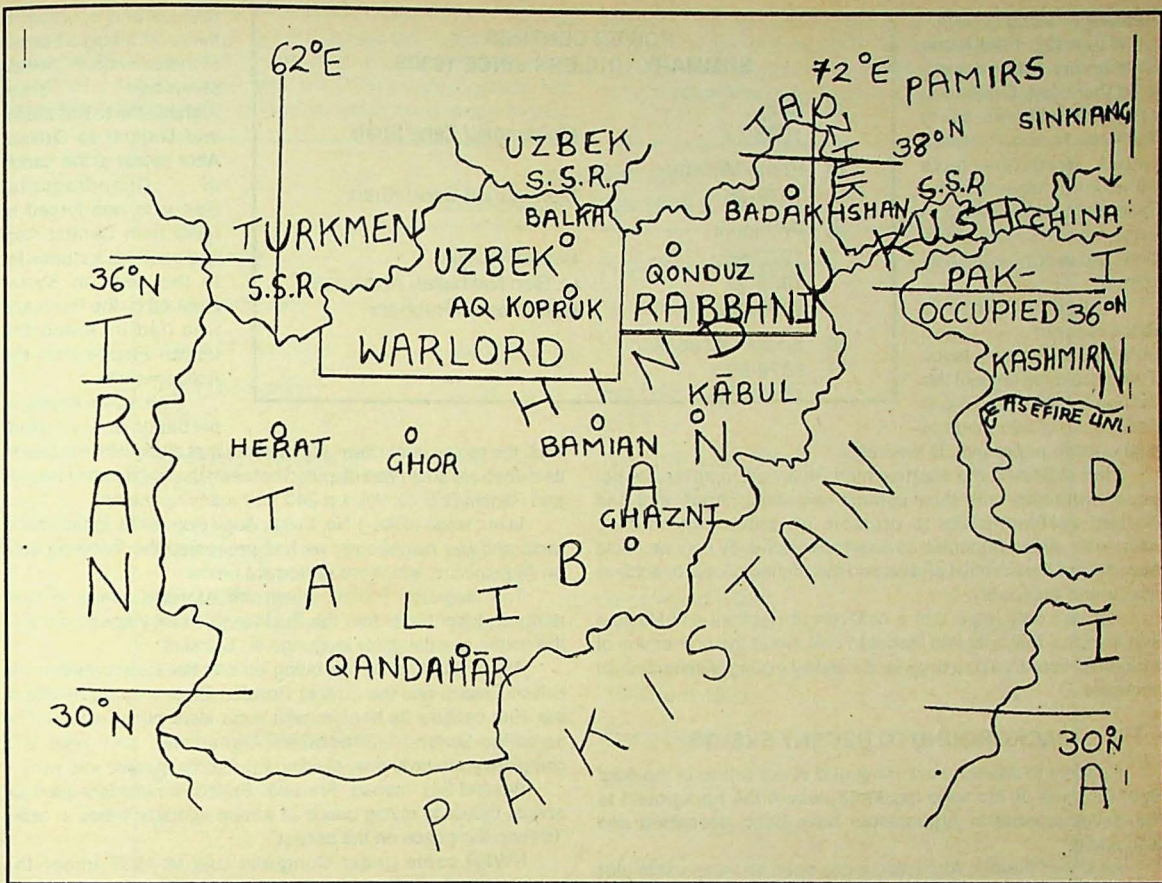
nylons, black shoes, and white or grey tops. They would shy away in the streets whenever I pointed my camera at them. But the girl at the foreign exchange counter was bold. She allowed me to photograph her in the sunlight outside the bank portals. I never asked her name, though I did give a copy of the snapshot to her after a few days. It was all done a little surreptitiously,

AFGHANISTAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS : 1930s TO 1990s

1933-1973	King Zahir Shah's rule.
1947-1979	Independent Pakhtoon Movement rages for a merger of North-West Pakistan with Afghanistan.
1961	Pakhtoon Movement reaches a climax Diplomatic Relations with Pakistan snapped. Border closed.
1963	Daud Khan resigns as PM. Md. H. Maiwandial new PM. Relations with Pakistan restored.
1964	New Constitution for Afghanistan.
1965-1972	Five Prime Ministers assume office in a round robin fashion.
1973	Monarchy overthrown and Daud returns.
1978	Coup by Noor Taraki. Daud killed.
1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
1986	Gen. Najibullah becomes President.
1987	Soviet troops withdrawn.
1989-1996	Civil War.
1994-1996	Burhanuddin Rabbani as President.
1996	Taliban Movement sponsored by Pakistan has captured Kabul. Rabbani has retreated to the Panjshil Valley to the North East. But Kabul is once again under siege (October), this time jointly by Rabbani's mainly Tadjik forces under Massoud and by Abdull Rashid Dostum mainly Uzbek guerrillas.

were being deposited.

Suddenly, the loud speakers in the restaurant behind me came alive and the magnificent mellifluous voice of Roshan Ara Begum began rendering a divine *Jaunpuri*. I couldn't contain my joy! I was yet within the Indian sphere of *raga music*! My face broke into a broad smile. At that very split second, my glance met that of



my slipping the photo to her along with the traveller's cheque.

She was very beautiful. A real *champavarni*, with a skin soft and tinged with yellow, like the petal of a *champak* flower. She had rouge on her cheeks without the application of any artificial aid.

I am sure that the Taliban mullahs are not at all popular with the Afghan people. Imagine trying to close down girls' schools and movie houses and wreck television sets in private homes! Taliban troops are forbidding Kabuli women to work in public offices; or walk the streets without the *chaddar*; just when we are on the verge of the 21st century.

It is not the killing of Najibullah and his brother that bothers me. After all, he lived by terror and perished by it! Najibullah was a third-rate Stalinist who had headed the Afghan secret service, KHAD, under the so-called communist regime of 1979-89! Najib, when asked about the anomaly of a secret service head becoming the President of a Republic, used to counter with the question: "If George Bush, the CIA chief, could become President of USA, why not I of Afghanistan?" (The difference, even here, was that Bush was elected by the foolish and disoriented American people, whilst Najib was merely a Russian stooge!)

Obviously Najib was hated, and that is why Taliban forces dragged him out of the UN office compound, where he had been hiding for 4 1/2 years, so soon after entering Kabul, and hung him

in a public square, with the people of Kabul looking on.

Najib's fate is perhaps a matter of great concern to the Russians and to the Stalinists-Progressivists of the INC and the CPI/CPM. The Afghan people are not involved in the fate of such disreputable and cruel, former heads of KHAD.

However, it is obvious that Taliban is not a liberationist force. It is not waving crowds that greet the entry of their soldiers in any street! Just silence and sullen stunned looks as their tanks and armoured vehicles pass the pedestrians! The TV visuals clearly reveal that the Taliban is a die-hard, reactionary, communalist agency promoted by Pakistan and her master USA.

As a matter of fact, Taliban is deeply involved in drug-trafficking. In all Taliban occupied areas from Herat to Kandahar and from Jalalabad and Kabul, poppy fields sway to the winds. It is the drug mafia that rules Afghanistan today! 90% of the heroin supplied to European markets is grown in Taliban territory.

Therefore, it is obvious that Taliban will not be able to rule Afghanistan for long with popular consent. Narrow-minded, anti-women forces and drug-tainted elements are in no position to stabilise their rule.

The ethnic-linguistic situation in Afghanistan is peculiar. About 50% of the population is Pashtoon / Pakhtoon and about 33 % speak Dari, a variant of Farsi, the language of the Tadjiks, Hazaras, Chahar Aimaks, etc. 9 % are Uzbek, the largest of the

Turkish-speaking groups.

Thus the Pashtoons have a very small majority in Afghanistan. On the top of it, now Rabbani's mainly Tajik forces and Dostum's Uzbek irregulars have combined against the Taliban mullahs. Kabul is once again under seige and Taliban army is in hasty retreat.

Religious frenzy is effervescent and ephemeral. It never lasts. Therefore a roll back of the Taliban fanatics, who are in occupation of two-thirds of Afghanistan at present, is inevitable.

Had India and the short-sighted Stalinist-Progressivists not gone overboard with their pseudo-secularist jargon and had worked systematically to promote an anti-neocolonialist, nationalist, and democratic socialist alternative, by now we could have seized the initiative and helped the Afghan people to achieve peace and prosperity.

We can only hope that a coalition of Rabbani and Dostum will drive the Talibanis into Pakistan and arrest the conversion of a beautiful country into a drug-land ruled by a gang of communalist criminals

BACKGROUND TO RECENT EVENTS

Readers to *Mankind* are reminded of our article in the Aug/Sept 96 issue of *Mankind* (pp.39-48) where the background to the developments in Afghanistan have been described and discussed.

As stated therein, Afghanistan has been an inseparable part of historic India from the Rig-Vedic times (c. 4500 BC) to the 19th Century AD, when the British army repeatedly tried and failed to occupy Afghanistan, which thereupon became a buffer zone between the Russian and the British Empires.

The name Afghanistan is derived from "Avagana" which was for the first time referred to in writing by Varahamihira, the renowned Indian astronomer of the 6th century AD (*EB 73*, Vol. 1 p 240)]

Queen Kaikeyi, Dashrath's wife and Rama's stepmother hailed from Bactria which is North Afghanistan. Gandhari, the wife of Dhritarashtra of *Mahabharat* fame hailed from Gandhar, which is modern Kandahar in South-West Afghanistan.

Remains of the Saraswati civilisation (the so-called Indus culture) have been found at Shortu-Ghai on the banks of the Amudarya (Oxus), which forms the border between present day Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Remains of hundreds of stupas and viharas have been found all over Afghanistan, especially at Bamiyan where two of the worlds largest extant statues of the Buddha have been found, one of 175 ft. and the other of 120 ft. Ashokan inscriptions have also been discovered in Afghanistan, which was a part of Chandragupta's great Mauryan Empire. Here Chandragupta defeated Seleucus Nikator who was forced to cede most of the territories now comprising Afghanistan to the great Maurya who was a Kshatriya, or low-caste pupil of the professor of political economy, Kautilya, the then teacher at the famed Takshashila University. Chandragupta went on to defeat the

POWER CENTRES : SUMMARY - RULERS SINCE 1930S

a) King 1933-73	Mohammed Zahir Shah
b) Prime Minister 1973-78	Mohammed Daud Khan
c) President 1979-86 1986-92 1992-96	Babrak Karmal Lt. Gen Najibullah Ahmadzai Burhanuddin Rabbani
d) Soviet Occupation 1979-89	

Nandas and established the great Maurya Empire of Indian history, which stretched from Afghanistan to Karnataka and Gujarat to Orissa. After defeat at the hands of Chandragupta, Seleucus was forced to retire from Central Asia and seek his fortunes far to the west in Syria, pursued by the Parthians who had inherited the Iranian Empire from the Achaemenids.

The term Aryan is probably derived from

Aria, the region in Western Afghanistan that along with Scythia to its immediate south was disputed between the kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia (*EB 73*, Vol. 1 p 240) for many centuries.

In our issue of Vol. 1 No. 11/12, Aug / Sep. 1996, in the article *India and Her neighbours*, we had presented the following data on Afghanistan, which we reproduce below.

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

Afghanistan came into being as a buffer state between the British Empire and the Czarist Russian Empire in the middle of the 19th century. Its borders with India were never settled. The so-called Durand line between Afghanistan and India is a completely arbitrary one, dividing the Pathan people into two.

Beyond this "cease -fire line" British Imperialism paid an annual tribute to roving bands of armed nomadic tribes in order "to keep the peace on the border".

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

The Indian National Congress comprehensively betrayed the Congress Party of the NWFP, under British pressure and handed over a province where they had a clear majority to Pakistan. (Pakistan was allowed by Britain to incorporate East Bengal separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory, but India was not allowed to include NWFP, which had a common border with Jammu and Kashmir ! But such were the consequences of imperialist machinations of those days).

Since Afghanistan itself was an artificial Russo-British creation, and since Pakistan was itself a further British creation, there has been a movement of independence fought by the Pathan people of the North-West over the last 5 decades. It was overtly encouraged by the Afghan govt. of King Zahir Shah from 1947 onwards, and by his cousin and Vizier, Daud Khan, who was in power in those days. In 1963, Daud was forced to resign and relations were restored with Pakistan. Daud returned to power in 1973 when the Pakhtoon Movement received a boost, but American manoeuvres against the USSR in Afghanistan finally led to Soviet intervention and invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Soviet occupation continued upto 1989, after which Afghanistan plunged into a civil war with a triangular contest between the Uzbeks in the north, the Tajiks in the west, and the Pathans in the east and the south. The Uzbeks are entrenched in the north where Afghanistan and the Uzbekistan share a common border. A

struggle is going on between the Tajiks and the Pathans. For the moment, the Pathans led by the pro-Pakistan Taliban extreme fundamentalist movement from Herat and Kandahar (ancient Gandhar), have occupied Kabul. The US is backing Pakistan but President Rabbani is hanging on, possibly encouraged by Iran

and some of the Central Asiatic, Islamic, newly independent, republics of the former USSR. Turkmenistan is leaning towards Pakistan, as an oil pipeline by an American consortium is planned to the Arabian Sea from Turkmenistan via Pakistan.

AFGHANISTAN ECONOMIC STATUS 1960 & 1993					
Area in '000 km ²	:	652.00	Pop. (mid-1993) (mlns.)	:	17.7
% of World Area	:	0.48	% of World Pop. (1993)	:	0.35
Name of Currency	:	Afghani			
Pop (mid-1960s) (mlns.)	:	13.74	Per Cap. 1993 (PPP) US \$:	775
% of World Pop./mlns. (1960)	:	0.34	Nat GDP 1993 (PPP) US \$ (mlns)	:	14,160
Per Cap. 1960 (PPP) US \$:	800			
Nat. GDP 1960 (PPP) US \$ (mlns)	:	10648.50	% of World GDP (1993)	:	0.05
% of World GDP	:	0.16	Comparison bet. 1960 and 1993	:	-0.11
Official Exchange Rate for 1 US \$:		Trade Balance (mlns US \$)	:	
a) 1973	=	70.75	a) 1976	=	-98
b) 1981	=	44.25	b) 1986	=	-882
c) Oct.1996	=	4,000-35,000-15,000			

CHANGE OF REGIMES IN PAKISTAN

RULER	PERIOD		RULER	PERIOD	
Liaquat Ali Khan	Aug 1947-Oct 1951	Murdered	Yahya Khan	Mar 1969-Dec 1971	Army Coup
Khwaja Nazimuddin	Oct 1951-Apr 1953	Sacked	Z. A. Bhutto	Dec 1971-July 1977	Army Coup
Mohammad Ali Bogra	Apr 1953-Aug 1955	Resigned	Zia-ul-Haq	Jul 1977-Aug 1988	Killed in Air Crash
Ch. Mohammad Ali	Aug 1955-Sep 1956	Resigned	Benazir Bhutto	Dec 1988-Aug 1990	Sacked
Sohrawardy	Sep 1956-Oct 1957	Resigned	Junejo	Aug 1990-Nov 1990	Sacked
Chundrigar	Oct-Dec 1957	Resigned	Nawaz Sharif	Nov 1990-Apr 1993	Sacked
Firoz Khan Noon	Dec 1957-Oct 1958	Army Coup	Benazir Bhutto	Oct 1993-Nov 1996	Sacked
Iskander Mirza	Oct 1958	Army Coup	Miraj Khalid	Nov 1996-	Caretaker PM
Ayub Khan	Oct 1958-March 1969	Army Coup			

Source : *Times of India*, Nov 8, 1996

NEO-COLONIALISM AND THE NON- GOVERNMENTAL VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

There has been a phenomenal growth in the number of non-governmental voluntary organisations (NGOs) in India and other third world countries in the post-World War II period. In India, this has assumed epidemic proportions in the last 25 years. Most of these bodies receive funds from Western countries.

The number of NGOs in India was 9,316 in 1990 and went up to 10,963

in 1994. Table 1 shows the number of NGOs and the amounts of foreign donations they received. Table 2 gives a list of the donor countries with the amounts received from each.

The reasons for the sudden spurt in the number of NGOs and the increasing scope of their activities in the last quarter century are to be found in the post-World War II international situation and the

TABLE 1 : NUMBER OF NGOS IN INDIA RECEIVING FOREIGN FUNDS

Year	No. of NGOs Receiving Foreign Funds	Foreign Donations (Rs. Crores)
1990	9,316	945.47
1991-92	9,012	1412.13
1992-93	10,201	1584.30
1993-94	10,963	1865.70

Source : *The Week*, Sept. 15, 1996, p.31

**TABLE 2 : FOREIGN DONORS OF INDIAN NGOS
DONATIONS RECEIVED FROM 1990-91 TO 92-93
(Rs. Crores)**

Germany	2936.68	Sweden	76.24
U.S.A.	923.63	Australia	67.72
UK	421.45	Belgium	64.17
Italy	301.97	France	54.22
Netherlands	257.49	Austria	43.51
Switzerland	218.56	Finland	38.43
Canada	142.75	Norway	26.77
Spain	81.68	Others	319.64
		Total	5874.91

Source : *Ibid.*

relationship between the developed and the third world countries over the last century and a half.

THE ORIGINS OF FOREIGN FUNDED VOLUNTARY ACTION

Philanthropic religious organisations played an important role in the colonization of the third world countries. As the various European powers and America competed with one another for control of colonies, both Catholic and Protestant church missions began to make an appearance in these countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Apart from proselytising the native population, these organisations undertook charitable relief work among the poor in the colonies.

They carried out the White Man's "civilising mission" in the colonies and attempted to divert attention from the loot of the colonies by the imperial powers. India was one of the recipients of the largest number of missionaries. (David O.Moberg, *The Church as a Social Institution*, 1962, p. 221, quoted by P.J.James, *Non-Governmental Voluntary Organisations: The True mission*, 1995) These missions gradually undertook community projects, agricultural extension, health care programmes. Several organisations were also sponsored by the Church to promote closer interaction with the local population, e.g. YMCA, YWCA, Catholic Youth Centres, Boys Brigade, etc. These associations funded by the church can be seen functioning in India and other third world countries even today.

In 1985, the World Student Christian Federation was formed with headquarters in America. The events which culminated in the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 gave a new impetus to the process of using the church as an ally of the imperialist powers in the ideological battle against the growth of communism and national liberation movements in the third world countries.

The Jesuit School of Foreign Services established by the Catholic church in Georgetown University in U.S.A. was an integral part of Woodrow Wilson's counter-intelligence programme in third world countries. (Patrick Moynihan "A Dangerous Place", 1979, p.22, quoted by P.J.James, *op.cit.*, p.8)

Charitable voluntary work had to undergo considerable expansion as national independence movements began to gather strength in the colonies. The "World Conference on Faith and Order" (1910) and the "World Conference on Life

and Work " (1925) began functioning, with American patronage and culminated in the formation of the World Council of Churches (WCC) with headquarters in Geneva. The WCC became a major conduit for foreign funds reaching the newly independent ex-colonies. The Moral Re-Armament (MRA) originated in Britain in the period between the two world wars. It had "vested interest in the status-quo" and "upheld acceptance rather than confrontation of the existing social order" because of the belief that personal failings and not the social order, were the chief obstacles to change. This movement played an effective role in combating progressive movements globally. It funded infamous 'Liberation Struggle' in Kerala in the late 1950's and a number of prominent Indians were its followers. The grandson of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Rajmohan Gandhi was its chief spokesperson in India till recently. (P.J. James, *op.cit*, pp-10-11)

MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND PHILANTHROPY

John Rockefeller appropriated an immense fortune through global plunder for Standard Oil, which was the biggest international monopoly in the early 20th century. A part of this fortune was diverted to create the Rockefeller Foundation, a philanthropic empire. Another giant international monopoly in steel was headed by Andrew Carnegie who established the Carnegie Foundation in the same period. By the 1920's hundreds of such foundations were launched and were active in and outside America. The Ford Foundation was instituted by the Ford Motor Company which was a big monopoly in automobiles and was a major supplier of vehicles to the American military headquarters in Pentagon. (George Rosen, *Western Economists and Eastern Societies Agents of Change*, 1985, p.5, quoted by P.J.James, *op.cit*)

Voluntary organisations were considered more suited than government to provide relief and rehabilitation. "The large number of volunteer workers in charitable agencies had much to do with the dominance of private relief during the century. In many places public relief was abolished entirely and funds transferred to private agencies which took over the burden of providing economic and welfare assistance to the needy. This procedure was considered far more economical chiefly because the private agencies payrolls were often nominal. In the early 20th century, there was a broadening of voluntary activities. During the depression of the 1930's, as part of reducing much of the governmental burden, voluntary organisations provided a wide range of services related to the health, education and welfare of the community. (William E. Thomas" *Volunteerism in the Eighties Congressional Quarterly Inc.*" Vol II, No-22, p.915, quoted by P.J.James, *op.cit* p.11)

The Rockefeller Foundation's Asia policy was directed against the Chinese Revolution. The Peking Union Medical College was established by this foundation in 1921 "as a great gift that the West can make to China". The North China Council for Rural Reconstruction was established by Rockefeller Foundation as "humanitarian investments in rural China against communist advancements". (George Rosen, *op.cit*, p.6, quoted by P.J. James)

THE END OF DIRECT COLONIAL RULE IN ASIA AND AFRICA : THE RISE OF NEO-COLONIALISM

By the middle of the 20th century, a number of colonies had achieved freedom from direct colonial rule of Britain and other European powers. More than one-third of the world population had opted out of the free market economic system dominated by USA and European countries.

The end of direct colonial rule did not end the domination of the ex-colonies by the former imperial powers. These powers were led by America which had no direct colonies but had immense experience in indirect plunder of the Latin American countries. The ruling classes of the newly independent countries were co-opted into becoming local partners of the developed countries in the continued exploitation of the masses in the Third World countries.

USA had emerged as the most powerful country in the world at the end of the Second World War, with half the World's GNP, over three-quarters of the world's gold reserves, a technological lead in many industries and a strong military position. Her indirect plunder of the Latin American countries had equipped her well to lead the other imperialist powers in the neo-colonial exploitation of the third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The various American monopolies and similar monopolies from other former imperialist powers had by this time entered the backward economies of the former colonies and neo-colonies and had transformed themselves into multinational corporations.

Under the Bretton Woods Agreement of 1944 under American supervision and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) were created as instruments to keep the third world countries in permanent subjugation. The 'loan capital' or 'aid' from the developed countries to the neo-colonies has been very effective in influencing the foreign and domestic policies of these countries and also in enlarging the area of operation of the MNC's.

In this period, the supposed difference between the religious and the non-religious philanthropic activities disappeared. Their so-called autonomy from the state was also abandoned and they began to subserve the neo-colonial policy needs of the developed countries and the interests of monopoly capital. Amounts allocated for funding the NGOs in the neo-colonies are a miserable fraction of the investments that these former imperialist powers and the MNCs are making in these countries and of the profits they have made and continue to make. Just as in the period of direct imperial rule, church missions served as a social support to an alien rule, the NGOs attempt to give a benevolent mask to the fierce exploitation of the neo-colonies by the former imperialist powers.

The *Rowan Gaither Report* (1949) which became the manifesto of the Ford Foundation says : " As the tide of communism mounts in Asia and Europe the position of the United States is crucial. We are striving at great cost to strengthen free peoples everywhere. The needs of such peoples, particularly in underdeveloped areas, are vast and seemingly endless, yet their eventual well-being may prove essential to our security. To improve their living standards they must import and use knowledge, guidance and capital. The United States appears to be the only country able to provide even a part of the urgently needed assistance". Another US foreign policy expert and a US State Department official were more explicit : " The United States, by its economic aid programme, could contribute to achieving constructive results from that process in the form of a better world not only for the countries assisted but for the United States as well, a world in which the appeals of communism would be blunted". Another US State Department official commented : "Military and economic assistance are clearly linked. A nation is vulnerable not only to direct pressures but also to conditions of economic and social misery which invite communist exploitation. Providing arms, training, and in some cases, budgetary assistance can give a nation the strength to stand up to outside pressure

and to put down internal subversion.

Miles Copeland in his book *The Real Spy World*, 1974, gives a detailed description of hundreds of American and European foundations. (pp.248-52) According to him some of them were created by the Central Intelligence Agency in USA to act as 'unofficial cover' for overseas intelligence work. Several empirical studies have established that such agencies "administer projects too politically sensitive for government to carry out directly" (Thomas H. Fox, "NGOs from the US" in *World Development*, Vol.15, Autumn 1987, p.16, quoted by P.J. James, *op.cit.*, p.19) Sheel Bhadra Yajee in his book *CIA, Manipulating Arm of the US Foreign Policy*, 1987, notes that many US missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic "were willing CIA informants in the belief that they were doing their patriotic duty" (p.216)

The "Surplus Commodity Programme" which became the "Food for Peace Programme" under the PL-480 Act of 1954 was a result of the pressure from US agri-business MNCs to conquer the vast international market for food. The over-production of foodgrains in US farms was channelled to Third World countries through US voluntary agencies like CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere), World Vision, etc. Both CARE and World Vision have annual budgets that exceed \$ 100 million and the latter has 650 "Projects in India".

In 1961, two agencies directly related to the US department were created to co-ordinate and to deal with specific aspects involving voluntary agencies and their activities. They are the United States Agency for International Development (US AID) and the Peace Corps.

They initiated a process of networking and coordinating various agencies within and outside. America by creating appropriate bodies, development research institutions, new universities, public policy think-tanks, etc. in close alliance with leading US MNCs and philanthropic corporations such as Ford, Rockefeller, Carneige, Kellog, etc. Voluntary agencies were encouraged to forge unions with broader social movements such as feminists, trade unions and environmentalists at global level. Through this process USAID ensured the legitimacy of tens of hundreds of voluntary agencies in neocolonies which enabled them to persuade and influence governmental policies. This programme also yielded a wealth of information with regard to "developing and testing various methods of organising people in various countries". (Thomas H. Fox, *op.cit.*, pp.11-21)

By the mid-sixties, most of the European powers also had a sizeable presence among the voluntary agencies operating in the Third World countries. Germany led the other powers in Europe in this respect. Action for World Solidarity, Bread for the World, Tere des hommes, Protestant Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), are some of the more familiar German charitable agencies operating in the poor countries.

THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME AND THE THIRD WORLD

The Thatcher and the Reagan years in England and in America, shattered the earlier illusion that capitalism was transforming into a welfare state. The developed countries began to curtail domestic social security and social services expenditures during the 1970's and 1980's.

The repercussion of this crisis in the Third World was the imposition of the Structural Adjustment programme and the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation. These policies have resulted in mounting unemployment, lower wages, cuts in health, education and social services, and a further pauperisation

of a majority of the population in these countries.

RISE OF PSEUDO-RADICAL THEORIES

From the 1960's the social scientists in imperialist countries and their counterpart's in the neo-colonies began to focus on the "radical alternative to Marxism". This was an attempt to divert the attention of the people from their domination and exploitation by imperialist countries, with the local elite acting as the junior partners. Mass struggles which were autonomous from any organised political party began to be promoted.

In India, Rajni Kothari put forward the view that Marxism and ideology of the proletariat have become outmoded. "Instead of the working classes of the world uniting, it is the world middle classes that are becoming conscious of their interdependence". ("The Non-Party Political Process", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4-2-1984) "Motivated middle class professionals would lead the so-called people's movements in a non-party political process."

Paul Freire, the Brazilian priest (*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) with his theory of "conscientization", and Saul Alinsky who in Philippines initiated a process of "empowerment", are two other examples of this new radicalism.

"A close look at these agencies reveal that though they appear to be radical and even 'Marxist' in the analytical sense, in the political sphere their work is the deliberate negation of a class approach. In fact, the real aim of their research and analysis in social problems has been to dilute the grave issues through elaborate exercises and thereby mislead the masses away from the essential task of social revolution. Despite an eloquent critique of neocolonialism by this 'new generation' voluntary agencies, any discussion of demolition of the neocolonial state and capture of political power is conspicuously absent in their agenda. On the other hand, all these agencies are glorifying the so called "micro-level people's participation". (P.J. James, *op.cit.*, p.42)

In the seventies, voluntary agencies began to change into "development organisations" to implement the programmes desired by IMF and World Bank. Food and Agricultural Organisation's Freedom from Hunger Campaign conducted in the early '70s, was a part of Robert McNamara's "poverty eradication programme" when he was the President of the World Bank. (Robert McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors*, Nairobi, 1973, quoted by P. J. James, *op.cit.*, p.43)

World Bank loans have also begun to include provisions that a part of the World Bank loan given to poor countries should be earmarked for voluntary agencies.

While these voluntary agencies led by "motivated middle class professionals" criticise the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and call for "the emergence of an alternative paradigm based on indigenous systems;" they carefully avoid any discussion on the overthrow of the neo-colonial state. Voluntary Action Network India (VANI), a co-ordinating agency of Indian NGOs has been holding workshops in SAP all over India since 1991. (VANI NEWS Oct. 1992)

Nanjundaswamy of Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha (KRSS) plans to set up an international research institute with help from Third World Network for promoting "sustainable agricultural development." The KRSS is leading militant struggles against the TRIPS provisions of the World Trade Organisation, but Nanjundaswamy, while participating in the anti-GATT Convention in Geneva in 1993, said: "Our stand is that India should remain a member of GATT, but should have demanded drastic amendments in the agreement." (A. P. Kripa, "Raitha Sangha's Political Dilemma", *Economic and Political*

This spreads the illusion that the issues arising from the new global treaty can be resolved by a mere change of governmental policies.

"Sustainable development" is another favourite phrase in the NGO circuit. The UNDP defines it as "development that not only generates economic growth but distributes its benefits equitably; that regenerates the environment rather than destroying it; that empowers people rather than marginalizing them. It is development that gives priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and opportunities, and providing for their participation in decisions that affect their lives. It is development that is pro-people, pro-nature, pro-jobs and pro-women," (United Nations Dept. of Public Information, *World Summit for Social Development, Background 4*, Aug. 1994, p.5)

An apolitical and ahistorical approach to development is implicit in this statement. It negates the need for any fundamental change in the existing unequal global relations between the former imperialist powers and the poor Third World countries as a precondition for attaining social and economic equality.

The NGOs are using sophisticated jargon to divert attention from the machinations of the developed countries to keep the Third World under the domination of international capital. Among the theoreticians-cum-voluntary activists, Gail Omvedt is a dalit theoretician who lauds the virtues of the new world trade order led by WTO. Her theorisation is that globalisation and free trade would hit hard the 'brahmanical order' in India. Swami Agnivesh, another well-known voluntary activist supports the new GATT agreement on the pretext that its provisions will lead to the eradication of child labour. (P.J. James, *op.cit*, pp.108.9)

Infiltration of trade unions in various countries in order to keep them close to the Euro-American reformist model was also an objective for which the NGOs were used. The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), a German foundation directly sponsored by the German government, is very active among trade unions in the Third World countries. The FES actively propagates "workers' cooperatives" and the dismantling of public sector undertaking by governments in third world countries as a necessary part of the Structural Adjustment Programme and Globalisation.

FES and other German agencies are very active in building research institutes and voluntary agencies, in many countries including India. Bunker Roy's SWRC and Ela Bhatt's SEWA are two prominent voluntary agencies being funded by FES. This German foundation is also very active among "independent" trade unions in Bombay and Delhi.

Thus, an elite class of researchers oriented to foreign fund is systematically created in the neo-colonies who act as 'opinion-makers' for the imperialist powers in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

INDIA AND GLOBAL "VOLUNTARY" ACTION

By the end of the Second World War, the countries of Euro-America had learnt to incorporate indigenous traditions of voluntary work into the global voluntary action network. In India, many well-meaning Gandhians became involved in this web of foreign-funded 'non-governmental' action.

The Ford Foundation emerged as the leading international agency funding and co-ordinating voluntary action.

A letter from the President of Ford Foundation, Paul Hoffman, to Chester Bowles, the then US ambassador in India spells out the critical role of India in the programme of the Ford

Foundation."The critical danger as I see it lies in the possibility that economic conditions may improve in China while the Indian situation remains stagnant.... If such a contrast developed during the next four or five years, and if the Chinese continued their moderate and plausible approach without threatening the northern Indian boundary...the growth of communism in India might be very great. The death or retirement of Nehru might then be followed by a chaotic situation out of which another potentially strong communist nation might be born...It is absolutely essential that the objectives of the First Five Year Plan should be attained...It is my guess that between one and two billion dollars spread over five years by American aid plus help from World Bank and private capital will insure the success of the Five Year Plan. This will provide the essential strengthening of the Indian economy, and at the same time harden the Indian attitude toward the communist threat.(George Rosen, *op.cit*, p.9, quoted by P.J. James, *op.cit*, pp 74-75).

The Etawah Village Development Project which began in the early 50's under the supervision of Albert Mayer, a US expert was the beginning of foreign-funded action in the agricultural sector.

Paul Hoffman's letter quoted by George Rosen makes clear the motivation of the Ford Foundation in its intervention in rural India. "A strong Central government must be established. A system of elementary education must be started. The standard of living must be raised. The hardcore of communists must be kept under control... The Prime Minister Pandit Nehru greatly needs understanding, sympathy, and help from the people and governments of other free nations". (*ibid*, p.11)

Ford Foundation launched the Community Development Programme on Oct.2, Gandhi's birthday in 1952. The close cooperation between the Ford Foundation officials and the Indian government functionaries is evident from the following statement of Ensminger who was the Ford Foundation representative in India for 20 years. "I fed programme idea into India through the same channels. To keep me informed the Planning Commission sent me... its working documents...with an understanding that ideas and suggestions from me were always welcome. The Planning Commission always expected feedback of my critical observations following a field trip and this I did. Given the above relations I avoided public utterances and reserved my critical observations for face-to face discussion with appropriate government officials". (*ibid*, p.53)

By 1971, India was the largest recipient of grants from Ford Foundation Overseas Development Programme totalling \$ 104 million (*ibid*; p.56)

Two World Bank economists have put forward the theory that the vast unemployed masses in the Third World countries can be harnessed by monopoly capital as a cheap source of surplus value by providing them food. (Ragnar Nurkse, *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries*, 1953 and Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth*, 1955)

By mid-fifties, the Ford sponsored Community Development Programme was recognised as a failure in providing succour to the rural poor by the sponsors. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee was appointed in 1957 to analyse the reasons for the lack of popular participation in this programme and it was recast as Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP).

Some of the more familiar names among the voluntary agencies operating in India are Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (AVARD) sponsored by Gandhi Peace Foundation, the Bombay Urban Industrial

League for Development (BUILD), the Indian Social Institute, and Asian Institute for Rural Development in Bangalore, the Urban Industrial Rural Mission sponsored by World Council of Churches, Institute for Motivating Self-Employment (IMSE) in Calcutta, Indian school for Research and Education (ISRE), Bombay, MYRADA, Karnataka and Lokayan of Rajani Kothari funded by the Rockefeller foundation (P.J. James, *op.cit.*, p.84)

A large number of idealistic youth who were a part of the struggles and movements in India in the sixties and seventies were targeted by these foreign funded agencies with their pseudo-radical theories.

In 1976, when an Internal Emergency was clamped down in India, the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act was enacted by Indira Gandhi's government, ostensibly to regulate the activities of the foreign-funded agencies in India. In reality, with this legislation, the Indian government became a major conduit for foreign funds to NGOs.

In 1986, the government of India created the Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART). It functions as a department of the Rural Development Ministry to monitor the activities of voluntary agencies in India. It funds voluntary programmes in agriculture, livestock, fishing, poultry, development of women and children in rural areas, rural water supply, housing for rural SC/ST and bonded labourers, and promotion of rural technology. (*Gramin Vikas Newsletter*, Dec. 1987, Jan. 1988 and Sept. 1990, quoted by P.J. James, p.90)

R. Venkataraman, the then Vice-President of India, said in the course of a speech in Lucknow on June 30, 1986, that there was a "need to encourage participation of the target group in the implementation of the Rural Development Programmes in the country". The 'Target Group' approach is based on eliciting and bringing about the participation of the beneficiaries in the implementation of the programme. The "Cost-Recovery Scheme" in education, health and other sectors imposed by the IMF and WB as a part of the Structural Adjustment Programme in India during the Eighth Five Year Plan period, is a later version of the 'Target Group' approach.

Even a casual examination of the causes propagated by some of the NGOs will make it apparent how they serve the interests of their foreign funders.

The Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, an America-based disarmament project has recently co-sponsored a workshop on Depleting Resource Bases. Riots, Insurgency and Revolution at the fashionable Neemrana Fort Palace Hotel in Rajasthan. This workshop had chosen Bihar as its focus.

Child labour was another issue which foreign or corporate interests highlighted. Bharat Bhushan, an activist working with The Polavaram tribals says: "Child labour was a big issue when Western Corporate interests were thought to be affected by the cheap goods from India. I am not defending child labour. But I cannot buy the theory that any Indian parent is cruel enough to send his child to work, unless necessitated by poverty" (*The Week*, 15-10-1996, p.37)

The Indian government's response to this campaign against child labour was to make a unilateral declaration in Aug. 1994 to free two million children by 2000 A.D. and earmark Rs.850 crores for this purpose. Soon the NGO interest in this issue waned. No more major workshops or seminars were organised, but the government programme is going ahead with the help of local NGOs.

The attempt to push contraceptives like Norplant in India by the International Planned Parenthood is another case where a

device banned in the West is being forced on a Third World country. The International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) which was funded by baby food companies carried out propaganda to promote tinned food as a substitute for breast-feeding. To counter this, a lot of government money and effort to project breast-feeding as the best alternative had to be undertaken. The salt iodisation campaign is another case where the Indian scientific community was co-opted to highlight the problem of iodine deficiency as a widespread one, when it was confined to a small population in the hilly tracts. As a result of this campaign, salt production which was a cottage industry fell into corporate hands and Indians were forced to ingest excessive iodine. The AIDS campaign is also a good example of how the priorities of the developed countries dictate the NGO activity in India. As of January 31, 1996, there were only 2300 AIDS cases in India as against 2 million cases of malaria. TB and cholera are also rampant in India. Yet massive funds are spent on promoting AIDS awareness with only merge state resources going to fight malaria, cholera or T.B. (*ibid*)

CORRUPTION AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The International funding institutions and the MNCs are making alliances as with a section of the Indian upper and middle classes to create a coterie of commission agents, tax-evaders and fraudsters, who convert the so-called charitable activities into crores of money-spinning businesses.

The Nehru-Gandhi family leads with various trusts and foundations such as Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Trust, the Kamala Nehru Hospital Trust, the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, registered as voluntary agencies. These have become cash-rich institutions due to large-scale donations and innumerable tax-exempt charity drives. The Rajiv Gandhi Foundation has on its board people like Krishnamurthi and Satish Sharma who are involved in financial scams, and notorious fraudsters such as Harshad Mehta, Ashwin Mehta and Lalit Suri are among its contributors. On Dec. 1, 1992, Rameshwar Thakur, Minister of State for Finance, revealed these names in Rajya Sabha. Indian big business groups such as ANZ Grindlays, Reliance, ITC, Killick Nixon, J.K. Ceat and many others also figure in Thakur's list along with Chinese Premier Li Peng. (Ranjit Bhushan, "An Absence of Trust", *Indian Express*, *Sunday Magazine*, March 14, 1993). Another story published by the *Indian Express* on 24.9.96 gives details of the land grab operation by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA) under the leadership of Dr.Kapila Vatsyayan who is close to the Gandhi family. Not only has the IGNCAs grabbed 21 acres of the most valuable real estate in New Delhi for itself, but the six trustees-Sonia Gandhi, former President R.Venkataraman, former Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao, Puppul Jayakar, H.Y. Sharada Prasad and Kapila Vatsyayan - have made themselves life trustees with powers to coopt other trustees. The last three of these six names are ex-bureaucrats who have been very close to the Nehru-Gandhi family. By a change in the original trust deed, they have eliminated the authority of the President of India to order a review of the IGNCAs affairs. The Human Resources Development Ministry at the Centre funds the IGNCAs and 30 other national institutions like Gandhi Smriti, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and the 3 Akademis - Lalit Kala, Sangeet Natak and Sahitya - put together less than what it gives to the IGNCAs. Dr.Kapila Vatsyayan who is a retired Secretary in the Department of Culture is a fully paid academic director apart from being a life trustee of the IGNCAs

with full perks and privileges of a Minister of state without ever having faced an election.

If we look at the State level and district level NGO activity, we can also see a picture of rampant corruption and misuse of money.

The Week article we have already quoted gives a graphic account of voluntary agencies operating in the various states of India.

Kolar which is one of the backward districts in Karnataka has 109 NGOs. Out of these, 25 have been blacklisted by CAPART on charges of fraud, misappropriation and moral turpitude. Another 25 have been referred to the Central Bureau of Investigation. Several of the 25 on the CBI list have disappeared without a trace.

After an audit of the NGOs receiving funds from it about two years ago, CAPART blacklisted 564 agencies. CAPART estimates that 300 out of the 564 do not exist.

The same story is repeated in Bihar and Andhra. 66 organisations have been blacklisted in Bihar and 34 are being investigated by the CBI in Patna District alone. In Andhra, 23 organisations have been blacklisted by CAPART and 49 by other government agencies.

Anil Singh of Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) says that CAPART officials allegedly demanded 10 % commission to get projects sanctioned and this percentage now stands at 40%. According to him, most of the bad NGOs are outfits of political parties "running business in the name of social work using CAPART funds".

Political parties are not allowed to receive foreign funds, but several organisations of a political nature have got funds from abroad.

The reply given by the Minister of State for Home in Lok Sabha on Aug. 17, 1995, names the following NGOs of a 'political nature' which received foreign donations between January 1992 and 1994. The seven organisations named are Palmyrah Workers Development Society, Kanyakumari district, Tamil Nadu; Indian National Trade Union Congress; Anand Marga Universal Relief Team; Hind Mazdoor Sabha; Nadwatul-i-Ulema, Lucknow; Vishwa Hindu Parishad; and Friends of Moral Rearmament, Panchgani, Maharashtra. We have already referred to the German foundation Friedrich Ebert Stiftung which has been very active in funding trade unions in India.

During the assembly elections in Andhra and Karnataka in 1994, independent candidates have been supported by foreign-funded NGOs. The Chairman of a foreign-funded organisation was himself a candidate and is alleged to have spent Rs.8 lakhs on his campaign.

The poison of subservience to the imperialist countries runs

right across the political spectrum in India. A letter written by the RSS chieftain Golwalkar, to the American President Lyndon Johnson who was on a US visit in 1971, has the following sentence :

" By god's grace the USA is the leader of the free world. Dharma and Adharma are today engaged in a world wide war. In this war, the USA heads the side of the Dharma " (V.D. Chopra, *Pentagon Shadow over India*, 1985, p.200)

At the other end, the Politbureau members of the CPI (M) including its General Secretary EMS Namboodiripad, have supported the alternative budget' prepared by Rajni Kothari and other NGO theoreticians in February 1993. (*Deshabhimani*, CPI(M) publication, March 2-4, 1993)

IDEOLOGICAL DISORIENTATION

What is much more serious than the financial corruption is the ideological misdirection and the promotion of a climate of cynicism which is created by these foreign funded institutions. They infiltrate the colleges, the universities, the urban slums, the rural areas, trade unions and all other areas of socio-economic activity. The end result of their activities in this country is to spread frustration and disillusionment among the idealistic youth and other concerned citizens.

Not all those who take to voluntary work are corrupt. there is a sizeable number who are not involved with foreign funding. But they are scattered. Then there are those who are not aware of the full consequences of neo-colonial operations in Third World countries. These two sections of our population have to be mobilised. Those who believe in genuine and independent social movements have to appeal to the inherent idealism of the majority in Third World countries to combat the organisations of the foreign-funded NGO's and build operations whose ideological approach to the model of development is exactly opposite to that propagated by the neo-colonial NGO agencies. Their hallmark should be undiluted opposition to foreign interference and domination of our economic, social, political and cultural life. Today, when neo-colonial policies are so much in vogue, this task is not easy. But just as the aspirations of a majority in the Third World forced the imperialist powers to end their direct political rule over the colonies; the strong desire of the masses in the ex-colonies to lead a life free from the exploitation by the so-called developed countries, will inevitably compel the foreign funding institutions to withdraw their 'charitable' operations. A sustained struggle to expose the agencies which subserve neo-colonial interests and to build alternative, independent, revolutionary nationalist organisations is the only way to combat the poison spread by the foreign-funded NGOs.

CHINA'S SOCIALIST MARKET ECONOMY

Zhang Kai

A "REVOLUTION" IN MARXISM

The 14th CCP Congress approved a report by Party Chief Jiang Zemin. This report heaped high praise on the central leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping, and proclaimed the beginning of "another Mighty Revolution". An unnamed source on the reports drafting subcommittee states: "Adding the word 'socialist' in front of the phrase 'market economy' is unprecedented in the history of world development, and is an invention of the CCP. This is another huge liberation in thought by the CCP, an almighty breakthrough for socialist economic theory. "Mao's former secretary, now chairman of the party central's literature study group and a delegate to the 14th Congress, was even more forthright: "Proposing the Socialist Market Economy is Deng Xiaoping's massive theoretical contribution - it represents a revolution in Marxist Socialist Political Economy."

All this amounts to an admission by the CCP that the advocacy of a "socialist market economy" is a basic revision and abandonment of Marxism. For a long period in the past, the CCP would have agreed that the 3 distinctive features of socialism are: public ownership, distribution according to one's labour, and a planned economy. A planned economy is one of the superior features of socialism, whilst a market economy is the special characteristic of a capitalist economic system. However, because the CCP relied on centralised bureaucratic commands, it wrecked the progressive potential of a planned economy, in the same way as it is wrecking Marxist and socialist theory. It is now officially excluding the concept of a planned economy from its version of "socialism", without any rational

explanation. The economist Yu Guangyuan has replaced it completely with the concept of a market economy, by stating that the market economy "is one of the basic characteristics of socialist economics" (the others being that all productive resources belong to society and distribution is according to one's labour). This can be seen as a supplement to Deng's "revolution" against traditional political economy.

Deng's theoretical "breakthrough"? Towards the end of 1990 he proposed; "the substance of the division between capitalism and socialism is not planning versus market. In socialism there are also market mechanisms, and in capitalism there are also planning controls. Do not think that the introduction of a little market economics means following a capitalist road." In February 1992 during his tour of the south he pointed out again: "The basic difference between socialism and capitalism is not the relative extent of planning versus free market. A planned economy does not equal socialism; there is also planning in capitalism. A market economy does not equal capitalism; there are markets in socialism as well. Planning and markets are both economic techniques.

The CCP has elevated Deng's views as a "massive breakthrough in Marxist thought" which has resolved the questions of planned and market economy. In fact, he has conflated two sets of terminology which convey different meanings (a planned economy and planning; a market economy and markets and made them out to be the same. In a socialist or transitional society, a planned economy would be implemented whilst markets and market mechanisms continue to exist, but this

does not amount to concurrently implementing a full market economy. Similarly, in a market economy under capitalism, planning will exist in various individual parts of the economy, yet this cannot be regarded as a planned economy. In order to determine whether a country is implementing a planned or market economy, it is necessary to look at national level to see what is respectively decisive and supplementary; in other words, whether the foundation is based on planning or on market forces.

A STEP TOWARDS CAPITALIST MARKET ECONOMY

A closer examination of Deng's "original contribution" exposes the falsehoods and actual substance of his proposal; a drive towards capitalist market economics.

Deng said: "The methods of socialist market economics are basically similar to capitalist society's".

Jiang Zemin's report gave a muted commentary on this point, but the vice-chairman of the state constitutional reform committee, Gao Shanguan, provided a more concrete explanation: "the methods and mechanisms for the functioning of China's socialist market economics should be basically similar to the market economics of other countries. China should learn from the experiences and techniques of market economics in the developed countries." Once this had been proposed as the objective of the reforms, then "the whole economy's functioning should be based on the market" and "the land, labour power and all essential ingredients of production should make their entry into the market." This means a wholesale application of market forces, turning land, labour, power, etc. into commodities, enabling labour power to be bought by non-public sector and to be exploited to generate surplus value, without any substantial difference to wage labour under a capitalist system. Even within the state-run enterprises, as a result of the daily pursuit of "reforms introduction and in the system of division of labour", the benefits gained by previous workers, struggles are progressively being cancelled, and their actual conditions are hardly better than workers not in state-run enterprises. They could scarcely be considered to be demonstrating "the superiority of socialism."

Mr Liu Guoguang, the vice president of the Chinese Institute of Social Science, had also explained in an article: "Market

economics rely on the market to provide the principal basic mechanism for channelling the investment of capital", "the workings of capitalist market economics (its rules and regulations, formats, tactics and methods etc.) can all be studied and used by us". In other words, capitalism's profit motive, the ruthless competition resulting in the liquidation of the weakest and the survival of the strongest, the capitalists' methods and tactics used to achieve super exploitation of workers, can now all be practised legally within China. In the eyes of working people, what basic differences remain between how Chinese workers are treated, and how workers are treated under capitalism?

IMPACT ON WORKERS

The first direct effect of full scale implementation of market economics on all citizens, is the rapid rise of the cost of living which followed the freeing of price controls. The authorities in September 1992 relaxed in one go the price controls on 571 types of produce, allowing each enterprise to set their own selling price. At the end of 1991 there were still 737 items of produce under state price controls; by the beginning of September there were only 89 left, giving over control of 80% of product pricing to enterprises. Agricultural products under state price control had fallen to 9, including cereals, cotton and tobacco, but later the regional prices for cereals were also relaxed, and the remaining prices will in the near future be progressively determined by the market. Light manufacturing consumer items under state price controls had been reduced from the original list of over 800 to about 30. The large scale freeing of price controls has relieved the state of the burden of subsidies and has enabled enterprises to boost profits by large price increases, but the people have borne the pains of inflation. After the implementation of market-determined pricing, the rate of inflation in the country's 35 largest cities had already exceeded 10% by early November. Actual inflation would be a lot higher, because the experience of many years confirm that official government figures are underestimates of actual values. People's dissatisfaction increases 'daily. In Guangzhou for example, a recent survey revealed that 80% of citizens were unhappy about the level of prices, and over 50% were dissatisfied about the differences in income.

Another major blow to the working class is the smashing of the "iron wage and the iron rice bowl". As a result of vigorous opposition and struggle by workers, the government no longer uses these phrases, referring instead to the reform of the distribution system for labour personnel. Not long ago China had upto 40,000 enterprises which had the power to hire and fire workers. Workers with lower productivity had been sacked. Wages and benefits levels had been abolished, and replaced by individual wages based on personal output and productivity. In Fanyueing city, a recent calculation of benefits levels indicated that those enterprises which had implemented these changes had raised their profits by more than 10 % compared to the previous year. This reflects the huge drive in workers productivity benefitting enterprise owners at workers' expense.

Unemployment and underemployment had also increased on a large scale following these changes. According to the official *China Workers Daily* of 8th October, the number of unemployed workers in China had reached 20 million.

The state-run ACFTU conducted an investigation which reported that of the 1244,600,000 workers in the whole country, 10-15 % were unemployed and required to be reallocated". This

is much higher than the officially claimed unemployment rate of 3%.

Some of the newly elected Politburo members casually admitted during the 14th Congress press conference that "the reforms had led to certain labour problems and some redundancies, which had become a factor for instability".

As a senior researcher of the State's Council's Research and Development Centre pointed out, the main danger in China's market reforms lies in the reformers themselves committing major mistakes in the implementation process. "Breaking the "3 iron guarantees", allowing large scale redundancies and unemployment of workers, and not resolving well the problems of livelihood, could easily create a reaction and opposition to reforms, resulting in a counter-productive outcome."

These muted statements of Chinese government officials cannot conceal the opposition and resistance to reforms from the people, especially from workers.

Driven by the crazed motive for profits under a market economy, workers employment conditions will worsen and industrial injuries will increase. The current village and town enterprises, as well as joint-venture enterprises, offer their staff next to no welfare benefits and no long term stable employment protection, but increasingly serious instances of arbitrarily imposed extra working hours and shifts. Health and safety provision had already been minimal, yet many overseas entrepreneurs had transferred into China the use of industrial practices and chemicals which are hazardous to human health and which had already been banned in other countries. Under conditions of comparative market, the use of hazardous substances in industry has continually spread, increasingly poisoning and harming those who work in close contact with them, leading to extremely serious occupational casualties. As an example, in 1991 the number of deaths in the quarrying industry was close to 10,000 with over 70% of casualties occurring in local village and town enterprises. This situation can only worsen from now onwards.

Full scale implementation of market economies means a massive retreat towards capitalism, and represents a major attack on the rights of the working class and the people. This is why this extreme-right reform will be strenuously opposed by the working class. The breaking of the 3 iron guarantees over a year ago has already provoked resistance from many workers collectively and individually; go slow, strikes and violent revenge. From now on, such acts of opposition are bound to erupt continually and become a serious force against the reforms which the CCP is implementing.

The CCP has followed an extreme right capitalist road in the sphere of economics, whilst maintaining an authorisation Stalinist rule in the sphere of politics by strenuously refusing to undertake political reforms. Both aspects of its policy are extremely wrong and reactionary. Authoritarian rule which refuses political reform, if not overthrown by the people, would be changed by the forces of capitalism; it could not be maintained in the long term.

(Translated from *October Review* of 31-12-92, courtesy *Chinese Workers*)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from M.P.R. Reddy

M.P.R. Reddy
9-25-60 Kavali,
524 202 A.P.

Dear Dr. Purohit,

Thank you for the latest information regarding the detailed discussions on the agenda for the first annual meeting of the Advisory Board of *Mankind*, and the state-wise distribution of subscriptions. *Mankind* has to go a long way before stabilising its financial position. The progress of campaign for subscriptions seems to be going at a snail's pace. Even in U.P. and Bihar where the socialist movement made considerable progress in Lohia's time, the picture is depressing. Most of the old followers of Lohia are now scattered in the *Samata* and *Samajvadi* parties and in several small groups in the CPI (M.L.) factions in Bihar and U.P. In fact, the socialists of India have become depressed and dejected by the flood of privatisation, globalisation and liberalisation, which have won over radical intellectuals, who have come to believe in the "End of History".

It is a herculean task for you and *Mankind* promoters to popularise the new journal of nationalism and socialism. We can only wait for the new generation of young students to become convinced by the dynamic ideas and ideology of *Mankind*. *Mankind* will also have to build bridges of understanding with socialist, Marxists and proliferating groups of patriots and carry on our educational programme of radicalising Indian politics. Let us hope and trust and perform *Nishkam Karma* in our endeavours. The spark will also become a wildfire and bring about revolutionary transformation of our conservative society.

With fraternal greetings.

Yours Sincerely,

M.P.R. Reddy

Letter from Sharrad Joshi & Reply

Shri Sharad Joshi 10.10.96
Shetkari Sanghatana HQ
Res : Angarmala
P.O. Ambethan 410 501
Tal. Khed, Dist. Pune
Maharashtra, India

Dear Dr. Vinayakrao Purohit,

Recieved your letter dated 30th Sep. 1996. The basic documents are part of documents placed before the Lok Sabha. Dr.Ashok Gulati has written about them in EPW. Coming from you, the rather skeptical demand to see, the documents I am relying on, appears strange. The leftists, probably do not wish to believe the admission of negative subsidies because it is the clearest denunciation of all they have held on the question of Indian agricultural and economic development.

With regards,
Yours Sincerely,
Sharad Joshi

2.11.96

Dear Shri Sharad Joshi,

Your righteous rightist indignation at presumed leftist prejudices is rather amusing.

All I can say is that I am not the Stalinist-Progressivist caricature of leftism that you seem to have become familiar with. The issue of *Mankind* in your hands should have dispelled any misunderstanding in this regard.

I actually wanted to publish your case for "Negative Subsidy". I don't know what your case is. It is not necessary that I should agree with the views embodied in every contribution published by *Mankind* in every respect.

Following Dr.Lohia's footsteps, I have an open mind on many issues about which many rightists and leftists have completely closed minds.

I merely wanted you to send me the basic document with statistical tables, etc.

which forms your case, and not some commentary that is peripheral or casual or partial. I want to understand your case fully. I am sure it is a worthy case and deserves attention.

Please shed your prejudices about leftists and send me the material, as soon as you can.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Vinayak Purohit

Letter from R.N. Pradhan & Reply

Pratibimba 29.7.96
Bhawanipatna
Orissa- 766 001

The ExeEditor
Mankind, Pune

Dear Sir,

I thank you for sending me the June and July issues of *Mankind* free of charge. On going through the issues I am greatly pleased to find that you have revived Dr.Lohia's '*Mankind*' maintaining a standard up to the mark. The monthly not only reflects the political philosophy of Dr.Lohia, but also his points of view on the art and culture. On this account it is really revolutionary publication by nature. But, in its approach to things, to some extent it looks like an orthodox Lohiaite journal. For example, your critical comments on Prof. Noam Chomsky in your letters. These parts reflect the traditional SSP - feeling as regards communists, regardless of the changed situation in the wake of the 'globalisation', 'privatisation', and 'liberalisation'. Prof. Chomsky is of the same opinion about the designs of the International Financial Institutions and the Northern intentions, as are the true Lohiaites, so far as market protectionism and exploitation of the Third World countries are concerned. Fighting economic colonization of the South by the North is a common concern of both communist and the socialists. Under this compulsion, *Mankind* should evolve for itself a balanced approach and outlook. Thanking you again, with best wishes.

Sincerely,

R.N. Pradhan

P.S. I wish to subscribe to *Mankind* but financial constraints fail me for the time being. Sorry.

Dear Comrade Pradhan,

As far as Noam Chomsky is concerned you would have noticed from my letter to Peter Manuel which was published in MK, No. 10, July 1996 along with two boxes on Amboina and east Timor, that

- a) Amboina and East Timor islands are small pockets of colonial patronage promoted by Dutch and Portuguese imperialisms respectively. These pockets did not participate in the national liberation movement of Indonesia at any time.
- b) American radicals suffer from a guilt complex having promoted Suharto and his filthy ways against Sukarno and the early Stalinist- Communists of Indonesia, who were massacred by the thousands, if not lakhs, after 1965. The silence of the American radical left for two to three decades after 1965, about the human rights violations by Suharto and gang, is a shameful fact.
- c) Chomsky and his radical group cannot erase this horrible American record of promotion and acquiescence in Suharto's criminality from 1965 to the present.
- d) This guilt of the American radical left cannot be assuaged by tokenism. By bringing up the repression of the East Timorese in the last few years, the American pseudo-left cannot cover up their earlier complicity in Suharto's criminality.
- e) What is Chomsky's record as an anti-imperialist? Who is he to take up the issue of the East Timorese in the 90's all of a sudden? Just because a well-known white intellectual spouts some radical jargon, are we to accept his non-existent credentials as an anti-imperialist fighter?

I give you the same advice that I gave to Peter Manuel. Please do not be taken in by the pretensions of "big names"! Our anxiety to build a broad front against neocolonialism should not lead us into shady and unworthy alliances with all sorts of pseudos.

By your logic, we will arrive at support to the present United Front government of opportunists and careerists which is carrying forward the same programme of "liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation and Westernisation" under slightly different circumstances.

In fact, I do not consider the CPI and the CPI (M) to be in the broad anti-imperialist front, as these two parties are

either participating in, or supporting from outside, the present West-oriented and West-supported United Front Govt. of Deve Gowda, Indrajit Gupta, and Chaturman Misra and others. The CPI and CPM leaders belong to the "TALK LEFT AND ACT RIGHT" brigade!

The case of CPI (ML) groups is different. They are not part of the UF gov't. and most of them do not approve of the economic policies of the UF gov't. that favour liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation and Westernisation. They are a bit confused about revolutionary nationalism, but as their moral fibre is intact, they can be gradually persuaded to join our anti-imperialist front (I have scheduled a special article on Revolutionary Nationalism for the next issue of *Mankind*.)

Let us detach the valuable good elements from the rotten ones, who are carrying forward the old Congress programme of Narsimha Rao and Manmohan Singh. Let us separate the chaff from the grain. Let not the continuance of the same wretched economic policy, the same adherence to Art. 356 in Gujrat and UP, the same defence of corrupt deals, and so on, become acceptable to us because we have imagined for ourselves some redeeming qualities of the neo-left. Let there be thorough ideological examination and clarification. Let those who have made sincere and genuine mistakes admit that they have erred. Let them freely and frankly analyse the sources of their own errors.

Above all, let us not endlessly repeat the ritual of placing trust in unworthy ideological elements. Everytime we project and support such dubious causes and individuals, within a few short months or years, they betray us and make their own careerist compromises with the Establishment!

We must learn to discriminate. The Stalinist-Progressivists of the CPI, CPIM and many of the CPI-ML who supported British imperialism in the second World War, promoted Partition of the country in 1947, entered into alliances with Muslim communalists quite frequently in the post-1947 period, helped Indira's gov't. to survive in 1969-70, supported the Internal Emergency proclaimed by Indira in 1975-77, and so on, they are betraying the people of India right now by their opportunistic support to Deve Gowda's UF gov't. which is continuing the policies of liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation and Westernisation.

Among the old socialists also, we have the concrete examples of Madhu

Dandavate who is carrying out the directives of the WB and the IMF. What is the difference between him and Pranab Mukherjee or Manmohan Singh or P.Chidambaram?

Similarly, towards the end of his days Madhu Limaye openly supported GATT, the predecessor of WTO. Of course thereby Madhu Limaye only proved that he had become intellectually bankrupt, and had made his peace with the Establishment.

As I said, we must learn to discriminate. Today the vast mass of our students, educated unemployed, youth activists in diverse fields, sincere and genuine cadres scattered and disorganised, and the vast amorphous mass of the disaffected and alienated, are all looking for a way out of the present terrible economic, political, social and cultural crisis.

The Noam Chomskys of the world who are interested in mere tokenism, and who are helping American imperialism to meet the crisis of succession that is impending in Indonesia after the departure of Suharto, how can you believe that such people will carry forward the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of the world?

Dear comrade Pradhan, unless we can achieve ideological clarity, we shall again and again flounder and repeatedly get betrayed. And if that happens too often, who is going to trust us? Please think again and think hard. Let us not become tailists of the pseudo-Progressivists. Otherwise we will end up like Noam Chomsky, supporting Bill Clinton against somebody worse. If Bill Clinton is to be supported then what about all his friends ranging from Netanyahu and Arafat in Palestine to De Clerk and Mandela in S.Africa, from John Major and Ulster Unionists in UK, to hundreds of other disreputable dictators in Latin America and Indonesia and elsewhere in the world. You may feel that this is the old Lohiaite traditional socialist outlook. In my view there is no alternative! There is no short cut available that would lead us to a quick victory over well entrenched neo-colonialist forces!

We will keep sending you *Mankind* but please collect enough money in the course of the year to pay for your annual subscription. After all there is a limit to the losses that we can bear annually.

With warm fraternal regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vinayak Purohit

Letter from Abhay Pratap and Reply

Nai Azadi Udghosh
Gandhi Bhavan
Chatham Lines
Allahabad 211 002

Respected Vinayak Purohitji,
Greetings!

Mankind under your editorship is a very striking publication from the angle of ideas and material presented. Congratulations! It will be good if you send us a copy every month. I will send you Nai Azadi regularly.

Hoping to hear from you from time to time.

Abhay Pratap
Editor
Nai azad

Dear Shri Abhay Pratap,

I thank you for your good words about *Mankind*.

I look forward to obtaining your reactions to the material published in *Mankind*, as frequently as you possibly can.

I am certain that there are hundreds of scattered idealists and concerned intellectuals all over this country, who are looking for a nationalist, socialist, and revolutionary way out for our people.

With fraternal regards.
Vinayak Purohit

Letter from T. Pattabhi Rama Reddy & Reply

23 (Old 58)
Saint Mark's Road
Banglore 560 001

Dear Vinayak,

I was away in England and Europe and by the time I returned, I lost your address. It was not until Ravela Somayya, wrote to me from Hyderabad giving me your address. I wrote a letter to you immediately enclosing a life subscription for *Mankind*. Unfortunately the letter was returned to me by postal authorities, just crossing out your address.

I, then wrote to Somayya, whether you have shifted from there. He wrote to me, my address was correct except for the pin code, where I wrote 1 instead of 4. Anyway I am herewith enclosing a cheque to cover life subscription.

You have taken the onerous task of reviving "*Mankind*". I wish you all success in this effort. I am keeping well, but have

retired from all activities. I spend most of the time with my grand daughter who will be just three years next month. Her parents, Konark and Kirtana are both in theatre and music. My daughter Nandana is very active with working children. She is the chairperson of international working group on child labour, for the last 3 years. Her work finishes this year with the completion of the Global Report on Child Labour

With best wishes to you and Dr. Mhatre
Yours
Pattabhi

Dear Pattabhi,

It was very good to hear from you after such a long time and thank you for sending your life subscription.

If Nandana has prepared any document on Child Labour, I would like to publish it in *Mankind* and if Konark and Kirtana have done some writing on recent trends in Indian music, I may be able to carry that also. (Have you received the issue in which I wrote about our classical music?)

I hope that you are well.

I know that it is a big burden that I have undertaken, but I was forced to do it. After all, somebody from the Lohiaite circle had to undertake the task of reviving *Mankind*.

Dr. V.V. Gopalakrishnan and Ravela Somayya and some other friends are helping me and I am glad that you have joined our small team. Please enlist a few more subscribers, so that the drain on my resources is minimized.

The Indian situation is terrible but I remain an optimist, because things can't go on like this for very long. The dark night must end!

Yours sincerely
Vinayak Purohit

Letter From Madhava Rao & Reply

2-6-8/1 Vishnalayam Street
Kavali, Nellore District
A.P.-524 201

Dear Dr. Vinayak Purohit,

I hope you remember that the late Com. Leslie Gunavardhan wrote a small book under the title, *From the First to the Fourth International*. It was published in 1944 or '1945 and the author's name was given as Tilak. I wish to translate this book into Telugu, and of course, add some upto date material. My own copy of the book, I lost long ago. If you could get me a copy of this book, it would be a great help. In case

you fail to lay your hands on the book, will you please suggest any other book dealing with the same matter?

Also, please permit me to translate into Telugu some of the articles published in *Mankind*.

There is one other clarification I would like to have from you. In one of your articles, you wrote that the Communists joined hands with the Razakars. As far as I remember, the leadership of the Stalinist party, took the line of supporting the Nizam in his efforts to declare his state as autonomous, but the cadres in the field, especially those belonging to Telangana, refused to toe this line. But, if you have evidence of their collaboration, with the Razakars, please publish it in the next issue—that will enlighten the leftists here.

Hoping that letter finds you in best of health and spirits.

Yours Sincerely,
M. Madhav Rao.

Dear Madhava Rao,

Very glad to hear from you.

You have my permission to reproduce and translate anything you like from *Mankind*.

About the Razakars, please refer to the files of *Times of India*, Bombay, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi and *Hindu*, Madras in any national level library. K. M. Munshi, Indian Agent in Hyderabad, has also written about those events in *Swatantra* of Rajagopalachari, and in his *Kulapati's Letters* which I believe have been bought out by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan.

There was also a "Telangana Solution" for Kashmir which the CPI had suggested.

I do not have Tilak's book *First to the Fourth International* in my library at present. Write to R.P. Karkal (Address: D-106, Manish Park, R.J. Road, Andheri (East), Mumbai 400 093.) Possibly he can send you a copy or at least a xerox.

Please help me to enlist as many subscribers/life subscribers as you can.

Please keep in touch. Perhaps you can organise a *Mankind Readers Forum* in Hyderabad and in Nellore district with the help of Shri Ravela Somayya or independently if he is too far away. You can send me reports of your discussions. You may also think of an Andhra Newsletter to be published occasionally in *Mankind* covering current agitations and struggles.

With warm personal regards.

Yours Sincerely
Exe Ede.

REVOLUTION ARRESTED

Rammanohar Lohia

No spectre is haunting the world or any part of it. The two decades after the last world war have been curiously anti-revolutionary. Some earlier revolutions were indeed brought to fruition in this period. But no new revolution has germinated.

Various regimes such as those of Rhee, Balewa and Nkrumah have toppled. But that is no revolution, no reordering of the social structure or inflaming of men's minds and engaging in such activity as would lift people out of slime.

What took place in the forties was bringing to fruition of an earlier gestation such as in India and China. The revolution in India succeeded in 1947, but was arrested immediately after. Such arrested revolutions have been the mark almost everywhere of new-won freedom. The Chinese revolution of 1949 was not a freedom revolution in that sense, it was a unity revolution that had started in the second decade of the century. That the communists brought it to fruition has indeed given it a special character, well worth examining. It is certainly not an arrested revolution.

Cuba and Vietnam are the two examples that some may like to cite against the hypothesis of the post-war world being anti-revolutionary. Vietnam's is no revolution. It is to a large extent a hot extension of the cold war among nations, pocket-edition one no doubt, and, therefore a reflection of contending social features, Cuba is not very different, a strong dose of national pride thrown in. Assuming Cuba for argument's sake to be somewhat different, it has but marginal import for the world.

The period until the outbreak of the last world war was characterised by uncertainty, anxiety, expectancy and the air of something about to happen somewhere every other day. This held good of Europe and its most advanced countries. Mr. Churchill had called out armoured cars on the streets of London in the twenties. For almost four years between 1929 and 1933,

Germany lived continuously in expectancy of a revolution, not to talk of the earlier Spartacus and other efforts immediately after the war. Spain actually gave a day to celebrate, when its king abdicated after a long series of news alternating between hope and sorrow or anger. Before Italy went fascist, there was the socialist expectancy.

Euro-America of the twenties and the thirties still knew depression. The misery of the people bred an air of expectancy. There was always the breath of revolt in it. European peoples cannot accept misery and premature death beyond a certain point, certainly not when it is not the result of their willed resolve. In dying of famine, and other forms of forced death, the people of India are today the hero of all history, meek, resigned and dying like ants or flies; in dying of revolt and war, decisions that partake of will and resolve, the European peoples have been somewhat ready. They might not have always calculated, but, in actual result, death comes much less frequently to these areas of revolt and war than to those of resignation to fate. As misery has been comparatively absent, the post-war. European has shown no revolutionary desires.

Automation, cybernetics and manipulation of investments have given to Euro-America the affluent society, an evergrowing economy. Technology seems to make it possible someday to produce as much essential commodities as anyone might want, thereby destroying the need to buy or sell. One will just pick up as much as one wants of whatever one wishes. But that is to be in the future. In the present, hunger has more or less been banished from Euro-America, therefore also revolution. We do not understand what stupid routines and habit of thought are preventing Americans from declaring bread and milk free in their favoured land, a proceeding which is economically possible for them to carry through whenever they wish. The Russians are yearning to achieve such a state, but they are not yet in a situation to do so.

Affluence due to technology and regulated investment has revolutionised economic thinking in some places. Even conservative economists included, of a certain type have started propagating the idea of a guaranteed minimum income. In that favoured land, every son of a mother, and of course every daughter, must have a certain monthly income guaranteed. Whether one works or not, or simply lolls away in bed or on turf, this money is one's rightful due, some kind of a legally provided American edition of an Indian Sadhu. The proposed guarantee to the income of an American sadhu family of two adults and three children amounts in terms of present rupee-dollar relation to around Rs. 1500 a month. Spectres do not haunt such a society, where it is possible to day-dream of manna falling from heaven.

But the other two-thirds of the world have been there all the time, the world of filth and forced death. Why have they not been revolutionary? Most of them have moved or are moving into a state of physical and political freedom. Revolution has nonetheless been away from them. The greatest single reason probably lies in their state of mind born of a quiescent culture, which they have not yet thought out to its end, despite outwardly revolutionary changes. Of this, however, on some other occasion, although it is certainly for India the most important single reason.

We shall here talk of the two obviously urgent factors that have made the Afro-Asian peoples and those of Latin America anti-revolutionary. One lies in them and the other outside them. They have adopted the mode of modernisation of the consumption of their elite, before they have modernised the production modes of their masses. Luxury goes up. For some, it is luxury almost a la America. For substantially large numbers it is luxury on decreasing scales. Added to this is the colossal waste of overstaffing due to relationship, caste or pressures of group politics. So much less is left for investment. Economy stagnates and with it the society. For a long while, this criminal luxury and waste is concealed under the deceptive slogans of national dignity and needs of representation. In this manner, the elite of a revolution arrests it, after it has succeeded, either because of natural greed and indolence or because of misunderstanding of what is modern. What can be worse mediaevalism than to wish to modernise the consumption of an elite, of which the erstwhile revolutionary forms a considerable part, before, the

people's production has been modernised.

To this has been added the external factor of revolution by order in the fifties and later. Soviet Russia has become a factor in international politics almost as important as the U.S. in some ways more so. Two such giants must evolve viable modes of living together without all the time coming into conflict. Soviet Russia has therefore had to evolve a scheme of revolution that does not all of the time bring it into conflict with America. The evolution of such a scheme was possible without too great a strain on revolutionary conscience and in the measure that a successful and affluent government may be expected to possess.

A substantial number of newly independent lands, particularly India, have yielded to a leadership of sterile Marxists, who have known how to profess revolution without practising it. These voluble revolutionaries have adopted the current Euro-American philosophy of technological revolution with regulated investments occasionally in the public sector. Whenever this leadership is under pressure, its profession of revolutionary poise challenged sharply, it raises a shrill outcry in favour of the public sector. If it has to attack the private sector in some of its minor or medium expressions like life insurance, it more than makes up by providing private contracting in the public sector. This suits Soviet Russia perfectly. It does not have to initiate or help people's revolutions. All it needs to do is to evolve a theory of institutional changes like the public sector, which will provide the framework and the discipline for any later takeover of the economy by the people.

From President Soekarno of Indonesia to ex-president Nkrumah of Ghana over the Nehrus and Indiras of India, the leadership of sterile Marxists strides the emergent lands. Revolution by order as conferment of a boon from above without permitting too great striving from below is the principal. In the process, they know how to live well, they and their crowd. Some of these have been kicked out of the office by their people who alas have not yet anywhere displayed the uncertainty, anxiety and expectancy that precedes a revolution.

At this point, the China-brand revolutionaries might exclaim that they have been left out of this anti-revolutionary world picture. The Chinese and their adherents all the world over are no more revolutionary than are the Russians'. West Europeans or the sterile Marxist Afro-Asians. They go through the motions of revolution with somewhat greater sincerity but that is all. From an account of the North-Vietnamese revolution the ferocity and thoroughness of some changes is quite evident. We do not want to raise here the question of ends and means. Admitting for a moment that ends justify means, the question still remains: What happens after the end has been achieved. A stagnant rural society must become dynamic after such an upheaval. To what end is this dynamism used afterwards? The revolution animalised in its process may continue to remain so afterward in its end. The ends and means equalisers are however under an obligation to prove that all they are capable of is not just an arrested revolution. A revolution monstered is perhaps a wee bit better than an arrested revolution.

The disease of the Chinese revolution and all others patterned on it, is peculiar and arises out of an event unique in history. These are revolutions of equality and tied one with another in the kinship of a doctrine of equality. Beginning with Russia, the family is at the moment seeking to multiply in Vietnam. However much the Russians and the Chinese may abuse each other and Marxists of different hues call this or that revolution perverted or distorted, most of them do not deny this kinship. The fact of this kinship places a country so obviously wronged as India in a position of disadvantages to wrongdoers, China among all kinsmen, for they

deeply believe in their paternity. But the troubles starts when the wronging starts within the family. Inequality with America can only anger China into another ferocious spurt. Inequality with Russia rankles, for it is against the doctrine, against paternity.

The revolution goes wild with grief. The doctrine does not help understanding. As long as the nation is there with its frontiers, communism as a philosophy of government must perforce play itself out within its frontiers. But the doctrine had spoken otherwise. China however refuse to believe that its doctrine of Marxism is no answer to the challenge of inequality among nations, however much it might achieve equality within the nation. The revolution goes wild with inability to understand. It begins to prowl and, as is usual with beasts, attacks weaker victims. It does not attack America. It does not attack Russia, the faith's traitor. It does not attack Australia, nor even Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macao. It attacks the Himalayas. It organises revolution in Vietnam. Coloured sentiment in China's favour is an illusion. Because of its faith in force and organisation. China must necessarily choose weaker victims which can only be coloured peoples. If Soviet Russia has become the exponent of revolution by order, China is fast becoming the teacher of revolution by force and organisation. Doctrinal spontaneity is finished. It has been replaced entirely with calculation, force and organisation. If Americans believe in organisation and in the C.I.A. in all the world, the Chinese are equally ferocious with their belief in organisation and in compulsion and in the C.I.A. for such communist and allied elements as have accepted their will. Organisation is after all a mother of calculation. It can be brought to bear only against a weaker combination. True, without force or organisation, nothing probably has ever been done. But we appear now to have entered an era, where organisation and force reign supreme, where the idea is at best secondary and at worst a tool. It is the age of joyless revolution.

Some discerning sociologists are looking into a future of joyless plenty, of joyless automation and joyless technology, where everything would be plentiful and monotonous. Already, the revolution has become joyless and a matter of mechanical motions. In the shape of the world communist revolution, it decides that Rhodesia is not as important as Vietnam and necessary motions are mechanically executed throughout the world. It makes the decision not on the merits of issues involved, for without a doubt the case of Rhodesia is as clear as daylight and of Vietnam to murk of dusk, but on the possibility of where the weight of force or organisation can be brought to bear with success.

How totally spontaneity and joy have gone out of the world communist revolution is evident from the way Indian communists of both hues are continually organising demonstrations over Vietnam or the atom and against America. A mighty people's upheaval next door in east Bengal and the repression with which a military dictatorship seeks to smother it do not move them. The possibility that a people and country artificially divided may be reunited does not put joy into them. They are strange beings with shrivelled and organised souls.

Why concentrate on its communists: in the other shapes, the revolution in India has been equally soulless in respect of East Pakistan and much less. No other political party has chosen to assemble or demonstrate for the people of East Pakistan, for these crows have been busy spying where their votes lie in the general election to come. These craven souls would not get the votes either, for if the vote must go to men of calculation and lacking in vision, the government party qualifies best.

Not to talk issues across to frontier, those nearer home, such as devaluation, which occasioned spates of written statements

from oppositionists decrying it as the most ignoble event of the two decades of freedom, have melted away like a surface ripple. Not one mass meeting has been held against devaluation in the capital, although it is now a month since the government decided to commit the crime. There have been several on Vietnam or cow killing or minor aspects of property. Revolutionaries are not taking up, not to talk of the question of property as such, just one major aspect of property, that of house rent. House rents in India are nine times as high as in Russia and communist Europe, for there they average a rupee to the square meter and here a rupee to the square foot. Average incomes here, particularly low incomes are one sixth of those of Russia. One-sixth, the income and nine-fold, the rent, and yet the people do not rise, the youth does not stir, for arrested revolution has acquired a craven soul.

Gandhism has become worse then sterile; it has acquired a priapist mind. It talks of unilateral disarmament; it kills with proxy power and borrowed weapons; the challenge of poverty at home does not affect its smugness; the challenge of inequality and war among nations is beyond its voluble but mindless comprehension.

If the earlier can be fused with its later development, a movement which could well be lumped together under the label of international Gandhism has come into existence. On the one hand is the non-communist, peace movement with war-resisters at one extreme and pledge-signers at the other. On the other hand is the world federalists movement with minimalists who simply want the shall of a world government at one end and maximalists desirous of world conventions and disobedience if necessary at the other.

The non-communist peace movement has a long past, in patches even uplifting. At one time, the peace Pledge Union in England counted more than ten million singers, but they all melted away at the German assault. The march to Aldermaston, an atomic war establishment, and back to Trafalgar Square showed promise and has become an annual event. But it has begun to dissolve, even before an assault of any kind has been mounted. The people of England are not slow to see that hortatory movements which sign away frontiers in a world which is cut up into nations are unreal. A man lives within his skin, his frontier and must needs protect it against attack. So long as men live within nations, they must need protect their national skin, the frontier against attack. The Gandhian peace movement has been too oblivious of existing realities. It has dreamed up a situation of prayer, and therefore devoid of revolution. In its shape of civil rights for Negroes in America, international Gandhism may well claim to have registered some success, for it has bit its teeth into reality. But one can hardly call it a revolution, at least yet.

If the peace movement has tended to wish away national frontiers, the world federalist movement has been far too much aware of them. Like all moral movements without a sound political, economic and social base, it has been very extravagant in its desires and aims. At one time, its sought to build the Atlantic Union, Almighty on our planet. Then, it widened its desires into a world union and spread into many branches and sprouts. One wanted existing governments to accept plan and constitution of a world government and with that end in view to sponsor campaigns and assemblies. Another strove for acceptance by local legislatures of a constitution for a world parliament and a world government with minimum powers to arise out of it. A third started enlisting world citizens and this agitation showed some kick, for the first citizen of the world tore up his national citizenship. A fourth began persuading towns and villages to declare themselves for the world. A fifth set about to campaign and organise the

convention of a world parliament, if necessary at the peoples level and without help from national governments. Along the fifth sprout bore within it the seed of great change, for the world convention might well have sparked off civil disobedience throughout the world against national sovereignty in much the same way as the French convention of the tennis court began the revolt against kingly sovereignty. But the seed is dead.

Today, all the world over is spread the litter of these earlier campaigns. Honest men are busy cyclostyling or printing sheets and mailing them to select addresses. They collect messages from men of renown and print them in a manner befitting the particular celebrity. They probably hold this or that annual convention. How much devoted labour and money goes into these incessant campaigns for one or another type of world federalism is anybody's guess. But they are all hibernating, because they mistakenly imagine they can from a world government out of national governments, which is a contradiction in terms. If sovereignty resides within national frontiers, how does it or any portion of it leap outside of them. A worthy and strong nucleus alone can attract such a leap. This cannot be any existing national government. This cannot be any United Nations or League comprising governments with one of them or a group trying to rule. This can only be a parliament elected directly by the peoples of the world with regional weightage whose government responds to challenge of inequality within nations and without.

The sole hope of unequal and warring nations lies in the search for peace through equality and equality through peace. Both searches are of decisive significance, and neither is wholly the consequence of the other. The seeker of peace may not be fully aware of the search for equality and may at the outset disdain it. The seeker of equality may be equally blinkered at the outset. Their devotion may be exclusive. The wise will not exclude such blinkered persons from the scope of their movement. They will hope that passage of time and sympathy will bring to both types of seekers greater consciousness. Action which may be somewhat crude and emphatically exclusive in the earlier stages will clarify itself with time and will become wisely revolutionary. Peace institutionalised is world parliament and world government. Equality institutionalised is acceptance of comparatively equal productivity to man's labour anywhere irrespective of national frontiers. When effort is made to wed peace institutionalised to equality institutionalised, the revolution of our times will have emerged.

The Euro-American peoples have greater understanding for peace and federation and they possess resources for world wide campaigns and travels. Afro-Asians, unable to meet effectively the challenge of poverty and inequality, which press on them more than on Euro-Americans, have not much understanding for peace and federalism. And yet to federate these various initiatives, whose framework is littered all over the world, and make them interpenetrate may well lead to creative situations.

The revolution for equality has met a strange foe in one who was earlier its most virile adherent. Communism proudly proclaims today that it is not for equality. A little shamefaced for having been such a votary for equality and having now to explain the growing inequality and affluence in communist lands, communism loudly denies its own womb. One is tempted to ask if communism is inequality, or, is it neither equality nor inequality. The revolution for equality must run its own course, hoping that time would help communism rectify its errors. True enough that equality can never perhaps be wholly or perfectly realised. But equality is more an urge than its total fulfillment. It will always have to overcome blocks.

Some of these will occasionally prove difficult or well nigh impossible. But the urge must ever come on anew to take up the battle again.

A ray of hope appeared in India around ten years ago. This was the theory of permanent civil disobedience. The theory was correct. In practice, after the first years, it has proved to be a damp squib, at least so far. To combine permanent civil disobedience with permanent democracy and elections and debate has proved difficult. More often than not, the practice of either is halting, reserved and crooked. While undergoing a jail term or worse during disobedience to tyranny, the mind turns to elections and their organisation and the wish to secure release through bail or compromise become insistent. While arguing an issue out in its fullness and when at a loss to answer the opponent, the civilly disobeying democrat is inclined to clinch the issue by referring to the extraneous argument of struggle and sacrifice. It is not so easily open to man to follow two paths at the same time, to give total devotion to the path he is treading and to switch to

the other when occasion so demanded. When men argue not with a view to dazzle or to make talking points, although some spiced styles are necessary to dramatise issues, debate is honestly democratic and enlightens the people. This requires of the democratic debater study and thinking. Similarly, civil obedience requires faith and patience, willingness to toil and suffer without tasting the joy of victory and to lay the head down with peace in the soul, should the time for it arrive before the cause has won. The combined theory of civil disobedience and democratic debate looks forward to a future when the reigning tyranny will topple in a climax of mass disobedience or electoral victory. The revolution for equality and peace is alive, although hibernating.

(From *Olympus*, Vol XII, No. 2, Feb-March 1991. *Olympus* from Hyderabad, edited by Keshavrao Jadhav, an old Lohiaite, was published between 1991 and 1995. *Olympus* was a commendable effort.)

MANKIND

Fdr. Edr. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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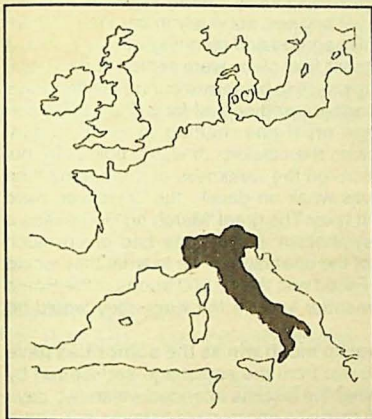
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A WORLD OF PERMANENT REVOLUTIONS : THREE COUNTER REVOLUTIONS

ITALY, 1919-25

THE 'DYNAMIC MINORITY' — MUSSOLINI & THE FASCISTS



Liberal government in Italy was one of the casualties of the First World War. There was a very strong feeling that Italy should stay out, and politicians who saw in the war a means of resolving the country's internal problems cannily waited until they were certain which side to back. The war party claimed that victory would solve everything, at a stroke. Certainly defeat had just that effect, but not in the way they had hoped. Italy was on the winning side, and took her place with the victorious allies in dismembering the defeated enemies, but it was a mutilated victory. Italy had been humiliated on the battlefield, losing over 300,000 prisoners at the battle of Caroretto in 1917. Even the final successes were only achieved at great cost. Even the promise of a new Italian empire in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic seemed likely to be frustrated. The disgust at the failure and betrayal by the politicians was felt most strongly by the young ex-soldiers, whose patriotism had been dishonoured, they believed, by a craven peace.

Socialists had already convulsed the

country with strikes - Red Week in June 1914, riots in Turin in 1917 though they had behaved in a thoroughly patriotic fashion throughout the war. With the war over, they carried struggles into the streets, provoking endless incidents with the police. By contrast, the elite looked with favour on the young patriots who were led by the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio to seize Fiume, which was to be allocated by treaty to the new Yugoslavia. When other young ex-soldiers, many of them members of the elite wartime group of shock troops, the *arditi* began to battle with the socialists in the streets, they were applauded as a 'dynamic minority' tackling the 'Red beast'. Many army officers including those at the most senior level favoured the 'fascists' in their black shirts, the General Staff even issued a circular recommending them.

While the fears of the politicians were exclusively focused on the enemies to the left, the fascist party grew. Its leader was a young journalist, the son of a smallholder in the Romagna. Benito Mussolini possessed ferocious energy and no fixed

We are continuing our series on World Revolutions.

In this series, we have interpreted the word "revolution" in a loose popular manner. Both Bourgeois and Socialist revolutions will be described. In the case of India, even the events of 1857-60 will be considered. Also Counter-Revolutions.

We hope that this series will help the cadres to crystallise their ideas, for Revolutions (and Counter Revolutions) are the greatest instruments of mass education. As societies undergo transformations, men living in such societies are themselves transformed.

The coming Indian Revolution is inevitable. The tide of time is inexorable. Let us greet its onset with ardour, with courage and supreme confidence in its ultimate success.

LONG LIVE THE SECOND
INDIAN WAR OF NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE !

LONG LIVE WORLD
REVOLUTION!

In the last four issues of Mankind we had given a descriptive account of the American Revolution : 1765-75; the French Revolution : 1789-95; the Irish Uprising : 1798; (in No. 7, April 1996); the Spanish Guerilla War : 1808-14; the Latin-American War of Independence : 1808-30; the Greek War of Liberation : 1821-27; the European Revolution and Counter Revolution : 1848-49 and the Italian War of Independence : 1860, (in No. 8, May 1996); The Overthrow of the Manchus in China : 1850-1911; the Dying Flicker of Feudalism in India; 1857-60; The Earthquake of Change in Japan; 1865-80; A Century of Revolution in Mexico : 1810-1920; Ibn Saud and the Sword of Islam in Arabia : 1900-35 (in No. 9, June 1996); We continue with France, The Paris Commune, 1871; and Russia, The Dress Rehearsal, 1905; Revolution and Civil War, 1917-21 (in No. 8, July 1996). We continue with three studies of counter-revolution. Italy 1919-25, The 'dynamic minority' - Mussolini and the Fascists; Germany 1923-35, the Vocabulary of Violence; Spain 1936, The Holy War - Spain's twin revolution.

principles. He was by turns a socialist without a programme and a militant without a cause. He had no political ideas, except a mish-mash of radical syndicalism, socialism and a dose of violent populism, he had no consistency and veered wildly from one extreme to another. By the end of the war he had established his own newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, in Milan. He described himself as 'an adventurer for all roads' who felt that he had his finger 'on the pulse of the masses.' He was a remarkably good journalist, in a racy, biting kind of style, and he soon gathered a group of supporters. Many of them were in the elitist association of Arditi, and he found a ready-made body of fighters who would follow him anywhere. Mussolini's great strength over the other wild men of the extremist nationalist parties in Italy lay in his capacity to organize. By the summer of 1919 he was building support all over the north of Italy: 'armed groups of 200-250 sure, well-armed and well-armed individuals', as he described them. But as so often, his imagination ran away with him. These bands were usually collections of young thugs, aimless and anxious to try conclusions with the socialists. Their weapon was the *manganello*, a short heavy club, and what they lacked in equipment they made up in extreme viciousness. The blackshirts were rightly hated by all on the left.

The fascists found their recruits in those areas where the parties of the left were already strong. The two centres of the fascist movement - Bologna and Milan - were also strongholds of socialism. Fascism was initially an urban movement and Mussolini, who knew the attitudes and inertia of the peasantry, felt that it was destined to remain limited to the cities. One contemporary writer, Agostino Lanzillo, identified the men who made up the new movement: 'Fascism is composed in the large cities of new men. They formed the crowd which before the war watched political events with indifference and apathy and which has now entered the contest. Fascism has mobilized its forces from the twilight zones of political life and from this derives the unruly violence and juvenile exuberance of its conduct.'

The breakthrough came when fascism took root in the countryside. In the Po valley, in Emilia and Romagna, the left had been active in unionizing the rural workers. The victims of this process were the small farmers and small holders, often not far from poverty themselves. To them, as to those in the cities who had been crushed by the rise of working-class power, fascism had a definite attraction. The fascist creed spread through the countryside as the squads of blackshirt fighters moved into the rural regions around the cities, converting where they could and destroying the power base of the left. Apostles of fascism moved up into the Appennines and the hills of central Italy from the cities of the plain where they were already powerful, and it was this creation of a voting base which gave the fascists, who had no parliamentary seats after the elections of 1919, 35 seats in the election of 1921. But they were never able to break the pattern of Italian politics entirely, for they had little or no support in the south. The only natural centre of fascist support in the south was in the area around Foggia, where the pattern of agriculture and society was more like that of the north; elsewhere, the semi-feudal power of the landlords who delivered the vote remained undisturbed.

Mussolini was interested in power, but the natural appeal of fascism to the electorate was limited. Against him stood the Church and its political grouping, the liberals and the middle-class vote, and the solid phalanx of the left. With the votes of the south committed elsewhere, he had no chance of achieving major electoral success. The alternative, and one which came more naturally to him, was to achieve power by the use of force and deception. By 1921, the fascists had discovered that the socialist menace feared by the middle classes was a toothless tiger: 'I am convinced that they will never make a revolution,' wrote one leading fascist to Mussolini. The army looked benignly on the movement, and the politicians were too preoccupied with internal squabbles to take much notice of the blackshirts. In fact, they were more mesmerized by d'Annunzio than by Mussolini, who had begun to build a

working coalition of the right. His lack of fixed principles, or of any political programme, was an asset. In February 1921 he declared firmly that 'Fascism is not a church. It is more like a training ground. It is not a party. It is a movement. . . We are the heretics of all the churches.' The central control of this band of heretics was feeble, and Mussolini could only hope to tame the wild men of the party, themselves commanders of powerful private armies, by delivering success. He was under pressure to succeed in a hurry. The fascist movement could not sustain a prolonged period without tasting the rewards of power, and he knew that the electoral geography was weighted against him, however much he terrorized the streets.

Even he, however, was surprised by the feebleness of the state's resistance to the advance of fascism and to outright provocation. In the summer of 1922, fascists in a number of cities, notably Bologna, Ferrara, Cremona and Milan, began to put pressure on administrators and politicians, sometimes throwing them bodily out of their offices. The only response was a series of whining complaints from Rome and, encouraged, the fascist leadership began to think of a takeover of the state. The central group met on 16 October, and Italo Balbo, one of the most ardent fascists, put the point succinctly: 'Today we enjoy the benefit of surprise. No one yet believes seriously in our insurrectionary intentions. . .' Mussolini agreed and planning went ahead at a furious pace. On 24 October final plans were settled at a meeting in Naples. Public buildings were to be seized during the first wave of attacks throughout northern and central Italy. Then three columns were to converge on Rome, halting at S. Marinella, Monterotondo and Tivoli on the outskirts. It was a bold plan, but one which depended more on the weakness of the enemy than on fascist strength. It was weak on detail: the objectives were stated but the means left hazy. The great 'March on Rome' was a fine piece of political symbolism, but no one had given much thought to the logistics of the operation, or as to what they would do when they got there. Faced with the 12,000 troops of the Rome garrison, under a commander loyal to the King, they would be utterly powerless.

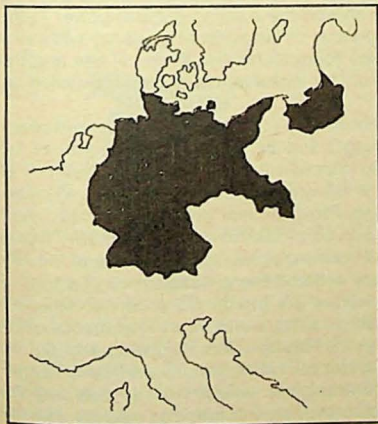
The fascists did not so much win as the authorities gave up. The latter already knew, from the espionage service run by the Prefect of Naples, what the fascists intended within two days of their meeting, but they made no effective plans to resist it. There was no attempt to co-ordinate a military response in the provinces, or even any willingness to see the threat as anything more than a police problem. They pushed responsibility back onto local officials. This passed the initiative back to the fascists, for as one former official wrote in disgust: 'The uncertainty is greatest among the police and prefectural authorities. . . The Government does not see the insurrectionary character of this whole movement, since in such a case, it cannot be a mere matter of the police, but of a real movement which should be treated as such, and therefore the arrest of the leaders, military government etc. . . At Rome they don't understand a thing, and what is worse they give contradictory and uncertain information.' When the rising took place on 28 October, with fascists storming the centres of government in the major provincial cities, the same indecision persisted. The person most deeply affected by the tide of revolutionary success was the King, Victor Emmanuel III. He saw the spectre of civil war looming, and the fragmentation of the state his family had worked so hard to create. He had no particular liking for his ministers, and no aversion on principle to the fascists, as he would have done to the socialists. He consulted the leading military figure of the nation, Marshal Diaz (himself friendly towards the fascists), as to whether the army would stand by the monarchy. He received the disturbing reply: 'Majesty, the army will do its duty; however, it would be as well not to put it to the test.' With, as he said afterwards, the determination 'to avoid bloodshed, given the news that the provinces are already in the hands of the fascists', the King decided to send for Mussolini.

On 29 October, proudly wearing his black shirt, Mussolini arrived in Rome by train, and went to his interview with the king; he emerged as prime minister of Italy, a thirty-nine year-old superseding the octogenarian liberal Giolitti. The party of youth and febrile energy had occupied, if not as they liked to claim, *seized* power. A 'seizure' was in fact staged for the benefit of the cameras and the history books, but there was nothing to seize, for fascism had already been invited into office. Mussolini's task was to consolidate fascist power and make it unassailable. He used the same weapons as he had used before, terror and intimidation, but now with the acquiescence of the established and legal government. Many of the fascist squads were incorporated in a national militia, which was to be the physical basis of his power. 'He who touches the militia will get a dose of lead', was a typical Mussolini aphorism. He talked of 'the transformation of fascism into an organ of administration', what he meant was a monopoly of power. The fascists worked hard to strengthen their position. Legislation was prepared to modify the existing structure of proportional representation, so as to give two thirds of the seats to the party with the largest number of votes. An unprecedented campaign, with millions of leaflets, assassination of opponents, intimidation by the *manganello* or massive doses of castor oil got the opposition parties on the run. In the election of March 1924, the fascists received overall some 60% of the votes. In some regions they achieved more than 100% of the votes, such was the zeal of local officials. With the election of 1924, fascist dictatorship was given legal clothing.

Parliamentary government and the whole apparatus of liberal democracy had failed.

Mussolini, 'il Duce', the leader, created the model for the fascist state, with its emphasis on uniforms, political symbolism and the suppression of all opposition. He was himself an attractive figure, and people tended to blame others for the failings of his state. But he was never in as complete control as Hitler would be in Germany, nor was Italian fascism ever so effective or comprehensive as its German equivalent. Mussolini presided not over a united fascist party as he liked to pretend, but a sometimes uneasy partnership of many different political tendencies. It was necessary for him to maintain a balance between them, and to this end he ran an elaborate spy system, with tapped telephones, constant surveillance and daily reports on his colleagues and all who might pose a threat. This intelligence system provided him with a vital edge over his rivals. His area of greater if theoretical vulnerability lay in the manner of his appointment. He was, at base, a prime minister appointed by the King. If the King and the army were to act in a concerted way, the legal basis (and the military basis) of his power would disappear. At the height of his power, this was an interesting constitutional curiosity. After failure in war and the invasion of Italy by the Allies in 1943, it became a decisive factor. On 25 July 1943, he had his usual meeting with the King, who after a few moments told him that Marshal Badoglio was to take over as prime minister; as he left the audience Mussolini was arrested. By the following day, fascism had collapsed throughout Italy.

GERMANY, 1923-35 THE VOCABULARY OF VIOLENCE



The National Socialists did not come to power by stealth. As Josef Goebbels wrote in his Berlin newspaper before the election of 1928: 'We enter Parliament in order to supply ourselves, in the arsenal of democracy, with its own weapons. . . . We do not come as friends nor even as neutrals. We come as enemies. As the wolf bursts into the flock, so we come.'

In National Socialist vocabulary their success was a 'Machtergreifung' - a seizure of power - a concept pregnant with force and threatened violence. The Nazis were a party of youth: when Hitler took office as Chancellor in 1933, he was under forty-five, in a political society where the octogenarian Field-Marshal Hindenburg held sway. In the election of September 1930, the 18-30 age group provided the largest percentage of the party's voters. The appeal of the party was couched in energetic, youthful and vigorous terms declaring their impatience with the failures of the past. The party was seductive not only in what was said, but in the passion and vocabulary with which it was expressed.

The first attempt by the nascent National Socialist Workers' Party to take power by force was a debacle. It was, however, not a wholly irrational move. Bavaria in the period after the First World War was in ferment. The Communist regime set up in 1918-19 was short-lived, suppressed bloodily by a Freikorps - (Free Corps) led by a former officer, Ritter von Epp - who immediately became a hero in the conservative pantheon. Bavaria, the haven of many right-wing parties which had no future elsewhere in Germany. In Bavaria Hit-

ler found an acceptable political culture within which to grow. There was a strident Bavarian nationalism, rabidly anti-semitic and declaring undying hatred for the 'Marxist north'. These nationalists believed that Bavaria could become a 'cell of order' which would multiply to take over the rest of Germany. All of which chimed in exactly with Hitler's objective for his new National Socialist German Workers' Party: 'The new movement aims to provide what the others have not: a nationalist movement with a firm social base, a hold over the broad masses, welded together in an iron-hard organization, filled with blind obedience and inspired by a brutal will, a party of struggle and action. . . .'

Hitler's Munich *putsch* of 1923 was indeed a fiasco. The Nazis were unlucky: they had a national hero in their ranks, General Ludendorff, and the tacit support of many of the other right-wing organizations in Bavaria. However, had the *putsch* succeeded, there is no reason to think that there would have been risings elsewhere in Germany as Hitler had hoped: the few hundred who demonstrated in Berlin and elsewhere did not indicate much overall support. The failure of the *putsch* and its consequences - Hitler's imprisonment in Landsberg - provided a political education for the Nazis. They turned to-

wards patient organization, the achievement of a local power-base.

Although they still spoke and wrote in the language of the street fighter, it was subtly adjusted for the ears of a mass national audience. The first task of the winning of the masses was accomplished within Bavaria. It was in Coburg where the Nazis first achieved local political power, in a town set in the Thuringian hills and hitherto a stronghold of the left. It was also in Bavaria that the Nazis discovered the peasantry as a political force and began to tailor their policies to flatter a peasant audience. Their main effort was channelled into a feverish battle for recruitment, a drive handicapped by the fact that, after his release from prison in February 1925, Hitler was banned from public speaking until the spring of 1927. But the energy of the Nazis was phenomenal: in 1926 the party in Bavaria held 2370 mass meetings and 3500 discussion evenings, as well as issuing a torrent of written propaganda. Support was slow in coming, but it soon proved that the most fertile ground for the Nazis was in the Protestant towns and countryside of Franconia, north of Munich. They quickly discovered that saturation was the best technique, with a concentration of effort that none of the other parties cared to match.

The electoral structure of the Weimar republic made the feverish vote-grubbing which the Nazis adopted a worthwhile strategy. The system of proportional representation reinforced success, allocating a number of seats to the larger parties on the basis of their vote. Getting votes could be achieved by a number of means. Hitler introduced a national structure of party regions or *Gaue*, with each area given a degree of freedom within the limits of party doctrine, to expand the electoral base by whatever means seemed best. Party workers also proliferated, with the consequence that the Nazis were able to put far more workers on the ground than the opposing parties. In addition to the party workers, a disciplined and well organized group of party fighters was built up, to dominate the streets, and to make clear that opposition to the Nazis would be a dangerous business. The militant arm of the party, the SA, was made a much more effective fighting force under a new commander, Ernst Rohm, who was brought back from serving in the Bolivian army to take command early in 1931. Under Rohm, a former Imperial army officer, the SA was given a military structure, and proper training. Hitler recognized that violence was only of use if tightly and properly controlled; his success as a politician depended on his capacity to curb those who had not learned the lessons of 1923.

The great motive force which lay behind the sudden accession of votes by the Nazis in the elections of 1930-32, up from 2.6 of the vote in 1928 to 37.3 in July 1933, was the collapse of the world economy, and the growth of unemployment in Germany. In September 1929, 1.32 million Germans were out of work. Two years later that figure was 4.35 million, rising to over six million in the spring of 1932. The Nazis promised hope, as one propaganda leaflet declared in the 1933 election: "Adolf Hitler has said, "Within four years unemployment will be removed". . . . What an Adolf Hitler promises, he keeps to. Police reports made it clear that popular opinion was swinging to the Nazis as a protest. In Starnberg, Bavaria in December 1931, they noted: "the Nazi party is now the reservoir for all currents of discontent and unsatisfied elements, hence its rise in votes. . . . There were four Reichstag elections in the space of four years, and the cost both in time and money for the Nazis was prodigious. In the election of November 1932 their share of the vote slumped, and they returned to the Reichstag with fewer seats than they had left it. Many had expected the party to be called to take power after the July election had left them the largest single party in the Reichstag; with the decline in November, many felt that the Nazis had peaked in popularity and were on a downward path.

The politicians conspired to keep the Nazis out of office, yet they could not ignore them, or the chaos they could create in the

streets. Attempts had been made to curb the SA, and their Communist counterparts, with a ban placed on uniforms and private armies. The SA relinquished their brown shirts for white ones, and formed themselves into sports clubs and cultural associations. Neither the President, Hindenburg, nor the army was prepared to run the risk of civil war to suppress the SA; but short of an armed response, the state was incapable of destroying them. On the fourth of January 1933 Hitler reached an accord with Franz von Papen, who had been Chancellor and now sought to do down his rival, Kurt von Schleicher. Hitler agreed to take office as Chancellor with minority Nazi representation in the cabinet. Papen arranged for donations from some industrial companies to swell the depleted Nazi funds. Papen now worked to sell the package to the President, who eventually agreed to withdraw his support from Schleicher on 28 January 1933. Two days later the Papen-Hitler group took office.

Papen was well pleased. He had inveigled the Nazis into government on his terms. Of Hitler, he said, "Don't worry, we've hired him. Three Nazis held Cabinet office: Hitler as Chancellor, Goering as Minister without portfolio, and acting Prussian Minister of the Interior, and Frick as Reich Minister of the Interior. All the rest of the Cabinet were Papen's 'safe men'. Hitler, however, knew where real power resided. He held all the 'security' posts, both in the largest state, Prussia, and nationally. While the army was controlled by an independent, General von Blomberg, Hitler knew that it would not intervene against him, since he now constituted the legal government in Germany under the President. In a stormy party meeting in December 1932, Hitler had come out forcefully against an armed uprising, and showed his audience how firmly he grasped the realities of power politics. He recounted a conversation with Colonel von Reichenau: "If your columns (the SA) march against the law, the Reichswehr would be compelled to shoot and would carry out its orders even though its heart would bleed to do so. If you were Reich President and the Reichswehr was under oath to you, we would obey your orders in just the same way and shoot at the enemies of your State if you gave the order. We are unpolitical, obey the law and keep the oath we have given. I urge you to keep within the law. One day power will fall into your lap." And Hitler added: "In the past the police have invariably obeyed the existing political power in the state completely irrespective of the political tendency within the state." "From January, he represented the forces of law and the army stood behind him. The lawful authority over the police lay with the Nazis.

From the end of February 1933, the Nazis monopolized power within the state, both legal and illegal power. The power of the state was now used to sanction the use of illegal power, or to conceal its exercise. The SA was let loose in Prussia on all possible enemies of the Nazis. Provisions for 'protective custody' were misused to allow detention on a massive scale. Goering in Prussia purged the police of all senior officers unsympathetic to the Nazis, and on 22 February ordered the establishment of an auxiliary police force, in which the SA and the SS predominated. Two days later the police claimed to have uncovered Communist plans for a revolution, and on 27 February the Reichstag was set on fire. Armed with this evidence, Hitler had little difficulty in persuading Hindenburg to grant him wide powers to suspend the provisions of the constitution "as a defensive measure against Communist acts of violence". Armed with emergency powers, a pliant police force and a neutral army, the Nazis began to demolish the independence which the constitution gave to the states. In March and April 1933, over 16,000 people were taken into custody in Prussia alone; as the other states were brought into line, the wave of arrests extended throughout the nation. Special camps were set up to accommodate the prisoners, mostly run by the SA, which became, the instrument of the terror; some, known as wild camps, were especially notorious for the atrocities committed there. The intention of the terror was to allow the Nazis to achieve majority rule through the ballot box in the elections; all

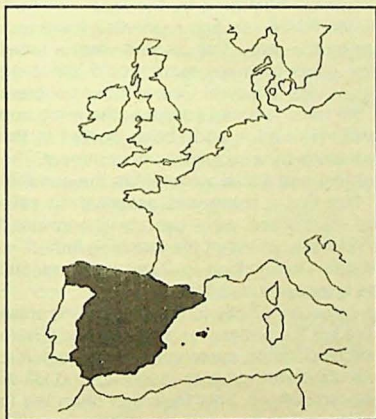
leading opposition figures were imprisoned before the voting on 5 March 1933. Hitler remarked to his Cabinet on 28 February that 'as a result of the Reichstag fire I no longer doubt that the Reich Government will gain 51 percent in the elections'. He was to be disappointed: the overall Nazi vote was 43.9 and only in East Prussia, Pomerania, Breslau, Liegnitz, Schleswig Holstein, East Hanover, and Chemnitz Zwickau, did they pass the magic figure of fifty percent.

On 6 July 1933, Hitler declared that the revolution had officially ended. Certainly the purge of German society was accomplished with great rapidity, backed by the threat of the concentration camps and of unlimited terror. The purge extended to the Reichstag, which dutifully passed enabling legislation which allowed Hitler to rule by decree (24 March 1933). The only element chafing against party control was the SA, and a year after the revolution was officially ended, the 'Night of the Long Knives' (30 June 1934) destroyed any capacity the SA might have to oppose

Hitler. On 2 August 1934 Hindenburg died, and within an hour of his death the office of President was merged with the Chancellorship in the person of Adolf Hitler. Von Reichenau's prophecy was fulfilled.

Hitler, a man given to bold strokes, had correctly surmised that the mechanisms of power in Germany could only be taken with the sanction of lawful authority: the German political system was entrenched in notions of legality. But he also realized that the most potent weapon to brandish at his opponents was the threat of anarchy, of controlled violence and disorder. By this means he became the intermediary between the forces of disorder (which he himself had created) and the established authority of the state. The legal fiction was that he had achieved power through the ballot box, and to a degree this was true. But as the Nazis never tired of proclaiming, the Weimar constitution and the ballot box were irrelevancies. The pursuit of power, expressed in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, followed a determined and logical path.

SPAIN, 1936 THE HOLY WAR — SPAIN'S TWIN REVOLUTIONS



Spain has never corresponded to the social and political patterns of the rest of Europe. Beyond the Pyrenees, the conventions of European politics underwent a subtle transformation. Alone of the countries of western Europe, Spain had acquired a tradition of direct military intervention in politics, of the army leaving its barracks, replacing the civil administration in a bloodless coup, and then returning to barracks. The whole vocabulary for this type of political action, the *pronunciamiento*, the *cuartelazo*, the *grito*, had no equivalent in other European languages. While the working-class movement in Europe developed on socialist or more avowedly Marxist lines, in Spain the most active political force of the left was anarchism of the kind advocated by Count

Mikhail Bakunin, as an actively insurrectionary group. Neither the army nor the anarchists operated on normal lines of self-interest. The army was mesmerized by its sacred duty to preserve the elusive quality of *Hispanidad*, best summed up in the words of Major Bruno Ibanez, on the point of launching a terrifying bloodletting on the people of Cordoba: 'Everything for Spain. The homeland demands it, and those who do not feel the love that every good son must feel for the fatherland are not worthy of living in it. . . . I shall work without rest to ensure that in our capital and its villages there remains not a single traitor who can in any way hinder the self-sacrificing tasks which the army and militias are undertaking to. . . place us amongst the most civilized of nations that, with blind Christian faith, are full of ambitionless hopes. . . . Across the country, the anarchists were declaring in Barcelona: 'Comrades, the revolution must not drown us in blood. Conscious justice, yes! Assassins, never!' Both were gripped by an utter conviction that what was needed was a total purging and rebuilding of society, a holy war waged for very different goals.

Although Spain was always turbulent, the political system seemed to have achieved stability with the restoration of the monarchy in 1874. Forty years of upheavals had made Spaniards long for an end to internal disorders, and the army found politicians willing to observe their requirements. In consequence, there were no *pronunciamientos*. But by the end of the First World War, from which Spain wisely

kept aloof, a new generation was coming forward in political life, with no memory of the civil wars of the nineteenth century. The power of the workers, in the socialist *Union General de Trabajadores* (UGT) and the anarchist *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT), made them an interest group almost as potent as the army. In the north, the Basque and Catalan peoples, who saw themselves as separate nations within the Spanish state, were becoming more truculent in their nationalism. The old political order was breaking down, and was incapable of absorbing a final blow. In July 1921, the colonial war in Morocco, which had already caused conscription riots in Spain and was wildly unpopular, turned into a disaster. The army of Morocco was outwitted by the Rif tribesmen, and at Annual lost 12,000 dead with many wounded and others taken prisoner. The army, following the old routine, rose to save Spain, and in September 1923, after endless attempts to find a political solution, General Primo de Rivera took power, as 'the iron doctor.'

Primo de Rivera took power until 'the country offers us men uncontaminated with the vices of political organization', and as an outsider, he was able to initiate changes beyond the capabilities of conventional politicians. Like many officers, he was impatient with the posturings of intellectuals and respected power. An Andalusian from Jerez, devoted to the pleasures of the flesh, he combined earthiness with a mystic sense of Spanish destiny. 'I have no experience in government. Our methods are as simple as they are ingenious. They are the methods which the good of the *patria* dictates and our resolutions are taken while we are kneeling at the shrine of the national spirit.' In whatever posture he arrived at his decisions, they were imbued

with sound common sense. He bought off labour unrest with concessions, and gained the ready acceptance of the UGT for his reforms. Their co-operation widened the split between the revolutionary anarchists and the socialists who had a definite stake - with investments, pension plans, and office buildings - in the existing social structure. But eventually Primo de Rivera's balancing act collapsed, and within fourteen months of the general resigning in January 1930, the king had gone too. For the second time, Spain was a republic.

Primo de Rivera had fallen because he was unable to resolve all the conflicting interests within Spain. The army felt he had worked against it, and he could not bring himself to conciliate the separatists. The new republic had three phases. In the first, from June 1931 to November 1933, it stood for reform and progress. From November 1933 to February 1936, the disunity of the left allowed a ramshackle right-wing coalition to take power, a position reversed between February and July 1936, when the leftward tendency was renewed. Late in July came the military uprising in Morocco which developed into the Spanish Civil War. The republic existed only because nothing else could fill the vacuum of power, but it attracted very little royal support. The anarchists would have nothing to do with it, the army was divided in its view but certainly looked upon it with no affection. That neutrality rapidly turned to hatred as the reforms, especially those aimed at the position of the Church, were seen as striking at the roots of 'Spanishness'. Even the UGT which supported the first phase of the republic and battled against the right in the second, had lost interest in the republic by the third. The Basques and Catalans were interested only insofar as it would grant them autonomy.

Both left and right tested the resilience of the republic by armed insurrection. In August 1932, General Sanjurjo declared 'Long live Indivisible Spain' and waited for the army to rally to him. He waited in vain. The unions declared a general strike and the soldiers stayed in their barracks. A much more bloody confrontation came from the left in October 1934, when there was a rising at Oviedo in Asturias and, more briefly, in Barcelona. The savage repression of the Asturian miners by the Army of Africa was an omen of what was to come two years later. The principle on which the army operated was expressed by General Mola: 'indiscipline is justified when the abuses of power constitute an insult and a shame, or when they lead the nation into ruin. By the spring of 1936, with the left restored to control of the republic, a number of officers had decided that the moment had arrived. Throughout this period, the anarchists, both in the CNT and in its purist offshoot, the *Federacion Anarquista Iberica* (FAI) pressed for total revolution, not the timid reformism which the republic was prepared to offer. The CNT had stated unambiguously in 1933 that anarchists remained 'in open war with the state. We are confronted by the Constituent Cortes (the parliament) as we would be by any power that oppresses us.' The pressure for immediate revolution came from the incorruptibles of the FAI. Many of the members of the CNT in the towns and cities were less keen on the purging flame of destruction which declared that if the cities did not come into line 'it will be preferable to wipe them off the face of the earth. The rural municipalities will absorb their reactionary plague and purify it.' It was wild and dangerous talk, for the anarchists had no more notion of how to make the revolution than they had of the post-revolutionary world. But through all the strands of anarchist thought about the post-revolutionary society, one element was always present. The Church would be destroyed, utterly.

The army and the parties of the right stood equally unambiguously: for Traditional Spain, Catholic Spain. Some, like the Carlists of the Basque country, would add 'Monarchical Spain', other right-wing groups, such as the Falange founded by the son of General Primo de Rivera, Jose Antonio, declared, 'Our ideas are revolutionary - not evolutionary'. The right in Spain rallied behind the banner of Church and Nation. Its territorial base lay in the ancient heartland of Spain, Old Castile, Leon, Navarre, and

parts of Galicia. Here the right-wing parties found the bulk of their votes. The power of the anarchists was concentrated in the poorest regions of the south along the Mediterranean coast, and in the industrial complex of Barcelona. If there was a town which could be described as the 'capital' of anarchism, it would be Zaragoza in Aragon. The socialists were in strength in the cities, especially Madrid, but in the years of Primo de Rivera they had also begun to make substantial inroads into the countryside, especially in New Castile. The strongpoint of the army was located not in Spain itself, but in Morocco where the republic sent many of the officers of doubtful loyalty. It was in Morocco that the *golpe del estado* (coup d'etat) to destroy the 'godless republic' began to fester.

From the middle of 1917, the army had begun to re-discover its love of conspiracy. By the third phase of the republic, after a number of failed attempts, it was clear that the old form of symbolic *pronunciamiento* could no longer succeed. In the past, the threat of the army had been sufficient (usually) to bring the politicians to heel. Now, like the Holy Office of the Inquisition, it was a question of burning the heresies from the body of Spain. On the mainland, the organization of the uprising was in the hands of General Mola, the former commander of the army in Morocco, who was transferred to Pamplona in March 1936. His new base gave him access to the right-wing parties, and he entered into discussions with the Falange of Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, with the Carlists, and other extremist factions. The aim was to give the rising a wide basis of popular support, so that it could plausibly be claimed that the army and the people were acting in concert. Furthermore, this new style of *golpe* was intended to be a mass takeover of all the centres of power throughout Spain. The planning went on throughout the early summer, frustrated by the fears of many officers that the republic would take savage reprisals if there was one more coup attempt by the army. The plotters were a small minority within the army, although many more would join them once a measure of success was achieved. One of those doubters was Francisco Franco, the most talented soldier in the army and Spain's youngest general. He had already been posted to the isolation of the Canary Islands by a suspicious government. The rapidly rising tide of political and social violence as the summer progressed convinced him that a rising was essential 'to save Spain'. Even convinced republicans were becoming convinced that drastic action was necessary. One of the founding fathers of the republic, Miguel Maura, was writing in June that 'peaceful citizens now believe the laws are a dead letter.'

The military rising came on 17 July in the cities of Spanish Morocco. The rising there set the pattern for the mainland. There was short and often bloody resistance, overcome by superior force, which was followed by a concerted drive to round up and kill all those with known leftist sympathies. This task was often left to armed right-wing civilians, assisted by the army. The key to the rising in Morocco, General Franco arrived from the Canary Islands in a secretly chartered plane. On the day following the first events in Morocco, risings began in the mainland cities beginning with Seville, the capital of Andalusia. They succeeded, with few exceptions, where traditionalist sentiment was already strong and there was general popular approval for military action. In Barcelona and Madrid, workers seized arms and overcame the rebels; in other cities either the army refused to rise, or it was a half-hearted affair, easily quashed. In some places, of which Granada is an example, there was a delay in the outbreak of the rising which could have allowed the government to redeem the situation. In the event, the cabinet dithered, and saw their power pass effectively to the masses in the streets or to the rebels. On 24 July General Mola, secure in rebel Burgos, declared: 'The government which was the wretched bastard of liberal and socialist concubinage is dead, killed by our valiant army. Spain, the true Spain, has laid the dragon low, and now it lies, writhing on its belly and biting the dust.' The death throes he so hopefully described were to last for three bitter years.

On the day that the right rose in rebellion in Morocco, the

CNT in Barcelona were proclaiming : 'Only by making the social revolution will fascism be crushed.' While the forces of True Spain were exterminating the left in the zones which they controlled, the anarchists, and to a lesser degree the socialist groups, were freeing the new society from the clutches of its enemies. In Catalonia the process was slightly more orderly. Every-where the principal targets were priests, known right-wing sympathizers, or those too well dressed or too well spoken. Private property was made communal property, in some places money was abolished. The revolutionaries of the left believed that it was necessary to accomplish the revolution before turning to its defence. This was the long awaited moment and the anarchists would not allow it to pass. But even in this moment of extremity, the working class pursued antagonistic goals. The socialists, and even more the small Communist party, were concerned with the military defeat of the rebels; in them the beleaguered republic found natural allies. The anarchists, true to their faith, pursued other goals as well.

By the end of July the battle lines had been drawn between the republic and the 'Nationalists', as they now called themselves. The territory which the republic held until the end of the war was contained in a block constituted largely by the south-eastern quarter of the country. The fighting was concentrated in the north and centre of Spain, especially after the nationalists failed to capture Madrid in their first major campaign of the war. In many of the republican areas revolution was the objective. On the nationalist side, the aim was a new society, inspired by the 'eternal verities' of True Spain. What the rebels sought was not merely recognition of the army's interests as had been the case in the past, but the creation of a new authoritarian society. Their ideas, if ill-formed, were positive rather than merely reactionary. On the left, libertarian anarchism was equally dominated by a vision of a new world. The earnestness of their convictions found expression

in their mutual determination to 'cleanse' society of its human impurities. 'Shedding of blood is the inevitable consequence of a revolution, which in spite of all barriers, sweeps on like a flood

THE TAKEOVER OF GRANADA

Unlike Seville, which fell on the first day of the Nationalist rising. Granada, the greatest city of eastern Andalucia, remained in a state of uneasy calm during the first forty-eight hours of the rebellion. The paralysis of the authorities mirrored the inaction of those in Madrid while the left-wing parties also failed to take any defensive measures. There was no doubt that Granada would rise : the only doubt was *when*. The rising when it came on 20 July, was textbook. The Governor was taken prisoner by his deputy who had mobilized the garrison. The conspirators had secured the support not only of the Civil Guard, but of the Assault Guards, a more Republican-minded police force. At 5.00 p.m. troops moved down to take control of the Town Hall and other public buildings as well as the central telephone exchange. The central areas were quickly occupied and parties of troops were sent to secure the main road out of the town and access to the railway. Workers were seen in the streets coming down from the Albaicin, but were driven back by gunfire. Patrols were sent to secure the two strategic points on the outskirts, the airport at Armilla to the south and the explosives factory to the north of the city at El Fargue.

On the following day after the workers organizations had fortified the Albaicin as best they could, two artillery batteries were set up on the Alhambra hill and the northern outskirts of the quarter : they then opened fire. Troops moved in through the narrow streets and there was some hand-to-hand fighting. By that night all resistance was crushed and the purge began. According to available figures 4500 were killed in the space of a few days, most of them at the wall of the municipal cemetery above the Alhambra. Some estimates put the total number of deaths in the city as high as 25,000. This was a white terror, with no preceding revolutionary violence.

Granada remained the front line for the whole of the Civil War, with guerrilla bands in the Sierra Nevada and the Alpujarras to the south. When the war ended the guerrilla bands remained, fighting an increasingly feeble campaign against the Civil Guard. Granada, the setting of *Carmen*, has never been a stranger to violence but the events of July 1936 have seared the popular imagination.

revolutionary violence in the autumn of 1936 was not Communist-inspired, nor was the republic 'red or Bolshevik'. The dominance of the Communist party came later. Nor were the Nationalist 'Fascists', as they were universally portrayed by the left, part of some international conspiracy. They were revolutionaries of the right, in an exclusively Iberian formulation. Nor did the war end in 1939, as is commonly supposed. It persisted in a guerrilla war for another four decades, finding rebirth in the violence of the Basque ETA.

and devastates everything in its path, until it gradually loses momentum. These could be the words of an anarchist or a nationalist. 'Pardon and amnesty must disappear from the Spanish dictionary.' Left or Right? The anarchist Diego Abad de Santillan, who wrote the first, and General Queipo de Llano, who had the second as a catch-phrase, shared, if nothing else, a belief that the revolution could only be bought through blood. In point of numbers, the nationalists killed more than the left, but largely because they were more efficient. On the other hand, the anarchist areas of southern Spain were quickly overrun, so the violence was concentrated over a shorter time and a more restricted area. As the war developed, propaganda on both sides began to cloud the truth. On the left, the

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

EMERGENCE OF TRIPOLAR WORLD OF 21ST CENTURY

Mankind Statistical Research Bureau

THE EMERGING TRIPOLAR WORLD OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 21ST CENTURY

All knowledge is futuristic. We want to understand and analyse the world in order to predict coming events and prepare ourselves for them.

After the collapse of the USSR and the Stalinist Empire in East Europe between 1985, and particularly from 1989, to 1991, the United States of America may have arrogantly ascribed to itself the role of Supreme Arbiter of the World's Destiny ! All Western, and West-supported, media have been forcefully circulating the Myth of the Uni-Polar World for the last 5 years.

This is simply not true. Countervailing forces had begun to emerge from the 50s and the 60s. Germany had been smashed and literally quartered at the end of the Second World War in 1945. But the Western three parts were reunited in 1949 and very soon began to take full advantage of the Cold War to manoeuvre into the position of leadership of reindustrialising Europe. First the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1951 and then, on a single day were established the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957. Today the EEC has evolved into the EU with 15 full members (Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, UK, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland, Sweden) . East Germany was reunified with W. Germany in 1990, and now the EU is poised to double itself further with the inclusion of 18 more applicants (Turkey, Cyprus, Malta, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovak Rep. Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Bulgaria)

The USSR itself broke up into its 15 constituent units in 1991, further strength-

ening the illusion that United States had established its hegemony over the entire world. Furthermore, civil wars have been raging in several former Soviet Republics (Russian Fed., Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan). Also, several constituents of the old Yugoslav Federation are experiencing internal strife (Details are given in the latest reports of the World Bank : *World Development Report, 1996, From Plan to Market.*)

At the corners of the emerging triangular configuration of vectors, USA has tried to protect its captive markets by organising NAFTA, North American Free Trade Association, in 1994. The original members of the NAFTA, were USA, Canada and Mexico. Chile has been added recently and the other two substantial economies of Latin America, namely Brazil and Argentina, are likely to join NAFTA pretty soon.

At the third corner, of the Tiger economies of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific, 3 major consultative organisations have emerged ;

1. APEC, Asia Pacific Economic Conference, which is an American attempt to dominate the ARP countries.
2. Asia-Europe summit which is an attempt by the Asian nations organised in ASEAN, to improve their bargaining position by association and trade linkages with EU.
3. ASEAN, or Association of South-East Asian Nations, which is a much more closely knit organisation, with an economic forum which has many consultative members. The ASEAN is also a rapidly expanding organisation that has just admitted Myanmar.

The core table in our presentation is the summary of World Trends. The 3 large groupings are all at the moment almost equal, absorbing about a quarter of the world's GDP in PPP terms. But the dynamics of the situation, make it clear that the

most rapid economic development is taking place in the countries that belong to the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific. These countries will rapidly overtake, as proportion of world GDP, both the European Bloc and the American Bloc.

USA is living in a fool's paradise. Its share of the world GDP was as high as 50% in 1945. In 1960, when Japan commenced its terrific expansion, it was still as high as 28% of the world GDP. By 1978, China had begun to surge forward, along with the ASEAN economies (Especially Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia. Philippines has joined the fast track in the 90s.) It may be noted that Hong Kong will be reabsorbed by China next year. Thus the countries of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific will, in all probability, maintain their spectacular forward movement for the next decade or so.

There are important lessons that we should draw from our Tables.

1. India has lost the game by buckling under the Structural Adjustment Programme forced upon it by the triumphant neo-colonial trio of the WB; IMF and WTO. This ruinous programme has been termed euphemistically as one of "liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation and Westernisation". In short, India has been reconquered by the G-7 and OECD. **Only a second war of national independence can save the country and extricate it from the clutches of the imperialist devils.**

2. The Stalinist state capitalist house of cards has collapsed from 1985. Certain selected regions like the three Baltic Republics, Poland, the Czech Rep. out of the old Czechoslovak Fed., Slovenia out of the old Yugoslav Fed., and perhaps Turkmenistan in Central Asia, have benefitted from disintegration of the Soviet Empire. (And of course E. Germany, which has merged with the old FRG.)

However, overall there has been a steep decline in living standards within the Soviet Bloc. after 1987 as our Table III demonstrates.

3. **Initially a trade war, and later an armed conflict, seems to be inevitable between these three giant coalitions of economic powers of the first half of the 21st century.** The Western Powers will try to divide the ARP/PRA countries and set them at loggerheads with each other. But events are moving at a terrific pace. India's comprador rulers have committed harakiri. But the Russians have not yet been counted out. Japan may soon find out that it is more politic to woo its Asian

neighbours, especially as the Chinese market is the largest and the fastest growing market of the world.

India could not guarantee Tibetan independence in the 40s and the 50s. But that is all water under the bridge. We cannot

sacrifice our historic interests for the sake of Tibet, whose 14th Dalai Lama is himself seeking a compromise with China.

Only a China-India-Japan axis can make the 21st century, the century of Asia! Otherwise, it'll become a century of China in perpetual turmoil with Japan, Russia, EU, and USA!

TABLE 1 : LEAD PLAYERS IN TRI-POLAR WORLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY

USA AND ITS ALLIES						EUROPE AND ITS ALLIES (Excluding USSR and Yugoslavia and their Constituents)						PRA OR ARP AND ITS ALLIES (Pacific Rim of Asia or Asiatic Rim of the Pacific)						
	% of World Area	% of World Pop.	% of World GDP (PPP) 1960	% of World GDP (PPP) 1994	Rise or Fall Bet. 1960 & 1994		% of World Area	% of World Pop.	% of World GDP (PPP) 1960	% of World GDP (PPP) 1994	Rise or Fall Bet. 1960 & 1994		% of World Area	% of World Pop.	% of World GDP (PPP) 1960	% of World GDP (PPP) 1994	Rise or Fall Bet. 1960 & 1994	
NAFTA						Single Europe						PRA/ARP						
USA	6.92	4.64	27.76	21.56	-6.20	Germany	0.34	.45	5.68	5.08	-0.6	China	7.06	21.22	7.28	9.56	+2.28	
Mexico	1.45	1.57	1.61	1.99	+0.38	France	0.41	.02	3.76	3.64	-0.12	Japan	0.28	2.23	3.91	8.45	+4.54	
Canada	7.37	0.52	2.14	1.86	-0.28	Italy	0.22	.02	3.38	3.37	-0.01	ASEAN	3.30	8.37	2.47	5.37	+2.90	
Chile	0.56	0.25	0.36	0.40	+0.04	UK	0.18	1.04	5.16	3.35	-1.81	S.Korea	0.07	0.79	0.26	1.47	+1.21	
TOTAL			34.52	25.81		Spain	0.37	0.70	1.26	1.72	+0.46	Taiwan	0.03	0.38	-	0.70	-	
Allies						Netherlands	0.03	0.27	0.99	0.92	-0.07	Hong Kong	0.00	0.11	0.11	0.42	+0.31	
Brazil	6.28	2.83	1.54	2.75	+1.21	Turkey	0.58	1.08	0.71	0.92	+0.21	Macao	0.00	0.01	-	-	-	
Argentina	2.04	0.61	1.07	0.95	-0.12	Belgium	0.02	0.18	0.73	0.65	-0.08	TOTAL			14.05	25.97		
						Switzerland	0.03	0.12	0.77	0.56	-0.21	ASEAN						
						Austria	0.06	0.14	0.49	0.50	+0.01	Indonesia	1.41	3.39	0.70	2.19	+1.49	
						Sweden	0.33	0.16	0.75	0.48	-0.27	Thailand	0.38	1.03	0.40	1.29	+0.89	
						Portugal	0.07	0.18	0.22	0.38	+0.16	Philippines	0.22	1.19	0.50	0.59	+0.09	
						Greece	0.10	0.19	0.24	0.36	+0.12	Malaysia	0.24	0.35	0.22	0.53	+0.31	
						Denmark	0.03	0.09	0.42	0.33	-0.09	Vietnam	0.25	1.28	0.47	0.24	-0.23	
						Norway	0.24	0.08	0.30	0.28	-0.02	Singapore	0.00	0.05	0.06	0.20	+0.14	
						Finland	0.25	0.09	0.32	0.26	-0.06	Brunei	0.00	0.01	-	0.18	-	
						Ireland	0.05	0.06	0.14	0.16	+0.02	Myanmar	0.50	0.81	0.12	0.09	-0.03	
						Luxembourg	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.05	+0.02	Cambodia	0.13	0.18	-	0.04	-	
						Ireland	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.02	+0.01	Laos	0.17	0.08	-	0.02	-	
						TOTAL			25.35	23.03		TOTAL			2.47	5.37		
						ALLIES												
						Poland	0.23	0.69	0.91	0.67	-0.24							
						Czech Rep.	0.09	0.27	0.42	0.39	-0.03							
						Slovak Rep.	-	-	-	-	-							
						Romania	0.18	0.40	0.28	0.30	+0.02							
						Hungary	0.07	0.18	0.31	0.20	-0.11							
						Bulgaria	0.08	0.15	0.24	0.12	-0.12							
						Albania	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.02	-0.01							
						Yugoslav Federation and Constituents : See Table III												
						USSR and its Constituents : See Table III												

Note : Area of old USSR, prior to break-up in 1991, was 16.46% of World Area. In 1960, as a unified country, the USSR's share of world GDP was as high as 8.26%. Of the 15 constituent units of the Old USSR, 5 Central Asian Republics are being wooed by China, Iran and Turkey (the latter acting on behalf of EU). The three Caucasian Republics are beset by Civil Wars and External Wars. The remaining 7 Soviet Republics (3 Baltic, 3 E.European + 1 Russia) will probably merge with EU. It is impossible to segregate these 7 and take the data separately to 1960 in PPP terms.

Thus we have excluded from this table of Single Europe, Russian Fed., and the constituent republics of old USSR. There are shown separately in Table III. Similarly, Yugoslavia has been excluded as Civil Wars are ranging within this Old Federation. In 1960, Yugoslavia had 0.19% of World Area and 0.57% of World GDP.

N.A. : Not Available

Sources :

1. Percentage of World population 1994, from *World Development Report, 1996*.
2. Proportion of World GDP (PPP) for 1960, from *Human Development Report, 1993*.
3. Proportion of World GDP (PPP) for 1994, from *World Development Report, 1996*.

TABLE II : COMPARISON OF 210 COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES IN PPP TERMS FOR 1960, 1987 AND 1994 :

1 Sr. No.	2 COUNTRY	3 Per Cap. 1960 PPP US \$	4 Nat. GDP 1960 PPP US \$ (min.)	5 % of World GDP 1960	6 Per Cap. 1987 PPP US \$	7 Nat. GDP 1987 PPP US \$ (min.)	8 % of World GDP 1987	9 Pop. 1994 (min.)
					710 ⁸⁹	11,786	0.05	22.8
1.	Afganistan	775	10,648	0.16	4,270 ⁸⁹	12,810	0.05	3.2
2.	Albania	1,000	1,640	0.03	3,088	71,333	0.31	27.4
3.	Algeria	1,676	18,101	0.28	1,981	71	0.00	0.1
4.	American Samoa	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
5.	Andorra	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	-
6.	Angola	1,308	6,174	0.10	1,225 ⁸⁹	11,025	0.05	10.4
7.	Antigua and Barbuda	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,940 ⁸⁹	394	0.00	0.1
8.	Argentina	3,381	69,682	1.07	6,641	206,535	0.90	34.2
9.	Armenia	-	-	-	5,483	-	-	3.7
10.	Aruba	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
11.	Australia	7,204	74,345	1.14	14,462	234,284	1.02	17.8
12.	Austria	4,476	31,556	0.49	15,062	114,471	0.50	8.0
13.	Azerbaijan	-	-	-	4,490	-	-	7.5
14.	Bahamas	NIL	NIL	NIL	15,124	3,025	0.01	0.3
15.	Baharain	NIL	NIL	NIL	11,938	4,775	0.02	0.6
16.	Bangladesh	621	31,950	0.49	1,014	107,585	0.47	117.9
17.	Barbados	3,443	792	0.01	9,931	2,979	0.01	0.3
18.	Belarus	-	-	-	5,193	-	-	10.4
19.	Belgium	5,207	47,644	0.73	15,435	152,807	0.67	10.4
20.	Belize	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,724	745	0.00	0.2
21.	Benin	1,075	2,268	0.03	1,448	6,226	0.02	5.3
22.	Bermuda	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
23.	Bhutan	NIL	NIL	NIL	993	1,291	0.01	0.7
24.	Bolivia	1,142	4,317	0.07	1,841	-12,375	0.05	7.2
25.	Bosnia-Herzegovina	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.4
26.	Botswana	474	242	0.00	3,186	3,505	0.02	1.4
27.	Brazil	1,404	100,442	1.54	5,007	707,990	3.10	159.1
28.	Brunei	NIL	NIL	NIL	14,590 ⁸⁹	2,918	0.01	0.3
29.	Bulgaria	2,000*	15,740	0.24	4,862	43,758	0.19	8.4
30.	Burkina Faso	290	1,276	0.02	724	6,009	0.03	10.1
31.	Burundi	473	1,376	0.02	703	3,515	0.01	6.2
32.	Cambodia	NIL	NIL	NIL	1000 ⁸⁹	8,200	0.04	10.0
33.	Cameroon	736	3,584	0.06	3,104	33,834	0.15	13.0
34.	Canada	7,758	138,946	2.14	17,214	445,843	1.95	29.2
35.	Cape Verde	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,469	441	0.00	0.4
36.	Cayman Isl.	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
37.	Central African Rep.	806	1,072	0.02	1,117	3,016	0.01	3.2
38.	Chad	785	2,339	0.04	559	2,963	0.01	6.3
39.	Channel Isl.	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
40.	Chile	3,103	23,552	0.36	5,131	64,138	0.28	14.0
41.	China	723	473,196	7.28	1,200	1,282,200	5.61	1,190.9
42.	Colombia	1,874	29,815	0.46	3,931	115,965	0.51	36.3
43.	Comoros	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,407	563	0.00	0.5
44.	Congo	1,092	1,059	.02	2,317	4,634	0.02	2.6
45.	Costa Rica	2,160	2,700	0.04	4,413 ⁸⁹	11,474	0.05	3.3
46.	Cote d' Ivoire	1,021	3,502	0.05	1,717	19,059	0.08	13.8
47.	Croatia	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.8
48.	Cuba	1,000	7,020	0.11	2,500 ⁸⁹	25,000	0.11	11.0
49.	Cyprus	2,039	1,162	0.02	9,766	6,836	0.03	0.7
50.	Czechoslovakia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Czech Rep.	2,000*	27,300	0.42	9,124	145,984	0.64	10.3

TABLE II : POPULATION PER CAPITA INCOME, NATIONAL GDP AND AREA
ABSOLUTE LEVELS AND WORLD PROPORTIONS

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
% of World Pop. 1994	Per Cap. 1994 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1994 PPP US \$ (mln.)	% of World GDP 1994	Comparison bet. Cols 3 & 11 Per Cap. Income Rise or Fall	Nat. GDP Rise or Fall Col 5 compared to Col 13	Area in '000 Km ²	% of the World Area	Sr. No.
0.41	800 ⁹³	18,240	0.06	+25	-0.10	652.00	0.48	1
0.06	2,200 ⁹³	7,040	0.02			29.00	0.02	2
0.49	5,570 ⁹³	152,618	0.49	+3,894	+0.21	2,382.00	1.76	3
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL			-	-	4
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL			0.46	0.00	5
0.19	674 ⁹³	7,010	0.02	-634	-0.08	1,247.00	0.92	6
0.00	5,369 ⁹³	537	0.00			0.44	0.00	7
0.61	8,720	298,224	0.95	+5,339	-0.12	2,767.00	2.04	8
0.07	2,160	7,992	0.03			30.00	0.02	9
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL				0.00	10
0.32	18,120	322,536	1.03	+10,916	-0.11	7,687.00	5.68	11
0.14	19,560	156,480	0.50	+15,084	+0.01	84.00	0.06	12
0.13	1,510	11,325	0.04			87.00	0.06	13
0.01	15,470	4,641	0.01			14.00	0.01	14
0.01	13,220	7,932	0.03			1.00	0.00	15
2.10	1,330	156,807	0.50	+709	+0.01	144.00	0.11	16
0.01	11,210	3,363	0.01			0.43	0.00	17
0.19	4,320	44,928	0.14			208.00	0.15	18
0.18	20,270	204,727	0.65	+15,063	-0.08	31.00	0.02	19
0.00	5,600	1,120	0.00			23.00	0.02	20
0.09	1,630	8,639	0.03	+555	+0	113.00	0.08	21
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL			0.05	0.00	22
0.01	1,270	889	0.00			47.00	0.03	23
0.13	2,400	17,280	0.06	+1,258	-0.01	1,099.00	0.81	24
0.08	NIL	NIL	NIL					25
0.02	5,210	7,294	0.02	+4,736	+0.02	582.00	0.43	26
2.83	5,400	859,140	2.75	+3,996	+1.21	8,512.00	6.28	27
0.01	18,414 ⁹³	55,242	0.18			6.00	0.00	28
0.15	4,380	36,792	0.12			111.00	0.08	29
0.18	800	8,080	0.03	+510	+0.01	274.00	0.20	30
0.11	700	4,340	0.01	+227	-0.01	28.00	0.02	31
0.18	1,250 ⁹³	12,500	0.04			181.00	0.13	32
0.23	1,950	25,350	0.08	+1,214	+0.02	475.00	0.35	33
0.52	19,960	582,832	1.86	+12,202	-0.28	9,976.00	7.37	34
0.01	1,920	768	0.00			4.00	0.00	35
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL					36
0.06	1,160	3,712	0.01	+354	-0.01	623.00	0.46	37
0.11	720	4,536	0.01	-65	-0.03	1,284.00	0.95	38
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL			0.19	0.00	39
0.25	8,890	124,460	0.40	+5,787	+0.04	757.00	0.56	40
21.22	2,510	2989,159	9.56	+1,787	+2.28	9,561.00	7.06	41
0.65	5,330	193,479	0.62	+3,456	+0.16	1,139.00	0.84	42
0.01	1,430	715	0.00			2.00	0.00	43
0.05	1,900	4,940	0.02	+808	+0	342.00	0.25	44
0.06	5,680 ⁹³	18,744	0.06	+3,520	+0.02	51.00	0.04	45
0.25	1,370	18,906	0.06	+349	+0.01	322.00	0.24	46
0.09	NIL	NIL	NIL					47
0.20	3,000	33,000	0.11			117.00	0.09	48
0.01	14,800	10,360	0.03			9.00	0.01	49
0.18	8,900	91,670	0.29			128.00	0.09	50

TABLE II : COMPARISON OF 210 COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES IN PPP TERMS FOR 1960, 1987 AND 1994 :

1 Sr. No.	2 COUNTRY	3 Per Cap. 1960 PPP US \$	4 Nat. GDP 1960 PPP US \$ (min.)	5 % of World GDP 1960	6 Per Cap. 1987 PPP US \$	7 Nat. GDP 1987 PPP US \$ (min.)	8 % of World GDP 1987	9 Pop. 1994 (min.)
51.	Denmark	5,900	27,022	0.42	15,849 ⁸⁹	80,830	0.35	5.2
52.	Djibouti	NIL	NIL	NIL	730 ⁸⁹	292	0.00	0.6
53.	Dominica	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,399	340	0.00	0.1
54.	Dominican Rep.	1,227	3,877	0.06	2,876	19,269	0.08	7.6
55.	Ecuador	1,461	6,326	1.10	3,290	32,571	0.14	11.2
56.	Egypt	557	14,443	0.22	2,979	149,248	0.65	56.8
57.	El Salvador	1,305	3,302	0.05	1,738 ⁸⁹	8,516	0.04	5.6
58.	Eq. Guinea	NIL	NIL	NIL	706	282	0.00	0.4
59.	Eritrea	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.5
60.	Estonia	-	-	-	6,186	-	-	1.5
61.	Ethiopia	262	5,245	0.08	414	18,547	0.08	54.9
62.	Faeroe Isl.	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.0
63.	Fiji	234	918	0.01	4,221	2,955	0.02	0.8
64.	Finland	4,718	20,901	0.32	14,917	73,093	0.32	5.1
65.	France	5,344	244,114	3.76	15,704	873,142	3.82	57.9
66.	French Guiana	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
67.	French Polynesia	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2
68.	Gabon	1,373	618	0.01	4,735	5,209	0.02	1.3
69.	Gambia The	411	160	0.00	993	794	0.00	1.1
70.	Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.4
71.	Germany	6,038	369,166	5.68	15,580	1218,356	5.33	81.5
72.	Ghana	1,049	7,112	0.11	1,635	22,236	0.09	16.6
73.	Greece	1,889	15,735	0.24	8,710	87,100	0.38	10.4
74.	Greenland	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
75.	Grenada	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,673 ⁸⁹	367	0.00	1.0
76.	Guadeloupe	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.4
77.	Guam	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
78.	Guatemala	1,667	6,651	0.10	2,793	23,461	0.10	10.3
79.	Guinea	444	1,412	0.02	602	3,913	0.01	6.4
80.	Guinea-Bissau	NIL	NIL	NIL	600	540	0.00	1.0
81.	Guyana	1,630	913	0.01	1,821	1,457	0.01	0.8
82.	Haiti	921	3,343	0.05	1,283	7,826	0.03	7.0
83.	Honduras	901	1,685	0.03	1,676	7,877	0.03	5.8
84.	Hong Kong	2,323	7,155	0.11	15,180	85,008	0.37	6.1
85.	Hungary	2,000 ⁺	19,960	0.31	5,979	63,377	0.28	10.3
86.	Iceland	5,352	963	0.01	17,876	3,575	0.02	0.3
87.	India	617	263,953	4.06	910	725,725	3.17	913.6
88.	Indonesia	490	45,423	0.70	2,069	354,627	1.55	190.4
89.	Iran	1,985	42,777	0.66	3,120	146,640	0.64	62.5
90.	Iraq	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,510 ⁸⁹	60,021	0.26	20.4
91.	Ireland	3,214	9,096	0.14	8,400	30,240	0.13	3.6
92.	Isle of Man	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
93.	Israel	3,958	8,351	0.13	11,690	51,436	0.22	5.4
94.	Italy	4,375	219,712	3.38	14,669	842,001	3.68	57.1
95.	Jamaica	1,829	2,981	0.05	2,297	5,513	0.02	2.5
96.	Japan	2,701	254,164	3.91	15,455	1887,056	8.25	125.0
97.	Jordan	1,328	2,258	0.03	5,255	19,969	0.09	4.0
98.	Kazakistan	-	-	-	5,007	-	-	16.8
99.	Kenya	635	5,156	0.08	1,179	26,056	0.11	26.0
100.	Kiribati	NIL	NIL	NIL	480 ⁸⁹	48	0.00	0.1
101.	Korea N.	1,000 ⁺	10,530	0.16	2,500	52,500	0.23	23.4
102.	Korea S.	690	17,043	0.26	5,648	237,781	1.04	44.5
103.	Kuwait	NIL	NIL	NIL	17,442	33,140	0.14	1.6
104.	Kyrgyz Rep	-	-	-	2,793	-	-	4.5
105.	Lao PDR	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,025 ⁸⁹	3,895	0.01	4.7

POPULATION PER CAPITA INCOME, NATIONAL GDP AND AREA
ABSOLUTE LEVELS AND WORLD PROPORTIONS

(Contd.)

10 % of World Pop. 1994	11 Per Cap. 1994 PPP US \$	12 Nat. GDP 1994 PPP US \$ (min.)	13 % of World GDP 1994	14 Comparison bet. Cols 3 & 11 Per Cap. Income Rise or Fall	15 Nat. GDP Rise or Fall Col 5 compared to Col 13	16 Area in '000 Km ²	17 % of the World Area	18 Sr. No.
0.09	19,880	103,376	0.33	+13,980	-0.09	43.00	0.03	51
0.01	775	465	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	23.00	0.02	52
0.00	3,810	381	0.00			1.00	0.00	53
0.14	3,760	28,576	0.09	+2,533	+0.03	49.00	0.04	54
0.20	4,190	46,928	0.15	+2,729	-0.95	284.00	0.21	55
1.01	3,720	211,296	0.68	+3,163	+0.46	1,001.00	0.74	56
0.10	2,410	13,496	0.04	+1,105	-0.01	21.00	0.02	57
0.01	1,800 ⁹³	720	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	28.00	0.02	58
0.06	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			59
0.03	4,510	6,765	0.02		See Table III	45.00	0.03	60
0.98	430	23,607	0.08	+168	±0	1,222.0	0.90	61
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	62
0.01	5,940	4,752	0.02	+3,586	+0.01	18.00	0.01	63
0.09	16,150	82,365	0.26	+11,432	-0.06	338.00	0.25	64
1.02	19,670	1,138,893	3.64	+14,326	-0.12	552.00	0.41	65
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			66
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			67
0.02	3,861 ⁸⁹	5,019	0.02	+2,488	+0.01	268.00	0.20	68
0.02	1,100	1,210	0.00	+689	±0	11.00	0.01	69
0.10	1,750 ⁸⁹	9,450	0.03		See Table III	70.00	0.05	70
1.45	19,480	1,587,620	5.08	+13,442	-0.6	465.00	0.34	71
0.30	2,050	34,030	0.11	+1,001	±0	239.00	0.18	72
0.19	10,930	113,672	0.36	+9,041	+0.12	132.00	0.10	73
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	2,176.00	1.61	74
0.00	3,118 ⁹³	312	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	0.34	0.00	75
0.01	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	2.00	0.00	76
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	77
0.18	3,440	35,432	0.11	+1,773	+0.01	109.00	0.08	78
0.11	1,800 ⁹³	11,520	0.04	+1,356	+0.02	246.00	0.18	79
0.02	820	820	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	36.00	0.03	80
0.01	2,750	2,200	0.01	+1,120	±0	215.00	0.16	81
0.12	930	6,510	0.02	+9	-0.03	28.00	0.02	82
0.10	1,940	11,252	0.04	1,039	+0.01	112.00	0.08	83
0.11	21,560 ⁸⁹	131,516	0.42	+19,237	+0.31	1.00	0.00	84
0.18	6,080	62,624	0.20		See Table III	93.00	0.07	85
0.01	19,210	5,763	0.02		Insignificant Pop.	103.00	0.08	86
16.28	1,280	1,169,408	3.74	+663	-0.32	3,288.00	2.43	87
3.39	3,600	685,440	2.19	+3,110	+1.49	1,905.00	1.41	88
1.11	5,380 ⁹³	336,250	1.07	+3,395	+0.41	1,648.00	1.22	89
0.36	3,413 ⁹³	69,625	0.22		1960 GDP-PPP N.A.	438.00	0.32	90
0.06	13,550	48,780	0.16	+10,336	+0.02	70.00	0.05	91
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	92
0.10	15,300	82,620	0.26	+11,342	+0.13	21.00	0.02	93
1.02	18,460	1,054,066	3.37	+14,085	-0.01	301.00	0.22	94
0.04	3,400	8,500	0.03	+1,571	-0.02	11.00	0.01	95
2.23	21,140	2,642,500	8.45	+18,439	+4.54	378.00	0.28	96
0.07	4,100	16,400	0.05	+2,772	+0.02	89.00	0.07	97
0.30	2,810	47,208	0.15		See Table III	2,717.00	2.01	98
0.46	1,310	34,060	0.11	+675	+0.03	580.00	0.43	99
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	100
0.42	3,000 ⁹³	70,200	0.22		See Table III	121.00	0.09	101
0.79	10,330	459,685	1.47	+9,640	+1.21	99.00	0.07	102
0.03	24,730	39,568	0.13		Oil Rich, Pop Poor	18.00	0.01	103
0.08	1,730	7,785	0.02		See Table III	199.00	0.15	104
0.08	1,458 ⁹³	6,853	0.02		See Table III	237.00	0.17	105

TABLE II : COMPARISON OF 210 COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES IN PPP TERMS FOR 1960, 1987 AND 1994 :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sr. No.	COUNTRY	Per Cap. 1960 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1960 PPP US \$ (min.)	% of World GDP 1960	Per Cap. 1987 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1987 PPP US \$ (min.)	% of World GDP 1987	Pop. 1994 (min.)
106.	Latvia	-	-	-	4,986 ⁸⁹	-	-	2.5
107.	Lebanon	NIL	NIL	NIL	2,250	+6,075	0.03	3.9
108.	Lesotho	346	308	0.00	1,366 ⁸⁹	2,186	0.01	1.9
109.	Liberia	967	1,218	0.02	937 ⁸⁹	2,155	0.01	2.7
110.	Libya	NIL	NIL	NIL	7,250 ⁸⁹	29,725	0.13	5.2
111.	Liechtenstein	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
112.	Lithuania	-	-	-	6,993	-	-	3.7
113.	Luxembourg	6,970	2,161	0.03	29,607	11,843	0.05	0.4
114.	Macao	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.4
115.	Macedonia, FYR	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1
116.	Madagascar	1,013	5,440	0.08	641	6,987	0.03	13.1
117.	Malawi	423	1,472	0.02	641	5,064	0.02	9.5
118.	Malaysia	1,783	14,104	0.22	4,862	80,223	0.35	19.7
119.	Maldives	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,118 ⁸⁹	224	0.00	0.2
120.	Mali	541	2,213	0.03	476	3,713	0.01	9.5
121.	Malta	1,516	500	0.01	8,231 ⁸⁹	2,469	0.01	0.4
122.	Marshall Isl.	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
123.	Martinique	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.4
124.	Mauritania	930	884	0.01	1,324	2,516	0.00	2.2
125.	Mauritius	2,113	1,395	0.02	8,152	8,152	0.04	1.1
126.	Mayotte	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
127.	Mexico	2,870	104,382	1.61	5,752	471,089	2.06	88.5
128.	Micronesia, Fed. Sts	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
129.	Moldova	-	-	-	5,112	-	-	4.3
130.	Monaco	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
131.	Mongolia	500+	465	0.01	2,000 ⁸⁹	4,000	0.01	2.4
132.	Morocco	854	9,941	0.15	2,710	63,143	0.28	26.4
133.	Mozambique	1,368	9,029	0.14	559	8,161	0.03	15.5
134.	Myanmar	341	7,587	0.12	595	23,384	0.10	45.6
135.	Namibia	NIL	NIL	NIL	3517	3,517	0.02	1.5
136.	Nepal	584	5,361	0.08	910	16,106	0.07	20.9
137.	Netherlands	5,587	64,139	0.99	14,483	212,900	0.93	15.4
138.	Netherlands Antilles	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.2
139.	New Caledonia	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.2
140.	New Zealand	7,222	17,116	0.26	13,076	43,151	0.19	3.5
141.	Nicaragua	1,756	2,581	0.04	2,690	9,415	0.04	4.2
142.	Niger	604	1,758	0.03	786	5,345	0.02	8.7
143.	Nigeria	1,133	48,662	0.75	890	94,874	0.41	108.0
144.	Northern Masiana Isl.	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0
145.	Norway	5,443	19,486	0.30	16,076	67,519	0.30	4.3
146.	Oman	2,040	1,000	0.02	7,179	9,333	0.04	2.1
147.	Pakistan	820	37,597	0.58	1,759	180,298	0.79	126.3
148.	Panama	1,533	1,656	0.03	5,504	12,659	0.06	2.6
149.	Papua New Guinea	1,136	2,181	0.03	1,883	6,967	0.03	4.2
150.	Paraguay	1,200	2,124	0.03	2,835	11,057	0.05	4.8
151.	Peru	2,130	21,279	0.33	3,724	75,225	0.33	23.2
152.	Philippines	1,183	32,603	0.50	2,152	125,677	0.55	67.0
153.	Poland	2,000+	59,120	0.91	4,428	166,936	0.73	38.5
154.	Portugal	1,618	14,287	0.22	8,545	87,159	0.38	9.9
155.	Puerto Rico	NIL	NIL	NIL	5,530 ^{OR}	18,249	0.08	3.7
156.	Qatar	NIL	NIL	NIL	18,704	5,611	0.02	0.6
157.	Reunion	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.6
158.	Romania	1,000+	18,400	0.28	4,697	107,561	0.47	22.7
159.	Russian Fed./USSR	2,500+	535,825	8.25	6,331	1,791,673	7.84	148.3
160.	Rwanda	538	1,474	0.02	786	5,030	0.02	7.8

POPULATION PER CAPITA INCOME, NATIONAL GDP AND AREA
ABSOLUTE LEVELS AND WORLD PROPORTIONS

(Contd.)

10 % of World Pop. 1994	11 Per Cap. 1994 PPP US \$	12 Nat. GDP 1994 PPP US \$ (mln.)	13 % of World GDP 1994	14 Comparison bet. Cols 3 & 11 Per Cap. Income Rise or Fall	15 Nat. GDP Rise or Fall Col. 5 compared to Col. 13	16 Area in '000 Km ²	17 % of the World Area	18 Sr. No.
0.04	3,220	8,050	0.03		See Table III	65	0.05	106
0.07	2,500 ⁹³	9,750	0.03		Civil War Raging	10	0.01	107
0.03	1,730	3,287	0.01	+1,384		30	0.02	108
0.05	843 ⁹³	2,276	0.01	-124	+0.01	111	0.08	109
0.09	6,125 ⁹³	31,850	0.10		Oil Rich, Poor Pop.	1,760	1.30	110
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			111
0.07	3,290	12,173	0.24		See Table III	65	0.05	112
0.01	35,860	14,344	0.05	+28,890	+0.02	3.3	0.00	113
0.01	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	0.02	0.00	114
0.04	NIL	NIL	NIL		See Table III			115
0.23	640	8,384	0.03	-373	-0.05	587	0.43	116
0.17	650	6,175	0.02	+227	+0	118	0.09	117
0.35	8,440	166,268	0.53	+6,657	+0.31	330	0.24	118
0.00	2,200 ⁹³	440	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	0.3	0.00	119
0.17	520	4,940	0.02	-21	-0.01	1,240	0.92	120
0.00	11,570 ⁹³	4,628	0.01	+10,054	+0	0.32	0.00	121
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	0.18	0.00	122
0.01	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	123
0.04	1,570	3,454	0.01	+640	+0	1,026	0.76	124
0.02	12,720	13,992	0.04	+10,607	+0.02	2.0	0.00	125
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	0.37	0.00	126
1.57	7,040	623,010	1.99	+4,170	+0.38	1,958	1.45	127
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	2.73	0.00	128
0.08	2,370 ⁹³	10,191	0.03		See Table III	34	0.03	129
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			130
0.04	2,090 ⁹³	5,016	0.02		See Table III	1,567	1.16	131
0.47	3,470	91,608	0.29	+2,616	+0.14	447	0.33	132
0.28	860	13,330	0.04	-508	-0.10	802	0.59	133
0.81	650 ⁹³	29,640	0.09	+309	-0.03	677	0.50	134
0.03	4,320	6,480	0.02	+4,320	+0.02	824	0.61	135
0.37	1,230	25,707	0.08	+646	+0	141	0.10	136
0.27	18,750	288,750	0.92	+13,163	-0.07	37	0.03	137
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	138
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	19.00	0.01	139
0.06	15,870	55,545	0.18	+8,648	-0.08	271	0.20	140
0.07	1,800	7,560	0.02	+44	-0.02	130	0.10	141
0.16	770	6,699	0.02	+166	-0.01	1267	0.94	142
1.92	1,190	128,520	0.41	+57	-0.34	924	0.68	143
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			144
0.08	20,210	86,903	0.28	+14,767	-0.02	324	0.24	145
0.04	8,590	18,039	0.06		Oil Rich Pop. Poor	212	0.16	146
2.25	2,130	269,019	0.86	+1,310	+0.28	796	0.59	147
0.05	5,730	14,898	0.05	+4,197	+0.02	77	0.06	148
0.07	2,680	11,256	0.04	+1,544	+0.01	463	0.34	149
0.09	3,550	17,040	0.05	+2,350	+0.02	407	0.30	150
0.41	3,610	83,752	0.27	+1,480	-0.06	1285	0.95	151
1.19	2,740	183,580	0.59	+1,557	+0.09	300	0.22	152
0.69	5,480	210,980	0.67	+3,480	-0.24	313	0.23	153
0.18	11,970	118,503	0.38	+10,352	+0.16	92.00	0.07	154
0.07	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	9.00	0.01	155
0.01	19,100	11,460	0.04		Oil Rich, Pop Poor	11.00	0.01	156
0.01	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop	3.00	0.00	157
0.40	4,090	92,843	0.30		See Table III	238.00	0.18	158
2.64	4,610	683,663	1.9		See Table III	17075.00	12.61	159
0.14	330	2,574	0.01	-208	-0.01	26.00	0.02	160

TABLE II : COMPARISON OF 210 COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES IN PPP TERMS FOR 1960, 1987 AND 1994 :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sr. No.	COUNTRY	Per Cap. 1960 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1960 PPP US \$ (min.)	% of World GDP 1960	Per Cap. 1987 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1987 PPP US \$ (min.)	% of World GDP 1987	Pop. 1994 (mln.)
161.	Saint Lucia	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,361 ⁸⁹	336	0.00	0.2
162.	Sao Tome & Principe	NIL	NIL	NIL	616	62	0.00	0.1
163.	Saudi Arabia	7,612	45,520	0.70	9,455 ⁸⁹	119,133	0.52	17.8
164.	Senegal	1,136	3,533	0.05	1,510	10,570	0.04	8.3
165.	Seychelles	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,892 ⁸⁹	389	0.00	0.1
166.	Sierra Leone	871	1,864	0.03	641	2,436	0.01	4.4
167.	Singapore	2,409	3,927	0.06	12,455	32,383	0.14	2.9
168.	Slovak Rep.	2,000+	-	See Czechoslovakia	-	-	-	5.3
169.	Slovenia	-	-	-	6,890	-	-	2.0
170.	Soloman Isl.	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,697	509	0.00	0.4
171.	Somalia	891	1,987	0.03	861 ⁸⁹	4,908	0.02	8.8
172.	South Africa	2,984	47,535	0.73	4,945	163,680	0.72	40.5
173.	Spain	2,701	81,840	1.26	10,386	402,977	1.76	39.1
174.	Sri Lanka	1,389	13,751	0.21	2,214	36,310	0.16	17.9
175.	St. Kitts & Nevis	NIL	NIL	NIL	6,290	276	0.00	0.0
176.	St. Vincent & The Grenadines	NIL	NIL	NIL	3,420 ⁸⁹	342	0.00	0.1
177.	Sudan	975	11,476	0.18	1,821	42,065	0.18	27.4
178.	Suriname	2,234	648	0.01	2,855	1,142	0.00	0.4
179.	Swaziland	1,182	378	0.01	2,897	2,028	0.01	0.9
180.	Sweden	6,483	48,493	0.75	15,745	132,258	0.58	8.8
181.	Switzerland	9,313	49,918	0.77	21,621	140,537	0.61	7.0
182.	Syria	1,787	8,149	0.13	4,348 ⁸⁹	48,698	0.21	13.8
183.	Taiwan	(690)	7,321	NIL	(5,648)	(106,182)	-	21.3
184.	Tajikistan	-	-	-	2,503	-	-	5.8
185.	Tanzania	272	2,739	0.04	538	12,858	0.05	28.8
186.	Thailand	985	25,994	0.40	3,393	181,865	0.80	58.0
187.	Togo	411	604	0.01	1,241	3,971	0.01	4.0
188.	Tonga	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
189.	Trinidad & Tobago	4,754	3,993	0.06	8,462	10,154	0.04	1.3
190.	Tunisia	1,394	5,883	0.09	3,828	29,093	0.13	8.8
191.	Turkey	1,669	45,914	0.71	4,324	227,442	0.99	60.8
192.	Turkmenistan	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.4
193.	Uganda	371	2,801	0.04	1,035	16,250	0.07	18.6
194.	Ukraine	-	-	-	4,221	-	-	51.9
195.	United Arab Emirates	NIL	NIL	NIL	23,798 ⁸⁹	35,697	0.16	2.4
196.	United Kingdom	6,370	334,807	5.15	14,628	832,333	3.64	58.4
197.	United States	9,983	1,803,629	27.76	20,690	5,044,222	22.06	260.6
198.	Uruguay	4,401	11,531	0.18	5,814	17,442	0.08	3.2
199.	Uzbekistan	-	-	-	2,586	-	-	22.4
200.	Vanuatu	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,924	385	0.00	0.2
201.	Venezuela	3,899	29,788	0.46	6,973	127,606	0.56	21.2
202.	Vietnam	1,000	30,200	0.47	1,000 ⁸⁹	65,000	0.28	72.0
203.	Virgin Isl.	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	0.1
204.	West Bank & Gaza	NIL	NIL	NIL	-	-	-	2.0
205.	Western Samoa	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,966	393	0.00	0.2
206.	Yemen	NIL	NIL	NIL	1,560 ⁸⁹	16,848	0.07	14.8
207.	Yugoslav Fed.	2,000	36,800	0.57	5,095	119,223	0.52	10.5
208.	Zaire	379	6,121	0.09	380 ⁸⁹	12,388	0.05	42.5
209.	Zambia	1,172	3,774	0.06	848 ⁸⁹	6,106	0.02	9.2
210.	Zimbabwe	937	3,317	0.05	1,800	16,200	0.07	10.8
Total			6,497,888			22,862,987		5,603.1

POPULATION PER CAPITA INCOME, NATIONAL GDP AND AREA
ABSOLUTE LEVELS AND WORLD PROPORTIONS

(Contd.)

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
% of World Pop. 1994	Per Cap. 1994 PPP US \$	Nat. GDP 1994 PPP US \$ (mln.)	% of World GDP 1994	Comparison bet. Cols 3 & 11 Per Cap. Income Rise or Fall	Nat. GDP Rise or Fall Col. 5 compared to Col. 13	Area in '000 Km ²	% of the World Area	Sr. No.
0.00	3,795 ⁹³	759	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	161
0.00	600 ⁹³	60	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	162
0.32	9,480	168,744	0.54	+1,868	-0.16	2,150.00	1.59	163
0.15	1,580	13,114	0.04	+444	-0.01	197.00	0.15	164
0.00	4,960 ⁹³	496	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	0.44	0.00	165
0.08	700	3,080	0.01	-171	-0.02	72.00	0.05	166
0.05	21,900	63,510	0.20	+19,491	+0.14	1.00	0.00	167
0.09	5,620 ⁹³	29,786	0.10		See Table III			168
0.04	6,230	12,460	0.04		See Table III			169
0.01	2,100	840	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	29.00	0.02	170
0.16	712 ⁹³	6,266	0.02	-179	-0.01	638.00	0.47	171
0.72	5,130	207,765	0.66	+2,146	-0.07	1,221.00	0.90	172
0.70	13,740	537,234	1.72	+11,039	+0.46	505.00	0.37	173
0.32	3,160	56,564	0.18	+1,771	-0.03	66.00	0.05	174
0.00	9,310	382	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	-0.27	0.00	175
0.00	3,552 ⁹³	355	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	4.00	0.00	176
0.49	1,350 ⁹³	36,990	0.12	+375	-0.06	2,506.00	1.85	177
0.40	2,470	988	0.00	+236	-0.01	163.00	0.12	178
0.02	3,010	2,709	0.01	+1,828	+0	17.00	0.01	179
0.16	17,130	150,744	0.48	+10,647	-0.27	450.00	0.33	180
0.12	25,150	176,050	0.56	+15,837	-0.21	41.00	0.03	181
0.25	4,196 ⁹³	57,905	0.19	+2,409	+0.06	185.00	0.14	182
0.38	(10,330)	220,029	0.70	+9,640	+0.7	36.00	0.03	183
0.10	970	5,626	0.02		See Table III	143.00	0.11	184
0.51	620	17,856	0.06	+348	+0.02	945.00	0.70	185
1.03	6,970	404,260	1.29	+5,985	+0.89	513.00	0.38	186
0.07	1,130	4,520	0.01	+719	+0	57.00	0.04	187
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	1.00	0.00	188
0.02	8,670	11,271	0.04		-	5.00	0.00	189
0.16	5,020	44,176	0.14	+3,626	+0.05	164.00	0.12	190
1.08	4,710	286,368	0.92	+3,041	+0.21	779.00	0.58	191
0.08	3,128 ⁹³	13,763	0.04		See Table III	488.00	0.36	192
0.33	1,410	26,226	0.08	+1,039	+0.04	236.00	0.17	193
0.92	2,620	135,978	0.43		See Table III	604.00	0.45	194
0.04	20,940 ⁹³	50,256	0.16		Oil Rich, Pop. Poor	84.00	0.06	195
1.04	17,970	1,049,448	3.35	+11,600	-1.8	245.00	0.18	196
4.64	25,880	6,744,328	21.56	+15,897	-6.20	9,373.00	6.92	197
0.06	7,710	24,672	0.08	+3,309	-0.1	177.00	0.13	198
0.40	2,370	53,088	0.17		See Table III	447.00	0.33	199
0.00	2,370	474	0.00		Insignificant Pop.	12.00	0.01	200
0.38	7,770	164,724	0.53	+3,871	+0.07	912.00	0.67	201
1.28	1,040 ⁹³	74,880	0.24		See Table III	332.00	0.25	202
0.00	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.	0.35	0.00	203
0.04	NIL	NIL	NIL		Insignificant Pop.			204
0.00	2,060	412	0.00		Insignificant Pop.			205
0.26	1,600 ⁹³	23,680	0.08	+1,600	+0.08	528.00	0.39	206
0.19	NIL	NIL	NIL		See Table III	256.00	0.19	207
0.76	300 ⁹³	12,750	0.04	-79	-0.05	2,345.00	1.73	208
0.16	860	7,912	0.03	-312	-0.03	753.00	0.56	209
0.19	2,040	22,032	0.07	+1103	+0.02	391.00	0.29	210

31,280,212

Sources : Table II**COL 2 :**

Entry No. 50 : Czechoslovakia / Czech Rep. - The figures are for undivided Czechoslovakia for 1960 and 1987 ; and relate to the Czech Rep. for 1994.

Entry No. 59 : Eritrea was carved out of Ethiopia in 1993.

Entry No. 71 : Values have been computed for United Germany (West and East Germany).

Entry No. 74 : Greenland is a Danish possession, but is full of uninhabited spaces.

Entry No. 115 : Macedonia FYR is a fall out from the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The suffix ' FYR' has been attached to its name on Greek insistence, as Greece fears an irredentist movement in its Macedonian province if the name Macedonia becomes a pole of attraction.

Entry No. 158 : USSR/Russian Fed. - The figures are for the whole of USSR for the years 1960 and 1987. For 1994, they relate to only the Russian Federation.

Entry No. 168 : See entry against Czech Rep.

Entry No. 169 : Even Slovenia which benefitted most from the break-up of the Yugoslav Fed. has lost ground between 1987 and 1994 in per capita terms.

Entry No. 183 : For Taiwan we have consistently assumed an equivalence of per capita GDP in PPP terms with S. Korea for all the marked years, 1960, 1987 and 1994.

Entry No. 207 : The Yugoslav Federation has ceased to exist from 1991. The reader may follow the fate of its constituent units in Table - III. Data for Population mid-1960, from *Ency. Brit.*, 1983, *Micropaedia*, Vol. X, Addenda, pp. 912-25.

COL. 3 :

Per capita (GDP) for 1960 at PPP for almost all the countries from *Human Development Report*, 1993, by UNDP, Tables 4 and 31, pp 142-3 and 193. Per capita income in case of Burkina Faso, Indonesia, S.Korea and Oman from *Human Development Report*, 1995, Table 4, pp. 162-3.

For Germany, we have computed the 1960 National GDP, also given in *Mankind* Statistical Supplement No. 4/5, Jan/Feb. 1996, as follows;

	1960 Pop. (mlns.)	1960 Per Cap. PPP US \$(mlns.)	1960 Nat. GDP PPP US \$ (mlns.)
W. Germany	55.43 ^a	6038 ^a	334,686
E. Germany	17.07 ^b	2000 ^c	34,140
Total for United Germany	72.67		368,826

Sources :

a : 1993 *UNDP Report*, Tables 4 & 31

b : 1983 *Ency. Brit.*, Vol X, p.922

c : Our estimate

There were in addition, 26 communist countries of which 15 formed the old USSR, and the other 11 were the so-called communist bloc or the Warsaw Pact countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, N.Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Vietnam and Yugoslavia).

As per the *EB*, 1983, *Micro*, Vol. X, the population of the Soviet Union was 214.33 mlns. in 1960 and of the other communist countries 148.48 mlns. making a total of 362.81 mlns. or something like thirty six and a quarter crores.

Since the segment of humanity is too big to be entirely overlooked, for the USSR we have for 1960 assumed a per capita GDP at PPP of \$ 2,500. For the remaining 11 countries falling within the communist-bloc, we have assumed a per capita GDP at PPP in mid-1960 as follows :

Albania : \$ 1,000; Hungary : \$ 2,000; Bulgaria : \$ 2,000; Cuba : \$1,000; Czechoslovakia : \$ 2,000; N. Korea : \$ 1,000; Mongolia : \$ 500; Poland : \$ 2,000; Romania : \$ 1,000; Vietnam : \$ 1,000 ;Yugoslavia : \$ 2,000

The Stalinist state capitalist bureaucrats who controlled the Russian economy and those of its allies, were chary of publishing any worthwhile or reliable statistical data about themselves, lest the horrible picture of state capitalism get exposed. We have been guided by eighteen World Bank Reports of 1978 to 1995, and by the five UNDP Reports of 1991 to 1995. I have made very low guesstimates for Albania and Romania in Europe, and Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba and N. Korea, in the rest of the World. For Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, I have made the per capita GDP at PPP levels in 1960 at \$ 2,000 that absorbed all non-monetised social welfare items, as comparable to \$ 2,500 for the USSR, which was in itself about one-third of the 1960 per capita GDP prevailing in Western Europe.

COL 4: Co.l 3. X mid-1960 pop of the relevant country.

COL. 5 : National Proportions from Total for Col. 3.

COL. 6: Per capita GDP for 1987 at PPP calculated from *World Development Report*, 1996.

Figures Marked 89 are for the year 1989 instead of 1987 and have been taken from *Human Development Report*, 1992, Tables 1 and 2.

COL. 7: Col. 6 X mid-1987 population. data for population mid-1987 taken from *World Development Report*, 1989.

COL. 8: Proportion from Total for Col. 7.

COL. 9 & 11 : *World Development Report*, 1996. Population of Taiwan from *Manorama Yearbook*, 1996. Figures marked 93 are for the year 1993 instead of 1994. Per capita (GDP) at PPP for the year 1993 from *Human Development Report*, 1996.

COL. 10 : Proportion form Total for Col. 9.

COL. 12 : Col. 9 X Col. 11.

COL. 13 : National Proportion from Total for Col. 12.

TABLE - III ECONOMIC COLLAPSE OF THE STATE CAPITALIST BLOC

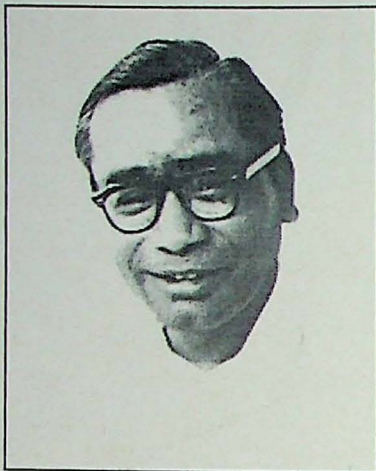
	Pop. (Mid 91) (mlns.) US \$	Per Cap. 1987 PPP US \$	Per Cap. 1990 PPP US \$	Per Cap. 1991 PPP US \$	Per Cap. 1992 PPP US \$	Per Cap. 1993 PPP US \$	Per Cap. 1994 PPP US \$		Rise or Fall 87-94 JS \$ (mln.)	Nat. GDP 1987 PPP US \$ (mln.)	Nat GDP 1994 PPP US \$ (mln.)	1994 as % of 1987
USSR												
1. Russian Fed.	148.7	7,790	7,968	6,930 ^a	6,140	5,047	4,610		-3,180	1,158,373	685,507	59.18
2. Ukraine	52.0	5,687	5,433	5,180 ^a	5,010	4,453	2,620		-3,067	295,724	136,240	46.07
3. Kazakhstan	16.8	5,318	4,716	4,490 ^a	4,270	3,711	2,810		-2,508	89,342	47,208	52.84
4. Belarus	10.3	6,578	5,727	6,850 ^a	6,440	6,234	4,320		-2,258	67,753	44,496	65.67
5. Uzbekistan	20.9	2,678	3,115	2,790 ^a	2,650	2,499	2,370		-0,308	55,970	49,533	88.50
6. Azerbaijan	7.1	4,470	3,977	3,670 ^a	2,550	2,202	1,510		-2,960	31,737	10,721	33.78
7. Kyrgyzstan	4.5	3,142	3,114	3,280 ^a	2,850	2,326	1,730		-1,412	14,139	7,785	55.06
8. Georgia	5.5	2,784	4,572	3,670 ^a	2,300	1,757	-	1987-1993	-1,027	15,312	9,664 ^a	(63.11)
9. Lithuania	3.7	6,506	4,913	5,410 ^a	3,700	3,117	3,290		-3,216	21,072	12,173	50.57
10. Latvia	2.6	8,232	6,457	7,540 ^a	6,060	5,022	3,220		-5,012	24,403	8,372	39.12
11. Tajikstan	5.5	2,633	2,558	3,080 ^a	1,740	1,385	970		-1,663	14,482	5,335	36.84
12. Armenia	3.4	5,378	4,741	4,610 ^a	2,420	2,029	2,160		-3,218	18,285	7,344	40.16
13. Moldova	4.4	5,112	3,896	4,600 ^a	3,670	2,870	-	1987-1993	-2,242	22,493	12,628 ^a	(56.14)
14. Turkmenistan	3.8	3,828	4,230	3,540 ^a	3,400	3,954	-	1987-1993	+0,126	14,546	15,025 ^a	(103.29)
15. Estonia	1.6	10,136	6,438	8,090 ^a	6,690	6,312	4,510		-5,626	16,218	7,216	44.49
16. Bulgaria	9.0	6,435	4,700	4,980 ^a	4,250	4,320	4,380		-2,055	58,077	39,420	68.07
17. Hungary	10.3	6,600	6,116	5,260 ^a	6,580	5,748	6,080		-0,520	67,980	62,624	92.12
18. Romania	23.0	8,742	2,800	6,900 ^a	2,840	3,727	4,090		-4,652	201,296	94,070	46.79
19. Albania	3.3	-	3,000	-	3500	2,200	-	1990-1993	-0,800	9,900 ^b	7,260 ^a	(73.33)
20. Poland	38.2	5,131	4,237	4,720 ^a	4,830	4,702	5,480		+0,349	196,004	209,336	106.80
YUGOSLAV FEDERATION												
21. Slovenia							9,480					
22. Croatia							-	1987-1989	-0,781	140,436	121,771 ^c	(81.71)
23. Bosnia Herzegovina	23.9	5,876	-	5,095 ^e	-	-	-					
24. Serbia- Montenegro												
25. Macedonia FYR												
CZECHO- SLOVAKIA FED.												
26. Czech Rep.	10.3	7,242	7,300	6,280 ^a	7,690	5,815	8,900		+1,658	113,699 ^d	139,730 ^e	(122.89)
27. Slovak Rep.	5.3	-	-	-	6,690	5,620	-	1987-1993	-1,622	-	-	77.60
OTHER PLANNED ECONOMIES												
28. Mongolia	2.3	-	2,100	2,250	2,389	2,090	-	1990-1993	-10	4,380 ^b	4,807 ^a	99.52
29. China	1149.5	1,345	1,990	2,040 ^f	1,950	2,330	2,510	1960-1994	+1,787	473,196	2,885,245 ^g	(347.16 ^h)
30. Vietnam	67.7	-	1,110	1,250	1,010	739	-	1990-1993	-371	74,470 ^b	50,030 ^a	(66.58)
31. North Korea	22.2	-	2,000	1,750	3,026	3,000	-	1990-1993	+1,000	44,400 ^b	66,600 ^a	(150.00)
32. Cuba	10.7	-	2,200	-	3,412	3,000	-	1990-1993	+0,800	23,540 ^b	32,100 ^a	(136.36)
33. Lao PDR	4.3	1,717	-	1,930	1,760	1,458	-	1987-1993	-0,259	7,383	6,269 ^a	(84.92)

Notes :

- * China's Nat. GDP has been taken for 1960. Per capita income in 1960 in PPP terms was \$ 723.
- Figures in brackets indicate that the comparison is not between 1987 and 1994, but either a later year than 1987 is the base, usually 1990, or an earlier year than 1994 is the terminal point, usually 1993.
 - Figures marked with 'a' are for the year 1993.
Figures marked with 'b' are for base year 1990.
Figures marked with 'c' indicate that for the Yugoslav Federation, or its constituents, no data is available beyond 1989, except for Slovenia where per capita GDP has suddenly shot up to \$9,480 in 1994. It is possibly the unit of the former Yugoslav Fed., which has made a very substantial gain after the collapse of Tita's state capitalist regime. It may be noted that the Czech Rep. has made similar gains after the dissolution of the old Czechoslovak fed. Poland has also made a big gain as our Table reveals. Subsequent to 1994, Hungary has made substantial economic progress. All four, Slovenia, the Czech Rep., Poland and Hungary are likely to join EU very soon. Figures marked 'd' are for the entire Czechoslovak Fed.
Figures marked 'e' are separately for the Czech and Slovak Republics. In case of the Czech Rep., the national GDP has shot up from \$ 79,207 mlns. to \$ 139,730 mlns. in 1994, or an improvement of 176.41%. In case of the Slovak Rep. the 1992 GDP was \$ 35,457 mlns. and within a year it came down to \$29,786 mlns or a fall of 16% in just 12 months.
Figure marked 'f'. In the case of China, National GDP (1994) has been compared against Nat. GDP (1960)
Figures marked 'O' or 'R'. (O=Observed Method; R=Regression Method, see WB report , 1993, for further explanation)

Sources :

Per Capita for 1987 calculated from *World Bank Report, 1996* ; for 1990 from *UNDP Report, 1993* ; for 1991 from *World Bank Report, 1993* for 1992 from *UNDP Report, 1995* ; for 1993 from *World Bank Report, 1995* ; for 1994 from *World Bank Report, 1996*



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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