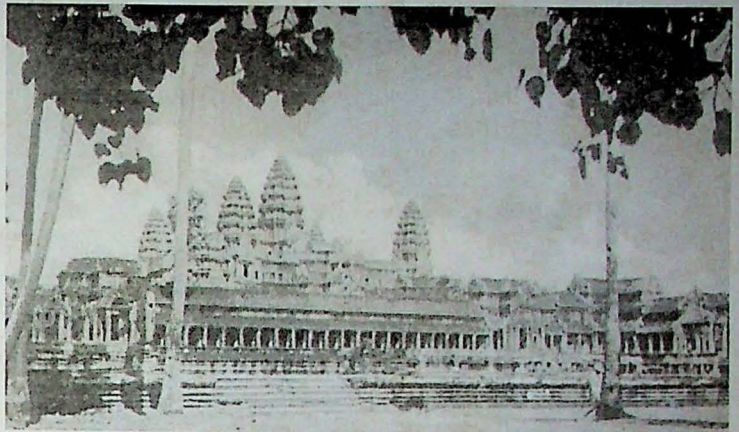


Khmer Empire, c. 1200. (inclusive of parts of Malaysia, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam and the whole of Thailand and Cambodia.)



Temple at Angkor Wat, Cambodia; 12th century.

MAN KIND

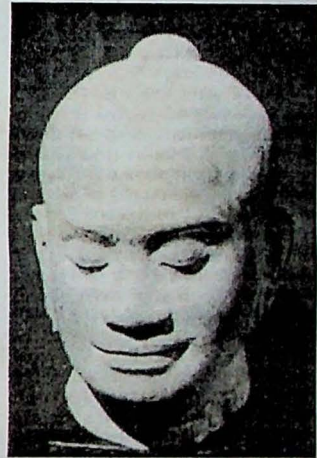
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Volume 2, No. 9, JUNE 1997.

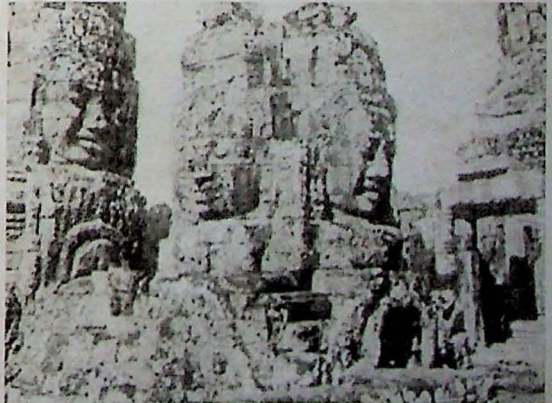
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See Inside

25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY



Jayavarman VII



Carved Buddha head on the towers of the chapels of the inner galleries of the Bayon Temple in Angkor Wat portray Jayavarman VII as Lokesvara; late 12th century.

MANKIND

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Captions for illustrations on the back cover

1. The Pyramid of the Moon is one of the oldest buildings at Teotihuacan, a city of 8 sq.mls, which flourished from 200 BC. This immense pyramid, companion to the even larger Pyramid of the Sun, dominates the northern part of the site. The structure was flat on top to provide space for a temple.
2. The Toltec statue of a warrior over 15 ft. tall, is one of the many that supported the roof of a major temple at Tula. Toltecs settled in Central Mexico in the 10th century and established their capital at Tula.
3. El Castillo is the most impressive monument of the Toltec-Maya city of Chichen Itza in Yucatan. The temple pyramid was built at the end of the 12th century AD by Toltecs who had migrated there from their capital Tula, near Mexico city in the 10th century. Breath-taking stairways rise on all four sides to the richly carved temple dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent god.
4. Tenochtitlan, the ancient capital of the Aztecs, stood 8000 ft. above sea level in a landscape of bare volcanic mountains and forested valleys. The city begun in 1325 AD was built on an island in Lake Texcoco. The Spanish conquistadors captured it in 1521 and burned it to the ground. The Great Plaza of Tenochtitlan contained temples to the gods of the Rain, the Winds and the Sun as well as to Huitzilochtili, the tribal god of the Aztecs.

AN OPENING STATEMENT:21

A POLICE INFORMER, AN EMERGENCY SUPPORTER, AND A PRO-AMERICAN IS OUR NEW P.M.

Bio-sketch of A Confirmed Cad

Exe.Edr.

We have reached the nadir of comprador politics ! In our issue of April 1997, we had titled our article on Ambedkar as **Greatness Thrust Upon B.R.Ambedkar**. Now for the new P.M., Inder Kumar Gujral, greatness is being literally invented and concocted and brewed !

Every biographical sketch published by the Indian Press of the Great Gujral, carries his claim that

"Gujral won his political spurs as a youthful participant in the Quit India Movement of 1942", (*Frontline*, May 1997), or words to the same effect ! (*The Indian Express*, *The Times of India*, *Maharashtra Times*, *Samkaleen*, *The Week*, *Outlook*, *India Today*, etc. of the last few days).

It is true that Inder Kumar Gujral, the Great, participated in the 1942 Quit India Movement. Only, he participated on the British Imperialist side as a Police Informer who betrayed the freedom fighters and caused their capture and imprisonment ! We have written earlier in *Mankind* (October '95 p.5; August-September'96 pp 7,9) that I was myself arrested in Bombay as a result of the penetration of our General Motors cell by a CPI *agent provocateur*, who called himself "Dravid"; that Dr.Vikremesinghe, General Secretary of the CP of Ceylon, had been flown to Bombay to identify my arrested colleague Dr. N.M. Pereira; and that one Dr. Kulkarni, a CPI luminary of Bombay, was frequently brought to the police stations and the interrogation rooms (where we were being shuffled), to facilitate police work.

THAT WAS THE PARTY LINE !

All over India, in hundreds of villages, towns and cities, the CPI cadres acted

identically to help the British police apprehend those who were causing a disruption of the War Effort ! It was a People's War for the CPI ! At the same time, the CPI actively supported the demand for the Partition of the country. The CPI was fully and squarely behind the British-sponsored Muslim League demand for Partition of the country in 1947.

Mr. Inder Kumar, in fact, should claim that he participated in the freedom struggle for Pakistan ! That is why the party contemplated no disciplinary action against him for treachery to India !

In 1942, he was twenty-three. He was young ! He was enthusiastic ! Pakistan has just been demanded by the Muslim League at its Annual Session in 1941 ! The CPI had just discovered that the Imperialist War of 1939-41 had been transformed into a People's War, as the Hitler-Stalin Pact, also called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, came to an end on 22 June, 1941 !

Inder Kumar Gujral, the Pakistani freedom fighter, can rightfully claim a Medal of Honour, or equivalent, from the Government of Pakistan, from Nawaz Sharif; from Generals Ayub Khan, Zia-ul-Haq and Tikka Khan; and from the ISI. That he richly deserved such a recognition, however belated !

This demand of our Inder, should form an item on the Agenda of the next Indo-Pak Summit.

THAT WAS THE PARTY LINE !

According to Satish Gujral, millionaire architect-sculptor, a brother six years younger and tarred with the same Stalinist brush : "Inder left the party soon after a 1949-50 trip to England." (*India Today*, 15.5.97., p 26)

The claim made by Gujral, the Great Cad, through the official PIB that he went to jail in the course of the 1942 Movement, is a blatant lie, and is a shabby attempt to rewrite history. He must apologise to the nation and to old genuine freedom fighters of 1942 for his preposterous claim. Had he participated in the 1942 Movement, he would have been expelled by the CPI as it actually happened with individuals and groups all over the country. For instance, Baburao Jagtap, Gulabrao Ganacharya, senior Raut and others in Bombay. (The reckless sycophants of the PIB have gone too far. *India Today* has made no such claim on behalf of Gujral and even *Frontline* has chosen to paper over the sordid episode with a statement that Gujral vaguely "participated" in the 1942 Movement.)

I am sending by registered post a copy of this issue of *Mankind* to Mulayam Singh Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav, Janeshwar Misra and Laloo Prasad Yadav. I am requesting them to tell Gujral that 'enough is enough'! They must join together and insist that Gujral and his PIB make no bogus claims that the Great Cad went to jail in 1942!

I would have included Madhu Dandavate's name in my Appeal Group, But Madhu, who was in Worli jail with me, never belonged to Lohia's core group of militants. He had always been a wishy-washy, reformist, treacherous PSP-er, and therefore, he may find Gujral's oily double-dealing tactics not so objectionable!

In spite of this background, I would request Madhu Dandavate to help restrain Inder Gujral from making idiotic and absurd claims of having been jailed in 1942, whilst continuing as a loyal member of the CPI.

After all this is going just too far ! There is nothing personal about my attack on Gujral. I am not accusing him of any "diabolical personal" involvement in the matter. IT WAS THE DIABOLICAL PARTY LINE! THAT WAS HOW STALINISTS VIEWED THE WORLD! Gujral, the cad, acted as a disciplined member of a political party. **Caddishness and swinishness were demanded of him by the party** which decided that in spite of Churchill's Hitlerite crimes that were going on in India, the party should support Churchill against Hitler, just because Churchill by historical accident had become temporarily allied to Stalin.

The same issue and page of *India Today* leads the story with the words:

"Inder Kumar Gujral is all things to

all men."

So being All Things To All Men, our Inder, the namesake of Lord Indra, should be eternally grateful to all the forces of comprador history and politics in India, that he became the PM of the country, in the Year of the Lord, 1997!

It is all *Indrajal!* Indra's Maya !!

Nobody could have committed so many crimes against the country, and hoped to become its Leader!

Heil Inder! Heil Inder-jal!

Heil Hitler of the Hitler-Stalin Pact!

Heil Partition!

Heil Surjeet! Let him divide the North from the South!

Heil V.P. ! Let V.P. bless more weaklings from his sick-bed!

Heil Laloo ! Let him receive more fodder!

Heil Comprador Coalitions!

LORD INDER AS A CHEF

Why, as Satish avers, Inder left "the Greatest Party of the Great Indian Revolution", the CPI, exactly in 1949-50, we do not know.

Perhaps he had met the Great Krishna Menon in London! Perhaps the Great Rajni Palme Dutt too, and also the Greatest Harry Pollitt, Secy. of the CPGB! Somehow something happened mysteriously. Lord Inder, export house entrepreneur, had decided that it was time to carry out the Entry Tactic and to penetrate the Congress!

With Krishna Menon, who returned to India in 1952 (after 27 years in Blighty), Mohan Kumarmangalam; and no doubt other Greats, Inder, now an enterprising businessman in Delhi, decided to do something Big!

Little brother Satish had not been entirely inactive. He had already managed an art scholarship and made a trip to Mexico. Between 1952 and 1954, Satish could find no better teacher in Mexico than the would-be assassin of Leon Trotsky. The attempt by David Alfaro Siqueiros on Trotsky's life failed, but it was not for want of trying! Satish got on, like a house on fire, with Siqueiros. It is likely that he met Octavio Paz, another Stalinist who had been an habitue of the Madrid and Barcelona cafes at the time of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), along with the hysterical high-flying Siqueiros, who was in high confidence of Stalin himself! That is, in touch with God in person! This Octavio Paz became Mexico's ambassador in Delhi, 1962-68. Satish, who has milked his deafness to the last drop, was the lion of Paz's Delhi evening parties, no doubt Inder making a lion-cub appearance at a few of them!

These were good years for Inder too! Between 1967 and 1975, Lord Inder held a succession of posts, including those of Minister of State for Communications, Parliamentary Affairs and Works and Housing. At the time of declaration of Emergency in 1975, a measure with which he was in full accord, he was Minister for Information and Broadcasting. In 1976, his portfolio was changed to that of Minister of State for Planning. In the same year with Kali Mata Indira's blessings he became Ambassador to Moscow, since, as usual, Inder, the **Oily Wheeler-Dealer was "all things to all men!"** He continued as Ambassador to Stalin's Russia under Morarji Desai, within whose inner circle and secretariat was one Dr. V.A.Pai Panandikar, IAS, whom we will meet in the third section of this article as Director, Centre for Policy Research, at the India International Centre.

Whilst Lord Inder was holding plum political posts, Satish began to land fat architectural commissions. The Belgian Embassy

Building was his breakthrough! He is today in Delhi, what Charles Correa is in Bombay! The most prestigious building projects worth hundreds of crores fall now in Satish's domain. (Naturally his best years will be the next few! Which monopoly business house in India and abroad is going to deny the PM's brother a fat contract?)

Much is being made of some little spat that Inder had with Sanjay Gandhi. Kali-Meta Indira never thought anything of it. She moved him to Planning from I & B with the greatest of pleasure and with promptest of acquiescence from Lord Inder.

What a level we have reached!

In order to hide his Emergency crimes Lord Inder insists on talking rubbish about spats with Sanjay!

Heil Lord Inder!

Heil Sanjay Gandhi!

Heil Spats!

Heil Kali Mata Indira!

Heil Sonia, the New Congress Member!

Heil Siqueiros, Paz and Satish!

Heil Comprador Culture!

Heil or Hail to Thee, the Nasatyas and the Ashwins and the Divine *Jodi!*

Hail to Inder & Satish, the twin gods!

Hail toHa! Ha! Ha!

BHABANI KI JAI!

Most media commentators have missed the central issue involved in the shameful episode of the appointment of Bhabani Sen Gupta as officer on Special Duty in the PMO, on one day and his ignominious dismissal thirty-six hours later.

The point is not that Bhabani was such a worthless aide! The point is that he was so close to Prime Minister, that his skills were so highly valued by the PM, that he belonged to an apparently prestigious pseudo-academic NGO, and that he was a highly connected busybody in the heart of New Delhi!

Bhabani is not alone in stooging for the Americans in the highly venal circles of New Delhi. Look at Praful Bidwai! He agrees with Bhabani that India should sign on the dotted line on the CTBT document, that openly discriminates against India and in favour of the USA! (Our earlier comment on Bidwai's sellout appeared in *MK*, July 1996, p.7)

In his latest up-chucking in *Frontline* 16/05/97, Bidwai, the stooge, has come very close to admitting his CIA concerns. Bidwai writes that presidential nominees of Clinton do not always move as smoothly as a dose of salts through the American body politic, but face serious traumas: "Anthony Lake walked out of the process of confirmation as CIA Director in sheer exasperation."

I didn't even know that a monster like Anthony Lake existed. I care less than two hoots whether one swine or another vermin leads the murderous gang of state-financed killers called the CIA. What is Praful's professional interest in such trivia?

And who is this new Anglian damn fool whom Bidwai has been meeting in Delhi, called Alfred Stepan, who is an Oxford professor and who has recently written some worthless tome?

Why is Praful referring to this Stepan almost in the same breath as Anthony Lake? What is the connection? Why is Praful concerned with Lake's discomfiture before the House Committee?

Thus Bhabani is far from alone. As a matter of fact, in elite circles Bhabani stands crowded, jostled and pressed from all sides by well-dressed compradors!

That is not the point! It is the real evil nature of the PM's inner circle that bothers the ordinary citizens of India!

Apart from Sonia Gandhi, it is the Centre for Policy Research and the Ford Foundation-financed, India International Centre, which are the twin foci of dirty American politics in New Delhi.

Why is Inder Gujral known so widely for his close association and virtual-identification with the India International Centre's Saturday Club?

The India International Centre was founded with Ford Foundation money by the late C.D.Deshmukh, ICS, who as Nehru's Finance Minister sold out India's interests (the sell-out was no doubt in association with his predecessors, John Mathai, Shanmugam Chetty, etc.) to Great Britain in the early years of our pseudo-independence. From that time the IIC has been a centre for conducting neo-colonialist intrigues.

It used to be heavily subsidised. It was just rupees forty or sixty per day for members in the old days! I was myself a member, till I was made uneasy by its sinister role and left it. In any case after Dr. Lohia's bye-election victory in 1963, I used to be his guest at Gurudwara Rikabganj Road and did not need IIC's hostel facilities!

Why is our new PM standing so close to the infamous IIC? Dr.V.A.Pai Panandikar's Centre for Policy Research boasts of a terrific comprador faculty, which includes all sorts of odd characters like Ishar Ahluwalia, a relation or more probably the wife of our Finance Secretary, Montek Singh Ahluwalia; two Great ex-journalists in Pran Chopra and B.G. Varghese; A.P. Venkateswaran who had been sacked by Rajiv at a press conference; the now notorious Dr. Bhabani Sen Gupta; and several Fellow Travellers of the Stalinists.

What is the nature of this close connection between the Stalinist-Progressivist-Leftists and the traditional anti-nationalist Pro-Imperialist *naukarshahs* and bureaucrats of our country?

I suppose this connection must have been established initially under British Imperialist aegis itself. The so-called Progressivists amongst the Muslim intelligentsia of the pre-Partition days must have found it very convenient to collaborate with Britain and its stooge Muslim League whilst pretending to be great Radicals and Communists! And some Hindus living in pre-partition Pakistan areas, must have judged it very politic to be with these pseudo-progressive and real-communalists, who were Muslim members of the CPI!

The second stage of Stalinist-Bureaucratic collaboration must have been reached under J.Nehru and his peculiar partner V.K.Krishna Menon (This Nehru-Menon *dosti* was echoed at lower levels by Mohan Kumarmangalam, Aruna Asaf Ali, E.Narayanan, Inder, the Mighty Mouse, and others).

The third stage in this Stalinist-Bureaucratic partnership was undoubtedly reached when Indira vertically split the INC in 1968-69 and then became dependent on the few Stalinist votes in the Lok Sabha for the survival of her government.

The fourth stage in the Stalinist-Bureaucratic alliance is the current ongoing one, when Gorbachev and Yeltsin have carried out a restoration of the capitalist free market in Russia from 1985 and 1989 onwards.

We can see that our Inder, the Great Cad, was associated with all the four stages of the Stalinist-Bureaucratic Grand Alliance!

Strangely enough, it appears that the Indian National Congress is the cement that binds the Stalinists to the Bureaucrats. Whether under Jawahar, Indira, Morarji, Rajiv, V.P. Singh, or any other factotum, the old intimate bureaucratic collaborationists

with Imperialism, can always pretend to be a little bit Nationalist, a little bit Gandhian, and a little bit Radical by close association with the comprador Congress! In fact "committed" administration means precisely this!

You can carry on your dirty deeds, loot the public treasury to unlimited extent via corrupt deals, you can inflict an elitist English-knowing upper caste and oriented-to-the-rich regime, the more effectively and smoothly, the more you pretend to be "committed"!

Committed to what? Committed to promotion of self-interest, to opportunism, to careerism, to consensus politics, to compromise, to adjustments, etc..etc.. endlessly?

This is precisely Inder's programme, as spelled out in each of the interviews that he has given to media persons!

We remind *Mankind* readers of the two vitally important tables that we have earlier published in our journal:

(i) The real rulers of India listed as per the **Order of Precedence**, published in every annual number of *India, A Reference Annual*, 1953 to 1995 (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting).

We had published this list in *Mankind* issue of May 1996, p.64, in which we had shown that in conformity with their true comprador nature, the ruling classes of India have intermingled the elected, the salaried and the foreign elements from within our ruling elites to form this Order of Precedence!

(ii) In a second table showing the Real Rulers of India we have statistically tabulated the real beneficiaries of our political system from 1947/51 to the present. We have listed the thirty-five biggest business houses in the country and calculated the increase in their fixed assets over the last fifty years. The top twelve business houses, also known as the MRTP Houses, have increased their assets by a minimum of 7131 percent (ACC) to 27,743 percent (Thapar). **Birlas and Tatas have increased their assets by over 13,000 percent and 23,000 percent respectively.**

We have published this table in the May 1996 issue at page 65 and brought the data up to date in the July 1996 issue at page 17.

CONCLUSION

Inder Kumar Gujral, the Great Cad, the Police Informer par excellence of the 1942 Movement, the puerile supporter of Pakistan in the 40's and of Partition in 1947, the turncoat who has in turn been a member of the Communist, the Congress and the Janata Parties, the ideological intimate of Indira Gandhi of the Internal Emergency days, the close associate of the neo-colonial interests that are promoted by the Centre for Policy Research at the India International Centre, is the careerist-opportunist who has committed innumerable crimes against the Indian people.

This Cad has come to power as a new PM in April 1997.

Does it need to be reiterated that India's future is utterly bleak and dark under such a charlatan?

Gujral is the quintessential, Lenin style goat-bearded, oily, vulgar, sycophant of neo-colonial Western powers whose life's mission is to promote the policies of the neo-colonial triumvirate of WB, IMF, WTO as the Structural Adjustment Programme, that is also known in the country as the programme of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernization.

Heil I.K.Gujral!

Heil Hitler of the Hitler-Stalin Pact!

Heil Stalin WHO FOUGHT A PEOPLE'S WAR ALONGSIDE Churchill and Roosevelt!

**HEIL CHURCHILL WHO WAS A TWIN BROTHER OF
HITLER !**

DOWN WITH SUBHAS BOSE "THE TRAITOR" !

**Heil Compra Politics that enables Cads to climb to the
top !**

Heil Stalinist-Naukarshahi Combine !

Bhabani ki Jai !

Satish-Sequeiros-Paz ki Trimurti Ki Jai !

Indira Mata ki Jai !

**Surjeet Laloo ki Jodi Amar Rahe ! Donone Buddhi or
Suddhi Gawain hai !**

M RTP Houses Aur Phule Phale !

"Order of Precedence" Zindabad !

Let the rule of the Upper Caste, Upper Class

English-knowing Minority Last FOREVER !

Long live the Trimurti of WF, IMF and WTO !

**Long live Annual Trade Deficits, Ever-rising Foreign Debt
and Net Invisible Outflows!**

**Long Live LPG ! Amar Rahe Liberalisation, Privatisation
and Globalisation !**

Long live Westernisation !

Western Culture Zindabad !

LONG LIVE INDER KI INDERJAAL !

POSTSCRIPT: The Middle in today's *Times of India* (2.6.97), by Satyapal Dang reminisces about the Lahore days in a piece titled "The Gujral I Knew". Dang writes that "Inder Gujral was senior to me by two years and was student of the Government College, Lahore. I joined the CPI when I went to the Government College Lahore. Gujral was already a member, and thus my comrade and leader. Gujral in those days was known for his oratory and his flair for Urdu poetry. I shared with him and other AISF leaders, admiration and adulation for Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchloo".

**There is no mention of any arrest and imprisonment in
1942!**

LAURENT KABILA IS OUR GURU FOR NON-VIOLENCE

Laurent Kabila has destroyed neo-colonialist power in Central Africa in just about seven months.

He has confirmed my old friend Dr. Rammanohar Lohia's oft-repeated dictum that "*Aandhi chalti hai, tab chal jati hai*". (A dust storm gathers momentum invisibly, right close to you, and yet in a twinkling of an eye, it overpowers everything around).

Mobutu Sese Seko, a CIA agent, supported by European imperialists, came to power after murdering Patrice Lumumba (1925-61) and Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-61) and after ousting colleague-in-crime Joseph Kasavubu in a coup in 1965. After thirty-two years of utterly corrupt and inept rule, a characterisation that is now conceded by all the great nations of Euro-America, he has now run away! Let us note that during this period Mobutu accumulated a personal fortune of \$4 to \$10 billions. This scoundrel held his ill-gotten wealth in the form of villas, palatial real estates, chalets in Belgium, the French Riviera, the Swiss Alps; and in secret bank accounts all over the world. The figures and the particulars which we have given are all openly confessed to by the bribe-givers, over the CNN International and the BBC World channels.

Seven months ago, a "Great Humanitarian Crisis" was created by the Western media about the enormous but fluctuating numbers of refugees entrapped just outside the Rwandan and Burundian borders in Eastern Zaire. Hundreds of thousands,

upto one or two millions, were being counted, and were thought to be in urgent need of a "Great Western Humanitarian Campaign!" We were being shown endless series of gruesome and horrifying pictures on the TV, with the preliminary remarks: "Viewers may find some of the pictures disturbing!"

It is from that moment that I began to like Kabila. In his first interview to the international media, he emphatically rejected all the hypocritical stories being purveyed. He refused all kind offers of Euro-American and UN intervention. At that time, no one was asking him for any permission or even co-operation, in the launch of the "Great Humanitarian Campaign!"

But Kabila acted decisively. He rounded up the Hutu militia-men, who were holding lakhs of refugees captive in the UN and Red Cross camps, precisely, in order to enable the murderous ex-colonial powers of Europe to mount "humanitarian missions," which would rescue the Hutu army-men, who had carried out the genocidal massacres of Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994.

Kabila identified the Hutu militia-men controlling the camps, shattered their power in a few swift moves, and dispersed them. No sooner had this occurred, about 1.2 million innocent captive Hutu tribes-people returned to their homes, obviating any necessity for a Western intervention.

It was very amusing to see the red Western faces, on the TV screen, as they were forced to admit that what they couldn't accomplish in two and a half years, had been achieved by Kabila in two and a half days!

The French were the most aggressively guilty, as even after the collapse of their French African Empire in the Sixties, they were maintaining five large concentrations of the French Legion on the continent. But the Belgians, the Portuguese, the British and the Americans were no less guilty of shielding the Hutu militia-men who had carried out the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. These imperialist powers were safeguarding the interests of their mining and armament industries in Central Africa. These were the "strategic considerations" that had led them to lift up Mobutu in the first place, way back in 1965. These were the imperialist powers who had encouraged Mobutu's gang to plunder the Congolese for 32 long years!

Having solved "West's Humanitarian Crisis," Kabila swept forward, deftly moving his forces into Central Zaire and then captured Lumumbashi in the extreme South, without coming across any serious resistance.

I would personally call Kabila's campaign a model of non-violence! If only Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, inspired by Subhash, had acted in a similar fashion in 1946-47, over six lakh Indians would not have lost their lives in "communal riots", and 1.7 crores would not have become refugees in their own land.

The so called "communal riots" of 1946-47 were no riots. They were bloody Divide and Rule pogroms carried out in the sub-continent by the British-controlled army and police. The British imperialists were willing to shed any amount of Indian blood, of whatever communal colour, all uniformly red, in order to realize their design of dividing and mortally wounding India at the very moment of its presumed rebirth.

After all how many have died in all of Kabila's seven months' campaign? A few hundreds at the most? The Western media were creating scare stories about lakhs of refugees who had "disappeared from the camps in various mysterious ways" and were insisting upon the urgent need to trace them by flying aerial missions. In reality, "spy missions"! The Western hearts were bleeding profusely! The Western nurses and doctors and journalists were weeping copiously!

Now Kabila is in power. What will happen to the Western bleeding hearts and weeping eyes? You can be sure that the refugees will appear no more in the new stories henceforth being filed from Kinshasa! The refugee hordes will dissolve in the jungles of the former Zaire and present Congo, and in the forests of the unchanged Rwanda and Burundi!

Had the INC leaders of the '40s had the moral courage and the inner stamina to resist the machinations of British Imperialism, as Subhash Bose had shown in the period 1941-45; had not only Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, but Prasad, Azad, the Khan brothers, Rajaji and the remaining Working Committee Members displayed moral fortitude and courageous determination, at the most we would have lost a few hundreds in "communal riots" and there would have been no refugees whatsoever! We were betrayed by the leaders of the Congress, Muslim League and the Communist Parties. The best response had come from the old Unionist Party of Punjab, led by Khizr Hyat and Sikander Hyat Khan.

Laurent Kabila has provided an object lesson to all believers of Non-Violence! He has carried out a victorious campaign virtually Non-Violent though not in a "Gandhian Way"! Kabila is the real Gandhian of popular imagination. Gandhi actually was a pseudo-Gandhian because he approved of ruling class violence and only barred the people from retaliatory violence! **Kabila's example proves that when the people are prepared to accept violence technically, hardly any violence**

takes place in reality!

We remind *Mankind* readers that Gandhi supported Imperialism in the Boer Wars (1880-81 and 1889-1902), the Zulu Wars (1890s) and the First World War (1914-1919), was willing to support the Allied cause in the Second World War (1939-1945), and supported the defence of Kashmir by the Indian Army in 1948-49 and above all accepted the Partition of the country in 1947 that condoned immense violence.

Who is more Non-Violent? Gandhi who supported and acquiesced in lakhs of deaths or Kabila who "caused violently" the death of merely a few hundreds?

Western media, their Pundits and Strategy Analysts, their Responsible Spokesmen, their Objective Reporters, all have been silenced and sidelined by Kabila. These wretched Westerners are going on and on about Kabila's programme "being unknown, and being dangerous, and offering nothing, and so on!" But as far as *Mankind* can see, the way Kabila has captured power, **on the crest of a popular revolutionary wave**, is by itself sufficient evidence of his intentions and his ideology. Much pressure was brought upon him by USA, which sent a special envoy; and by the European Powers who mobilized Nelson Mandela to mediate on behalf of Mobutu. All these tactics failed.

We must also not forget to congratulate the Angolan leaders Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President and Fernando Franca van Dunem, PM for their solid support to Kabila from the

SINCE WHICH YEAR DO WE DATE WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS ?-- 1 SOTHEBY'S IS A SMUGGLING DEN

We had presented a composite report on a smuggler's den called Sotheby's of London, which has been systematically looting art treasures from India for the last fifty years, in our last issue (*MK* May 1997, p.8).

British Imperialism has always facilitated the activities of international thieves and robbers. It is not an offence in the United Kingdom to deal in stolen property, when such stealing has taken place outside UK.

That is why Sotheby's have been operating with impunity.

Intellectual property rights are not counted as such when Third World countries are involved. Rights of Western pop singers like Brian Adams, who come out with profound lyrics like "*I want to be your tampon and I want to be your underwear*", are very fundamental intellectual rights but the rights of master sculptors and painters of India are nothing!

Britain has stolen the Elgin Marbles from Greece; the Nok and Benin sculptures from Nigeria; immense quantities of antiquities from Egypt, Turkey, Iraq and Iran (in fact, from the whole of the Middle East); and incalculable tonnages from the Indian Sub-Continent! The stealing, thieving and robbing is still going on.

Mankind has already demanded the setting up of an International Commission of Truth and Justice under the auspices of the General Assembly of the United Nations, consisting of historians, geographers, scientists, sociologists, artists, cost accountants, patent lawyers, archaeologists, and so on, to determine the historic balance of intellectual property rights between Imperialist and Neo-Colonial Euro-America, and the Third World, from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. Let us see whether Brian Adams' tampon and underwear and all the Patent Rights of the Western Cultural Achievements outweigh the smuggling activities in Indian art works of merely the auction house of Sotheby's, London, over just the last fifty years!

We now continue with Sotheby's Saga of Smuggling:

"The international auction house Sotheby's will hold its first major sale of Indian art on May 8 in London. The sale is to commemorate India's fiftieth year of independence. The auction will encompass 2,000 years of Indian civilization from Kushan sculptures of the first and second century AD to paintings by contemporary artists. The 507 items on sale have been classified under the sections: sculptures, arms and armour, textiles, metal work, jewellery and furniture. The pictures section includes works from the Company School paintings, European paintings and modern and contemporary art. MF Husain, Anjolie Ela Menon, Ganesh Pyne and **Satish Gujral** are among the contemporary artists whose works will be on sale". (Source: *The Times of India*, 06/05/97)

very beginning of his campaign in November 1996. Several other governments of neighbouring countries also sympathized with Kabila, and by now most governments of Central Africa have already recognized Kabila's regime.

Laurent Kabila is a shining example of the exercise of revolutionary will. Of course, the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO; and all the MNCs and TNCs, especially the mining and armament industry interests; are now hovering over the prostrate body of

Zaire/Congo. They are all poised to break Kabila's back and snap his will-power. We hope that Kabila will stand firm and lead Africa into a new era of prosperity and peace.

To us, in *Mankind*, Laurent Kabila is the true symbol, and epitome of Non-Violence. We have very little to learn from the West, but let us learn as much as we can from the South, from the East, and from the Third World.

SINCE WHICH YEAR DOWE DATE WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS?--2 SOUTH AFRICAN TRUTH IS A LIE

"When a knife was shoved up his nose, Herold Sefola signalled that he wanted to say something. On untying him, he sang the ANC's anthem, 'N Kosi Sikelel I Africa' (God Save Africa). He was then beaten with electric rods till he died." This deposition is from the confession of Sefola's murderers before South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

One by one the assassins of the former apartheid regime have been coming forward – in the name of 'reconciliation' and 'healing'—to confess their sins and reveal the manner in which members of the anti-apartheid resistance were tortured and murdered. These confessions, made before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, are then dutifully entered into a ledger and filed qway, while the criminals walk away with an unconditional amnesty. **There are no arrests, no prosecutions, no jail sentences, no executions.** It is almost as if the mere acts of confession were absolution enough for all of apartheid's crimes.

The idea of an amnesty was an integral part of the negotiated transition marking the end of apartheid. Built into the country's new constitutional framework, the purpose of the Truth Commission is to "establish as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights which were committed during the (apartheid) period."

At the same time, it is paradoxical that in a world where octogenarian former Nazis can still be pursued around the globe and forced – quite rightly – to pay for their role in one crime or another against humanity, South Africans who have taken part in multiple crimes should be allowed to get away scot free. **The only way out of this paradox is to accept FW de Klerk's unrepentant submission before the TRC that, apartheid was not a crime against humanity but a well-intentioned policy of "separate development" with "a strong sense of idealism."**

Unlike the Germans and Jews in post-Nazi Germany, South Africa's blacks and whites continue to live together. This is precisely the point made by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, vice-president of South Africa. He further added that South Africa could not have had a peaceful transition if some were to feel threatened, hence to bring about this change, it had to take recourse to the path of the Truth Commission instead of the usual route to justice, of police prosecution and so on.

Not surprisingly, most of the apartheid victims reject this logic. The widow of Steve Biko was even more forthright, when the murderers of her husband applied for amnesty. She condemned the whole process as a travesty and demanded punishment as a right.

The assets and privileges of the big conglomerates, farmers and others who thrived on the basis of expropriated land and forced labour cannot be touched because they too would never have agreed to a transfer of power. Hence Mr. Mbeki's 'retribution' can in fact be an obstacle to the 'rebuilding' of South Africa, by keeping the economic edifice of apartheid intact.

The much-vaunted 'Rapid Development Plan' for the provision of housing, sanitation, water, electricity and jobs for millions of blacks has yet to get off the ground, mainly because the government has remained a hostage to the demands of South Africa's financial and corporate sector and **of the international banks which previously bankrolled apartheid.** Even the cast-iron tenancy rights to peasants working on the estates of white farmers (called "lands historically expropriated from the blacks") has been stymied for fear of the economic repercussions.

As South Africa celebrates its third year of freedom and India its fiftieth, one cannot help feeling that Mr. Nelson Mandela should not have followed Gandhi after all. The anti-apartheid struggle was a just cause, and although reconciliation is needed with the whites, why should apartheid's architects, financiers etc. should be conciliated with?

In this way, tomorrow the same financier would not hesitate to replace the ANC with the National Party, should the need arise. Hence, it is logical to say a morally corrosive compromise is likely to prove self-destructive in the long run. (Source: *The Times of India*, 03/05/97)

SINCE WHICH YEAR DOWE DATE WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS?--3 FATWA AGAINST ELIZABETH I

Salman Rushdie was encouraged by the Western Society in which he chose to live, to make fun of Islam but should we not make greater fun of Christianity for its fundamentalism, bigotry and bloody-minded inquisitorial witch-hunting?

Incidentally witches were burnt in England till the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the Roman Inquisition, along with its French and Spanish off-shoots, was not called off till quite recently. French Inquisition lasted from 1231-1789; Spanish from 1478-1808; and the Roman from 1542-1908. In fact, the Roman may be said to be continuing till today, as it was never officially brought to an end.

"Islamic culture in the 12th century introduced studies such as alchemy and astrology that evoked a new interest in what has been called 'natural magic'. In 1484 two Dominican friars, Heinrich Kraemer and Johann Sprenger, induced Pope Innocent VIII to issue a bull authorising them to extirpate witchcraft in Germany; and two years later these two men published the *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Witches' Hammer), a work that became the authoritative encyclopaedia of demonology throughout Christendom. Its authority lasted for nearly three centuries, during the time of **European witch craze**". (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1983, Macro, Vol 19, p. 898)

"In Europe the Biblical injunction "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" sanctioned widespread persecution. Social and religious upheavals in the 16th and 17th centuries brought an upsurge in witch hunts." (*The Macmillan Encyclopaedia*, 1984 Edition, p.1307)

"From the 14th to the 18th centuries a witch hunting epidemic prevailed in Europe, and many thousands of innocent people were tortured and executed in fanatical and hysterical persecutions". (*The New Webster's International Encyclopaedia*, p.1192)

One of the most comical episodes of witch-hunting occurred in Salem, Massachusetts, USA in 1692. "The accusations of innocent townspeople began when 3 young girls claimed possession by the devil. The special court sentenced 19 young men and women to death by hanging and imprisoned about 150 more. The witch hunt was brought to a halt and those imprisoned were freed in 1693. Samuel Sewall, one of the 3 judges, apologized publicly". (*The New Webster's International Encyclopaedia*, p.954)

One of the choicest tit-bits of Christian fundamentalist outlook may now be adduced: **"BOND OF ASSOCIATION (1584), oath signed by Englishmen swearing to prosecute any murderers of Elizabeth I. The bond was a response to a declaration (1580) of Pope Gregory XIII that her assassination would be no sin."** (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1983, Micro, Vol, Vol II, p.141)

WHITE HOUSE HAS BECOME A SHADOWY MANSION OF CRIME AND COMPLICITY

Reflecting what appears to be a universal distaste for politics and politicians, Hollywood truly is churning out films showing American leaders in a poor light.

Over the past years, the White House has been the centre of action. In Hollywood movies, the White House has increasingly become a shadowy mansion replete with crime, conspiracy and complicity, depicting the US President variously as a crook, a murderer, an adulterer, occasionally as a hero or a romantic.

The American situation is more real and startling because the Hollywood film-makers recreate the White House in great detail, which Bollywood's moronic pashas cannot do legally in India.

One explanation, provided by former Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos, suggests that these movies are partly a legacy of the Cold War, but the villains are now not the Soviets but the power hungry National Security Advisors or corrupt presidents. With no central foreign foe, the Americans can fantasise about the enemies within!

Political scientists have however maintained that American politics itself has become besmirched and devalued over the past few decades. Reporting FDR's polio or JFK's peccadilloes was taboo for the US earlier, but they began to break the shackles in the 1970s when the Watergate expose gave them the verve and the self-confidence to explore the presidency even deeper and more intrusively. Ford's ineptness and Carter's incompetency were harshly chronicled. And by the time Reagan's Iran Contra scandal unfurled, the occupants of the White House were bathed in the harsh glare of the media as the television became widespread and intrusive.

In the 90s, there has been the constant drumbeat about Clinton's loss of character and integrity and this has amplified the suspicion about the White House and the chief executive. The rumours about the White House being the house of libertine inmates has actually translated itself on screen in *Mars Attacks!*

(Contd. on bottom of p.11)

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

**Gawli Freed, Home Secretary, Mumbai
Police Chief Fined**

**Only 1 percent of Scam Money
Recovered**

**Brazil, India's Major Trade Partner
Second World Throws Challenge
Foreign Airlines Have a Big Share of
Indian cake**

**No Development for the Lowly
in Kulak-Ruled Punjab**

**Corruption, Nepotism Up Among
Marxists**

**More Ado About a Third Rate Power
Another Perverse Verdict**

**BMC Has No Will to Spend
US Court Backs Monopolies**

Elite Priorities

**Comprador Turns Neo-Colonial
Blair is New British PM**

**Digvijay Provides Alibi for
Murder Accused**

Elite Style

**Foreign Conferences Are Not
Innocent Affairs**

Asso.Edr.

**Gawli Freed, Home Secretary,
Mumbai Police Chief Fined.**

The Nagpur Bench of the Mumbai High Court ordered the release of dreaded gangster Arun Gawli and also imposed 'exemplary costs' on Maharashtra additional chief secretary P.Subramaniam, commissioner of police, Mumbai, Subhash Malhotra and inspector-general of prisons M.G.Narawane, besides three jail superintendents.

In a landmark judgement, the High Court allowed a criminal writ petition filed

by Asha Gawli, wife of the underworld don, challenging his detention under the National Security Act (NSA).

The High Court also directed the state government to probe into all aspects of the jail administration in view of the government's own admission that Gawli could plan crimes from inside jails and get them executed in conspiracy with outsiders. At one point the Court mentioned that the impugned detention order appeared to be more for the benefit of Gawli as he was feeling unsafe outside

jail.

But at the same time the judge also remarked that while the objective of preventing the murder of Gawli was laudable, it is not plausibly explained as to what steps were taken to save the public from Gawli.

The Court had earlier asked the commissioner of police, Mumbai, and IG, prisons to file affidavits explaining how Gawli could conduct crimes from inside the jail. The Court was also surprised at the time interval taken to serve the detention orders on Gawli, though four officers were supposed to study the proposal for detention, sent by the Agripada police station before issuing the order. The Court therefore saddled three high-ranking state officials including additional chief secretary (Home) P Subramanian and Mumbai police chief SC Malhotra, with exemplary costs worth Rs. 25,000 each for "misuse of office and not exercising their authority in good faith".

Further, the Court also imposed exemplary costs worth Rs. 15,000 each on three jail superintendents - DM Jadhav of Yerwada Central Prison at Pune and MJ Ghorpade and LT Samudrawar, both of Harsul Central Prison at Aurangabad. These officials are to be prosecuted either independently or as part of the cases pending against Gawli for the crimes which he is alleged to have committed from inside jail.

Referring to the argument that Gawli's detention was inevitable owing to his acts which had a bearing on public order, the court held that none of the four incidents mentioned in the grounds of detention could, by any stretch of imagination, have a bearing on public order. The impact of these incidents with whatever sensitivity could only be against the victims. As such the incidents have a bearing on the law and order and not on public order.

Hence, the government has been ordered to deposit the entire amount of exemplary costs with the court within 10 days and recover the same from the respective officials "in accordance with the law". [Source : *The Indian Express*, 06/05/97]

**Only 1 pc of Scam Money
Recovered**

The figures that the recent scams throw up are mind-boggling, but the money recovered from the scamsters is chicken-feed. The securities scam is worth Rs. 5000 crore, the fodder scam Rs. 950 crore and the Indian Bank scam Rs. 300

crore. But the amount of cash recovered from these scams is barely one percent of the amount suspected to have been siphoned off.

Take for instance, the first of the recent series of mega scams. In the securities scam, the CBI charge-sheet said that Rs. 5000 crore was fraudulently withdrawn from nationalised banks. However, the money recovered in the scam so far is not even Rs 10 crore.

In the Rs 950- crore fodder scam, the cash confiscated from politicians and bureaucrats is less than Rs five crores.

In the other scams including the Indian Bank, the Rs.133

Whenever Harshad Mehta comes to attend legal matters in Delhi, he stays in hotel suites worth Rs 50,000 a day. Where are they getting the money from even after their assets are attached? The question still puzzles the investigators though they are convinced that all these criminals are paying their hotel bills and house rents through hawala money. [Source : *The Indian Express*, 06/05/97]

Brazil Emerges as India's Major Trade Partner

Brazil is fast becoming India's major trading partner with Indian exports to the Latin American country rising to an unprecedented \$ 182 million last year.

This is considered a breakthrough as India exported goods worth only \$ 12 million in 1992 and around \$ 3 million in 1986. The Indian exports are projected to grow to at least \$ 500 million by 2000.

However, India's consul-general in Sao Paulo, R. Viswanathan said that actual Indian exports were higher than the official figure of \$ 182 million last year and would have been in the bracket of \$ 200 million. The reason was that a part of the Indian exports to Brazil was transacted through other countries such as United States, Uruguay, Paraguay, Singapore and Europe. Some of the importers prefer to go through this route to overcome problems of restrictions in Brazil and also to get better credit facilities, especially in the US.

Besides what India is exporting now, traders say, there is scope for export of railway equipment, computer software and hardware, herbal products, space research equipment, textile machinery parts, tractors, non-basmati rice and wheat.

At present India is exporting bulk pharmaceutical drugs, chemicals, agro-chemicals, cosmetics, resins, dyestuffs, fabrics, yarn, raw cotton etc. Among other items are hand and machine tools, printing machinery, optical instruments and optical fibres, construction material etc.

Brazil's import of garments, fabrics and other textile items is growing rapidly and it is emerging as an important non-quota market. It imported these goods worth \$ 2.3 billion last year and

TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Seizure by the CBI from January 1, 1994 to October 1996 (in Rs crore)

Year	Cash	Value of Household Articles	Gold	Immovable Properties
1994	12.4	15.7	.57	33.03
1995	17.4	11.5	.40	12.6
1996	12.2	17.6	.41	12.3

Source: CBI

crore Urea scam, Rs 205-crore LOC scam of Assam and the Rs.1,000-crore VABAL scam, the total cash seized is just a few lakh of rupees.

Data available with the CBI reveal that the annual cash recovery on an average is Rs.14 crore, while the corruption cases registered every year involve money over Rs 2000 crore. According to investigating officials, most of the accused send their money to foreign banks through the hawala operators by the time the raiding team strikes.

But, the CBI at the same time, holds the view that one should take note of the lifestyles maintained by these top shot accused.

(Contd. from p. 9)

WHITE HOUSE HAS BECOME A SHADOWY MANSION OF CRIME AND COMPLICITY

In another film, *Independence Day*, a flying saucer shoots a laser beam and thereby destroys the White House. In many movie theatres across America, some of the audience has cheered at the scene, suggesting a complete lack of respect for the seat of the government.

But the White House itself appears not to be too concerned about this tarring of the institution of the President. Bill Clinton is a fairly regular movie buff and the Motion Picture Association routinely sends its new releases to the White House. But Clinton reportedly prefers slapstick comedies like the *Naked Gun* series because if he saw the real thing, he would surely be a worried man!

Recent Hollywood Films Centered on the White House :

- **Primary Colours:** Based on Joe Klein's controversial novel. The President as a smooth womaniser.
- **Air Force One:** Harrison Ford as the President---a hero who trumps the villains hijacking his plane in mid-air.
- **Murder at 1600:** A murder in the White House and the finger of suspicion at the President and his wayward son.
- **The Shadow Conspiracy:** Another murder leads a staffer to a White House conspiracy.
- **Independence Day:** Aliens blow up the White House to the applause of audiences. President leads the fight back.
- **Mars Attacks!:** Aliens successfully kill the President.
- **Escape from LA:** President tries to have his own daughter killed.
- **Absolute Power:** President's mistress is murdered by the Secret Service and he leads the cover up.
- **My Fellow Americans:** Vice-President sends assassins after two ex-Presidents.
- **Dave:** President is a bumbling, incompetent fool.

the Indian share was a meagre \$ 40 million. Analysts say that with a little effort, India could easily increase the export of these items to Brazil to more than two million dollars annually. The main competitors in this field are China, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. [Source: *The Times of India*, 06/05/97]

Second World Throws a Challenge

As the scaffolding of Washington's containment policy rises conspicuously in the east and the west, it is hardly surprising that the two powers so targeted are anxious to draw closer to each other. The summit between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin, clearly indicate that the two countries intend actively to challenge US domination. Their joint declaration opposes the "claims by any country to the role of absolute leader". Mr. Yeltsin sought to emphasize what the document was all about. "Someone is longing for a unipolar world but we want the world to be a multipolar" he said.

But the question arises as to why it has taken five Sino-Russian summits to produce a document so clearly directed against the US? Though the US has striven for a unipolar order ever since the 1991 Gulf War, the principles of Washington's post-bipolar strategic architecture have been firmly hammered in the last two years. In the east, the US-Japan security declaration signed last April and hailed unanimously as the most important bilateral document of the post Cold-War period, means that 100,000 US troops will continue to encircle China until well into the next century, and in the west, NATO's progression towards Russian borders is almost a done deal.

Keeping in mind, Lord Ismay's Cold-War era logic, it is stated that by July, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic will become full-fledged members. President Yeltsin having reconciled himself to this is cleverly looking to build geopolitical links so as to increase his leverage with the US and head off any adverse strategic fell-out. Speeding up a union with Belarus, talking of a 'strategic partnership' with China and India, and co-ordinating a CIS response to the Afghan crisis are all parts of this effort.

Beijing has in the meantime tended to avoid confronting the US and has at the same time preferred to bide its time and build up its economy because the US strategists regard China as a future economic and military rival. Whether it is the Yinhe incident in 1993 or the US arms sales to Taiwan, China limited its response to the verbal.

But today, however, with the Clinton administration having started regularly playing host to leaders from Tibet, Taiwan and Hong-Kong—regions the Chinese consider to be their provinces--China's patience is now wearing thin.

China is now busy preparing for the reabsorption of Hong-Kong, and despite Mr. Clinton's warning to the government of China over 'human rights' in Hong-Kong, the US will not be terribly disappointed if Beijing's 'One Country, Two Systems' experiment fails. Hong-Kong's integration would open the door howsoever small--of eventual Chinese reapproachment with Taiwan. A worst nightmare for Washington!

China also suspects an American hand in the recent disturbances in Xinjiang, quietly encouraged by Russia in the wake of Taliban's successes in Afghanistan. The US is persistently expanding its military, financial and intelligence presence in Asia closer to China's Xinjiang-Uigur province, and Islamic Xinjiang, according to American geopoliticians, is the master-key to the 'Chinese empire'.

Strengthening ties with Russia is one way for China to send a signal to Washington of its limited tolerant capacity and it has

already built close ties with Iran, Iraq and remains for North Korea, a guarantor of sorts. It has also repeatedly voiced concerns over the misuse of the UN Charter's provisions on intervention and the use of force.

On the economic front, the size and attraction of the Chinese market has forced Washington to back-off because US may still be China's largest trading partner but exchanges with Russia, Japan and Europe are growing rapidly. The Chinese and Russian presidents have therefore resorted to trebling their current annual turn-over of \$ 7 billion by 2005. Russia is keen to export arms and nuclear technology and the Chinese consumer products find access to a ready market in Russia.

By coming together, Russia and China are attempting to define the geopolitical cartography of the next century. But Beijing's opposition to Pax-Americana is much more visceral and, for the US, much more troubling. [Source: *The Times of India*, 30/04/97]

Foreign Airlines Have A Big Share of Indian Cake

Air-India Managing Director Brijesh Kumar has admitted that foreign airlines today controlled a large share of the total Indian demand for international services.

Initially both Air-India and Indian Airlines lost large chunks of their market share. Air-India market dwindled from a healthy 30 percent in the mid - 80s to a mere 19 percent a few years ago.

Further, he said, now that liberalisation has come to stay, the airline had to fight its battle in the market place instead of relying on government protection. As world economies get more integrated, as interdependence between countries increases, the forces of liberalisation get stronger.

The deregulation of the US air transport industry in 1978, the dismantling of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) price-fixation machinery and the changes in ownership patterns of the European and Asian airlines, left a significant impact on the Indian air market, even before the liberalisation process actually began.

Effects of this liberalisation can be seen in that the factor pace of Indian economic growth has created a huge middle class population "with a rising propensity for leisure travel". Secondly, the prices of international air travel have tumbled to the benefit of the Indian consumer. [Source: *The Times of India*, 30/04/97]

No Development for the Lowly in Kulak-Ruled Punjab

Despite all the development and progress in Punjab, which has the highest per capita income in India, the plight of Depressed Scheduled Castes (DPC), numbering eight lakh in the state, remains the same. It may be taken to indicate as if welfare schemes did not exist for them.

According to a study conducted on the state of DPCs in Punjab, conducted by Institute for Development and Communication (IDC), numbering eight lakh in the state, remains the same. It may be taken to indicate as if welfare schemes did not exist for them.

According to a study conducted by Institute for Development and Communications (IDC) on behalf of the state government, the main causes were that this population was mired in penury, illiteracy, ill-health and lack of skills and gainful employment.

That these people are even unable to afford a roof over their head and do not own any productive assets, only compound their sorry plight and their inability to march ahead.

These groups include 17 castes such as Bengali, Bauria,

Bazigar, Dumma, Khatik, Sansi, Sikligar etc. and comprise about 11 percent of the total SC population in the state:

As many as 84 percent of these families, says the 95-page report, have annual income lower than Rs. 11,000 and continue to live below the poverty line.

Barely ten percent of the DPC families live in houses and even among these only 2.4 percent own *pucca* houses while 7.8 percent have only mud houses to shelter themselves from sun, cold and rain.

The remaining 90 percent of the families have to put up in huts or *jhuggies* and many among them live nomadic lives. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 02/05/97]

Corruption, Nepotism Up Among Marxists

In an interview, published in *Ganashakti*, the CPI(M)'s mouthpiece, Jyoti Basu had admitted and at the same time warned Marxist cadres of the corruption, nepotism and tendency of the leaders to openly criticise the party in the CPI(M). He further added, that though the corruption prevalent in the party may be negligible as compared to other parties, it was going to be tackled severely. The Central Committee has therefore formalised a document to guide their purification process in different states.

In what is seen as a scant regard by the top leaders in the party, of the old word 'discipline', Basu reiterated that the decision to stick by the majority, should not be flouted and once the issue is put to vote, all must stand by the decision or leave the party.

Basu's reference to the growing factionalism inside the CPI(M) is an obvious reference to the Buddhadeb Bhattacharya camp versus Asim Dasgupta camp rivalry which had derailed some positive programmes of late. He made the second reference to Subhash Chakravorty, who went and spoke his views to the press.

Basu's interview also covered political upheavals at Delhi, which in itself is a move planned by Biman Bose-Anil Biswas camp and which is diametrically opposite Basu's believed successor, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya.

In another significant aspect, Basu sealed down the communist's importance in the national political arena and asked them to resist Deve Gowda's government's open flouting of the Common Minimum Programme.

But, recently, besides giving a clean chit to Deve Gowda on the question of the future direction of the CPI(M), he restricted himself to the old rhetoric on safeguarding 'people's interests' and 'bringing about fundamental social changes.' [Source: *The Indian Express*, 03/05/97]

More Ado About a Third Rate Power

Anglo-French billionaire Sir James Goldsmith and former Conservative Minister David Mellor were involved in an unprecedented clash after both were beaten in the British election. Mellor was toppled in the London seat of Putney he had held since 1979 by Tony Colman of the Opposition Labour Party, which has won a landslide victory across Britain.

Goldsmith won just 1,500 votes as leader of the Referendum Party and Goldsmith and Mellor rank as two of the most colourful figures in British politics, both exciting strong passions.

Mellor, who had styled his position as "minister of fun", was the first minister and leading Conservative to resign in sex and financial scandals, that wounded the reputation of Prime Minister John Major's Government.

The *Pravda* bar, was the place, where on Thursday night in

New York, the Labour Party organised a star-studded event to celebrate the party's landslide victory in a general election. Free champagne flowed in the basement bar as also available at an election party organised by the government British Information Service at the Consulate-General in New York.

Britons, elected their first Muslim Member of Parliament, as the Labour Party swept to a landslide victory. Pakistan-born, Mohammed Sarwar, a millionaire businessman, was elected as Labour's MP for the seat of Govan in Glasgow, with a comfortable majority. But when the results were read out, Sarwar refused to stand alongside the extreme-right British National Party (BNP) candidate. Sarwar hopes his election will give a greater voice to Britain's ethnic communities. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 03/05/97]

Another Perverse Verdict

The controversial \$1.2 billion Dabhol Power Project of the Enron Power Corporation received a big boost in the arm when the Supreme Court today declined to re-examine the project and its renegotiation by the Maharashtra Government. The court, however, came down on the Maharashtra government's changing stance on the project.

Responding to a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed by the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), the court maintained that at the present stage, it had already been gone into by the Bombay High Court.

With this, what could be the last legal hurdle in the way of the project has been removed. The Dabhol Power Company president and managing director, Sanjay Bhatnagar was delighted and hoped it would put an end to litigations against the project.

The CITU PIL came in the wake of the re-negotiation of the project by the Maharashtra government last year, after it had been cancelled. But since the State Government had still given the Enron undue concessions, the CITU allege that various irregularities in its awarding be looked at and that the role of the Maharashtra Government should also be examined. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 03/05/97]

BMC Has No Will to Spend

Although, the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation is busy hiking tax rates and expanding the reach of its levis, municipal finance experts argue that the country's largest municipal body is cash-rich and well off.

The BMC has established a consistently high record of underperformance by failing to spend the budgeted expenditure. The capital at its disposal is quite high, but it is not able to spend it. The contention that it does not have money is all humbug. The funds lie idle in the bank.

However, there is a trick played by most of the municipal commissioners and the trick is to assume that whatever is budgeted for is spent and claim a deficit for the previous year. But, in this way, they add the shortfall as a liability on the current year. There is a statutory requirement to show at least a one rupee surplus. So they first show a deficit and then propose to hike tax rates to make it to surplus. But every year, experts find a huge actual surplus whether or not tax hikes get approved.

Secondly, just as the private sector shows a sales boost in the last quarter, the BMC too issues most cheques in the last month. Civil contractors say they often get their cheques dated March 31st, so that the previous year's budgeted estimates can be made.

However, the BMC has represented to the Maharashtra Finance Commission for devaluation of revenue resources to local self governments, currently, State revenue from entertainment tax and Land revenue are shared with the BMC, but no other tax is passed on. At the same time revenue-sharing is essential "to serve the citizens of Mumbai in a better manner", In any case BMC budget is larger than those of States such as Haryana, Goa, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir. In terms of purchasing power the BMC's revenues are set to be more than most south Asian cities.

Former Municipal Commissioner D.M Sukhthankar says the spirit of the 74th amendment to the constitution should be upheld and the BMC should get a share of the revenue that Mumbai raises for the state. "If not, we could end up as a rich city governed by a poor corporation".

But the BMC is still better off than the Maharashtra government and the lag in expenditure is not due to a funds crunch, the BMC is cash-rich and liquid. [Source: *The Times of India*, 06/05/97]

THEY KNOW NOT HOW TO SPEND

Year	Expenditure Estimates	Actual Expenditure	Shortfall (%)
1991-92	223.34	115.02	49
1992-93	240.57	173.28	28
1993-94	219.68	128.73	41
1994-95	179.20	108.68	39
1995-96	245.02	146.12	40

(Rs. in Crores)

Source: BMC Budget papers
 * BMC has consistently failed to implement projects it had budgeted for.

US Courts Backs Monopolies

Cigarette companies, under pressure to pay compensation for suffering caused to smokers, have won a major victory as a Florida jury found a leading manufacturer not liable for the 1996 death of a woman who consumed three packs a day. The shares of all cigarette makers went up steeply after the judgement, even as the woman's supporters blasted the jury. The cigarette companies are being sued in 20 states, some of them are class action suits and others, individual. Some states are also suing the makers to recover the money spent on caring for those who fell sick because of smoking. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 07/05/97]

Elite Priorities

Nothing succeeds like success, goes the old saying. Status symbols are a changing, and the upper crust tells us how. In a survey conducted by the Advertising and Marketing and the ORGMARG, of the top 30 status symbols that the upper crust swears by, the car, which headed a similar list of India's status symbols in 1994, is replaced by the address; the wheels have slid back to the second place, and a distant second, at that.

The survey classifies the respondents in the four metros-into four segments. There are those that are "getting there", those upto 40 years old, who earn less than Rs 15,000 a month, who rank a home location, a car and educational degree as status;

the "won't-be", who are over 40 years old and who earn less than Rs 15,000 a month; there are, of course, those who've "already-arrived"-- over 40 years old, these people rank a home location, an educational degree and a car as top status symbols.

It is the fourth category-the "yuppie", or the male less than 40 who earns Rs 15,000 a month or more, whose tastes run into a home location, a farm house, a beach house or an orchard, followed by a car, who is to be put under a microscope and who dominates trends, according to the survey.

His notions of status symbolism differ from the pack as the yuppie, disregarding the car landed his pick as the home location. His early picks (holiday abroad, laptop computer and paintings and antiques) are going up in everyone's esteem; his early rejects are getting the cold shoulder from everyone now.

He made the most of the growing economy to get a bank balance full of new money. He has earned it, not inherited it-which he takes as a moral license to flaunt it.

Education degrees move up; cell phones enter dramatically at No.5 Apparel has however slid but not drastically as air-conditioners, which have gone way down from No.5 to No.16. Consumer goods get a low rating while *living* in style has gone up. As the survey points, the rich now lay more emphasis on living in style. Holidays abroad have gained power; Switzerland is in, France gains wind and Singapore loses its charm.

Of these status symbols, the home has inched up to No.1, two-fifths of a point ahead of the car, with a margin of 22 percent voting in for the home location in contrast to the small 9 percent who did so for the car. An educational degree is rated third in the upper crust circuits and this particular symbol has an MBA degree as the crowning glory.

A powerful new entrant at No.4 is a farm house or a beach house. Goa is rated first by Mumbaiite yuppies, for a beach-house, while Mehrauli and Gurgaon, enter second, as the most cherished locations for a holiday retreat, near Delhi.

The upward march of the rupee became particularly marked, after February this year, which even the political uncertainty failed to disrupt. But with a record foreign exchange reserves of \$22.43 billion excluding gold, the Reserve Bank of India is now facing a new problem--the problem of exchange rate management.

The rock steady exchange, Rs 36.75 to a dollar, has entered into a conflict with the central bank's monetary policy objectives. The RBI has now to mop up the excess money supply, which if continued, will harden the interest rate structure, whereas the present RBI policy objective is to bring the lending rate down.

Besides, India's capital inflows, last year, stood at \$6.4 billion and the export growth had decelerated to only 7 percent last year as against the average growth of 20 percent in the last three years.

If there is political stability and business confidence is fully restored, the real impact of the remedial measures taken through the budget, will begin to be felt from the last quarter of 1997 calendar year. [Source: *The Times of India*, 03/05/97]

Comprador Turns Neo-Colonial

Kirloskar Cummins Ltd (KCL) will become Cummins India Ltd., (CIL) a subsidiary of the US based Cummins Engine Company Inc, once the 1 percent share of Kirloskar Oil Engines Ltd. (KOEL) are transferred to the US company. The shareholders' approval was granted to the proposed change at a Extraordinary General Meeting (EGM)

The EGM follows an agreement signed on March 8, 1997 between Cummins Engine Company and KOEL, wherein the

former would hike its stake from 50 percent to 51 percent in KCL after KOEL sold it 1 percent of its stake.

This reduced KOEL's stake from 25.5 percent to 24.5 percent. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 07/05/97]

Blair is New British PM

When 43 year old Tony Blair became the youngest Prime Minister this century, he did so by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Conservatives in what was probably the last British general election this century.

As soon as Major submitted his resignation as premier to Queen Elizabeth II, she appointed Tony Blair as the new Prime Minister who later named Robin Cook as Foreign Secretary, Gordon Brown, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Jack Straw, Home Secretary and John Prescott Deputy Prime Minister.

The party, widely expected to lead the United Kingdom into the new millennium, notched up 419 seats in the 659-strong new House of Commons, decimating Conservatives with the worst ever defeat since 1832. Liberal Democrats got 45, with 17 seats to others. Results from 14 seats are still awaited.

Blair, commenting upon the results, said, "a new dawn has broken." Credited with transforming his party, Blair, was a one-man force that finally denied the Tories a fifth consecutive term at 10, Downing Street.

The election proved to be a Waterloo for British Eurosceptics with almost all of them, being humbled in the democratic arena of balloting.

It was a worst ever defeat for the Tories as they ended up with just 166 seats, a drop of 145 seats from the last elections. But what was worse was that the party was wiped out from Scotland and Wales. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 03/05/97]

Digvijay Provides Alibi for Murder Accused

The Chief Minister Digvijay Singh, in a press conference revealed that Mayor Lokman Khatik, on accused in the Sagar murder case was with him in Bhopal, on April 23, the day the murder occurred. Khatik is a supporter of Digvijay Singh while another person, Purohit belonged to the rival camp within the Congress and a showdown had occurred between them on an earlier occasion. However, he did not comment on the reason as to why the mayor was hiding from the police.

The District Congress Committee had earlier expelled Khatik from the party for his alleged involvement in the murder. Digvijay also admitted he had earlier given a clean chit to two ministers, who were found guilty in the Jabalpur land scam. The Lokayukta had, however, directed the Deputy Chief Minister and Cooperatives Ministers along with some other officers in the Jabalpur land allotment and had sought permission from the state to prosecute them. [Source: *The Indian Express*, 06/05/97]

Elite Style

The vehicle that carries tourists across the land of the Rajputs is itself creating history, as its growing popularity indicates. The

tourist train with exclusive service that comes in exchange of a fat fee, had completed 35 trips during the current season that began in September last year.

The nightmare of the tourists has been changed into a colourful royal experience, elevating **The Palace on Wheels** to the status of being one of the ten most luxurious trains in the world.

The Palace on Wheels was launched jointly by the RTDC and the Indian Railways on January 26, 1982 by assembling saloons owned by the rulers of the erstwhile princely states in Rajasthan, besides the ones used by the Nizam of Hyderabad and even the viceroys. Although the coaches required drastic repair, utmost care was taken to retain the ambience of their past heritage.

This train was successful in putting the state of Rajasthan on the world tourist map as it ran successfully till April, 1991, carrying 13,524 Indian and foreign tourists and earning a revenue of Rs.568.82 lakhs.

However in 1991, the authorities built a new air-conditioned train with 14 royal coaches carefully maintaining the ambience of the original coaches. The train also has two restaurants and a bar, all linked by vestibules.

The train attracted a record average of 72 percent occupancy during the last three tourist seasons even when many other tourist resorts recorded declining inflow of travellers. [Source: *The Times of India*, 06/05/97]

Foreign Conferences Are Not Innocent Affairs

The Union Ministry for Health and Family Welfare has banned the visit of government doctors to international conferences which are sponsored by multinational pharmaceutical companies.

The government's move is aimed to ensure that medical specialists in reputed institutions are not influenced by these companies in their purchase or use of drugs and medical equipments. Officials in the health ministry say that the move would ensure "objectivity" in decisions taken by medical experts.

The move, though, has led to resentment among medical experts many of whom feel that this would take away their opportunity of interacting with the international scientific community and learning about advances in their field of specialisation.

The Director of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences Dr.P.K.Dave, however, said that the move was good and would help avoid pressure by the pharmaceutical industry on medical experts. But he added that it would not make much difference to an institution like AIIMS which gets a foreign-travel-grant and also takes up several research projects.

But experts at AIIMS say that the grant given for foreign travel is usually not even enough to meet the basic expenditure. They do agree that there is a risk of some doctors becoming "spokespersons" of pharmaceutical companies. [Source: *The Times of India*, 07/05/97]

The Economic "Recovery" of Latin America

James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer

Bankers, academics and journalists are celebrating what is described — after a decade that was "lost to development" — as the "economic recovery" of Latin America. They point to the end of haemorrhage of resources and the debt crises that had plagued the region since 1982, a net positive inflow of capital since 1990, a veritable boom in exports, and the growth of Gross National Product in some countries (Argentina, Chile, Venezuela and Mexico)

This "recovery" is credited to the free market policies adopted, within the framework of the Structural Adjustment Programme promoted and imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, by virtually all regimes, including those in Argentina and Peru where the incumbent President had campaigned on a populist programme but in power introduced the most "radical" form of economic reforms in Latin America.

The "restructuring" and "refoundation" of Latin America — privatization of the means of

production (state enterprise); the liberalization of capital and trade flows; the deregulation of private activity; the abolition of subsidies and price controls; the modernization and downsizing of the state (deficit reduction, balanced accounts, cutting back on social programmes and public-sector employment); and the implementation of austerity measures (demand management and control of inflation) — are described as the painful but necessary conditions for "economic cleansing",

ridding the economy of an outmoded model (protectionism, state intervention) and other remnants of a populist strategy and model that created and maintained inefficient and uncompetitive industries, inhibiting economic growth and new investment. In the context of these "sensible reforms" and adjustments to the changes in the world economy, academics, politicians and the "quality" press see "a bold revolution" taking shape, led by Mexico, Chile and Argentina, that augurs a new

PROFOUND ECONOMIC CRISIS IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE EIGHTIES

Between 1981 and 1985 Latin America experienced a profound economic crisis, reflected in a precipitous fall in per-capita national income, a sharp decline in trade and inflows of both loan and investment capital, and an incapacity to service mounting external debts. From 1985 to 1990 the region experienced a further net outflow of US\$221.3 billion; debt service on average, equalled 26 percent of export earnings; the accumulated external debt grew to unmanageable proportions, amounting to \$1086 per capita, which was more than the annual per-capita average income in the region;² and the current account and net capital deficit position (see table 1) of most countries had drastically deteriorated or were in deficit. A few countries (notably Chile and Colombia) had experienced several years of growth but even in the most "successful" case (Chile) per-capita output and income levels by 1990 had not yet recovered levels achieved in 1980. In some countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Peru) per-capita incomes had not yet recovered levels reached in 1970

era of prosperity in the region.¹

There are serious problems with this diagnosis and the notion of a region-wide "economic recovery" that need to be addressed. First, it is important to place the apparent "recovery" (in the growth of output, exports and per capita income) in some context, with particular reference to the debt crisis that preceded it and to the structural changes wrought by the subsequent adjustments and reforms in economic policy. Second, it is necessary to

grasp the underlying dynamics of this restructuring process and to identify their social impacts and the political responses made to them by various classes. Finally, it is important to examine the nature and impact of the new capital flows in the economy—the resurgence of direct private investment. We question its capacity to generate long term development.

Crisis and recovery

Between 1981 and 1985 Latin America experienced a profound economic crisis, reflected in a precipitous fall in per-capita national income, a sharp decline in trade and inflows of both loan and investment capital, and an incapacity to service mounting external debts. From 1985 to 1990 the region experienced a further net outflow of US\$221.3 billion; debt service on average, equalled 26 percent of export earnings; the accumulated external debt grew to unmanageable proportions, amounting to \$1086 per capita, which was more than the annual per-capita average income in the region;² and the current account and net capital deficit position (see table 1) of most countries had drastically deteriorated or were in deficit. A few countries (notably Chile and Colombia) had experienced several years of growth but even in the most "successful" case (Chile) per-capita output and income levels by 1990 had not yet recovered levels achieved in 1980. In some countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Peru) per-capita incomes had not yet recovered levels reached in 1970 (see tables 2-3).

By 1991, however, in the context of the neo-liberal policies that were in place throughout the region, the macro-economic indicators of growth for a number of countries registered a measurable improvement. Exports and imports experienced a substantial increase in the rate of growth (see tables 1, 4) under conditions of relative macro-economic equilibrium, increasing export earnings, divestment of state enterprises on social programmes, and substantial inflows of investment and loan capital. Under these conditions, most countries in the region managed to service their external

Table 1
Exports, imports and net capital for
selected countries in Latin America
(US\$million)

	1981	1986	1990	1981-90 (% change)
Argentina				
Exports	9,141	6,852	12,353	35.1
Imports	9,430	4,723	4,077	-56.8
Trade balance	-289	2,129	8,276	—
Capital net	9,754	2,778	1,218	-87.5
Brazil				
Exports	23,292	22,382	131,243	34.1
Imports	24,073	15,555	22,459	-6.7
Trade balance	-781	6,827	8,784	—
Capital net	11,647	-265	-2,777	—
Chile				
Exports	3,745	4,158	8,589	129.1
Imports	6,277	2,964	7,023	11.9
Trade balance	-2,532	1,194	1,556	—
Capital net	3,579	804	2,027	-33.4
Colombia				
Exports	2,956	5,108	6,766	129.9
Imports	5,199	3,852	5,590	7.5
Trade balance	-2,243	1,256	1,176	—
Capital net	1,580	2,469	194	-87.7
Mexico				
Exports	20,036	12,708	26,714	33.3
Imports	24,853	9,335	28,063	12.9
Trade balance	-4,817	3,373	-1,349	—
Capital net	18,610	433	5,105	-72.6
Venezuela				
Exports	17,518	8,613	17,220	-1.7
Imports	11,811	7,667	6,364	-46.1
Trade balance	5,707	946	10,856	—
Capital net	810	2,043	183	-77.4

debts and to balance their trade and capital accounts (see table 5).

Some countries (Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela), those which had in fact instituted the most far-reaching economic and structural reforms, were particularly successful in securing the return of capital which in the 1980s had decamped in search of higher rates of interest,³ and in attracting foreign capital in the form of both new loans and direct investments. The UN Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) has calculated that the volume of new capital flowing into the region doubled between 1989 and 1990, and doubled again in the following year.

In total, this represented a \$8.4 billion net inflow of resources

— the first positive inflow of capital since 1981. According to Solomon Brothers, the mass of capital inflows in 1991 (\$39.2 billion net) was an eight fold increase over 1989, the bulk of it (over 70 percent) accounted for Chile, Mexico, and Brazil,⁴ the countries that had, as the IMF observed, "a sustained track record of economic and structural reforms complemented, in some cases, by an agreement on commercial debt reduction" (Finance & Development September 1992:5). As table 6 shows, capital inflows in 1992 were even more substantial, netting \$57 billion, 77 percent over that of previous year.⁵

In these countries, the new inflows clearly made a significant contribution to overall capital formation, representing on average 6 percent of GNP (10 percent in Venezuela and 7.6 percent in Argentina). The contribution of these inflows of capital to the "recovery" underway in these countries is also evident in its functional distribution: 39 percent was in the form of loans, attracted by the high interest rates prevailing in these countries as well as the conclusion of debt servicing agreements with the commercial banks; and 35 percent of it was in the form of Direct Foreign Investment (DFI), attracted by the opportunities represented by a large scale privatization (such as Telefono de Mexico, involving at the time the sixth-largest share offering in the world), the development of tourism and related services and industries, and the restructured "dynamic" industrial sector of several growing economies in the region (see the discussion below).

According to the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a grouping of 157 of the world's biggest banks, this renewed interest of international capital as well as the flow of DFI to the expanding industrial sector of developing countries in Latin America and elsewhere has little to do with the "traditional" concern for searching out cheap or lower labour costs and the associated "ask" factors. As the IFC sees it, it has more to do with the structural factors such as the availability of a qualified highly specialized labour force, the scope of the market, the quality of infrastructure, the degree of industrialization, and the volume of DFI. However, an examination of dynamic of economic reform over the decade suggests otherwise.

The direct and indirect costs of labour remain critical factors in the response of capital and structural adjustment measures adopted by virtually every regime in the region.

The dynamics of economic reform

The debt crisis of 1982, and the resulting shortage of investment capital, precipitated and exacerbated the conditions of a production crisis characterized by a pattern of recession, high

Table 2
Gross National Product per capita 1981-90 (US\$)

	1981	1986	1990	% growth
Argentina	2960	2380	2400	-22.4
Brazil	2030	1780	2680	32.0
Chile	2610	1330	1940	-25.7
Colombia	1330	1230	1260	-5.3
Mexico	3000	1890	2490	-17.0
Uruguay	3500	1740	2560	-26.9
Venezuela	4730	3580	2560	-45.9
Latin America	2140	1700	2140	—

Table 3
Income per capita, selected countries*
(1980 = 100)

	1970	1990
Argentina	91.3	77.2
Bolivia	88.0	76.8
Brazil	55.3	94.5
Chile	91.6	112.3
Colombia	74.3	117.5
Mexico	71.5	92.8
Peru	89.6	71.7
Venezuela	118.0	78.6
Latin America	73.6	91.1

* These eight countries represent over 85 percent of the region's population and GDP.

Source: CEPAL and the World Bank

Table 4
Exports as a proportion of gross national product (%)

	1970	1980	1990
Argentina	9.9	9.4	8.5
Brazil	8.6	8.3	12.5
Chile	11.5	18.2	26.2
Mexico	6.3	8.8	18.6
Venezuela	64.5	37.5	42.7
Latin America	17.1	12.8	19.0

Source: CEPAL

Table 5
Long-term capital account 1989 (US\$ million)

	Loans	DFI	Disbursements	Repayments	Net	External debt
Argentina	-453	1028	1079	1512	2189	64,745
Bolivia	187	-25	327	140	228	4,359
Peru	425	59	548	122	-848	19,876
Brazil	-1,983	782	1,010	3,034	5,018	111,303
Chile	677	259	1,516	838	645	18,241
Colombia	105	546	2,256	2,154	662	17,037
Mexico	-274	2,241	3,966	4,240	1,030	—
Venezuela	501	77	1239	738	288	33,144

levels of idle capacity and unemployment, falling rates of profit on invested capital (which could not be "realized" in the shrinking domestic market), and the compression of wages, a general decline in their value and purchasing power. These conditions were widespread throughout the region, especially in countries like Chile which had opened up its economy to the world market. In these countries, the economy shrank by as much as 15 percent (in case of Chile), leading to official rates of unemployment reaching and exceeding 26 percent and 25 percent in per capita income.⁶ However, these same conditions created the basis for various strategic responses by capital, attracted by the highly favourable conditions for investment created by neo-liberal policies.

The responses that were made can be traced out at three levels in the form of changes in the internal structure of capital, the internal structure of labour and the relation of capital to labour.

The restructuring of capital

The central dynamic of capitalist development, its revolutionary means of increasing productivity and restoring profitability, is the substitution of physical or constant capital for human labour or variable capital. In 1980s, the conditions for such an internal or technological restructuring of capital were created in other parts of capitalist world, at the centre of the global system, but with important (albeit marginal) adjustments to capitalist industries, particularly in the manufacturing sector of Latin America's largest economies. One indicator or "symptom" of this restructuring process (technological transformation) is the low level of labour absorption and high level of labour expulsion that characterized the "dynamic" (growing) sector of the region's manufacturing industries throughout the 1980s — a pattern reflected in the relative increase in the share of manufacturing in output and a decrease in its share of employment.⁷

The high level of unemployment associated with this restructuring of manufacturing capital—which has considerably shortened the transportation and communications circuits of the capitalist productive process (and thus reduced associated labour and other costs)—has been purposefully used by neo-liberal policy makers in Chile and elsewhere as a means of lowering the cost (to capital) of employed labour.⁸ The effective use of this mechanism, under a widespread policy regime of structural adjustment, is reflected in available statistics on the percentage share of wages in value added in manufacturing. On this crucial measure of labour exploitation, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, the three countries most often touted as a model of capitalist development, have among the most highly exploited working classes in the world. Worldwide (see table 7 for data on selected coun-

Table 6
Resource transfer in Latin America (US\$ billion)

	1981	1983	1985	1987	1989	1990	1991	1992
Net capital inflow	39.8	2.9	3.2	15.3	9.9	20.3	39.2	57.0
Net payments of profit / interest	28.5	34.5	35.4	31.4	37.9	34.7	30.8	29.6
Net transfer of resource	11.3	-31.6	-32.2	-16.1	-28.0	-14.4	8.4	27.4

Source : James Wilkie et al.eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, Los Angeles : Univ.of California Press, 1993, pp.776, 4-5.

Table 7
Earnings as a percentage of value added—manufacturing

	1967	1971	1975	1979	1983	1987	1989
Brazil	17.3	23.6	18.9	20.7	19.7	15.1	15.0
Chile	25.1	22.8	12.3	18.2	17.1	16.8	16.6
Mexico	44.0	42.7	39.1	34.7	23.8	19.8	19.8
Venezuela	30.1	30.0	27.3	28.5	31.6	26.8	24.2
Colombia	28.2	24.0	20.6	19.7	20.9	18.9	16.1
China						13.3	14.5
Canada					43.7	43.5	
United States						38.7	38.5

Source : World Bank World Development tables.

tries) only China has a higher rate of labour exploitation in the manufacturing sector. For the OECD countries, and even the cheap labour havens of East Asia, the average share of wages in income derived from value added production is twice the rate of that in the largest countries of Latin America. And a review of conditions in these countries suggests that labour costs have been purposefully depressed as an instrument of structural adjustment, a direct result of policy reform measures instituted in a process of adjustment to changes in the world economy (and in response to the dictates of the IMF and the Inter-American Development Bank, the institution that has assumed primary responsibility for ensuring compliance in the region with the "Washington consensus" on correct policy⁹).

There are several critical dimensions of this process of structural adjustment. One is the substitution of capital for labour, which generally speaking tends to lower the rate of exploitation, but increases the level of unemployment. Another is the depression of wages to or below the value of labour-power – a major mechanism for increasing the rate of exploitation – through an increase in the rate of unemployment, the weakening or destruction of labour organizations, or other such means. In the context of struc-

tural adjustment policies which, by the end of 1980s had been implemented by virtually every Latin American regime, the capital - labour relation was restructured in several other important ways, as were various economic, social, and political conditions of this relation.

One outcome of this restructuring, a direct impact of the structural adjustment policies adopted by Latin American regimes in the 1980s, is the notable increase of social inequalities (and gross inequities) in the ownership of land and other means of production, and in the distribution of income derived from economic activity. On the one pole, the mass of available capital in most countries in the region has been considerably expanded on the basis of government policies that have both reduced the share of labour in total income and generated huge pools of privately owned wealth and disposable income.

According to Forbes, the number of Latin American families whose personal fortunes were in excess of a billion dollars more than doubled from 1990 to 1991 (from eight to twenty).¹⁰ And as a result of the same policies (privatization, deregulation, etc.) much of this disposable income has been converted into capital and as such has become increasingly concentrated and central-

Table 8
Social cost indicators 1980-90 (1980 = 100)

	Consumption per capita		Average wages		Social expenditures	
	1985	1990	1985	1990	1985	1990
Argentina	78.2	71.1	107.2	76.2	71.8	82.3
Brazil	89.1	93.8	116.1	102.9	—	—
Chile	83.7	98.2	93.5	104.8	87.8	90.7
Mexico	95.6	93.1	75.9	77.9	103.1	59.5
Venezuela	88.4	80.9	75.7	41.5	92.9	95.9

Source : Patricia Meller, "Latin American adjustment and economic reforms", paper presented at conference on Economic Reforms in Market and Socialist Economies, Madrid, July 1992, p 28.

ized, and so made available for both productive and speculative investment.

At the other pole, more and more individuals and families have been marginalized and impoverished, proletarianized and subjected to variable but generally worsening conditions of wage labour (minimum or inadequate remuneration and the dramatic reduction or loss of "social wages" – benefits secured by the state that on average in the early 1980s added 20 percent to the wages paid directly out of capital). In addition to this class of wage labourers, which, it can be estimated, generally accounts for between 35 and 40 percent of the "economically active population" or labour force of most countries, there is a large and growing class of individuals who are compelled to work on their "own account". They eke out a precarious existence in the so called "informal sector" of the economy, on the margins of civil society. There are large numbers of individuals who are either dependent on those who are "economically active", do not participate in the formal labour force (and this applies particularly to women who in countries such as Chile and Brazil have a very low rate of labour

force participation – 50 percent of the US rate and two thirds of the rate in other countries such as Mexico and Peru), or are unemployed or underemployed. The unemployed make up a huge "industrial reserve army", a mass of surplus labourers subject to the dictates of capital – and to the conditions of widespread poverty. By recent estimates, poverty reaches into and afflicts 62 percent of all families, which is to say, the majority of working class families as well as many in the so-called "lower

middle class".¹¹ Some statistics on some conditions of this poverty, the most serious cost of neo-liberal policies, are given in table 8.

The restructuring of labour

The new inflow of capital (see table 5) for the most part is a

response to the expanded role of the state in socializing the private debt, creating opportunities for a quick killing on the sale of public assets and other "favourable conditions for foreign investment" created by neo-liberal policies in recipient countries. Without question (although certainly disputed) the major condition is cheap

MEXICO

The peso crisis is more than an accident in the currency markets. It marks the breakdown of a neo-liberal model that was characterized not only by its regressive social effects, but also quite simply by its economic incoherence.

Built-up monetary tensions led to a first mini-devaluation of the peso in the course of 1994, as well as rapid dwindling of the Bank of Mexico's reserves. At the end of 1993 the Bank had reserves of \$24 billion. The reserves fell to \$14 billion in the early December 1994. Then the authorities decided to let the peso fluctuate, and the system exploded. At the beginning of December, a dollar was worth 3.44 pesos. The exchange rate leaped to 6 pesos to the dollar before it came to 5 pesos to the dollar. The real exchange rate thereby returned to roughly the level of December 1987.

labour, produced through a variety of means, ranging from high unemployment, a measure is used effectively for four years

(1983-87) by the Chicago Boys in Chile, who had appreciated its useful role in securing an economic recovery from the earlier 1975 crisis; a judicious sequencing of monetary, wage and fiscal policy measures (devaluation, de-

CONSEQUENCES OF NEO-LIBERAL POLICIES

It was in December 1987 that the Mexican government launched its strong peso policy, fixing an exchange rate of about 3000 pesos to a dollar. (A new peso equals to 1000 old pesos has been created since then). This dollarization of the peso made it possible to break the vicious circle of devaluations and inflation that was beginning to get out of control, with an inflation rate of 160 percent in 1987. From this standpoint the policy was a success; inflation slowed down, dropping below 10 percent in 1994. But since inflation nonetheless remained higher in Mexico than in US, and the exchange rate was only adjusted very slightly, over the course of six years the peso became increasingly overvalued, eventually by roughly 60 percent.

This policy's second advantage was that it reduced Mexico's debt burden, beginning with burden of the domestic public debt. Thanks to inflation and a rising nominal interest rate, the interest that the Mexican government paid its domestic creditors had mushroomed, to the point that it amounted to 17 percent of Mexico's GDP! The slowing of inflation reduced this outflow of payments to 3 or 4 percent of GDP. The peso's effective overvaluation also reduced the burden of foreign debt, which was denominated in dollars.

But these advantages were increasingly outweighed by the second main aspect of the neo-liberal policies instituted in the mid-1980s: lowering of trade barriers. Here we can see to a certain extent the results of the debt that was piled up in a few years during the oil boom, which ended in a deep financial crisis in 1982. The decisive point is that Mexico consistently chose to pay the debt and bank on a privileged relationship with the US. This is why Mexico never took part in any of the united fronts of Latin American debtors countries, which first Fidel Castro and then Peruvian President Alan Garcia tried to set up.

indexation); cutting back and dismantling the social programmes that had secured for labour a social wage and various public services as well as protection from world pricing of wage goods; and, in a number of cases, a direct assault on the capacity of workers to organize and negotiate with capital.

The effectiveness of these and other "bold reforms" can be gauged by the changes wrought in the organizational capacity of labour in the region, as well as the social and economic conditions of its existence.

One of the most striking results of the decade of structural adjustment policies has been the weakening of the hitherto powerful and organized working class, formed and politically mobilized by several decades of struggle against capital in the context of an economic model (protectionism, import substitution, state intervention, social welfare) which subsequently has been discarded, even by the left as outmoded and largely responsible for Latin America's "economic problems". By the early 1990s, this once powerful working class in most countries was

but a shadow of its former self, with a clearly diminished level of organizational capacity and a general deterioration of its basic conditions of existence, particularly the value and purchasing power of wages. The available forms of employment are increasingly irregular and "nonstandard" in form (part time, temporary, subcontracting, piecework) as a means used capital to (1) increase its "flexibility" vis-a-vis labour in the organization of production; (2) eliminate the reproductive costs of margins.

The worsening of labour conditions is also reflected in various generally observed trends: a shift from national income from labour to capital (in the not atypical case of Chile from 64 percent in 1971 to 40 percent in 1992); the growing conversion of this income, at one pole, into capital and, at the other, its compression in the form of abysmally low legally prescribed minimum wages, which have been reduced everywhere to well below the value of labour power (in many countries less than 50 percent of a *canasta basico*, which constitutes the package of goods and services required to meet a family's basic needs); large and growing disparities in the distribution of wealth and income, with a spread of up to 800 to one at the extremes of income distribution, resulting in pockets

of considerable wealth and conditions of widespread and deepening poverty throughout the region.

Political responses to structural adjustment

The effectiveness of the structural adjustments instituted since 1985 (1975 in the case of Chile) can be gauged and measured not only in the terms of their differential impact on various classes, but in terms of the class-based political responses made to them.

PAYING THE DEBT

How could the debt be repaid while sustaining at least a minimal growth rate? There was oil of course: but the oil revenues were limited, and in fact basically covered interest payments on the debt. The only solution was to increase industrial exports to the US. This is why Mexico turned resolutely from the mid-1980s on to an export-based strategy. Mexico joined GATT in 1986 and began to liberalize its foreign trade as well as opening itself up for international investment. It would be completely wrong in this respect to consider NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and the US), which took effect on January 1, 1994, as the beginning of a new phase. It was rather the culminating moment of policies that had been carried out for several years.

We now have the benefit of sufficient hindsight to draw up an initial balance sheet of this type of experiment. The main mechanism that led to the current crisis is easily understood. Mexico's industrial exports did in fact grow spectacularly, but its imports virtually exploded, particularly because of the overvalued peso. While oil revenues covered the interest payments year in and year out, the widening trade gap quickly gave rise to extravagant deficits. By 1994 Mexico's balance of payments deficit had reached \$28 billion, amounting to roughly 7.5 percent of its GDP.

This largely predictable deficit was increased by the formation of reserves that were needed to measure international capital about the exchange rate. How then did the government envisage closing the gap? First, of all by going into debt. The 1990 Brady Plan had enabled Mexico to reduce and stabilize its public debt burden, but in the last several years the total debt again began increasing. It reached \$131 billion at the end of 1993, as compared to \$100 billion in 1988. Most of this increase can be attributed to the private sector and the banks: their debt had today reached \$47 billion and has once more surpassed the government's debt.

The other way in which Mexico's deficit was financed was the influx of foreign capital, which was attracted by privatizations, a stock exchange offering succulent interest rates, and the opportunity to move industry to a country with low-cost labour. All this worked for a while. But two major lessons should be drawn from the current crisis. First, the foreign capital Mexico attracted was largely speculative, unstable and volatile and could not constitute a stable source of financing. Besides, there are limits to the influx of genuine productive investment, and NAFTA did not stimulate enough industry to move south of the Rio Grande. In a time when some people are trying to blame low-wage countries for unemployment in Europe, this is an example worth considering. Even the favourable situation in the United States did not create the expected momentum.

The power blocks and dominant groups in the region's ruling classes have generally been supportive of SAPs, as have foreign investors and the international financial institutions which have sponsored them and secured their implementation. The high returns on recently invested capital in the region indicate that these classes have been the major beneficiaries of SAPs, together with the big bourgeoisie and the new class of entrepreneurs that have made their appearance all over the region, formed in many cases on the basis of the divestment by the state of public enterprises at bargain-basement prices and the deregulation of private activity.

In the 1980s, the leadership of many union federations and other working class organizations for the most part accommodated to government programs of stabilization and structural adjustment through the mechanism of *concertaciones*, tripartite pacts with capital and government. They entered into a new social contract with capital in the belief that they might be able to share the benefits of resumed growth, particularly in the privileged export sector, or, as in the case of Mexico, in order to shield prices, wages and exchange rates from free market forces.¹²

However, significant elements of the working class in many

countries have remained in opposition, which has been mounting and spreading throughout the region in response to the onslaught against labour. In Brazil, the opposition and resistance of organised labour to neo-liberalism led to the formation of the Worker's Party (PT). In the April 1994 elections in Argentina, the labour-supported united left front became the dominant elec-

many neo-liberal regimes on the defensive and forced them to make concessions to the opponents of SAPs resulting in the destitution of two presidents and strong pressures to oust another (Duran); the defeat of a proposed privatization program in Uruguay; a resurgence of electoral opposition and electoral prospects of left-leaning opposition parties (in Brazil, Colombia,

Table 9
1992 external debt in selected Latin American countries

	Debt(US\$b)	Per capita debt(US\$)	Debt/GDP(%)	Interest/exports(%)
Argentina	60.0	1,791	26	27.3
Bolivia	3.6	408	66	24.2
Brazil	135.0	888	17	21.6
Chile	19.1	1,417	52	11.1
Colombia	16.8	481	33	15.9
Ecuador	12.5	1,213	128	20.7
Mexico	121.0	1,344	36	19.2
Nicaragua	10.8	2,634	533	122.4
Peru	22.7	990	90	32.3
Uruguay	7.3	2,281	64	16.9
Venezuela	35.0	1,691	58	17.6

toral force in Buenos Aires, threatening the region's most radical experiment in free market policies. In Venezuela and elsewhere, working-class opposition to and action against neo-liberal government policies resulted in the ouster of the country's president and has strengthened the electoral position of parties on the left, rescuing them from oblivion and irrelevance. In Ecuador and Bolivia, concerted and combined actions of urban workers and indigenous organizations in resistance to government policies threaten the stability of the regime and its capacity to survive. In Mexico, an uprising of peasants in Chiapas against neo-liberal policies, in the context of NAFTA and long standing historic grievances, has seriously challenged one of the region's most powerful regimes and its neo-liberal project. Only in Chile, it would seem, and for understandable reasons (including the accommodation of the union federation leadership, and of many intellectuals and political parties, NGOs and even grassroots organizations, to the politics of democratic transition) has the working class remained quiescent, thoroughly disarmed and demobilized, within a framework of institutions and economic policies established under Pinochet but maintained by the current Democratic Alliance regime.¹³

Political opposition to SAPs has tended to form in the popular sector of civil society, particularly among grassroots community based organizations and social movements of the urban poor, women and indigenous peoples. In a growing number of countries such organizations have taken centre stage or, as in Chile from 1983 to 1986, assumed direction of political struggle against dominant neo-liberal policies. Since 1990 organizations and groups in the popular sector have mobilized opposition to neo-liberal policies in country after country. Often, as in Ecuador, these mobilizations have been coordinated with strikes and other actions by organised labour. Since 1989, the major federations of trade unions in Brazil, Bolivia and Ecuador have mobilized national strikes against the regimes' neo-liberal policies, coordinated with street protests, marches and large-scale mobilizations of indigenous peoples and organizations of working-class women.

Mass mobilizations and popular uprisings in these and other countries against structural adjustment measures have placed

Chile, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay and Argentina) ready to exploit the growing and widening cracks in the neo-liberal projects; the election in Costa Rica and Venezuela of presidents disposed to dance to the "populist songs" of opposition to the neo-liberal agenda (in the words of Michel Camdessus, head of IMF) and, like the politicians who met in Havana on July 20-24, 1993 at a conference of 112 left parties, to move from "denunciation to resistance, to concrete alternative proposals and action."

At a less organized level, the stabilization and austerity measures of SAPs have generated considerable social unrest and discontent in different countries, triggering sporadic political protests against the stabilization, austerity, and adjustment measures of the regime. In response to this discontent and its political potential, particularly in regards to the possibility that the underlying social forces could be mobilized into an effective social and protest movement, the IMF and the other IFIs, as of 1991, have reworked their structural adjustment packages to include protective and ameliorative measures, targeting the poor and designed to facilitate "governability" (defuse social discontent).

And, in support of these measures, virtually all governments in the region have instituted a New Social Policy and investment fund that is similarly targeted.¹⁴

This shared "new understanding",¹⁵ in part the product of a convergence of theoretical - and ideological - currents (neo-liberalism and neo-structuralism), is explicitly aimed at improving "governability" and defusing the social and political discontent brewing in many places across the region. In this regard recent events and the ongoing struggles and social movements in Chiapas are instructive. The Chiapas uprising was a clear response to the government's neo-liberal policies, instituted in the context of NAFTA,¹⁶ as well as a testament to the regime's failure in using its new social investment fund and policy (Solidaridad) as designed (to the purpose of heading off discontent among the poor, as well as trading community-directed funds for electoral support). The conditions of this failure need further study but they include a particularly reactionary state governor at odds with the Solidaridad bureaucracy's half-hearted efforts to channel funds to groups independent of the PRI-dominated

IS DEVALUATION THE ANSWER ?

Politics and economics are always closely connected, and this particularly true in Mexico now. The Zapatista uprising and the violent crisis inside the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) have evidently cast shadows over the business world and undermined the confidence necessary to attract capital. But it would be mistaken to consider these as exogenous factors, accidents as it were. The deeper meaning of this crisis is that, even from a strictly economic viewpoint, the neo-liberal model has only a limited viability in the middle or long term. Any serious observer, such as the US economist Dornbusch, could easily reach the conclusion that sooner or later the pesos would have to be devalued.

This devaluation nonetheless fails to resolve anything, since the root cause of the problems is the dissymmetry between a dependent country like Mexico and a partner like US. Putting the two in direct competition with one another tears both economies limb from limb, and is almost mathematically guaranteed to end in a terrible trade crisis.

Whatever Mexico succeeds in selling is bound to increase in price more slowly than what it has to buy.

The factors contributing to economic and financial crisis are obviously compounded by the social calamities associated with free trade. Free trade in fact brings about greater social polarization and an extraordinary concentrated distribution of wealth, which leads to social crisis (Chiapas as well as political crisis (settling of scores within the PRI). This model is crumbling and will continue to crumble for a long time, since there is no immediately available economic or political alternative. Nothing in the neo-liberal arsenal—neither the doling out of funds by the US and IMF, nor the doubling of the interest rates—will stop massive capital flight, which has only just begun. The corresponding massive economic adjustments will of course be made at the cost of still worse austerity measures. This full-scale neo-liberal bloodbath will transform the whole of the Mexican social and political landscape. It will give the world a tragic lesson about the virtues of neo-liberalism, which Mexico has been scrupulously applying for the last ten years.

The crisis puts a radical popular programme on Mexico's agenda, based on a refusal to pay the bill again for a lunatic policy: a policy that only benefited the privileged strata, the dollar-snatchers who are now carefully stowing away their takings in the United States.

---Michel Husson (originally published in French in *Tlalticpac* no.4, Feb. 1995)

local caciques and their organizations. Even though Chiapas had been a priority area for the federal government, which tripled its share of Solidaridad funds from 1990 to 1993, very little actually went to the indigenous peasants whose fragile economy has been devastated by neo-liberal policies and NAFTA.

However, the EZLN and its directorate, the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee, clearly were (and remain) very conscious of the government's accommodationist strategy and appear to be prepared to resist it. In the context of recent events, which were precipitated by the EZLN in advance of a co-ordinated anti-government strategy pursued by a broad coalition of popular forces, the political lessons of this failure are being drawn and will no doubt be addressed by both the Mexican and the other neo-liberal regimes in the regions, together with the US and IFIs that remain committed to ensuring that governments in the region stick to what the IMF, the Inter-American Development Bank and other IFI's present as "the right road" (privatization, austerity measures, etc.) and resist the populist sirens of SAP opponents.

Capital flows, debts, and development

Notwithstanding the hopeful prognosis and euphoria in government and financial circles, and in both academia and the "quality" press, it is clear enough that the observed economic recovery in Latin America cannot be sustained. For one thing the capital used to finance and support this recovery to a large extent is unproductive in form, seeking short-term returns through high rates of interest or investments in one-shot opportunities provided by large-scale privatization of public assets, as in the case of Mexico, the recipient of over 50 percent of all direct for-

eign investment in 1992. Secondly, the unprecedented level of new capital inflows, which are higher even than in the years leading up to the 1982 crisis, does not balance the equally massive outflow of capital in the form of debt interest payments, which in 1992 totalled \$62 billion well in excess of total capital inflow.¹⁷

The proponents of a new era of prosperity for Latin America generally argue or assume that the debt crisis of the 1980s is over, debts having been reduced to manageable proportions. However, this optimistic view would seem to be quite unwarranted. At the end of 1992, the external debt for the region still stood at \$465 billion, and showed no signs of decreasing. On the contrary the critical dimension of this debt for the relation of interest payments to GDP and to export earnings, which determines the capacity to service a country's debt. In this regard, the first sign of danger, according to the World Bank, is when debt exceeds the "safety level" that it has established: 50 percent of GDP. Table 9 shows that seven countries in the region, including Chile, widely touted as a model of successful adjustment, are in fact in this situation.

A more complete picture emerges when we take into account the capacity of each country to "service" its external debt, which unlike in 1982, is predominantly held by other governments and international financial institutions rather than commercial banks. In the current context, six of the 11 countries that remain heavily indebted (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Nicaragua) have to deploy more than 20 percent of export earnings in debt service. In case of Argentina, in 1992, the total public debt of \$60 billion represented \$1791 on a per-capita basis (and this excludes the rapidly growing "private" debt); 26 percent in relation to GDP; and 27.3 percent as a relation of

interest to export earnings. Menem's government has agreed to a Brady Plan restructuring of the debt (spreading its costs over the next decade and beyond), but it is estimated that in the course of 1993 the debt will increase to over US \$2500 per capita.

Another part of the picture is the re-emergence in many countries of a deficit on their current accounts, which earlier had been balanced on the basis of a rapid increase of exports relative to imports. However, there are clear indications that the growth of exports will not be sustained. In the not atypical case of Chile, the exceptionally favourable world market conditions for its exports over much of the 1970s and 1980s disappeared in 1993, an increase of 6 percent in volume yielding a 2 percent decline in revenues.

In other countries, including Mexico, the stellar performer on the neo-liberal stage until the 1994 peso crisis, prospects for the growth of output and exports are equally uncertain or insecure. In 1993 the entire region experienced a deficit of \$11 billion on its trade account, and if it were not for Brazil's large surplus (\$16 billion) it would have been much larger. At the same time the region's current account deficit's doubled to \$35 billion (\$42 billion according to CEPAL).¹⁸ Under such conditions, even the comparative advantages of a super-exploited and oppressed labour force will not sustain the inflow of foreign investments or an adequate rate of capital formation, which, in the case of Chile, in 1993 reached an unprecedented level of 27 percent of the GDP (compared to a regional average of below 17 percent, the same as in the US from 1988 to 1993, versus 35 percent for Japan over the same period).¹⁹

This relatively high level of physical capital formation is based on an equally high rate of exploitation by capital of labour, which is in part reflected in the low purchasing power of wages in so many countries. In some countries like Argentina, the latest post-1989 round of orthodox structural adjustment measures is leading to further declines in the value of labour power and the purchasing power of wages. This is reflected in a recent UNICEF study that showed over the past ten years of structural adjustment in Argentina a decline in the population born into poverty but a 238 percent increase in those impoverished by measures affecting the purchasing power of wages, resulting in a dramatic growth in the numbers of the poor, increasing their proportion of the total population from 20 percent to 35 percent.

However, with over 60 percent of the population in the region currently living in poverty—apparently the Christian Democratic regime in Chile has managed to marginally reduce the proportion if not the numbers of peoples living in poverty—the possibilities of increasing or even maintaining current rates of exploitation are very limited. Unless current rates of capital formation can be substantially increased, and technical (non-social) means of increasing productivity can be secured, the costs

and the problems of structural adjustment, as CEPAL has suggested, will not be "transitional"—admittedly longer-term than originally visualized by the ideologues of neo-liberal economic policies—but will become endemic, and continue to generate social discontent, social protests and insurrectionary movements.

- 1 The Economist, 18 Apr. 1993, p.21.
- 2 Helio Jaguaribe, Brasil: Reforma ou Caos, Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1991, p.57.
- 3 The five biggest recipients of new capital (Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela) managed to "repartriate" \$ 10.5 billion in the years 1989-90 in contrast to the \$ 7.9 billion lost in capital flight in the previous two years (Griffith Jones, S.A. Marr and A. Rodriguez, "El-retorne de capital a America Latina", Comercio Exterior vol.43 no. 1, Jan. 1993, p.43).
- 4 Griffith Jones et al., op.cit.
- 5 The Inter-American Development Bank estimates the influx of capital at \$ 60 billion while CEPAL estimates it at \$50 billion (Latin American Weekly Report, 1993, no.43, p.511)
- 6 On these conditions see Fernando Leiva and James Petras, with Henry Veltmeyer, Democracy and Poverty in Chile, West-view Press, 1994.
- 7 This pattern (growth of output, decline in relative employment share) is well established and at a general level reflects higher productivity rates in manufacturing. Taking the gap between production and employment shares as a measure of relative productivity, the structure of manufacturing production (and productivity) varies considerably from country to country. For example, the ratio between manufacturing out-put (as a percentage of GNP) and manufacturing employment (as a percentage of the labour force) in Chile is 5.7; in Mexico, 3.7; in Argentina, 6.7; and in Bolivia, 2.2.
- 8 On this point re Chile see Alejandro Santuantes, "Effects of the adjustment policies on the agriculture and forestry sector", CEPAL Review no.3, Dec. 1987, p. 123.
- 9 J. Williamson ed., Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?, Washington DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990.
- 10 Forbes, July 20, 1992; see James Petras, "Sprouting billionaires..." in Beyond Neo-Liberalism in Latin America, Halifax: Fernwood Books, 1993.
- 11 ECLAC and UNDP data and estimates presented at regional conferences on poverty held in Quito (1990) and Santiago (1992), cited in Latin America Special Report no. 25, Oct. 1992.
- 12 On this process see Central Unica dos Trabalhadores, Negociacao ou Pacto Social, Sao Paulo: CUT, 1993, for a brief summary on different experiences in the region.
- 13 See Leiva and Petras, op.cit.
- 14 On this New Social Policy in Latin America see inter alia various studies in Mario Torres ed., Research on Social Policy: Proposals for a Future Agenda, IDRC, July 1993.
- 15 On this "new understanding" see the IMF, Finance & Development, Dec. 1991.
- 16 On this point see the ELZN Manifesto, discussion of it by the State Council of 280 Indigenous and Peasant Organizations that has emerged in the wake of the uprising, and the Final Declaration of the Congress of Indigenous Peoples held in Lima in February 1994.
- 17 These figures are given in AL Dia no. 89, Oct. 1993. There is some discrepancy in various official calculations of in and outflows of capital.
- 18 Latinamerica Press no. 43, 1993, p.511.
- 19 AL Dia no. 89, Oct. 1993.

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25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY - III

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

SURYAVARMAN II (d.c.1150)

Suryavarman II, Cambodian king, was outstanding among rulers of the ancient Khmer kingdom. He was renowned as a religious reformer and temple builder, under his rule the temple of Angkor Wat was constructed.

Suryavarman defeated rival claimants to the throne, and established sole rule over Cambodia by 1113, reuniting the country after more than 50 years of unrest. Warlike and ambitious, he expanded the limits of Cambodia to include much of what is Thailand; his kingdom spread as far west as the frontiers of the Burmese state of Pagan, South to the coast of the gulf of Thailand, and east to the kingdom of Champa in the southern part of what is now Vietnam. Khmer holdings also included part of the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

Suryavarman was formally crowned in 1119, with his guru the powerful priest Divakara-pandita, presiding. The king was a religious reformer who blended the mystical cults of Visnu (Vishnu) and Siva, supreme Hindu deities, and promulgated Vaisnavism as the official religion, rather than Buddhism, which had briefly flourished under his predecessors. Angkor Wat, dedicated to Visnu, was begun in the early years of Suryavarman's reign and was not finished until after his death. The building is decorated with sculptures portraying Suryavarman as Visnu.

In 1116 Suryavarman became the first Khmer king since the 9th century to resume diplomatic relations with the Chinese, who officially recognised his kingdom as their vassal in 1128. By

sending tribute to China, he acquired a dangerous ally against neighbouring Southeast Asian kingdoms and ensured that China would not interfere in Khmer domestic affairs.

In 1123 he began a series of unsuccessful campaigns which lasted until 1136, against Dai Viet, the Vietnamese kingdom which had asserted its independence from China in 939. He attempted a land attack through Savannakhet, Laos to Nghe An in 1128 and met with defeat. A few months later, Suryavarman's naval fleet of 700 junks

ANGKOR WAT TEMPLES DEDICATED TO VAISNAVISM

Suryavarman was formally crowned in 1119, with his guru the powerful priest Divakara-pandita, presiding. The king was a religious reformer who blended the mystical cults of Visnu (Vishnu) and Siva, supreme Hindu deities, and promulgated Vaisnavism as the official religion, rather than Buddhism, which had briefly flourished under his predecessors. Angkor Wat, dedicated to Visnu, was begun in the early years of Suryavarman's reign and was not finished until after his death. The building is decorated with sculptures portraying Suryavarman as Visnu.

began a long harassment along the coast in the Gulf of Tonkin. Suryavarman coerced the kingdom of Champa to assist him in these efforts, but in 1136 the Cham king, Jaya Indravarman III defeated and made an alliance with the Vietnamese.

Suryavarman deposed the Cham king in 1144 and annexed Champa in the following year. The Chams resisted and found a new leader in King Jaya Harivarman I, who defeated Khmer troops in a decisive battle at Chakling, near Phan Rang, in what is now Vietnam. Suryavarman put his brother-in-law Harideva, on the Cham throne, but Jaya Harivarman I deposed him and reclaimed that throne. In 1150 Suryavarman died in the midst of a new campaign against

Champa, which eventually ravaged Angkor. After Suryavarman's death Cambodia was overcome by civil war that lasted 30 years. (*Ency. Brit. Micro*, 1983 edn., Vol 9, p.696)

AHUITZOTL, 8th AZTEC (r. 1486 - 1502)

Aztecs were one of the most important Indian groups of the new world. The word Aztec is derived from Aztlan ('white land'), where according to the Aztec traditions, their tribe originated. Aztlan is probably a general reference to the northwestern mountainous region of Mexico.

Throughout a century (from the beginning of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th), the Aztecs wandered about in search of a new place to settle.

The swamp-surrounded island on which the Aztecs were forced to take refuge was so uninviting that none of the powers in the Valley of Mexico had claimed it. Tenochtitlan was thus located at the edge of the lands occupied by the valley's three powers: the Chichimecs of Texcoco, the Toltecs of Culhuacan and the

Tepanecs of Azcapotzalco. It was not long before the Aztecs used their strategic position to advantage, placing their forces at the service of the Tepanecs, who proclaimed themselves heirs to the pre-Toltec civilization of Teotihuacan and who were emerging as the strongest power in the valley. It was as mercenaries and tribute-payers in the service of Azcapotzalco that the first three Aztec kings (Acamapichitli, Huitzilihuitl and Chimalpopoca) waged war

against Culhuacan and Texcoco, thereby helping to establish the supremacy of the Tepanec King Tezozomoc.

In this way, the tribe began its apprenticeship as empire builders. Meanwhile, the city of Tenochtitlan and the Aztecs were becoming prosperous through trade and the spoils of war.

During the reign of Itzcoatl, the fourth Aztec king (1427-40), a century after the founding of Tenochtitlan, dynastic differences were dividing the Tepanecs.

The Aztecs allied themselves with the Tepanecs' enemies. With the defeat of the Tepanecs, hegemony over the Valley of Mexico was established by Tenochtitlan and Texcoco.

Mexican expansion was under way.

As the military leaders of the triple alliance, the Aztecs consolidated their domination over the Valley of Mexico and over neighbouring areas in what are now the states of Morelos and Mexico. Under Huehue Montezuma (Montezuma I), the fifth Aztec king (1440-69), the conquests were extended to the modern states of Guerrero, Hidalgo, Puebla, and Oaxaca, and, in another series of campaigns, to the Veracruz coast on the Gulf of Mexico. Montezuma seems to have been a strong military leader and a weak political organiser.

Ahuitzotl, another great military leader and eighth king of the Aztecs (1486-1502), gave new impetus to Mexican expansion. His people not only consolidated their former territorial gains but extended their domain along the Pacific coast, from the mouth of the Balsas river to the present-day border between Mexico and Guatemala, and along the Gulf of Mexico, from the Tuxpan river to what is now the state of Tabasco.

Ahuitzotl's success as a military leader was substantial.

His campaigns seem to have been aimed at extending the empire and at acquiring booty and tribute. The task of attempting to organize the empire along lines other than mere Aztec military strength and Ahuitzotl-type terrorism was left to Montezuma Xocoyotzin (Montezuma II, q.v.), the ninth Aztec king (1502-20). It was the reign of this second Moctezuma that produced the codices in which Aztec officials

recorded the organisation of the empire into provinces and the payment of tribute according to the production of each region. A gigantic political, military and religious bureaucracy was built up, with governors, tax collectors, courts of justice, military garrisons, mail and messenger services, etc. Despite their feverish efforts at political organisation, the Aztecs still had the strength to subjugate their allies, Texcoco and Tacuba, and to undertake new campaigns. It is extremely probable that in this period Aztec troops pushed as far as Central America. (*Ency. Brit.*, Macro, 1983 edn., Vol.2, pp. 937-938)

T'ANG T'AI TSUNG (600-649 AD)

The second emperor and real founder of the Tang dynasty, which ruled China from AD 618 to 907, was Li Shih-min, whose posthumous title was T'ang T'ai Tsung (Pin-yin romanization Tang Tai Zong). The new dynasty proved long and enduring and became the model for its successors down to modern times. This continuity was largely the work of T'ai Tsung, who was as

competent as an administrator and ruler as he was triumphant as a general. His achievement was to re-found the united Chinese Empire on a basis that endured under successive dynasties for more than 1,000 years.

The second son of Li Yuan, a military governor under the Sui dynasty, T'ai Tsung was born in 600 a member of an aristocratic family of Chinese and Tatar descent. As early as 618 he instigated the revolt of his father against the failing Sui dynasty and then led the armies of the new T'ang regime to complete victory over 11 rivals. In 626 he succeeded his father as emperor and reigned until his death in 649. China had been divided into two rival

empires, north and south, Tatar and Chinese, for 272 years until reunited in 590 by the short-lived Sui dynasty. The new unity collapsed under the second Sui emperor Yang Ti; and it was in the ensuing anarchy that the future T'ai Tsung, in a series of brilliant campaigns, established the T'ang dynasty and restored the unity of the Chinese empire.

The restoration of unity was a considerable feat of arms. At the fall of the Sui dynasty almost all the provinces set up separate regimes, that were in conflict with each other and that aimed, individually, to win supreme mastery of the empire. The south seceded under a claimant of a former southern dynasty. The Turks, meanwhile, then the dominant tribe among the nomads beyond the Great Wall (extending from the Yellow Sea roughly west to Central Asia), raided China, set up their own

puppet emperors in border regions, and planned more massive invasions.

In the six years between 618 and 624 T'ai Tsung defeated all rivals and repelled the Turks. The south was reconquered. Many of the contesting leaders fought to death, though some joined the T'ang and obtained rank and title. The unity of the empire was popular with the mass of the people, for it alone ensured peace and absence of internal strife. But T'ai Tsung was less skilful at court intrigue. He provoked the jealousy of his less distinguished elder brother, the crown prince Chien-Ch'eng, who intrigued to have T'ai Tsung dismissed from his command and plotted to assassinate him. T'ai Tsung, supported by his generals and advisors, forestalled the attempt and ambushed his brother and followers at the palace gate, shooting them down with arrows. His father abdicated, but this violent solution to a political problem was copied in later generations, proving detrimental to governmental stability. T'ai Tsung also failed to find a suitable son as successor, being bound by custom and political pressure

NEW IMPETUS TO MEXICAN EXPANSION UNDER AHUITZOTL

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to choose as one born to the senior empress, not to any concubine. His first choice, the crown prince Ch'eng-ch'ien, proved to have an unstable character; he plotted against his father and had to be demoted. The second choice, Prince Chih, was docile, weak, and incapable, becoming after T'ai T'sung's death, as Emperor Kao Tsung, the instrument of the ambitious and capable empress, Wu Tse T'ien.

As a ruler T'ai Tsung was eminently successful. His authority was never disputed, and his reforms reinvigorated and transformed old institutions. **The system of public examinations for the civil service was among the most important of his innovations; in time, it transformed the Chinese governing class from a dominant aristocracy to a bureaucracy recruited from a much wider field of literate gentry.** This was indeed T'ai Tsung's purpose: to end the contests of aristocratic families, such as his own which had made the period of division between north and south one of incessant dynastic instability. The army was converted from levies raised by great aristocrats into a professional army, stationed on the frontiers and commanded by officers who had no eminent social background. Hence it was a stabilizing influence in the earlier T'ang period and remained the model system for later ages. T'ai Tsung also promoted education, setting up a state college, which might be called a university,

to train future scholars for the civil service. His thorough administration included reorganisation of provincial government, finance, taxation and land tenure. **The governments of the T'ang empire was then the most developed and most sophisticated system anywhere in the world.**

Posterity, has hailed T'ai Tsung as the greatest emperor to occupy the Chinese throne. His career was certainly a most formative influence on later Chinese history and civilization. An accomplished patron of learning, he personally edited the history of the divisions between the north and the south, and his calligraphy, an art much esteemed in China, has been recorded on stone inscriptions and used as a model in schools for more than 1000 years. The middle T'ang period, the 8th century, is regarded as one of the ages of highest cultural achievement in Chinese history, and the conditions for this development were created by the political stability and reforms established under T'ang T'ai T'sung.

T'ANG HSUAN TSUNG (685-762 AD)

Under Hsuan Tsung (in Pin-yin romanization Tsang Xuan Zung), the sixth emperor of the Tang dynasty, the T'ang reached the zenith of their power and the peak of their culture. Hsuan

Tsung ascended the throne in 712 under the nominal regency of his father, Tui Tsung; he achieved full power in 713 and abdicated in 756.

Hsuan Tsung, whose personal name was Si Sung-chi, was the third son of Tui Tsung by his empress nie Tou. He was born in To-yang in 685, during a period when actual power was entirely in the hands of the Empress Wu, although his father was nominal emperor. Hsuan Tsung survived purges in the 680s and the early 690s, living with his father in strict seclusion, while many of the T'ang imperial family were killed. Enfeoffed as prince

of Ch'u in 687, he was re-enfeoffed as prince of Lin-tz'u in 693 after Empress Wu's usurpation of the throne. Toward the end of her reign he was appointed an officer in the Imperial Guard of the Right and to an office in the Imperial Household department. On the restoration to the throne in 705 of his uncle Chung Tsung, he became vice-president of the Court of Imperial Insignia, which controlled the arsenals of the capital. Although these posts were probably ceremonial, they gave him influence over the Imperial guards and palace armies.

In 710 Chung Tsung was poisoned by his domineering empress Wei, who appointed a 15-year-old puppet to the throne, intending to rule herself. This plan was thwarted by a coup led by the princess

T'ai-p'ing, daughter of Empress Wu and sister of Jui T'sung. The empress Wei was killed, the puppet emperor deposed, and Jui Tsung restored to the throne. As a result of Hsuan Tsung's key role in this coup, he was appointed heir apparent.

Gradually, the court divided in factions around the princess T'ai-p'ing, who wished to continue a system of corrupt patronage, and Hsuan Tsung, who had instituted various administrative reforms. In 712 Jui Tsung abdicated in favour of Hsuan Tsung but, at T'ai-p'ing's urging, remained "Supreme Emperor", a sort of regent with control over appointments to high offices, which were filled with the Princess' supporters. The struggle between Hsuan T'sung and his aunt was intensified. In 713 she planned yet another coup, but this was forestalled by Hsuan Tsung, and she committed suicide. Hsuan Tsung then assumed full authority as emperor, and his father retired into seclusion.

Hsuan Tsung's reign began well. He carried out a sweeping reform of the bureaucracy, which had become vastly inflated by great numbers of nominal and supernumerary officials, many of whom had been appointed by patronage and many more by open purchase of their posts. Some stability was regained, and the normal channels of authority, which had fallen into disorder under empress Wu, were restored. The purchase of office was

T'SANG T'AI TSUNG FOUNDER OF THE MOST SOPHISTICATED SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

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restricted. The numbers of Buddhist clergy and monasteries were reduced, and irregular ordinations, carried out to evade tax and civil responsibility, were severely restricted. Some financial reforms were effected and the canal system, upon which the capital at Ch'ang-an relied and which had fallen into decay while Empress Wu resided in Lo-yang was restored to action. Successful campaigns were waged against the Tibetans, the Turks and the Khitan. During this early stage of Hsuan Tsung's reign, which lasted until 721, the court continued to be dominated by the examination-recruited ministers who had served the empress Wu, Chung Tsung, and Jui Tsung. The authority of the throne, the efficient functioning of the regular bureaucracy, and the finances of the state were largely restored. Moreover, the members of the Imperial clan were gradually excluded from any effective political role, while the power of the palace officials and members of consort families was strictly limited to avoid any further palace coups.

A period of wide-ranging reforms in administration began in 720. The aristocratic faction had its chief centres of power in the censorate, which was in general control of the functioning of the bureaucracy, and in the various new irregularly established commissions that implemented a series of sweeping financial reforms. The population was effectively reregistered, bringing vast numbers of taxpayers onto the roll and a sharp increase in revenue; the coinage was improved, and the transportation system was reformed so effectively that the Emperor no longer had to move the court between Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang periodically to avoid famine. The empire's revenues increased, enabling the emperor to establish along the northern frontiers an ever-growing permanent military establishment (by the end of his reign numbering 600,000 men), without overburdening the population. The political influence of these financial experts grew even greater in the later part of Hsuan Tsung's reign, and after 737, Li Lin-fu, chief representative of the aristocratic interest, became virtual dictator and the aristocratic party was firmly entrenched in power. Moreover, after 737, the vast regional commands established earlier in the reign to control the northern border and to provide a necessary network of strategic command, now began to develop widespread powers in other fields and to acquire territorial authority. By the late 740s, some of these generals had grown immensely powerful and began to intervene in court politics. Most important of them was Li Lin-fu's protégé An Tu-Shan, who controlled the northeast and had an army of 180,000 troops. The central government had no armies under its own command to rival the forces of these military governors.

Meanwhile, Hsuan Tsung, always a great patron of the arts --he had founded Imperial music academies to provide court musicians and patronized poets, painters, and writers -- he now became deeply involved in the study of Taoism, from whose founder the T'ang royal house claimed to be descended.

He also began to suffer from problems. Hsuan Tsung had produced 59 children, of whom 48 survived to maturity. Many of

these had been married into great aristocratic families, thus helping to cement the authority of the latter. The Emperor kept very strict control over his children and their innumerable descendents, but he nevertheless came under the influence of at least two of his many consorts. The first was Wu Hui-fei, who had great influence from the early 720s until her death in 737; she was influential in the rise of Li Lin-fu, and shortly before her death she was involved in an incident that resulted in the death of the crown prince and three other princes who stood in the way of her own eldest son's becoming heir to the throne.

The Emperor also came under the influence of another favourite, the consort Yang Kuei-fei, who was originally the wife of his own son Li Mao but who had been taken into the Imperial harem. During the later years of his reign, Hsuan Tsung was completely infatuated with her and heaped honours on members of her family. One of these relatives, her cousin Yang

Kuo-Chung rose rapidly to rival even Li Lin-fu in power and, on the latter's death in 752, replaced him as the dominant chief minister. There had already been some tension between Yang Kuo-Chung and An Lu-Shan. With the removal of his patron at court, and the increasing hostility of Yang Kuo-Chung, An Lu-Shan began building up his provincial power base in readiness for an armed confrontation. This began at the end of 755. An Lu-Shan's forces swiftly struck into the northeastern provinces and by the summer of 756, they were approaching Ch'ang-an. Hsuan Tsung, accompanied only by a small group of intimate courtiers, Yang Kuei-fei, and a few troops, fled to take refuge in Szechwan, the power base of the Yang clan. They had reached Ma-wei when the soldiers mutinied, killed Yang Kuo-chung, and forced Hsuan Tsung to have Yang Kuei-fei killed.

Shortly afterwards, the heir apparent, who had fled separately to Ling-wu, west of the capital, proclaimed himself emperor. Hsuan Tsung, who heard of this only some time after it had occurred, acquiesced and abdicated formally in his favour. He lived in retirement until his death in 762.

Hsuan Tsung's reign was a period of internal stability, good government, and prosperity, an era of confidence during which real progress was made in every field. The sudden end of this period not only changed the political system completely but it was also a dramatic, traumatic experience for the men of the time. In the next decade the confident pride of Hsuan Tsung's age was replaced by self-questioning, by withdrawal from public affairs, and by a new spirit of social and political criticism. (*Ency. Britannica*, Macro, 1983 ed; Vol. 17, pp. 1016-19)

JAYAVARMAN VII

Jayavarman VII, one of the most forceful and productive kings of the ancient Khmer (Cambodian) Empire of Angkor, expanded the empire to its greatest extent and was noted for the magnitude and frenzy of his building activities. He ruled from 1181 to c.1215 (possibly as late as 1219).

Jayavarman was born in c.1120 (possibly as late as 1125). A member of the royal family, he married a very religious and

WIDE-RANGING REFORMS BY T'ANG HSUAN TSUNG

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strong-minded princess named Jayarajadevi, who exerted an important influence on him, both before he gained the throne and during the early years of his reign. Following her death he married her older sister, a pious and learned woman whom he had previously installed as the head professor in an important Buddhist monastery.

Though practically nothing is known of Jayavarman's childhood and youth, it is clear that during his late 30s and early 40s he settled in the neighbouring kingdom of Champa, in what is now the central region of Vietnam. At the time of death of his father, King Dharanindravarman II (ruled 1150-60), Jayavarman was engaged in a military campaign in Champa; and after the accession of his brother (or possibly his cousin), Yasovarman II (ruled 1160-66), he chose to remain there, returning to Cambodia only when he received word that a palace rebellion was in progress. Although Jayavarman arrived at Angkor too late to prevent the murder of Yasovarman and the accession of the rebel Tribhuvanadityavarman (ruled 1166-77), he decided to remain in his homeland and to await an opportunity to assert his own claim to the throne.

Some 12 years later, when Jayavarman was in his late 50's, that opportunity came as a result of a Cham invasion, which brought about the demise of Tribhuvanadityavarman, the sacking of Angkor, and its subjection to foreign rule. In this situation Jayavarman organised a struggle for independence and in less than five years' time succeeded in driving out the invaders and establishing his hegemony over all his Cambodian rivals. Finally in 1181, at the age of 61, he was crowned king of a reconstituted Khmer Empire and began a brilliant reign of more than 30 years, during which he brought the empire to its zenith, both in terms of territorial expansion and of royal architecture and construction.

During his reign, Jayavarman continued his military activities, bringing Champa, southern Laos, and portions of the Malay Peninsula and Burma under his control. But increasingly he devoted his energies and organizational capacities to the kind of religious and religio-political construction projects that had been carried on by his royal predecessors. He built a large number of awesome new temples, including the Bayon, a distinctively Mahayana Buddhist central pyramid temple designed to serve as the primary locus of the royal cult and also as his own personal mausoleum; personal funerary temples of the Mahayana type, which were dedicated to his mother and father; and a series of provincial temples, which housed reduced replicas of the Royal Buddhas - i.e; Jayavarman

represented with the attributes of the Buddha, the original of which had been set up in the Bayon. He rebuilt the city of Angkor, now known as Angkor Thom, and rebuilt and extended the system of highways, which radiated outward from the Bayon and the royal palace and reached far into the provinces. In addition, he constructed more than 100 rest houses along these roads and built more than 100 hospitals, which he dispersed throughout his kingdom and placed under the protection of Baisajyaguru Vaiduryaprabha, the Great Buddha of Healing.

**RESURRECTION OF JAYAVARMAN VII AS
A NATIONAL HERO UNDER
PRINCE SIHANOUK**

In recent Cambodian political rhetoric, particularly during the 1950's and 1960's (the period dominated by Prince Sihanouk), Jayavarman VII became a kind of paradigmatic national hero, who was credited not only with establishing the full greatness of the Cambodian nation but also with bringing into being a welfare state that was motivated by Buddhism and dedicated to serving both the spiritual and physical, needs of the Cambodian people.

Jayavarman seems to have been obsessed with the need for rapid and extensive construction. For example, the less than careful workmanship evident in the temple attributed to Jayavarman's reign vividly points to the great haste with which they were built. Some scholars have suggested that the almost frantic sense of urgency associated with Jayavarman's works derived from the fact that, having begun his reign at relatively advanced age, he felt that his time was short and had to be utilized to the fullest. Others have suggested that Jayavarman's concern to carry through such a vast program of largely Buddhist-oriented construction was greatly encouraged

by Jayarajadevi and her sister, both of whom dedicated a tremendous amount of energy toward gaining support for Buddhism and specifically for building Buddhist temples. And finally, if scholars are correct in their surmise that Jayavarman suffered from the dread disease of leprosy, his concern to mitigate his sin and suffering through the accumulation of great merit may have given a still further impetus to his piety and zealotness. Whatever his true motivations, Jayavarman succeeded during his lifetime in creating a legacy that few monarchs in history (Khmer or otherwise) have been able to equal; he was over 90 when he died.

Despite the importance of Jayavarman VII in the history of the Angkor kingdom, no memory of him was preserved in the later Cambodian chronicles. In recent Cambodian political rhetoric, particularly during the 1950's and 1960's (the period dominated by Prince Sihanouk), Jayavarman VII became a kind of paradigmatic national hero, who was credited not only with establishing the full greatness of the Cambodian nation but also with bringing into being a welfare state that was motivated by Buddhism and dedicated to serving both the spiritual and physical, needs of the Cambodian people. [Ency.Britannica; Macro, 1983 ed, Vol.10, pp.118 -19.]

THE MYTHS OF GLOBALISATION

Vikas Adhyayan Kendra

COMMENT

We live in an era of widespread economic insecurity brought about by profound changes in trade, finance and technology, the result of the so-called *globalisation* process, a term widely bandied about today. The term has now acquired several meanings among academics, media, multilateral lending institutions, and representatives of business and economy. It is a core dictum in the prescriptions of management

pundits and a catch phrase for politicians of every stripe. An OECD publication credits the term to Theodore Levitt who first used it in 1985 in his book *"The Globalisation of Markets"*. Since then the use of the term has increased enormously subsequently getting linked to the Convergence/Divergence debate. It is often confused by the other but unrelated expression, "internationalisation of economy". The integration of the economy of different nations on a regional bloc e.g. ASEAN, NAFTA, etc.

As a specific socio-political terminology however, globalisation essentially signifies the emergence of a seamless or borderless, global economy. It is characterised by the globalisation of trade, of investment, of finance, of labour power, of knowledge or technology; the globalisation of production and homogenisation of consumer wants of a wide variety ranging from Benetton Jeans to Pizza Hut and from Windows'95 to Barbie dolls; shifts in Foreign Direct

Investment (FDI) towards service industries e.g. trade, banking, finance and insurance including tourism; the establishment of blocs like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Intellectual Property Rights (IPR), etc. Such blocs first emerged at the beginning of this era. Operating like the cartels, they exploited resources in one part of the world, processed it in another and finally, exported to the rest of the world. With the emergence of the socialist bloc and the consequent division of the world into socialist and capitalist countries new rules and mechanisms arose in international economic relations. Bilateral trade agreements without the use of money was one of the novel mechanisms evolved by the then Soviet Union; one that protected the South from the pressures of international finance capital.² These mechanisms were not however strengthened in form and content. The agreements on it soon led to frozen postures with the content hostile to the trading partner and the balance was no longer maintained. The exchange value

of currencies to the Russian r o u b l e became more of a bane than an advantage.

In India, globalisation was introduced in two phases, through the IMF loan of SDR 5 billion in 1980, termed as "economic liberalisation". The second phase began in 1991 with the imposition of SAP involving the restructuring of economy.

The subsequent collapse of the socialist alternative was exploited as an opportunity to justify globalisation by its

MAIN MOTIVATION BEHIND GLOBALISATION

The subsequent collapse of the socialist alternative was exploited as an opportunity to justify globalisation by its proponents e.g. the World Bank, etc. Today the representatives of capital are aggressively promoting it, resurrecting the redundant neo-classical theory of competitive capitalism and free internal trade. Their aim, ostensibly, is to create "balanced growth, development and trade" to avoid "islands of affluence" in the midst of an "encircling sea of poverty"; ultimately to evolve a more "just and equitable world order." That is, an effective strategy for Development; as a challenge for the South, to "grow" to the size and structure of the North and in the image of the so-called *Newly Industrialising countries* - Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong. A related spurious claim is that globalisation is a 'fait accompli', the only option now open to the South.

However, the main motivation behind this 'New World Economic Order' is the integration of newly emergent and emerging capitalist countries eg. India. It involves millions of people most of whom will be integrated only if so far as they will become equally exploitable. This, globalisation of workers has been described as nothing but a catastrophic 'race to the bottom' in which countries underbid each other. Often because they face a complete lack of alternatives workers too are forced to do likewise. The main argument being that of 'competitiveness' and the "need to survive".

The claimants behind such logic are largely hirelings of the same TNCs that have invested millions of dollars in advancing such myths. But when they take concrete form, the yawning gap between myth and reality become all too glaring. And this is precisely what is happening. Some of the ardent supporters of globalisation have been dissenting over the rapidly deteriorating conditions of people in the South. At the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland earlier this year and later in April at the UNCTAD-IX Conference at Midrand (South Africa) globalisation was sharply criticised for eroding economic and social stability, creating unemployment. Further, global competition has led to a 'winner take-all' situation with the "winner" growing, and the "loser" either opting out or getting "integrated"; massive profits no longer mean more job security and better wages but increasing retrenchment.

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Globalisation is clearly a highly contentious issue for the South but the most crucial issue, however, is economic globalisation i.e. the transnationalisation of capital and production

based on a single global logic of exchange. The South has no influence proportional to its numbers in the process of global decision making; its own interests are in sharp contrast to those of the North. In India's case, the share of the world trade is not even one percent, the country having to undergo profound economic transformation involving trade-offs in maintaining a social consensus in support of economic reforms so as to be "integrated" into this so-called globalisation process.

Globalisation is clearly the current stage of the centuries-old expansion process of the capitalist system. It implies the commodification of people's productive and creative capacities and their natural and socio-cultural resources at a much faster rate than connection with the global economic spheres,

dominated by TNCs and international financial systems. The latter has become a massive instrument to globally manipulate savings, prices, currencies and the wealth of the world's people, in favour of the minority rich. Meanwhile, there is a mushroom growth of tax havens for just about all kinds of financial flows masked by the so-called "Banking Secrecy". The ideological, political, and technical intervention of the IMF and World Bank has been responsible for this chaotic situation. All this is having a profound effect on social and cultural life of the people in the South. It has disrupted traditional support systems and natural resources thus creating newer conflicts while robbing societies of older mechanisms of coping with conflicts on the one hand and ushering in rapid-fire changes without allowing communities to evolve new ones. It sends a green signal to the

GLOBALISATION MERE SUGAR-COATING OF THE BITTER COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

This is but a neo-liberal packaging of the shop-worn view rooted in the colonial era. In their expansionist designs the colonial powers were first to trumpet the "benefits" non-western societies could acquire by integrating themselves into the Western economies. They had succeeded in not only prising open these subsistence economies but also imposing their patterns of trade, commerce and culture upon them. The impact of these policies led eventually to the plunder, oppression and eventual impoverishment of the South. Quite clearly, integration *per se* is disadvantageous to the South.

The related myth that the South will benefit or develop through the process of transfer of jobs is nothing but a geographical version of the trickle-down theory. For, when labour does move to the South, its by no means automatic that the shift will bring Northern levels of employment and prosperity to the new host countries. There is no automatic or positive counterpart in the South to compensate for job losses being experienced in the North. What instead does take place from the relocation of production and services by TNCs are highly profitable hi-tech islands e.g. FTZs in which TNCs and their local corporate allies launch free-fire zones where they can focus on making a fast buck and when they remain protected with State patronage. Further, this relocation represents merely a small part of global foreign investment flows. Job gains from this process far outweigh the loss of jobs in the South caused by massive and continuous outflows of its resources to the North due to losses from terms of trade decline, interest on foreign debt, royalties and technical payments on account of technology dependence, profits accruing to foreign investors as well as capital flight. These resources constitute potentially investible funds, which if they had remained in the South could have boosted investments in the region and thus contributed tremendously to job creation.

institution of the economic might of a few countries over others. Globalisation is thus a ploy to establish a one-sided, imbalanced political equation; a process in which the poor in the South get decimated and annihilated, also deepening the polarisation between the rich and the poor in the South. Instead of being a solution to the problems of poverty globalisation only exacerbates these contradictions while creating new ones.

It is therefore necessary to reject the misplaced concerns, simplistic formulations, misrepresentations of facts, etc., on globalisation and thus lay bare its logic and direction as well as its various myths.

MYTH

Integrating their economies with the North will enable the South to undertake the daunting but vital task of modernising their economies enabling them to be an essential part of the progress achieved, and thereby survive as members of a modern and dynamic body of nations, thus freeing them from global isolation.

FACT

Implicit in this claim is the belief that "...in present-day economic situation one could not grow in isolation and the country would have to depend on foreign investments...". This is but a neo-liberal packaging of the shop-worn view rooted in the colonial era. In their expansionist designs the colonial powers were first to trumpet the "benefits" non-western societies could acquire by integrating themselves into the Western economies. They had succeeded in not only prising open these subsistence economies but also imposing their patterns of trade, commerce and culture upon them. The impact of these policies led eventually to the plunder, oppression and eventual impoverishment of the South. Quite clearly, integration *per se* is disadvantageous to the South.

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Besides, the so-called world economy is really the economy of a few big industrial countries, the G-7 group of countries (which account for 15% of the world population) is itself being undermined by serious structural problems. For instance,

* In the US - the original globe - where 75% of income gains during the 80s went to the top 20% of the families who control 55 percent of all wealth. Yet it has a huge trade and fiscal deficit, and a runaway national debt that has increased six-fold in the last couple of years but it continues to preach austerity to the poor South as well. The dollar has been experiencing the worst fall in the post-war period;

* Similar is the situation in Europe, with 20 million unemployed. *The Statesman* (Calcutta) of May 20, 1996 reported that according to a report by Wesley Mission - one of Australia's major charities and part of United Church of Australia - almost 2 million Australians, about 11% of the population, live in poverty

with 1.8 million including 500,000 children live below poverty line for a family set at Australian \$ 419.32 a week. A further 600,000 are just above the poverty line;

* In Japan the sacrosanct taboos of Japanese economic culture have been broken as factories have been closed down and workers laid off to restructure an over-extended economy. The rich North looks on even as its foundations are gnawed at by severe social problems created by massive drug consumption, degenerative diseases and infertility. A heavy price in the name of "modernity" and progress - a carrot now being dangled in front of the countries of the South.

MYTH

Countries with the highest level of integration e.g. Malaysia, etc exhibit the fastest output growth and have benefited immensely from globalisation.

FACT

Countries that have integrated faster into the world economy have grown at a slower pace than those which have followed a more conservative approach.

However the source of this myth is the World Bank publication, "*Global Economic Prospect & Developing Countries*". According to the Bank, the fast and moderate integrators have had an average per capita growth rate of 0.85 percent against (-) 0.98 per cent for the weak and slow integrators.

However, while different rates of growth do appear to be correct it does not follow that integration, therefore, is the path to growth. First, there are other equally relevant factors that also influence growth, viz., savings, culture, and governance. To assess the impact of integrators, differences within each region need to be considered. For instance, in East Asia if the fast integrators had grown faster than the slow integrations then it would follow that integration is beneficial; not otherwise. However, according to the World Bank data, countries like China, Korea and Indonesia were the slow integrators in East Asia, with an average growth rate of 6.87 per cent in 1980-93 whereas countries like the Philippines, Malaysia and Thailand were the fast integrators with a lower growth rate - merely 3.10 percent. Countries that integrated fast grew slowly; those that did not, grew faster.

The situation is the same for South Asia. India, Bangladesh and Pakistan were slow integrators with an average growth rate of 2.73 percent. Sri Lanka and Nepal were fast integrators but their growth rate was only 2.35 per cent. Similarly with Latin America. In the 60s and the 70s the region had led in the integration race--with high rates of growth. Since the 80s however it has had negative growth rates. The high growth rates were due to heavy external-borrowing-led demand but when that debt had to be serviced, it boomeranged. Similarly, while there is a net inflow of FDI in East Asia, it may indeed grow. The litmus test will be when fresh inflows become a trickle and repatriation of profits by TNCs increases. "Globalisation" thus appears very attractive in the short run but harmful in the long run.

The World Bank publication fails to establish any causal link, between trade and FDI liberalisation and "joblessness" of the economy to the world markets and growth, but suggests such a link through a purported correlation of statistical data. Even if it is assumed that the statistical data and correlation is accurate and reliable, in terms of indicators chosen, does it mean those

who grow fast tend to integrate faster in the world economy?

To show that East Asia liberalized over the decade faster, the report engaged in some statistical jugglery. It excludes China from the East Asia grouping and the tariff rates, but includes it in the East Asia category for the FDI/GDP ratios.

China while liberalising its foreign trade and lowering its tariffs and inviting FDI, does these slowly and cautiously so as to manage the transition without too many shocks. As a result it has some of the highest tariffs, and on FDI has a restrictive regime, where the foreign investors are subjected to many restrictions.

Nevertheless, the FDI keeps flowing into China, and its trade too is growing. The East Asian economies too generally while liberalising their external sectors and investment regimes have been adopting a cautious and gradual approach, but continue to attract more FDI and keep growing rapidly.

By the Bank's own index, China falls into the category of 'weak integrators' and thus challenges the Bank thesis. The report gets around this by noting that this downgrading of China is due to the drop in its capital market rating (said to be the drop in its institutional investor credit rating), and when this indicator is disregarded, China becomes a fast integrator, and proves the Bank thesis about East Asia's

faster integration producing faster growth, according to Bharat Jhunjhunwala in the *Indian Express* of September 1996.

MYTH

Economic growth in trade and commerce will benefit society as a whole.

FACT

Measures of growth are deeply flawed. They are merely measures of activity in the monetised economy. For instance, the increase in consumption of items like cigarettes and alcohol increases economic output both as a direct result of their consumption and because of the related increase in health care needs. The need to clean up oil spills generates economic activity. Gun sales in the West to children generates economic activity. A divorce generates both lawyers fees and the need to buy or rent and outfit a new home--increasing real estate brokerage fees and retail sales. It is now well documented that in the US and in the other Northern countries the quality of life has been steadily declining as aggregate economic output rises.³

The myth continues to be pedalled despite evidence to the contrary because such 'growth' is always envisaged in terms of quantity rather than quality e.g. food production which is envisaged always in terms of more machines, and more and more agricultural chemicals e.g. pesticides, etc. when the health of the environment and of people calls for more labour-intensive and naturally composted fertilizers to safeguard the health of both.

The world's economic output, since 1950, has risen 5 to 7 times. That growth has already increased the human burden on the planet's regenerative systems--its soils, air, water, fisheries, and forestry systems--beyond what the planet can sustain. Continuing to press for economic growth beyond the planets sustainable limits accelerates the rate of breakdown of the earths regenerative systems as in the case of ocean fisheries, and it intensifies the competition between the rich and the poor for the dwindling resource base. This is vividly illustrated by a number of development projects funded by the World Bank and other multilateral development aid agencies e.g. forestry and aquaculture projects among others that displace the poor so that the land and waters on which they depend for their livelihoods can be converted to uses that generate higher

economic returns--meaning converted to use by people who can say more than those who are displaced.³

PROBLEMS OF POVERTY NOT SOLVED BY ECONOMIC GROWTH

Economic growth does not solve the problems of poverty etc., as

- economic growth is predicated on a labour saving technological paradigm, deliberately chosen to suit the declining population in the North. By the end of this century, a large majority of the youth of the world will be in the South. But, as is well known, science and technology, is under the power and control of the Northerners. Even in the present so-called post cold war, the lucrative arms bazaar continues. Arms production uses the most labour saving technologies which are considered by the corporate sector and ruling bloc as the most effective means to beat labour and trade unions.

- the so-called free market regime operates to the needs of just the rich and the powerful. By its own logic it excludes those who have no entitlements to participate in the market exchange. Given the reality that 85% of the world's income is in the hands of 20% of the world's rich, production pattern is naturally geared to meet the wishes of the rich. Wants of the rich get top priority over the needs of the poor. In this dispensation, the working class and other sections of the poor are considered as dispensable residuals.

The growth myth carries the corollary that a rise in the level of unemployment has to be tolerated to avoid inflation and maintain so-called sound money. Not for a moment is it supposed that the money mechanism might be adapted to essential human need.

The Great God Growth

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The growth myth carries the corollary that a rise in the level of unemployment has to be tolerated to avoid inflation and maintain so-called sound money. Not for a moment is it supposed that the money mechanism might be adapted to essential human need.

MYTH

Foreign investment contributes to the development of the country and its people.

FACT

Indeed, in the post-liberalisation period there has been a substantial rise in foreign investments. Yet, ironically, data from Government sources itself reveal that the incidence of poverty and the percentage of population below the poverty line have not decreased but have merely increased. By December 1992, the percentage of people below the poverty line in especially rural areas increased from 34.3 percent to 40.69%--- that is, an increase of 6.4% or nearly 60 million below the poverty line.

According to the estimates by the Planning Commission's mid-term appraisal, the living conditions of people have deteriorated much more in the post-reform period. Similarly, the statistics provided by the 48th round of the NSS (National Survey Sample), also shows that during the first two years of the economic reforms, the share of the consumption of the bottom 30% of population has declined significantly. For the middle 40%, there is a decline in the rural areas and near stagnation in the urban areas. However, there is an increase in consumption levels of the top 30% of the population and much of this attributed to the increase of the top 10%. This evidence clearly illustrates that the living conditions of the poor is worsening while that of the rich has improved significantly. A number of other independent studies too have brought out the cold, hard fact that foreign investments, per se, cannot help the country to overcome its fundamental problems of poverty and unemployment, etc. One such recent study is "Swiss TNCs in India" by the Public Interest Research Group, (PIRG), New Delhi.

Related to this whole ballyhoo of "foreign investment" is the related myth of the "foreign investor". Foreign investors today are entering into the country primarily to invest in high yield, high liquidity financial securities (public treasury bonds, shares, etc.) which they can get rid off on the free market at the remotest hint of insecurity. This type of volatile capital is what has replaced the money provided in the past by the private banks with which Southern countries contracted their foreign debts. (And which in retrospect were more stable partners because of their interest in recovering longer term credits) All this goes to make the South hostage to this mercurial form of foreign investment. It is in this kind of world economy into which country is being made to integrate. Ironically, the mythical foreign investor continues to be worshipped although politicians endeavour to distance themselves from the publicity; when they are not told what they want to hear.⁴

Finally, capital mobility has not provided a massive shift of investment and employment from the North. Rather FDI is highly concentrated in the rich North and the South remains marginal in both investments and trade, a tiny minority of NICs apart.

MYTH

Transnational corporations are benevolent institutions and effective solutions to the problem of unemployment.

FACT

The corporation is an institutional invention specifically and intentionally created to concentrate control over economic resources while shielding those who hold the resulting power from the liability of the consequence of its use. The more national economies become integrated into a seamless global economy the further corporate power extends beyond the reach of any state and the less accountable it becomes to any human concern or institution other than a global financial system that is best described as a gigantic legal gambling den.

Economic globalisation expands the opportunities for TNCs to go about their business of concentrating wealth. The 5,000 largest TNCs in the world shed 4.4 million jobs between 1980 and 1993 while increasing their sales by 1.4 times their assets by 2.3 times, and compensation for their chief executives by 6.1 times.

These same TNCs now employ only 1/20 of 1% of the world's population but they control 2% of the world's economic output and 70% of world trade. According to *The Economist*, in each of seven major industries (consumer durables, automobiles, airlines, aerospace, electronic components, steel) five firms control more than 50% of the total global market. And the consolidation continues. The values of world-wide corporate mergers and questions in 1995 exceeded the total for any previous year by some 25%.⁵

TNCs constitute merely a fraction of their employment potential. It provides merely 3% of world's labour force including the indirect employment opportunities generated through a variety of linkages with subcontractors, suppliers and other enterprises in home and host countries, this may rise to another 3%. During the seven year period 1985-92, while the outward foreign direct investment (FDI) stocks from \$674 million to \$1932 million or 187 per cent, the direct employment during this period increased only 65 million to 73 million or 12.5 per cent.⁶

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BUDDHISM: APPENDIX ON CHRISTIAN BORROWINGS-II

Exe.Edr.

GNOSTICISM

Gnosticism is a syncretistic theosophical and philosophical religious movement specially important in the 2nd century AD that contributed to the development of Christianity by forcing the early church (in its reaction to Gnosticism) to develop a scriptural canon, a credal theology, and an episcopal organisation. Its emphasis on Gnosis (esoteric knowledge) was in sharp contrast to orthodox Christianity's emphasis on Pistis (faith or *bhakti*).

Nature and Significance :

The term Gnosticism is derived from the Greek word *gnostikos*, one who knows; what he knows is gnosis or knowledge of an esoteric nature. The context in which gnosis is used determines whether or not it is different from *sophia*, wisdom or *episteme*, generally knowledge acquired by learning, or empirical observations. The gnosis (*Sans. gyana*) claimed by the Gnostic may therefore be different from other kinds of knowledge and viewed or derived not from ordinary sources but from special revelation (*Sans. Veda*). Gnosticism is a modern term ordinarily used to describe the theological or theosophical systems prominent in the 2nd century of the Christian Era and attacked by leading early Christian theologians.

In essence, the Gnostic sects believed that there is a divine spark in man that has come from the divine realm above and has fallen into the world of fate (*Sans Niyati*), birth and death. It can be awakened

by its divine counterpart because of a revelation and can then be reintegrated into the spiritual world. This kind of view, which has obvious antecedents in Parthian and Sanskrit philosophy and Hindu-Persian religion, came to full expression only after the rise of Christianity. On the other hand, ideas that seem to point toward it already were present in pre-Christian times and in non-Christian circles.

The basic question is whether there were pre-Gnostic ideas expressed in Jewish apocalyptic thought (views about God's intervention in history accompanied

ROOTS OF GNOSTICISM IN IRANIAN DUALISM

Iranian dualism, may well have provided one of the essential preconditions for the rise of Gnosticism. As early as the 2nd Century, the anti-Christian writer Celsus compared the teaching of the Orphite Gnostics about heavens and gates with the mysteries of Mithra. More important is the thoroughgoing dualism of Iranian thought, with its conflict between the good God Ormazd and the evil God Ahriman and the astrological setting later provided. There is also a primordial man who seems also to be the saviour. Clearly there are remarkable similarities between Gnosticism and the kind of Iranian religious thought known in the Roman world.

by cataclysmic events) or even among the Pharisees (Jewish sect, fl. 1st Century BC - 1st Century AD), as well as by some early Christians and perhaps by religious thinkers in Egypt or Mesopotamia, or India, or whether there were proto-Gnostic ideas, involving the essence of Gnosticism, already present in Iran or India. An attempt to clarify scholarly terminology in regard to this question was made at the Colloquium di Messina (Colloquium of Messina) on the origins of Gnosticism (Manichaeism was itself

considered to be a Gnostic religion), and a distinction was drawn between Gnosticism, as defined above, and gnosis, which has the more general meaning of "knowledge of the divine mysteries reserved for an Elite". Obviously, modern theological concerns are involved, especially as regards the influence of Gnosis on early Christianity and the extent to which Christianity itself was, or became, Gnostics.

Ideally, the definition of Gnosticism should follow, not precede, the investigation of the sources available for its study. Unfortunately, the sources are difficult to obtain and to assess. In modern times a whole library of Gnostic documents, Coptic translations from Greek originals, was discovered near Chenoboskion (Naj Hammadi in Egypt), but the publication of them has been impeded chiefly by political problems related to the establishment of the State of Israel and the difficulties between Israel and the United Arab Republic. All of the documents have been read, but relatively few have been published. There are 53 documents (48 of them different) bound of 13 leather volumes; of this total about 25 have appeared in print. In addition three Gnostic documents in Coptic in a Berlin collection (two of them also at Naj Hammadi) were published in 1965. Other Gnostic documents that have been published are considerably later in date. In ancient times the Christian opponents of Gnosticism had access to documents but often paraphrased or distorted (or both) their meaning, so that considerable caution is needed in dealing with the accounts provided by such anti-Gnostic writers as Irenaeus (c.185), Hippolytus (c.230); and Epiphanius (c.375). They were convinced that their opponents were immoral heretics, and they were trying to present Gnostic views in the worst possible light. In spite of these difficulties, it is possible to reconstruct the Gnostic systems, even in considerable detail, and it is possible to determine their general characteristics.

History

Roots--Iranian dualism, may well have provided one of the essential preconditions for the rise of Gnosticism. As early as the 2nd Century, the anti-Christian writer Celsus compared the teaching of the Orphite

Gnostics about heavens and gates with the mysteries of Mithra. More important is the thoroughgoing dualism of Iranian thought, with its conflict between the good God Ormazd and the evil God Athriman and the astrological setting later provided. There is also a primordial man who seems also to be the saviour. Clearly there are remarkable similarities between Gnosticism and the kind of Iranian religious thought known in the Roman world.

Gnosticism arose and flourished in the Indo-Perso-Roman world during a period when philosophers, especially Pythagoreans and Platonists, were seeking to transcend diversity and contradiction, and to find a religious foundation for their thought. Middle Platonists attempted to reconcile Plato with Aristotle and to interpret both as teachers of ancient Greco-Oriental wisdom, liberally employing the allegorical (symbolical) method in their quest. They laid emphasis on the absolute transcendence of the One, or the Good, and sometimes separated it from the creative Mind, identified with Plato's Demiurge (creator). It could be held that knowledge of the One was given only through intuition of revealed truth and that this knowledge was so valuable that it had to be kept secret. Emphasis on transcendence, revelation and secrecy occurred among Gnostics and philosophers alike. In addition, the very idea of a philosophical or theological system is itself Oriental. It should be noted, however, that the Hermetic writings (astrological, occult, and medical documents attributed to Hermes Trismegistos) of the 2nd century and later, often used as witnesses for a ("Greco-Oriental") Gnosticism or gnosis, are essentially expressions of Middle Platonic common places. Some of them expressed pessimism about the world, but this was not uniquely a Gnostic idea - even though the Neoplatonist Plotinus attacked the Gnostic doctrines as anticosmic and, indeed, blasphemous.

Origins and Early History : The first Gnostic teachers about whom anything is known were Simon and his so-called disciple Menander, who held that he was sent down himself as the saviour. Both men probably lived within the 1st century, and both were described as teaching the existence of a subordinate female creative principle, superior to world-creating angels, and as encouraging the use of magic. A little later, Saturninus of Antioch drastically reinterpreted the story of Jesus in relation to world and woman-denying asceticism. There is neither female principle nor magic in his thought. These two types of early Gnosticism, the one leading to "permissive" behaviour, (i.e. Tantric_ the other to extreme asceticism, set the stage for later developments. Owing the first third of the 2nd century, Basilides presented a more philosophical system at Alexandria, with some Indian sources, in which the illusory nature of "the nonexistent god" and his non-existent cosmos was stress. At the same time, At the same time, Basilides drew close to Christian texts and provided interpretations of the Old Testament and the Gospels. He was succeeded by his son Isidore, who emphasized ethical problems and allegorical exegesis.

The most prominent figure of the time, however was a certain Valentinus who claimed that his revelation had come when the Logos appeared to him as an infant. Fragments of letters, sermons and a psalm show that Valentinus expressed mythological ideas in semiphilosophical dress. His later disciples moved in diverse directions. The greatest of them Ptolemaens, apparently taught at Rome and created a systematic philosophic theology, ostensibly based on biblical texts. Another, Marcus, was active in Asia Minor or Gaul, or both, and developed the master's teaching in the direction of ritual practices and numerology. In the East,

Theodotus laid emphasis on theology, exegesis (interpretive studies), and cultic rites. A disciple of Ptolemaens, Heracleon, became the first systematic exegete of the *Gospel According to John*, interpreting it as a Valentinian book. The ideas of the Valentinians aroused the opposition of the early Church Fathers, and by the early 3rd century their influence was vanishing. They were succeeded by other schools, largely anonymous, in which permutations and combinations of Gnostic doctrines were provided.

Within the 2nd century also, anonymous or, rather, pseudonymous, Gnostic doctrines flourished. There were Gnostic gospels and epistles and revelations, the most important of which seems to have been the **Apocryphon (secret book) of John**. Irenaeus knew something like it; three copies have turned up at Naj Hammadi.

Marcion, an important Bible critic and heretic of the mid-2nd century, should be called a Gnostic. The basic difference between him and the others, however, lies only in his rejection of secrecy and secret revelation; otherwise he shared the major tenets of ascetic Gnosticism. In his view there was a supreme, good Father god, unknown but by revelation and superior to the merely just demiurge. The revelation of the demiurge is contained in the Old Testament; the revelation of the Father was given by Jesus, the "saving spirit" who came down from the highest heaven in the 15th year of Tiberius. The teaching of Jesus was corrupted by his disciples, who were trying to present it to the Jews. A new revelation was then given to Paul, who alone understood Jesus gospel and taught it to Luke. Later on, however, both the Gospel and Paul's letters were interpolated. Only Marcion was able to restore their primitive forms and content. He also wrote *Antithesis*, a book contrasting the Old Testament with his *Gospel and Apostle*. Apparently he was able to remain within the Roman Church between 137 and 144, then being excommunicated. His initial success, or at least toleration, shows how impressive Gnostic teaching could seem in Christian circles before the rise of systematic theology.

Decline : By the early 3rd Century the great days of Gnosticism were over. At Alexandria theologians such as Clement and Origen created philosophical theologies that made Gnosticism seem naive; Origen converted Valentinians to Christianity. At Antioch, according to Tekatullian, one true Valentinian teacher remained. At Rome, Hippolytus wrote against Gnostics but relied on archaic sources.

The earlier Gnostic doctrines did not survive the publicity that Church writers gave them; and the Gnostics' lack of orthodoxy and organisation caused their sects to fall apart. Christian writers of the later 3rd Century paid hardly any attention to Gnosticism and when Eusebius wrote his Ecclesiastical History, beginning about 303, he knew almost nothing about it. Only a few conventicles survived, at Rome and elsewhere. Epiphanius wrote against heresies toward the end of the 4th Century and investigated many old Gnostic ideas, Gnostic women had once invited him to join their group, but his primary targets were not Gnostics but unorthodox Christians like Origen.

The new threat to Christian orthodoxy was presented by Mani (in 3rd century Iranian prophet who was executed for his teachings) and by his numerous followers, the Manichaesist. After the year 297, when an imperial rescript denounced this semi-Gnostic group, Christian leaders attacked it on scriptural and philosophical grounds. Eusebius said that Mani made use of "the countless, long-extinct, godless heresies". His words illustrate the general tendency to use Gnosticism as a stick for beating more modern ideas. Among the 65 decrees against

heretics cited in the Theoclosian Code (439), only two even mentioned Gnostic groups. Gnosticism was not a significant option in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

Thus, Gnostic survivals after the 3rd century exist as gnosis, the sense of esoteric knowledge, but not in Gnosticism as a movement. To be sure, Gnostic documents survived and were imitated in Egypt and Syria. The existence of the "Library in a jar" at Naj Hammadi does prove that a Gnostic sect flourished there in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Survivals : Among the Mandaeans, a small sect still existing in Iraq, Gnostic books are still preserved, dating from the 7th or 8th century but using earlier materials. Their mythology is not altogether consistent and seems to reflect the gradual appropriation of Gnostic themes by a group whose centre lay in the **cult, especially baptism**. The question of Mandaean origins, hotly debated during the early 20th century, is still not accepted as solved by Christians.

Medieval Christian heretical groups sometimes made use of supposedly primitive apocryphal (non-canonical) books, and it has often been claimed that they represent survivals from early Gnosticism.

WORSHIP, PRACTICES, AND INSTITUTIONS ;

Sacred Writings : The Gnostic Sects of the 2nd century generally made use of Hebrew and Christian religious writings, employing the allegorical method to extricate Gnostic meanings from them. Some could find three classes of men in various parables of Jesus. Apocryphal gospels, letters, acts, and apocalypses were often employed. The Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry attacked Gnostics for composing fraudulent apocalypses ascribed to Zoroaster, Zostrianus and Allogenes; a "discussion by Zostrianus" and a book called *Allogenes* are among the books found at Naj Hammadi. The Apocryphon of *John*, supposedly based on a revelation received by John the son of Zebedee, reinterprets the first four chapters of *Genesis* and says the truth is "not as Moses said".

Prominent among the Gnostic books is the *Gospel of Thomas*, first known in modern times from Greek payments found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt

and extant in a Coptic version from Naj Hammadi. This Gospel consists of nothing but sayings of Jesus, derived partly from the synoptic gospels or traditions and partly from the Gnostics own traditions. Another "gospel" is the *Gospel of Philip*, an esoteric collection of Valentinian doctrines. The Gospel of Mary (Magdalane) contains postresurrection teachings of the Saviour (Jesus) to the disciples, especially to Mary (who he loved more than the others). Andrews and Peter doubt, but Levi persuades the others that Mary received the true Gnostic doctrines.

The Naj Hammadi collection includes apocalypses ascribed to Adam, James, Peter, and Paul, and other apocalypses are known because of mention by church writers.

In addition, Gnostics generally believed that by allegorization they could interpret all religious literature in relation to their systems. They claimed to know the true meaning of the mystery religions and of Greek and **Oriental mythology**; they could explain the hidden significance of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets. Anyone who knew the story of "Elohim and Eden" in the

Gnostic *Baruch* could understand the labours of Hercules and the stories about Zeus and Leda and Danal-Hermetic writings were included in the Naj Hammadi collection.

Organization : Most Gnostic groups seem to have been organized as schools, in which the authoritative teaching was transmitted, interpreted and kept secret. There must have been regular meetings of some sort, for Gnostics were in danger of arrest during the days when Christians were prosecuted. Among some groups there were regular meetings for sacramental and prophetic worship. In the late 4th century such meetings were forbidden and Gnostic books were burned. Gnostics seem to have gone underground, although an early 4th-century inscription refers to "the synagogue of the Marcionites of the Lord and Savior Jesus Chrestos" (the Greek word chrestos means "good"), and as early as the 2nd century there were Marcionite bishops and presbyters.

Ethics : Gnostic ethics ran the gamut from compulsive promiscuity to extreme asceticism. (A Hindu dichotomy) What the Gnostics normally rejected was conventional law or wisdom, especially as expressed in the Old Testament. This kind of law they held, had been imposed on men by the world-creating angels, who deserved to enslave them. The Carpocratians and Cainites (two Gnostic sects) insisted that it was necessary to experience "everything" in order to be freed from the control of these angels. Even the Valentinians argued that ordinary Christians, who were "from the world", as Gnostics were not, could not love a woman and possess her, while Gnostics, "in the world" but not "from" it, had to do so. Church writers accused many Gnostics of employing love magic. On the other hand, there were Gnostics

who claimed that marriage and generation originated with Satan (as in Gen. 2-3, taken literally); some also abstained from eating meat.

Basilides explicitly taught that suffering took place only in consequence of sin, actual or potential, and quoted Job (14:4) to prove that "no one is pure..... from defilement". Her son Isidore claimed that sin was always voluntary and (like Epicureans) argued that sin could involve what was natural but not necessary. Epiphanes followed radical Platonic lines and insisted that equality and sharing were intended by God; men should not treat wealth or

GNOSTIC INFLUENCE ON CHRISTIANITY

The Gnostics influenced Christianity positively as well as negatively. They kept alive the great essence of freedom, redemption, and grace, which, after the times of Paul and John, were not adequately discussed by 2nd century Christian writers. The Gnostic solutions did not prove tenable in the Christian framework, but at least the Gnostics kept such issues alive. **At a later date the theology of Augustine owed a good deal to the experience he had had as a Manichee.**

women as private possessions (Echoes of Mazdakism !)

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Gnosticism and Christianity

It is difficult to disentangle the relations between early Christianity and Gnosticism. Two main views have been held: (1) that Gnosticism arose before Christianity and influenced such Christians as Paul and John even though they argued against it, and (2) that Gnosticism was a form of Jewish heteroclony or Christian heresy or both, probably not known to

the New Testament writers, but flourishing from the early 2nd Century onward. Conceivably a third view could be supported: that the beginnings of the Gnostic and the Christian movement were virtually simultaneous and that the story is therefore one of cross-fertilization.

One thing is clear, however. In developing its organizational and doctrinal structures the Church owed much to the Gnostics. The structures are very Gnostic in origin. The formulation of creedal symbols, the canonization of the New Testament Scriptures, and the emphasis on episcopal authority were made necessary by the Gnostics' claims. Moreover, in some measure the Gnostics were the first theologians. They made it necessary for Irenaeus to develop what systematic thought he had and prepared the way for treatises like Origen's *On First Principles*. Origen owed much to church tradition and philosophical teaching, and much also to his Gnostic forerunners, some of whom raised the kinds of questions he tried to answer.

Interpretation of the Role of Gnosticism

Modern - Modern man, more aware of the role of myth than were the Church Fathers, has found it possible to understand aspects, at least of the Gnostic world views. The leading interpretations have been made in psychological and existential terms. The principal student of Gnostic ideas among psychologists has been C.G. Jung, who was long interested in Basilides and Carpocrates and with Karl Kerényi wrote "essays on a science of mythology." In his theory of 'archetypes' primordial images at work in the human psyche and presented as symbolic representations, Jung was fairly close to the Gnostic depiction of aeons and their unions and separations. Speaking of the "body scheme as archetype of the first man" in Gnostic thought his pupil Erich Neumann wrote that "..... early man lived in the middle of psychophysical space in which outside and inside, world and man, powers and things, are bound together in an indissoluble unity." According to "modern consciousness", Gnostic myths are projections, i.e. an outside experience of archetypal images." Of Sophia, Neumann wrote: "In the Patriarchal development of the Judaeo-Christian West..... the Goddess, as a feminine figure of wisdom, was disenthroned and repressed. She survived only secretly, for the most part on heretical and revolutionary bypaths." One may add that among the Valentinians there is a double Sophia, in some measure reflecting the "elementary characters" of the primordial goddess, that Neumann calls positive and negative.

Relying to some extent on the thought of Martin Heidegger, Hans Jonas started from the relatively late Mandaean literature and described "Gnostic imagery and symbolic language" in terms

reminiscent of Existentialism. He spoke of alienation and estrangement, of "fall, sinking, capture" of "forlornness, dread, homesickness," and "numbness, sleep, intoxication." Such terms are indubitably present in Gnostic thought; and Jonas rightly endeavoured to show what bound Gnosticism together, laying less emphasis on its origins and on diversities within it. He was conJonas has drawn attention.

Conclusion

The basic question, as Jonas pointed out, is "what is Gnosticism?" But it must be answered in modern times by asking "what was Gnosticism?" The subject under discussion, whether or not alive today, is a phenomenon of the past, and therefore the be considered, as well as the problem of definition. With Jung, Jonas, and others, one finds the goal in an understanding of what Gnosis and Gnosticism were as differentiated from their sources and even their influences. It is not enough to call Gnosticism "the accoutre Parthianising of Christianity" (Adolf von Harnack) or to trace its ingredients to Oriental ideas without explaining how and why men found it meaningful. It arose in an age of syncretism, but it was not merely syncretistic. To a greater degree it was an anti-Greek, anti-Jewish, anti-Christian movement; in the 2nd century, and in the Manichaean form still later, it captured at least for a time the imaginations of such theologians as Basilides, Valentines and Augustine.

LATE ZOROASTRIANISM AND PARSIIISM.

Zoroastrianism is the major ancient, pre-Islamic religion of Iran. It survives there in isolated areas but also, more prosperously, with the Parsees, or Parsis (hence Parsiism), of India, descendants of immigrants who went there from Iran some time after the Muslim Conquest.

Nature and Significance :

The ancient Europeans saw in Zoroastrianism the archetype of the dualistic view of the world and of man's destiny. Zoroaster instructed Pythagoras in Babylon and inspired the Chaldean doctrines of astrology and magic. Zoroastrianism influenced this development of Judaism and the birth of Christianity. The Christians following a Jewish tradition identified Zoroaster with Ezekiel, Nimrod, Seth, Balaam, and Baruch, and even, through the later, with Christ himself. On the magic, would be considered the arch-heretic. In more recent times study of Zoroastrianism has played a decisive part in reconstructing the religion and social structure of the Indo-European peoples.

Though Zoroastrianism was never even in the thinking of its founder, as aggressively monotheistic as, for instance Judaism or Islam, it does represent an original attempt at unifying under the worship of one supreme god a polytheistic religion comparable to

COMMON ANCESTRY OF IRANIAN AND NORTHERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The language of Iran is closely akin to that of northern India, and hence the people of the two lands probably had common ancestors - the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans. The religion of the latter has been reconstructed by means of common elements contained in the sacred books of Iran and India mainly the Avesta and the Vedas. Both collections exhibit the same kind of polytheism, with many of the same Gods, notably the Indian Mitra. (the Iranian Mithra), the cult of fire, sacrifice by means of a sacred liquor (Soma in India, in Iran haoma both almost certainly the same as (bhang) and other parallels. There is, moreover, a list of Aryan gods in a treaty concluded about 1380 BC between the Hittite emperor and the king of Mitanni. The list includes Mitra and Varuna, Indra, and the two Nasatyas. All of these gods are also found in the Vedas, but also the first one in the Avesta except that Indra and Nanhaitya appear in the Avesta as demons; Varuna disappears but may have survived under another name. Important changes, then, must have taken place on the Iranian side, not all of which can be attributed to the prophet.

those of the ancient Indians and other early peoples.

Its other salient feature, namely dualism was never understood in an absolute, rigorous fashion. Good and Evil fight an unequal battle in which the former is assured of triumph. God's omnipotence is thus only temporarily limited. In this struggle man must enlist because of his capacity of free choice. He does so with his soul and body, not against his body, for the opposition between good and evil is not the same as the one between Spirit and Matter. Contrary to the Christian or Manichaean (from Manichaeism - a dualistic religion founded by the Iranian prophet Mani) attitude, fasting and celibacy are proscribed, except as part of the purificatory ritual. Man's fight has a negative aspect, nonetheless : he must keep himself pure; i.e., avoid defilement by the forces of death, contact with dead matter, etc. Thus Zoroastrian ethics, although in itself lofty and rational, has a ritual aspect that is all-persuading. On the whole, Zoroastrianism is optimistic and has remained so even through the hardship and oppression of its believers.

History

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Pre-Zoroastrian Iranian Religion

The Indo-Iranians appear to have distinguished, from among their Gods, the *daina* (an Indo-European term, like Latin *deus*), meaning "heavenly", and the *asura*, a special class with occult powers. This situation was reflected in Vedic India; later on *Asura* came to signify in Sanskrit, a kind of demon, because of the baleful aspect of the *asura's* invisible power. In Iran the evolution must have been different : the *Ahuras* were extolled, to the exclusion of the *daevas*, who were reduced to the rank of demons.

The Reformation of Zoroaster : Zoroaster (Zarath-ushtra) was a priest of a certain *ahura* with the epithet *Mazdah* "wise", whom Zoroaster mentions once in his hymns with "the (other) *ahuras*." Similarly, Darius I (522-486) and his successors worshipped Auramazda (Ahura Mazda), "and the other gods who exist" or "Ahura Mazda, the greatest god." The two historically related facts are evidently parallel : On both sides, the rudiments of monotheism are present, though more elaborate with the prophet Zoroaster.

It has not yet been possible to place Zoroaster's hymns, the *Gathas*, in their historical context. Not a single place or person mentioned in them is known from any other source. *Veshtaspa*, the prophet's protection, can only be the namesake of the

father of Darius, the Achaemenid king. All that may safely be said is that Zoroaster lived somewhere in eastern Iran, in the civilised world of Western Asia, before Iran became unified under Cyrus-II the Great. If the Achaemenids even heard of him, they did not see fit to mention his name in their inscriptions, nor did they allude to the beings who surrounded the great god and were later to be called the *amesha spentas*, or "Bounteous Im-mortals" --- an essential feature of Zoroaster's doctrine.

Religion under the Achaemenids was in the hands of the Magi, (See Magianism, in our last issue), whom Herodotus describes as a Median tribe with special customs, such as exposing the dead, fighting evil animals, and interpreting dreams. It is not known when Zoroaster's doctrine reached western Iran, but it must have been before the time of Aristotle (384-322), who alludes to its dualism.

Darius, when he seized power in 522, had to fight a usurper, Gaumata the Magian, who pretended to be Bardiya, the son of Cyrus the Great and brother of the king Cambyses. This Magian had destroyed cultic shrines, *ayadanas* which Darius restored. One possible explanation of these events is that Gautama had adopted Zoroastrianism, a doctrine that relied on the allegiance of the common people, and therefore destroyed temples or altars to deities of the nobility. Darius, who owed his throne to the support of some noblemen, could not help favouring their cult, although he adopted Anramazda as a means of unifying his empire.

Xerxes, successor to Darius, mentioned in one of his inscription now at a certain (unnamed place, probably in Babylon, he substituted the worship of Anramazda for that of the *daivas*. It points to a change of attitude, compared with Cyrus' tolerance of alien religions, such as the Babylonian or the Jewish religions.

From Artaxerxes II (404-359/358) onward, the inscriptions mention, besides Ahuramazda, Mithra and the goddess Anahita (Anahit), which proves only a change of emphasis, not the appearance of new deities, who may very well have been implicitly included among Darius' "other gods."

The Arsacid (Parthian) Period : The Iranian religion was almost totally submerged by the wave of Parthianism. At Susa, for instance, which had been one of the capital cities of the Achaemenids but where the religion of Auramazda was not indigenous, the coinage of the Seleucid and Arsacid periods does not represent a single Iranian deity.

Then the Iranian religion gradually emerged again. In Commagene in the middle of the 1st century, gods bear Greek and Iranian names at the same time : Zeus Oromazdes, Apollo Mithra, Helios Hermes, Artagnes Heracles Ares. The first proof of the use of a Zoroastrian calendar, implying the official recognition of Zoroastrianism, is found some 40 years earlier at Nisa (near Ashkhabad in Soviet Turkmenistan). By then some form of orthodoxy must have been established in which Auramazda and the entities (powers surrounding him) adjoin other gods such as Mithra, the Sun and the Moon.

In Persis (modern Fars), from the beginning of the Christian era to the advent of the Sasanians (Early 3rd century AD), any allusion to the fire cult disappears. The coins seem to indicate, in not showing the fire altar, that the prince had lost interest in the Iranian religion.

The Sasanian period - With Ardashir, the future founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the situation was different; and this may suggest that his religious zeal - as a hereditary priest of Staxt (Istaxt)---may have helped him seize power in his native province, even before he started attacking his Arsacid suzerain, Artabanus V.

Two persons are recorded, in different sources as helping to establish Zoroastrianism under the first Sasanians : Karter and Tansar. Whereas Karter is known through contemporary inscriptions, most of which were written by himself, Tansar (or Tosar) is only remembered in later books. The latter tell us that Tansar, an *ehrpāt*, or *theologian* undertook the task, under Ardashir's command, of collecting the sacred texts and fixing the canon. Karter who was already active under Ardashir-I but more so under Shapur and his successors, recounted his brilliant career, which reflects the birth of hierarchy. He was still an *ehrpāt* under Shapur, as he resorted the "Mazdean religion..... in

the land of non-Iran reached by the horses and men of the king of kings. " Under Hormizd he was made "*magupat* of Ormazd," a term apparently created for him and meaning "chief of the Magians of Auramazda." Under Bahram I (AD 273-276), Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, who had enjoyed a degree of tolerance under the two preceding kings, was sacrificed to the interests of Zoroastrianism and died in prison. Bahram-II named Karter " Savior of the Soul of Bahram", elevated him to the rank of the "grāndeēs of the realm", and gave him the additional titles of "judge of the empire", "master of rites", and "ruler" of the fire of Anahit - Ardashir at start and of Anahit the Dame promoted to the apex of his career. Karter persecuted "Jews, Buddhist, Brahmins, Nasoreans(Judeo-Christians?), Christians, Martaks (Mandeans, Manichaeans ?), and Zandiks (Mazdean heretics)." Narseh (or Narses; 293-302), who began his struggle for power when Bahram II was still on the throne, seems to have recovered the title of chief of the Staxt temple that his predecessor and adversary had surrendered to Karter. Under Shapur-II, the high priest Aturpat, at a council summoned to fix the text of the Avesta, proved the truth of his doctrine by submitting to the ordeal of molten metal poured on his breast and was victorious over all kinds of sectarians and heretics.

Under Bahram V (420-438), presumably, the title *magupatan magupat* (chief *magus* of the chief *magi*) was created. Under Qobad (or Kavadh; 488-496 and 498/499-581), Iran traversed its gravest social and religious crisis under the impact of **Mazdak**. This reformer, whose doctrines were partly inspired by those of Mani, was granted an interview by Qobad (Shapur-I had received Mani a long time before), but with a more decisive success. Perhaps the king hoped that by abolishing property and the family, he would reign over a docile mass. The Mazdakites favoured the abolition of all social inequalities, chiefly of private property, the main cause of all hatred. Everything was to be held in common, including women. These views directly threatened the rich as well as the Mazdean clergy,

who soon understood this. Qobad was dethroned and replaced by his brother Jamasp. After two years in exile, Qobad recovered his throne, but he had been cured of his egalitarian views and decided to liquidate the Mazdakites.

Khosrow I continued the work of his father, Qobad, and thus the Mazdakite upheaval prepared for the advent of a strong state and of an established Mazdean Church. The religious books give to Khosrow the unique title of *Anosharvan*, "with the immortal soul," probably for having crushed Mazdakism and for enabling the "good religion" to triumph.

Khosrow II (509/591-628) married a Christian woman. He was superstitious and dabbled in astrology.

Post-Islamic Iranian Zoroastrianism : Islam won a decisive victory at al-Qadisiyah in 635 over the armies of Yazdegerd III, the last Sasanid. Islam, in principle, tolerated the ancient religion but conversions by persuasion on force were massive in many provinces. Zoroastrianism, however, continued to foment rebellion and brought persecutions upon itself. There were pockets of survival, notably in Persis, the ancient centre of the Achaemenian and Sasanian empires. Books were produced to save the essentials of the religion from a threatened disaster. Zoroastrians, called *Gabars* by the Muslims, survived in Iran as a

persecuted minority in small enclaves at Yazd and Kerman.

The Parsis in India - From the 10th century onward, groups of Zoroastrians emigrated to India, where they found asylum in Gujarat. Their connection with their coreligionists in Iran seems to have been almost totally broken until the end of the 15th century. Re-established in 1477, the connection was kept up.

Until 1768, under British rule, the Parsis, who previously had been humble agriculturists, started to enrich themselves through commerce, then through industry. They became a most prosperous and "modern" community. Formerly they had adopted the language (Gujarati) and the dress of their Hindu milieu. Later they adopted British customs, British dress, the education of girls, and the abolition of child marriage. In their enterprises, they followed the example of the West. They now number about 100,000, chiefly in Bombay. From the 19th century on, they were able to help their less-favoured brethren in Iran, either through gifts or through intervention with the government.

They also adopted themselves to their Indian culture by minimizing what was repugnant to the Hindus, namely, blood sacrifice; and they surrendered to same extent to the vogue of astrology and to theosophy. On the other hand, ever since they were attacked by Christian missionaries for their dualism, they have been emphasizing the monotheistic aspect of their doctrine.

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Beliefs and Mythology

Sources : Only the hymns, or *Gathas*, are attributable to Zoroaster. They are written in various metres and in a dialect different from the rest of the *Avesta*, except for seven chapters, chiefly in prose, that appear to have been composed shortly after the prophets' demise. All these texts are embedded in the *Yasna*, which is one of the main divisions of the *Avesta*, and is recited by the priests during the ceremony of the same name, meaning "sacrifice". The *Visp-rat* ("All the Judges") is a *Yasna* augmented here and there by additional invocations and offerings to the *ratus* (lords) of the different classes of beings. The *Videvdad*, or *Vendidad* (Law exposed to the Deities"), consists of two introductory sections recounting how the law was given to man, followed by 18 sections of rules. The *Siroza* enumerates the deities presiding over the 30 days of the month. The *Yashts* (hymns) are each addressed to one of 21 deities such as Mithra, Anahita, or Verethraghna. The *Hadhort Nask* ("Section Containing Sayings") describes the fate of the soul after death. The *Khurda*, or Small *Avesta*, is made up of minor texts.

The *Avesta* is, therefore, a collection of texts compiled in successive stages until it was completed under the Sasanians. It was then about four times larger than what had survived. A summary of its 21 books, or *Nasks* (of which only one is preserved as such in the *Videvdad*), is given in one of the main treatises written during the brief Zoroastrian renaissance under Islam in the 9th century; the *Denkart*, the "Acts of the Religion". It is written in Pahlavi, the language of the Sasanians.

Other works in Pahlavi include, besides a translation and commentary on the *Avesta*, the *Bundahisher* ("Primal Creation"), a cosmology. Most Pahlavi books are anonymous like the *Menok-e Khrat* ("Spirit of Wisdom"), a lucid summary of a doctrine based on reason, and the *Book of Artay Viraf*, which described Viraf's descent into the netherworld (by means of a narcotic) as well as heaven and hell and two pleasures and pains awaiting the virtuous and the wicked. There are also a few signed works, such as those of the two brothers Zatspram and Manuschir, or Mardan-Farrukh's *Shkand-Gumanik Vichar* ("Final Dispelling of Doubts"), an apology of the Mazdean religion directed against Manichaeism, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

Finally, there are Zoroastrian books written in Persian, either in verse or prose. The latter include the correspondence exchanged between Zoroastrians of Iran and India and the treatise entitled 'Olemov-ye Islam', "The Doctors of Islam," with decided Zuranite tendencies.

God : Zoroaster's silence on Mithra is not easy to interpret. Since this god was closely associated with Varuna in India and with Varuna's likely substitute in Iran, Zoroaster can hardly have ignored one-half of this divine pair without a definite purpose. Otherwise, it might be presumed that Mithra was included in the formula "Mazdah and the (other) ahuras;" however, Mithra is called in the Later *Avesta* (non-Gathic) an *ahura*; so is *Apam Napat*, a fire or brightness in the waters corresponding to the Vedic Apam Napat. As far as Verethraghna (the entity or spirit of victory), it seems that since he took over the function of Indra, who was a *daiva*, he could not be called an *ahura*; but in order to mark his belonging to the world of *ahuras* he was called *Ahuradata*, "created by an *ahura*."

It is in the framework of the religion of the *ahuras*, hostile to the cult of the *daevas*, that Zoroaster's message should be understood. He concentrated on his god, the wise Ahura, by means of an escort of entities, the powers of all the other gods, in an array against the forces of evil.

The moral dualism expressed in the opposition *Asha-Druj* (truth-falsehood) goes back at least to Indo-Iranian times, for the Veda knows it too, in the opposition *rita-dhuv*, although the contrast is not as sharply defined as in the *Avesta*. Between these two principles, the Twin Spirits made an ominous choice, Bounteous One becoming in thoughts, words, and deeds a partisan of *Asha*, *Ashawan*, while the other became *dregvant*, partisan of the *Druj*. After them it was the *daevas* turn; they all chose wrongly. Ever since, the *daevas* have tried to corrupt man's choice. The inversion of *daevas* as demons was carried out by Iranians because of their expulsion from India, a calamity which they deeply resented!

To the army of the *ashavans* headed by the Bounteous Spirit, was counterposed the host of the *dregvants* under the Destructive Spirit, *Angra Mainyu*. Each combatant faced his exact counterpart: the Good Mind opposing the Bad Mind and Aramaiti being countered by Taromaiti.

In this battle, the whole material universe is, through the entities, potentially enrolled, the Bounteous Spirit being the patron of man, *Asha* of fire, the good Mind of the Ox, the Dominion of the Metals, Aramaiti, of the earth, Integrity and Immutability of the Waters and Plants. Moreover, since the entities are at once divine and human (because both the spiritual and material qualities of man partake of divine), everyone faithful to the wise Ahura can commune with him.

After Zoroaster, considerable changes occurred in the theology he had professed. The entities were reduced to mere deities, which were even separated into male and female. Never again were their names used to designate human faculties. This is probably a consequence of the resurgence of the ancient gods.

It is not known to what extent Zoroaster's system was meant to be exclusively the cult of Dhura Mazda. In the Later *Avesta* all the gods he had ignored emerged again, such as Mithra, Mryaman (whom he had replaced by Sraosha), Anahita, Apam, Napat, Verethraghna, and Vayu. This vast pantheon, still nominally headed by Dhura Mazda, is similar to the compromise that Darius, according to the interpretation cited above, made between the cult of Auramazda and that of the gods of the nobility.

Not only did Zoroaster's theology thus lose its exclusive position, but an internal change also modified its equilibrium and even threatened its very essence. The Bounteous Spirit was almost completely absorbed into Ahura Mazda. Whereas in a *Yashta* the two Spirits fought each other, in the *Videvdad* Ahura Mazda and the Destructive Spirit opposed each other by creating, respectively, the good and the bad things. This profoundly affected Zoroaster's system, for Ahura Mazda could no longer be the father of the Twin Spirits; he now faced, on equal terms so to speak, a sort of antipode. The alteration probably dates back at least to the 4th Century BC., for Aristotle said in the *Peri philosophias* ("On Philosophy") that the Magi preached the existence of two principles, Oromasdes and Areimanios.

Practices and Institutions

Cultic Places - Although Herodotus wrote that the Persians had no temples, some have been found, in the shape of terraces or towers or square rooms; also *Chahartaqs* (sacred buildings having four gates and doors) are scattered over most of Iran. Permanent altars exist from the Sasanian period and are depicted on Sasanian coins with a burning fire.

The Farnbag, Gushnasp, and Burzen-Mihr fires were connected, respectively, with the priests, the warriors, and the farmers. The Farnbag fire was at first in Khwarezm (i.e. the delta of Amu Darya/Oxus), at Aral Sea, until in the 6th Century BC.,

according to tradition, Veshtaspa, Zoroaster's protector, transported it to Kabulistan (Afghanistan); then Khosrow in the 6th century A.D. transported it to the ancient sanctuary of Kariyan in Fars. The latter, however, has not yet been identified. The Gushnasp fire, located at Siz, was the ancient fire of the Magi (in Media) but it came to be the symbol of the Monarchic and religious unity. The Burzen - Mihr fire never ranked as high as the other two because the peasants, unlike the kings and the clergy, never possessed any sovereignty. Besides these individual designations, the fires were classified according to two categories: the Aduran, village fires, and the Varhran, provincial and royal fires.

Priesthood : The Magians, though not originally Zoroastrian, apparently became acquainted with the prophet's teachings not later than the 4th Century bc. They had the monopoly on religion at the Achaemenian court. The term magus was still used in the Arsacid period. Then, under the Sasanians, a hierarchy developed, with the creation of the magupat, or chief of Magi, and of its Superlative magupatan magupat (coined on the model of Shahanshah "King of Kings"). The *ehrpāt*, originally a religious teacher, was especially entrusted with the care of the fire. The modern equivalent of the word, *herbad* or *ervad*, designates a priest of the lower degree, who in the more important ceremonies only acts as the assistant priest. Above him is the *mōbed*. Above all of them is the *dastur*, a kind of bishop, who directs and administers one or more important temples. Priesthood is hereditary, but birth alone is not a sufficient qualification, all priests have to go through one or more ceremonies of investiture over and above those practised by the faithful.

Ceremonies : All young Parsis must be initiated when they reach the age of seven (in India) or ten (in Persia). They receive the shirt (*sadre*) and the girdle (*kusti*), which they are to wear their whole life.

There are three types of purification, in order of increasing importance: the *padayab*, or ablution; the *nahu*, or bath; and the *bareshwan*, a complicated rite performed at special places with the participation of a dog--- whose left ear is touched by the candidate and whose gaze puts the evil spirits to flight---and lasting several days.

Penance entails reciting the *patet*, the firm resolve not to sin again, and the confession of sins to a *dastur* or to an ordinary priest, if the *Dastur* is not obtainable.

The chief ceremony, the *Yasna*, essentially a sacrifice of *Haoma* (the sacred liquor *bhang* or Indian hemp *cannabis sativa*), is celebrated before the sacred fire with recitation of large parts of *Avesta*. There also are offerings of bread and milk and, formerly, of meat or animal fat.

The sacred fire must be kept burning and must be fed at least five times a day. Prayers also are recited five times a day. The founding of a new fire involves a very elaborate ceremony. There are also rites for purification and for regeneration of a fire.

Burial Rites : After death, a dog is brought before the corpse; it should preferably be a "four-eyed" dog (i.e. it should have a

spot above each eye, as this is said to increase the efficacy of its look). The rite is repeated five times a day. After the first one, fire is brought into the room where it is kept burning until three days after the removal of the corpse to the Tower of Silence. The removal must be done during the daytime.

The interior of the Tower of Silence is built in concentric circles, like Dante's hell, except that there are only three circles, one each for men, women, and children. The corpses are exposed there naked. The vultures do not take long - an hour or two at the most - to strip the flesh off the bones, and these, dried by the sun, are later swept into the central well. Formerly the bones were kept in *ossuary*, the *astodan*, to preserve them from rain and animals.

No less interesting are the rites performed after the funeral. The morning of the fourth day is the most solemn occasion, for it is then that the departed soul reaches the next world and appears before the deities who are to pass judgement over it.

Festivals : Festivals, in which worship is an essential part, are characteristic aspects of Zoroastrianism, a faith that enjoins on man the pleasant duty of being happy. The principal festivals in the Parsi year are the six seasonal festivals, *Gahanbars*, and the days in memory of the dead at year's end. Also, each day of the month and each of the 12 months of the year is dedicated to a deity. The day named after the month is the great feast day of that particular deity.

The New Year festival, *Noruz*, is the most joyous and beautiful of Zoroastrian feasts, a spring festival in honour of *Rapithwin*, the personification of noonday and summer. The festival to Mithra, or Meharagan was traditionally an autumn one, as honoured as the spring feast of *Noruz*.

Ethics : The precepts of Mazdean ethics focus upon the maintenance of life and the fight against evil. In order to maintain life one must earn one's living by means of cattle-raising and agriculture, and one must procreate. To fight against evil is to combat the demons, and whatever beings, men or animals, that the forces of evil are the forces of death "good is opposed to evil, as light is to darkness, as life is to non-life. The life precepts can be transported into fight precepts; for instance, eating and drinking are interpreted by Zatspram as a struggle against the she-demon Az "Concupiscence". The two points of view, however, are also contradictory: how can man fight the forces of evil without suppressing certain lives, such as baleful animals? The second viewpoint prevails: Man ignores, even in theory, the universal respect of life that is preached by Buddhism or that justifies the vegetarian diet of Brahmanic India.

Social reasons (e.g., the desire to maintain family privileges) apparently explain the development of consanguineous marriage, an acute form of endogamy.

Future life should be determined by the balance of the good and evil deeds, words, and thoughts, of the whole life. This principle however, is tempered to allow for human weakness. All faults do not have to be registered or weighed forever on the scales.

MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE : 4

JAROSLAV HASEK: GOOD SOLDIER SVEJK

Introductory Remarks by Dr. Vinayak Purohit

This time we have selected a masterpiece from Central European literature.

Central Europe is very difficult to define. It is not a coherent geographic, ethnic, linguistic or historic entity. The vast majority of the people of Central Europe speak Slavic languages, though there are strong Teutonic and Romance intrusions.

Let us remind our readers that English literature is very poor in all respects, but especially in the comic genre. The nearest that the English ever came to serious and significant comedy was in the writings of Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). In this series, on a future occasion, we hope to reprint selections from Swift's masterpiece *A Modest Proposal* (1729). To Swift we may at the most add, two more Irish playwrights, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw! The English have a gift for the bathetic. Everything serious

and significant, they turn into something sick and silly. They consider their greatest comic writer to be P.G. Wodehouse, who apart from writing absolute drivel (though amusing for the moment), was also responsible for purveying Nazi propaganda over the radio during World War II, for which he was severely criticised.

The British even came very near to ruining Jonathan Swift, by turning his *Gulliver's Travels* into a children's tale (*Alice in the Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll was never profound literature, as it was from the beginning, intended for children).

There is nothing in English literature even remotely comparable to Miguel de Cervantes', *Don Quixote* (1605-15).

But Central European literature can certainly be proud of Hasek's *Good Soldier Svejk*. It is a masterpiece of anti-war bitterly satirical writing. In fact, there is no equivalent in the entire world literature to our *Good*

Soldier Svejk!

Jaroslav Hasek (1883-1923) had intended to publish the story of *Good Soldier Svejk* (1912-23) in six parts but could live to finish only four. We will not burden the reader with more details of Hasek's life, except to note that Hasek was captured on the Russian front during World War I; and became a Bolshevik within a short time thereafter joining the Russian Communist Party. Like the American journalist John Reed, and the German-Polish journalist Karl Radek, and the Bulgarian Rakovski, and the Hungarian philosopher Georg Lucac, and many many others from all over Europe. The Old Bolsheviks (1917-24) were a generation apart, almost a breed apart! That was the heroic period of the Russian Revolution, which Stalin drowned in an ocean of blood that surrounded the Gulag Archipalego of Siberian Concentration Camps (1929-1956).

See for full detailed description of the Stalinist Terror Camps, Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), *Cancer Ward* (1969) and *The First Circle* (1970). Extracts from these masterpieces are also scheduled for publication in the *Mankind* series.

The only other thing for which Central European literature is responsible is the coining of the word "robot" by Karl Capek in 1920, meaning "those who perform drudgery as serfs." The term robot has entered world literature forever, never to be forgotten, and has presently even given rise to an entirely new science, that of "robotics".

So let us now plunge into the Good Soldier Svejk's world of phantasmagoria, ribald laughter and bitter satire.

GOOD SOLDIER SVEJK

JAROSLAV HASEK

The Good Soldier Svejk Intervenes in the Great War

"And so they've killed our Ferdinand," said the charwoman to Mr Svejk, who had left military service years before, after having been finally certified by an army medical board as an imbecile, and now lived by selling dogs—ugly, mongrel monstrosities whose pedigrees he forged.

Apart from his occupation he suffered from rheumatism and was at this very moment rubbing his knees with



Elliman's embrocation.

'Which Ferdinand, Mrs Muller?' he asked, 'going on with the massaging.' I know

two Ferdinands. One is a messenger at Prusa's, the chemist's, and once by mistake he drank a bottle of hair oil there. And the other is Ferdinand Kokoska who collects dog manure. Neither of them is any loss.'

'Oh no, sir, it's His Imperial Highness, the Archduke Ferdinand, from Konopiste, the fat churchy one.'

'Jesus Maria!' exclaimed Svejk. 'What a grand job! And where did it happen to His Imperial Highness?'

'They bumped him off at Sarajevo, sir, with a revolver, you know. He drove there in a car with his Archduchess.'

'Well, there you have it, Mrs Muller, in a car. Yes, of course, a gentleman like him can afford it, but he never imagines that a drive like that can finish up badly. And at Sarajevo into the bargain! That's in Bosnia, Mrs Muller. I expect the Turks did it. You know, we never ought to have taken Bosnia and Herzegovina from them? And so you see, Mrs Muller. His Imperial Highness now rests with the angels. Did he suffer long?'

'His Imperial Highness was done for at once, sir. You know, a revolver isn't just a toy. Not long ago there was a gentleman in Nusle, where I come from, who fooled about a revolver too. And what happened? He shot his whole family and the porter too who came up to see who was doing the shooting there on the third floor.'

'There are some revolvers, Mrs Muller, that won't go off even if you bust yourself. There are lots of that type. But for His Imperial Highness I'm sure they must have bought something better. And I wouldn't mind betting, Mrs Muller, that the chap who did it put on smart togs for the occasion. Potting an Imperial Highness is no easy job, you know. It's not like a poacher potting at a game-keeper. The question is how you get at him. You can't come near a fine gentleman like that if you're dressed in rags. You've got to wear a topper, so the cops don't nab you beforehand.'

'They say there were a lot of them, sir.'

'Well, of course, Mrs Muller, said Svejik, finishing massaging his knees. 'If you want to kill His Imperial Highness or for that matter even His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, you'd certainly need advise. Several heads are wiser than one. One chap advises you this, another that, and then "the deed is crowned with success", as our national anthem says. The main thing is to watch out for the moment when a gentleman like that rides past. Just like old Luccheni, if you remember, who stabbed our late lamented Elizabeth³ with a file. He just went for a stroll with her. Who's going to trust anybody now? After that there'll be no more strolls for empresses! And a lot of other persons'll have it coming to them too, you know. You mark my words, Mrs Muller, it'll be the turn of the Tsar and the Tsarina next and maybe, though God forbid, even of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, now they've started with his uncle.⁴ He's got a lot of enemies, the old gentleman has. Even more than Ferdinand. Not long ago a gentleman was telling us in the pub that a time would come when all these emperors would get done in one after the other, and all the king's horses and all the king's men wouldn't save them. After that he hadn't any money to pay his bill and the landlord had to have him arrested. And he hit the landlord across the jaw once and policeman twice. So after that they took him away in a drunks' cart to sober him up again. Well, Mrs Muller, what a world we live in, to be sure! What a loss for Austria again! When I was in the army an infantryman once shot a captain. He loaded his rifle and went into his office. They told him he had no business there, but he went on insisting he must speak to the captain. The captain came out and at once gave him "confined to barracks!" But he took up his rifle and bang it went, plum through the captain's heart. The bullet flew out of his back and damaged the office into the bargain. It smashed a bottle of ink which messed up the official documents.'

'Oh, goodness, and what happened to that soldier?' asked Mrs Muller later, while Svejik was dressing.

'He hanged himself on his braces,' said Svejik, cleaning his bowler. 'And what's more they weren't even his. He'd borrowed them from the warder on the excuse that his trousers were falling down. Do you think he should have waited until they shot him? You know, Mrs Muller, in a situation like that anyone would be in

a flap. They reduced the warder to the ranks because of it and gave him six months. But he didn't sit them out. He ran away to Switzerland and today he's a preacher of some church or other. Today there are very few honest people about, Mrs Muller. I can imagine that His Imperial Highness, the Archduke Ferdinand, made a mistake in Sarajevo about the chap who shot him. He saw a gentleman and thought, "He must be a decent fellow who's giving me a cheer." And instead of that he gave him bang ! bang ! Did he give him one bang or several, Mrs Muller?'

'The newspaper says, sir, that His Imperial Highness was riddled like a sieve. He emptied all his cartridges into him.'

'Well, it goes jolly quickly, Mrs Muller, terribly quickly. I'd buy a Browning for a job like that. It looks like a toy, but in a couple of minutes you can shoot twenty archdukes with it, never mind whether they're thin or fat. Although, between you and me, Mrs Muller, a fat archduke's a better mark than a thin one. You may remember the time they shot the king of their in Portugal? He was a fat chap too. After all, you wouldn't expect a king to be thin, would you? Well, now I'm going to the pub, The Chalice, and if anyone comes here for that miniature pinscher, which I took an advance on, tell them I've got him in my kennels in the country, that I've only just cropped his ears, and he mustn't be moved until they heal up, otherwise they'll catch cold. Would you please give the key to the house-porter.'

There was only one guest sitting at The Chalice. It was the plain-clothes police officer, Bretschneider, who worked for the State Security. The landlord, Palivec, was washing up the glasses and Bretschneider was vainly endeavouring to engage him in serious conversation.

Palivec was notorious for his foul mouth. Every second word of his was 'arse' or 'shit'. But at the same time he was well read and told everyone to read what Victor Hugo wrote on this subject when he described the last answer Napoleon's Old Guard gave to the British at the Battle of Waterloo.⁵

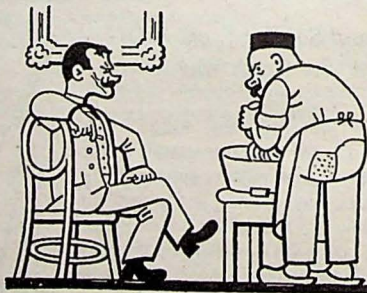
'Well, it's a glorious summer!' said Bretschneider, embarking on his serious conversation.

'Shit on everything!' answered Palivec, putting the glasses away into a cupboard.

'It's a fine thing they've done to us at Sarajevo,' said Bretschneider with a faint hope.

'Which Sarajevo?' asked Palivec. 'Do you mean the wine cellar at Nusle? They're always fighting there, you know. Of course it's Nusle.'

'At Sarajevo in Bosnia, Mr Palivec. They've just shot His Imperial Highness, the Archduke Ferdinand, there.'



What do you say to that?'

'I don't poke my nose into things like that. They can kiss my arse if I do!' Palivec replied politely, lighting his pipe. Nowadays,

if anyone got mixed up in a business like that, he'd risk breaking his neck. I'm a tradesman and when anyone comes in here and orders a beer I fill up his glass. But Sarajevo, politics or the late lamented Archduke are nothing for people like us. They lead straight to Pankrac.'

Bretschneider lapsed into silence and looked disappointedly round the empty pub.

'Hallo, there used to be a picture of His Imperial Majesty hanging here once,' he started up again after a while. 'Just where the mirror hangs now.'

'Yes, you're right,' Palivec replied. 'It did hang there, but the flies used to shit on it, so I put it away in the attic. You know, somebody might be so free as to pass a remark about it and then there could be unpleasantness. I don't want that, do I?'

'In Sarajevo it must have been a pretty ugly business, Mr Palivec.'

Palivec: 'At this time of the year it's scorching hot in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When I served there, they had to put ice on our lieutenant's head.'

'Which regiment did you serve in, Mr Palivec?'

'I can't possibly remember anything so unimportant. Bloody nonsense of that sort never interested me and I've never bothered my head about it,' answered Palivec. 'Curiosity killed a cat.'

Bretschneider finally relapsed into silence. His gloomy face only lit up on the arrival of Svejik who came into the pub, ordered a dark black beer and remarked: "Today they'll be in mourning in Vienna too."

Bretschneider's eyes gleamed with hope, and he said laconically: 'On Konopiste there are ten black flags.'

'There should be twelve?,' said Svejik, after he had taken a swig.

'What makes you think twelve?' asked Bretschneider.

'To make it a round number. A dozen adds up better, and dozens always come cheaper,' answered Svejik.

There was a silence, which Svejik himself broke with a sigh: 'And so he's already lying with God and the angels. Glory be! He didn't even live to be an Emperor. When I was serving in the army general once fell off his horse and killed himself without any fuss. They wanted to help him back onto his horse, to lift him up, but to their surprise he was completely dead. And he was going to be promoted Field Marshall. It happened at a review. These reviews never come to any good. In Sarajevo there was a

review too. I remember in a parade like that I had twenty buttons missing from my uniform and they sent me into solitary confinement for a fortnight, where I lay for two days trussed up like Lazarus. But in the army you must have discipline, otherwise why would anyone bother at all? Our Lieutenant Makovec always used to say: 'There's got to be discipline, you bloody fools, otherwise you'd be climbing up on trees like monkeys, but the army's going to make human beings of you, you god-forsaken idiots.' And isn't that true? Just imagine a park, let's say at Charles Square, and on every tree an undisciplined soldier! It's enough

to give you a nightmare!'

'At Sarajevo,' Bretschneider resumed, 'it was the Serbs who did it.'

'You're wrong there,' replied Svejik. 'It was the Turks, because of Bosnia and Herzegovina.' And Svejik expounded his views on Austrian foreign policy in the Balkans. In 1912 the Turks lost the war with Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. They had wanted Austria to help them, and when this didn't happen, they shot Ferdinand.

'Do you like the Turks?' said Svejik, turning to Palivec. 'Do you like those heathen dogs? You don't, do you?'

'One customer is as good as another,' said Palivec, 'never a Turk. For tradesmen like us politics doesn't enter into it. Pay for your beer, sit down in my jabber what you like. That's my principle. It's all the same to me whether our Ferdinand was done in by a Serb or Turk, Catholic or Moslem, anarchist or Young Czech.'

'All right now, Mr. Palivec,' resumed Bretschneider, who was again beginning to despair of catching either of them out, 'but all the same you'll admit that it's a great loss for Austria.'

Svejik replied for the landlord: 'Yes, it's a loss indeed, there's no denying it. A shocking loss. You can't replace Ferdinand by any twopenny-halfpenny idiot. Only he ought

to have been still fatter.'

'What do you mean?' Bretschneider lived up.

'What do I mean?' Svejik answered happily. 'Just this. If he'd been fatter then of course he'd certainly have had a stroke long ago, when he was chasing those old women at Konopiste when they were collecting firewood and picking mushrooms on his estate, and he wouldn't have had to die such a shameful death. Just imagine, an uncle of His Imperial Majesty and shot! Why, it's a scandal! The newspapers are full of it. Years ago in our



Budejovice a cattle-dealer called Bretislav Ludvik was stabbed in the market place in a petty squabble. He had a son called Bohuslav, and wherever that lad came to sell pigs, no one wanted to buy anything from him and everyone said: "That's the son of that chap who was stabbed. He's probably a first-class bastard too!" There was nothing for him to do but to jump into the Vltava from that bridge at Krumlov, and they had to drag him out, resurrect him, pump water out of him, and of course he had to die in the arms of the doctor just when he was giving him an injection.

'You do make strange comparisons, I must say,' said Bretschneider significantly. 'First you talk about Ferdinand and then about a cattle-dealer.'

'Oh, no, I don't,' Svejek defended himself. 'God forbid my wanting to compare anyone to anybody else. Mr Palivec knows me very well. I've never compared anyone to anybody else, have I? But I wouldn't for the life of me want to be in the skin of that Archduke's widow. What's she going to do now? The children are orphans and the family estate at Konopiste has no master. Marry a new Archduke? What would she get out of that? She'd only go with him to Sarajevo again and would be widowed a second time. You know years ago there was a gamekeeper, in Zliv near Hluboka.⁸ He had a very ugly name - Pind'our.⁹ Some poachers shot him, and he left a widow and two little babes. Within a year she married another gamekeeper, Pepik Savel from Mydlovary. And they shot him too. And then she married a third time, again a gamekeeper, and said: "Third time lucky. If it doesn't succeed this time, then I don't know what I shall do." Well, of course, they shot him too, and with all these gamekeepers she had six children altogether. She even went to the office of His Highness the Prince at Hluboka and complained that she'd had trouble with those gamekeepers. And so they recommended her a fellow called Jares¹⁰ who was a water bailiff in the watch tower at Razice. And, can you imagine it? He was drowned when they were fishing the lake out. And she had two children by him. And then she took a pig-gelder from Vodnany and one night he hit her over the head with his axe and went and gave himself up voluntarily. And when they hanged him afterwards at the district court at Pisek he bit the priest's nose and said he didn't regret anything. And he also said something extremely nasty about His

Imperial Majesty.'

'And you don't happen to know what he said?' Bretschneider asked hopefully.

'I can't tell you, because no one dared repeat it. But I'm told that it was something so dreadful and horrible that one of the magistrates went mad, and they keep him to this very day in solitary confinement, so that it shan't get out. It wasn't the usual sort of insulting remark which people make about his Imperial Majesty when they are tight.'

'And what sort of insulting remark do people make about His Imperial Majesty when they are tight?' asked Bretschneider.

'Now come, gentlemen, please change the subject,' said Palivec. 'You know, I don't like it. Somebody might talk out of turn and we'd be sorry for it.'

'What sort of insulting remarks do people make about His Imperial Majesty when they're tight?' Svejek repeated. 'All kinds. Get drunk, have the Austrian national anthem and you'll see what you start saying! You'll think up such a lot about His Imperial Majesty, that if only half of it were true it would be enough to disgrace him all his life. But the old gentleman really doesn't deserve it. Just think! His son Rudolf¹¹ - lost in tender years, in full flower of his manhood. His wife Elizabeth - stabbed with a file.

And then Jan Orth - also lost. His brother, the Emperor of Mexico¹² - put up against a wall and shot in fortress somewhere. And now again in his old age they've shot his uncle. A chap needs iron nerves for that. And then some drunken bastard starts to swear at him. If the balloon went up today I'd go as a volunteer and serve His Imperial Majesty to my last drop of blood.'

Svejek took a deep draught of beer and continued:

'Do you really think His Imperial Majesty is going to put up with this sort of thing? If so, you don't know him at all. There'll have to be a war with the Turks.' 'You killed my uncle and so I'll bash your jaw.' War is certain. Serbia and Russia will help us in it. There won't be a blood bath.'

Svejek looked beautiful in this prophetic moment. His simple face, smiling like a full moon, beamed with enthusiasm. Everything was so clear to him.

'It may be,' he said, continuing his account of Austria's future, that if we have war with the Turks the Germans'll attack us, because the Germans and the Turks stick together. You can't find bigger bastards anywhere. But we can ally ourselves with France which has had a down on Germany ever since 1871. And then the balloon'll go up. There'll be war. I won't say any more.'

Bretschneider stood up and said solemnly:

'You don't need to. Just come along with me into the passage. I've got something to say to you there.'



Svejek followed the plain-clothes police officer into the passage where a little surprise awaited him. His drinking companion showed him his eaglet¹³ and announced that he was arresting him and would take him at once to police headquarters. Svejek tried to explain that the gentleman must be mistaken, that he was completely innocent and that he had not uttered a single word capable of offending anyone.

However, Bretschneider told him that he had in fact committed several criminal offences, including the crime of high treason. Then they returned to the pub and Svejek said to Palivec:

'I've had five beers, a couple of frankfurters and a roll. Now give me one more slivovice and I must go, because I'm under arrest.'

Bretschneider showed Palivec his eaglet, stared at him for a moment and then asked:

'Are you married?'

'I am.'

'And can Madam carry on the business for you during your absence?'

'She can.'

'Then it's all right, Mr Palivec,' said Bretschneider gaily. 'Call your wife here, give the business over to her, and in the evening we'll come for you.'

'Take it easy,' Svejik consoled him. 'I'm only going there for great treason.'

'But what am I going for?' moaned Palivec. 'After all, I've been so careful.'

Bretschneider smiled and said triumphantly:

'Because you said the flies shitted on His Imperial Majesty. They'll certainly knock His Imperial Majesty out of your head there.'

And so Svejik left The Chalice under the escort of the plain-clothes police officer. When they went out into the street his face lit up with it's good-natured smile and he asked:

'Should I step down from the pavement?'

'What do you mean?'

'I thought as I'm under arrest I've no right to walk on the pavement.'

When they passed the door of police headquarters Svejik said:

'Well, the time passed very pleasantly for us there. Do you often go to The Chalice?'

And while they were escorting Svejik to the reception office Palivec at The Chalice handed over the running of the pub to his weeping wife, consoling her in his own inimitable way:

'Don't cry, don't howl. What can they do to me because of some shit on a picture of His Imperial Majesty?'

And thus it was that the good soldier Svejik intervened in the

great war in his own sweet, charming way. It will interest historians that he saw far into the future. If the situation subsequently developed otherwise than he had expounded it at The Chalice we must bear in mind that he had never had any preparatory training in diplomacy.

Footnotes:

- 1 The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, nephew of the Austrian Emperor, Franz Joseph, was assassinated with his wife at Sarajevo by the Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, in 1914.
- 2 After the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina. They remained under Turkish suzerainty until 1908 when Austria-Hungary annexed them.
- 3 The Empress Elizabeth of Austria was stabbed by an anarchist in 1898 in Switzerland.
- 4 In fact, Franz Ferdinand was the Emperor's nephew.
- 5 When the British Commander called upon Marshal Cambronne to surrender, he is reputed to have said 'Merde! The guard dies but does not yield.'
- 6 The Prague prison.
- 7 A member of the Czech National Liberal Party led by Dr. Kramar, later to be the first Premier of the Czechoslovak Republic.
- 8 Famous estate of Prince Schwarzenberg in Southern Bohemia.
- 9 'Little Cock.'
- 10 Hasek's grandfather was called Jares and was a water bailiff.
- 11 Rudolf, the son of the Emperor Franz Joseph and heir to the throne, died mysteriously at his hunting lodge of Mayerling.
- 12 Archduke Johann have up his Hapsburg title and called himself Johann Orth. Ferdinand Maximilian, the brother of the Emperor, was crowned Emperor of Mexico. He was taken prisoner and executed in 1867.
- 13 The two-headed eagle was the warrant of the Austrian State Security.

(Translation by Cecil Paroth.
Illustrations by Josef Lada)

(Contd. from p.42)

BUDDHISM: AN APPENDIX ON CHRISTIAN BORROWINGS-II

There are two means of effacing them : Confession and the transfer of supererogatory merits (the equivalent of the Roman Catholic "Treasury of Merits" of Christ and the saints). The latter is the justification for the prayers and ceremonies for the departed.

Iconography

There is no Zoroastrian art. Be it Achaemenid, Arsacid, or Sasanian periods, Iranian art was predominantly royal. Only one god is represented during the first period : Auramazda, as a winged disk hovering above the king. It is known, however that Artaxerxes II introduced statues of Anahita into her temples. In the Sasanian period, deities were represented only in the giving of the royal investiture, as is the case with Ormazad and Anahita at Naqsh-e-Rostam, or Ormazad and Mithra at Taq-e-Bostan. The frequency of the bull-man in Achaemenid and Sasanid iconography may be due to the obviously royal character of this personage : on seals he wears a crown and the Pahalavi text calls him Gopatshah, "King of Gopat".

Relation to Other Religions

The debt of Israel to its Eastern neighbours in religious matters is easy to demonstrate. Isaiah 40-48 offers striking parallels with the Gatha 44 : 3-5, as has been shown by Morton Smith. Besides the common procedure of rhetorical questions, there is the notion of a god who has created the world and, notably, light and darkness. The very idea of a creator god, may be common to all the Western part of the Semitic World. But the notion that God created light and darkness appears in both prophets. It is true that Zoroaster associates light and darkness only to waking and sleep and that no Iranian text says that God created

good and evil. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition, in Isaiah, of light-darkness with good-evil sounds remarkably Iranian.

Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster, there are striking likenesses of doctrine between Iran and Greece. Anaximander's world picture corresponds to that of the Avesta. Heraclitus seems to have been impressed, in Ephesus, by the practices of the Magi, if not by their theory on the fiery nature of the soul. This would account for the emergence, in 5th century Greece, of the belief in the heavenly fate of the soul.

The search for an Iranian background to Gnosticism must be placed in a new perspective if the recent view that Gnosticism is really a Christian heresy is accepted.

Conclusion

Zoroastrianism is not the purely ethical religion it may at first seem. In practice, despite the doctrine of free choice, a Zoroastrian is so constantly involved in a meticulous struggle against the contamination of death and the thousand causes of defilement, and against the threat, even in his sleep, of ever-present demons, that he does not often believe that he is leading his life freely and morally.

Apart from this attitude, the belief in the power of destiny sometimes culminates in fatalism. The latter is easily associated with Zurvanism, itself sometimes tainted with materialism. In the *Menoki Khrat*, it is stated that "though one be armed with the valour and strength of wisdom and knowledge, yet it is not possible to strive against fate."

On the whole, however, as R.C. Zaehner notes, "the theological premises" of Zoroastrianism "are based on an essentially moralistic view of life."

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from M.Sunny & Reply Telegram & Letter from Lohia Ambedkar Socialist Centre & Reply Letter from Prof. Dubey & Reply Communications from *Voice of the Vanguard* & MPR Reddy

Letter from M.Sunny & Reply

8.4.97

Dear Vinayakji and Saryuji,

JNU has been suddenly quite alive after the killing of their previous President in Siwan by Laloo's henchmen. Lot of *dharnas* -- many were hurt in a lathi charge by Police. I am enclosing certain clippings. The President was a CPI-ML activist and had been back home only for past two months. It's sad how criminals have taken over politics in UP and Bihar, the MP from Siwan - Mohd. Shahbuddin is in prison and Janata Dal meetings are held in prison.

Hope to see you in Pune later this year.

With warm regards.

Yours Sincerely,
Sunny & Meeta.

15.5.97

Dear Sunny,

Due to a little mix-up here, the editorial note on comrade Chandrashekhar's murder was carried in the last issue, whilst your letter on which the edit was based, got left behind.

Anyway, this gives me a additional opportunity to reiterate *Mankind's* revolution at the goings on in Bihar. Laloo cashed in his association with Dr. Lohia to become Bihar CM. Let him now repay in part the debt he owes to Lohia. Through this *Adda at Nukkad*, through this public forum in which we Indians are debating the values and ideals of our yesterdays and our tomorrows, Laloo must learn to discipline his minions. Laloo must apologize, sincerely and fully for what has happened under Janata Dal rule in Bihar and must promise that it shall never happen again.

At the same time the students of JNU and of all the institutions of higher learning across the country must make clear, that they are resolved to avenge

Chandrashekhar's death by positive mass action. The Student Community of India must congratulate Chandrashekhar's brave mother who has refused the compensatory award by Laloo and his government.

We want justice and the only justice possible is an end to the present regime of terror, poverty, oppression and exploitation. We are ready for a long struggle. But the struggle shall be relentless!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY
UNITY OF THE STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS,
WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF
INDIA!

WE CALL UPON ALL
AMBEDKARITES TO TURN TO MILITANT
LEFTIST POLITICS!

WE CALL UPON INDIAN SOCIAL-
ISTS AND COMMUNISTS TO ACCEPT
THE REVOLUTIONARY PATH!

WE CALL UPON NAXALITES TO
BECOME REVOLUTIONARY NATIONAL-
ISTS!

Exe.Edr.

Telegram & Letter from Lohia Ambedkar Socialist Centre, Hyderabad

22.5.97

Vinayak Purohit
5, Hansali, Damle Path,
Pune 411004.

Lohia Ambedkar Socialist Centre
Andhra Pradesh Hyderabad organising
two days seminar on 7th and 8th June at
Hyderabad to discuss present political
situation and role of Lohiaites and
Ambedkarites. You have been chosen as
star speaker. Kindly come without fail.
Letter follows.

Keshavarao Jadhav and Turlapati
Satyanarayana

LOHIA AMBEDKAR SOCIALIST
CENTRE
D.No.6-3-159/17, Samatha Vidyalaya,
Premnagar, Khairatabad Post,
Hyderabad, AP., Tel. 3391103

23.5.1997

Dear Sri Vinayak Purohitji,
We hope this letter finds you happy
and healthy.

In continuation of our telegram, dated
22.5.97, we would like to request you once
again that you may kindly spare your valu-
able time and attend the conference as
special guest to deliver your message for
the unity of the oppressed and sup-
pressed and power to common man as
propounded by Dr. Lohia and Dr. B.R
Ambedkar.

We are enclosing the leaflet of the pro-
gram for your kind perusal.

The proposed two-day conference of
7th & 8th June will be a historical congru-
ence of Lohiaites and Ambedkarites of this
decade and is going to produce a histori-
cal document.

We are eagerly awaiting your pres-
ence.

Yours comradely,
Keshav Rao Jadhav &
Turlapati Satyanarayana

LOHIA AMBEDKAR SOCIALIST
CENTRE, STATE CONVENTION
IN HYDERABAD ON 7TH & 8TH JUNE
1997

The ruling classes are eager to celebrate
the Golden Jubilee of our country's free-
dom with pomp and splendour. The coun-
try's ruling classes are proclaiming from
the house tops that during the last fifty
years the country has achieved great
progress, that democracy has managed to
survive on strong foundations and that
India's technological know-how has at-
tained Euro-American standards. As evi-
dence of our country's progress the ruling
classes are citing the certificates being
issued endlessly by the World Bank, IMF,
the monopolists of the multinational com-
panies and the leaders of the uro-Ameri-
can countries, praising India's progress.
How much trust is there in these contin-
uous encomiums showered on our ruling
classes by the Euro-American leaders and
the bosses of the international bodies
through propaganda media like the radio,
television, newspapers, etc. There is a his-
toric necessity to expose the true facts af-
ter studying and analysing what is pro-
gressed. It is necessary that the revolu-
tionaries who have been inspired by the

ideas of Dr.Lohia and Dr. Ambedkar, to work for the transformation of society and for the establishment of a society based on equality, should place the facts before the people. With the disappearance of the politics based on ideals; opportunism, turn-coatism, love of power, ways of making easy money have become the guiding stars and they have dragged the country's political, economic and administrative systems to the abyss of corruption. The country's integrity is endangered by the strengthening of caste hatred, religious fanaticism and fissiparous tendencies. The White races of Euro-America have raised the living standards of their own peoples to unimaginable levels by the ruthless exploitation of the wealth of the coloured races who live in the continent of Africa, Asia and Latin America and who formed 2/3rds of the world's population. The upper caste of this country have taken as their ideals the cruel policies and the economic and political culture of the White races, and they are subjecting the lower caste who formed 80% of the country's population to heinous exploitation, oppression and discrimination; thereby strengthening their political and economic domination.

The upper caste who have been ruling this country for the past fifty years have inherited and maintained intact the administrative, the judicial and parliamentary institutions and the educational system, left by the British imperialists. Now they have thrown off all pretence of anti-imperialism and are openly collaborating with the Euro-American ruling classes in the name of Globalisation.

Under these circumstances, we have decided to organise the Lohia Ambedkar Socialist Centre, by bringing together all the idealists who have been inspired by the theories of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Ambedkar to study and analyse the situation to evolve answers and solutions to the various problems faced by the common poor people.

The main objectives of this forum are:

1. To work for the setting up of a new Constituent Assembly based on universal adult franchise which will put an end to the political, economic, administrative and judicial systems inherited from the British imperialists and which will draft a new constitution reflecting the country's resources and situation, as also the desires and the aspirations of the common people.

2. Believing that the true definition of democracy in a pluralist society is economic, political and administrative decentralisation

to carry on an unremitting campaign for a constitutional division of duties, rights and resources between the centre, the state, the district, the village and town.

3. To work tirelessly for the setting up of a national level enquiry committee which will liberate the country from bribery, corruption and ill-gotten wealth, and establish high standards in all fields of life. As a first step towards this, a committee will hold a time-bound enquiry into the looting of the public treasury during the past fifty years by crooked politicians and corrupt officials. The committee should also identify the foreign banks in which these corrupt persons have stashed their ill-gotten wealth and take steps to confiscate the same in order to use it for developmental purposes.

4. To bring political consciousness to the oppressed and exploited sections who formed the majority of the population and who have been kept away from political, economic, social, educational and intellectual fields and to see that they receive social justice.

5. To work tirelessly to consolidate the Kapus, BCs, SCs, STs and minorities who formed 80% of the Andhra population to shape them into a political force in order to transfer state power from the upper castes to the lower castes.

6. To propagate the ideals, objectives and theories of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Ambedkar for a transformation of the society based on equality.

Discussion papers will be introduced in the convention on all the main objectives and on all the important problems faced by the people. Resolutions will be passed on the basis of discussions carried on by the delegates from all over the state and the state level executive committee will be set up with those who are prepared to take the responsibility of implementing these resolutions.

Venue: Bansilal Pannalal Function Hall, Anadnagar Colony, Khairtabad, Hyderabad-500 004.

Lodging and boarding facilities have been provided for the delegates at the meeting hall. Delegates have to pay Rs. 15/- and obtain the identity card.

Hoping that you will attend the convention without fail and encourage our effort by contributing your valuable ideas to the discussion.

Yours Sincerely,

M.Madhava Rao, G.M. Anjaiah,
K.N.Ramdass, M.A. Baig, Thota Bipin
Chandra Pal & Turlapati Satyanarayana.

Dear Keshav Rao Jadhav, Turlapati Satyanarayana, M.Madhava Rao, G.M. Anjaiah, K.N.Ramdass, and other good friends,

I thank you for your kind invitation, but must decline it. I received your telegram on 22nd May and your letter on 31st May. The notice is too short.

As you know we are a very small team bringing out an ideological high quality journal like *Mankind*. It is a monthly of 68 pages, of double-book-page size. So far I have brought out twenty one issues without any major hiccup. I assure you that it has not been easy. Not even considering the financial burden, which is a separate issue by itself. I am referring to the mere physical labour of writing, editing, proof-reading, corresponding, despatching and so on. We are just three or four and everyone has to attend to everything.

I am also seventy years old and no longer can I travel alone. I cannot interrupt the magazine production cycle at such short notice and you must excuse me.

I wish your Conference all success, and as you will see from my reply to M.Sunny above, that I am very hopeful of a Left Socialist trend developing within the Ambedkarites, and of a revolutionary anti-reformist trend developing within the Lohiaites, which was the original message of Lohia.

I am very happy that one of the principal demands that will be raised by your Conference will be the demand for a New Constituent Assembly. As I have suggested repeatedly, particularly in my *Opening Letter to Hazare*, etc. (Feb/March 1997), we must develop a nation-wide agitation for the realization of a New Constituent Assembly, for the first time elected on a **DIRECT, EQUAL, UNIVERSAL, ADULT FRANCHISE**.

At the same time you should raise the demand for the following simple people-friendly economic programme:

- 1) **There shall be no further devaluations of the rupee** which has declined from the 1947 level of Rs 3.32 per dollar, to a current level of around Rs 36 to the dollar, or a decline of over 12 times.

- 2) **There shall be no further accumulation of foreign debt**, over and above \$100 billion already reached. Since more than double the principal has already been repaid by India no more shall be due from us. We have repaid \$76.8 billion from 1970 to 1995 and that is enough for

a poor country like India. We should not ask for a moratorium, as it only adds to the debt. We want a simple repudiation!

3) There shall be no imports above the level of our exports. In other words, there shall be no trade deficit either Visible or Invisible. **Our imports shall be restricted to our exports less Invisible Outflows**, on account of amortization and interest payments on past accumulated debts, as well as all profits and dividends remitted abroad as also all royalty payments sent out.

4) No foreign investments will be allowed in Agriculture, Forestry, Construction, Consumer Goods and in Services and none will be allowed anywhere in India in any sector above the fifty percent level, and all foreign capital hitherto invested above this level in non-essential, non-infrastructure Consumer Goods and Services sectors shall be withdrawn and repatriated. Foreign investments above 50% in Essential & Infrastructural areas shall be brought down to less than 50% in five years.

All such capital will be taken over by the State, and at a later stage, will be sold to Co-operative Societies of Workers, Peasants, Students, Youth, Women, Tribals, OBCs, SCs etc, as may be determined by Parliament from time to time. All Utilities, Electricity, Water, Sanitation, Roads shall be owned by the State or by Co-operative Societies. There shall be no rationalization or public ownership of concerns that employ less than 100/500 workers, as may be determined by Experts' Committees advising on Sectoral Planning.

5) India totally rejects the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Neo-Colonial Trimurti of WB, IMF and WTO; and calls for a halt to, and reversal of, the programme of Liberalisation, Privatisation Globalisation and Westernisation that was being pursued by the Congress governments till 1996, and by the BJP and the UF governments since then.

Considering my age, I am quite well and am able to pursue my intellectual interests and my writings, without any difficulty. But I must conserve my physical resources to the maximum extent that I can.

Certainly I would like to meet all old friends in Hyderabad. But for the time being, I must deny myself the pleasure. My views are all before you, through the columns of *Mankind*.

Wishing your Conference a grand success.
Yours Sincerely,
Exe.Edr.

Prof. Dubey's Letter & Reply

Dear Colleague Dr. Vinayak Purohit, I am happy to report the formation of the *Samajwadi Vichar Manch* in May 1996.

I request you to send your consent to joining the Organising Committee of the SVM.

I am sending herewith a report covering the first six months of the SVM's activities.

1. Three meetings of the Organising Committee were held on 18th June 1996 at Vithalbhai Patel Bhavan, New Delhi, presided over by Dr. Ishwar Prasad; on the 18th July 1996 at Triveni Kala Sangam, New Delhi, chaired by Prof. Rajkumar Jain; and on 28th August 1996 at Mohan Singh Place, New Delhi, presided over by Prof. Vinod Prasad Singh.

2. Programme/Colloquium

(a) Pledge-taking ceremony at Rajghat, fled by S. N. Reddy, Ex-Governor, Uttar Pradesh & Orissa. Slogan-shouting March from Rajghat to Narendra Dev statue at Gulab Vatika led by Rajkumar Jain, Surajbhan Gupta, Dr. Harish Khanna, Dr. Prem Singh and Indu Prasad Singh. Seminar at Narendra Dev statue presided over by Brijmohan Toofan.

(b) 13th August 1996:

Day long workshop organised at Gandhi Shanti Pratisthan

(c) 12th October 1996:

Death Anniversary of Dr. Lohia - meeting presided over by Chandrabhan Mani Tripathi, former Vice-Chairman of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Commission; keynote address by Rabi Ray, former Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

(d) 16th October 1996:

A seminar organised at 8, Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi; Chief Organiser Shri Shankar Suhel; Principal speaker Janeshwar Mishra, Minister for Water Resources. Other speakers; Kamallesh Tripathi, Arun Kumar Pandey (journalist) Seth (flautist), Shamsul Ahmed and Satyamitra Dubey.

(e) It was resolved that on 31st December 1996, the death anniversary of Raj Narain will be celebrated.

3. Joint Action with other Organisations/Movements

(a) The hunger strike of stage artists from 27th July to 2nd August 1996 was actively supported by Dr. Anand and Satyamitra Dubey.

(b) The Myanmar Democratic

Movement was supported by the SVM.

(c) Participation and Support to the Tibet question and National Convention for Tibet on 2/10/1996.

(d) The common demands of the Jamia Milia University, the JNU, the DU and the IGNOU, and of their teachers' movements, were supported by Rijwan Kaiser, Dr. Harish Khanna, Dr. Deepak Kumar, Dr. Prem Singh, Dr. C.S. Reddy, and others on behalf of the SVM.

(e) Our Manch joined the Movement to Save Freedom at its All India Session of 1/9/1996. Our Manch also joined the representation made to the Chancellor, Delhi University against the obscene posters pasted in the campus.

(f) Human Rights Movement - Amnesty International, Indian Section:

At the September seminar of this body, one of the sessions were chaired by me. Prof. Vinod Prasad Singh travelled to Nepal and Europe to carry on this work. Justice Rajendra Sanchar, a member of our Organising Committee is very skillfully directing the affairs of the body.

4. Workshop on 13th Aug. 1996

A workshop was organised to discuss background, necessity and aims of Socialism; Socialist Movement and Indian Political Organisations; Autonomy, Self Determination and Decentralisation; Liberalisation, Globalisation, Socio-Economic Development and Poverty Eradication; and Language, Education and Culture

5. The Samajwadi Vichar Manch has been in active communication with former Prime Minister Chandrashekar, former speaker of the Lok Sabha Rabi Ray, the Defence Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav, the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission Madhu Dandavate, Kishan Pattanayak, George Fernandes, Water Resources Minister Janeshwar Mishra, Surendra Mohan, former Governors Satya Narayan Reddy and Madhukar Dighe; Brijmohan Toofan, Kapil Dev Singh, MPs Ram Gopal Yadav, Brijbhushan Tiwari, Mukhtar, Anees, Satyapal Malik, Ramakant Pandey, Justice Rajendra Sachchar, Prof. Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya, Prof. Ananthamurthy, Prabhaskar Joshi, Rameshwar Mishra Pankaj, Champa Limaye, Dr. Raghuvansh, Shripad Kelkar, Ganesh Mantri, Ajit Sharma, K. Vikram Rao, Hardev Sharma, Sachchidanand, Dr. Rajkawal Rai, Prof. Nityanand Tiwari and Rajanikant Verma.

6. Numerous other activities were

undertaken including keeping in touch with leading political and academic personalities in Delhi; publication of articles in friendly journals, and so on.

Yours Sincerely,
Satyamitra Dubey
National Convenor
Samajwadi Vihar Manch
Ex-Prof & Head, Dept of Sociology
Dibrugarh University, Assam.
Ex-Prof of Sociology, IGNOU New Delhi.
Ex-head, S.C/ S.T Study Unit, NIEPA,
New Delhi.
Ex-Prof & Head, Dept of Sociology,
Social Work, I.R.P.M., Nagayuna
University, A.P.
Ex-Member, ICSSR, New Delhi.

2.6.97

Dear Prof. Dubey,

Your letter reached us in late January and due to pressure on space, as it was a long letter, we could feature it only now.

Please keep on writing and reporting to us the significant developments relating to your Samajwadi Vihar Manch.

I do not think that I am eminent enough to join your Organising Committee. Please keep me out of it. You have my good wishes.

I hope that amongst your numerous activities, you will find time to support the agitation of the JNU students against the recent killing of their ex-president, Chandrashekhar, at Siwan in Bihar.

I would suggest that your SVM should give centrality to the demand for a New Constituent Assembly. I am sending a copy of the Feb/ March 1997 issue of *Mankind* which carries my "Open Letter to Hazare, etc." This *Open Letter* explains *Mankind's* position fully and advocates urgent attention to necessary ideological clarification of our basic democratic demands.

Please also link up the demand for a New Constituent Assembly with the demand for a New Economic Policy which Combats the Neo-colonial *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO, and opposes the Structural Adjustment Programme of the *trimurti*, which is being implemented by the UF Govt. as the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation (LPG) and Westernisation.

Please continue to remain in touch with *Mankind*.

Yours Sincerely,
Exe.Edr.

Communication from *Voice of the Vanguard*

Development works in villages led by Village Development committees

In several villages in Nizamabad district in Andhra Pradesh, village development committees formed by the poor people are providing guidance in carrying out development works. The sarpanches only get the allotted funds of the Rozgar Yojana schemes released to the People's Development Committees who then carry out all development works in the villages.

In the Maddikunta village, all taxes payable to the village panchayat, e.g. water and current charges, are collected by a nominee of the Village Development Committee and these amounts are spent for implementing facilities for the whole village such as construction of paved metal roads and side drains, a common dhobi-ghat, expansion of the village primary school upto the 7th class, building of a water tank. The people of the village contributed voluntary labour and raised donations to pay four private teachers to run the recently expanded school.

All disputes which arise in the village are being settled by the people's committees without approaching the police or law courts. The members of the Village Development Committee had carried out the repair of village roads and construction of a hospital in spite of constant police harassment of members of the committee. A common fund of Rs.7 lakhs was collected from the toddy-tappers and this amount was used for building a hostel and a bus stand.

In Gudem, the people mobilised four surrounding villages to pressurise the taluka government administration and got a wider road sanctioned by the side of the tankbund as the existing road was narrow and very risky for the bus journey. About 35 acres of pasture land belonging to landlords was distributed among the landless under the leadership of the Village Development Committee. Ration cards, plots and grants sanctioned to the village were distributed to the poor in the presence in the village population.

In Israilpet, there is no elected sarpanch. The Village Development Committee has led the people of the village in building a bus stand by contribution of voluntary labour. Rs.30,000 were collected as common fund from the toddy-tappers and used for community works.

In Kamareddy area, in 21 villages

the people boycotted the Sarpanch elections. In 15 villages out of these 21, the people have taken the initiative to form Development Committees which are carrying out all the community programmes in these villages.

Because of these experiences in the villages, the rural population has realised that the Village Development Committees formed through their own initiative are more effective in executing development works and that they can dispense altogether with the government-run sarpanch-elections which breed corruption and apathy. The villagers have realised that the Village Development Committees mean a greater participation of the local population in decision-making and accountability of the committees to the people who have elected them is real.

Cable TV banned in Warangal

There is a lot of breast-beating and wailing about the evil effects of foreign and Indian channels broadcast on the cable TV telecasts. But besides condemning these growing dangerous trends in the press and in public speeches, there is no significant and concerted move to counter the spread of the cable TV cancer on the part of the opinion-makers of our society. The comprador bourgeois government which is vigorously pushing the policies of Liberalisation, Globalisation, Privatisation and Westernisation is in fact abetting this cultural invasion and the rapid degradation of values it is bringing about.

The mass organisations of the toiling peasantry in Telangama have been discussing this problem for some time. There is a growing realisation that the cable TV relays are being used as a powerful weapon by the Indian ruling classes to distract the people from the real problems facing them and from the path of fighting to solve them.

The lure of the dazzling advertisements of consumer goods tempts the poor toiling masses to divert their meagre incomes to spend on these flashy goods when they can hardly afford even the bare necessities for their family members.

The round-the-clock relays on the cable TV also induce habits of passivity and idleness in the youth and make them lazy and indifferent to work. The glorification of crime in these TV programmes leads the youth astray.

The peasantry of Warangal district have called on the cable TV operators to stop all cable TV relays in the area. The peasants in this area have successfully fought anti-liquor struggles and have won a state-wide struggle for total prohibition. Encouraged by their victory against the arrack lobby, they have launched a protracted struggle against the growing onslaught through the visual media. The cable operators have been obliged to stop all cable TV relays.

[From *Voice of the Vanguard*, Organ of the Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist People's War Group), Vol-8, No.2, April-June 1996, received per courier.]

Communication from Dr.MPR Reddy

VISIT TO BUJABUJA NELLORE - Rehabilitation Centre, Vandluru, Suddamalla and Kummaragunta displaced people and their plight.

Telugu Ganga Project was conceived in 1983 with the object of supplying drinking water to Madras City, and irrigation of one lakh acres of land in Rayaleseema. It was proposed to divert Krishna water from Srisaillam through a reservoir to Kandaleru in Rapur Mandal of Nellore District. The project engineers started work on the canals and notified the people of 24 villages likely to be submerged in the backwaters of Kandaleru. The owner-cultivators of over ten thousand hectares of land in the villages were offered compensation for the agricultural lands. The survey settlement revealed that the lands acquired had to be classified according to their fertility and utility and their prices were fixed at about fifteen times the annual income. The Land Acquisition Act of 1984 was amended with suitable modifications in 1984 when lands had to be acquired for dams, canals, and other public sector projects all over India.

The people of Kandaleru submersible villages were told by the project authorities that they would have to vacate their hearths and homes as soon as the construction of the Kandaleru Reservoir dam was completed, and water flowed through the canal from Srisaillam to Kandaleru and the Poondi Reservoir in Madras.

The inundation of the villages began partially as soon as rain water collected and flowed into the Kandaleru Reservoir during the south-west monsoon in Andhra

Pradesh. When the government of Andhra Pradesh announced that Kandaleru water will be released into the canal from Kandaleru to Poondi Reservoir on the 29th of September, the nearest villages were inundated and some families started migrating to the rehabilitation centres selected by the project authorities.

The displaced people of Vandluru, Suddamalla and Kummaragunta were asked to resettle in a place situated about one kilometer from Bujabuja Nellore, on the outskirts of Nellore Town.

Vandluru was an ancient village situated about ten kilometers from Rapur. They were persuaded to migrate with bag and baggage to the new centre at Bujabuja Nellore. The press statements of the special Collector gave them hope that the outsees would be provided house sites and financial subsidies and loans for building their houses. But the problem of resettlement presumes that the peasants were also given lands for cultivation, an irrigation tanks, and pasture lands for cattle etc.

Every village has from time immemorial been surrounded by a forest which supplied fire-wood, and timber for house building, and agricultural implements. The peasants of Vandluru were resettled on barren soil outside Bujabuja Nellore, where the minimum facilities for livelihood are not to be found. The Minister-in-charge of Nellore and the Rapur MLA gave them all kinds of assurances one year ago, but till now Vandluru outsees, who live in ramshackle huts have yet to enjoy the minimum essential facilities, like drinking water, cultivable land, school, primary health centre, bus communication, postal arrangements, etc.

I visited their rehabilitation centre, called New Vandluru at 11 A.M. on 9th November, 1996. I was accompanied by Mr. Krishna Prasad Babu, lecturer in history in Jawahar Bharti, Kavali. We spent an hour in a thatched shed of Ramana Reddy, who volunteered to tell us his travails and tribulations as a helpless outsee. We also spoke to Mallika, graduate, who is employed as a clerk in the Pay and Accounts Office of Somasila Project at Nellore. Although our enquiries are incomplete, we could draw a tentative conclusion that the outsees were not treated with the compassion they deserve. "To rehabilitate the outsees the irrigation department of the Government of Andhra Pradesh issued government order dated 3rd July 1959 and a memo dated 16th

August 1965. The Public Works Department of the Government of the Andhra Pradesh issued a memo dt. 19th January 1960. These guidelines were not implemented by the project authorities.

We presume that the above orders were the basic regulations which were followed by the rehabilitation authorities of the Telugu Ganga Project and the Kandaleru Reservoir. We are further inclined to believe that the above orders were not amended or improved upon, in the light of the guidelines recently prepared by the Union Government and circulated to all the states, as National Policy for Rehabilitation.

Government orders and memos clearly specify that outsees would receive 5 acres of dry land. In addition, they could purchase upto 12½ acres if they so desired.

The outsees of Vandluru have complained that they have not received fair compensation. And even the amount offered were reduced in value due to a passage of time, corruption and disruption of the even tenor of their life.

Educated young men are still going from pillar to post in search of employment. They need training for vocation and jobs. They want loans for entering trade or artisanal occupations. Rehabilitation is not understood as restoration of their previous quality of life. Rehabilitation centres should have been selected and developed for resettlement along with the projec work so that when the displaced people left their original homes, they could settle down in the new centres with all the necessary facilities. Both the judgements of the Supreme Court, and the World Bank guidelines had observed that rehabilitation centres should have been selected even before their lands and houses were acquired by the government.

It was laid down in the National Policy for Rehabilitation that the resettlement is a holistic process to restore the human rights lost by the displaced people.

The authorities must remember that as soon as the project is announced, all development in this area comes to a halt, banks refuse to give loans, new civic facilities like schools and health centres are not sanctioned.

Many peasants of Vandluru, Suddamalla and other villages were evacuated when the backwaters of Kandaleru gushed into their habitations. This happened long ago in Nagarjunasagar project area but even upto 1996 the powers that be learnt

nothing.

It is the experience of several displaced peasants that displacement creates chronic impoverishment and deprivation and the helpless outsees are facing even today landlessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food in security. Displacement in the future should not mean a damaging break with the past. People should not feel the psychological shock from leaving their age old social environment.

In the the search for rehabilitation policy, Vasudha Dhogamwar has observed that the outsees could be resettled when the following norms are followed.

Irrigated land for land.

Land for landless.

Land for major sons.

Land which satisfies fuel fodder and timber needs land which allows continuation of the same lifestyle.

Land in command area.

Houses in keeping with the same old lifestyle.

Transport, subsidies, grants, loans and education for children.

The National Policy on Rehabilitation has stressed the need for the following guidelines also:

1. The displaced settlement must be fully compensated for all losses. This includes lands, trees, houses, wages, livelihood, community properties, community amenities and services.

2. Planning of resettlement and monitoring should involve the representatives of the displaced people.

3. A fixed sum must be paid as resettlement grant. An ex-gratia grant of Rs.30,000/- may be given for

transportation, dismantling of building materials, decides free house plots.

4. When neither land nor job has been provided, a subsistence allowance of Rs 1,000/- per family per month for a period of 20 years.

Total rehabilitation demands, schools, health centres, roads and other amenities to provide a better quality of life to withstand the loss of ageold quality of life.

The Supreme Court observed in a case involving the acquisition of land:

" Before any developmental project is taken up, the social cost involved must be evaluated with a view to balancing the advantages..... every developmental programme must provide for the simultaneous rehabilitation of the person who are thrown out of their land and houses on account of acquisition of land for such developmental projects."

(Supreme Court of India, Civil Original Jurisdiction, Lalchand Mehta and Ordt Vs. Coal India Ltd., MP No. 16331 of 1982.)

The last few years have witnessed the expansion of the scope of article 21 which guarantees the right to life and personal liberty. The Supreme Court has in several cases held that the right to live is not merely confined to physical existence but includes within its ambit the right to live with human dignity and all that this entails : the bare necessities of life such as adequate nutrition, clothing, shelter and facilities for reading, writing and expressing oneself in diverse forms, moving freely and mixing with fellow human beings.(Frances Corelie Vs. Union Territories, Delhi AIR 1978 SC 597).

In a subsequent case the Supreme Court went further and held that the right

to work was a part of the right to life. (Olga Tellis Vs Bombay Municipal Corporation 1985, 3 Sec. 545).

Kumargunta, Suddamalla, New Vandluru Rehabilitation Camp:

Although some forest area has been cleared for house sites, the cultivable land has not been reclaimed, and no irrigation facilities are available in the area. How long will this work take to be out and completed is not known. The majority living in hutments go out to Nellore for wage-labour to eke out their livelihood. What they need is a provision of permanent assets for livelihood, cows and buffaloes for dairy farming, poultry development, cottage industries for catering to the nearby villages and Nellore city. There are young men who need work for food. A master plan must be drawn up to provide work for digging wells, ponds, water shed schemes, horticulture. The camp's proximity to Nellore city encourages them to develop gardening, vegetable cultivation and various other occupations.

The D.D.O can help them. The project authorities and the District Collector can help them by allotting plots of land for growing vegetables, construction of poultry sheds and stables for dairy farming. The adjoining shrub jungle can be reclaimed for raising cattle fodder.

The Nellore Municipalty can be persuaded to adopt the camp for laying roads, extending electricity and sanitation, and also elementary amenities like schools, health centres, reading rooms, community centres.

The project authorities can provide housing on the usual terms as under the Indira Rozgar Yojana.

I would, however, like to correct an error, which I made in my letter. That all other alphabets of India are variants of Nagri would be wrong historically, and much more so would it be wrong from the view point of the future. It would be more correct to say that all alphabets of India, including the Nagri, are variations of one another. (Or rather are derived from one source.--Exe.Edr). The Nagri variant seems to have come into the widest and the most authoritative use. I have had occasion to correct a somewhat similar error I used to make in support of East India's languages. Bengali, Uria, Assamia, and Mythil are all variants of a single language, which was perhaps at one time Eastern Prakrit or Magadhi. Their sounds, syntax, words and pronunciation are so similar. In recentmost past, Bengali has been somewhat ahead of the other three variants and one is likely to make the mistake of regarding Bengali as the source from which the three derived. In reality, all four are derived from the single source of Eastern Prakrit. In similar manner all the alphabets of India are derived from a single source. They have indeed a long history of changes. Nagri as we know it today is somewhat different from the characters of two thousand years ago from which it has evolved.

I sometimes wonder whether democracy is any good for solving a problem. It seems to be good for preparing the solution and it is also good after the solution has already been reached. In the intervening period between preparation and enjoyment of a solution, some kind of a dictatorship seems to be essential for reaching the solution. So obvious and desirable a proposition, so reasonable, almost inescapable ; and yet such a minor matter, but the use of a single alphabet for all languages of India is further away after eleven years of freedom. Democracy has allowed some evil vested interests to grow. I hasten to add that I am not yet a convert to the idea of dictatorship, nor do I think I shall ever be. I have only mused on the fact that democrats like me can only prepare, propagate and educate, while the joy and celebrity of execution will belong to some barbarian, unless the people intervene in public affairs more effectively than they do. I do not propose to be the barbarian or his accomplice.

I may here pay my tribute to poets like Niranjana Bhagat who writes Gujarati but does not allow his publisher to use a script other than Nagri. He removes the line on top, an innovation which may with some modifications and great profit become acceptable to all users of Nagri. In fact, one of my grouses against Mahatma Gandhi is that he allowed the Gujrati Script for his Gujrati publication and also against Poet Tagore that he similarly allowed the Bengali script, while both could and should have obliged their publishers to use the Nagri script. I do not understand why Bengalis and Gujaratis should want to preserve their separate scripts, even if Tamil desire is a little more firmly grounded though equally unreasonable. **These separate scripts are against the national interest, even against the narrow and selfish interests of those who use them. And yet, this great unreason continues.**

Fakers of culture bring up two arguments in support of this unreason, one related to beauty and the other to a specific characteristic of India's culture. Unity in diversity is a

mark, so we are told of India's culture. **Is this formula to cover a stupid, wasteful, senseless and nationally disastrous diversity? And, is beauty to be put into pictures and similar stuff or into an exclusive object of utility such as an alphabet?**

I have no intention to state here the somewhat meaningless assertion that Nagri is the most scientific alphabet the world has so far known. **What is scientific in the sphere of social abstractions is largely a matter of acceptance and what is accepted depends largely on strength and power.** I will only repeat the disastrous waste of too many alphabets, where one alphabet, a close relation to them all, can easily serve the purpose.

May I now extend an invitation to whoever has the desire to discuss subjects from India's history, like India's alphabets, with a view to remove the layers of ignorance and mischief which Mahakal has piled on them?

--- 1958, December

SEPARATE SCRIPTS AGAINST THE NATIONAL INTEREST

These separate scripts are against the national interest, even against the narrow and selfish interests of those who use them. And yet, this great unreason continues. What is scientific in the sphere of social abstractions is largely a matter of acceptance and what is accepted depends largely on strength and power.

MORE ABOUT ALPHABETS, LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND SOME ODDITIES

How alike Indian alphabets are is evident from the series

Nagri ँ Kannada ೀ Telugu ు Malayalam ീ

The Kanada and Telugu letters insert a point within their half or full circles, while the Malayalam letter dispenses with the upper stem. For the rest, they are Nagri letters. In like manner, a comparison of the व and ल in Nagri, Tamil and Malayalam would show the same kind of a child play in which an identical object is viewed from different angles

It is an utter waste to continue with these numerous alphabets. **The child in India is without doubt the most suffering in all the world.** His country loads him up with such useless baggage that he has little time, energy, or intellect for useful things. Why should he have to learn so many alphabets and so many languages? Would he have mind left for the study of essential subjects such as geography or physics? **In like manner, the continuing use of different alphabets wastes the nation's time, energy, money and mind at all levels.**

The Nagri characters need to be made more scientific and less wasteful than they are. **As it is, they are probably the most scientific in the world. And yet, the top line is a sheer waste, and an entire decoration.** I have seen the results of some artificial attempts at revising the Nagri-script. The result are none too happy. **But this simple reform of removal of the top line would make Nagri a little like the southern variants and at the same time add to its usefulness.** The possible difficulty of confusion between a ष and ष or घ and घ can be easily avoided. One can add a little outer ring to one set of these characters in order to distinguish them from the other.

One of the reasons why the Roman script has from time to time been recommended by a type of reformers is precisely the lack of information and knowledge of the various Indian alphabets. **Their deceptive dissimilarity drives naive persons into different European countries.**

This terrifying national waste, so clear in the case of script,

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION

This terrifying national waste, so clear in the case of script, has assumed maddening proportions in the enforced study of a foreign language. Of all students who fail annually at the matriculation examination in various parts of India a good 2/3rds fail alone in the English language.

Mission and fancy schools flourish. State schools languish. Stupid sections of the lower middle classes clamour for the teaching of English in the state schools rather than for the abolition of the fancy schools and discontinuance of English at competitive service examinations.

The religious schools represent a still greater danger to the nation. Such among them as are run by foreign missions instruct students in ways not altogether desirable. They plant among their students seeds of mild treason anyway.

has assumed maddening proportions in the enforced study of a foreign language. Of all students who fail annually at the matriculation examination in various parts of India a good 2/3rds fail alone in the English language. What this means in waste of national time and money is evident; what may not be evident is the bitterness and the inferiority that enters the soul of nearly half a million young persons annually, who pass in all other subjects but fail in just in one. Why should they be compulsorily taught English and subsequently suffer the ignominy of failure? Education is meant to equip them with necessary knowledge and not to harass them with the study of a foreign language which they find almost impossible to learn.

One reason comes to my mind as to why the government and university authorities in this country wish to teach English compulsorily. They may, in fact, not be consciously aware of this reason. The compulsory teaching and examinations of English keep the number of educated young men and women low. There is therefore less competition and less clamouring for jobs and the children of the current ruling classes do not have to get into the press and rough and tumble of life as much as when English were not there. I am amazed why students as a whole and failed students particularly, their guardians and the people of India generally do not protest through meetings, processions, demonstrations and civil disobedience in order to save the nation and its education from the waste, the degrading inferiority and unequal discrimination of the compulsory study of English.

The present government is either grossly stupid or culpably dishonest. State schools in Bombay, for instance, teach English upwards of the 8th class. That is very good. But private schools particularly Mission schools, the convents and fancy schools, are permitted to teach English right from the beginning. Furthermore, examinations in English are a necessary part of almost all admissions to competitive service. The results are obvious. Mission and fancy schools flourish. State schools languish. Stupid sections of the lower middle classes clamour for the teaching of English in the state schools rather than for the abolition of the fancy schools and discontinuance of English at competitive service examinations.

The religious schools represent a still greater danger to the nation. Such among them as are run by foreign missions instruct students in ways not altogether desirable. They plant among their students seeds of mild treason anyway. They damage the roots of equality for they inculcate among their students a somewhat haughty attitude towards the mass of

the people and their children who have not been to such schools. Their instruction in what they call character is also undesirable. The educational system of Kerala is dominated by such schools. Something must be done about it.

The communist administration, as is usual with all communist governments, tinkers with one aspect of the problem rather than with the whole of it. Even that aspect could not be satisfactorily reformed. It has only served as a propagandist occasion for communism. In a large way, the political expressions of Hinduism is the Communist Party in Kerala while Christianity finds its political expression in the Congress Party. It is possible that, after a series of hopes and disappointments, both Hindus and Christians or at least sections among them have begun to think of utter stupidity of sectarian and exclusive politics. This can only be completed when Christians are willing to force their aristocracy to give up its privileged positions and Hindus are willing to destroy their system of castes and to accept Christians as their equals. In particular, all primary schools for children between 5 and 10 years of age must be required by law to conform to a single standard of buildings, salaries, instruction and the like.

I had occasion to revise a hypothesis concerning Kerala's special geniuses, an oddity in which it appears to differ from the rest of India. Once upon a time an Austrian told me of an interesting speculation on India's Defence Minister, Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon. He has acquired some reputations as skilled diplomat. Some hold this reputation unjustified. For argument's sake, let us presume that Mr. Menon is a skilled diplomat. Such skills are at least in large part derived from a special mode of Kerala society, that is, mother rule. Under mother rule, the child has to satisfy three authorities at the same time, mother, father and maternal uncle. It is no wonder that Mr. Menon has sometimes been able to satisfy in however small a measure Russia and France as well as America. Children under father rule grow up under a single authority and are, therefore, trained into defined obedience on the one hand and aggression on the other. It is no wonder therefore that the matriarchal Menons should be so skilled at playing with various contending forces.

But I have found this theory to be as untenable as similar other theories about special genius. During my recent Kerala visit, I was pointedly told of two Menons, Mr. Keshav Menon, who was at one time India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka and Mr. V.P. Menon, who assisted Sardar Patel in his great work of abolition of princely states. Both these gentlemen appear to have behaved patriarchally. Mr. Keshav Menon is reported to have rated his self-respect above the requirements of satisfying the vanity of his foreign minister, Mr. V. P. Menon has proved incapable of persuading the prime minister to give up his spite against what may be called the Sardar men. I should very much like to know if Mr. Menon never made the attempt to conciliate Mr. Nehru or if he was rebuffed. In either event, his character seems to have developed on patriarchal rather than matriarchal lines.

Sardar Pannikar is the quaintest of all the four Menons. He did come under a cloud for some time but was soon able to conciliate and is at present India's ambassador somewhere. Two haughty, self-respecting and patriarchal Menons, one crafty, conciliatory and successfully intriguing Menon and a fourth Menon, essentially clever but with an occasional spot of self-respect, which only proves that the situation in Kerala is like anywhere else in India. --(from *Interval During Politics*, 1965)

FERTILITY AND FAMILY PLANNING IN MAHARASHTRA AND TAMIL NADU : A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Dr. R. Nagarajan

Introduction

The results of recent National Family Health Survey (IIPS, 1995), Sample Registration System (India, Registrar General, 1995) and census based indirect estimates (Bhat, 1996) suggest that there has been a clear downward trend in fertility almost throughout the country. Also there is a growing agreement among the demographers that, at the aggregate all India level, fertility is declining at a faster rate than expected in the recent past (Bhat, 1994, 1996; Visaria and Visaria, 1994).

The ongoing demographic transition in India indicates that demographic profile of the sub-continent is as diverse as its cultural, social and economic heterogeneity. Because, the pace of fertility decline is not uniform and varies widely across states. In the Southern and Western parts of the country, fertility has declined significantly but the North Indian states are still suffering from very slow decline of fertility than expected. Even, within the Southern and Western parts of the country, fertility has not declined uniformly: decline is faster in the former (Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh) than in the latter (Maharashtra and Gujarat). State-wise total fertility rates (TFR) obtained from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS), Sample Registration System (SRS) and census based indirect estimates clearly show the north-south divide in the demographic pattern.

Though Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu share some comparable features of social environment (female literacy and urban-

ization), fertility has declined at higher pace in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Further, in terms of child survival, family planning acceptance and economic indicators, Maharashtra can be placed above Tamil Nadu. Under these circumstances, fertility decline in Tamil Nadu is viewed as more significant by the demographers. An analysis of fertility trends during the past two decades (1971-1991) in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu using SRS data showed that during 1971-91 Tamil Nadu experienced 43 per cent decline in TFR as compared to Maharashtra's 33 per cent (Table 1). Fertility decline in rural Tamil Nadu during the same period is remarkably high (43 per cent) than in rural Maharashtra (28 per cent). In the urban areas of the two states fertility decline was almost identical during this period. Though the TFR of Tamil Nadu in 1970s was considerably lower than the TFR of Maharashtra, the latter experienced a considerable decline in fertility than the former during the seventies. But after 1980 Maharashtra witnessed a very slow decline of TFR, but Tamil Nadu underwent a dramatic decline in TFR.

Basic demographic indicators

A comparison of basic demographic indicators of 1991 census for Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu is provided in Table 2. In 1991 the population of Maharashtra was 78.9 million and that of Tamil Nadu was 55.9 million. The decadal increase of population during 1981-91 is substantially higher in Maharashtra (25.7 per cent) than in Tamil Nadu (15.4 per cent). In fact, except for Kerala, Tamil Nadu has the lowest

population growth rate in any state in the country. Tamil Nadu has higher population density and favourable sex ratio than Maharashtra. One of the reasons for Maharashtra's higher growth rate and unfavourable sex ratio is the highly male dominated in-migration, particularly to the western part of Maharashtra. Though these two states are more urbanized states of India, still Maharashtra is more urbanized than Tamil Nadu. Level of female literacy is identical in these two states.

Maharashtra is considered one of the more developed states of India. In terms of per capita income, Maharashtra ranks second only to Punjab. Although Tamil Nadu has made moderate economic progress in recent decades, it still lags well behind Maharashtra. But Maharashtra's development process is highly imbalanced. If we consider Maharashtra excluding Mumbai-Thane-Pune region, its position is similar to the average standard for the country as a whole. This unequal development also has implications for the demographic pattern of the state.

MAHARASHTRA AND TAMIL NADU

Characteristics of households

Some selected characteristics of households and currently married women of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu from NFHS are worth noting. Age structure of NFHS's household population reveals that the age distribution of Maharashtra is typical of a population with a moderately high fertility whereas the age distribution of Tamil Nadu is typical of a population that has been experiencing fertility decline in recent years. Because of relatively higher fertility, Maharashtra has a larger proportion of her population in the younger age-group than Tamil Nadu. The proportion of under-fifteen and child population (0-4 years) of Tamil Nadu are 12 per cent and 18 per cent respectively, lower than that of Maharashtra's under-fifteen and child population. Sex ratio of the household population is more balanced in Tamil Nadu (1000) than in Maharashtra (966). Proportion of ever-married females by age shows that a higher proportion of females are getting married before age 20 in Maharashtra than in Tamil Nadu, suggesting higher female age at marriage and consequently lower fertility in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Female literacy and education attainment are equal in both Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Though the level of female literacy is same in the two states, females in Tamil Nadu stay one year longer in school than the

females in Maharashtra. School attendance rate for school-age population is equal in the two states.

From the information on housing characteristics, it appears that the housing conditions in Maharashtra are better than in Tamil Nadu: proportion of households with electricity, access to pump/piped water, toilet/latrines facility, cooking fuel and pucca houses are higher in Maharashtra than in Tamil Nadu. Further, more number of households in Maharashtra own expensive consumer durable items (sewing machine, television and refrigerator) than the households in Tamil Nadu. The above economic characteristics of the households clearly reflect Maharashtra's superiority in economic conditions over Tamil Nadu. The households in Maharashtra are bigger in size (average household size) and more crowded (number of persons per room) than the households in Tamil Nadu.

Among the working women, higher proportion of them are working outside the home in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Exposure of women to mass media is a measure of modernity and it helps the women to understand the importance of health and family welfare, among other things. NFHS's information on this aspect reveals that more women in Tamil Nadu are exposed to mass media than the women in Maharashtra.

Marriage

The analysis of marriage pattern (singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), proportion of women currently married by age, and median age at first marriage) reveal that though the female age at marriage has increased over the years in the two states, still more marriages are occurring relatively early in Maharashtra, thus exposing themselves to longer duration of reproduction, than in Tamil Nadu. The NFHS figures of SMAM for the state as a whole show that females in Tamil Nadu marry 1.2 years later than the females in Maharashtra. The difference is more pronounced in SMAM for rural females. Females in rural Tamil Nadu marry 2.1 years later than the rural females in Maharashtra. NFHS's SMAM of rural and urban women of Maharashtra (17.9 and 21 respectively) are even lower than the figures of all India (19.3 and 21.5 respectively). The median age at first marriage for women in Tamil Nadu is also two years higher than in Maharashtra. Further, women living in rural areas, illiterates, Muslims and SC/STs in Tamil Nadu are marrying two years later than the women with the same characteristics in Maharashtra. Marriage among close relatives (consanguinity) is observed to be higher in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra.

Fertility

Fertility in Maharashtra (1990-92) is about 15 per cent higher than in Tamil Nadu (1989-91) and the difference is still higher between rural Maharashtra and rural Tamil Nadu. NFHS's CBR (crude birth rate) and TFR (average number of children per woman) in rural Maharashtra are 20 per cent and 23 per cent respectively, higher than in rural Tamil Nadu. Further, rural-urban fertility differentials are narrowed down in Tamil Nadu but are still existing in Maharashtra. Rural TFR of Maharashtra is 23 per cent (or more than half a child) higher than the urban TFR. Rural TFR of Tamil Nadu and urban TFR of Maharashtra are the same. The recent SRS data for the year 1993 also show that in Tamil Nadu TFR has come down to a level of 2.1 children per woman and still it is remaining at 2.9 children per woman in Maharashtra. (India, Registrar General, 1995). It indicates the continuing decline of fertility in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra.

Trends in fertility during the past three decades indicate that fertility had declined substantially in the two states and the de-

cline being more in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Although fertility has declined in almost all the age-groups in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, and its decline is more among women age 25 and above. Further, among women of age below 25, fertility decline is more in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Fertility decline among women with different background characteristics indicates that fertility has declined in the cross-sections of the society in the past three decades and the pace of decline is higher in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Current fertility levels of rural, illiterate women in Tamil Nadu is 22 per cent lower than their counterparts in Maharashtra. The Muslims of Tamil Nadu have 66 per cent lower TFR (more than one and a half children) than their counterparts in Maharashtra.

There is evidence in NFHS that the family planning programme has been successful in Tamil Nadu by encouraging couples to initiate contraceptive use earlier than the couples in Maharashtra. The analysis of current use by sex composition of living children shows that the preference for male children is common for the two states. But the data indicate a stronger son preference in Maharashtra than in Tamil Nadu. The proportion of current users with two living children but no living sons is only 28 per cent in Tamil Nadu. Further, the couples sterilized (permanent termination of childbearing) with two children but no son is only 10 per cent in Maharashtra but it is 33 per cent in Tamil Nadu.

The major reasons for the prevailing fertility pattern in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu as observed in this comparative study based on NFHS are discussed below. In Maharashtra women are getting married earlier than the women in Tamil Nadu. Even the urban women of Maharashtra are marrying earlier than their counterparts in Tamil Nadu. The lowest median age at marriage observed for illiterate (16.8 years) and scheduled caste (16.6 years) women of Tamil Nadu are more than the Maharashtra average of 16.1 years. Further, because of lower age at marriage in Maharashtra, fertility levels of women of age below 25 are higher than that of Tamil Nadu. This indicates that, in Tamil Nadu, higher age at marriage combined with contraception played a major role in bringing down fertility of women age below 25. Hence, comparatively higher fertility in Maharashtra is associated with higher incidence of marriage among females at younger ages than in Tamil Nadu.

Although acceptance of modern methods is relatively low in Tamil Nadu, younger couples with lower parity are accepting contraception thus making more impact on fertility reduction. Family planning programme in Maharashtra is successful in terms of number of acceptors, whereas programme is successful in Tamil Nadu by encouraging younger couples with less number of children to accept contraception thus leading to faster fertility reduction. Also the prevailing lower fertility preferences in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra led the couples to make use of the available family planning services effectively.

There are arguments in favour of Tamil Nadu's family planning programme that the programme is successful because of strong political support, efficient management and bureaucratic efficiency in implementing the programme. The existing low age at marriage and higher preference for sons are the cultural hurdles for achieving lower level of fertility in Maharashtra as that of Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu and Kerala are the two states relatively successful in India for implementing social security programmes in the unorganized sector (Guhan, 1992; Mahendra Dev, 1994). In the case of protective social security measures these two states seem to have succeeded in reaching sizable proportion of the unor-

ganized poor. Also Tamil Nadu is pioneer in the implementation of the nutrition scheme. There are several schemes in Tamil Nadu which are very much beneficial to the poor people (pension to poor widows, destitutes and old aged agricultural workers, unemployment relief, marriage assistance to the daughters of widows, and many others). All these institutional social security measures, rather than the security from the household, might have helped the poor couples to rethink about the importance of children as a source of security for old age and destitution. The rate of increase of per capita governments expenditure on social, educational, and public health sectors from 1971-1991 in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu also shows that the rate of increase in spending in these areas are higher in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra (EPW Research Foundation, 1994).

The social awareness movement started in 1920s by E.V. Ramasamy Naicker (popularly known as Periyar) created an atmosphere favourable to the acceptance of small family norm long before the implementation of the government's family planning programme. Periyar's recommendations among various others include : higher age at marriage for females; increasing the status of women; equality of sexes; contraception; widow remarriage; and small family size. The awareness created by Periyar was translated into action by his followers who came to power later. Social reforms initiated by Periyar's Dravidian movement and the implementation of Periyar's ideologies by the Dravidian parties which came to the power later, and also ruling the state for the past three decades, undoubtedly had a far-reaching impact on social development and awareness, thus promoted the small family norm in the society. Moreover Periyar's social awareness movement also challenged the social and political dominance of the Brahmins under British rule. This early undermining of caste system helped to weaken the socio-cultural limitations on upward mobility by the traditional caste system.

People in Tamil Nadu do not take cinema lightly just as a media for entertainment only. Further, most of Periyar's ideals were also spread via cinema through charismatic actors like M.G. Ramachandran and Shivaji Ganesan in the 1950s and 60s. Injection of Periyar's ideals in the cinema in a society which gives more importance to cinema might have shaped the people to some extent to form a smaller family ideal.

Difference in the structure of the family between these two states and the resultant female autonomy might have some effect on the demographic behaviour of the couples. Tamil Nadu has the lowest proportion of joint families in the country. Joint family system not only restricts the freedom couples in reproductive matters, but it also restricts the access of younger women to mass media.

The labour force participation of females is only marginally higher in Maharashtra than Tamil Nadu. But 1991 census data on labour participation of females in organized sector and NFHS data on proportion of women working for someone else/outside of the home are higher in Tamil Nadu than in Maharashtra. Labour participation of females outside home is made possible in Tamil Nadu by its better road and transport facilities. For women working outside of the home bearing more children involves opportunity cost. Also working away from the home makes her more aware about the advantages of small family. This might have also been one of the reasons for fertility decline in recent years in Tamil Nadu.

Conclusion

The analysis of the reasons for the prevailing fertility levels in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu shows that family planning programme can be successful in bringing down fertility even in a society with a limited socio-economic development. Further, the study broadly indicates that : where there is relatively not much preference to male child; where more women are exposed to media; where opportunities are opened for women to work away from home; where rural-urban linkages are better; and where political support and management of the social welfare and family planning programmes are fairly good the programme is expected to make more impact on fertility reduction than the economic development per se. On the other hand, where the cultural conditions operate against equality of gender and increase of female age at marriage, even if the programme is implemented effectively the programme will not give desired results in bringing down fertility as can be seen in Maharashtra.

(Dr. R. Nagarajan is a member of the faculty of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune. He wishes to thank Dr. Sanjeevaneey Mulay of the Gokhale Institute and Dr. P.M. Kulkarni of Bharathiyar University, Coimbatore for their comments on the earlier version of this paper.)

THE GREATEST MODERN INDIAN NOVEL
SERIALISED PUBLICATION

CHHAMANA ATHA

GUNTHA : 5

Fakirmohan Senapati

HOW DID THE HOUSE BURN DOWN ?

Next day the whole village of Ratanpur was wailing. All of *Baghasingha's* house together with his granary of paddy had been burnt to ashes at midnight. The charred walls stood covered with ashes. The fire had not been extinguished even then. The thatches had fallen down and were burning furiously. The bamboo knots burst with a cracking sound. Pillars of fire were everywhere ; doors, door frames and everything else was on fire. The granary had caught fire and a thick cloud of smoke was coming out of it.

It was a day in the month of *Jyaistha*. The straw thatch had been as dry as any inflammable material. The wind fanned the fire, but it had not yet reached the room which was roofed with wooden planks; only the doors had caught fire. The ploughmen were trying to approach the room by throwing jarsful of water at the doors.

Those who had gone to see the festival had returned by noon. When the house caught fire at midnight, the women of the house had come out in hurry with only clothes they had worn. Now they were sitting under the trees in the mango grove, looking at the fire and wailing aloud like wild cats. The ploughmen had already set the cattle free from their tethers and run away. Had they tried, they could have saved much from the fire. But how many would like to jump into the fire for others?

The sun was about to set. No one in the *Baghasingha* family had yet even cleaned his teeth. The children and the young married girls were in distress for want of food. The old priest, *Kelu Ratha*, coaxed them to clean their teeth, got some flattened rice, molasses and bowlsful of watered rice from his home and refreshed them with these. Some of the women partook of these and others did not. *Baghasingha's* wife fell down in a swoon

after drinking a glass of water.

The fire died out in all rooms except the granary. Smoke was still coming out, however, from some of the other rooms at about 8 o'clock in the night. *Baghasingha* was sitting with his brothers and the other people of the village at the foot of the tree.

"How did the house catch fire ?" he asked. The question was echoed by all of them. But who could answer it ?

Kelu Ratha said, "Who could set fire to the house ? Who could have the courage to come to the doors of the *Bagha (Tiger)* family ? It is certainly the work of some devil."

"No, no, it is due to the wrath of *Budhi Mangala*", said an elderly Brahmin, "Don't you see ? *Mangaraj* worships *Mangala* all the year round. I advised *Baghasingha* several times to send offerings for the worship of *Mangala*, but my advice was not heeded. Now see what has come to pass. Whatever I say, I say after proper consideration. How did fire come from the haystack near the alcove behind the house if it was not contrived by the goddess?"

Manika had her own opinion. "I think the coming of the new bride is very auspicious. So many mishaps have occurred since she set foot in the house." "Very true", *Shyama's* mother said, "I was afraid of speaking this out so far. Didn't you see how the cow was unexpectedly bitten by a snake in the month of *Chaitra*? Were there no snakes in this village before? But did they ever bite a cow? I have lived two score and ten years now and never heard that a *Baghasingha's* cow was ever bitten by a snake."

The ploughman *Makara* agreed. "Quite so. Two years ago my two bullocks, which were as big as elephants, died all of a sudden one after the other."

"Mangoes in this garden were formerly so profuse," another ploughman *Arjuna* said, "that even cattle used to feed

THE STORY SO FAR

Ramchandra Mangaraj of village *Govindpur* used to lend paddy and money to the inhabitants of the village. He gradually acquired more and more land, became a *Zamindar* and amassed immense property by quite unfair means.

Sheikh Dildar Mian was a big *Zamindar* of *Midnapore*. He owned some land in *Orissa* and *Ramchandra Mangaraj* was entrusted with the work of collecting revenue from this *zamindari*. *Mangaraj* succeeded in getting a loan-bond of thirty thousand rupees signed by the *Mian* when the latter was drunk, then sued him for recovery of the debt and finally secured possession of the *zamindari*.

A weaver named *Bhagia* also lived with his wife *Saria* in *Govindpur*. They were simple, innocent and God-fearing folk who craved a child intensely. They owned a very fertile piece of land covering six acres and a half.

Champa, *Mangaraj's* maid servant persuades *Bhagia* and his wife *Saria* to approach *Mangaraj* for a loan to build a temple to Goddess *Mangala*. She tells *Saria* that the Goddess will bless her with a child if they perform this act of religious charity.

on them. But you won't find a single mango this year."

The ploughmen, the barbers and their wives were unanimous in their conjecture supported by argument that the house burned down because of the bad luck of the bride! *Manika* reinforced this conclusion again, saying, "Don't you see, this mishap has come scarcely a day after the bride's aunt set foot in the house?"

"Who is the aunt?" *Baghasingha* enquired, sharply. "Who is she?"

Manika gave a full description of what she had seen, the aunt who had come in a palanquin, and what she had heard of *Fatesingh* of *Dalijoda* going to *Kendrapara* on horseback to attend the festival, not omitting to mention the number of presents.

A fisherwoman thereupon remarked that the bride's aunt looked exactly like *Champa* of *Mangaraj's* household, whom she had seen at *Govindpur*, where she had been several times to sell flattened rice. The ploughman, *Sankara*, said one of the men who had carried the presents on his shoulder was *Mangaraj's* ploughman. *Baghasingha's* brothers looked at

one another and said, "We came straight from Kendrapara, but we saw neither the palanquin nor the horse on our way".

Men were sent that very night to Kendrapara, and Dalijoda to enquire about the aunt. They came back to say that no aunt could be found anywhere. This led to much discussion for many days in the village and became the talk of neighbouring villages. Some thought it was due to the wrath of Mangala, the goddess, but we know it to be the work of a female devil.

Fatehsingh of Dalijoda came to commiserate with the distressed family. He took away his daughter who had given up eating and drinking and would otherwise have succumbed to death.

SAANTANI, MANGARAJ'S WIFE

It was *Radhastami* day in the month of *Bhadra*. People had not yet left their beds as the darkness of the night still lingered. Of course, many people were awake; but in the winter and the rainy season, people do not like to leave their beds early in the morning unless there is some urgency.

Marua, a maid-servant of the Mangaraj family, opened the door with her right hand and came out of the house with a water pot in her left hand. There she stood shocked by what she saw.

"What is this white thing?", she explained, staring towards the *Tulasi Choura* in the middle of the courtyard.

The mistress of the house of Mangaraj had vowed to worship Brundavati, the presiding deity of the *Tulasi Choura*, all her life. She had herself brought the holy plant from the garden. All her time was spent in the service of the holy plant. On getting up from her bed, she used to sweep the surroundings of the *Choura*, then water the holy plant after taking her bath, offer some sunned rice to the deity, and worship her with a joss stick in the evening. After lighting the stick, she used to bow down at the foot of the *Choura* and pray for half an hour muttering some words which only she knew. Now there she lay, near the plant in the courtyard. Marua proceeded slowly to the *Choura*, and carefully examined the prostrate figure.

"Mistress, Mistress!" she called.

There was no reply.

The maid put down the water-pot and felt the body of the Mistress with her hand. The clothes she had on were soaked in rain water and the body was stiff and as cold as ice.

With a terrifying shriek, Marua cried out aloud. "My Mistress, oh my Mistress! Where have you gone? Who will feed me now?" Members of Mangaraj's family came hurrying out into the courtyard and began to cry. The daughters-in-law, forgetting to veil their faces, rolled about on the ground. Champa cried loudest of all the mourners.

The news of the death of the *Saantani* travelled from one end of the village to the other like lightning. Women gave up their morning chores, and the men kept away from their work, and all of them recalled the good qualities of the Mistress. Even women who were in no way connected with the family burst into tears. Some said, "Today is *Radhastami* day. The Goddess of Fortune has departed from the village on this sacred day." Some said, "The prosperity of the Mangaraj family has come to an end. The family has come to an end. The family is ill-fated from today."

Whenever the women of the village talked of a wife's fidelity to her husband, they would cite the *Saantani* as an unparalleled example. "The purity of her character was as intense as her devotion to God. The husband's love, which is an invaluable treasure to a wife, was denied to her by destiny. But this did not deter

her at all. She was thoroughly convinced that devotion to her husband was a wife's paramount duty and her happiness lay in such devotion. She took pleasure in rendering service not only to her husband but also to humanity at large.

"After coming of age, her sons had lost touch with her. It was not that she was not respected by her daughters-in-law; yet she did not demand from them the respect due to her as the head of the family. No one had even seen the daughters-in-law massage their mother-in-law when she lay in her sick-bed."

She had been incapable of influencing her sons, daughters-in-law, servants and maid-servants. She had treated them all impartially irrespective of their regard or disregard for her. She remained silent in the face of abuse. She was neither on good terms nor on bad terms with anyone. No one had even seen her talk to anybody about her weal and woe. But if anyone in the family fell ill, she would sit beside him and nurse him day and night. During the illness of a maid-servant or that of any daughter-in-law, she would massage her hands and feet even if she was asked not to do so.

She would not take any food before all the members in her family or guests had been fed. She used to take care of the poor old women and helpless widows of the village. If it came to her ears that someone was in need of food, she would send it to him or her without the knowledge of her husband and her sons and daughters-in-law; she would send a seer of rice, a handful of pulses, a pinch of salt, a little mustard oil, a bit of gourd, and so on. The poor and the destitute looked up to her with hope. Many poor debtors and tenants were known to have been freed from the oppression of Mangaraj through her intervention. If Mangaraj coerced anybody, he would escape if he brought his grievances to the ears of the Mistress through a daughter or a daughter-in-law. For this, she received much reproof from her husband. She turned a deaf ear to all the jeerings and sneerings of Champa. If she could do anyone a good turn she felt as happy as if she had found a treasure. Shibu Pandit used to say that she was an incarnation of the divine virtues of kindness, affection and devotion.

The Mistress had one great fault, a shortcoming it certainly was, for which her husband was always displeased with her. She had absolutely no knowledge of house-keeping. She could not realise how invaluable money was. She did not seek money. So no money came to her hand. If by chance, a few small coins came to her hand, she would spend the amount freely on getting a piece of cloth or a nose-ring or a seer of fried rice for a newly married girl of the village to be given to her at the time of her going to her mother-in-law's house; or, the coins would fall to the lot of someone who needed food. People told of her making such gifts, but no one had ever seen her at it.

Irrespective of her merits or defects, however, everybody inside and outside the house was now distressed at what had befallen her.

Only one man was not crying. The ploughman, Mukunda, sat leaning against the wall, stretching his long bony legs, his eyes shut and his toothless mouth agape.

No one knew whether Mukunda had anyone in the world whom he could call his own. Mangaraj's wife, as a very little girl, had played in Mukunda's lap; he had come with her from her father's house to the house of Mangaraj. Mukunda alone had known the mind of Mistress. He who had shed unceasing tears whenever the Mistress was in the slightest grief was not shedding any tears now, although she was lying dead. He who loses at one stroke all his happiness, all peace, all support, all hope and all affection does not shed tears. Mukunda only heaved a

deep sigh now and then.

Mangaraj was staring vacantly at her face. Tears fell steadily from his eyes. No one had ever seen tears in his eyes. People said there was no room in Mangaraj's heart for affection, shame or righteousness. For him money was all. Day and night he thought and dreamt of money. He had often been sitting alone, deeply engrossed in thought. But the trend of his thoughts was different today. His eyes were half-shut, unblinking and full of tears.

Was Mangaraj shedding tears for his wife? Separation from any beloved object is painful. Was Mangaraj in tears because of pure conjugal love? Perhaps not. No one had ever heard him speak a loving word to his wife. Why then was he so perturbed today? Perhaps, after all, he was feeling the pangs of separation from his wife. Good or Bad, there was some attachment to one whom he had once accepted as a partner in life, at the sacred nuptial altar.

It is not easy to overcome what is innate in human nature. A wife shares your rites and religious observances, she is mother of your beloved children, shares your weal or woe, a nurse in illness and a ministrant in adversity.

Mangaraj's life flowed in two streams. One was like the current of the *Charanavati* (the Chambal river) which flows rapidly and overflows its banks; the other was like that of the *Phalgu* which moves gently and sanctifies its banks with its sacred water. Mangaraj probably knew that the sanctifying stream of the *Phalgu* had taken leave of him for ever.

Put a cup of wine and a cup of water before a drunkard, and he will prefer the cup of wine. Rarely does he realise that water is his life, and not the wine which is only an intoxicant.

Mangaraj was apparently distraught with grief and repentance. A man sheds tears in grief. Grief is a glowing ember in the heart of man, but repentance is a fire. Was Mangaraj repenting, thinking of his misdeeds and the neglect that brought about his wife's death? Innumerable misdeeds had been committed by him. But who had ever seen him repent for his misdeeds? And who can say that he did not? Who knows how human nature changes in a moment?

The Creator of the Universe made all men and women out of the same elements. As the body is composed of flesh, blood, bone and waste matter, so does the mind comprise the qualities of kindness, attachment, love and affection as well as envy, jealousy and cruelty. A harmonious and effective combination of these qualities makes a man in the true sense of the term. But when one of these preponderates over others, man loses his humanity and becomes either a god or a devil.

A man's mind is composed of divine and infernal elements. The divine elements raise a man to godhood and the infernal ones make a devil. Will you not attribute godhood to a man who sacrifices his own life to save that of another? When you hear of a man killing a child to rob him of his gold and silver ornaments, won't you call him a devil?

A particular faculty is strong in some, weak in others, and dormant in still others. On particular occasions, due to change of circumstances, dormant faculties are known to be roused. Who knew that wicked drunkards like *Jagai* and *Madhai* would be turned into great devotees of Vishnu? And Paul, who was one of the worst enemies of Jesus Christ and a tyrant, came to be adored as a saint. A passing glance from *Menaka* set at nought the spiritual ardour of the noble saint *Viswamitra*, who had been practising austerity for thousands of years.

On deep reflection, you will find that such a sudden change is attributed to circumstance and company. In this connection

one should remember the wise saying of the venerable saint Sankaracharya: "The company of good men, even for a moment, serves as a boat for crossing the ocean of the World."

Who can say that the faculty of man which makes him repent had not now been awakened in Mangaraj. We are not omniscient. How can we gauge the feelings of Mangaraj? Even if we can, we have not the capacity to make it intelligible to you by describing how he was being overpowered simultaneously by grief and repentance, which were choking his throat and making him insensible to what was going on in the outer world.

Excuse us, gentle reader. Let us now stop. The angels in heaven are now beating the muffled drums on the death of a Hindu wife predeceasing her husband, and the lucky woman of the village whose husbands are living are waiting to collect the courtes scattered while taking the dead body to the cremation ground and to preserve 'his in their toilet boxes. Let us say, "May her soul enjoy eternal bliss".

POLICE ENQUIRY

The day dawned on Govindpur as usual. But the sun was not seen in the sky. It was drizzling.

Weeding in the paddy fields had been finished and the men were not going out to work in the fields. After finishing their morning chores the women were going out to the tank to take their bath. The weaver's quarter of the village echoed with the sound of working looms. The women weavers turned their spinning wheels on their verandahs.

At about 9 o'clock in the morning one Gopal Samal, Sahu's ploughman, was repairing the bund around his paddy field, a palm-leaf hat on his head and a spade in his hand. As Gopal Samal was working near the road, he attracted the notice of Ghusuria, Mangaraj's ploughman, who was going hastily towards the house of Gobra Jena.

Ghusuria beckoned Gopal to come to him and told him that he was going on an important errand and that he would tell Gopal a great secret as he had full confidence in him. Ghusuria whispered some words into his ears and warned him not to divulge the secret as he had been strictly forbidden by his master. Proceeding further, Ghusuria met Makar Jena on the way and told him the secret, advising him also not to make it public. One by one he met Danai Sahu, Binodia, Natabaria and Bhima's mother, to all of whom he revealed the same secret in a low voice, telling each to treat it as strictly confidential.

Gopal gave up his work in the field and ran to his master to tell him about the secret. Hari Sahu reported it to Sama Sahu, Hatia to Natia, Jema's mother to Shama's mother. All the villagers began talking about it, but all in whispers and each one asking everyone else to keep the matter a secret.

Someone said, "The Jamadar is coming soon". Another protested saying, "No, no, it is a murder case. The Daroga himself will come on horse-back". But those who were more sensible said, "Is it an ordinary affair? The Company (Government) itself will come from Cuttack with a force of armed men."

It was universally acknowledged that the villagers would certainly be arrested. The village became hushed and quiet in a moment. The married young girls scurried homeward after a hurried bath in the tank. They had had no time to squeeze out and dry their clothes which flapped wet against their legs. Their jars, not having been filled with water to the brims because of the hurry, rattled like over-zealous patriots delivering lectures at public meetings. The village school-master having disappeared sud-

denly with his cane in his hand, the school children were making a great noise and tumult, running here and there in the village lane. A small school boy was caught hold of by the monitor and taken into custody like an accused arrested in a murder case by the police.

Ghusuria returned and informed Mangaraj that Gobra Jena was not at home, and had been out since last night. Mangaraj sent his ploughman and then went personally to each and every house of the weavers. But to whichever house he went, he found the door shut and no one responded to his call. Much annoyed, he returned home, undecided what he should do. His ploughman, Ghusuria, holding a cudgel in his hand, was chasing away the dogs behind his house. Two jackals lay in wait, peering from their hiding place in the bushes.

A little past noon, from the eastern edge of village Govindpur, a tall and stalwart figure appeared astride a pony. The big beard of the rider covered his chest. He had on his person a loose *chapkan* of a peculiar cut, a cap of fine embroidered cloth perched askew on his head, and loose trousers covering his legs. Five chowkidars with *lathis* on their shoulders brought up the rear. Leading them all was Gobra Jena, running with *lathi* on his shoulder.

In front of Mangaraj's house Gobra halted with his back towards the house.

"Is this the house?"

With folded hands Gobra said, "Yes, tour honour."

The rider got down from the pony and, saying "Bismillah!", (In the name of Allah or God!), took a deep breath.

An hour later another rider appeared in the village. His pony was ill-bred and old, a mere skeleton, obviously fed on grass. Its hind legs were sore and bare. Two big eyes were protruding from sunken sockets. But the rider had a bulky body and his dress was like that of a rich man. His *dhoti* was of fine quality. His coat had straps on both sides and the turban wrapped round his head was a silk scarf with six rows of ornamental borders.

A Chowkidar with a club on his shoulder was goading the horse from behind. A syce-boy went ahead, pulling at a rope attached to the reins.

This rider too got down at the door of Mangaraj's house.

Sheikh Enayat Hossain was a first class Police Daroga (Inspector) in the Cuttack District. He was well up in Persian. He could not write Oriya as he did not know it and signed official papers in Persian. On account of his efficiency he had been stationed at Kendrapara Thana for twelve years at a stretch. The question of his transfer was raised only once when there was some delay in sending to the Superintendent and the Peshkar of the Sardar Court some things they had ordered on the occasion of Durga Puja.

His Munshi (Police Sub-Inspector), Chakradhar Das, too was an experienced Police Officer. The District Magistrate was said to be highly pleased with the Sub-Inspector.

The police enquiry was held in the Kutchery of Mangaraj. The police Inspector, Sh. Enayat Hossain, was sitting on a carpet. Sub-Inspector Chakradhar Das had his seat on a straw mat in front of the former. At a short distance stood two constables (named Golan Kadar and Hari Singh) and five *chowkidars*.

Ramchandra Mangaraj had been arrested and sat with his head bowed. The house had been surrounded on all sides. First of all, the women were shifted to one side and the house was searched.

Every chest, trunk and wicker-work basket was searched. The granary was thoroughly inspected. The cooking pots were ex-

amined. The floor was dug up at three or four places to see if there was anything hidden under it. The straw of the thatched roof was removed in three or four places. Nothing incriminating was found.

Only one *lathi*, 3 or 4 cubits long and 6 inches thick, was seized from Mangaraj's bed-room. The dead body of a woman covered in an old straw mat lying at the back of his house was brought to the front door.

Gobra Jenna identified the dead body to be that of a weaver woman Saria. The Daroga stroked his beard with his hand and asked, "Well, Ramchandra Mangaraj! What's your intention? Don't you remember the case of the Harijans of Ratanpur?"

"Mangaraj probably thought he would not be in trouble again," the Munshi said.

Mangaraj had promised a bribe of one thousand rupees to the Daroga for securing the imprisonment of the Harijans of Ratanpur, but he had failed to keep his promise. That is why the Daroga now reminded Mangaraj of his treachery.

The investigation of the present case now started. Munshi Chakradhar Das produced the papers from a bundle. The china clay inkpot, with a cork at the top and a string tied around its neck, was placed in front. The Munshi mended a reed pen with a pen knife, the handle of which was made of ebony. He tried out the pen by writing on a slip of paper. Then, inscribing the names of several gods and goddesses with a prayer to each of them, as an introduction, he began his official work.

"The East Indian Company Sarkar -- complainant, *Versus* Ramchandra Mangaraj, of village Govindpur, District Cuttack -- accused."

"Complaint: The murder of a weaver woman named Saria, and the plunder of her property including a cow named Neta."

The house was searched. Going round the village, the constables and chowkidars reported that there was not a single male in the village. The female members answered through half opened doors. It appeared that half the males had gone out to see distant relatives, one fourth were out in search of missing cattle, one eighth had gone to Puri on pilgrimage and the rest were lying on sick-beds. Only a few gentlemen of other villages presented themselves as witness out of a sense of duty.

The Daroga was very irritated, as no villager of Govindpur came up to him. So he took the constables to task, calling them many names. Then followed a succession of blows and breaking of doors. The villagers were forced to come out. They say a dying man can escape the jaws of Death for a day or two by hiding under a straw mat, but who can escape the clutches of policemen?

The male population came straight out of their houses. The evidence of 32 witnesses was recorded in two days.

On the first day, the dead body, escorted by the chowkidars, was sent to Cuttack for post-mortem examination. The Munshi Saheb wrote down the statements of witnesses on two and a half quires of brown paper made by convicts in the jail.

For your information we are giving below the statements of some witnesses:

Witness No.1 "My name is Gobra Jena; father's name the late Guhia Jena; caste, *Pana*; age 45 years; occupation, village chowkidar; residence, village Govindpur, Pargana Balubishi, District Cuttack.

"I am a chowkidar of the village. I keep watch over the village all through the night. Last night, while I was on watch, at about midnight I heard the weaver woman Saria crying out from the back part of the house of Mangaraj, 'I am being killed, I am being

killed'. It seemed as if she was beaten with a bamboo stick." On cross-examination, he said "No, I did not see Mangaraj at the time." He said again, "Yes, I heard his voice. This cow belongs to Saria. It is called Neta. For about a month, I am finding tethered in the courtyard of Mangaraj, I don't know how it was brought here." He again said, "Mangaraj has got it tethered here."

Witness No.2, Sana Rana, at first denied any knowledge of the occurrence. The Daroga got very angry and ordered the constables to take him aside, that is to chastise him. After half an hour, he was produced before the Daroga, escorted by two constables. The hair of his head were dishevelled; his body was covered with dust; his back, hands and cheeks bore marks of whipping. Then he made his statement.

"Sir, I shall tell the truth. My name is Sana Rana; Father's name Bana Rana; Caste, Mali (gardener); age 30; occupation, worship of the village deity and cultivation; Residence, village Govindpur, Pargana Balubishi, District Cuttack.

"I know Saria. I don't know how she died. About a year ago, one morning I was sent for by Mangaraj through a ploughman. He took me to a garden and told me confidently, 'Look here, Sana! I tell you to do one thing. If you follow my instruction, I shall give you two acres of good land for cultivation of paddy and two rupees more.' I asked him, 'What have I to do?' Mangaraj said, 'You know this weaver Bhagia. His wife Saria has no issue. She bows down to Budhi Mangala every day, praying for a son. Go to her and tell her, 'The deity has told me in a dream that if you worship her, she will speak to you (Saria) in person and bless you with a son.' I told Bhagia and Saria twice or thrice as instructed by Mangaraj. They listened to me, but gave no reply.

"One afternoon, Bhagia took me to his house and asked me how the worship should be performed, what things would be required, and how much it would cost. I explained everything to him. I took from him 10 annas and 6 pies for purchasing the articles to be offered in worship.

"One Saturday, after nightfall, four of us, namely, Mangaraj, his barber-servant jaga, a ploughman with a spade in his hand and I, went to the shrine of Mangala. According to the instructions of Mangaraj, a big hole was dug at the back of the shrine of the deity. The barber Jaga hid himself inside the hole. The mouth of the hole was covered with leaves and twigs. I had instructed Bhagia and Saria that morning to observe a fast.

"At midnight, when the village was all quiet, I called them out and worshipped the deity with offerings. According to my instructions, Bhagia and Saria were lying prostrate before the deity. I appealed to the deity, 'Mother Mangala! Be pleased to grant a boon to Saria. She has been worshipping you so long. You have favoured many devotees. Please extend your favour to these two persons'. From within the hole where he was hidden, Jaga replied, 'You Saria, have been worshipping me for a long time. You bow down to me everyday on your way home after your bath. You offer me a palmful of water which I gladly accept. I now bestow on you the boon that you will have three sons and much wealth. But you must build me a temple. Tomorrow, early in the morning, both of you will come, before washing your faces, to the weavers' ghat and dig where you find a scarlet flower. Take to your home the gold coin you find there. Make offerings to me everyday. I will give you bags and bags of such gold coins. If you do not do as I say, I will wring the neck of Bhagia.'

"Saria and Bhagia trembled with fear. They could not speak. After finishing the worship, I gave them a portion of the offerings made to the deity and escorted them to their home. The remaining offerings I wrapped up in a piece of cloth. On my return from the

house of Bhagia and Saria, Jaga came out laughing from the hole. Then both of us went and put a gold coin under the earth near the Ghat, and put a scarlet flower there. Then we went home.

"The next morning, I went to the house of Bhagia. In a voice choked with tears, both of them said, 'Please tell us how we shall build this temple.' On my advice they borrowed money from Mangaraj, mortgaging to him their six and a half acres of land.

"A civil court peon came to pull down Bhagia's house. Mangaraj's ploughmen demolished the house in the presence of the peon and carried away all his belongings. Bhagia had gone mad and was wandering in the village since his house was broken. Seven or eight days ago, I heard Saria crying at the back-door of Mangaraj's house."

Cross-examined, he said: "I do not know how much money was given to Bhagia by Mangaraj. But I know that Mangaraj purchased a sari for Saria when Bhagia was taken to Cuttack for registration of the mortgage bond. Mangaraj had gathered about 20 cartloads of stones and piled them up at the site of Mangala's shrine for building the temple. Mangaraj gave me 4 annas that day and nothing more. I know nothing more."

Witness No. 3 "My name is Marua; father's name, Lakshman Tahadi; caste Brahmin; age not known; present address village Govindpur, District Cuttack.

"I do not know the disease of which Saria died. For the last eight days, she was sitting at our back door. Day and night she was there. She was crying to whomsoever she met, 'My six acres and a half, my six acres and a half, my Neta.'" When she met the Mistress, she used to fall at her feet and cry. The Mistress also shed tears for her. Champa tried to drive her out three times, beating her with a broom-stick. But she did not go. She did not take any food for eight days. The Mistress would place her own food before Saria on a plantain leaf. But Saria would not eat it. It was eaten by a dog or a cow. Sometimes she would take only one or two mouthfuls when pressed by the Mistress.

"My Mistress too did not take her food for seven days. She would shed tears when she was asked to take food. So I did not speak to her anymore about it. On the seventh day of the waxing fortnight in the month of *Bhadra*, cooking her own food consisting of sunned rice and ghee, she was just going to offer it to Mangala when Saria cried aloud; so she placed the sacred food before Saria. Since then the Mistress remained confined to bed. She breathed her last next day."

She answered further on cross-examination, "I don't know what disease the Mistress was suffering from. She had been indisposed eight days before *Shana Purnima*. On that day Champa had gone out somewhere in a palanquin. She returned in a cheerful mood and told her something. From that day the Mistress's ailment had been aggravated. She gave up taking her food at night and in the daytime too. She was constantly shedding tears. The Mistress prostrated herself at the feet of Mangaraj and appealed to him to relinquish Saria's land. But he turned a deaf ear to all her entreaties. As Champa got angry, the Mistress did not press the matter any further, but gave up taking food. Mukunda got some medicine for her from the village physician. But she did not take it."

She continued in answer to cross-examination, "I am in this house for the last 10 years. My father had his house in a Brahmin village in the district of Puri. Jagannath Tiadi is my husband's name. At the time of my marriage, I was seven years of age, as I have heard, and my husband was three score and four years old. My husband was known to be an asthma patient and he died of that disease. There was no other member in my husband's

house. My father sold away all the property of my husband and took me to his house. I stayed at my father's house for five to seven years."

"There was a *Vaishnava* mendicant named Lalita Das in our village. As I used to go to hear the narration of *Chaitanya's* life, my brothers picked up a quarrel with me. One night, I came with a mendicant in order to go to Brindaban and remained at Telengabazar at Cuttack. Mangaraj had been to Cuttack in connection with some litigation. I came here with him and I have been living in this house."

Witness No.4 "My name is Baidhar Mahanty; father's name, Damaradhar Mahanty; caste Karana; age 56; Residence, Village Kanakpur, Pargana Jhankada, District Cuttack.

"I have been serving as an accountant in the zamindari estate of Fatehpur Sarasandha for the last 20 years. Keramat Ali of Medinipur was originally the zamindar of this estate. Ramchandra Mangaraj has now acquired it by a mortgage bond contract basis."

The Daroga put a number of questions to the witness who answered all of them. We give here only his most important replies.

The replies of the witness ---"Mangaraj has not purchased this estate with any money from his own pocket. He has purchased it with money collected from the estate. In the first year, Mangaraj collected the rent and gave it to Zamindar Dildar Mian. With the rent of the next half-yearly instalment he went to Medinipur accompanied by me. He told the Zamindar, "The *Baghasingha* family are creating disturbance. So the rent could not be realised. What shall we do? Tomorrow is the date fixed for the deposit of revenue in the government treasury." Mangaraj lent him money on execution of a mortgage bond by the Zamindar and paid the revenue. Mangaraj used to realise interest from the tenants on the loan advanced by him to the Zamindar in addition to the rent dues. This was repeated in each instalment of rent collection. At last, he bribed the associates of the Zamindar and with their help he got a bond executed by the Zamindar for thirty thousand rupees including capital and interest. Dilu Mian signed the bond when he was drunk. Then Mangaraj did not go any more to Medinipur. He got possession of the Zamindari by filing a suit at Cuttack."

Questioned further he answered,---"Yes, he got a mortgage bond for Rs.150 executed by the weaver Bhagia for six acres and a half of land on condition that Mangaraj would take possession of the land if the money was not paid by the stipulated time. By a reference to records I can say how much was spent for the execution of the bond and the cost of litigation." On reference to records he said, "The total cost amounted to Rs.35-10-9."

He further said,---"Yes, Mangaraj filed a suit against Bhagia in the Civil Court at Cuttack. The summons, the warrant for the execution of decree and sale proclamation in the case are all with me. None of these has been given to Bhagia. The Civil Court peon used to take his remuneration from Mangaraj and go away with receipts given by me. I do not know how Saria died. This cow belongs to Bhagia."

Witness No.5 "My name is Champa; Father's name, not known; Caste, a member of this family; Residence, Village Govindpur, District Cuttack.

"I do not know Saria. She does not belong to this village. She did not die at our house. She died of fever. My master did not tell her anything. My master is a perfect gentleman. He is a peaceful man. My Mistress died of fever. I am not taking my food since her death and am always shedding tears." (So saying she began to

cry, but became quiet on being admonished by the Daroga). "This cow is the offspring of our calf. We purchased it from Saria.

The investigation was adjourned for the night. The Daroga, the Munshi and the chowkidar Gobra Jena sat together till far into the night. A selection of further witnesses was made and their statements were recorded the next day.

Witness No. 6 "My name is Bana Jena; Father's name, Dana Jena; Caste, Pana; age 18; Occupation, ploughman; Residence, Village Makrampur, Pargana Balubisi, District Cuttack.

"I know Saria. I have been to her home several times. She belongs to this village. Ramchandra Mangaraj caught hold of her and beat her 8 days ago. This is the *lathi* with which she was beaten." (The witness exhibited the *lathi*). "I saw Mangaraj beating Saria at mid-night on the twelfth day of the lunar fortnight. He gave her 20 blows on the back. I had come here in search of my master's cow. My home is about one mile from this place. I am not on bad terms with Mangaraj. It is not a fact that Gobra Jena is my sister's husband."

Witness No. 7. "My name is Dhakei Jena; Father's name, Nanguda Jena; Caste Pana; age not known; Occupation, Ploughman; Residence, Village Raipur, Pargana Balubisi, District Cuttack.

"I saw accused Ramchandra Mangaraj beating Saria with his *lathi* at midnight on the ninth day of the lunar fortnight. I had come to purchase salt from the shop. I was sleeping on the verandah of the shop as the night advanced. On hearing the sound of the blows I got up on the roof of the shop and looked around." He further said "No, no, I got up on the roof of Mangaraj's house from where I could see what was happening. I know this cow and I have milked her several times. The cow is called Boula. This cow belongs to the weaver Bhagia. Ramchandra Mangaraj has stolen the cow from his house."

He then replied to questions put by the accused. "It is not a fact that Gobra Jena is my cousin. He did not ask me to come here. I have come to depose as a witness of my own accord. He has not provided my meal. I have brought my own rice from my home. I do not know what day of the week today is."

Witness No.8. "My name is Khatu Chanda; Father's name, Nitai Chanda; Caste, Weaver; Age 28; Occupation, weaving; Residence, Village Govindpur, District Cuttack.

"I know this cow belongs to Bhagia, who is my neighbour. Mangaraj brought the cow to his own house the day Bhagia's house was razed in the presence of the court bailiff. I do not know why the cow was brought. The servants of Mangaraj levelled the house of Bhagia and carried away all his belongings. Both Bhagia and Saria were crying bitterly. We had shut ourselves up inside our houses. I was peeping through an opening in the door. Chowkidar Gobra Jena was calling me. I did not respond. My wife replied that I was not at home."

The statement of the accused Ramchandra Mangaraj. "Father's name, Dhani Naik; Caste, Khandayat; age 52; Occupation, Zamindar; Residence, Village Govindpur, District Cuttack."

His answers to questions -- "I did not beat Saria. Bhagia borrowed money from me. I acquired his six acres and a half of land by the execution of a court decree. I have taken possession of his land against the cost of litigation."

As Ramchandra Mangaraj was affixing his signatures to the paper, a mad man appeared on the spot. He had a torn piece of cloth wrapped round his waist. His hair was dishevelled. His whole body was covered with dust and mud. With an earthen cooking pot in his hand, he danced insanely and sang something about Saria.

Seeing him, the villagers groaned in distress and remarked. "Alas; poor, luckless Bhagia."

Seeing Mangaraj, Bhagia ran to bite him but the chowkidars grappled with the man and unable to restrain him, tied him up under orders of the Daroga.

Thirty two witness were examined in the course of the investigation. Detaining four of them, the Daroga dismissed the rest.

Mangaraj was despatched to Cuttack at 9 o'clock next morning, handcuffed, walking with a towel on his head and with his face down-cast, surrounded by constables and chowkidars. The villagers looked on like sight-seers at a festival. We are unable to say whether anyone in the village was moved to pity at Mangaraj's plight. Only Champa's loud crying resounded in the street as she ran alongside saying, "My master, my master, why are they taking you away, my master?"

Mangaraj looked back twice or thrice and told her to go back home. But she followed Mangaraj for a distance of two miles before coming to a point.

"What will happen if the things in your strong-room are ruined by white ants and rats?"

Mangaraj halted a while and made over to her two heavy keys, instructing her to keep all the things carefully and not to worry.

Tucking the keys carefully in her loin-cloth, Champa said, "Please take care of yourself and do not go without food."

The barber Govinda had all along been with her. The two returned home together. Nobody heard her cry on her way back.

On reaching the Police Station, the Daroga made the witnesses recite the statements once more. These were suitably modified according to the advice of the Munshi, and proper instructions were given to the witnesses. The accused was then sent up to the District Magistrate of Cuttack with the Daroga's report. We have procured a certified copy of the report. You may read it too, if you like.

Copy of the Daroga's report :-

"May it please your honour, justice incarnate. While your most obedient servant (my humble self) was engaged in the performance of Government duties in his office at 8 A.M., on the

3rd September current, while Munshi Chakradhar Das was writing the daily diary seated at the right of your servant, and while the two constables, Golam Kadar and Hari Singh, were on watch duty, it was reported by Gobra Jena, Chowkidar of Govindpur in Mouza Fatepur Sarasandha in the jurisdiction of this Police Station, that a weaver woman named Saria of Govindpur village had been murdered. On receipt of this report, your humble servant did not lose a moment in sending the first information to your honour. The accused being a zamindar notorious for his wickedness and oppression and the offence being of a very serious nature, your humble servant at once proceeded to the spot. After a careful search of the accused's house and the property, your humble servant very cautiously arrested the accused and seized from the possession of the accused the dead body of one woman named Saria and all goods and chattels of her house along with one black cow belonging to the deceased. Your humble servant has also seized the *lathi* with which Saria was beaten to death. It was clearly proved from the evidence of the four witnesses that the accused Ramchandra Mangaraj has himself murdered Saria with a *lathi*. All the four are eye-witnesses. From the evidence of Witness No. 4 it is clear that the accused who is an oppressor by nature has fraudulently usurped the zamindari of a pious Mussalman. In view of the above mentioned facts, I am convinced that the accused is guilty of murder. Hence, I send him to your honour for trial. Your honour, emperor of the universe, is like father and mother to me. Your humble servant begs pardon for any defects in the report and prays for impartial judgement."

"Dated the 10th September 1831.

'Daroga Enayat Hossain',
Thana 'Kendrapara.'

"P.S. The stolen property recovered from the house of the accused is sent in charge of constable Hari Singh as per list enclosed. Saria having been murdered by the accused, her husband Bhagia Chand has gone mad and is committing acts of great violence. There being no near relation to take charge of him, the mad man is also sent to your honour for trial; your honour is all in all."

(To be contd.)

Readers are requested to contact :



Dr. Rammanohar Lohia

b. 23. 3. 1910 - d. 12. 10. 1967

- 1932 Ph.D. in Economics, Berlin University Thesis on Salt Taxation in India, (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, made clandestine Congress Radio broadcasts, published pamphlets.
- June 1946 & Sept. 1946 Arrested in Goa, twice for challenging Portuguese Rule. Tortured and expelled to the border and expelled to "India".
- May 1949 Arrested for supporting the Nepali agitation against the Ranas.
- 1949 President of Hind Kisan Panchayat, Patna.
- 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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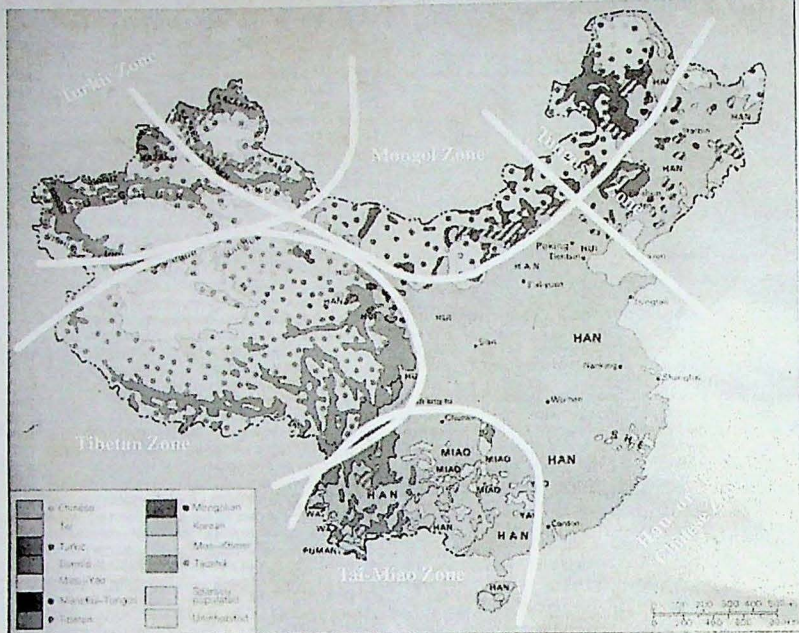
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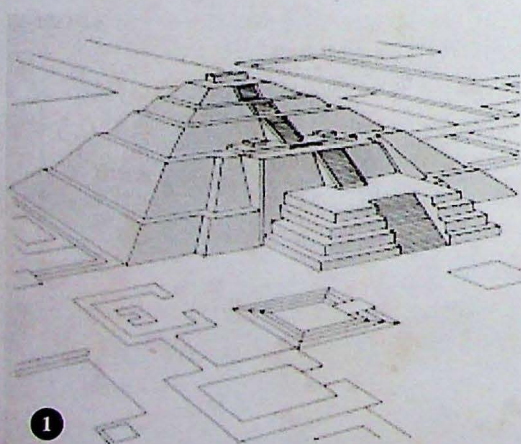
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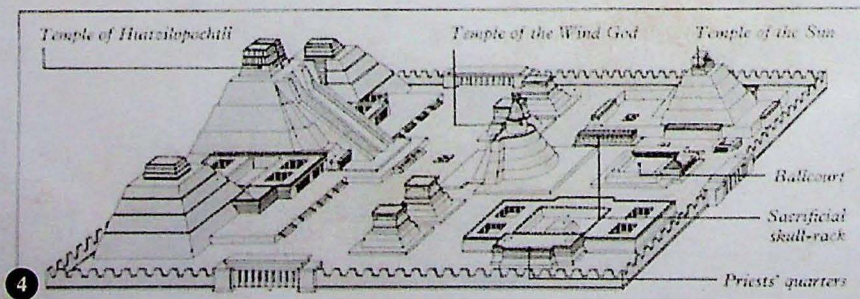
Tang Taizong, portrait by an unknown artist. In the National Palace Museum, Taiwan.



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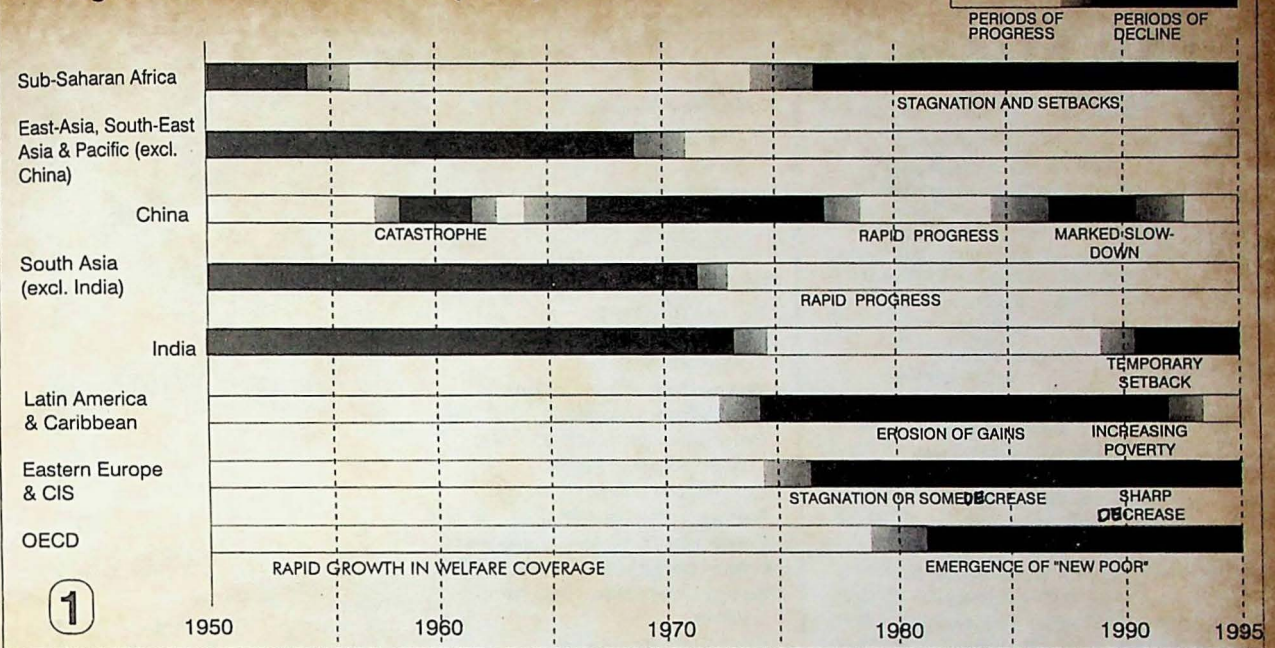


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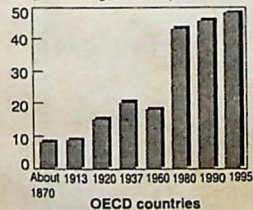
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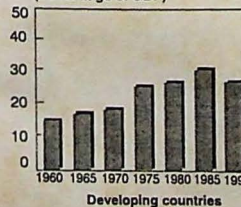
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Total government expenditure (Percentage of GDP)



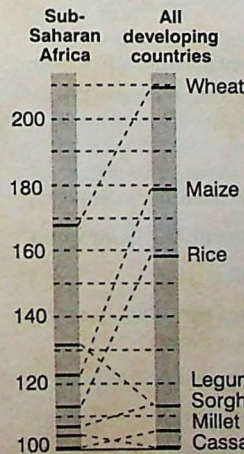
Central government expenditure (Percentage of GDP)



Note: Data for the OECD countries are for central and local government, including social security expenditures. See the Technical Note for details. Source: Tanzi and Schuknecht 1995; OECD, various years; IMF, various years (b).

Poor People's food crops have benefited little from advances in technology

Yields in 1990-94 indexed to 1970-74
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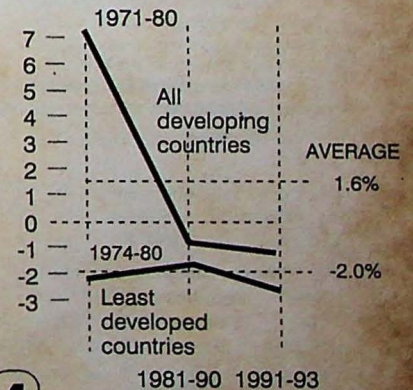


3

Source: CGIAR 1996

Declining terms of trade

Average annual rate of change



4

Source: Berry, Horton and Mazumdar 1997