

# MANKIND

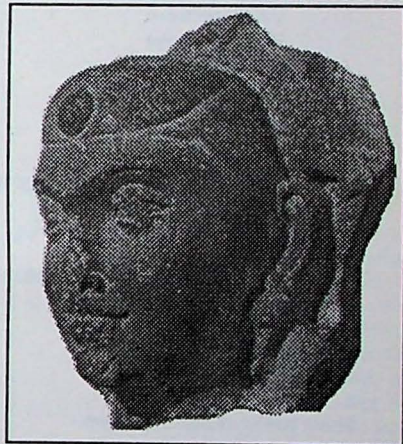
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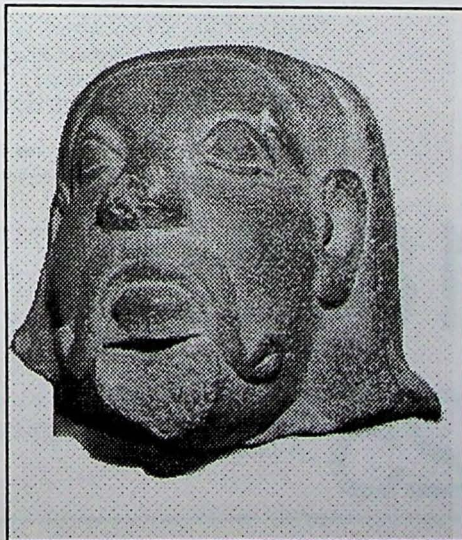
Vol. 2, No. 12, Sept. 1997



A RAJKUMAR



A RAJKANYA



A SENAPATI

## Three Maurya - Kushan Heads

(See inside p.4)

# MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Rammanohar Lohia

Vol. 2, No. 12, September 1997

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## Contents

# 4

**OUR OPENING STATEMENT :** 24th in the series, comments on our national indifference to matters technological; suggests that Britain was never a historic nation; indicates that *Mankind's* forecast of the current UF government's tenure is being reaffirmed by Sitaram Kesri, the Congress president; regrets the passing away of Narayan Pednekar, a proletarian poet; and shows that little *naukersshahs* like Govind Swaroop are riding high on hot air and nothing else.

# 8

**WAH KYA KAHEN !** picks up the topics :

that Ex President Sharma is the true leader of a gang of thieves;

that President Narayanan is a Chitthi Ka Chakar and a surrogate *Dvija*;

that the new Vice President Krishna Kant proves by his non-descript career that he is a wonderful mediocrity;

that a cowardly former Ambassador to Sweden belatedly reveals Rajiv's hand in the Bofors scam;

that slush money sent abroad by Hawala experts can find its way home via Kesri's Congress;

that Rabri Devi is Laloo's worse-half;

that Waghela considers himself to be the highest public purpose;

that our judiciary is an honorary party to corruption and endless procrastination;

that the Times Jain is sailing in the same boat as Hawala Jain;

that the Kerala Marxists have turned shopkeepers for MNCs; that the Bengal Marxists are not far behind in corruption stakes;

that oil exploration has been handed over to crooks;

that the North-East is plunged into an endless crises of violence and anti-terrorist state terrorism;

that big business had plunged its hands in Niyogi's blood;

that autonomous bodies to oversee media cannot be created by a partisan executive;

that Alyque Padamsee is habituated to pursuing the trivial;

that Mayawati's Ambedkar mania is costing the people of UP

about Rs. 10,000 crores;

that the Dalits are divided into 30 ineffective factions,

that Rajiv was teething into corrupt ways during the ninth

Asiad construction projects;

that Veerappan's criminal career mirrors comprador

complicity in evil;

that, finally, Antala demonstrates that the little-known, non-

English knowing villager can be a beacon light.

# 18

Highlights and exposes the farcical nature of Comprador Coalitions.

# 25

We greet Africa's Lohia, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, who proves that banishment of imperial languages is a common demand of all Third World countries.

# 26

**CHALO DUNIYA DEKHE** ! continues with focus on : the latest planned Geo-political assault by China on the head waters of Indian rivers; tabulates petro-product prices in and around India; the confession by an American historian of some of the ramifications of British brainwashing of India; Our survey of world affairs continues with an exposure of the different ways by which the MNCs defraud our treasury; considers the latest devaluations forced upon the Asian Tigers and warns against the penetration to state-level by the World Bank.

# 53

We question some of the facile assumptions made by the middle classes about Child Labour.

# 29

*Mankind* examines the role that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund will be playing at century's end.

# 57

We continue our serialisation of Fakirmohan Senapati's great novel *Chhamana Atha Guntha (1898)*. The serialisation will conclude in our next issue of October 1997.

# 33

We continue with our series on *Social Change in 19th Century Maharashtra* by Dr. Sharayu Mhatre with a chapter on the years of Disturbed Cooperation : 1870s to 1905.

# 62

**Sex, Reproduction and Love.** Dr. Vinayak Purohit examines the breakdown of the monogamous bourgeois marriage and suggests an alternative pattern of man-woman relationship that may be broken down into 5 segments: Pre-Puberty; Puberty to age 25; Youthful Climax from 25 to 35; Early Middle-Age 35 to 45; and; Late Middle Age to Death or age 45 to 75. Dr. Purohit feels that guided sexual promiscuity may be pursued during life segments II and IV and that monogamous pairing may be advisable for Reproduction and Healthy Parenting between ages 25 and 35 and, between ages 45 to 75 for Love and Companionship. Dr. Vinayak advocates a debate on a Changeover to Multiple Marriages. He makes clear that his suggestions may be valid only for the future Egalitarian Socialist Order and that any association of Marriage with Property Relations would vitiate his case fundamentally. Dr. Vinayak is outlining his vision of the kind of Family that the future Socialist Society may project and sustain.

# 39

**ADDA AT NUKKAD**, this time, includes a letter from Shivkumar Sharma and 3 communications from Malika Mistry, Aynul Islam and C.S. Kalra. Islam's paper on the state of the fishing industry in Bangladesh was presented at the April meeting of the *Mankind* Vichar Manch. Kalra comments on the Rastogi Report concerning University Teachers.

# 46

*Mankind* continues its series on 25 Turning Points in World History with notices on Saladin (1157/8-1193); Genghis Khan (1162-1227); Mansa Musa (1307-1332), who is *Mankind* Executive Editor's favourite; Kublai Khan (1215-1294); Gaja Mada (fl. 14th century); Timur (1336-1405); Mohammad I Askia (1493-1528); and, Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1568).

# AN OPENING STATEMENT: 24

## TWO PHILANTHROPISTS AND OUR POOR TECHNOLOGY CULTURE BRITAIN WAS NEVER A NATION KESRI CONFIRMS *MANKIND'S* TIMETABLE A LITTLE BUREAUCRAT SEEKS TO REWRITE HISTORY NARAYAN PEDNEKAR PASSES AWAY

Exe. Edr.

### TWO PHILANTHROPISTS AND OUR POOR TECHNOLOGY CULTURE

I have been advised medically, to walk for an hour everyday. I have chosen the Pune University campus for my daily round. A young man, who has registered for his Ph.D, occasionally joins me in my daily walk of about three to four kilometres. Sometimes he takes me towards the hostel's refectory, foreign students' dormitories and the prestigious Inter-University Centre for Astronomy and Astrophysics (IUCAA) campus within the large University grounds.

Lots of money has been spent to lay out the IUCAA. There is a multi level inner square, where some obscurely delineated cement mouldings have been scattered about with the intention of representing some great Indian and European scientists. They have been done in such a style that the foreign geniuses seem half Indian and the Indian geniuses seem half

foreign!

In the course of my peregrinations, I once casually asked my fellow-traveller, who had with great difficulty supported himself with miscellaneous part time jobs, whether the Pune University had an Employment Advisory Centre? His negative reply prompted me to make further inquiries.

Ultimately, I learnt that there is no Information Centre in the University which caters to the needs of poor students of the university who might be looking for part time jobs to see them through their educational careers and no Guidance Centre for future employment prospects.

There was some department or section in the past, which gave some gardening assignments to needy students but this closed down quite some time ago. Furthermore, because of rampant corruption amongst students, teachers, and canteen contractors, a Central

Refectory had to be organised during the last few years and the students have to wait in long queues for hours in order to receive their daily calories.

On one of my monthly trips to Bombay (every month I spend three weeks in Pune and one in Bombay), I suggested to two old friends, both multi-millionaires, that something should be done about this singular lacuna with the Pune University.

One friend, who was a classmate at school with me in the late 30s and early 40s and who claims to have given away Rupees 8.5 crores in charity over the last decade (his claim varies to some extent, but I know from the old days that there is usually a substance of truth in his self-serving exaggerations), countered my suggestion with a strange set of self contradictory arguments:

a. There was no dearth of employment opportunities and there was no need for the University to come to the students' help.

b. Actually there was a great shortage of labour everywhere and small-scale industrialists were in great difficulty as they could not get job-vacancies in the factories filled up.

c. The Government of India had done the needful and it was providing technical training to all.

d. There was a former Congress MP from the Pune area who had started several technical training schools and he was doing wonders!

e. If an Employment Guidance Centre was started by the University, it could immediately degenerate into a worthless bureaucratic setup.

(contd. on next pg.)

### THREE MAURYA-KUSHAN HEADS

(See Cover Page)

**Maurya Head of a Prince or a Rajkumar** (Stone, Height about 61/2". 4th century BC to 1st century BC)

**A Lovely Little Princess or Rajkanya** in Red Mathura Stone, Height 12". The three heads taken together, probably represent the leading sculptural schools of North India (Mathura, Sarnath, Sanchi, etc.)

**Maurya Head of a Warrior or Senapati.** (Stone, Height about 61/2". 4th century BC to 1st century BC)

We have here three magnificent portrait heads of Early Classical Indian Art. They are far superior to anything

produced anywhere else in the world. Far, far superior to anything else attempted in Greek art and to the various generalised heads and figures of athletic-victors carved by probably homosexual sculptors.

Narrative art has been universally acknowledged as the forte of Indian sculptural tradition. However due to biased imperialist art histories, it is not generally known that Indian sculptors excelled in portraiture too.

The portrait head of a Mauryan Prince has a fillet tied to the head, and a gentle smile makes the stone head come alive.

The portrait of a *Rajkanya* is the largest in the group, almost a foot in height.

It is in Red Mathura Stone.

The Maurya head of a Warrior is self-assertive and stern. It is no ordinary soldier, but surely a powerful *Senapati* or high-ranking officer.

The little traditions of North India go very far back. The back cover of *Mankind*, Vol. 2, No. 7, April 1997, had featured Yaksha Manibhadra, Yaksha Bala, and a Yakshi of the 7/6th century B.C. to 1st century A.D. The three Maurya Heads illustrated here belong to similar period, 4th century B.C. to 2nd century B.C. The precise stylistic centre of origin can be easily seen: The Ganga-Jamuna Doab to Saruat (Benares) and Patliputra (Patna) in Uttar Pradesh at Bihar.

Finally, he suggested that I should prepare a scheme and forward it to the V.C. of Pune University, who was "inevitably, going to turn every such proposal into a bureaucratic quagmire."

The second *Karodpati*, closely associated with the Tatas, told me that he had other irons on the fire and he would not be able to take any interest in the matter I had suggested. I didn't ask and he didn't elaborate on his "other commitments". He is a highly cultured, low-profile philanthropist, who is bound to be involved in a lot of charitable works, apart from Alcoholics

### KESARI CONFIRMS MANKIND'S TIMETABLE

*Mankind* had predicted in its issue of May 1997, at p.5, that the tenure of the UF Government, headed by a Deve Gowda or a Inder Gujral or any other oily non-entity will extend upto the end of a two-year term from the date of the first session of the 11th Lok Sabha in April 1996. Every Member of Parliament receives about Rs. 30,000/- per month in salary and perks. By a resolution passed by the Lok Sabha, a minimum term of two years is to be taken as equivalent to 'full term'. For each year of service to the Indian people as an MP, he or she is entitled to Rs. 1000/- per month as pension for life. Furthermore, for each year of such benevolent service, he is entitled to spend one crore out of the public treasury on 'welfare and development' schemes of his choice. Such expenditure is beyond the purview of the Parliament and the CAG. One can be sure that at least 50% of this discretionary annual grant of one crore flows back into his own pocket because that is true 'welfare' of the Indian people!

This one crore grant was extracted from P.V. Narasimha Rao's lameduck minority government.

Similarly a new bill relating to the salaries and allowances of the Members of Parliament pending for many years will now be taken up in the next session whereby the emoluments of the MPs will be substantially enhanced in line with the recommendations of a committee, of a few years ago, headed by A.R. Antulay, notorious for his Cement Quota Scam in Mumbai.

We can be sure that the new salaries and allowances bill will be passed unanimously and with alacrity. The MPs have shown their teeth by refusing to pass just last week, three official bills relating to opening of the insurance sector to private foreign companies and the bills regularising the election of President and the Vice President Ordinance.

Things have reached a very sorry pass in India. The MPs have turned into Mafia gangs. They secured a personal discretionary allocation of Rs 800 crores per year from the worthless Narasimha Rao - Manmohan Singh Government. Now they are bent upon securing an enhancement of rupees ten or twenty thousand per month per MP from the equally weak UF Governments of Deve Gowda and Inder Gujral.

As they say, only God can save India. And as he doesn't exist, let Lohia's *Andhi* sweep over our country!

Anonymous, with which he is intimately concerned. His wife is a very fine person and was a Kathakali dancer earlier, but is now an excellent ceramist. She joins her husband in all his multifarious charitable works.

After my two conversations, I came to the conclusion that reformist suggestions should never emanate from me in the future. It is not that I am against reforms. In fact, no revolutionary can be really against reforms! But I find that the fault lay not with my two friends, but with me. I find that I am unable to promote any reformist scheme!

I have long thought about this matter and about the promotion of technology culture in India through the agency of the 225 Universities and Deemed-to-be-Universities in the country as well as through the 200 other centres of higher learning distributed all over India.

For instance, all the 500 Universities, National Laboratories

### A LITTLE BUREAUCRAT TURNS NASTY

There was a little bureaucrat named Govind Swaroop, who was spinning webs to catch flies and swat them in the Culture Department of the Maharashtra Government over the last 6 years. In a cassette made to commemorate 50 years of our non-Independence, he identified Mohammed Ali Jinnah as one of the great patriots of our freedom movement.

What are his qualifications, to judge patriots? He himself never participated in any freedom struggle, nor is the IAS service, which he represents, heir to the ideals held by freedom fighters.

Furthermore, Jinnah participated very actively on the British imperialist side after he left the Congress in the early thirties, to bring about the partition of the country in 1947. **The Partition of 1947 was no ordinary crime, it is one of the greatest crimes known to human history.** It was greater than the Holocaust, perpetrated by Hitler! The Partition of 1947 caused the killing in British policed communal riots of 6 lakh innocents and in the British Imperialism sponsored migration of 17 million refugees, the largest single event of its kind known to human history.

Whatever feeble gestures of liberal bourgeoisie sort that Jinnah might have made at the time of the Simon Commission or whatever little advice he might have given to Tilak, all these gestures were totally drowned in the bloodbath of the 1947 Partition.

Govind Swaroop proved himself to be a silly fool, which he has every right to be. No apology is called for from him on this count. It is the gross underestimation of the events of 1947 that marks him out as a vicious *naukershah*.

Little Govind has been transferred out of his little perch. That is all very well! Actually he should be re-trained and sent out to combat the proxy war being fought by Pakistan in Jammu & Kashmir, so that he has a chance to perish by a bullet fired by the patriot Jinnah's most patriotic Pakistani Armed Forces!

and Institutes of Higher Learning could each have a department devoted to Employment Guidance.

This is just the **First Step**. Next, they can build around this core cell, a Technical Training Department which would actually teach repair and maintenance of all sorts of mechanical, electrical and electronic gadgets (cars, auto-rickshaws, tractors, other agricultural machinery; carpentry, masonry, plumbing, fuel and gas pipelines, water supply, sanitation and drainage, etc.; electrical irons, washing machines, refrigerators, ovens, boilers, gensets, pumps and what not; radios, tape recorders, television sets, computers and innumerable other electronic apparatus). I do not see any reason why all these institutions of higher learning should not systematically teach their students, the skills with which the students can manipulate their hands and minds.

Gradually, these Employment Guidance Centres and Technical Training Departments could assume control over the maintenance of all the equipment, buildings, roads, service conduits, of all the University campuses and similar areas all over the country.

A further step to be dovetailed with the above three would be to offer repair and maintenance services to all the citizens of the cities and towns in which the Universities and Institutes of Higher Learning are located. Anyone can ring up this Centre and for a no-profit, no-loss charge or fee get his complaint attended

to.

Of course, vested interests will be up in arms against my proposal. Firstly, those who are making money out of repairs and maintenance and building works and lab-installations for the Universities would lose their customers.

Secondly, if citizens can get their minor and major maintenance requirements met at reasonable cost by educated people working out of such University Technology Centres, the enormous cheating and fraud that goes on in our cities would soon come to a halt.

Thirdly, all those *naukershahs* who are making money out of promotion of Government Programmes of Technical Training will soon lose their *raison d'etre* and miss their tainted sources of income.

As aforesaid, I am not against reforms. As a revolutionary I want only endless reforms! And ever wider ones!

Even if we begin today in the 51st year of pseudo-independence, if we built up the Employment Guidance Centres which are Technical Training Departments, which are also Employment Generating Units, within the next 5 or 10 years we can transform the present wretched Brahmanical bias of our educational system (whereby the educated avoid physical labour and skilled tasks), and make India, a vibrant, technology-informed democracy!

#### THE SEE-SAW OF HISTORY

Our cable service at the Pune office is totally unreliable. The treachery of the power supply which is interrupted at least five times a week, especially on Thursdays, is one thing, but the unreliability of the Puneite builder-cum-cable service provider who has muscled on to a monopoly network in our part of the Deccan Gymkhana area is of vintage quality. Generally of course, Puneites do not accept the dictates of time. You can be almost sure that the man who has voluntarily given an appointment in Pune, particularly if he belongs to the upper-caste stratum, will definitely NOT turn up at the given time. He may come 24 hours later or even 48, or may never turn up.

Following this principal parameter, our cable service provider, interrupts at any time of his choosing or fails to attend to the breakdown at the booster point, or cussedly undertakes repair-work at prime time.

Anyway, we are located in comprador times and place. We cannot choose them, rather they choose us.

However, amongst all the hardships and irritations and endless frustrations, the one welcome feature of the cable service is that it establishes the contours of a total global context. We can switch channels at the press of a remote-button and hear the news from every quarter of the globe or earth, of course as filtered by Neo-Colonial Anglo-American powers and by their satellite stooges, the comprador Doordarshan Network.

Just two days ago, the BBC reported a spectacular plunge in the average expectation of life in Russia. Stalin had of course, earlier, precipitated a sharp decline through the concentration camps of the GULAG Archipelago in Siberia, but in between, from about 1953 to 1985 there had been a relative stabilisation and progress. But suddenly the average expectation of life at birth for Russian males has fallen to age 57, about 5 years lower than in India. The BBC correspondent gave the causes as spurt in alcoholism, the sudden plunge in social security, the sharp rise in unemployment and the shocking spread of mafia criminal gangs.

And two days later, the NBC reported the sudden arrival of a new social problem in urban China. In affluent Peking households, where families are often limited to one child, the Little Emperors are cajoling their parents and grandparents, to give them as much of the dainty dishes as they can swallow. Obese children are being enrolled by their parents in special gymnastic exercise classes, for a fee of \$ 24 to 30 per month (not an inconsiderable sum in China) for four hours of rigorous sweating per day. The NBC reporter himself noted that this was a new problem in China where for centuries the citizens had been lean and under-weight!

Yesterday the Russians were at the top of the world, (except of course, the millions in the forced corrective labour camps and in mental hospitals), under Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev! Today, the Chinese fat kids are strenuously trying out reducing exercises so that they do not suffer from the ill-effects of sudden economic prosperity!

### UNITED KINGDOM HAS NEVER BEEN A NATION

One of the great myths, propagated by the East India Company directors was that England was a Great Nation and in fact, it was the Greatest Nation in the World. ( just like the American boast of the present ) England or Britain or Great Britain or United Kingdom or United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (the country doesn't even have a proper name ! ), has possibly one of the longest historical experiences of being ruled by aliens. It was first the Romans who conquered and colonised Britain, later, the conquering Angles, Saxons and Jutes who ruled over a Heptarchy and gave England its name, then the Danes and Normans who subjugated the lands and the so-called Anglo-Norman period ended only in the 14th century. As we noted in our theoretical and historical contribution, *Revolutionary Nationalism (Mankind, Nov. 1996, pp. 19-33)* there are no real historical national entities in Europe, they are merely gangs of imperialist aggressors, who have combined behind a mask of local patriotism so that they can bamboozle their own citizens and pit them against the peoples of the world in order to selectively exploit the latter.

This is being proved once again by the proposed Constitution of separate Parliaments for Scotland, Wales, on the lines of the one already existing for Northern Ireland, as a result of the House of Commons elections just a little while ago. ( *See The Indian Express, 25.7.97* )

Conservatives drew a blank in Scotland and Wales, and Labour will be fulfilling one of its electoral pledges by holding referenda in the two provinces in September. Of course it is profitable for Wales and Scotland too to remain with England as part of the EU and OECD political and economical blocs, because thereby, they can share in the loot of the Third World.

Who says that patriotism is not profitable ? And local patriotism even more so !

### NARAYAN PEDNEKAR PASSES AWAY

We have been obliged to write several obituaries over the past two years, but it is with special nostalgia and softness with which I pen these lines about Narayan Pednekar, a true poet, hailing from the working class, who died the other day in Bombay at age 61 of blood cancer.

I am forced to place on record my feeling that, it was not just blood cancer that killed Narayan. The *Sakal* management and petty intrigues that they allowed in their establishment definitely played a major role in that denouement. The spread of knowledge about Ayurveda and Yoga has convinced the entire world, that psychosomatic condition has its own deadly implications. Narayan was extremely depressed over the last few years and all of us tried our best to enthuse him and keep up his spirits, but we failed against the wiles of *Sakal's* harsh management.

Narayan was the student of the first study classes that I conducted for the textile workers in Bombay in 1942-43. His fellow students were the late Anant Mandrekar, an ex-corporator; the late Baburao Mumbarkar, another militant stalwart of the grassroot proletarian movement of Bombay's submerged Girangaon; Prabhakar More and Laxman Jadhav, both ex-corporators who have strayed from the movement (Prabhakar with a feeling of guilt, but Laxman with cynical nonchalance); and several more of my young comrades.

My study classes had continued right through the forties with an interruption of about 10 months or so, when I was incarcerated.

Narayan was very young, I was myself in my late teens and used to wear a half pant as I gingerly stepped through the slush of the lanes of the Bombay's slums. At that time I was being put through the grind by five leaders of the BLPI. I consider myself to have been privileged to be taken through a crash programme of intense intellectual training. My teachers whom I remember as fondly as my students were, Dr. Philip "Roop Singh" Gunewardena, who was a fellow-student of Jayprakash Narayan, in the USA and who later became deputy P.M. to Solomon Bandaranaike in Sri Lanka ; Dr. N.M. Oliver Pereira, who became deputy P.M. to Sirimao; Leslie "Tilak" Gunewardena, Gen. Secy. of the BLPI; Dr. Colvin "Dias" DeSilva, who became a Cabinet Minister and Bernard "Peter" Soysa, who is now a minister in Chandrika's government.

I think of myself of those days, in the likeness of a sponge. From one side through the crash programme I absorbed as much as I could of revolutionary socialism and at the other surface by some device involving osmotic transference, I exuded whatever I had learnt. I must have been a rather efficient sponge, because Narayan remembered my study classes after so many years and recollected them with affection during the last few years when he visited me off and on.

Narayan presented me with his proletarian poem collections fairly regularly (If I can find a happy translator, I would like to publish some of the poems in some future issue of *Mankind*).

They may not be of the Gaddar class, but I can assure my readers that I would not exchange a Gaddar or a Narayan or a Vilas Ghogre for a hundred boastful, vulgar Rushdies.

I raise my clenched left fist in a tearful farewell of *Lal Salaams* to young proletarian poet Narayan Pednekar !

# WAH KYA KAHEN !

**SHARMA PROVES THAT HE IS THE LEADER OF A  
GANG OF THIEVES !**

**NARAYANAN IS A PAANCH CHITTHI KA CHAKAR AND A  
SURROGATE DVIJA**

**KRISHNA KANT : MEDIOCRITY TO THE FORE !**

**AMBASSADOR CONFIRMS RAJIV'S PARTICIPATION IN  
BOFORS SCAM**

**SLUSH MONEY SENT ABROAD RETURNS HOME VIA  
KESRI'S CONGRESS !**

**RABRI IS LALOO'S WORSE HALF !**

**WAGHELA DONATES LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSE : THAT  
IS HIMSELF !**

**WHY DOES OUR SUPREME COURT EXONERATE AND  
ENCOURAGE OBVIOUS CORRUPTION ?**

**TIMES JAIN SITTING IN HAWALA JAIN'S LEAKING LUXURY  
LINER**

**MARXISTS TURNED SHOPKEEPERS FOR MNCs !**

**CPM NOT FAR BEHIND IN CORRUPTION STAKES !**

**OIL EXPLORATION HANDED OVER TO CROOKS !**

**Asso. Edr.**

**SHARMA PROVES THAT HE IS THE  
LEADER OF A GANG OF THIEVES !**

Here is our ex-president Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, known for his simple way of life, demanding a huge sum of Rs. 40 lakh for furnishing his house. As per the rules, the ex-president is entitled to only Rs. 2.5 lakh.

When intimated about it, Sharma insisted on making it a "one time exception". When the matter went to Cabinet for consideration, it flatly refused to entertain the president's extravaganza. But as soon as the Prime Minister showed his inclination to bargain, the President refused to budge from the stand taken earlier. He was not ready to concede to the reasonable amount of Rs. 10 lakhs or to pay a concessional fee of Rs. 22,000 per year for the amount demanded by him. Ultimately on the evening of July 23, the cabinet decided to make a "one time exception" for Shankar Dayal Sharma and spend Rs. 40 lakh on his house.

It seems that the burden that is going to be imposed on National Exchequer is nobody's concern. By adamantly refusing to vacate the Rashtrapati Bhavan on July 25th, if the Cabinet's sanction didn't reach

him in time, Dr. Sharma is setting a bad precedent for the future. Rashtrapati Bhavan is big enough to accommodate families of not two but one dozen presidents. It would have been entirely feasible on the part of Mr. Narayanan to express his willingness to accommodate the ex-president in Rashtrapati Bhavan. That would have closed the matter there and then.

[Source : Indian Express, 27-7-97]

**NARAYANAN IS A PAANCH CHITTHI  
KA CHAKAR AND A SURROGATE  
DVIJA**

The Congress and the United Front have been playing a friendly game of gin rummy and the stake is the well-being and happiness of the Indian people.

Both the parties, INC and UF, first selected a contemptible cad, Inder Gujral, a man who is all things to all men in the words of *India Today*. In short, they opted for the best joker that they could find. Now they have discovered two more smooth and oily characters, K.R. Narayanan and Krishna Kant, to keep Gujral company.

As everyone knows, gin rummy is played to meld sets of three. Since Gujral was chosen a few days earlier, our bankrupt politicians had to find suitable

characters to keep him company. But the trouble is that a trio of jokers is invalid ! At least one substantive card has to be alongside ! Otherwise the situation would be like a huge number with only zeroes !

Narayanan's publicity officers have been scraping the barrel. There has been no outstanding achievement of national significance in the man's entire existence. Therefore, they are discovering that he is a *Paanch Chitthi Ka Chakar*. ( Servant of five letters ) !

Five letters have had a special significance in the life of the President, K.R.Narayanan. According to the President's belief, they have played a decisive role in moulding his life. Let us therefore probe into those five fateful letters.

The first of these, was a letter from the popular Malayalam writer E.V. Krishna Pillai complimenting Narayanan for a poem composed by him during his school days. The second letter was a letter written by Narayanan to comprador JRD Tata seeking a scholarship from the monopoly house for undertaking higher education in London, which would make possible admission to the London School of Economics.

The third one was the letter by Prof. Harold Laski, who was Narayanan's teacher, to British boot-licker Jawaharlal Nehru the then Indian Prime Minister requesting him to look out for a suitable position for Narayanan in Indian Foreign Service. This gave a necessary opening to the President in the *naukershahi*.

The fourth letter was from Ma Tint Tint (now Usha Narayanan), who was then a teacher in a Rangoon University, inviting Narayanan, serving in the Indian High Commission in erstwhile Burma to deliver a lecture on Human Rights organised under the auspices of the UNO. "How to Boot-lick" would have been a better subject for Narayanan.

The fifth letter was the one written by Narayanan himself to Nehru, requesting him to remove the legal hurdles in his marrying a Burmese girl. That is how Ma Tint Tint became Mrs Usha Narayanan and Narayanan acquired the prestige of becoming the husband of a foreign girl ! This probably made Narayanan himself a surrogate *Dviija* !

[Source : Indian Express, 26-7-97]

**KRISHNA KANT : MEDIOCRITY TO  
THE FORE**

The third element of the melded trio is Mr. Krishna Kant. The most outstanding feature of Krishna Kant's life is that he has



done nothing outstanding. He was with the Congress, he was with the Janata Party, he is another "great personality" who is determined to be all things to all men.

Mr. Krishna Kant was born on February 28, 1927, at Kot Mohammed Khan village in Amritsar district of Punjab. He was a member of "Young Turks" during the 60s and 70s and some of the other members of this faction of the Congress who, made a goddess out of Indira, were ex-prime minister Chandrashekhar, one lost soul in Pune called Mohan Dharia and the present prime minister Inder Gujral.

Let us say, that Krishna Kant belonged to an influential lobby, because the Young Turks had no ideology, no programme, nor even "collective character"! Originally these Young Turks were associates of Feroze Gandhi, Indira's husband who never got along with his wife. Later, they joined Indira's "Kitchen Cabinet", which only meant that they advised Indira, as and when her Royal Highness turned to them to ask for advice.

After that, he seems to have joined the Janata Dal.

Anyway, the long and the short of it is that Krishna Kant cultivated contacts in diverse circles. Ultimately this tactic seems to have paid off. From the medium level post of Governor of Andhra Pradesh which he occupied from 1990-1997, he has now been catapulted into the fairly high-level post of Vice President of India.

*Jug Jug Jiyo, Gujral, Narayanan aur Krishna Kant Ki Mahan Triputi!*

Lohia said that if Nehru's chaprasi can become an MLA, why not any nondescript and colourless careerist and sycophant?

*Mankind* has nothing to add to Lohia's long forgotten comments.

*Mankind* has entered into a trance and insists on chanting *Jug Jug Jiyo...!* *Jug Jug Jiyo...!* *Jug Jug Jiyo...!*

[Source: *Indian Express*, 27 & 28-7-97]

#### **AMBASSADOR CONFIRMS RAJIV'S PARTICIPATION IN BOFORS SCAM**

The long drawn out Bofors issue remains festering. A cowardly careerist who was India's ambassador to Sweden has decided to open his mouth - after eleven long years. This is the story, told by Bhupatray M. Oza in his book 'BOFORS: THE AMBASSADOR'S EVIDENCE'; one who remained witness to this messy drama and chose to remain silent!

The story is about the deal that prosecuted, with

## **SEVEN SISTERS OF THE NORTH-EAST IN AN ENDLESS RUMPUS**

### **BRITISH IMPERIALIST QUEEN LACKS MANNERS AND MORALS TOO!**

### **COMPRADOR CAPITALIST CAUGHT RED-HANDED! HOW CAN AUTONOMOUS BODIES BE CREATED BY A NON-AUTONOMOUS EXECUTIVE?**

### **THE TRIVIA DRAMATISED!**

### **MAYAVATI'S AMBEDKAR MANIA**

### **POLITICS OF SYMBOLIC GESTURE**

### **THE WAGES OF CORRUPTION CAST A LONG SHADOW!**

### **THE ILLITERATE AND THE UNEDUCATED ARE FAR FROM CONTEMPTIBLE!**

### **SUMMING UP VEERAPPAN'S CRIMINAL CAREER**

swung in favour of Bofors after Ottavio Quattrocchi came into the picture. This is the first inside story by an official directly involved with the Government of India, with Sweden and also with the Bofors Co.

He remembers the days when the gun deal was finalised, i.e. between Nov. 85 to Mar. 86, Ottavio Quattrocchi remained in the picture all the time. He was the most privileged man with access to the PMO and to the Finance Ministry. Documents from Sweden and Switzerland have identified him as one of the recipients of the kickbacks from Bofors paid into secret Swiss Bank accounts. Ambassador Oza is in no doubt that the commission unquestionably received from Bofors by Ottavio Quattrocchi was "bribe money for Rajiv Gandhi." Here he summarises, "I saw Rajiv Gandhi metamorphose from Mr. Clean to Mr. Cover-up in a matter of ten days after the Bofors scandal broke and there was no doubt in my mind already in April 1987 that he was the prime suspect in the case."

Ambassador Oza reports this belief by giving a blow by blow account of the cover-up operations that were to follow. First, a little before the Bofors Scandal broke out, Bofors got into a serious problem over its shady dealings with Oman and Vietnam, and Oza in his official capacity as an Indian Ambassador lost no time in intimating his government about these "murky and messy" transactions. He also reminisces as to how his efforts taken in the direction of forcing Bofors to come clean about the identities of the recipients of its commissions were thwarted by the PMO in New Delhi.

Oza's story adds nothing new. This little clerk has decided to come clean after Quattrocchi was allowed to flee, and after the Swiss bankers have been compelled to cough up the papers relating to the final beneficiaries of the Bofors payoffs. (The Swiss have also apologised for the delay! It also appears that a "Second Set" of papers are yet to be received by India from Switzerland.)

*Mankind* has condescended to even notice this alibi offered by Oza, entirely because, it is a kind of confession by a rat that the ship that he was riding in has finally sunk.

It never occurred to Oza that he should have boldly taken steps, eleven years ago, to save some public money, that belonged to the people of India, money that was being filched by Rajiv, Quattrocchi, Sonia and the Italian Mafia of Delhi.

In actual fact, characters like Oza deserve to sink into oblivion along with all the members of the Rajiv-Quattrocchi-Sonia Gang!

#### **SLUSH MONEY SENT ABROAD RETURNS HOME VIA KESRI'S CONGRESS!**

A petition was filed in the Delhi High Court by former Kesri associate and Bihar-based journalist Madhuresh, alleging that the Congress had violated Section 13 (A) of the Income Tax Act and the Foreign Contributions Regulations Act (FCRA) by not explaining the source of its funds amounting to Rs. 3.75 crores received in 1993 and 1994.

Kesri admitted that the money was not received by the Treasurer of the

Congress but in fact the cheques were received by the former Prime Minister and Party President P.V. Narasimha Rao and then handed over to the party later on.

Investigations by the IT Department unearthed the fact that Rs. 3.75 crores were received by the Congress in 1993 and 1994 from Singapore and Jakarta. The Congress filed the returns after a year and even then the donations were not properly accounted for and more important, then did not explain the source of the donations. Rs. 1 crore received in 1993 were traced to the Indian Bank in Singapore and it was believed that the amounts were donated by companies based there. However documents now available with the FCRA Department officials affirm that one company ( Decor Trading Ltd. ) is based in Antigua and Barbados, and the other two ( Diera Trading Ltd. and Dominion Trading Ltd. ) in the Isle of Man. The owners of these companies remain unidentified.

Similarly, the remaining 2 crores were traced to the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Ltd. in two installments in April and September 1994 and in this case too the owners could not be identified.

The investigative authorities now want to find out whether the donors who paid through banks in Singapore and Jakarta are interconnected and whether the donors are actually Indians who have routed the money in a Hawala-type operation.

It will be further noted that the Supreme Court has always been a part of our *naukershahi* and has always served the best interests of the Congress.

Kesri's lawyers have attached to their Defence Plea, certificates from 3 former Chief Justices of India that the foreign donations of Rs. 3.5 crores were " completely lawful " .

Why not ? Ex-Chief Justice Bhagwati firmly believed in a " committed judiciary " and obviously, " commitment " could only be to the Congress Party !

[ Source : Frontline, 27-6-97, Indian Express, 2-8-97 ]

### RABRI IS LALOO'S WORSE HALF !

Rabri Devi has become the 26th Chief Minister of Bihar. She is the first woman in the state to be so elected. The whole drama unfolded quite miraculously on Friday evening of the 25th July.

The former Chief Minister of Bihar, Laloo Prasad Yadav, decided at last to tender his resignation to Governor A. R. Kidwai. He then got legislators to endorse Rabri Devi Yadav as his successor. Laloo Yadav, involved in Rs. 950 crores animal husbandry scam case was in a defiant mood even when the CBI designated court issued a warrant of arrest against him after the Patna High Court rejected his plea for anticipatory bail. He defied it by saying, " The constitution does not say that the Chief Minister should resign or Article 356 should invoked to dismiss a popular government just because the Chief Minister has been implicated in a false case. If this happens then even a police inspector can get a duly elected government dismissed by registering false cases. "

The same Laloo had moved the Supreme Court to appeal against the rejection of his anticipatory bail application by the Patna Court, reversed his decision to hold onto the political mantle when the Supreme Court rejected his plea for anticipatory bail. In order to avoid imposition of the President's rule in the state, Laloo Yadav needed support of the Congress for his majority.

Laloo did not forget to ensure that he would continue to be a *de facto* Chief Minister and made way for his worse half to occupy this much coveted post.

Dynastic rule is not new to our system. Rabri Devi basically a housewife having no experience of politics and only a few years of schooling is now thrust into the CM's chair.

Rabri's elevation to the CM's *gaddi* is a mockery of our present constitutional system, which itself is a mockery of the democracy that was denied to the Indian people in 1946-49.

[ Source : Indian Express, The Times of India, 26-7-97, India Today, 4-8-97 ]

### WAGHELA DONATES LAND FOR PUBLIC PURPOSE : THAT IS, TO HIMSELF !

That charity begins at home is believed in full measure by Gujarat Chief Minister Shankersinh Waghela. This was obvious when the Waghela government sold 51,000 sq. m. of land in Gandhinagar worth Rs. 15 crore at market rates, for only Rs. 82 lakhs to the one year old Gandhinagar Charitable Trust headed by Waghela himself ! Due to setting, architecture, planning and greenery, Gandhinagar's real estate prices have zoomed. They are now between Rs. 3000 to Rs. 5000 sq. m., whereas the land in question has been sold at a price of less than Rs. 200 per sq. m.

Waghela did face opposition from some of his cabinet colleagues when he suggested the allotment to himself since four dozen applications were already pending from other charitable institutions seeking land at subsidised rates in Gandhinagar. Moreover, these institutions had proven track records whereas the trust headed by Waghela has no previous experience at all !

Finally however, the Chief Minister's word prevailed and to top it, the trust demanded and was allowed to pay the Rs. 82 lakh in two installments.

The credibility of the trust is questionable since the other trustees, apart from Waghela are the controversial Mumbai-based industrialist Damjibhai Anchorwala and the Ahmedabad-based construction company owner Vishnubhai Patel. MLA Gordhan Zadaphia mentions that Anchorwala funded the first rebellion against the BJP led by Waghela in September 1995. Waghela is said to have favoured Patel's engineering company with contracts from the state government sponsored Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam which is making the controversial Narmada Dam.

Waghela's family has been using as his private property, the swank bungalow, opposite the Gymkhana in Gandhinagar's Sector 19, which stands in the name of Samarpan Seva Trust, another trust that he heads. The bungalow serves as a residence for his relatives though it is meant to be the headquarters of the trust.

Why should Waghela act differently ? After all, under the LPGW policy of the Government of India, the personal profit motive is to be India's salvation ! That is what Waghela believes in ! Waghela's family is the greatest public institution in Gujarat, deserving every kind of official help ! What's wrong with that ?

[ Source : India Today, 7-7-97 ]

### WHY DOES OUR SUPREME COURT EXONERATE AND ENCOURAGE OBVIOUS CORRUPTION ?

Senior bureaucrats are labelled incompetent only when they become politically inconvenient. The transfer of former CBI Director, Joginder Singh only recently, appears to be one such case. Joginder Singh who belongs to the Karnataka Cadre replaced the earlier incumbent who was appointed during Narasimha Rao's tenure. He was seen as a Deve Gowda favourite. As long as Deve Gowda was the Prime Minister,

Joginder Singh was seen as an active bureaucrat. As soon as Gujral took over, Singh had to go.

In the words of Prime Minister Gujral, it was just a "routine transfer". Subsequent unfolding of events however proved otherwise. For, on the same day, the CBI told the Patna High Court that it would not arrest Laloo Prasad Yadav, till July 21. Other bureaucratic changes like K. Raghunath's taking over as foreign secretary and N. N. Vohra replacing T. R. Satish Chandran as Gujral's principal secretary, were to follow on the same day.

Joginder Singh, writer of several successful *politicier romans* and a loudmouth, had become a cause of embarrassment for Gujral who prefers secret intrigues. He had already been reprimanded for the mention of the name of Rajiv Gandhi in the charge-sheet in the Bofors case. The investigation into the charges against the Congress President Sitaram Kesri for his disproportionate assets by a CBI team turned out to be matter of concern for the Gujral Government which is abjectly dependent on the Congress. If this was not enough, he had given a free rein to his juniors like U. N. Biswas, (CBI Joint Director, East), who played a leading role in dragging Laloo Prasad Yadav into the Rs. 950 crore fodder case.

Singh was to retire in the next 4 months. However the unceremonious removal of the CBI Director raised questions about the exact status of our law enforcement agencies. To quote the former Director of the CBI, "There is total legal autonomy as far as the CBI is concerned. The CBI Director is not a rubber stamp." Then why is it that the law enforcement agencies have proved thoroughly incompetent in gathering enough evidence in the cases having a political dimension? This is a case therefore of the CBI being reined in by its political masters. The judgement of the Delhi High Court in Jain Hawala Case is an anticlimax. In response to the April 8 order of the High Court discharging Lal Krishna Advani and V. C. Shukla along with the three Jain brothers and their accountant, the CBI filed a 94 page Special Leave Petition with the Supreme Court. The essence of the argument was that the judgement delivered by the Justice Mohammad Shamim of the Delhi High Court did not take into account the "probable results" from further investigations.

The CBI claims that it is "next to impossible" to produce direct, oral and documentary evidence for the case in point as there was a deep-rooted conspiracy between the Jains and various politicians, bureaucrats and public servants who were all paid large sums to observe total secrecy. And the documents recovered from the Jains provide substantive evidence to frame charges on the accused concerned. The CBI says that it chiefly relied on the evidence collected in the form of confessional statements made by employees of S. K. Jain as well as by the Hawala dealer who was showering politicians with favours and gifts from time to time. There is no doubt with regard to the payment made of a total of Rs. 58.4 crore to 114 persons. The payments were listed in three categories "Political Payments", "Departmental Payments" and "Other Expenses" and none of the entries overlapped.

What is therefore required by the Supreme Court, in the eyes of the CBI, is to follow the basic principles of law while adjudicating the case.

It is not known why the government has not matched the diary entries of the Jain brothers with the bank entries of the recipients and their other major real estate and other purchases / investments.

Secondly, if Sharad Yadav has admitted to receipt of the amount mentioned against his name for which he is now being separately prosecuted, why should not the

amounts shown against other names be equally valid?

Thirdly, the whole question of acquisition of assets disproportionate to their known sources of income is being swept under the carpet. Why is not the wealth of each culprit in the Jain Hawala case being tabulated against the diary entries?

Lastly, Why should the Jains try to hide their diaries if no bribe was given to any politician or high level bureaucrats? Why are the Jain brothers not being committed to lunatic asylums for their crazy conduct?

[Source : India Today, 7-7-97, 14-7-97]

### TIMES JAINS SITTING IN HAWALA JAIN'S LEAKING LUXURY LINER I

The proprietor of *Times of India*, Ashok Jain is fighting a grim battle against the Enforcement Directorate (ED) The main charges against Ashok Jain are :

- (i) He maintained an illegal account with Handlesbank in Zurich.
- (ii) He transferred \$ 150,000 from Handlesbank to the account of N.S. Hoon in Bank Rothschild AG, Zurich.
- (iii) He received an undeclared \$ 1.25 million from Keshav Bangur in lieu of shares of Bank of Rajasthan.
- (iv) He has shares in many Mauritius-based companies.
- (v) He is feigning ill-health to avoid interrogation.

The battle, however, took a serious political turn when BJP leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee accused Prime Minister I.K. Gujral of shielding Jain because 'Ashok Jain is his relative' (Jain is related to I.K. Gujral by marriage).

Even former prime minister H. D. Deve Gowda has gone against Ashok Jain and is reported to have said that HIS OWN DISMISSAL BY KESRI WAS DONE AT ASHOK JAIN'S INSISTENCE.

A further twist was added to the tale when the ED offices were — unbelievably "raided" by Intelligence Bureau (IB) detectives. The IB falls under the Home Ministry and the ED under Revenue Department of the Finance Ministry. The two ministries have even come out with conflicting reports of the "raid". While Revenue Secretary N. K. Singh claims that the raid was carried out, out of concern for the safety of the documents in the directorate, IB Director Arun Bhagat says that he had received orders from the same Singh to ascertain how a Finance Ministry memo of May 12 — stating that the Jain matter would henceforth be directly monitored by the Finance Minister — had leaked out to the media.

In a reply to a questionnaire by *India Today*, Ashok Jain has said that he would like to get his interrogation wound up. He also says that he is aware that Chidambaram is personally monitoring his case, and that the ED is just leading a vindictive campaign against him.

In reply to allegations that Gujral is shielding him, Ashok Jain says that he has not even met Gujral after he became prime minister. (Telephone, E-mail, Fax, Messenger Service, Courier, all being unavailable to both Jain and Gujral I)

Thus the stage has been set. Now it is to be seen whether the ED can bring about convictions in this case. It has not been very successful in securing convictions in the past. The ITC case is a prime example.

State affairs in India have reached the byzantine nadir. Ashok Jain, a relation by marriage to Inder Gujral forces Kesri to topple Deve Gowda. Interested parties close to Kesri, then promote Gujral as acceptable PM, who will be

guaranteed Congress support from outside. However, Chidambaram, who was Deve Gowda's finance minister, continues as such, under Gujral.

His Finance Ministry raids the offices of the Home Ministry, which apparently is not in the know of the secret intrigues between Gujral, Kesri and the Jains of the *Times of India*.

I suppose, the next step will be for the External Affairs Ministry to carry through a shoot-out exercise in the streets of Delhi against the Civil Aviation Ministry for scuttling the Tata-Singapore Airlines deal. *Mankind* can suggest various other "swift resolutions" to various Government departments and agencies.

But, we will not tire our readers with a recital of innumerable feuds in progress in the bureaucratic corridors of New Delhi. We can only hope that not too many corpses will be laid low by the rival gangs belonging to the Prime Minister and his 14 Party Coalition, as well as to the various parties like the Congress and the CPM, which are supporting Inder's coalition from outside.

[Source : *India Today*, 7-7-97]

### MARXISTS TURNED SHOPKEEPERS FOR MNCs

Hindustan Lever Ltd. (HLL), the largest MNC in India, had a very lucrative market in Kerala. All HLL goods were sold in retail stores all over Kerala. These retail traders are organised under the banner of the Kerala Vyapari Vyavasayi Ekopana Sanuth (KVVES). A few months ago KVVES demanded higher discounts, but HLL refused. As a result, KVVES declared that retail traders would not stock or sell four of HLL's brands from June 1.

The KVVES was under the impression that it had a higher hand in this conflict since the Marxist Government in the state would back them and the MNC would have to keel under. This impression of the KVVES was based on the stand of the Marxist Government that it would stand by the small traders in their battle against an MNC.

This was also a golden opportunity for the government to match ideological commitment with good business. The new Neeti Stores, set up by the government should have then seen a vertical takeoff because of the unavailability of the MNC's goods in the market. But what happened was very different.

HLL sells goods worth Rs. 600 crore a year in the state and it could not lose such a market even temporarily. So they approached the government for help and asked them to sell its products in their stores.

When the state-government-run Neeti Stores were inaugurated on June 30, they told the press that "the aim was to bring products from the co-operative sector to the public distribution system." Nothing was mentioned about the MNC's goods to be sold by these chain of stores. An announcement to that effect came from HLL through their full page advertisements in all Kerala newspapers.

The KVVES, on the other hand, does not blame HLL but the government. This MNC does business, it has no ideology other than profit. But the Marxists profess an ideology and proclaim it loudly. It is this profession and proclamation that the HLL affair has punctured.

[Source : *India Today*, 4-8-97]

### NOT FAR BEHIND IN CORRUPTION STAKES

If Laloo Swallows Fodder, Jyoti Swallows Ledgers !

The heat is definitely going to be turned on the Left Front government of West Bengal with Congress Chief Sitaram Kesri announcing that he would join the rally to protest against the

Left Front government, for siphoning off central funds for fraudulent uses.

Between 1990 and 1995, Rs. 2,500 crore came from the Centre in the form of development assistance to West Bengal. However, while going through their routine checks last year, the auditors were shocked to discover the discrepancies in the use of funds for rural development. Looking at the report of the Accountant General. (Audit) obtained by the *Indian Express*, it would not be incorrect to use the term "Large-scale Diversion of Funds" for the scam !

Where had the money gone ? No one knows. For, according to the Office of the Accountant General (Audit), the state government deposited the money by transferring it from the Consolidated Funds into a number of newly opened PLA accounts.

At the heart of the controversy therefore lies what are called Personal Ledger Accounts (PLAs). It was in the 1980s that the Left Front opened the PLAs in the name of the local bureaucrats or politicians at three levels, namely, the block, the district and the panchayat. They were meant for revenue collected at the local levels : rent, taxes and tolls. However, the problem arose when central funds were transferred to such accounts. For this made it impossible to discover the purpose for which the central funds had been put to use. Since PLAs are neither audited nor approval is required for spending, it is difficult to follow the track in search of where the money had gone.

The government calls it "diversion". Suryakant Mishra, Minister for Rural Development and Land Reforms, is quoted as saying, "As for example, the money lying idle in the Indira Rozgar Yojana scheme due to rainy season was diverted to carry out a similar poverty alleviation programme."

If this is the case, readers would like him to answer the following question : Who authorised this diversion ? Where had the money been diverted ? Did this "diversion" benefit the people or the bureaucrats and the party ?

[Source : *The Indian Express*, 28-7-97]

### OIL EXPLORATION HANDED OVER TO CROOKS I

The CBI has unearthed a one-and-a-half year old scam. It is an oil scandal of over Rs. 5,000 crore involving the centre and certain private industrial houses. But it seems that the CBI is reluctant to investigate the leasing of the ONGC's Panna-Mukta oilfields in Bombay High to the Reliance-Enron consortium. The contract was finalised when Capt. Satish Sharma was the petroleum minister, and as a result of this contract, the government stands to lose Rs 5,000-7,000 crores.

The Comptroller and the Auditor General of India (CAG) in a report, criticised the arbitrary manner in which the contract was awarded and the government had flouted the rules at will and favoured private companies. The report also says that the cost incurred by ONGC in developing the Panna-Mukta oilfields Rs 529.39 crore — was not recovered from the bidders. As for Ravva oilfields, also in the Bombay offshore zone, only a partial amount could be recovered by ONGC.

The Planning Commission had cautioned the Petroleum Ministry that it should take note of the substantial costs incurred by ONGC on the fields. But the Ministry had projected the Panna - Mukta unit as a loss-making one, which the CAG report claims is untrue.

Also, the then CBI Director, K.Vijaya Rama Rao had blocked out all information pertaining to Panna-Mukta after a preliminary inquiry was registered by the CBI in June 1996 and

the Superintendent of Police Y.P.Singh had conducted probes into allegations of nepotism and sent a detailed report ( file no. 1/6 36/95- Bom. Part 2 ) to the agency. K. Vijaya Rama Rao refused to even put this file on record.

Following an assurance to the World Bank in 1991, the government opened its oilfields to the private sector. Tenders were evaluated by a negotiating committee made up of the Secretary, Petroleum and Natural Gas, the Finance Secretary and other officials, and contracts were awarded between October and December 1994 for five medium sized fields and 13 small fields. As a result of these contracts, the Panna-Mukta oilfields and Mid and South Tapti gas fields went to a consortium of Reliance Industries and Enron. Contracts were also awarded to Videocon Petroleum, Australia's Command Petroleum, Essar Oil and Premier Oil Pacific of UK, although, with the latter two, no deal was signed.

In the meantime, when the biddings were processed, CBI documents show that Reliance and Enron had approached the then petroleum minister Satish Sharma. In an incriminating statement, Sharma's additional private secretary, Safaya alleges that several industrial groups sent cash-stuffed suitcases to the petroleum minister, amounting to crores of rupees. The houses involved were the Jindal, Videocon, Essar, Reliance and Oswal of Bindal Agro.

An important lead for the CBI in the Panna-Mukta case could be that of the 5 industrial houses, three groups - Reliance, Videocon and Essar - bagged the contract to extract crude oil.

According to Safaya, the money was sent by the industrial houses through different persons, acting as conduits.

Later, Safaya retracted his statement to income-tax authorities, but legal experts believe that it does not prevent the CBI from following up the case and dig for corroborative evidence.

A senior CBI official says that the evidence shows that even the prime minister and cabinet secretary were involved. The CBI, on the other hand, is hedging the issue and trying to present an "all is well" picture and with parliamentarians showing indifference even to the CAG report, the cover-up appears to be complete.

#### SEVEN SISTERS OF THE NORTH-EAST IN AN ENDLESS RUMPUS

The North-Eastern region of India comprises of some 1.25 million sq.km. and about 3 crore people living in the states of Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Assam. It has been turned into a theatre of a low-intensity war over the last fifty years. The war of attrition has been going on between the government and the rebels with no end in sight. Today, nearly 70,000 army men, para military forces and police personnel and 37 insurgent platoons are holding the north-east region in its deadly grip.

The problem of insurgency began when Z.A. Phizo, the Naga leader started fighting a guerilla war, with British imperialist support, against the Indian Government in order to carve out a separate, independent and sovereign state of Nagaland. This later on spread like a forest fire in the nearby regions. The conflict was sustained by the local populace in an effort to do away with the age-old grievances like backwardness and unemployment.

States like Manipur and Nagaland have the same story to tell. They are tired of paying heavy "taxes" to these gunmen. Official and unofficial "extortion threats" and "abduction cases" are an everyday occurrence. Roads wear a deserted look after 6 p.m. A plethora of insurgent outfits working for their

partisan interests are having overlapping jurisdictions over the lives of the ordinary people.

A cursory look at the number and the strength of the militant outfits and their evergrowing activities, will provide the reader with an outline of the 'law and order' problem. Only recently there was an attempt on the life of Assam Chief Minister, Prafulla Kumar Mahanta. Kukis of Manipur flexed their muscles to protest against the talk of "Greater Nagaland" and observed a bandh during Prime Minister's visit to that area. While the Government has already held negotiations with one of the strongest factions of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland ( NSCN ) led by Isac Swu and T. Muivah, the other faction continues to insist that unity in the Naga Camp should be a precondition for peace. On the other hand, the Kuki of Manipur fear that the government might accede to the NSCN (I-M)'s demand that tribal inhabited highlands of the area be merged with Nagaland. Meiteis, living in the Imphal Valley also share this concern. The problem of the North-Eastern region has got

#### ESTIMATED MILITARY CAPABILITY OF GUERRILLA OUTFITS IN NORTH - EASTERN STATES

	NSCN (I/M)		KNF	KNA	PLA	UNLF
Cadre Strength	4500 to 5000	3000 to 3500	600	600	About 1400	About 700
Rifles	1400	1300	149	32	86	73
Carbines, Stenguns, Rockets Launchers & Mortars	15	30			03	
LMG	30	50	07	01	4/5	4/5
SLR	200		07		8/9	6/7
Hand granades	700		25		40/50	50

It will be noted that Armed Forces ( Special Powers ) Act, 1970, was a measure of State Counter - Terror enforced in different parts of India in the following manner.

Sr. No.	State	The Date of Enforcement of Armed Forces ( Special Powers ) Act, 1970.
1.	Manipur	28th Sept. 70
2.	Punjab	15th Oct. 83
3.	Jammu & Kashmir	5th July 90
4.	Assam	27th Nov. 90
5.	Arunachal	17th Sept. 91
6.	Chandigarh	15th Oct. 93
7.	Nagaland	7th April 95

#### Killing Fields ( In 1996 )

State	Terrorist Incidents	Civilians Killed	Militants Killed	Security Forces Killed
Manipur	359	118	93	65
Nagaland	261	114	109	48
Assam	396	351	52	87
Tripura	391	140	14	24
Meghalaya	7	3	0	4
Mizoram	0	0	0	0

[ Source : The Week, July 27, 1997 ]

a political tone which has been stressed by none other than the Chief of Army Staff, General Shankar Rao Choudhury.

Prime Minister Gujral made a five-day tour of the states of North-East starting from May 19. He inaugurated the Dibrugarh-Tinsukia-Dimapur broad gauge railway line. He also delivered a package of Rs. 300 crores to be allotted to the area during the current financial year to lay railway tracks in the region. He announced that the "development package" of Rs. 6,100 crore as agreed upon by Deve Gowda, the ex-Prime Minister, would be implemented. Prime Minister Gujral assured the Assam Government that the Centre would bear the entire expenditure for anti-insurgency operations in the state. At the same time Gujral called for talks with the rebels "without any preconditions."

However, in Manipur, representatives of the United Naga Council and the Naga Human Rights Committee preferred not to be very optimistic about the talks in the face of arrest warrants issued abroad through Interpol against the rebel leaders. Representatives of Naga Hoho and South Nagaland Union, voiced their demand for the merger of Naga inhabited areas of Manipur with their state when they met the Prime Minister. Kuki and Meitei leaders of Manipur have already warned against the idea of "Greater Nagaland."

Readers of *Mankind* will recollect that in our editorial denouncing Inder Gujral (Vol. 2, No. 9, June 1997), we had written that the country's new PM was a "Confirmed Cad," apart from being "a Police Informer, and Emergency Supporter and a Pro-American stooge!" Inder is in a hurry to prove that we were right!

US meddling in Naga affairs has been speedily sanctioned by this wretched comprador factotum, whose closest friends are to be found in the Saturday Club of the Ford Foundation - established India International Centre which is notorious as a nest of American termites.

Alarming news has reached us. On a visit to Imphal on May 22, Gujral talked about "a social solution" and discussions with misguided youth. He also suggested that he was willing to negotiate the boundaries of Manipur state, a concession which his PMO later denied.

At the same time he has fully approved of the American initiative through its subversive agency the Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America. His prompt clearance to a request from Nagaland Chief Minister S. C. Jamir to go to Atlanta, USA, to hold talks with Naga underground leaders, is a case in point.

As the government is all set to follow the American line

and bring the warring Naga underground factions together, this kind of development will certainly not be welcomed by the Meiteis of Manipur. For the settlement of Nagaland problem is not possible without the concurrence of Manipur. The Meiteis have been getting restive ever since the government took initiative to hold talks with the Naga underground. For hitherto talks were never held under any foreign agency's sponsorship. And Prime Minister Inder Gujral's evasive reply to the question whether his so called 'social solution' to the Naga problem, lay in Atlanta, USA, confirmed the worst suspicions about breaking up Manipur.

[Source: *The Week*, 27.7.97, Sunday, 15-21.6.1997, *Frontline*, 27.7.97]

### BRITISH IMPERIALIST QUEEN LACKS MANNERS AND, OF COURSE, MORALS!

#### MAYAWATI'S AMBEDKAR MANIA Politics Of Symbolic Gesture

- (i) Over 11,000 Ambedkar villages have been identified for development. The scheme was started in 1990-91. During the last 3 months, about Rs. 200 crores have been spent on Ambedkar Village Development.
- (ii) Distribution of land deeds by the Revenue Department for Dalits which the lower caste landless are entitled to get back, as land under dispute, particularly village or *gram sabha* land.
- (iii) Twenty-five percent Station House Officers posts (SHOS) at police stations in Uttar Pradesh will be reserved for Dalit officers.
- (iv) A Rs. 100 crore Ambedkar Park in Lucknow, money for which was withdrawn from the Contingency Fund by the Chief Minister.
- (v) Over 100 statues of various sizes of Ambedkar have been built in Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad and other key towns.
- (vi) Creation of three commissionerates, eight districts and 12 tehsils named after Gautam Buddha and his family, Jyotiba Phule and Shahuji Maharaj.
- (vii) Setting up of a Dr. Ambedkar Award.
- (viii) Under a scheme named after Ambedkar, marriage allowances for Dalit girls have been doubled.

[Source: *Outlook*, 30-7-97]

One of the chapters of blood-stained Imperialist history has come for retrospection before the Indians, as Punjab is getting ready for the visit of Queen Elizabeth II of England and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, on October 14, 1997, to the Golden Temple and Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre on the Baisakhi day of 1919 stands as a flash point in the history of Indian freedom struggle. Jallianwala Bagh, an open enclosure in Amritsar with tall buildings around and

only a narrow passage to lead up to it, was fixed as a venue for a public meeting called to protest against the ban on the people's right to assemble imposed under the Martial Law declared by the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Michael O'Dyer. Over 25,000 people had assembled for the meeting when General Dyer entering the passage along with his troops, all of a sudden opened fire on the people. Official figures at the time said that 379 people were killed on the spot and thrice as many wounded to die later. The unofficial number of the dead runs into five figures.

Is this blood-stained chapter of Indian history under British Dominion going to be cleansed by Queen Elizabeth II of England? Jagmohan Singh, a professor of Computer Science and a nephew of Bhagat Singh doesn't think so.

In fact he demands an apology by the British Government for the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919. He substantiates this claim by giving two instances where an apology rendered, made all the difference. He gave the instance of the same Eliza II having apologised to the Maoris of New Zealand for British expropriation of their lands! Another instance is that of Japan rendering an apology for excesses against Korean "comfort women."

British propagandists in India are now circulating the view that the Queen's visit is itself atonement enough for cleansing this blood-stained chapter of history. (In which case, the Queen should be touring India for several years !)

On a later date, Punjab Chief Minister, Prakash Singh Badal, reiterated Jagmohan Singh's demand and said that it would be a nice gesture on the part of the Queen if she apologises for the Jallinawala Bagh massacre and returns the world famous Kohinoor diamond to India as well as other Sikh relics. Badal has now taken a somersault and said that no apology need be made !

[ Source : *The Indian Express*, 28.7.97 and 6.8.97 ]

### COMPRADOR CAPITALISTS CAUGHT RED HANDED !

In a landmark judgement, the Additional District Judge at Durg, Tarakant Jha, pronounced the death sentence on Paltan Mallah and awarded life imprisonment to industrialists Moolchand Shah, Chandrakant Shah and 3 other co-conspirators, in the Shankar Guha Niyogi murder case. The court also imposed a penalty of Rs. 10 lakhs each on the Shah brothers and 5 years RI in lieu thereof and a fine of Rs. 2,000 each and 2 years RI in lieu thereof on the remaining accused. This money will be invested in a fixed deposit in the name of Niyogi's wife and their children and the interest amount will be provided to all four.

Niyogi was the founder-leader of the Chhatisgarh Mukti Morcha ( CMM ) and as a result of the agitation on behalf of the workers, industrialist Moolchand Shah's company had suffered losses. Moolchand had then given out a contract for the slaying of Niyogi, via a conduit, Gyan Prakash Mishra, to Paltan Mallah, who had then proceeded to kill Niyogi at his Bhilai residence with a country-made pistol.

The Judgement came after more than 5 years of investigation and trial. The CBI had filed cases against the accused in January 1992. The judgement was passed when the police recovered from Moolchand Shah's residence, a list of 32 cases in which Niyogi was an accused. The judgement noted that Moolchand Shah was apparently responsible for Niyogi's imprisonment between February and April 1991. It was also based on an audio-tape discovered by Niyogi's family after his death, where he had recorded apprehensions about a threat to his life. The judgement quotes the entire cassette and also Niyogi's diary, in which he further lists the names of the Bhilai industrialists and their accomplices who, he said, were conspiring to kill him.

On the basis of admission made by Moolchand Shah's son Ketan, they found a note on Niyogi which traced Niyogi's popularity among the workers in the region and also detailed a plan to neutralise Niyogi's influence. The note warned against a hasty plan to eliminate and reduce Niyogi's influence and said that success could only be achieved by gradually diminishing his popularity.

The judgement gave the CMM cause for celebration, although it is disappointed with the acquittals and the fact that some " conspirators " did not even figure among the accused. The CMM feels that the " real " battle will be fought on the appeals to the High Court and Supreme Court. Also, they have decided that they would not appeal against the judgement.

The CMM has not immersed Niyogi's ashes and are waiting for the guilty to be punished.

[ Source : *Frontline*, 27.7.97 ]

After 7 years, the Prasar Bharati Act, designed to make Doordarshan ( DD ) and All India Radio ( AIR ) autonomous will finally become operational from September. The personnel of DD and AIR will remain subject to Service Rules ! The commercial norms of both require deference to the Government. All that has happened now, is that another layer of hypocrisy and subterfuge has been added.

The Act was actually passed a whole year before CNN, the satellite channel entered India. Now, with the satellite revolution and the existence of multiple satellite channels, the question of autonomy does not seem important anymore. A year ago, Nitish Sengupta, a former bureaucrat made a few recommendations on how the Act can be updated, but they have been ignored.

The Act is also being pushed very hastily. On September 15, DD will cease to exist and it will merge with AIR to create an organisation called Prasar Bharati. But nothing is in place yet. The new corporation will be governed by a chairman and a board of directors. These will be selected by a three-member committee — yet to be set up — comprising the chairman of the Press Council, the Vice-President of India and a nominee of the President.

This is typical bourgeois fiction ! How are nominees of the Chairman of the Press Council, himself a nominee of the State; or the President and the Vice-President, who are themselves the highest executives of the State, going to be autonomous and free ?

The committee to free DD and AIR was first set up in 1977 by L. K. Advani, the then I & B Minister. But that government collapsed and the report gathered dust. Similar attempts were made by V. P. Singh, when he was PM, but his government too fell and notification was deferred.

The questions are :

(i) Will the Act free DD and AIR ?

That - depends on the definition of freedom. If the autonomy is similar to that of Air India and Indian Airlines, then, it is not much to write home about.

(ii) Will DD dish out better programmes ?

It cannot as its role is defined, which is to act as propaganda channel for whichever government is in power.

(iii) Will DD news be more credible now ?

The most that the defenders of the Establishment can say is that " the independent functioning of Prasar Bharati will depend on the degree of freedom allowed by the Governing Board of *Naukershahs* ". It is certainly unreasonable to expect any truthful reporting.

(iv) Can the corporation pay for its keep ?

DD and AIR are entirely funded by the Government and their revenues go into the Central Government pool. Now it will have to submit a yearly financial statement indicating how much expenditure it will meet from its own resources. Difference is that the Prasar Bharati can hold its money as it likes. That is, the *naukershah* will have more powers to make more corruption money !

(v) How will DD and AIR be merged ?

The employees will be given an option to either stick with the ministry or join the new corporation. Former I & B Secretary Bhaskar Ghose says that " there's a lot of dead weight in DD and AIR with a lot of people incapable of doing any work. " But what is the guarantee that " the people incapable of doing

any work" will not continue?

(vi) Who will be the ombudsman?

A grievance cell called the Broadcasting Council will be created. Unfortunately, the council will only hear complaints from the public but will have no powers to take punitive action.

(vii) Where does the Act slip up?

There is lot of confusion. Earlier, the DD officials were answerable only to the I & B Ministry but now it will have five groups of bosses, The Broadcasting Council, The Board of Directors, The 22-member Parliamentary Committee and the Standing Committee of Parliament for the Ministries of Communications and I & B, all five breathing down their necks. In short the *naukershahs* will have a grand time!

The Act does not address satellite broadcasters at all. It does not mention technologies like direct-to-home broadcasting and it says nothing about containment of monopolies.

#### A SUMMARY OF TWISTS AND TURNS

- 1977 : L.K. Advani sets up committee to free DD and AIR. But the government falls.
- 1990 : P. Upendra, now a turncoat who has joined the Congress, introduces the Prasar Bharati Bill, which is passed after amendments. This government also falls.
- 1991 : Programme of LPGW enforced by Rao-Singh disaster duo. Reconquest of India by Euro-America completed.
- 1996 : Former bureaucrat Nitish Sengupta suggests minor changes in the new multi-channel scenario.
- 1997 : The government issues a notification that will make the Act operational by September 15.

[Source : India Today, 24-8-97]

#### THE TRIVIAL DRAMATISED !

Comprador artists are in the habit of picking up historical freaks. Begum Sumroo, is the latest of the series. Her little principality in a district of Uttar Pradesh, in the middle of the 18th century, was of absolutely no significance. In a period of Pendhari Feudalism, which extended in India from roughly 1720 to 1860, worthless characters like Sumroo, a Kashmiri dancing girl, Levaisseau, George Thomas, Walter Rinehardt, Gurgin Armenian and such other riff-raff and vermin had emerged briefly and theatrically. In those turbulent times when Indian feudalism was ending its long career (700 B.C. to 1765 / 1802 A.D.) and British imperialism was taking over.

It has been said, time and again, that unless you ask the right questions, you can never get the right answers. One cannot study any triviality and hope to find any profound meaning. By picking up odd incidents what sense can be derived? It is like making Phoolan Devi a figure of significance in current history!

But compradors are naturally masters of inconsequential details! They must pick on something utterly absurd like Salman Rushdie or Nirad Chowdhury or V.S. Naipaul or some such idiotic Zero, to build aesthetic or philosophical castles upon!

In this vein, Alyque Padamsee, de Cunha and Vasunia have got together to enact the play 'Begum Sumroo'. The story is of a Rohilla prince's mistress, on being discovered by him in a compromising position, later joined a mercenary general's brigade and married him.

The play promises to do for the striking debutante, Tara Deshpande, what *Tughlaq* did for Kabir Bedi! Catapult her into instant stardom.

[Source : India Today, 4-8-97]

#### THE WAGES OF CORRUPTION CAST A LONG SHADOW

It has been 15 years since the Asiad Games were held in Delhi but the Player's Block building still waits to be completed. The building is eight storeys high, has a covered area of 40,000 sq. ft. and occupies 4.5 acres of prime land next to the Indira Gandhi Indoor Stadium. Right now wild berries grow on its ground and unkempt creepers climb up its walls. At government rates, the property is valued at Rs. 21 crores but at market rates the total cost of the land and structure is around Rs. 200 crores.

The building was envisaged as a hotel complex for players but after spending nearly Rs. 7 crores on construction the DDA could not find investors to back the plan.

Then in March 1987, the land was taken over by the Indraprastha Medical Corporation, as a Joint venture with Apollo Hospitals Group for Rs. 11.3 crores. They planned on setting up a super-speciality hospital on the plot but on a visit in 1989, the then Sports Minister, Margaret Alva, decided that a hospital cannot be built on land marked for a sports complex. Thus the plan fell through.

The Sports Authority of India (SAI) was then forced to buy the structure back from the Delhi Government and tried to build a sports hostel at the place but due to lack of funds could not go ahead. They received no help from the Human Resource Development Ministry nor the Finance Ministry.

Again in 1995, the then HRD Minister Madhavrao Scindia, decided that sports wasn't exactly what the structure was meant for and he wanted it thrown open to hoteliers. Unlike the last time, the Taj, Oberoi and the construction company, Unitech, evinced interest but the bids could not be processed. Apparently the Sports Ministry had not fixed the parameters by which the bids would be evaluated, so the exercise had to be called off. In 1996, the Sports Ministry decided that it did not want the thing. Now the process of handing it over to the Delhi government is on. Sources say that the structure will probably be used to house government departments. Probably our *naukershahs* are not satisfied with the humming and hawing they have done for 15 years! They want to carry on for another 15!

[Source : India Today, 27-7-97]

#### THE NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING AND THE LESS EDUCATED ARE FAR FROM CONTEMPTIBLE !

Shyamji Antala, 60, Saurashtra's rainmaker has a mission in life. He has vowed to bring back water to all the wells in Saurashtra which have mostly dried up due to the draught that has been that area's lifelong bane.

A circulation manager, with a Gujarati daily, Antala is almost like a messiah among Saurashtrian folk for he has helped recharge 2.5 lakh wells out of seven lakh. A Rajkot farmer, Chunibhai Katheriya equates him to a *Bhishmapitamah*, who will not rest till all the wells are full of water. However, his success in well-recharging stems from his pragmatism since he works with what he has. Saurashtra does not have a single perennial river but has countless erratic rivulets with rocky beds that keep coming alive every monsoon and die soon after. Recently Antala prescribed that all dry wells should be connected to the rivulet with the help of 9 inch-diameter cement pipes. The pre-monsoon showers last month had almost all the wells brimming.

For different situations, Antala has varying methods. If there is not a rivulet nearby, he improvises with other techniques. In Gundasara village, he proposed that villagers dig 6 ft x 6 ft tanks with cemented beds near each dry well. Then by studying the lay of the land, he worked out areas where water naturally collects during the rains. These were connected to the tanks by loosely made canals and the upper portion of the tank in turn



connected to the well by a pipe. Once the rains trigger off a flow of water, the tanks get filled up, the mud settles to the bottom and clean water trickles down to the depths of the well. Each shower feeds the well to a point that water can easily be drawn out. Today, with this technique, 210 of the 277 dry wells in this region are gurgling with water and Gundasara is making a yearly profit of Rs. 18 lakh in additional groundnut crop.

Thus, without any intricate engineering feat, well-recharging is being done at a negligible cost but with an environmentally correct theory.

Antala got interested in well-recharging when he saw the dry wells in his native town Dhoraji. The four-year long drought

(1984-88) in Saurashtra had already made him think about water conservation. He mulled over it for many days, discussed it animatedly with friends and finally worked out ways to revive wells. Once decided, he and his friend launched the Saurashtra Lok Manch.

His attempts at well-recharging however, were eyed suspiciously by the corrupt *naukershahs* whose lies and waste got exposed!

[Source : *India Today*, June 23, 1997, pp.90-91]

## COMPRADOR INDIA IS CRIMINALS' PARADISE !

### A Summing Up of Veerappan's Criminal Career

- 1955 : Teenager Veerappan of Gopinatham village shoots his first tusker. Over the next three decades he poaches 2,000 for their prized ivory and thrills his mentor Salavi Gounder.
- 1984-86 : Murders four personnel of the Karnataka Forest Department.
- Oct. 1986 : Arrested during SAARC summit in Bangalore. Makes a mysterious escape.
- June 1987 : Lynches Tamil Nadu forest officer Chidambaram.
- Aug. 1989 : Slays Karnataka forest guard Mohanaiah. Kills 3 officials of the state's Begur forest.
- Jan. 1990 : 'Operation Snap' launched to nab Veerappan. TN police gun down two gang members.
- Apr. 1990 : Veerappan kills 3 Karnataka cops near Hogenakal forests. Karnataka constitutes STF to nab the brigand.
- May-Sept. 1990 : Nearly 100 gang members and supporters arrested.
- Nov. 1991 : Gang beheads deputy conservator of forests, P. Srinivas.
- Feb. 1992 : Quarry owner Sampangi Ramaiah's son released for a ransom of Rs. 15 lakh. Veerappan's right hand man, Gurunathan shot by Karnataka STF.
- May 1992 : Daring attack on Rampur Police Station; five cops killed.
- Aug. 1992 : Karnataka STF superintendent of police T. Harkrishna and five other cops killed in an ambush near Meenyam.
- Apr. 1993 : Kills seven TSTF personnel and 15 police informers. SP 'Rambo' Gopalkrishna of TSTF seriously injured in ambush in which the gang uses sophisticated gelatin sticks for the first time.
- May 1993 : Six Karnataka STF men killed. Six gang members also slain.
- Aug.-Dec 1993 : Twenty-seven gang members killed in STF operations.
- Aug. 1994 : First surrender initiative from the Ooty hills to the STF which falls through.
- Aug. 1995 : The gang guns down six villagers in Punjanoor on the TN-Karnataka border.
- Sep. 1995 : Veerappan's brother Arjunan and two other gang members commit suicide in police custody.
- Nov. 1995 : Three forest department officials abducted at Kovilur in Tamil Nadu; Veerappan demands Rs. 3 crore for their release. They are later released unharmed.
- Apr. 1997 : Baby Veerappan, a notorious member of the gang, shot dead by STF in the Sathy-Mangalam forest range.
- July 1997 : Nine Karnataka forest officials kidnapped.
- Aug. 1997 : Veerappan abandons demand of Rs.5 crores for the release of the nine officials. Apparently agrees to surrender to Tamil Nadu Government, from which he expects greater leniency.

1.	<b>Total crimes</b>	:	133 (58 in Karnataka and 75 in Tamil Nadu)
2.	<b>Elephants Killed</b>	:	200
3.	<b>Ivory smuggled</b>	:	Worth Rs. 12 crore
4.	<b>Sandalwood smuggled</b>	:	Worth Rs. 100 crore.
5.	<b>People killed</b>	:	119
6.	<b>People injured since 1990</b>	:	61

[Source : *The Week*, 27-7-97; *Outlook*, 30-7-97]

# FARCE OF COMPRA COALITIONS

## THE THREE-FOLD SCENARIO AS VIEWED BY DIFFERENT POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS

Exe. Edr.

**WE MAY ASSESS THE INDIAN POLITICAL CRISIS UNDER THREE HEADS : RIGHTWING, CENTRIST AND LEFT. The Rightwing Perception :**

**INC :** The Congress is caught up in the end game. It had been almost continuously in power at the Centre for the last five decades, except for about four years in 1977-80 and 1987-89. Since the last General Elections to the 11th Lok Sabha held in March 1996, it has been reduced to the status of being the third largest political formation, having been overtaken by the BJP and allies, as well as by the Janata Dal and its 14 associates, who came together after fighting the elections against each other. The Congress made a quixotic effort to come to power some two months ago and was saved from total ignominy by old Congress stooge and erstwhile President S. D. Sharma, who allowed Sitaram Kesri to beat a retreat and withdraw his claim to form an alternative government! Sharma allowed the same UF coalition to reform itself behind another faceless, colourless, oily cad.

*Mankind* had predicted that the present UF coalition led either by the past or the present non-entities (Deve Gowda, Inder Gujral), or by any other algebraic entity representing a zero, will last for another thirteen months. (MK, Vol. 2, No. 8, May 97, p. 5). This has been confirmed by Kesri, the Congress President and is being covered by another boxed feature in the Opening Statement in this issue.

[ See also, *The Timing of the Kesri Blow* in May 97 issue of *Mankind*, pp. 3-7, and *A Bio-sketch of A Confirmed Cad* in June 97 issue, pp. 3-6 ]

However even after the present gang of MPs have secured life time pensions by prolonging the life of the 11th Lok Sabha to a minimum of two years, and as soon as mid-term polls take place for the 12th Loksabha in early 1998, the Congress outlook is bleak. It has no chance of improving upon its present strength of around 125/130 MPs.

### THE RIGHTWING VISION : INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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This bleak future stares the INC in the face because it is occupying ministerial berths in only two states of the Indian Union, namely Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, which are two of the poorest states of the country. Nowhere else is it in power, though it is supporting several opposition governments which are in power. As in Gujarat, where it is propping up Shankersinh Waghela's dissident BJP government ; as in Bihar,

where it has swung behind Laloo and Rabri Yadav's newly formed - Rashtriya Janata Dal; and as in J & K, where Farooq Abdullah's National Conference has allowed one small minister to the INC.

Thus the Congress is in power only in only two states out of the 15 major states of the Indian Union. (We have included J & K in our table, though it is a minor entity, but is being counted with the major states, for special temporary international exigencies.)

In fact the Congress is in opposition in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala i. e. in all four states of the South; in West Bengal and Assam, i. e. in all states of the East, except Orissa, where it is in sole power; in Maharashtra, where a BJP-Shiv Sena government is in power in the West; and in U.P., Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana where various opposition forces are in power. It was the Southern support, and to a lesser extent the Western, which had saved the Congress from total debacle in the 1989 and 1991 General Elections and again it was the electoral collapse in the South, which forced the INC into the third position in the 1996 polls. The North and the East had been lost to the Congress, long ago!

On the whole, the Congress is supporting the UF government at the Centre but is in opposition to the same UF constituents which are in power in Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, W. Bengal and Assam. It is also in opposition to BJP and its allies, the Shiv Sena, the Akalis and the Haryana Vikas Party, in Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana. In fact, the Congress is "allied" with the BJP in W. Bengal, Karnataka and Kerala, whilst it is "affiliated" with UF constituents in Maharashtra, UP, Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana, sharing the opposition benches in the various Assemblies.

**It is a completely crazy quilt pattern of momentary opportunistic coalitions or alliances, which are probably going to last as long as the present constitution remains.**

The 1946-49 constitution does not empower the Indian People, and in a non-

growth stalemate / stagnant economy, the politics of status quo are bound to prevail. For the first 50 years of our pseudo-independence, the Congress prevailed and in the next 50 years powerless coalitions will repeatedly come to power.

**BJP** : It is *Mankind's* firm view that some elements, within the Indian comprador bourgeoisie are desirous of employing the nationalist leverage to an extremely minimal extent, so as to extract a few more concessions from the world bourgeoisie. That is, whilst remaining within the ambit of the overall strategic acceptance of the Structural Adjustment Programme imposed by the Neo-Colonial Trinity of WF, IMF and WTO, a programme known in India as one of LPGW (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation, Westernisation), the BJP wants some slight modification which will better serve the interests of some small industrialists like Vishnu Dalmia and Viren Shah; of a few outright racketeers like C. R. Bhansali and Ispat Mittals; and of generally, the interests of kulaks, village moneylenders, urban shopkeepers and such other elements of the consumerist middle classes, who had suffered over much at the hands of

the corrupt *Congress naukershahi* regime of licenses, quotas and permits over the last half century of non-development.

Because of this small and slight appeal to nationalism in the international context of total neo-colonial vice-like grip on the Third World, the BJP has been able to improve its electoral prospects to a significant extent. Latest evidence is provided by the scuttling of the Insurance Bill in the Lok Sabha by the BJP and its insistence that foreign companies shall not be allowed to enter the Insurance Sector. ( See *Indian Express*, 7.8.97 )

*Mankind* wishes to re-emphasise the main outlines of the terrible situation that the Third World faces. We draw our readers' attention to the Front Cover illustrations nos. 1 and 4, and Back Cover illustrations nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 of our last issue. They will convince, even the most sceptical, that **no true industrial or technological development is possible for the developing countries, if they are to continue to be drained off of \$ 41.33 billion per year!** ( See particularly, illustration no. 1, Back cover, MK, Jul-Aug. 97 )

**Revolutionary nationalism is the only ideological**

## COMPRADOR FARCE

Current Political Picture Of India : Mid - 1997

	Party, in Power	Main supporting Parties	Main Opposing Parties
<b>CENTRE</b>	Janata Dal (JD)	United Front (UF) Congress	BJP, SS, Akali, Samata HVP, BSP, etc.
<b>SOUTH</b>			
Andhra	TDP	UF	Congress, TDP (LP)
Tamil Nadu	DMK	TMC/UF	AIADMK - Cong.
Karnataka	Janata Dal	UF	<b>Cong. - BJP</b>
Kerala	CPI (M)	LDF	<b>Cong / UDF, BJP</b>
<b>EAST</b>			
W. Bengal	CPI (M)	CPI-M led Left Front [ CPI, FB, RSP, RCP, SUCI, CPI (ML), etc. ]	<b>Cong., BJP</b>
Orissa	Cong.	—	Janata Dal
Assam	AGP	UF (Misc. Tribal Fronts)	"Terrorist" outfits (BODO, ULFA, NAGA, KUKI, PLA, etc.), Cong.
<b>WEST</b>			
Maharashtra	BJP-SS	Ind. (Mainly Dissident Cong.)	Cong., SP., JD.
Gujarat	RJP (Dissident BJP)	Cong.	BJP - UF
<b>NORTH</b>			
U. P.	BJP - BSP	—	SD, Cong.
Bihar	RJD	JMM & Cong.	JD, SP, BJP
M. P.	Cong.	—	BJP
Rajasthan	BJP	—	Cong., UF
Punjab	Akali - BJP	—	Cong., UF
Haryana	HVP - BJP	—	Cong., UF
* J & K	NC ( F. Abdullah )	UF, Cong.	BJP
<p>• Not at all intrinsically important, but politically crucial at the moment because of bankruptcy of Congress foreign policy over the last 50 years.</p>			

force that can withstand neo-colonialist pressures in the present era !

Let us shout in unison the world over :

**OUR AGE, THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM !**

**ONLY REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM CAN LEAD TO SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY !**

Nationalism is such a power that it has been able to withstand the behemoth USA in world politics. This had been proved time and again in the case of Japan, Germany and Italy in the Inter-war years, and is presently true for China, ASEAN ( particularly, Vietnam and Burma ), Congo-Kinshasa, Iran, Iraq and Cuba.

**BJP :**

Turning from the world context to the Indian, let us note that the BJP is in power as a coalition partner in Maharashtra, UP, Punjab and Haryana, and is in power on its own in Rajasthan. It had till recently been in power in Gujarat too. However, the Congress succeeded in breaking up its ranks by promoting Shankersinh Waghela's Rashtriya Janata Party.

The BJP emerged as the largest single party at the Centre in the elections to the 11th Lok Sabha. Since then it has won handsomely in numerous parliamentary and assembly by-elections.

If polls were held today, it is almost certain that it will not only be the largest single party ( which status it has already attained ), but also that it, with its allies, will be able to form the next government, ( The allies of the BJP are Shiv Sena, Akalis, HVP, Samata and BSP ).

However, its sway over the electorate will be of very short duration. It has on the whole accepted the LPGW programme. Therefore it will very quickly re-negotiate all the national surrender deals with the WB, IMF and WTO, just as it did in the case of the Enron deal in Maharashtra !

Even in the Insurance issue, *Mankind* forecasts that it will re-negotiate and allow entry to foreign corporations, as soon as the next elections are over !

We have more than once pointed out in the columns of *Mankind* that the BJP is an alternative party of the establishment. It will not and can not travel beyond the strategic vision of the comprador bourgeoisie. It will always subordinate itself to the most ephemeral whims of the world capitalist class, because such is the nature of all compradors !

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to define the Indian Capitalist class. From the list of MRTS Houses printed on page 43 of our last issue, let us consider a few. Are L & T, ITC, HLL, ICI, Binny, Martin Burn, Bird Hailgers and Killik-Nixon to be considered wholly Indian because they are registered companies in India, or are they to be considered wholly foreign since majority holdings of at least several like ITC, HLL and ICI are held by foreign multi-nationals, or are they to be considered as undistinguishable cocktails of neo-colonial and comprador interests ?

Furthermore, the hundreds of foreign subsidiaries which are now flourishing in India after the implementation of the New Economic Policy of LPGW since mid-1991, which have not yet had time to climb into the MRTS ranks, how are they to be classified ? Neo-Colonial ? or Comprador National ?

In short, the sooner the BJP wing of our weak comprador bourgeoisie comes into power, the swifter will be the mass disillusionment !

Let us, at the same time, lay the ghost of secularism.

1. Secularism has nothing to do with the Scientific Temper.

England which carried out the first industrial revolution in Europe, between mid-18th to mid-19th centuries, and Japan which carried out the first industrial revolution in Asia between 1868 and 1945, have never been secular. The English and the Japanese states were headed by monarchs who were at the same time heads of the official religious sects and cults, of Anglicanism and Shintoism respectively.

2. Pro-Western regimes that are totally non-secular and are in fact fanatically racialist and fascist-militaristic, like Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Paraguay etc. are considered to be Progressive and even Secular by Euro-America.

3. The demand for Kashmir Autonomy and 'Autonomy Greater than Autonomy' whatever that may mean, made by Congress, the UF, the Stalinist Progressivists and others is completely bogus. It has nothing to do with development of Kashmiri Culture, the official language of Kashmir being Urdu and the Azad Kashmir forces being Pakistani Pathans, and not Kashmiri at all.

Article 376 of our constitution is a blatantly communal provision and sanctions inequality between the states belonging to the Indian Union.

Furthermore, once Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union in 1948, the letter of accession signed by a degenerate feudal relic retains no intrinsic significance. With the accession of J&K and 300 other Princely States to the Indian Union including Kutch and Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer etc., all along the Indo-Pak border from Chitral Skardu and Swat to Punjab States, Rajasthan States up to Kutch, India acquired an International boundary which only the people of India can modify. Kashmir problem is not the problem of the Kashmir people ! The problem of Kashmir is a problem of the Indian people and involve the sovereignty and integrity of the entire nation. No little district of India of the size of Kashmir Valley can be allowed to hold any damn plebiscite which may alter the external frontiers of India !

Under the guise of secularism, the Congress, the UF and the Communists are being allowed to get away with murder ! The neocolonialists, especially U.K, USA and Europe, cannot be allowed to define secularism to suit their interests. Nor can the whimsical wishes of a Hari Singh be perpetuated for eternity. Nor can some cryptical statements in a so-called Instrument of Accession signed by such a feudal relic, influence the matter of India's geographical boundaries ! India is independent and sovereign because of its own freedom struggle. It is not a creation of Anglo-Indian, Anglo-American generosity.

The BJP demand for abrogation of Art. 376 and for integration of Kashmir with India is perfectly legitimate. The Congress, UF and Communist, surrender to the world neocolonialism is a shameful betrayal by the comprador bourgeoisie and its political agents !

If Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir and a reference of the Kashmir issue to the Security Council of the U.N., so what ? India is not bound by the limitations by Hari Singh's wishes nor by those of Nehru !

India is a country, sovereign and free, and it is on its forward march beyond the Congress-Communist conception of bogus secularism !

**ALL STATES OF INDIA ARE EQUAL ! DOWN WITH THE PSEUDOS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE COMMUNIST-STALINISTS ! INDIA'S EXTERNAL FRONTIERS ARE THOSE OF 1947-48 AND CANNOT BE CHANGED ! NO SURRENDER TO NEO-COLONIALISM UNDER THE GUISE OF PSEUDO-SECULARISM !**

## CENTRIST OR LIBERAL REFORMIST VISION

There is virtually no scope in comprador India for any viable liberal bourgeois alternative. That is the tragedy of liberalism and reformism in our country.

When the world bourgeoisie is draining India and the Third World at the rate \$ 41.33 billion per year. (See ill. 1, Back Cover, MK, Jul-Aug 97), it is not possible for the developing countries to grow industrially and technologically. As a tyro in economics knows, this does not mean that there has been no improvement in the Third World. It only means that the lopsided and parasitical growth that is permitted to the Third by the First World, is such as would accelerate the development of the First World, and widen the technological and industrial gap between the rich countries and the poor indefinitely into the future. It only means that the hiatus between the poor and the rich will remain and keep forever widening!

But the widening gap puts paid to all liberal bourgeois aspirations in the Third World, as well as to the mischievous stories that "imperialism causes faster development of capitalism in the colonies" as formulated by the Matahari of the MNCs, Gail Omvedt.

At this juncture, let us understand the revolutionary position with regards to reforms:

a) We revolutionaries are not against reforms. We can never be. At the same time, we know that the reforms can only be ephemeral and partial. Nevertheless, if for a short while, some sections of the oppressed and the exploited can breathe a little easier, to that extent we welcome them. But we do not focus upon them! We do not consider Reformist Demands as Transitional Demands.

**We consider only those Demands to be Transitional, which help the masses and society to make the Transition to the next Socialist stage of human history.**

For instance, our demand for a New Constituent Assembly, if and when realised, will take India forward to the next evolutionary stage. Similarly, our demand for a New Economic Policy (No-Devaluations, No-Trade Deficits, No More Foreign Debt, All International Transactions on PPP Terms, Return to the Historic Exchange Rate of Rupees 10 to the Pound and Rs. 6/7 to the Dollar) will also mean a Revolutionary Break with the past.

Since Reformist Demands are not at all transitional, we can see that in the final analysis the Centrist forces of India have also accepted the LPGW policy of the Neo-colonial Trinity, just as the INC and BJP had done. (The 1996 BJP govt. of 13 days in Delhi had accepted the LPGW policy of the preceding Rao-Singh govt. in toto even just for a fortnight). The so-called Common Economic Programme (CMP) of the UF Govts of Deve Gowda and Inder Gujral has been formulated by P. Chidambaram who was the promoter of the LPGW line when he was a part of the Rao-Singh Combine.

**In the final analysis, the CMP is same as the LPGW!**

b) Generally, the revolutionaries are accused of deprecating reforms on the grounds that such reforms would prolong the life of the oppressive and exploitative system that is under mass pressure. This is a false accusation because a system that is sought to be revolutionised, is obviously one that is capable of being reformed. If it can not be reformed how can it ever be revolutionised? With every progressive reform the masses begin to taste the fruits of their collective actions and each step builds up their morale. Without lifting morale to the zenith it is not possible to mount a revolutionary onslaught

on the citadel of bourgeois power.

c) Thirdly, the movement seeking reforms is extremely useful in dividing the ranks of the ruling classes. **We must always remember Lenin's dictum that a revolution occurs when the rulers are divided and the oppressed are united.** Every reformist movement, whether it is sponsored by democrats, or lawyers, or students, women, youth, environmentalists, Civil libertarians, Anti-corruption agitators, peaceniks, the unemployed or any other segment of society, always creates dissensions within the ruling elite. Some of its members will advocate a firm front against all dissidence, some will even go so far as to advocate a fascist-racialist-militarist solution; some will advocate a peaceful and accommodating approach; a few could be frightened in to submission and near surrender; and so on. These fissures open up crevices and opportunities for the masses on the move to assert themselves.

In *Mankind's* opinion, this is the principal reason why all revolutionaries support every conceivable kind of reformist endeavour. We want the masses to move forward, we want to build up mass morale, we want our cadre to be steeled in the fire of popular struggles, we want to train them in the art of distinguishing friends from foes, stalwarts from spies, loyalists from the treacherous, the courageous from the cowards, the talkers from the doers, the solid supporters from the agent-provocateurs.

**There is no substitute for revolutionary praxis.** The masses are largely illiterate, demoralised and brain-washed. They cannot suddenly leap into revolutionary action. They must be slowly and patiently prepared and trained by cadres, who must themselves undergo a process of studying, learning and ideological training.

That is why, reforms are not superfluous or dispensable or obstructive. **They are a necessary part of the revolutionary process which evolves from Reforms, through Transitional Demands to Guerrilla Action and Insurrectionary Overthrow.**

Let us now return to our sectional theme of Centrist or Liberal Reformist vision of India in the current context.

**Janata Dal** : The Janata Dal, like the typical disoriented opportunist, has always had the death wish.

● The Janata Party was originally formed in 1977 out of a quadruple merger of BLD, Congress (O), Socialists and Jana Sanghis. Their elected leader Morarji was displaced by Charan Singh. And Raj Narain's revolt, was promptly betrayed by Indira and Sanjay, so that Charan could not face a vote of confidence.

● Almost a repetition of the earlier fiasco took place in 1989, when V. P. Singh was removed by Chandrashekhar and Devilal, who were promptly betrayed by Rajiv and gang so that even they could not face the first vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha.

● A somewhat similar situation is developing today. The Congress is supporting the UF government from outside but it is unable to return to power since the BJP is the largest single party in the 11th Lok Sabha and the Leftists are not willing to either share power with the Congress in a coalition or even to support such a coalition from outside. And without the support of the Leftists (CPI (M), CPI, Samajwadi Party, the RSP, the FB, the RCP and the Samata Party) it is not possible for the Congress to win a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha (See details of LS seats tabulated in MK, June 96, p. 14; and *Story of Congress Betrayals, 1977-97*, MK, May 97,

p. 7; See also MK, July 96, p. 21.)

● The Janata Dal has been in shambles even after the 1996 elections. There have been already three presidents, who have all been removed because of corruption scams. S. R.

Bomma had to resign because of involvement in the Jain-Hawala case, his successor L. P. Yadav is in jail because of the fodder scam, Laloo's successor Sharad Yadav is a self-confessed scamster in the Jain-Hawala matter. There have already been two Prime Ministers, Deve Gowda and Inder Gujral.

Laloo has already split the Janata Dal and placed his wife Rabri Devi in the CM's Gaddi in Bihar with JMM and Congress support. In Delhi, the three RJD ministers who have the support of 8 MPs are on the borderline of dismissal or resignation. Everyday their status within the ruling coalition is being questioned and their time is entirely preoccupied with political intrigues and court cases.

The Janata Dal can have no future both because liberal reformism has no chance in India and as the JD has had no past nor a present!

Regional parties of the National Front ( Ahom Ganatantra Parishad of Prafulla Mohanta, Bahujan Samaj Party of Kanshiram/ Mayawati, Shiromani Akali Dal of Badal/Barnala, Haryana Vikas Party of Bansi Lal, Telugu Desam Party of Chandrababu Naidu, Dravid Munetra Kazhagam of Karunanidhi and the Tamil Maanil Congress of Moopanar / Chidambaram) have no common ideology.

These diverse regional forces, based mainly on peculiar combinations of caste vote banks in the diverse regions of India do not possess even a coherent national vision. The question of their possessing any alternative logically coherent

ideological vision for a country as a whole does not arise.

Of the above communal and casteist alignments, the BSP, the Akali's and the HVP are affiliated to the BJP. The most reckless and the most worthless of the Centrist forces is the

### TRANSITIONAL VERSUS REFORMIST DEMANDS

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duo of Kanshiram / Mayawati of the BSP. For months Kanshiram dithered and kept the UP assembly in suspended animation. Till the BSP's debacle in the Punjab elections convinced him that he had to get in to power and make as much money as he can very quickly. On Sep. 21, 1997, according to the terms of the BJP-BSP alliance, Kalyan Singh of BJP will assume power.

None of these centrist formation can have any future at all.

### THE LEFTIST VISION AND PROGRESSIVIST VISION

Unfortunately, the Leftist and the Progressivist vision in India is represented by two main tendencies, the Socialist and the Stalinist which are both representative of the hesitant compromisist, small minded outlook of the labour aristocracy. Furthermore, both tendencies have ceased to rely on popular energies and street confrontations to bring about a social change. Both Socialists and Stalinists ( the latter are mistakenly called Communists in India ) have eschewed the path of mass struggles and have accepted electoral politics as supreme.

From the very beginning the Stalinists have been a dastardly pro-Imperialist, pro-Communist, pro-treachorous opportunistic force in Indian politics.

Mankind has consistently and forcefully attacked them many times in the columns of the journal. As

journal. As our Credo ( Oct. 95 & Oct. 96 ) has made it amply clear, this Stalinist-Communists of India have been primarily responsible for the ideological confusion in our Leftist ranks.

- They opposed the nationalist movement at every stage.

- During the Second World War they supported British imperialism under the strategic line of the People's War from 1941 to 1945, though just prior to the change in course, the same war had been an Imperialist War from 1939 to 1941.

The four or five Communist members of the AICC voted against the Quit India Resolution moved by Mohandas Gandhi at the AICC Session held in Bombay ( August Kranti maidan in August 1942 ). Thousands of Communist-Stalinists in hundreds of towns and cities of India became police spies and the agent provocateurs who betrayed the freedom fighters to the police, in order to promote the War Effort. Inder Gujral was one of these - who assisted the imperialist police in those days as our editorial in MK, June 97, proves.

- One of the greatest tragedies known to human history was perpetrated in India. Full Communist-Stalinist co-operation was afforded to the British imperialism in the matter of the 1947 Partition of India, in which tragedy 6 lakh innocents were slaughtered and 1.7 crore became refugees in their own land. This migration was the largest-single migratory event known to human history. There were no true communal riots in the country, they were all British imperialism-sponsored, British police-orchestrated pogroms! Unhesitatingly backed up by the Indian Communist-Stalinist, and the Indian Muslim League.

- Both wings of the Communist-Stalinist Parties, CPI and CPI (M), reverted to their evil ways during the Internal Emergency proclaimed by Indira in 1975-77, and the minority Indira Government survived with the help of the Stalinist vote in 1979-80.

- Under the guise of secularism, the Stalinist-Communists have supported the communal Article 376 which is a flagrant violation of the principle of equality of all states within the Indian Union. Under the pretext that communal forces are behind the partial abrogation of Art. 376 since 1953, the Communist-Stalinists have carried out the neo-colonialist line in India, assisted the Western capitalist powers to question the integrity of India, helped Pakistan to conduct a proxy war in Kashmir and have done their best to sabotage the unity of the nation.

We have given merely a few major instances of the Communist-Stalinist betrayal of the nation, their latest betrayals are in the form of 20 year old status-quoist and corrupt regime of Jyoti Basu in W. Bengal, their participation in (CPI) or support from outside (CPM) of the Common Minimum Programme of the UF government which is nothing but a thinly disguised rehash of the Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation, Westernisation (LPGW) programme of the preceding Congress and BJP governments led by Rao-Manmohan Singh and Vajpayee- Jaswant Singh and of course, their continuing sell-out to the Western forces on the issue of Kashmiri ' Greater Autonomy Than Autonomy.'

There is no end to Communist-Stalinist betrayals and sophistry. They are especially responsible for promoting two further falsehoods.

1. On the one hand they advance the theory of the " Lesser Evil ". Under the anti-revolutionary thesis of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev era, that there was a non-capitalist path of development, a path that was distinct from both, Capitalist

and Socialist paths of social evolution, they created a mythical social group of progressive capitalists and progressive Landlords / Feudalists who were friendly to the Soviet Union and therefore were allies of the Indian people. This was the UF line of opportunism and electoral surrender, to all sorts of rotten coalition combinations.

Another myth propagated by the Stalinist-Communists was that of not attacking certain friendly casteist and communalist forces since some imaginary " reactionaries " may take advantage of such truthful comments. This is sheer nonsense ! Reactionaries, however clever, can never take advantage of revolutionary criticism. For instance Mankind's criticism of B. R. Ambedkar or of many well-intentioned do-gooders like Anna Hazare and Medha Patkar, can never be taken advantage of by any reactionary. Our criticism is always from the left and it is so ideologically sharp that the reactionaries can only cut their own noses, if they ever attempted to wield our knife.

Revolutions are not made by intriguers or coffee-house hairsplitters or by trade-unionists who specialise in representing the interests of the privileged minority within the working class. Neither can social change be effected by clandestine members of anarchist-terrorist, Naxalite groups.

In fact, we welcome the good intentions of the Naxalites and also their occasional brave deeds. But, we feel that their energies are being misused and wasted. First of all, they must become revolutionary nationalists. Secondly, they must develop mass agitations and struggles on a broad front, educating the people and training the cadres. And ultimately channelising popular energy behind Transitional Demands.

Of supreme importance is complete ideological clarity with regard to the role of British imperialism in Indian History. Without a clear-headed appreciation of the imperialist strategy of deindustrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation, it would not be possible for revolutionary forces of India to combat neo-colonialism. And without combating neo-colonialism it is not possible for Indian revolution to achieve a social transformation. Neither true national freedom nor a socialist order can be realised without the defeat of the Western neo-colonialist powers.

**DOWN WITH STALINISM ! DOWN WITH PARTITION OF INDIA ! LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OF THE PEOPLES OF INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH ! WORLD PEACE AND WORLD GOVERNMENT CAN NOT BE ESTABLISHED WITHOUT NATIONALIST DEFEAT OF NEO-COLONIALISM EVERYWHERE !**

**LET EACH NATION CARRY OUT ITS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AT ITS OWN TEMPO AND SPEED !**

Next, we may look at the remnants of the old Socialist-political formations. They do have a nationalist outlook. And quite a few of the old cadres still retain an idealistic faith in the socialist future of mankind.

However, the trouble is that they have strayed far away from the revolutionary path. In fact, many of them do not possess even an inkling of what revolution means. They are completely immersed in petty bourgeois electoral politics and fine calculations of caste and communal combinations which would enable them to win seats in Zilla Parishads, Municipal Corporations, State Assemblies and the Central Parliament.

Opportunism, careerism and vulgar corruption have taken a heavy toll. They have no vision for the country which is at all different from that of the Western powers. They have no wish to prepare the people of India for any struggle against

the neo-colonialist rulers of the West.

### Conclusion :

In fact, our political situation is extremely critical. The political parties are fragmented along both, regional and caste-communal lines. Their allegiances are extremely volatile. In fact, each political formation holds a multivalent attitude to the other political forces surrounding it.

Consider the Congress. It is in power only in 2 major states, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. It is supporting 2 governments that are in power, though the two represent the extreme ends of the political spectrum. The INC is supporting Waghele's Rashtriya Janata Party government of dissident BJPs. At the same time, it is supporting Laloo's Rashtriya Janata Dal in Bihar. In Assam, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala, it is opposing the very forces which have combined in the Centre to form the United Front, which the same Congress is supporting for the last 18 months! Again, it is in alliance, formal or informal, with the Janata Dal, in jointly opposing the state governments of Punjab, Haryana, U.P., Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

The Janata Dal has had 3 presidents in just one year. All three of them, indicted on corruption charges. It is now divided in two major wings. Sharad Yadav's official JD and Laloo Yadav's Rashtriya Janata Dal. The Karnataka Janata Dal, which is in power is somewhat neutral or at least undecided. Karunanidhi's DMK and Moopanar's TMC are openly in favour of retaining Laloo's RJD in the UF. They are also urging, both, the Congress and the CPM to join the UF ministry rather than continuing their "support from outside."

The political forces are locked in such a complicated

tangle that different journals are speculating on the likely and unlikely parliamentary combinations, that may result in alternative governments led by the JD, the Congress or the BJP. (See, accompanying Box on four conjectural combinations.)

Anyway, one thing is absolutely clear.

There is no revolutionary vision emanating from any quarter within the present political set-up. All the parliamentary groupings have surrendered to the dictates of the neo-colonial trinity of WB, IMF and WTO. This is the Structural Adjustment Programme, rechristened in India as Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation.

*Mankind* calls upon the concerned activists to prepare the masses, for launching a national struggle to realise a New Constituent Assembly, which will be elected for the first time, on the basis of a universal, direct, equal, adult franchise.

*Mankind* also calls upon the cadres, splintered into a thousand groups, study circles, factions, organisations and parties, to come together, to oppose the Structural Adjustment Programme, being imposed on the country by the neo-colonialist OECD powers, as well as the Common Minimum Programme of the UF, which is, nothing but a lying and hypocritical version of the same LPGW.

*Mankind* declares its resolve to project a new, people-friendly economic policy that will help the Indian masses to make the Transition to a Revolutionary Nationalist and Socialist Confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, that will meet the egalitarian aspirations of the peoples of the sub-continent.

## CURRENT POLITICAL SPECULATION FOUR CONJECTURAL COMBINATIONS

SCENARIO 1		SCENARIO 2		SCENARIO 3		SCENARIO 4
PRESENT SITUATION		IF ALL PARTIES ARE DETERMINED TO PREVENT A BJP SURGE		LEAST LIKELY TO HAPPEN		
JD	27	Cong.	140	BJP	162	Congress Withdraws support to the UF Government. Result : Mid-term Poll.
Laloo	17	Laloo	17	SS	15	
SP	17	SP	17	Akali	08	
TDP	17	TMC	20	Samata	05	
TMC	20	Others	23	HVP	03	
DMK	17	JD	27	DMK	17	
AGP	05	TDP	17	TMC	20	
Left	53	Left	53	TDP	17	
Cong.	140	DMK	17	BSP	11	
Others *	23	AGP	05	Others **	17	
GUJRAL	336	KESRI	336	VAJPAYEE	275	

\* Cong- T2, BKKP 1, MGP 1, Arunachal Cong. 2, UGDP 1, SDF 1, ASDC 1, ML 2, KCM 1, SJP 2, MIM 1, JMM 1, Unattached 2, Ind. 5

\*\* Arunachal Cong. 2, UGDP 1, SDF 1, ASDC 1, AGP 5, JMM 1, Ind. and Others 6.

Number of MPs required to form the Government - 272



# AFRICA'S LOHIA

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is surely Kenya's Lohia ! We do not know whether Thiong'o had read any of Lohia's writings. There is an uncanny resemblance between Lohia's pronouncements and Thiong'o's :

"We see the rise of two nations within one territory..."

"This has vast implications for the development of post-colonial Africa. It means literally the split between the mind and the body of Africa... between bodiless minds and headless bodies."

"Economics, agriculture, science and engineering are divorced from the agents of social change - the working majority."

It is entirely possible that Thiong'o might have picked up some issue of old *Mankind* or may have come across a pamphlet of Lohia lying in some library of an NRI in London.

Be that as it may, it is extraordinary how a revolutionary mind interprets the colonial and post-colonial situations in India and Kenya, in more or less completely identical terms.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is regarded by the younger generation as one of Africa's most important contemporary figures. He identifies himself with the ordinary people in rural Kenya for whom he writes. Yet, he is a revolutionary, forcefully advocating a break with the languages of the colonisers and urging Africans to rediscover their identity in their culture and languages. He has shunned the use

of English for his writings and uses Gikuyu, one of Kenya's many languages and Kiswahili which is more commonly understood.

Wa Thiong'o says : " We must have our roots in our own African languages. All other communities do the same. But because of our colonial situation, what is normal has become abnormal."

The views expressed by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o are seen as such a threat in Kenya that he has been forced into exile from his home country since 1982. His works are not allowed to be freely sold in Kenya. President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya sent his foreign minister to England in 1984 to ask the British government to stop the staging of Ngugi's play *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* at the Africa Centre in London.

*The River Between, A Grain of Wheat, Matigari, Decolonising the Mind* are some of his works that look at the realities confronting Africa during the colonial and post-colonial era. They highlight the failure of African people to take pride in their own languages and use them as vehicles for change as one of the greatest hindrances to development. English, French and Portuguese are the languages of formal education, while indigenous tongues are looked down upon as backward.

Wa Thiong'o told a conference of English teachers in Johannesburg this month : " We see the rise of two nations within one territory - a small minority

conducting affairs of the nation in European languages and the majority speaking their own African languages. This has vast implications for the development of the post-colonial nations in Africa. It means literally the split between the mind and the body of Africa producing nations of bodiless heads and headless bodies."

Mr. Wa Thiong'o argues that this has resulted in the "thinking part of the population and the pool of skills and know-how in economics, agriculture, science and engineering being divorced from the agents of social change - the working majority. The African intellectual elites with their knowledge, refuse to transfer even the little they have acquired into the languages of the majority. Knowledge researched by the sons and daughters of Africa, and actually paid for by the entire working majority who need it most, is stored in European languages. **There can be no real economic growth and development where a whole people are denied access to the latest developments in science, technology, health, medicine, business, finance and other skills. Thus the peasants and workers of Africa are denied participation in governance.**"

In his paper, "Penpoints, Gunpoints and Dreams" presented in Oxford, he noted that Africa exists in international treaties in European languages. There is not a single African language at the UN.

Perhaps Lohia was ahead of his times. Let the times now catch up with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o.

[ Source : Times of India, 28.7.97 ]

## FROM WHEN DO WE DATE WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS ?

Frankly, the Swiss concern for human rights will have to be dated from tomorrow.

Yesterday and today, they have openly admitted, and their bankers have set up a 4.5 billion trust fund to compensate the victims of the Holocaust. Advertisements, spread over several pages of 50 or 60 leading daily newspapers of Euro-America have appeared with great details of two thousand and more account numbers, breaching all the hypocrisies of confidentialities. A number of claimants, including the U.S. Ambassador to Geneva, have already come forward to claim amounts left behind, unknown to their heirs, by victims of Hitler's Holocaust.

What happened was that Switzerland fully participated with Hitler's generals in the loot of monies, properties, art treasures and bullion (including kilos of gold knocked out from the dentures of dead and living Jews in German concentration camps and gas chambers). These Swiss accounts were used by Hitler to buy arms and other war supplies from neutral countries of Europe like Sweden, Portugal and Spain.

Persistent Jew investigators opened this can of Swiss worms a little while ago, and such a stink has been raised all over the world, that the entire Swiss banking system has come under disrepute. Independent estimates are that the Swiss have amassed such blood money to the extent of 40 to 50 billion dollars in the period 1939 to 1945.

The Swiss even tried to defend themselves by saying that the US itself was neutral between 1939 to 1941, and also made money by trading with Hitlerite Germany.

As far as *Mankind* in particular, and revolutionary socialists in general are concerned, we do not feel that the Jews or the Swiss or the Americans are entitled to any high moral ground. Proudhon wrote long ago that, 'Property is theft'. I think it was another French Revolutionary who said that in a class society, 'it is not possible to rule justly'. Capitalist greed knows no national or racial barriers. The Swiss, the Swedes, the Portuguese, the Spaniards and the Americans made a mockery of neutrality for varying periods and piled up crores of dollars, hand over fist. The Jews paid with their lives and gold dentures. Yesterday and today, the peoples of the Third World are paying with their famished cadavers.

Let us shout with Swiss bankers, **LONG LIVE CAPITALISM !**

[ Source : See, "More Jewish Accounts Traced", *The Indian Express*, 12-6-97; Swiss Bank List Backfires', *The Times of India*, 28-7-97; "Criticism of Ties with Nazis Spawn Swiss Backlash", *The Times of India*, 10-6-97 ]

# CHALO DUNIYA DEKHE !

**GEO-POLITICAL ASSAULT BY CHINA.**

**PETRO-PRODUCT PRICES IN AND AROUND INDIA**

**BRITISH BRAIN - WASHING OF INDIA CONFIRMED BY AN AMERICAN**

**MULTI - NATIONALS ARE MULTI-ARMED THIEVES !**

**FORCED DEVALUATIONS OF THIRD WORLD CURRENCIES.**

**NEO-COLONIALISM NOW PENETRATES OFFICIAL STATE LEVEL POLITICS**

**Asso. Edr.**

## **GEO-POLITICAL ASSAULT BY CHINA**

That China plans to increase its food output in the decade ahead was no big deal. However, when reports leaked out that China plans to divert the Brahmaputra at its source in Tibet by setting-off a peaceful, nuclear explosion, it has made policy-makers in India and Bangladesh very apprehensive. According to China, this nuclear explosion is necessary to build a 200km. channel through a mountain range to green the arid Gobi desert.

The Gobi desert accounts for 27% of the country's land mass, while it possesses only 7% of its water resources. Following the Israeli example, China wants to change the course of the river where it originates as Tsangpo at 18,000 feet in the Tibetan Himalayas.

The large diversion will augment Gobi desert's water resources to 20% and increase food production by about 30% in one decade. Their stand is also that conventional methods would not suffice, hence the use of a nuclear device.

The matter became public knowledge, when it was published in the *Scientific American*. Assam's minister of flood control, Promode Gogoi, despatched a missive to the centre seeking prompt measures to stem the move. A hydrologist in Dhaka, Ain-ur Nishad too, expressed his concern at China's 'unilateral decision'.

The concern in Assam and Bangladesh is understandable since the Brahmaputra or the Lohit (as it is called locally) figures prominently in the folklore

and culture of that region. Apart from this, the river is crucial to the economy of the entire region.

The Indian *naukershahs* are already muttering that they can do little to stop the Chinese, since Tibet has been occupied by Chinese troops the nuclear explosion for Tibet has been planned. (That is why, *Mankind* has been repeatedly urging that

Tibet should have remained independent; as it had been for centuries prior to the 20th. It was British imperialism that aggressed on Tibet in the early 20th century, and left a legacy for India, which Jawahar Nehru tried to defend and retain. Of course, Jawahar failed. But the problem of Tibetan Independence is now theoretical - since the Dalai Lama has surrendered. He wants merely "autonomy."!

Jayant Madhab, another stupid and treacherous bureaucrat, former director, Asian Development Bank, states that the reduction in flow by China might even serve as a blessing in disguise to Assam, as it will be saved from recurring floods. Floods are not to be controlled by India, and used for irrigation, but are to be left to China to take care of!

The Indian stand, as formulated by the anti-nationalist *naukershahs*, is enfeebled at birth! China is known to ignore world opinion where its national interests are concerned. India should bring out the entire affair into the open. Arouse world opinion via UN forum, and in other ways, India should, seek to stop China from

exploding a nuclear device so near Indian borders, an explosion that is likely to cause a radio-active fallout in N.India, and which may affect our weather. It is a question of using popular agitations or movements for furthering our national interests. A path that Lohia always advocated and which the revived *Mankind* fully endorses.

The Americans, on the other hand, are concerned about the nuclear explosion, in view of China's support to the CTBT; because even though the purpose of the nuclear explosion may be peaceful, its effects will not be so. The huge amount of radiation generated by the blast will expose the local population to great risk similar to the fallout at the 1962 excavation experiment at Nevada, U.S. or the Chernobyl tragedy in U.S.S.R in 1986! Thus, the China blast too will not be "entirely peaceful" for the peoples of India, Tibet and China!

(Source: *Outlook*, 18.6.97)

## **PETRO-PRODUCT PRICES IN AND AROUND INDIA**

	Petrol	Diesel	Kerosene	LPG.
India	21.52	8.02	2.58	6.90
Pakistan	15.48	8.68	8.48	N.A
Bangladesh	11.56	10.72	10.72	13.65
Sri Lanka	31.22	8.24	6.49	14.41
Thailand	11.96	11.54	12.98	11.96

\* Prices in Rs. per litre (per kg in case of LPG)

\* Prices in Delhi as on June 25, 1997.

(Source: *Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas*)

## **BRITISH BRAINWASHING OF INDIA CONFIRMED BY AN AMERICAN**

The Indian comprador bourgeoisie or *naukershahi* has always been ambivalent about Indian culture. If the works of British Orientalists, such as H.T.Colebrook, N.B.Halhead, Sir William Jones; etc. are questioned and criticised, then it is considered a blasphemy.

This book, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge : The British in India* by Bernard Cohn, who is a Professor Emeritus of History and Anthropology at the University of Chicago, provides an account of the devious intellectual and cultural techniques that the British used to control Indian minds and brains and to legitimise their government.

There are four essays in the book and in every essay Cohn's main thrust is on the investigation of how the British systematically colonised and classified indigenous forms of knowledge in keeping with their imperialist notions of India,

primarily to secure support to their regime in selected elitist circles within the colony. His thesis deals with the theory that when the British colonised India, they "invaded and conquered not only a territory but an epistemological space as well". In the essay, Cohn tries to expose the motivations behind the British concern for Indian languages, antiquarian collections, forms of dress, etc. and comes up with the theory that the British portrayed themselves as benign protectors and promoters of Indian culture and heritage in order to objectify India and render it increasingly accessible for colonialism.

In his essay, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command", he explains the reason for the colonial government sponsoring the production of grammars, dictionaries, translations and other works for several Indian classical and vernacular languages. He argues that the colonial government invested in such projects because a knowledge of languages was necessary to issue commands, collect taxes, maintain law and order and to create other forms of knowledge about the people they were ruling. In order to do this they spent enormous amounts of money. For instance, the College of Fort William in Calcutta was estimated to have spent "upwards of £ 40,000 to subsidise the editing, writing and publishing of eighty-eight 'Oriental works' in the period 1801 to 1812."

**The ultimate aim of the British was not to promote cultural renaissance but to learn the strange customs, codes, and behaviour patterns of Indians in order to subjugate them.** They also tried to master Sanskrit and Persian languages as they were the basis for vernacular languages and dialects, and were the languages in which the native laws were principally written. Secondly, the British wanted to discover the "wisdom" of the Orient in order to "construct a history of the subordinate relationship between the West and India, and to classify and locate the respective civilisations on an evaluative scale of progress and decay."

**Even their attempts at learning about Hindu and Muslim laws in order to dispense justice, in the end resulted in a grotesque corpus of laws that resembled their own case-based English law.**

Cohn also explores ably the role of the British as patrons of Indian arts, culture and artifacts. In "The Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth century India", he explains how, in the process of providing patronage, the British became the arbiters of what was valuable and worth preserving. The thrust was to provide India with "a linear history" following the nineteenth century Imperialist historiography. The subtext of this history, however, was to bolster the colonial thesis that "Europe was progressive and changing, India static."

In the final essay, "Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century", he studies the meaning of clothes for Indians and British, and delineates how both the British and Indians made ingenious use of clothes to make statements about their political goals. A small example is that, to the British, attire was a means for reinforcing the distinctions between the rulers and the ruled, whereas to the Indian nationalist movement, khadi and the Gandhi cap, offered a telling critique of the manufacturing and industrial policies of the colonial government.

Thus Cohn's work is eminently readable and engrossing, though he has missed the four centralities of colonial brainwashing efforts, namely, the Myth of the Aryan Invasion,

the Bogus Legends of Alexander's minor border incursion into India, the Imperial Shakespeare Industry and the use of English to Dominate Politically and Economically the vast Historical Nation of India! (See in this issue, the article; "Kenya's Lohia" and our first two issues of Oct. and Nov. 1995)

(Source : *Frontline* 11.7.97)

### **MULTI-NATIONALS ARE MULTI-ARMED THIEVES**

The MNCs in India are going through a traumatic phase with revenue authorities as they are being slapped with dozens of cases. The list runs from Nestle to Sony and Daewoo to Reebok.

Last month, after the culmination of a long inquiry against Baron International, the company that manufactures the brand in India, the Meerut Excise Commissionerate served a showcause notice on electronics goods giant Akai. The excise department claims that Baron had underdeclared the value of its goods and that it should pay Rs. 27.5 crore for evading excise. The matter has now been referred to the Directorate General of Revenue Intelligence.

The south Korean MNC Daewoo faced the directive of the Delhi Sales Tax Authorities last year after the department discovered that the company was evading sales tax, by showing on paper, that the cars were being sold in Haryana, while actually the sales were to residents in Delhi. As a result of this, the cars became cheaper by almost Rs. 30,000. Though the company denied the charge, it was obvious to the sales tax officials that the practice was deliberate on the part of the company.

Similarly, Delhi excise officials claimed that Nestle was wrongly getting duty concessions on 3 of their packaged food products and as a result, after a lot of hesitation, Nestle had to pay the Rs 35 lakh, as claimed by the inspectors.

The revenue department is also showing keen interest in the buyback offers of TV companies, where the buyer sells his old TV and gets a new one for a lesser price. Thus, what it is amounting to is that, the new TV is being sold for Rs 10,000 as against the normal price of around Rs. 20,000. Excise authorities claim that the companies are probably underdeclaring the value of the goods and thus earning for themselves, a huge profit.

Delhi customs authorities have also served a showcause notice of Rs 43 cr. on Sony. They have found that Sony was importing completely knocked down (CKD) kits, which were later assembled for sale. By doing this they were avoiding a higher rate of duty as components can be imported with a lesser duty than CKD kits. However, Sony has challenged the notice before the customs' adjudicating authority and final order is awaited.

The customs had detained consignments of Reebok and Nike sports shoes at the inland container depot in Tughlakabad, south Delhi in a similar case last year.

The excise department claims that Akai has found an ingenious way of avoiding payment of higher duty. The components are being imported by two companies - JR Consumer Electronics and Baron International. If Baron imported all the components and assembled them, it would have to pay a higher rate of duty. JR pays a lower rate on components, since it is not assembling them into TVs, but selling them to an assembler. Baron CEO, Kabir Mulchandani, vehemently denies that his company has anything to do with JR Electronics, saying that the firm is promoted by Zafarbai Rizvi, who is not related to him.

Sources in the TV industry say that a large number of MNCs

are getting their products manufactured from local companies after importing the components and lending their brand name to the product. In this way, the MNCs don't have to make capital investments in the short run and their products are manufactured at a low cost. Lending their brand name gives them a near 100 per cent mark up, which also means that the assessable value of the products is lower and the excise duty to be paid is lowered.

After reeling under widespread consumer rejection and with growth far below expectations, exchange or barter seems to be the only way out for most MNCs. Foreign companies are exchanging new TVs, refrigerators, washing machines, etc. for old ones. As a result, sales have boomed for practically all foreign companies viz., **Samsung** (ninefold jump in sales), **Akai** - a 162 percent increase, **Sony**-sales up by 87 percent for TVs, and **Panasonic**, an increase in sales graph by 70 percent.

The market size however, has not increased. Like a zero-sum game, Indian manufacturers balanced the equation. Onida's sales fell by 33%, Videocon's by 5%. Only BPL's sales increased by 11 percent.

The companies seem more interested in market shares than in profits and this is resulting in a setback to Indian TV companies, as the old TV being exchanged will most likely be an Indian brand. Dealers claim that their margins were derived from the sale of old TVs.

The dealer of the TV receives a commission of 25 per cent on the Maximum Retail Price of the TV, and big losses can be borne only by the cash-rich, profit - sacrificing, long-term players not Indian companies.

(Source : Outlook, July 16.7.97)

#### FORCED DEVALUATIONS OF THIRD WORLD CURRENCIES

The Thai currency, the baht was one of the most stable currencies in the world. In fact, the Thais were struggling to keep the baht from rising. But a few weeks ago, the baht went down by nearly 25%, from 25 to the dollar to 32/33, and left the Thai Central Bank poorer by a few billion dollars. The effect of this decline in the baht was felt immediately by the Filipino peso which was promptly devalued. The impact of the baht and peso devaluations are bound to be felt in the coming weeks/months by the Indonesian rupiah, the Malaysian ringgit and the Singaporean dollar.

According to economist Paul Krugman, the Thai debacle took place due to massive investments rather than an increase in productivity. He had earlier predicted that the Thais were spending beyond their means and collapse was around the corner.

Thailand had a high current account deficit, nearly 8 percent of GDP. This, by itself is bad; but when current account deficits do not add to productive capacity and finance consumption outlays, then a debacle like this arises, as it will in India which has been following the same WB-IMF-WTO dictates as Thailand. International debt has to be paid back, and foreign equity has to be serviced by high invisible outflows.

The Thai bubble economy was reflected in the real estate sector where prices skyrocketed. (Readers can compare the Delhi- Mumbai-Bangalore-Chennai real estate boom of the

nineties)

When the real estate demand refused to materialise, many finance companies folded, and in some instances, brought down the banks and corporates with which they were linked.

The Americans and Japanese did not help the Thais in their hour of need. Japan could have helped but it did not. International bankers are never sentimental ! And never helpful to The Third World !

In all this, there is a lesson for India. We are supposedly moving towards capital account convertibility as required by the WB-IMF-WTO trio of neo-colonialists, and the Thai experience provides a timely warning on fundamentals. While market forces and freedom from exchange controls may lead to a vibrant financial sector, such freedom can be extremely costly, if the financial institutions—both banks and Non-Banking Financial Corporations,—do not perform properly. Non-performing assets, i.e. Bad Debts, are a potent danger to our banking system, as are absence of infrastructural industrial growth, real estate speculations and scams involving politicians and bureaucrats.

(Source : The Indian Express, 27.7.97)

#### NEO-COLONIALISM NOW PENETRATES OFFICIAL STATE LEVEL POLITICS

Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu is "selling out" to the World Bank

Andhra Pradesh is one of the first states selected by the World Bank to bestow largesses in the form of \$ 175 million loans, and \$ 150 million soft credits. By monitoring the financial aid given for the new schemes, **the World Bank in effect is experimenting with its new strategy of wooing State Governments directly instead of dealing with them through the Centre.**

Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister, a leading advocate of liberalisation, is in high spirits. Basking in the accolades from the World Bank, he has agreed to remodel the functioning of his government and the management of Andhra State's finances, as per the Bank's advice.

The Telugu Desam's left partners, the CPI and CPI (M), are naturally aware that this financial assistance would come with strings attached. The government has taken a decision to review some populist schemes like Subsidised Rice and Prohibition. It is known that the government is going to review its excise policy and reduce the subsidy on power for farmers at the instance of the World Bank. During their visit to Andhra Pradesh, suggestions were made by the World Bank officials to devise an institutional mechanism in order to follow up and implement the Subramaniam Committee recommendations for restructuring state level public sector enterprises. The state government has agreed to implement the recommendations of the Subramaniam Committee and 13 out of 39 allegedly sick Public Sector Units of the state have been marked for privatisation. The government is also to wind up the State Road Transport Corporation and the Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board.

The World Bank assistance has come as a windfall gain for Naidu, just at the moment, but it is bound to cause ruin in the shortest possible time.

(Source : Outlook, 18.6.97)

# Old Institutions, New Disorders: WORLD BANK AND IMF AT CENTURY'S END

Susan George

Conceived while the Second World War was still raging, the Bretton Woods Institutions (or BWI: the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) have now lasted more than half a century. They were the brainchildren of the great British economist John Maynard Keynes and US Assistant Secretary of State Harry Dexter White; thus they are also sometimes called "Keynes' Twins."

The aspirations and motives that presided over their creation were unquestionably admirable. The Bank's official name is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); its first mission was to undertake the reconstruction of Europe as soon as the war was over. The United States, the only economy in the world to emerge stronger after the war, urgently needed vigorous European economies able to act as trading partners and purchase its surplus goods.

The International Monetary Fund was intended to facilitate trade and to prevent a repetition of pre-war crises by making short-term loans available to countries with temporary balance-of-payments problems. Nearly everyone blamed the war on the widespread "beggar-thy-neighbor" trade policies of the 1930s; reforming and refashioning the world trade system were therefore top priorities.

Today the IMF has acquired financial and political power well beyond the intentions of its founders, particularly in its role as monitor and manager of many Third-World economies. Its original charter specifies that its purpose is (among others) to facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade and to contribute thereby to the promotion and maintenance of high levels of employment and real income and to the development of the productive resources of all members as primary objectives of economic policy.

The IMF's loans were originally meant to enable its member countries in deficit to remain full-fledged participants in commercial exchanges. The founding fathers were determined to rebuild economies in a spirit of partnership and to avoid the restrictive trade practices and competitive devaluations which had led to the most devastating war in history. Their watchword was "Never again!"

Over the years, the BWI have evolved and have succeeded remarkably well in adapting to new circumstances, to the point that they have become the key institutions of the late 20th century. This evolution has not, however, occurred without changing—some would say betraying—their initial mandates.

## THE TWINS' POWER TODAY

The IMF Survey, the Fund's bimonthly magazine, referred to one enormous change in this headline summarizing its 1992 annual report: "The IMF moved toward universal membership in 1991-92." Indeed, in that single year its membership grew from 157 to 178 countries.<sup>1</sup> All fifteen former Soviet republics have now joined, from Moldova to Ukraine to Uzbekistan. Even the citizens of Switzerland, whose tradition of strict neutrality dates back seven centuries, voted in favour of joining the IMF in spite of a bitterly fought "No" campaign which drew supporters from the left and the far right. The IMF has thus become an institution to be reckoned with. The volume of its annual loans has increased accordingly, up 55 percent in 1991-92 over the preceding year. IMF loans are made in a composite currency called Special Drawing Rights; in 1991-92 it lent 8.7 billion SDRs, approximately \$12.5 billion.

The World Bank has enjoyed similar expansion. The ex-Soviet republics have all become members as have Albania and Mongolia, Namibia and Switzerland. The

Bank for International Reconstruction and Development has long since dropped the first of its functions—the Marshall Plan took them over early on—and now concerns itself entirely with "Development" in countries with low per capita GNP. Up to the end of 1993 it had lent \$235 billion to more than 3500 individual projects. In the 1990s it has lent about \$16 billion annually.

The International Development Association (IDA) was established in 1960 as a sister to the IBRD for the purpose of providing loans to the poorest countries on particularly favourable terms. IDA disbursements amount to an additional \$5-6 billion a year.<sup>2</sup>

Formally speaking, the Bretton Woods Institutions belong to the UN family, but they do not follow the UN General Assembly rule of "one country, one vote". At the BWI, decision-making power rests on the principle of "one dollar, one vote".

Theoretically the Bank and the Fund are overseen by a Board of Governors, consisting of one governor for each member country; in practice, authority is delegated to a Board of 24 full-time executive directors. Five of these directors are appointed by the five countries holding the most shares in the Bank; the rest are elected by the governors according to region. The Bank insists that formal voting strength has little significance "since most board decisions are made by consensus". The fact remains that the major G-7 countries have the most say: for example, the United States controls 17 percent of the votes whereas the whole of Africa controls barely 4 percent. At the IMF, the US holds effective veto power over major decisions (capital increases, for example) which require an 80-percent majority.

The Bretton Woods twins are therefore far from democratic. Their policies rarely deviate from those of their principal shareholders, and ordinary citizens, wherever they live, have no say whatsoever in their governance. The major governments of the North and the elites of the South often find such institutions highly convenient targets on whom unpopular decisions can be blamed.

## MECHANISMS OF FINANCIAL DOMINATION

Since the early 1980s, the scope and the authority of the BWI have been vastly extended, largely because of the debt burden of the so-called "developing"

countries. Most of these countries are not "developing", the concept of "Third World" has become virtually meaningless; whereas the "North-South" distinction is merely geographic and fails to differentiate between social classes. More useful is the yardstick of convertible versus non-convertible currencies. The Bank and the Fund can most often impose their policies on highly indebted countries with non-convertible currencies, which we shall refer to here as Financially Dominated Countries or FDCs.

Financial domination leads to other forms of domination. The figures quoted above concerning levels of Bank/Fund lending do not convey the Twins' true financial strength, still less their political power which is in a class by itself. To begin with, an FDC which is no longer considered creditworthy will receive no further loans until it has been granted the IMF "seal of approval". This in turn requires that the FDC accept conditions embodied in a Structural Adjustment Programme (about which more in a moment) and that it set about restructuring its economy according to BWI guidelines. Failing that, no public or private creditor will have any financial dealings with the country, whereas even a small loan from one of the Twins is a signal that other lenders can go ahead.

How did the BWI attain such a gatekeeper function? Responsibility for FDC debt is shared. During the 1960s and 1970s, both public and private institutions encouraged FDCs to borrow. The World Bank preached the doctrine of debt as the path towards accelerated development. FDC leaders got in over their heads at a time when real interest rates were low, even negative. The borrowed money was often wasted or stolen, finding its way into private bank accounts or serving to purchase arms, consumer goods or white elephant projects. Little was invested productively. Then, in the early 1980s, the United States pushed up interest rates dramatically in order to halt inflation. These moves ushered in the debt crisis which still weighs heavily on the FDCs.

According to OECD figures, FDCs have over a decade (1983-92) paid out the almost unimaginable sum of \$1500 billion (gross) in debt service—a trillion and a half dollars on a debt that amounted to \$900 billion in 1982. In somewhat more manageable terms, these countries as a group have paid, for a decade, nearly \$3 billion a week, or \$17 million an hour, or \$285,000 a minute! Their only reward was to find themselves at the end of 1991 with a debt 64 percent higher than in 1982, owing their creditors \$1478 billion. Sub-Saharan Africa's debt rose 123 percent over the same period; the least developed countries' debt increased by 158 percent.<sup>3</sup>

This barely credible financial drain is bad enough, but the new domination, largely orchestrated by the BWI, goes well beyond it. Some of the FDCs used to reject hard-core, free-market neo-liberalism, preferring various shades of socialism or social democracy. The debt crisis has forced these dissenters to recant. No one can prove that the creditors and the BWI deliberately piled debt on the "Third World" in order later to bring them to heel; no one can claim that any conspiracy was afoot. Nonetheless, the debt crisis has provided an unprecedented opportunity to discipline a headstrong "Third World".

#### **SAPS : A DEAD END**

The pattern is always the same: a non-creditworthy FDC goes to the IMF, cap in hand, to ask for a new loan. Its request is accepted only when it has signed on for a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). SAPs, generally drawn up by

the Bank and the Fund in tandem, nearly always include the same set of measures such as currency devaluation, higher interest rates, import liberalisation, lower real wages to keep down internal demand, higher prices for basic goods and services, privatisation of state enterprises, drastic slimming-down of public services through budget cuts, and massive layoffs. Countries cannot live beyond their means forever any more than families can, but an SAP means draconian economic austerity, whose human impact is painfully felt. The costs also tend to be paid by those who never received any benefits from the borrowing spree.<sup>4</sup>

As of July 31, 1992, over fifty countries were under formal SAPs, not counting the ex-Soviet republics whose programmes were instituted later or countries carrying out similar measures on their own.<sup>5</sup> About a quarter of the World Bank's loans are formally designated as Structural (or Sectoral) Adjustment Loans; in fact, the Bank was reorganised in 1987 so that all its lending to each country would serve the central purpose of Adjustment.

SAP measures, which the BWI invariably describe as "technical", all presuppose a fundamental condition: debtor countries must pay their debts. In other words, they must earn hard currency. Local currency, by definition non-convertible, is unacceptable. The first commandment is therefore "export at all costs" and it requires that countries switch from "non-tradeables" to "tradeables" in economists' jargon; that is, from goods which local people can eat, wear, use, live in, etc. to those which can be sold to foreigners for hard currency.

The consequences of these policies, adopted simultaneously in dozens of countries, have been predictable: a general decline of primary commodity prices for everyone, followed by desperate efforts to maintain export income, leading to still more exports, leading to still lower prices, and so on. From 1980 to 1992, prices for raw materials were in constant decline and have now reached their lowest real levels in a hundred years.

The BWI still cling to their "export at all costs" policy. Their doctrine holds that any country can succeed, like the Asian Dragons, if only it tries hard enough. The IMF is true at least to part of its original mandate: it exists to promote world trade. The World Bank exhorts African economies to grow through exports, which alone will provide the wherewithal to import necessary goods for industrial development. It also believes that Africa can increase its market share of primary products.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, according to a study by the Transnational Institute (TNI), export-led growth is a dead end, at least for Africa. The TNI team examined a wide range of Sub-Saharan agricultural and mineral commodities and looked at their commercial prospects, particularly the evolution of rich-country demand. In particular, they interviewed the traders and large firms who are the real purchasers of these products. The conclusions of the study are not encouraging and the Bank's optimism appears unjustified.<sup>7</sup> The Bank itself does not seem to have undertaken a similar study and continues to push exports, despite the fact that every country that has succeeded in world trade (Japan, South Korea and other "dragons") has done so through policies diametrically opposed to those required in today's FDCs.

#### **EMASCULATED GOVERNMENTS**

In addition to their devastating economic prescriptions, the BWI have gradually assumed many functions that used to belong to governments. A few of these are

● *Currency* : A country under a SAP must almost invariably devalue its currency. In theory, its products should become more competitive on world markets. In fact, because other exporters of the same products, also under SAPs, are doing likewise, beneficial effects tend to cancel each other out.

● *Macro-economic policy* : Small and weak debtor countries have little leeway to fix their macroeconomic goals or the means for attaining them.

● *Foreign policy* : Debt can be a powerful tool with which to change a debtor's alliances or its behaviour. After the Gulf War, Egypt was rewarded for being on the "right side when the US cut its debt by more than 25 percent.

● *Freedom of access for multinationals* : SAPs also require that no restrictions be placed on foreign investment. Even India, which had maintained nationalist policies in this area for decades, has opened its borders under IMF pressure.

● *National defense* : Although examples of interference in matters of national defence are never made public, the Bank and the Fund have both made clear their desire to curb defence spending in their client countries. At the 1991 annual Bank/Fund meeting, high officials from both institutions were uncharacteristically frank on this point. One Bank official noted that over the past ten years, the Bank had "expressed concern at the level of military expenditure in at least twenty cases"; whereas the managing director of the Fund, Michel Camdessus, also expressed a strong view that military spending could be better allocated to more deserving sectors.<sup>8</sup> While one may rejoice at any reduction in the arms trade, the ability to make war and peace has always been a fundamental prerogative of the state and it is one which is now being encroached upon.

The Twins flatly deny that they want to substitute for governments. Whenever SAPs fail to produce the desired results --- all too often the case --- the Bank and the Fund conveniently stress the role of the government, which is invariably accused of incompetence or insufficient motivation. Successes, on the other hand, are entirely due to the wisdom and the recommendations of the BWI. In many countries, these institutions have left only one government function fully in the hands of the locals: the maintenance of order and the criminal justice system. Since "IMF riots" have occurred in some thirty countries, with deaths, injuries and arrests totalling in the thousands, one can readily understand that these institutions do not wish to be seen as involved in policing.

In this context, it is ironic, even tragic, that the G-7, World Bank, IMF, etc. virtuously preach democracy to the FDCs! Once their essential functions have been stripped away, and given that the measures required by SAPs are guaranteed to make any government unpopular, it probably makes little difference who actually runs these countries.

Is foreign control over the FDCs an irreversible fact of life? It's hard to discern for the moment a force strong enough to oppose it. The people's will, the people's anger? They exist, of course, but the means for expressing them --- trade unions, political parties, etc. --- have been weakened along with the social fabric that has been worn away by SAPs. Riots have tended towards the spontaneous, the "fed-up"; but the initial protest is rarely followed by a longer-term capacity for political organisation.

People are also just plain tired and often sick and hungry. They usually have to work at several different jobs to make ends meet and jobs are insecure because so many people will accept

any offer, however poor the wages or awful the conditions. The "informal sector" cannot absorb everyone. Women are particularly hard hit, and a generation of children has already grown up with little or no schooling.

If popular anger alone is insufficient to oppose the rule of SAPs and the market, can we expect nationalist or patriotic reactions to complement it? This is doubtful: the FDCs' leadership has even stopped meeting regularly to "demand" better treatment and cancellation of their debts. The Group of 77 (now more than a hundred countries), which lodged so many demands during the 1970s (the New International Economic Order, etc.) has all but adopted the Twins' agenda. They, too, talk about Adjustment, Privatisation and Market Forces and their leaders seem resigned to their fate and receive certain benefits in exchange.

FDC political and economic elites suffer little and in fact may profit from structural adjustment. When public services deteriorate or disappear, they can afford private ones. Labour has never been cheaper, and privatisation offers some excellent bargains. Companies and private individuals with foreign bank accounts in hard currency need not fear devaluations, since every devaluation of the local currency makes them richer at home.

The future of the FDCs seems more subject than ever to the production and consumption patterns, to the thought processes and organisational models of the developed countries, particularly the United States. Only a small minority in the South can participate in or benefit from these models. The Bretton Woods Twins have become the managers of a global apartheid economy in which a transnational elite from both "North" and "South" plays the role of the "whites"; a shrinking and anxious middle class the role of "coloureds"; and finally, at the bottom, the vast sea of wretchedness made up of "blacks", whatever their literal skin colour. Many white citizens in the developed countries (the long-term unemployed, the homeless) are now part of this "black" lower class.

Fordism<sup>9</sup> is dead. Contemporary firms seem to be satisfied with a restricted clientele, also transnational. The IMF/World Bank model is necessarily exclusionary and, more frightening still, has no place at all for several billion people.

These institutions are anti-democratic and so far we have not even begun to make them accountable for their policies and their acts. Criticism of them is widespread but the institutional means to translate it into action are nonexistent. The Bank and the Fund have already managed to destroy in record time a great many social, political and economic gains won in long, hard struggles.

Citizens of the financially dominant countries would be ill-advised to believe that they are not concerned, or that the Twins will stop halfway. A drop in wages in one part of the world threatens wages everywhere. When life becomes impossible and hundreds of thousands of would-be immigrants flee northward, fascism and racism flourish. When the drive to export rules, forests, the lungs of the world, disappear. These boomerangs can only be stopped when we confront the Bretton Woods institutions' policies.<sup>10</sup>

The Twins are waging war against the FDCs' peoples and increasingly against the dominant countries' peoples as well. Simultaneously, they are deepening the gulf between the two groups. They believe the "invisible hand" of the market will solve all problems, and that the task of those in power is to free that

hand to do its work.

They cannot avoid, however, the ultimate contradiction: the economy of growth and predation they prescribe is an "open" system, whereas the biosphere is by definition a closed one. The earth itself will not be able to stand exploitation on such a scale, or the Twins' "world order".

Absolute ecological necessity may, finally, make the voices of the FDCs heard, because here they cannot be marginalised forever. If India decides to produce 300 million refrigerators using CFCs, for example, the ozone layer would completely vanish. If the FDCs double their current usage of fossil fuels and continue to destroy more than 150,000 square kilometers of rain forest each year, an increased greenhouse effect and climatic changes with catastrophic effects are certain.

In the face of such economic and political disorder, perhaps only a still greater disorder --- environmental upheaval on a planetary scale --- can undermine the power of the World Bank and the IMF, the development model that they promote and their influence over the lives of several billion human beings. Those who refuse to resign themselves to so desperate a hope must search for new and different kinds of solidarity in order to invent democracy at the international level.

(From Eric Toussaint & Peter Drucker (eds.): *IMF/World Bank WTO*)

#### Foot notes :

1. *IMF moved toward universal membership during 1991-1992*, IMF Survey, 21 Sept. 1992.
2. World Bank 1992 Annual Report: *Overview of World Bank Activities in Fiscal 1992*.
3. See the tables in *OECD, Financing and External Debt of Developing Countries*, 1991 Survey, Paris, 1992, particularly tables V.1 and V.2.
4. On the content of SAPs and many examples of their impact on people and the environment, see Susan George, *A Fate Worse than Debt*, London: Penguin, 1988.
5. For a list of these countries, the dates and number of SAPs, see *IMF Survey*, 21 Sept. 1992, p.283.
6. World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa : From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, Washington DC, March 1989, p. 132.
7. Michael Barratt Brown and Pauline Tiffen, *Short Changed: Africa and World Trade*, London: Pluto Press/Transnational Institute, 1992.
8. *IMF Survey*, 4 Nov. 1991 and 14 Dec. 1992.
9. Henry Ford said that he wanted his workers to be the first to buy Ford cars, and he paid them accordingly.
10. See Susan George, *The Debt Boomerang: How Third World Debt Harms Us All*, London: Pluto Press, 1992.

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# SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

## PERIOD OF DISTURBED CO-OPERATION 1870s-1905

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

Our period of disturbed co-operation between the rulers and the ruled opens with the portentous agrarian unrest generally known as Deccan Riots of 1875. The struggle of the impoverished agriculturalists took place on the basis of the new class forces that had been gestated by Indian society. The same class forces became manifest in an urban setting in 1908 when the Bombay industrial proletariat demonstrated his nationalist will with a six day political general strike. However, the link between agrarian and industrial unrest and the leadership of the city over the country was not firmly established during the period chosen for this dissertation. And since grinding poverty and unbearable exploitation first devastated the countryside, the rebelliousness of the newly formed, downtrodden classes erupted earlier in the rural setting.

We have already referred earlier to the massive structural changes carried out in the economy under imperialist aegis in the six decades prior to the Deccan Riots. From a prosperous, manufacturing economy, India had been reduced to a Ruritania. Indian crafts were destroyed and the artisans were pressed back on land.

The British authorities blandly noted : " Still, of late years, competition has closed many of the old callings. Though most craftsmen are in debt, they are not so deeply involved as landholders, partly because they have no security to offer and partly because they

have no money to pay." ( *Bombay Gazetteer, Poona*, Vol. 18, Part II, 1885 p. 108 ) The condition of the cultivators has been described in pitiless detail by the same official source :

" The chief borrowers of the district are landowning kunbis ( p. 108 )... the interest charged is always higher in the country than in the city and presses more on the poor than on well-to-do landholders... where loans are secured by mortgages on land, the average rate in the Haveli subdivision, where the conditions of landed property are specially favourable, varies from 13 percent to 19 percent. In less favoured subdivisions, the rate not uncommonly rises to 24 percent... when the interest was paid in grain, the usual monthly rate was a sheer the rupee or 75 percent... In the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission, the bulk of the landholder's debt was due less to large sums spent on ceremonies than to constant petty borrowings for food and other necessities, and to pay the government assessment ( p. 110 )... A husbandman who fell in debt could seldom free himself... There was a considerable burden of debt and many landholders, were living in dependence on the lender, delivering him their produce and drawing upon him for necessities ( p. 111 )... The French traveller, Jacquement, a somewhat unfriendly critic, described the cultivators all over India as owing instead of owning... In no part of India did indebtedness cause more misery than

in the Deccan. Formerly, the law or custom prevented a lender from more than tripling the original loan by compound interest : neither personal arrest nor seizure of immovable property was allowed. The English law removing all such restraints caused much horror. To carry out the law, judges had to strip old families of their ancestral homes ( p. 112 )... In 1855, an act was passed repeating the restriction on interest ( p. 114 )... In 1858, when Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, he recorded his conviction that the labouring classes suffered enormous injustice from the want of protection against the extortionate practice of moneylenders. He believed that the civil courts had become hateful to the mass of the people because they were made the instruments of the almost incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists. In Lord Elphinstone's opinion, nothing could be more calculated to give rise to " widespread discontent and dissatisfaction with British rule than the practical working of the existing law... In 1859, two enactments aggravated existing evils... Whatever facilities the law afforded the creditor in 1852 was greatly enhanced by the 1859 procedure ( the Civil Procedure Code which added ) his land and his stock and field tools to the security which was liable for his debts. ( p. 115 )... the Limitations Law... became an engine of extortion in the hand of lenders ( p. 117 )... To ( the ) causes of tending to attract capital to the business of agricultural moneylending, it may be added that in the dearth of other industries, with a population whose wants embraced little but the merest necessities, capital, which under other conditions, would find employment in trade or manufactures, naturally turned to agricultural investment... Sir G. Wingate described thus ( the situation ) : It becomes the lender's interest to reduce the borrower to hopeless indebtedness that he may appropriate the whole fruits of this industry beyond what is indispensable to his existence. This the lender is able without difficulty to do. Do what he will the landholder can never get rid of principal, He toils that another may rest : he sows that another may reap. Hope leaves him and despair seizes him." ( p. 116 *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 18, part II, Poona, 1885, our italics )

We have given a rather long series of quotations for we wanted to stress the fact that all the descriptions like ' misery ', ' horror ', ' enormous injustice ',

'extortionate practices', 'incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists' etc... come from the horse's mouth. We may dispense with identical evidence provided by the *Ahmadnagar* volume in the same series. ( This volume 17 of 1884 repeats all that has been said above with minor variations at pp. 304-320. )

The extraordinary examples of the unlimited greed of the Deccan money-lenders were provided by Rao Bahadur Shambhuprasad Laxmial " a distinguished Gujarati administrator " and a member of the Deccan Riots Commission and Mr. Tytler, the Collector of Ahmadnagar. In the minute of Mr. Shambhuprasad a case was cited in which an advance of Rs. 10 was made in 1863 against which sums amounting to Rs. 110 were paid from time to time. At the end of 10 years Rs. 220 were still due, it was noted ( p. 127 of the *Poona* volume. ) Mr. Tytler quoted the instance of a man who borrowed a quantity of *jowari* worth Rs. 6 and in 16 months, the borrower was sued for Rs. 72 which lender was awarded with costs. " The judge considered the thing iniquitous but there was a bond and a bond covered all iniquity. Thousands of parallel cases could be collected : every division and every village teemed with them. " ( p. 314 *Ahmadnagar* volume, our italics )

Amongst the more proximate causes of the outbreak, the *Gazetteer* mentions the following :

(i) A little before, a few years before event, there was accelerated economic activity. Railway construction from 1854 had drawn upon the pool of the unemployed, and the ascent of the Bhor pass was not completed till 1863. The demand for labour also responded to the construction of public works in the Poona district, particularly as during the five years ending 1867, the cantonment of Poona became the scene of intense activity in private house-building ( p. 117 of *Poona volume* )

(ii) Apart from the employment opportunities thus provided, the American Civil War ( 1861-65 ) caused a cotton boom and ' some prosperity ' might have trickled down to the cultivators in the cotton tracts of Poona and Ahmadnagar districts which were the centres of unrest ( p. 117 of *Poona* volume and p. 316 of *Ahmadnagar* volume ).

(iii) As the cotton bubble was bursting following the end of the American War in 1865, further violent shocks were provided by the seasons of the severe drought of 1866-67, of partial failure of crops in 1867-68, and of serious failure of 1870-71 ( pp. 117 of *Poona* volume ). In the Ahmadnagar district, in 1871, there was a failure of crops followed by a marked fall in produce prices between 1871-72 and 1873-74 ( p. 317 of *Ahmadnagar volume* ).

(iv) As if this tale of woe was not enough to breed acute distress, the imperialists decided to enhance the level of oppression. From 1867, the settlement of land revenue made 30 years before began to become due for revision and the *Gazetteer* admits that " The revision resulted in a considerable increase in the government's demand. " ( p. 118 of the *Poona* volume which also displays a table of revision survey results showing an increase of 51 to 65 percent for four of the Poona district subdivisions. The result of revision survey in part of the Ahmadnagar district are given on pages 538-47 of vol. 17 of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and show the same trend. The *Sholapur* volume ( No. 20 ) claims an increase of 43 percent, p. 360 ).

(v) Finally, there was sudden fall in produce prices between 1871-72 and 1873-74 ( *Gaz. of Bombay Presidency,*

*Poona*, Vol. 18, part II, p. 118 ).

Already in 1874, the militant Kolis in the Western hilly tract had directed their attention to the moneylenders. According to the *Gazetteer* :

" So great was the terror that for many months a long tract of country enjoyed complete freedom from the exactions of Marwari creditors and their agents. ( *Ibid*, p. 119 ).

However, the Deccan riots proper began in 1875 in Supa village in Poona and they seem to have lasted just about a month. The moneylenders were attacked but the *Gazetteer* admits that " as a rule the disturbances were marked by the absence of serious crime. In every case, the object of the rioters was to obtain and destroy the bonds and decrees in the possession of their creditors. When bonds were peaceably given, the mob did no further mischief. " ( *Ibid*, p. 122, The Ahmadnagar riots are described in almost identical terms at pp. 318-19 of the *Ahmadnagar* volume. )

The government appointed a Commission to inquire into the riots and we have already referred to the minute by a member of this Commission. After considering the Commission's recommendations, the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 was passed which was mere palliative and was totally ineffective. The futility of the exercise is pointed out by Metcalf :

" Yet, though the Relief Act of 1879 was a first step towards control of the moneylenders it went a very little distance. Land could still be sold for debt, so long as it had been specifically mortgaged, and sales continued to mount throughout the last 20 years of the century. " ( R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt : India. 1857-1870*, 1964, p. 216 )

G. W. Joshi alias Sarvajani Kaka reported that 2/3rd of the occupancy tenants had lost their tenancy rights and had been reduced to the position of tenants at will by 1894 ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 298 ). In the judgement of the Agrarian Reforms Committee, all the acts passed to minimise the effects of indebtedness upto the end of British rule were completely useless :

" We can safely say that the laws for restricting the operations of the moneylender have completely failed. " ( Wadia and Mechant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, p. 244, which cites p. 96 of the Committee's Report. )

For the fundamental problem of deindustrialisation and stagnation could not be solved under imperialist aegis. The peace of the graveyard descended upon the Deccan village, a peace that was imposed by the police and the army. The Famine Commission of 1880 summed up the situation quite neatly when it wrote :

" At the root of much of poverty of the people of India, and all the risks to which they are exposed in the seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and no remedy for the present evil can be complete which does not include introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufacture or some such employment. " ( Quoted by Tara Chand, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, pp. 324-25 )

The same sentiment is presented from the capitalist point of view by the *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer* :

" To the causes tending to attract capital to the business of agricultural moneylending, it may be added that in the dearth of other industries, with a population whose wants embraces

little but the merest necessities, capital, which under other conditions, " would find employment in trade or manufacturers, naturally turned to agricultural investment." ( op. cit., p. 315 )

It was a classic situation created by bourgeoisification under colonial conditions. Industries were not allowed to be set up and even the many factories that existed were destroyed by cheap machinofactors imported from England. The population therefore, came to depend almost exclusively on agriculture and accepted whatever terms the rural rich imposed upon them. This created both, an artificial rise in the value of land and depression in the living standards of the masses. The attractiveness of the returns which the fearful level of exploitation created made more and more capital flow into land, at the same time as investment was blocked from industry. At the level of Indian poverty, effective demand for industrial goods was small and this was monopolised by foreigners. Thus the vicious circle of poverty, lack of demand, foreign exploitation of national market, overwhelming dependance on agriculture, diversion of national capital to agriculture and ever increasing exploitation of agriculturists, and more poverty, was set up.

### G. K. Gokhale

It is interesting to observe that the Indian bourgeoisie wholeheartedly collaborated with the imperialists in oppressing the Indian peasantry. We will be dealing later, in this and the fifth chapter, with the honours that came to Mahadev Govind Ranade for his assistance to imperialism in expropriating the peasantry. Here we may note the activities of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) in connection with a Land Alienation Bill introduced by the Government in the Legislative Council in 1901. The bill was actually passed but Gokhale's biographer boasts that the non-official members including Gokhale attacked the bill so severely that in spite of its passage it remained a dead letter. This was a typical game that the British imperialists often played. They would shed crocodile tears on the plight of the Indian masses, and occasionally frighten the Indian middle classes by advocating some measure for alleviating the distress of the people. The Indian middle classes increasingly represented by the Congress would bitterly attack such gestures. Since the imperialists ruled India with the assistance of the Indian elite and since its interest in the fate of the masses was nonexistent, it would then drop the matter or by non-implementation convert an enactment into a dead letter. This is exactly what happened with the Land Alienation Bill which sought to make the land unsaleable and the peasant proprietor was to be restricted to mortgaging only the standing crop to the moneylender.

" Lands in Bombay Presidency were being sold in large numbers by petty and big landowners alike to the moneylenders because of the famine and other causes. There was strong criticism everywhere that the indebtedness of the peasantry was growing alarmingly; if it was not checked early, the peasantry would be turned out of land and the class of landless labourers would increase. The government therefore brought in the measure, to make lands, inalienable. The peasant proprietor could mortgage the standing crop... Gokhale had studied this problem thoroughly and his arguments were irrefutable.

" He proved that poverty and indebtedness had increased under British rule... The Bombay government, as also the Secretary of the State asserted that the agitation against the Bill was carried on by the supporters of moneylenders. Gokhale

convincingly refuted the malicious charge by saying : ' It is because I believe that this Bill will prove disastrous to the best interests of the agriculturists and not because it is likely to do any harm to the moneylenders that I deem it my duty to resist the passing of this measure to the utmost of my power '... He made the constructive suggestion that... the government should take over the debts of *ryots* from the *sowcars*, start agricultural banks and then declare their lands inalienable. ( T. R. Deogirikar, ' Gopal Krishna Gokhale ' , Builders of Modern India series, 1969, pp. 74-76 )

This grant constructive suggestion was designed to protect the *sowcars* and comes in for warm commendation by Gokhale's biographer.

" Gokhale's ability in marshalling facts, rebutting official arguments pressing home his point of view and making constructive suggestions, came in for praise. But in spite of the opposition, the government carried the measure through. In protest, the non-official members led by Phirozeshah Mehta walked out of the Legislative Council. Gokhale also followed them." ( *Ibid*, p. 76 )

As already noted, after playing out this tragi-comedy, the government allowed the measure to become a dead letter.

### FAMINES AND POVERTY

Whilst this game of gestures was being light-heartedly pursued, the enduring policy of the British of placating the native rich continued. The Khoti Act of 1880 was passed which finally recognised large-scale bourgeois landlordism in the Konkan. A new Bombay Land Revenue Code was passed in 1901. Two more severe famines and epidemics visited our 9 districts in 1895 and 1990 ( *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Kolaba District*, p. 683, See *infra* chapter 5 ). A rapid increase in the army of landless labourers was the inevitable consequence ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 58 ). Due to the over-pressure on agriculture, a fall in the wages of agricultural labour occurred ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 295 and *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 2, p. 630 ).

The growing disaffection in the countryside was worrying the government. Three Famine Commissions had reported in the latter half of the 19th century ( 1880, 1898, 1901 ), on the severe distress suffered by rural India. Some action, even if symbolic, was overdue with regard to Indian agriculture. Therefore Curzon, upon receipt of private American donation inaugurated the Pusa Agricultural Institute in 1904. More substantial was the official attention paid at long last to irrigation. The Khadakvasla Waterworks were completed in 1880 and the Neera Canal in 1900 ( D. R. Gadgil, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 133 ). This, of course, promoted the cultivation of commercial crops at the expense of foodgrains and increased the tendency towards capitalist farming ( See *infra*, chapter 5 ). Some small relief was also afforded by the short-lived American speculative cotton boom of 1902 ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ).

The national income of India continued at a miserable level. An M. P. said in the British House of Commons on August 4, 1894 :

" It is indeed difficult to realise the small amount of wealth there is in India and of course the proportionate taxation in India was four times that imposed on the British people." ( William Digby, ' Prosperous British India, 1901, pp. 6-8 ).

The per capita income according to different authorities- Naoroji, Atkinson, Baring, Horne, Curzon and Giffon - ranged from Rs. 23.5 to Rs. 31.5 between 1867 and 1903. ( *Gazetteer*

## EXPORT OF GRAIN AND SILVER CRISIS

Whilst Indians continued to die of hunger, food-grains became the chief item of export since 1883 and remained so till 1914. ( B. M. Bhatia, *Famines in India*, 1967, p. 24 ). The decline of Britain as the leader of world capitalism was reflected in the exchange crisis of 1872 when the value of silver fell precipitously. In order to maintain an artificially high internal price for Indian silver, the mints were closed in 1893. ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 345-47; Mukherjee and Dey, *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. 2, 1941, pp. 218ff ). As the Congress Resolution of the period reiterated this.

" Effectively raised taxation within India by 30 per cent and the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to Englishmen in India increased the drain of wealth from India by a crore of rupees..... This drain kept down the rate of capital formation while concentration on agricultural products in the export trade prevented reallocation of labour and capital between agriculture and industry." ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 323 ).

This once again created the same vicious circle we have referred to above.

## BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRY

India's incipient industrial development should be dated from this phase, since prior to 1875, the factory establishment were either very small and scattered or largely foreign-owned. The cotton textile factories with native capital came into being in considerable size and strength during the three decades ending in 1905. ( D. H. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, 1934, chapter 10 ). As a result of the anxiety of, and pressure from Manchester and Lancashire interests, not only was an excise duty imposed upon Indian production from 1876, but also the wages of Indian labour were sought to be raised by promotion of imperialist trade unionism. Sorabji Shahpoorji Bengallee, C.I.E., and Lokhande from Phule's Satyashodhak Samaj, acted as agents in creating " public agitation " ( N. S. Bengallee, *The Life of Sorabji Shahpoorji Bengallee*, English and Gujrati, undated, pp. 50-52 and chapter 15 of the Gujrati section ). In this manner, Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 came to be passed.

## INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The two major political developments of this period were the formation and rise of the British sponsored organisation of the Indian middle classes, the Indian National Congress; and the establishment of the anarchist movement.

The Indian National Congress ( INC ) was formed in 1885 under the inspiration of Viceroy Lord Dufferin, who felt that it would be advisable to control and supervise the agitated talkers from amongst the affluent and to provide a safe outlet for their surplus energies with the help of a reliable, diehard of the Home Ministry ( for the initiative of Dufferin, see admission of Banerjee, the first Congress President, quoted by B. P. Sitaramayya, *History of Indian National Congress*, Vol. 1, 1946, p. 15 ). A. O. Hume, an Englishman amateur ornithologist and religiously inclined conservative, had just retired from service. He had been receiving, a secretary of the Home Department, which in India is a euphemism for the central police organisation, alarming reports about political disaffection. He

claimed that there was an imminent danger of a terrible outbreak, the evidence for which existed in seven large volumes containing communications from 30,000 reporters from all over the country." ( R. C. Majumdar, et. al., *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. 10, 1965, p. 528 ).

We can not say that degree of credibility a hardened bureaucrat belonging to the ' Steel Frame ' should have attached to such alarming reports written by agent provocateurs, ex-criminals and perjury-prone, police-paid spies whose primary business was to justify the heavy expenditure on police department in India. Anyway, the proposed Albert Bills, which sought to place some trivial restrictions on British racialism in judicial proceedings in India, has evoked a storm of protest from resident Europeans in 1883, who succeeded in getting the Bills withdrawn. This return had made Indians very apprehensive and Surendranath Banerjee, an unjustly dismissed I.C.S., was organising an association in Calcutta and toring the country to rally support for it. Hume wanted to forestall him ( *Ibid*, p. 532 ). Thus the INC was hurriedly brought into being. According to R. C. Majumdar :

" There is no doubt whatsoever that the Congress was really designed to arrest the progress of a revolutionary outbreak... The real motive which really inspired Hume to setup the Congress organisation with the advice and blessings of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin... was not intended to subserve the object of securing representative government of India... nor was it actuated by the more moderate desire of training the Indians in Parliamentary form of government, as has so often been claimed. It was solely designed to hold back the Indian Intelligentsia from joining an apprehended general outbreak against the British. Hume candidly expressed it himself in the following words : ' A safety valve for the escape of the great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised. ' ( *Ibid*, pp. 531-32 )

The Congress did not formally demand independence till 1929, when it served British imperialism with an ultimatum expiring after a year, then went back on demand of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, asked the British to Quit India only in 1942, and finally, took over smoothly the imperialist administration in truncated India in 1947.

## M. G. Ranade

The loyalist centiment ran very high in Congress circles and for many decades, formal resolutions of allegiance to the British crown used to be passed at the opening of each of its annual sessions. M. G. Ranade ( 1842-1901 ) was one of those who considered British rule over India as providential ( P. J. Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 133 ). He thought that its rule over India would last " for an indefinite length of time.... for many centuries to come." p. 185 ) Ranade did not accept Dadabhai Naorojee's contention that there was drain of wealth from India ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 317, 392 ). Ranade was such a confirmed collaborator that in the famous case of Chaphekar brothers who assassinated two loathsome British army officers, one of the English judges had pointed out that the evidence against Balkrishna Chaphekar was weak and insubstantial. In spite of that learned judge pointing out the desirability of exercise of mercy in this case, as a judge of Bombay High Court, Ranade passed the extreme penalty of death on Balkrishna ( Bombay Government, *Source Material for a History*

of the *Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 376-77 ).

It was a constant endeavour of British imperialists to divert the national political agitation into safe, social reform channels. They attributed India's economic backwardness to her adherence to traditional social customs, and suggested that Indians should voluntarily and gradually become "civilised" through acceptance of modern education and modernised social system. Ranade played this diversionary game with great enthusiasm, and formed the Indian Social Conference which used to meet annually in the same venue as the Indian National Congress. As Tilak put it pithily that the British were not going to give independence to India after counting the number of widows who had remarried or the number who had kept their bobtails. ( L. Joshi, ed. *Lokmanya Tilak Lekhsangraha*, 1969, p. 12 ). But as usual with collaborators, there was gap between precept and deed. Ranade after all his fiery reformist speeches performed the *prayaschita* ( penance ) ceremony to erase the stigma of Panchaud Mission Tea Party. Whilst being a sincere advocate of widow remarriage, he found it entirely consistent in practice to marry as a widower a little girl of 11. ( For marriage see Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 55 : For *Prayaschita* , N. G. Jog, *Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, 1970, p. 33 ). Perhaps it need not be added that Ranade was honoured by the British with the title of Rao Bahadur in 1872 and of C. I. E. in 1887 ( Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 & 97 ).

### COMMUNAL RIOTS

The British reaction to the rising tide of nationalist sentiment was to unleash communal riots. Sayyid Ahmad's Aligarh Movement has already been referred to. As soon as the Congress was formed, Khan and his alter-ego Beck were instigated to form United Indian Patriotic Association ( estd. 1888 ) " against the so called National Congress. " K. A. Nizami, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 1974, pp. 145-46. Beck was the notorious agent-provocateur and political speech writer for Khan planted by the British as Principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh. In 1893 he formed a still narrower Muhammadan Defence Association of Upper India. ( As a mollifying gesture, Viceroy Ripon had passed the Indian Councils Act of 1892 which made some small improvement on the earlier Councils Act of 1861 ( See *Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms of 1918*, p. 41. ) But Communal Riots began in India in right earnest in the 1890s. In western India the 1893 riots began in Junagadh and spread to Bombay and Poona and there were simultaneous outbreaks in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar ( Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 371 ). About this riots a controversy broke out between Ranade and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. ( 1856-1920 ) Tilak had the same opinion as had been expressed a little earlier by John Strachey, a Government official of the same ilk and department as Hume : " I altogether disbelieve the conclusion of the Lieutenant-Governor and the other high authorities that no blame attaches either to the Police or the Magistrate for not taking special precautions. The object seems to be to show that nobody is to be blamed for anything. Having myself had a great deal of experience.... I assert that it is absurd to say that authorities had no means of becoming cognisant of what was threatening. " ( Quoted by Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 371 ).

As such,

" Tilak was of the view that Muslims encouraged by the Government were to be blamed for these riots. But the Ranade Group thought it tactless that to emphasise the responsibility

of any community or the Government. " ( Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 168 )

It is this anxiety about being tactful and practical that characterised Ranade's approach to the problem of drain of wealth from India ( Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 54 ) or the need of protection of Indian industries ( *Ibid.*, pp. 144 ) or " holding the scales even between the *sowcars* and the cultivators " as Special Sub-Judge under the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act from 1881 ( *Ibid.*, p. 93 ) or on the issue of imperialist complicity in communal riots. The Manifesto of the Deccan Sabha, penned by Ranade himself declared :

" Liberalism and moderation will be watchwords of this association. The spirit of liberalism implies... giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law they are bound to administer... Moderation imposes the condition of never vainly aspiring after... too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step.... in a spirit of compromise. " ( *Ibid.*, p. 179 )

### B. G. Tilak

Tilak was a bolder and more independent spirit. After passing his law examination, he had swiftly become a successful newspaper magnate ( N.G. Jog, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16, 25). While his investment in Latur ginning factory did not yield very much, as Director of Swadeshi Co-operative Stores, he was used to acting on a basis of equality with Co-Directors like Sir Ratan Tata ( *Ibid.*, pp. 2,99 ). Not that Ranade lacked enterpreneurial initiative but his holdings were in more modest establishment like Cotton and Silk Spinning and Weaving Company, the Reay Paper Mill, the Metal Manufacturing Factory, The Poona Mercantile Bank and the Poona Dying Company ( Jagirdar, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ). Tilak's success as newspaper proprietor was so phenomenal and his ability to raise funds so spectacular that he was able to offer a sum of Rs. 50,000 to Rabindranath Tagore for undertaking a general cultural propoganda tour of Europe without any political commitment ( H. Banerjee, *Rabindranath Tagore*, 1971, p. 120 ).

This independent enterpreneurial spirit reflected itself in the politics which Tilak pursued. After capturing Ranade's Sarvajanik Sabha in 1895 Tilak moved onto the bigger, national arena. His reaction to the 1893 riots was to inaugurate the Ganapati Festival in the same year and the Shivaji Festival 3 years later. At the 1899 Lucknow Congress, Tilak pressed resolution commending Governor Sandhurst's regime; which frightened the ' moderates ' so much that the I. C. S. President of the session, R. C. Dutt, threatened to vacate the chair if the resolution was even carried to the voting state. ( Jog, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ) This exhibition of temper from the chair was not surprising in view of the position held by Pherozeshah Mehta an eminent moderate leader and Tilak's contemporary :

" When in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, she decided that India was to be governed on the principles of justice, equality and righteousness without distinction of colour, caste or creed. " ( Majumdar, *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. 10, p. 515 ).

If England was governing India according to the principles of " justice, equality and righteousness ", then those who demanded a change, leaving aside the matter of uprooting imperialism in toto, but just demanding change, were obviously wanting something unjust, iniquitous and unrighteous. Tilak did not agree with such complete reactionaries. However, though as a successful enterpreneur his style was bolder, his

view were fundamentally not very different from those of his political opponents like Ranade, Gokhale and Mehta. We have already referred to Gokhale's performance in 1901 in relation to the Land Revenue Code. In the same moderate spirit, in his Kesari articles, Tilak "strongly supported" Mehta's and Gokhale's opposition to the Bill which according to Tilak "was calculated to destroy the mutual relationship between the peasantry and the *sowcars* who then fulfilled a vital function in the rural economy." (Jog, *op. cit.*, p. 82) Of course, on the same grounds one may as well defend the mutual relationship of lambs and lions which also fulfills a most vital functions in the economic well-being of lions. Tilak also opposed the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891 and supported the khots. (Nalini Pandit, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102). Particularly after his long exile from 1908 to 1914 in Mandalay, he seems to have returned as a shaken man. "It was the longest of his three imprisonments and the solitary confinement had told heavily upon him... the infirmities of age were plainly making themselves felt. Soon after his return, he remarked to a friend "My days are numbered. I may live for a year or two at the most." (Jog, *op. cit.*, p. 139).

Like all other collaborators, Tilak was issued a disgusting statement when the First World War broke out :

"At such a crisis the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, is to support and assist His Majesty's Government to the best of his ability. I have, like other political workers, my own differences with the Government, as regards certain measures and to a certain extent even the system of internal administration. But it is absurd on that account to speak of my attitude as in any way hostile to His Majesty's Government." (*Ibid.*, p. 138)

Of course, even here, Tilak never went to the gushing lengths to which Gandhi did at the Imperial War Conference in Delhi of 1918 :

"If I could make any countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw, all the Congress resolutions and not whisper 'Home Rule' or 'Responsible Government' during the pendency of the war. I would make India offer all her able bodied sons as a sacrifice to the British Empire at its critical moment... I write this because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishmen." (*Ibid.*, p. 188)

Nevertheless, the differences between Tilak and Gandhi were only of degree. After Montague had made his announcement in 1917 that the policy of the imperialists was directed towards "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire", and a Royal Proclamation had been issued Tilak sent off his famous telegram whilst on his way to attend the 1919 Amritsar Session of the Congress to convey "to His Majesty grateful and loyal thanks of the Indian Home Rule League and the people of India for proclamation and amnesty and to assure him of responsive cooperation." (*Ibid.*, p. 165)

### ANARCHISM

The other major political development, as already stated, was the anarchist movement. Fortunately all the three leading figures of this movement, Vasudev Balwant Phadke, Damodar Hari Chaphekar and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar have left to posterity their illuminating and heroic autobiographic accounts. Whilst we will go into these moving accounts in subsequent

chapter, we may note here that Vasudev Balwant was the father of the real militant nationalist movement of the country. A most touching acknowledgement of this fact was made, when after his secret trial and the passing of the sentence of transportation for life, as he was being escorted by armed guards on what turned out to be his last journey and as he was standing on the station platform at Poona, a European (perhaps Irish) step forward to present him with a bouquet. (Majumdar, *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. 9, p. 913)

Damodar Hari Chaphekar had the utmost contempt for the Indian National Congress :

"We do not approve of the National Congress, much less of the Social Conference. But though there is no possibility of any good resulting from the National Congress, it does not entail any loss either, except in so far as expenditure of money is concerned... At "this time a violent discussion was going on between two parties. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took up the leadership of the party and Mahadev Govind Ranade that of the other, and a war of words commenced... Englishmen know that the National Congress means eating, drinking, recreation and a profusion of tall talk and nothing more... The American having profitted by their National Congress, we followed their example but no one gives thought to what those spirited people did when their demands were refused. To make every meeting of the Congress more imposing than the previous one is the (sole) object these blockheads have in view." (*Bombay Government, Source Material...* etc. Vol. II, pp. 978-79).

### Jotiba Phule

In the educational and cultural field, there were several interesting developments. W. W. Hunter who had made a substantial contribution to the worsening of the communal situation in India through his work, *The Indian Musalmans* (written in 1871 at the suggestion of Viceroy Mayo, who holds the dubious distinction of being the only Viceroy of India to be assassinated, in the Andamans by a prisoner), presided over another one of those futile Education Commissions (1882-83), which the imperialists were in the habit of constituting as sops to native middle class opinion. Curzon too called an Educational Conference (the so-called Raleigh Commission) and later in 1904 amended the Indian Universities Act. Amongst journals, in line with the British policy of fomenting communal dissensions, Jotiba Phule's (1827-1890) *Satyashodhak Samaj* and its organ *Deenbandhu* (1877) were making headway. Phule was one of those who considered the English to be the saviours of the oppressed lower castes of India and the finest and the most generous people on earth. (S. G. Malshe and D. Keer, *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya*, Marathi, 1969, pp. 95-146, particularly pp. 136 ff.) It did not seem to worry Phule that crores of lower caste artisans and landless labourers were dying in imperialist made famines of his times. On the whole, the *Deenbandhu* of Poona stuck an entirely discordant loyalist note, which was more akin to the mild and sound sense of the Bombay papers. Digby wrote of the Bombay papers that they "contained terrific leaders but were, at the same time, quite innocuous." (Quoted by Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 456). According to an official survey of 1877-78, the Poona papers were said to be "constantly hostile to the Government" and accused the English to have "reached the acme of prosperity by tyranny and fraud." (*Ibid.*, p. 457)

[Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1976, Bombay University]

# ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from  
Shivkumar Sharma

15.7.97

Respected Vinayakjee,

By reviving the publication of *Mankind*. You have rendered a great service to the community. In fact, this is the only magazine which boldly exposes the criminal character of Indian politics and summons the conscious citizens to make efforts to alter the dirty atmosphere.

May this journal march ahead in its mission of improving the political climate of the country. Please send me October, November and December 1996 issues.

Note : You were engaged in writing a book titled *Essays in Indian History*. Has the same been published, if so, what is its price and number of pages ?

Yours Faithfully,  
Shivkumar Sharma  
Advocate, Dist-Courts,  
Sagadhri 135 703

**DUTA, FEDCUTA and  
Teachers Organisations  
preparing for dogfight**

**Rastogi Report Torn Asunder**  
by C S Kalra

While the University Grants Commission is seemingly content in having (un) successfully 'withheld' the Rastogi Committee Report from the university community, the Delhi University Teachers Association (DUTA) has already taken a major lead in not only exposing the noxious aspects of the Report which is nothing but an extension of the UGC mindset that over-bureaucratization is the panacea for all the ills of higher education. In the process, a mentally bankrupt UGC has contributed its humble bit in "building" a nation-wide protest movement of teachers.

After a successful seminar on 4 July last held by DUTA in Delhi University, a meeting of the All India Federation of University and College Teachers Organisations (AIFUCTO) held at Yamunanagar on 6 July followed by an impressive demonstration at the UGC building on 9 July, where more than 9 teachers' organisations from all over India

participated, the DUTA is all set for a head-on collision both with the UGC and the weak-kneed Government at the Centre. Chances are that in months to come the atmosphere will hot up what with impending elections of DUTA in August this year and the officiousness of the UGC conditioned largely by the blockhead who heads the Commission nicknamed 'Almighty' Desai whose sole credential to this top job is that she was the personal choice of Maharaja Madhavrao Scindia of the pre-scam yore. One lady from Mumbai as chief of UGC but from less-than-a-full-university gave the teachers of Delhi University Reader's grade after a long fight in the shape of a strike lasting, 109 days in 1982-83. And the other lady from (the same) Mumbai and also not-from-a-full-university (Armaity S Desai is from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai) is bound to give a repeat round of long-drawn confrontation to the country. That will be her net contribution to the cause of higher education if contribution that is.

The FEDCTTA (Federation of Central Universities Teachers Associations) is also among those who are dead opposed to the recommendations of the Rastogi Committee report. Others who have expressed openly against the Report on 9 July last demonstration before the UGC office are Kashmir University Teachers Association, Jiwaji University Teachers' Association, Haryana Government Colleges Teachers' Association and of course, the 4 teachers' associations of the universities in Delhi, viz, DUTA, IGNOU Teachers Association, JNUTA and Jamia Millia Islamia University Teachers' Association. Their respective presidents and secretaries came, addressed the protest demonstration meet on 9 July and joined DUTA delegation in submitting a comprehensive memorandum to the UGC Secretary in the absence of the UGC Chairperson, Dr. (Miss) Armaity S Desai, who was unwilling to come out even to receive the memorandum. So much for the respect and regard she has for the teachers of Indian universities. Arrogance

too should have some restraint!

## DISPARITIES GALORE

In a well documented comparison with IAS and other Group A services of the Central Government, the DUTA has successfully demonstrated how the Rastogi Committee does not even meet the pay-parity concept half-way. Over a period, the gap between the Central Government babus and the university-level teachers becomes more glaringly wide. Effectively, therefore, Rastogi Committee fails to give even equivalent salaries to teachers not to speak of "improved" wages which is what it set out to do in the first instance.

But, more than the money wage, it is the bureaucratic attitude of the Rastogi Committee, aided and abetted by the UGC and consolidated as evident in its manifold actions, which is being resented by the DUTA and other all-India teachers' organisations. Consider the following (under the Rastogi dispensation):

All the files relating to teachers' promotions etc., regardless of whether they meet the qualifications laid down, will first be approved by the UGC. Those familiar with the work culture in the UGC know how painfully slow the movement of files in the UGC is.

■ The conditions for study leave have been made more stringent and contingent upon one being able to earn a PhD degree failing which one has to refund the salary received during the study leave period with interest @ 6% p.a. This is like making a marriage with the condition that baby would be delivered within a given time period or the marriage would stand dissolved!

■ The students will evaluate their teachers even at undergraduate level where they are hardly equipped even to comment. Not just that. The questionnaire designed to elicit evaluation from students gives handle to punish the teacher on things as nonsensical as his handwriting etc. and use of vocal chords etc.

■ Teachers will maintain a daily diary and it will be submitted to the Principal every day. This precisely is the kind of thing the bureaucrats were seeking all this while. Teachers will be evaluated and penalized not for doing something academic but for not maintaining this coveted diary. Ask any school teacher who has been maintaining diary for ages. Has diary produced anything worthwhile in school education?

Obviously, the philosophy of Rastogi

Committee has been not to give but to penalize stet with the UGC becoming as some kind of a super-directorate-dispensing "favours" and refusing them at its sweet will. If the UGC has to arrogate all of these powers and functions, why pray, does one need offices like Vice-Chancellor, the Syndicate, the Executive Council and other such bodies? Clearly, the muddle-headedness of Rastogi Committee has played havoc with the university-autonomy which is already under serious stress with the ineptness of the UGC and the bosses in Shastri Bhavan housing the Ministry of Human Resource Development.

(Source : *University Today*, 15.7.97)

#### JUSTICE WICKENDEN'S REPORT - 29 NOVEMBER, 1943.

*Historic Judgement On Quit India Movement*

A Communication by Dr. M.P.R. Reddy

Wickenden's Report is described by P.N. Chopra, who edited and published it as " the most comprehensive document prepared by the British intelligence on this Great Revolt and has not been utilised by any of the scholars who have dealt with the most important phase of Indian struggle for freedom." (Chopra's Introduction to Wickenden's Report)

It includes reports of the C.I.D. agents, police reports, intercepted correspondence, information elicited from interrogation of active workers besides published statement of Gandhi. His conclusions were not liked by the British bureaucracy including Sir R. Tottenham, Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India. They were endorsed by the authorities in London. (*Ibid*)

As Tottenham mentioned in his letter dated 19 February 1944 to Secretary of State for India, "from August 1942 onwards the intelligence organisations of the central and provincial governments were engaged in collecting evidence of Congress responsibility from every possible source, and a year later, the volume of evidence had become so large as to make it most difficult to handle it as a whole. It was therefore decided to select an independent and judicial minded officer and place him on special duty both to marshal evidence and present it in connected and readable form and also to report how far, in his opinion, the unpublished material corroborated the conclusions reached in the pamphlet and how far the whole body of evidence established the responsibility of Congress! T. Wickenden, I.C.S., judge in the Central Provinces was selected by government of India in consultation with the British Government. He completed his report on 29 November 1943. Wickenden rejected the government's contention that Gandhi's movement was intended to assist Japanese operations against the country. He made clear in his report that Gandhi never wanted the British domination to be substituted by that of the Japanese, Tottenham however did not agree with Wickenden. Tottenham stated "The outstanding conclusion at which Wickenden arrived and which we accept are that the movement or rebellion contemplated by Gandhi was one of the kind that actually took place; that it was planned before hand so far as there was time to do so; and Mr. Gandhi was aware of these plans."

The intelligence reports supplied to Wickenden about the activities of Gandhi in May, June and July 1942 relate to the preparations made by Gandhi before launching the movement.

Gandhi's phraseology was convincing to Wickenden about his intentions to start a struggle, "the contemplated struggle was to be a conflagration". "I would not hesitate to take any risk howsoever great, after all it is an open rebellion.... my intention is to make it as short and swift as possible." "Leave India to God,

if that is too much, leave India to anarchy." (*Harijan* May 24, 1947) The main emphasis in the Gandhian resolution was, "non-violence is the basis of the movement. Even J.P. made it clear, in his open letter of instructions to fighters of freedom, that "Gandhi is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life principle." The 12 point programme of the AICC seized by government on 11 August 1942 ended with the words ending of foreign rule is our objective subject to the inexorable condition of non-violence."

Jayaprakash later said, "Creation of deadlock and paralysation and dislocation of British rule by all non-violent means was and remained the sheet anchor of the programme and to the fullest extent under Ahimsa, the star to steer by" (p.16).

The government of India in their despatch dated 5 September 1942 to the Secretary of State supported Wickenden's observation that the intensification of the movement was mostly due to the active role played by the Congress Socialist Party, Forward Bloc, and other revolutionary parties besides the students (pp.17,21).

Among the revolutionary groups working in different parts of the country, were Saram Dal, and Parasuram Dal in Bihar, Hindutstan Republican Army in Utter Pradesh, Anusilan Samiti, and Jugantar Group in Bengal (p.18).

By his article in the *Harijan* and his resolution sent to the meeting of the Working Committee at Allahabad, held in the last week of April, Gandhi launched the Quit India Movement. The C.W.C. toned down the portions evincing hostility towards the war and the apparent pro-Japanese tenor. The C.W.C. resolution of July 14 demanded immediate grant of independence and threatened civil disobedience.

Nehru addressed a public meeting at Gorakhpur on 1 July 1942 when he reminded his audience of what revolution meant. Nehru could have hardly spoken in such terms unless he had joined hands with Gandhi (p.36). According to a police report dated 31st July 1942, from Agra, S.N. Chaturvedi told Congress workers that though the policy was still non-violent, it was necessary for the movement to be complete and effective.

"In my opinion the conclusion is quite definite that Gandhi wanted the granting of independence through a short and swift civil disobedience movement with as little violence as possible so that success if it came would precede any possible invasion of India by Japan (p.45).

He has said in the *Harijan* that there is in him neither hatred of the English nor love for the Japanese. It has never prevented him from contemplating suffering and loss of life, 'a Ganges full of blood' to wade through a sea of blood (p.49).

Wickenden believes : "Then too Gandhi has shown a tendency to be tolerant of many forms of violence particularly where India's independence is concerned (p.91). The law gives every one the right of self defence, against a decoit, the Congress cannot take away that legal right. In riots and communal disturbances if your courage fails you and you use force, Congress will not censure you for the simple reason that the Congress never intended to encourage cowardice" (p.54).

To those who read the *Harijan* regularly and who would interpret it to those around them; the attraction would be towards positive action and violence rather than the negative one of non-violence (p.59).

In practice, chaos and anarchy without violent manifestations are almost unheard of, and the ordinary man in using such



expressions thinks first and foremost of the strife and disorder that a state denotes. That is the only conclusion to be drawn from a complete consideration of Gandhiji's writings from the time he initiated the Quit India Movement. (p.63). Wickenden's report contains information regarding the leading role played by Socialist leaders like Yusuf Mehraly, Narendradev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Rammanohar Lohia, Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali and Ramananda Mishra. While the members of the C.W.C. were detained on 8th August 1942, the Socialist leaders decided to go underground. Jayaprakash escaped from Hajaribagh jail and joined his colleagues. He even organised armed bands of guerillas to fight the British forces of law and order. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh their underground movement made their presence felt. *The ABC of Dislocation* was propagated all over India. In Karnataka, and Orissa, they played an important part. Young students joined the armed bands of underground fighters. But pitted against 57 battalions and 8 brigades of British forces the guerillas were insignificant. The struggle continued however till 1946 in heroic Satara, under Nana Patil and his comrades. They left behind a legacy of militant struggle and a Prati Sarkar which set an example to the peasant guerillas of adjoining Telangana (1946-51).

#### WICKENDEN'S CONCLUSIONS :

1) Gandhi must bear the prime responsibility because he initiated the conception of immediate withdrawal of British from India coupled with a threat of civil disobedience.

2) A unique opportunity was presented by the remarkable series of Japanese victories bringing the war upto India's borders and the apparent inability of Great Britain to defend the country because of its military unpreparedness (p.245).

3) Moreover the immediate realisation of independence whether by consent or force presented the greatest prospect of saving India from the horrors of war - from slaughter devastation and scorched earth. Yet it was not the desire to save India from the ravages of war that dominated Gandhi. That was subsidiary to the essential of Independence (p.246).

4) Congress as a whole did not want a Japanese domination and was prepared to fight Japanese aggression.

5) In contrast to the previous civil disobedience movement, the new one was made open to everybody in the country without restriction. It was a reflection of desperation that seized Gandhi. I have waited long, and I can wait no longer. It is a terrible tragedy that 40 crores of people have no say in this matter. If we have the freedom to play our part we can arrest the march of Japan and save China (*Harijan, May 28th*).

6) Gandhi knew that the Congress and the country as a whole were not non-violent. He was forced to discard it when practical considerations arose. The urgency and gravity of the situation left neither time, nor place for non-violence.

In addition however, sabotage particularly of communications, rail, telegraph and road was widely talked about. About the same time, with Gandhi's connivance, if not consent sabotage, certainly, of communications was decided upon, as an essential element of the campaign (p.249).

7) What ensued was not a spontaneous and uncontrolled outbreak of the population in resentment of the arrest of the leaders but a deliberately fostered movement which had as surely culminated in rebellion as all the colossal military preparations among nations had to vent itself in the war which is yet in progress (p.250).

Gandhi from the beginning had relied upon, and sought the support of the Congress Socialists. It is impossible for Gandhi and Congress to disclaim responsibility for the actions of such men whose views were different from orthodox Congressmen whose cooperation would result in any movement taking on a violent form.

Whatever Gandhi might have preferred he relied upon the Congress Socialists and he could not have believed that they would act otherwise than in accordance with their dictates (p.254). To use Gandhi's own words, "it was an open Rebellion that was contemplated with all that a rebellion ordinarily involves". (P.255)

#### AN OVERVIEW OF THE STATE OF FISHERIES SECTOR IN BANGLADESH

M. Aynul Islam

(A Discussion Paper Presented by at the Monthly *Mankind Vichar Manch* meeting in April 1997.)

The world demand for fish, which stood at just over 50 million tonnes in the late 1970s, likely to increase to 70 million tonnes by the mid 1980s to perhaps 110 million tones by 2000 (FAO, 1979). Still Asia's countries are dominating the world's fish production. Japan is in top position among the fish producing countries contributing 12.72 percent of the world's production. While India's contribution is 3.75 percent and Bangladesh's 1.13 percent. (FAO, 1988). Most countries in the world depend on the fisheries as a source of food supply in protein foods.

The potential of fisheries in the world is enormous. About 70 percent of the total global area (510 Million square km.) is occupied by oceans and seas. The total marine surface area is estimated at 2.5 million square km., which is only 0.5 percent of the total earth's surface (Srivastava, 1984). In realising the importance of fish food in meeting the ever increasing food problems, the exploitation of such vast resources is a must. Fisheries primarily started as capture fisheries indulging in commercial fishing in natural resources (Sea : Marine Fisheries, Rivers, Lakes : Fresh Water Fisheries). Fish culture on commercial scale in both fresh water and marine is a recent innovation but it has assumed great significance for the great prospects it holds. With expanding fisheries throughout the world, fish production started influencing the national economy of the countries to a large extent.

Bangladesh for its geographical setting is uniquely rich in fisheries resources. In the light of natural abundance of fisheries resources, it is natural that fish and fisheries have become an integral part of life of people of Bangladesh. But most of the people, particularly rural poor often suffer from food shortage and malnutrition. In this context, fisheries having extensive potential in marine and inland waters, provide a promising solution by supplementary nutritious food relatively at cheaper prices. Moreover, it provides employment to a sizable number of people and earns income and foreign exchange.

In Bangladesh, need for increased food production was felt since its independence. After Green Revolution much improvement has been achieved in the crop production but having unique potential, fisheries sector has not been given proper attention. Besides absence of detailed and in-depth studies and scientific analysis is one reason for this unfortunate situation. Without deep study of ongoing processes in fisheries, it is not possible to come to proper and correct conclusion. Besides, information of fisheries in the published form is scarce and very scattered. This study aims to highlight the state of fisheries of Bangladesh. The information of this paper is collected

from different national and international sources.

#### THE STATE OF WATER RESOURCES IN BANGLADESH :

Bangladesh is the largest delta in the world, formed by the three major rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna. These rivers have huge catchment area of some 1554000Sq.Km. spread over five countries viz. Bhutan, Nepal, China, India and Bangladesh. The number of rivers, canals and streams in Bangladesh is about 230. Among these, 54 are shared with India. All these rivers have extensive floodplains (low lands flooded in the rainy season and retaining water for 4 to 5 months) alongwith sites of their courses. Within the floodplains, there exist deep depressions locally known as beels and haorse. Most of the beels are of permanent water retention while others are seasonal water retention. Besides, there are about 1.9 million ponds and dighi having an area of 1.8 lakh hectare.

Inland water including floodplains covers 30.86% of total area of Bangladesh while globally, only 0.5% of earth's surface is occupied by inland water. In this context economic exploitation of inland water resources as well as marine water resources has great prospects in Bangladesh.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF FISHERIES AT NATIONAL LEVELS:

In the recent years the importance of fisheries to an individual economy can be considered from many points of view, such as domestic nutrition needs, its contribution to GDP, foreign exchange earnings, employment and their contribution to employment and output in other industries, known as linkage effect.

#### ROLE OF FISHERIES IN HUMAN FOOD AND NUTRITION :

Fish is an important food item of some of the developing and developed countries. Years of experience proved that rice and fish combination provided the basic nutrition of needs of the population without causing any noticeable diet related disease. With increased knowledge of human nutrition, the dietary value of fish and aquatic products was recognised to provide the daily requirements of essential nutrients in terms of animal protein, especially essential amino acid, some of the vitamins and minerals.

Over two decades researchers observed that inverse relationship between fish consumption and occurrence of disease. The low incidence of atherosclerotic disease among Greenland Eskimos and Japanese, who had a high intake of fish and fish oils led to the discovery that the risk of heart and various other human diseases is reduced by the unique omega - 3 (N-3) fatty acids that are found only in plants and animals associated with fresh waters and marine environments. Since humans cannot synthesize poly unsaturated acids (N-3, N-6), they have to be obtained through the diet, and fish are probably the major practical source available to man (Pillay : 1984).

In Bangladesh almost all of the people are fish and meat eaters. There was a time when fish supplied over 95% of the protein

needs in the daily diet of the people. Recent data shows fish provides some 80% of animal intake. Moreover, sometimes fish is the only source of free animal protein for the poorer section of the community, who used to catch fish from the inundated flood lands, roadside ditches, rivers, streams and other such public water bodies. Trends in fish consumption pattern in the country are present in the Table 2.

Year	Production (000Mt.)	Population (Million)	Daily consumption (Grams)	Yearly consumption (Kg.)
1962-63	720	60	32.9	12.00
1975-76	630	77	22.2	8.10
1979-80	652	87	20.5	7.48
1987-88	824	NA	20.0	7.30
1992-93	1021	110	20.5	7.48

(Source : Mr.M.M. Yusuf Ali, Fisheries & Environment, 1994)

From the above Table, it appears that overall fish consumption has undergone changes due to slow growth of fish production compared to population growth with a modest increase in the year 1992-93 compared to 1987-88.

#### FISHERIES SECTORS SHARE IN GDP :

Most of the fish producing countries provide fisheries less than 1 percent of GDP except three island states, Maldives (31.8%), Iceland (11.3%) and Cape Verde Island (9.8%) (Rowna 1984). Only six countries including Bangladesh, Burma, Senegal, Philippines, Malaysia and Seychelles contribute fisheries output more than 4% to GDP (Rowna, 1984). In Bangladesh the rate of growth of fisheries has increased overtime and reached a level of 8.6% in 1993-94 (Real GDP). Its share in the GDP is 4.23% and agricultural GDP 13.89% (1992-93). The following Tables (2, 3, 4, 4A & 5) present the growth rate and share of fisheries sector in the GDP of Bangladesh.

In the Table 3 we can see that modest increase has occurred in the share of fisheries in the GDP at current market price from 1984-85 to 1992-93 at 4.23% while overall agricultural share to GDP has decreased from 52.84% to 32.42%. But overall growth rate of fisheries has been remarkable during 1991-92 onwards. Fish production over time has increased mainly due to overfishing and also giving more emphasis to shrimp culture in

Sectors	1984-85	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Fisheries	14641	23472	25750	27570	30867	401274	48405
Agriculture	209760	245392	271790	300595	312438	288842	14963
Total GDP	396952	659548	737512	834392	906502	947896	35482

Sectors	1984-85	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Fisheries	03.69	03.56	03.49	03.31	03.41	04.23	03.68
Agriculture	52.84	37.20	36.83	36.03	34.47	30.47	30.42
Total GDP	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TABLE 4**  
**Values of Output in Bangladesh at Constant Price**  
 (BASE : 1984-85 = 100%)  
 (M.Taka)

Sectors	1984-85	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Fisheries	2446	12871	13135	13899	14799	15780	17145
Agriculture	38105	173037	190354	193421	197662	201230	204769
Total GDP	81213	466603	497527	514442	536189	560219	586050

**TABLE 4A**  
**Percentage Share of Fisheries in GDP Of Bangladesh**  
**at Constant Price (BASE YEAR : 1984-85)**

Sectors	1984-85	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Fisheries	3.01	2.76	2.64	2.70	2.76	2.82	2.93
Agriculture	46.92	37.08	38.25	37.60	36.86	35.92	34.94
Total GDP	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

**TABLE 5**  
**Growth Rate of Fisheries Sector In The GDP of Bangladesh (Percentage)**

Sectors	1984-85	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Fisheries	2.34	0.38	2.05	5.82	6.48	6.63	8.65
Agriculture	1.77	0.07	1.01	1.61	2.19	1.81	1.76
Total GDP	4.12	2.52	6.63	3.40	4.23	4.48	4.61

the coastal areas.

It can be seen that share of Culture Fisheries is increasing since 1984-85 to except slightly decrease brackish water, shrimp culture production in the year 1991-92. Among Culture Fisheries, brackish water shrimp production increased 199% from 1984-85 to 1992-93 while pond fish production increased only 82%. In 1984-85 major share was contributed by inland sector mainly rivers and floodplains (Rivers 28.4% and Floodplains 25.08%). But after that decreasing trend is found in both the sectors except there is a sudden spurt in the floodplain catches during 1991-92 and 1992-93. Rivers and estuaries decreased because of environmental impact causing excessive siltation as most of the rivers and estuaries become dry or water level got down to minimum level. Besides, a few efforts were made to increase the inland capture fisheries.

Source : BBS 1994, *Bangladesh Economic Review* 1996.

**TABLE 6**  
**FISH PRODUCTION FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES**

Source	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93
Open Water CAPTURE									
Rivers & Estuaries	219882	206712	201152	191883	187556	173410	135355	124843	145685
Beels	45893	45258	42077	45610	47019	46594	47923	49201	53019
Flood Plains	194130	187396	183796	182037	186126	168831	193762	295185	329537
K.Lake	2700	2433	3981	4068	3439	3715	4392	4216	4142
CULTURE									
Pond	111567	123804	142876	149423	156576	163730	181018	195034	202167
Ox Lakes	962	968	1174	1254	1321	1420	1544	1682	1803
B.Water (Shrimp)	11282	19951	22050	25248	27172	27505	28431	30147	33773
MARINE	187526	202363	217611	227364	233281	239063	2415538	245474	250492
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>773942</b>	<b>793885</b>	<b>814717</b>	<b>827156</b>	<b>842490</b>	<b>823992</b>	<b>833963</b>	<b>945782</b>	<b>1020654</b>

#### TRENDS OF FISH PRODUCTION :

While world fish production increased at an average rate of 5% p.a. during 1950-70 and only 1.2% per annum during 1970-82, Bangladesh fish production increased at average rate of 3.54% p.a. during 1984-85 to 1992-93.

Fish production system provided capture and culture fisheries in marine and inland water bodies. Fishing from natural stock is known as Capture Fisheries and fishing under some controlled conditions wherein one has to sow the seeds, nurse it and tend it to a size at harvesting is known as Culture Fisheries. Culture Fisheries comprises ponds, lakes, beels, ditches, irrigation canals, crop lands etc. Capture Fisheries comprises open inland water and marine water. Trends of fish production from different sources from 1984-85 to 1992-93 are presented in Table 6 & 6A.

During 1930s and 1940s there was virtually no marine fishing. After that its production is increasing. But the growth rate of marine fisheries is very slow. Share of marine fish is on an average 26% to the total fish production during 1984-85 to 1992-93. Regarding the trends in fish production, it can be said that in general inland capture fisheries production is declining but inland culture fisheries is increasing.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF FISH AS A SOURCE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE :

Another indication of the importance of fisheries is the amount entering world trade. Sixty two countries are net exporters and sixty four are net importers. Over 35% of the world catches enter international trade and this appears to be increasing. The volume of fish trade increased by 10% over the last decade

**TABLE 6-A**  
**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FISH PRODUCTION FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES**

Source	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93
Open Water									
<b>CAPTURE</b>									
Rivers & Estuaries	9.41	26.04	24.69	23.20	22.26	21.04	16.23	13.20	14.26
Beels	5.93	5.70	5.16	5.51	5.58	5.65	5.75	5.20	5.19
Flood Plains	25.08	23.60	23.56	22.00	22.01	20.49	23.23	31.21	32.29
K.Lake	0.35	0.31	0.40	0.49	0.41	0.36	0.52	0.45	0.41
<b>CULTURE</b>									
Pond	14.42	15.59	17.53	18.06	18.58	19.87	21.70	20.62	19.81
Ox Lakes	0.12	0.12	0.14	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.17
B.Water (Shrimp)	1.46	2.51	2.71	3.05	3.23	3.34	3.40	3.18	3.31
MARINE	24.23	26.12	26.71	27.52	27.69	29.01	28.96	25.95	24.54
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

(Source : Fish Catch Statistics of Bangladesh, DOF 1984-85 to 1992-93)

Bangladesh is one of the 62 fish exporting countries. Since independence of the country, export of fish, shrimp and fishery products is enabling the country to earn more and more foreign exchange. The foreign exchange earnings from fisheries sectors increased to 4.245 million taka in 1986-87 and 9.2 million taka in the year 1993-94. During 1993-94, fisheries sector representing 8.2% of the total export earnings of the country. Of 8.2% shrimp contributed 7.5%. Quantities and values of fish products exported in the years from 1981-1982 to 1993-94 is shown in the following Table 7.

the people often suffer from food shortage and malnutrition. Marine fisheries in Bangladesh is still underexploited and there is demand for the product at an economic price. The equipment or operational methods can be changed. In the case of Inland fisheries development efforts should be initiated from both Government and private levels. Aquaculture is more promising in Bangladesh. It is found that recipients of technologies are greatly circumscribed by factors of plurality of ownership, high cost input, high cost technology that makes farmers vulnerable to losses, rigidity in suggested technologies, non-availability of needed input and credit facility in rural area. So suitable new technology of aquaculture should be introduced. Also for the development of the fisheries, scientific and technical manpower in research, flow of technical information and assistance from both internal and external sources is needed.

**TABLE 7**

**Quantity Value of Fish & Fish Products Exported From Bangladesh during 1981-82 to 1993-94.**

Year	Quantity	Value	% of Total Export
1981-82	9,195	1,058.00	8.54
1982-83	12,635	1,696.00	9.41
1983-84	14,220	1,889.00	9.38
1984-85	18,306	2,332.50	8.96
1985-86	23,048	3,562.00	13.00
1986-87	23,761	4,240.00	12.59
1987-88	23,423	4,541.20	10.96
1988-89	21,719	4,714.90	11.04
1989-90	23,039	4,877.70	9.46
1990-91	26,109	5,266.20	8.73
1991-92	22,080	5,243.50	7.07
1992-93	26,607	7,002.90	7.73
1993-94	31,835	9,209.60	8.20

(Source : BBS 1994 : Year Book of Agricultural Statistics.)

#### **ROLE OF FISHERIES AS SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT :**

Fisheries and its related occupations provide an important source of employment, estimated to be 8-10 million with probably an equal number in service industries in fish trading and processing in the world. In Bangladesh 7% of the labour work force is engaged in fisheries sector. Directly engaged 1.2 million and indirectly engaged 11 million.

#### **CONCLUSION :**

Despite Bangladesh being a prominent place of fisheries,

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## ALL INDIA DALIT WOMEN'S FORUM - A REPORT

Malika B. Mistry

The Joint Women's Programme (JWP), Delhi, founded All India Dalit Women's Forum (AIDWF) in 1996 under their umbrella. Recently on 28th and 29th of June, 1997 the first anniversary of the Forum was celebrated in Bangalore. On this occasion, Dalit women workers from across the country gathered and narrated the developmental work they have been doing for the upliftment of Dalits.

Ms. Jyotsna Chatterjee of JWP averred that the AIDWF was established with the objective of making Dalit women conscious of their rights and make the society realise that Dalit women too are equal contributors to the development of this nation. She pointed out that various factors make Dalit women powerless. First of all, Dalit women are mostly employed in menial work. Policy of reservations does not help them because they lack education. Caste is very dominant in Indian society which makes them occupy a very low status in society. All these factors make them vulnerable to physical, mental and spiritual violence. Therefore it is very essential to make them realise that Dalit women can do equally well given an opportunity. Thus the first step to Dalit women's empowerment would be to impart them knowledge about their rights and responsibilities. The second step would be to impart them the technical skills necessary to get better jobs.

Ms. Chatterjee also pointed out that in India women are treated as second class citizens. This is more true in case of Dalit women and so there is a need to make Dalit men realise that their women are equal partners in building the society.

The AIDWF is doing work in different states. In Andhra Pradesh in Ranga Reddy district, self-help or thrust groups were formed with 20 to 50 members in each group which give small loans to members to start income generating activities and for emergency consumption needs. These groups could mobilise 20 lakhs within a year. Now they are planning to have a Dalit Women's Bank with a turnover of one crore. In Karnataka, training of elected Dalit women members was conducted so that they can be effective politicians when dealing with the tough bureaucrats while in Kerala which is an educated state, Dalit women were legally educated informally so as to make them aware of their legal rights. In Bengal, the problem of prostitution and child labour among Dalits was being tackled. The Forum fought against the upper caste women who were not allowing the prostitutes to draw water from the village well. It could also succeed in getting fair wages for some of the child labourers.

On the above occasion a seminar was also organised on the theme 'Dalit Women: Rights and Responsibilities' in which Mr. Charles, Statistical Officer to Government of Karnataka, Dr. Anand Inbanathan, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore and Ms. Laxmi Gopinath, a Dalit Woman activist, presented papers on "Dalit Women and Employment", "Dalit

Women and Panchayati Raj" and "Growing Violence against Dalit Women" respectively.

Mr. Charles stressed that employment can empower Dalit women but unfortunately they are employed in the unorganised sector as farm labour, construction labour, in beedi-production, cashew processing, agarbatti-production or as domestic servants. Unionisation could have helped them to have fair wages but nature of unorganised sector prevents it. Also because of hard labour, recurrent child bearing, Dalit women like all working women in India suffer from malnourishment and ill health. Due to illiteracy and ignorance, Dalit women do not get white collar jobs. As a result, the rate of employment of Dalit women in the organised sector is almost nil.

At home like other women, Dalit women play a dual role. Another phenomenon is that polygamy is observed among Dalit families. Dalit men openly admit that polygamy benefits them as more wives bring in more earnings.

For the upliftment of Dalit women, he advocated that basic education is a must and an awareness about the benefits of existing laws for women should be created.

Dr. Inbanathan pointed out that though theoretically 33% reservations have helped women to enter the Panchayat Raj, they are yet to achieve real participation and power in decision-making. Compared to men, the lower degree of mobility and lack of own income affect the political participation of women. Further women's secondary position in society makes them subservient in Panchayat Raj too. Yet Dalit women in Panchayat Raj assert themselves marginally better than upper caste women because they have learnt to interact with society at large due to their greater participation in the work force.

In his opinion although 33% reservation is helpful for women, reservation of President's and Vice-President's posts does not help women as it amounts to putting the cart before the horse. To make the women Presidents and Vice-Presidents effective politicians, training is essential which they can gain by serving in the Standing Committees. Therefore, reservation for women in Standing Committees is a must.

Gram Panchayat is accountable to Gram Sabhas. In the villages, women are not allowed to participate in Gram Sabhas as the men folk think that women's job is to cook and feed the children by remaining at home. This mentality acts as a barrier against women's effective participation in Gram Panchayat.

Ms. Laxmi Gopinath travelled on her cycle for 13 months to almost all villages in Karnataka to do a qualitative study on the violence against Dalit women. She found that violence against Dalit women by the upper castes as well as within their own families is growing. The violence manifests in all forms physical, mental and spiritual. Psycho-cultural means and the Karma philosophy are used to oppress them. Periyar Ramaswamy's movement for self-respect is far more relevant today to remove the mental slavery among Dalit women.

# 25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY - IV

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

## SALADIN

(b. 1137/8 - d. 1193)

Saladin, medieval sultan of Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Palestine and founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, was perhaps the most famous Muslim hero to European eyes. Both in the East, where he has become a wise ruler and consummate military commander, and in the West, where he has attained legendary status as a paragon of the chivalrous enemy during the Third Crusade, Saladin's fame has outstripped the authentic, though not undramatic, facts of his life.

He was born in 1137 or 1138 into a prominent Kurdish family then at Takrit in Mesopotamia. On the night of his birth, his father, Najm ad-Din Ayyub, gathered his family and moved to Aleppo, there entering the service of 'Imad ad-Din Zangir ibn Aq, Sonqur', the powerful Turkish governor in northern Syria. Growing up in Ba'lbek and Damascus, Saladin, whose full Arabic name was Salah ad-Din, Yusuf ibn Ayyub (Righteousness of the Faith, Joseph, Son of Job), was apparently an undistinguished youth, with a greater taste for religious studies than military training.

Saladin, in 1169 at the age of 31, was appointed both commander of the foreign troops and vizier of Egypt. His relatively quick rise to power must be attributed not only to the clannish nepotism of his Kurdish family but also to his own emigrating talents. As vizier of Egypt, he received the title king (*malik*), although he was generally known as the sultan.

Saladin's position was further enhanced when, in 1171, he abolished the Shi'i Fatimid Caliphate, proclaimed a return to Sunnism in Egypt, and consequently became its sole ruler. Although he remained for a time theoretically a vassal of Nureddin, that relationship ended with the Syrian emir's death in 1174. Using his rich agricultural possessions in Egypt as a financial base, Saladin soon moved into Syria with a small but strictly disciplined army to claim

the regency on behalf of the young son of his former suzerain. Soon, however, he abandoned this claim and from 1174 until 1186 he zealously pursued a goal of uniting, under his own standard, all the Muslim territories of Syria, northern Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt. This he accomplished by skillful diplomacy backed when necessary by the swift and resolute use of military force. Gradually, his reputation grew as a generous and virtuous but firm ruler, devoid of pretence, licentiousness, and cruelty.

Saladin's every act was inspired by an intense and unwavering devotion to the idea of *jihad*, the Muslim equivalent of the Christian crusade. It was an essential part of his policy to encourage the growth and spread of Muslim religious institutions. He courted its scholars and preachers, founded colleges and mosques for their use, and commissioned them to write edifying works especially on the *jihad* to re-create in his own realm some of the same zeal and enthusiasm that had proved so valuable to the first generations of Muslims when, five centuries before, they had conquered half the known world.

When at last, in 1187, he was able to throw his full strength into the struggle with the Latin crusader kingdoms, his armies were their equals. On July 4, 1187, aided by his own military good sense and by a phenomenal lack of it on the part of his enemy, Saladin trapped and destroyed in one blow an exhausted and thirst-crazed army of crusaders at Hattin, near Tiberias in northern Palestine. So great were the losses in the ranks of crusaders in this one battle that the Muslims were quickly able to overrun nearly the entire kingdom of Jerusalem. Acre, Toron, Beirut, Sidon, Nazareth, Caesarea, Nablus, Jaffa (Yafa), and Ascalon (Ashkelon) fell within three months. But Saladin's crowning achievement and the most disastrous blow to the whole crusading movement came on October 2, 1187, when Jerusalem, holy to both Muslim and Christian alike, surrendered to the Sultan's army after 88 years in the hands

of the Franks. In stark contrast to the city's conquest by the Christians, when blood flowed freely during the barbaric slaughter of its inhabitants, the Muslim reconquest was marked by the civilized good faith and courteous behavior of Saladin and his troops in 1189 saw the crusaders reduced to the occupation of only three cities.

The third Crusade itself was long and exhausting and despite the obvious, though at times impulsive military leadership of Richard I the Lion-Heart, it achieved almost nothing. Therein lies the greatest but often unrecognised achievement of Saladin. With tired and unwilling feudal levies, committed to fight only a limited season each year, his indomitable will enabled him to fight the greatest champions of Christendom to a draw. The crusaders retained a little more than a precarious foothold on the Levantine coast, and when King Richard set sail from the Orient in October 1192, the battle was over. Saladin withdrew to his capital in Damascus. Soon, the long campaigning seasons and the endless hours in the saddle caught up with him, and on March 4, 1193, he died.

(Source : EB, Macro, Vol. 16, p. 177-8)

## GENGHIS KHAN

(b. c 1162 - d. 1227)

Genghis Khan (Chinghis Khan), the son of a Mongolian chieftain, was a warrior and ruler of genius who, starting from obscure and insignificant beginnings, brought all the nomadic tribes of Mongolia under the rule of himself and his family in a rigidly disciplined military state.

He began the series of campaigns of conquest that eventually carried the Mongol armies as far as the Adriatic Sea in one direction and the Pacific Coast of China in the other, leading to the establishment of the great Mongol Empire.

It would be a mistake to use the Mongol campaigns as haphazard incursions by bands of marauding savages. Nor is it true, as some have supposed, that these campaigns were somehow brought about by a progressive desiccation of Inner Asia that compelled the nomads to look for new pastures. Nor, again, were the Mongol invasions a unique event. Genghis Khan was neither the first nor the last nomadic conqueror to burst out of the steppe and terrorise the settled periphery of Eurasia. [His campaigns were merely larger in scale, more successful, and more lasting in effect than those of other leaders.

Various dates are given for the birth of Temijjin as Genghis Khan was named after a leader who was defeated by his father, Yesugei, when Temijjin was born. The chronology of Temijjin's early life is uncertain. He may have been born in 1155, in 1162 (the date favoured today in Mongolia), or in 1167]

When he was nine, Yesugei, a member of the royal Borjigin clan of the Mongols, was poisoned by a band of Tatars, another nomadic people, in continuance of an old feud. With Yesugei dead, the remainder of the clan, led by the rival Taychiut family, abandoned his widow, Hoelun, and her children, considering them too weak to exercise leadership and seizing the opportunity to usurp power. For a time the small family led of extreme poverty, eating roots and fish instead of the normal nomad diet of mutton and mare's milk.

With powerful allies and a force of his own, Temijjin routed the Merkit with the help of a strategy by which Temijjin was regularly to scotch the seeds of future rebellion. He tried never to leave an enemy in his rear, years later, before attacking China, he would first make sure that no nomad leader survived to stab him in the back.

In 1206, he was accepted as emperor of all the steppe people, he was to distribute thousands of families to the custody of his own relatives and companions, replacing the existing pattern of tribes and clans by something closer to a feudal structure.

The year 1206 is a turning point in the history of the Mongols and in world history, the moment when the Mongols were first ready to move out beyond the steppe. Mongolia itself took on a new shape. The petty tribal quarrels and raids were a thing of the past. Either the familiar tribe and clan names have fallen out of use or those bearing them are to be found, subsequently, scattered all over the Mongol world, testifying to the wreck of the traditional clan and tribe system. A unified Mongol nation came into existence as the personal creation of Genghis Khan and through many vicissitudes (feudal disintegration, incipient retribalisation, colonial occupation), survives to the present day.

Genghis Khan's troops were divided up on the decimal system, were rigidly disciplined, and were well-equipped and supplied. The generals were his own sons or picked men, absolutely loyal to him.

Genghis Khan's military genius could adapt itself to rapidly changing circumstances. Initially his troops were exclusively cavalry, riding the hardy pasture-fed Mongol pony that needs no fodder. With such an army, other nomads can be defeated, but cities cannot be taken. Yet, before long the Mongols were able to undertake the siege of large cities, using mangonels, catapults, ladders, burning oil, and so forth and even diverting rivers. It was only gradually, through contact with men from the more civilised states, that Genghis Khan came to realise that there were more sophisticated ways of enjoying power than simply raiding, destroying, and plundering.

The *Secret History* reports it was only after the war against the Muslim empire of Khwarezm, in the region of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Syr Darya (Jaxartes), probably in late 1222, that Genghis Khan learned from Muslim advisers the meaning and importance of towns. And it was another adviser, formerly in the service of the Chin emperor, who explained to him the uses of peasants and craftsmen as producers of taxable goods. He had intended to turn the cultivated fields of north China into grazing land for his horses.

The great conquests of the Mongols, which would transform them into a world power, were still to come. China was the main

goal. Genghis Khan first secured his western flank by a tough campaign against the Tangut kingdom of Hsi Hsia, a northwestern border state of China, and then fell upon the Chin empire of north China in 1211. In 1214 he allowed himself to be bought off, temporarily with a huge amount of booty, but in 1215 operations were resumed, and Peking was taken. Subsequently, the more systematic subjugation of north China was in the hands of his general Mughal. Genghis Khan himself was compelled to turn aside from China and carry out the conquest of Khwarezm. This war was provoked by the governor of the city of Otrar, who massacred a caravan of Muslim merchants who were under Genghis Khan's protection. The Khawrezmian war would doubtless have come over or later, but now it could not be deferred. It was in this war that the Mongols earned their reputation for savagery and terror. City after city was stormed, the inhabitants massacred or forced to serve as advance troops for the Mongols against their own people. Fields and gardens were laid waste and irrigation works destroyed as Genghis Khan pursued his implacable vengeance against the royal house of Khwarezm. He finally withdrew in 1223 and did not lead his armies into war again until the final campaign against Hsi Hsia in 1226-27. He died in August 18, 1227.

The standard Mongol practice especially in the war against Khwarezm, was to send agents to demoralise and divide the garrison and populace of an enemy city, mixing threats with promises.

His achievements were grandiose. He united all the nomadic tribes, and with numerically inferior armies he defeated great empires, such as Khwarezm and the even more powerful Chin state. Yet he did not exhaust his people. He chose his successor, his son Ogodei, with great care, ensured that his other sons would obey him, and passed on to him an army and a state in full vigour. At the time of his death, Genghis Khan had conquered the land mass from Peking to the Caspian Sea, and his generals had raided Persia and Russia. His successors would extend their power over the whole of China, Persia and most of Russia.

These conquests were but the first stage of the Mongol empire, greatest continental empire of medieval and modern times. (Source : EB, Macro, Vol. 7, p. 1013-1016)

#### **MANSA MUSA OF MALI**

(b.1307-d.1332)

Mansa Musa was an amazing fellow! (Incidentally, he is great favourite of mine!)

He did not know that he was so immensely rich. As a devout Muslim, he just thought that he would make a simple pilgrimage to Mecca.

Mansa Musa didn't realise that he was surrounded by white thieves and bandits and murderers of Europe who coveted his riches. In fact, by hindsight, we can see that it was Mansa Musa who provoked among the European white riff-raff, a covetous inner fury that provided the proverbial last straw to their psyche of greedy hunger. The Europeans just couldn't bear the total failure of their Eight Crusades of the 11th and 12th centuries AD. They had been badly beaten and pulverised into pulp by the great Saladin. They didn't know what to do! Arab-Berber Islamic forces were in occupation of the whole of Spain and Portugal, Sardinia, South coast of France, Italy upto Rome, Sicily, Malta, Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete. In these islands of the eastern Mediterranean, their armies overlapped with the Turkish Islamic armies which had conquered Egypt, Palestine, the Red Sea coast, the Levant, Syria, Yemen, Northern Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Iraq, Anatolia and Thrace, Armenia, Azerbaijan and

Georgia, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and knocked on the gates of Vienna. Again the Turks overlapped with the Mongols of the Golden Horde who were in occupation of Crimea, Ukraine. All Russia (then called Muscovy), Eastern Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, upto the Baltic coastline.

Poor and miserable Europeans realised that their petty feudal Princedoms and Dukedoms and tiny kingdoms were nothing compared to Oriental feudal power. The Europeans had to break out of their shattered feudal incubus by developing Communes, and Cities, the new centers of capitalist growth.

The Europeans thrashed about frantically. They searched for a North East passage to Oriental wealth via the Scandinavian and North Russian Arctic route. They searched for a North West passage across Greenland, Canada and the Bering Straits. They searched for a Westward passage through the Caribbean and Central America. They searched for a South West passage via Latin America and the Pacific. They searched for a Southward passage along the coastline of Africa and across the Indian Ocean, (This was ultimately the voyage that Vasco de Gama made in 1498.) They again and again looked cautiously and expectantly at the Eastward passage through Turkey, Persia, and beyond, along the Ancient Silk Route to India and China (a route which Marco and his uncles had tried in the 14th century).

Mansa Musa was not bothered about these flies and worms who called themselves European merchants and traders.

Mansa Musa's date of birth is not known. Either the grandson or the grandnephew of Sundiata, the founder of his dynasty, he came to the throne in 1307. In the 17th year of his reign (1324), he set out on his famous pilgrimage to Mecca. It was this pilgrimage that awakened the world to the stupendous wealth of Mali. Cairo and Mecca received his royal personage, whose glittering procession, in the superlatives employed by Arab chroniclers almost put Africa's sun to shame. Travelling from his capital of Niani on the upper Niger River to Walata (Oualata, Mauritania) and on to Tuat (now in Algeria) before making his way to Cairo, Mansa Musa was accompanied by an impressive caravan consisting of 60,000 men including a personal retinue of 12,000 slaves, all clad in brocade and Persian silk. The Emperor himself rode on horseback and was directly preceded by 500 slaves, each carrying a gold-adorned staff weighing about six pounds. In addition, Mansa Musa had a baggage train of 80 camels, each carrying 300 pounds of gold.

Mansa Musa's prodigious generosity and piety, as well as the fine clothes and exemplary behavior of his followers, did not fail to create a most favorable impression. The Cairo that Mansa Musa visited was ruled over by one of the greatest of the Mamluk sultans, al-Malik an Nasir. The black emperor's great civility notwithstanding, meeting between the two rulers might have ended in a serious diplomatic incident, for so absorbed was Mansa Musa in his religious observances that he was only with difficulty persuaded to pay a formal visit to the Sultan. The historian al-Umari, who visited Cairo 12 years after the Emperor's visit, found the inhabitants of this city, with a population estimated at 1,000,000, still singing the praises of Mansa Musa. So lavish was the Emperor in the spending that he flooded the Cairo market with gold, thereby causing such a decline in its value that, some 12 years later, the market had still not fully recovered.

Rulers of West African states had made pilgrimages to Mecca before Mansa Musa, but the effect of his flamboyant journey was to advertise both Mali and Mansa Musa well beyond the African continent and to stimulate a desire among the Muslim kingdom of North Africa, and among many of European nations

as well, to reach the source of this incredible wealth.

Mansa Musa, whose empire was one of the largest in the world at that time, is reported to have observed that it would take a year to travel from one end of his empire to the other. While this was probably an exaggeration, it is known that during his pilgrimage to Mecca, one of his generals, Sagmandia (Sagaman-dir), extended the empire by capturing the Songhai capital of Gao. The Songhai kingdom measured several hundreds of miles across, so that the conquest meant the acquisition of a vast territory. The 14th century traveller Ibn Battuta noted that it took about four months to travel from the northern borders of the Mali empire to Niani in the south.

The Emperor was so overjoyed by the new acquisition that he decided to delay his return to Niani and to visit Gao instead, there to receive the personal submission of the Songhai king and take the king's two sons as hostages. At both Gao and Timbuktu a Songhai city almost rivalling Gao in importance, Mansa Musa commissioned Abu Ishaq as-Sahili, a Grenada poet and architect who had travelled with him from Mecca, to build mosques. The Gao mosque, built of burnt bricks, which had not, until then, been used as a material for building in West Africa, was still being admired as late as the 17th century.

Under Mansa Musa, Timbuktu grew to be a very important commercial city having caravan connections with Egypt and with all other important trade centres in North Africa. Side by side with the encouragement of trade and commerce, learning and the arts received royal patronage. Scholars who were mainly interested in history, Quranic theology and law were to make the mosque of Sankore in Timbuktu, a teaching centre and to lay the foundations of the University of Sankore. Mansa Musa probably died in 1332.

The organisation and smooth administration of a purely African empire, the founding of the University of Sankore, the expansion of trade in Timbuktu, the architectural innovations in Gao, Timbuktu, Niani and indeed, throughout the whole of Mali and in the subsequent Songhai Empire are all testimony to Mansa Musa's superior administrative gifts. In addition, the moral and religious principles he had taught his subjects endured after his death. (Source : EB, Macro, Vol. 11, p.458)

#### KUBLAI KHAN

Kublai Khan, a grandson and the greatest successor of the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan, was a brilliant general and a statesman of great imagination who conquered China and became the first emperor of its Yuan, or Mongol, dynasty. He was thus at one and the same time the overlord of all the Mongol dominions which included areas as diverse as that of the Golden Horde in South Russia, the Il - Khanate of Persia, and the steppe heartlands where Mongol princes were still living the traditional nomadic life and the ruler of his own realm of China.

With the collapse of the dynasty, the Mongols withdrew to the steppes and never again played any role of more than local importance.

The Mongols were a *parvenu* nomadic power. Before the time of Genghis Khan they had been no more than a group of pastoral tribes.

The Mongols had come to power in China, as elsewhere, by sheer force of arms; and with this prestige to back him, relying on his dominant personality, and building on the foundations of the brilliant civilization developed by the preceding Sung dynasty, Kublai for a while could maintain the illusion that Mongol supremacy was firmly based. Indeed, his reign must have appeared to be a period of solid expansion and lasting



achievement to his contemporaries, including Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller who became Kublai's agent and whose book is the chief source of information on the East.

Kublai was born in 1215, the fourth son of Tolni, the youngest of Genghis' four sons by his favourite wife. He began to play an important part in the extension and consolidation of the Mongol empire in 1251, when he was in his middle 30s. His brother, the emperor Mongke, resolved to complete the conquest of Sung China, which had been planned by Genghis' third son, Ogodei, and also to subdue Persia - a task allotted to Kublai's brother Hulegu.

Kublai took Sung China in the flank, subjugating the Tai kingdom of Nanchao in present day Yunnan before handing over command to his general Uriyangqadai. In 1257 Mongke assumed personal charge of the war, but he died in 1259. When Kublai, who with another army was besieging a city, heard that his brother, Arigboge, who had been left in charge of the homeland because he was the youngest, was planning to have himself elected khan, he patched up a truce with Sung. In April 1260 he arrived at his residence of K'ai-p'ing, or Shang-In (the Xanadu of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's famous poem), in South eastern Mongolia. Here his associates held a *kuriltai*, or "great assembly", and on May 5 Kublai was unanimously elected khan in succession to Mongke.

Kublai's achievement was to re-establish the unity of China, which had been divided since the end of the T'ang dynasty. Even in Chinese official historiography the Mongol Kublai is treated with respect. As early as 1260 he instituted a reign period, in the Chinese manner, to date his reigns and in 1271, eight years before the disintegration of the Sung, he proclaimed his own dynasty under the title of Ta Yuan, or Great Origin. He never resided at Karakorum, Ogodei's short-lived capital in north Mongolia, but set up his own capital at what is now Peking, a city known in his time as Ta-tu, the Great Capital.

With all China in Mongol hands, the Mongol conquests in the south and east had reached their effective limit, but Kublai, seeking to restore China's prestige, engaged in a series of costly and troublesome wars that brought about little return. At various times tribute was demanded of the peripheral kingdoms from Burma, from Annam and Champa in Indochina, from Java, and from Japan. The Mongol armies suffered some disastrous defeats in these campaigns. In particular, invasion fleets sent to Japan in 1274 and 1281 were virtually annihilated, though their loss was due as much to storms as to Japanese resistance. Kublai was never entirely discouraged by the indifferent results of these colonial wars nor by their expense, and they were brought to an end only under his successor. Marco Polo suggests that Kublai wished to annex Japan simply because he was excited by reports of its great wealth. It seems, however, that Kublai fought his colonial wars mainly with a political objective - to establish China once more as the centre of the world.

Kublai instituted a "nationalities policy" under which the population of China was divided into four categories. At the top were the Mongols, forming a privileged, military caste of a few hundred thousands, exempt from taxation, and living at the expense of the Chinese peasantry who worked the great estates allocated for their upkeep. The foreign auxiliaries of the Mongols, natives for the most part of Central Asia, formed the second group, the *Se-mujen*, or persons with special status. This class furnished the higher officialdom, and its members, with their worldwide contacts and their privileged status, also formed a new breed of merchants and speculators. Like the Mongols, they

were exempt from taxation and enjoyed preferential use of the official postroads and services. The bulk of the population belonged to the third and fourth classes, the *Han-jen*, or northern Chinese, and the *man-tzu*, or southern barbarians, those people who lived in what had been Sung China. The expenses of state and the support of the privileged bore heavily on these two classes. Kublai's continuing wars meant a heavy and useless burden, as did his showy and extravagant building operations at Ta-tu. Peasants were brought in as labourers, to the neglect of their farms. Food supplies in the north were inadequate for the new labour force and the unproductive Mongols, and large quantities had to be brought by sea, and when the sea routes proved insecure, along the Grand Canal. The repair and extension of this canal also demanded the diversion of much labour.

Such a discriminatory social policy was eventually bound to arouse strong resentment. Moreover, it was only on the surface that Kublai's China, with its intense commercial activity, was economically strong and wealthy. Trade was mainly carried on in the interests of a privileged, foreign merchant class, not those of the community at large. The common people of China were becoming progressively poorer. The old examination systems which admitted to the civil service only men with a proper knowledge of Confucian philosophy, had lapsed.

Kublai is celebrated, in Marco Polo's account, for his use of paper money. Paper money had, however, been in use in China under the Sung; and Kublai's innovation was merely to make it the sole medium of exchange. Toward the end of the dynasty, an incapable financial administration stimulated inflation by the over-issue of paper money; but in Kublai's time the use of banknotes was essential. The supply of copper was too small to form a metal currency in a period of expanding trade, and in any case large quantities were diverted to the temples to be made into statues and other cult objects.

Though celebrated above all as a Chinese emperor, Kublai also helped to form the political traditions of his own Mongol people. To him and to his advisor, the Tibetan grand lama Phagspa, is attributed the development of the political theory known as the "dual principle", that is, the parity of power and dignity of church and state in political affairs. This theory was turned to practical account on more than one occasion in the subsequent history of Mongolia and, for example, underlay the constitution of the theocratic monarchy proclaimed in 1911, when Mongolia recovered its Independence from China.

Marco presents Kublai as the ideal of a universal sovereign.

(Source : EB, Macro, Vol. 10 pp. 541-543)

### GAJA MADA

(fl. 14th Century A.D.)

The Prime Minister of the Majapahit empire, which ruled Java in the 13th-16th century, Gaja Mada is believed to have united the whole of Indonesia in the 14th century.

He rose to power on his intelligence, courage, and loyalty to king Jayanagara (1309 - 28).

During the reign of Tribhuvana (1328-50) Gaja Mada gradually became the most powerful figure in Majapahit.

Upon his return, Gaja Mada was appointed as *mapatih*, or Prime Minister, of Majapahit. At the same time, he took a solemn oath before the council of ministers that he would not enjoy *palapa* (privileges of vacation or the revenue from his fief).

Tribhuvana abdicated in 1350 and was succeeded by her son Hayam Wuruk, perhaps the best known king of Majapahit.

During his reign, Majapahit reached the zenith of its power and controlled the whole of the Indonesian archipelago. The young king seemed content to leave the direction of affairs entirely in the hands of his prime minister.

To glorify his power, Gaja Mada built a temple on the boundary line of Singha Sari Kingdom in eastern Java to equate himself with the last king of Singha Sari. It was under his patronage that Prajanca began the composition of *Nagarakertagama*, the epic of Majapahit. A law book that had great significance in Javanese history was also compiled under his instructions.

Gaja Mada's death (1364) occurred under mysterious circumstances.

Gaja Mada's role in unifying the Indonesian archipelago caused early Indonesian nationalists to consider him a great national hero, and the first Indonesian university in Jogjakarta, established in 1946, was named after him.

(Source : EB, Macro, Vol. 7, pp. 825-826)

## TIMUR

(b. 1336 - d. 1405)

A Turkic conqueror, of Islamic faith, whose nomad hordes ranged from China to the Mediterranean. Timur (or Tamerlane) is remembered chiefly for the cultural achievements of his dynasty.

Timur was born in 1336 in an Oasis Valley between Samarkand (Samarqand) and the Hindu Kush (mountains) in North-West India, a member of the Turkic Barlas clan, not of imperial Mongol origin. He first led a small nomad band and by guile and force of arms established dominion over the lands between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers (Transoxiana) by the 1360s. He then, for three decades, led his mounted archers to subdue each state from Mongolia to Egypt. He was the last of the mighty conquerors of North-West India to achieve such military successes as leader of the nomad warrior lords, ruling both agricultural and pastoral peoples on an imperial scale. The poverty and desolation caused by campaigns gave rise to many legends, which in turn inspired such works as Marlowe's *Tamburlane the Great*.

By defeating the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid at Angora (modern Ankara) in 1402 and thus preventing him from extending his domain into Europe, the fall of Constantinople and the death agony of Byzantium were delayed half a century by this Muslim nomad.

Timur's impact on the grand duchy of Moscow was also great, for he routed the Golden Horde, the descendants of the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan, whose dominion stretched from Siberia to the Caucasus.

The name Timur Lenk signified Timur the Lame, a title of contempt used by his Persian enemies, which became *Tamburlaine*, or *Tamerlane*, in Europe. He was heir to a political, economic and cultural heritage rooted in central Asia. His nomad stock cultivated the military arts and discipline of Genghis Khan and, as mounted warriors, scorned the settled peasants. Irrespective of his ability, his victories were not fortuitous. He started his campaigns when remnants of the great Khan's empire were weakened by factional strife. Moreover, a long-term shift in the weather patterns of central Asia brought rain to hitherto areas that provided fresh pasture for livestock, oases for the caravan trade, and bases for flourishing nomad societies.

Timur never took up a permanent abode. Continually in the saddle, he personally led his almost constantly campaigning forces, enduring extremes of desert heat and lacerating cold.

When not campaigning he moved with his army according to season and grazing facilities. His court travelled with him, including his household of one or more of his nine wives and concubines. He strove to make his capital, Samarkand, the most splendid city in Asia, but when he visited it he stayed only few days and then moved back to the pavilions of his encampment in the plains beyond the city.

In 1404 he returned to Transoxiana to celebrate his victories and to prepare his grandest campaign – that waged against the Ming dynasty in China. He assembled the entire forces of the steppes and all his booty. Here were the caravans of elephants and treasure from the plains of Punjab and the Sultanate of Delhi, the loot of the Volga region and the steppes, the tribute from Egypt of gold, ostriches and a giraffe; florins from Byzantium; tapestries from Castile; master craftsmen from Damascus; scholars from Baghdad, captive Turks from Anatolia; merchants from the bazaars of the Mediterranean and from China. From Hormuz, on the Indian seaboard, to Christopal, on the Volga, lay the ruins of intransigent towns and regions, with towers built by Timur's warriors from the skulls of their victims. Later in the year he set out to conquer China with an enormous expedition, still suffering from the excesses of his celebrations. He died in February 1405, near Chimkent, probably from a fever provoked by excessive drinking.

He delighted in the company of scholars and in playing chess. He could discuss with the leading scholars of Islam questions of history, religious dogma, and practical science. He was above all master of the military techniques developed by Genghis Khan, using every weapon in the military and diplomatic armoury of the day. He never missed an opportunity to exploit the weakness (political, economic or military) of the adversary or to use intrigue, treachery, and alliance to serve his purposes. The seeds of victory were sown among the ranks of the enemy by his agents before an engagement. He conducted sophisticated negotiations with both neighbouring and distant powers which are recorded in diplomatic archives from England to China. In battle, mobility and surprise were his major weapons of attack, but this chess playing nomad knew when to hold back and wait. His disposition was such that he could change course or target whenever circumstances provided superior alternatives. The French orientalist Rene Grousset criticised Timur's campaigns on the grounds that they lacked geographical coherence, but this was irrelevant to flexible nomadic tactics.

The great Arab historian Ibn Khaldun left an account of meetings with Timur at the time of the Syrian campaign. The Spanish ambassador describes his experiences at Timur's court in Samarkand, as does the Pope's envoy. Some of this diplomatic correspondence is preserved in the archives of the Oriental and Western capitals and there are collections of coins struck by Timur, showing his triangular device, in many museums. His living memorials are the Timurid monuments of Samarkand, covered in azure, turquoise, gold and alabaster mosaics, these are dominated by the great mosque, ruined by an earthquake but still soaring to an immense fragment of dome. His mausoleum the Gur-e-Amir, is one of the gems of Islamic art. Within the sepulchre he lies under a huge but broken slab of jade. Beside him are his chief divine and some of his descendants. The tomb was opened in 1941, having remained intact for half a millennium. The Soviet Archaeological Commission found the skeleton of a man who, though lame in both right limbs, must have been of powerful physique, tall for a Tatar and a haughty bearing. With these remains there were bristles of a chestnut

moustache. From this evidence a bust was reconstructed that probably gives a more realistic impression of his appearance than do the finely drawn features in the Persian miniatures. Son and grandsons fought over the succession when the Chinese expedition disbanded but Timur's dynasty survived in Central Asia for a century in spite of fratricidal strife. Samarkand became a centre of scholarship and science. It was here that Ulugh Beg, his grandson, set up an observatory and drew up the astronomical tables that were later used by the English royal astronomer in the 17th century. During the Timurid renaissance of the 15th century, Herat, South-East of Samarkand, became the home of the brilliant school of Persian miniaturists. At the beginning of the 16th century, when the dynasty ended in Central Asia, his descendent Babur, established himself in Kabul and then conquered Delhi, to found the Muslim line of Indian emperors known as the Great Mughals.

(Source : EB Macro, Vol. 18, pp. 424-425)

#### MOHAMMAD I ASKIA OF SONGHAÏ (r.1493-1528)

Mohammad I Askia, one of the greatest rulers of the Songhai Empire in the western Sudan of West Africa, introduced important political and administrative reforms that brought security and prosperity to his people.

Both Mohammad's place and date of birth are unknown. For a long time, he was thought to be a Silla (a Tukulor clan of Senegal) or a Toure of Sarakole (Soninke) origin, from a Senegalese family that had settled in Gao.

After the death of Sonni 'Ali Ber, the ruler who had solidified the Songhai empire from 1464 to 1492, Mohammad tried, as early as February 1493, to wrest power from Sonni Ali's son Sonni Baru, who had been elected by acclamation on January 21. In the Battle of Anfao on April 12, 1498, Mohammad's forces though inferior in number were victorious. Paganism tinged with the esoteric Songhai Islam of the Sonni's gave way to an Islamic state whose civil code was the Quran and whose official writing was Arabic.

While Sonni 'Ali had been a warrior, Askia Mohammad was above all a statesman. He set up an efficient administration of the regions conquered by his predecessor. He began by dividing Songhai into provinces and placed each under a governor. A standing army and a fleet of war canoes were organised under the command of a general and an admiral. Moreover, Askia Mohammad created the positions of director of finance, justice, interior, protocol, agriculture, waters and forests, and of "tribes of the white race" (Moors and Tuaregs who at that time were vassals of the Songhai and furnished them with squadrons of dromedary-mounted troops). All these officials were for the most part chosen from among the nobles and were brothers, sons or cousins of Askia.

In 1495, two years before his accession to power, Askia Mohammad undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca. This pilgrimage, from 1495-97, has remained famous as much for the pomp with which it was carried out as for the marvellous tales to which it gave rise. The chronicler Mahmud Kati, who accompanied Askia, wrote in *Tarikh al-fattash* that the *jinni* of Mecca had Askia Mohammad named caliph and had told him what his rights were over the former vassal tribes of the Sonnis. By the time he returned in 1497, he was a leader deeply converted to Islam. Next he would proceed to consolidate and enlarge Songhai.

One of the lieutenants, the Karta of Kabi, revolted against him in turn and, despite his efforts between 1516 and 1517,

remained independent. As an organiser of an effective administrative system he was more successful.

During the course of his lengthy sojourns in the capital, Gao (1502-04 and 1506-07), he set up with rare talent the system of tithes and taxes, the regulation of agriculture and fishing, and the recruitment and training of his administrators and governors.

The extent of the Songhai Empire of this period remains conjectural. Sadi, the Timbuktu chronicler, has said that the territory that Askia Mohammad conquered "by fire and sword" extended west as far as the Atlantic Ocean, northwest to the salt mines of Teghaza (on the northern border of present-day Mali), south west as far as Bendugu (Segu), southeast to Bussa and northeast to Agadez. It is certain that the influence of Songhai during Askia Mohammad's time was considerable and extended even beyond his boundaries. All the surrounding states, whether allies or enemies, experienced its civilizing ferment.

The end of his reign was, however, tragic. Little by little his dream of an Islamised Sudan, whose *emir* he would be, evaporated.

Even during his lifetime, his children were quarrelling over the spoils. After the death of his commander in chief, Kanferi Omar, one of his brothers, in 1519, Askia Mohammad was no longer safe even in Gao.

There, from 1528 to 1537, he was a blind and despairing witness to the murderous quarrels of his children over the territory of Songhai.

In 1537 his third successor, his son Askia Ismail, recalled his father to Gao. To reward him, Mohammad bequeathed to him his green turban and his caliph's sabre. On March 2, 1538, during a period of temporary calm, this founder of a dynasty died. He was buried in Gao, under a pyramid of earth surmounted by wooden spikes. His tomb is still standing and has become one of the most venerated mosques in all of West Africa.

(Source: EB, Marco, Vol 12, p.300)

#### SULEYMAN I THE MAGNIFICENT (b. 1494 - d. 1566)

Suleyman I, known to the Turks as Kanuni, the Law-giver and to the Christian world as the Magnificent, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 to 1566, extended Turkish influence in both Europe and Asia, his reign witnessed the unfolding of all that was most characteristic and brilliant in Ottoman Civilization. The only son of Sultan Selim I, Suleyman was born in November 1494 or April 1495. He became *Sancak beyi* (governor) of Kaffa in the Crimea during the reign of his grandfather Bayezid II and of Manisa in Western Asia Minor in the reign of Selim I.

Suleyman succeeded his father as Sultan in September 1520 and began his reign with campaigns against the Christian powers in central Europe and the Mediterranean. Belgrade fell to him in 1521, and Rhodes, long under the rule of the Knights of St. John, in 1522. At Mohacs, in August 1526, Suleyman broke the military strength of Hungary, the Hungarian king, Louis II, losing his life in the battle. The vacant throne of Hungary was now claimed by Ferdinand I, the Habsburg archduke of Austria, and by John (Janos Zapolya) who was *Voivode* (lord) of Transylvania and the candidates of the "native" party opposed to the prospect of Habsburg rule. Suleyman agreed to recognise John as a vassal king of Hungary, and in 1529, hoping to remove at one blow all further intervention by the Habsburgs, he laid siege to Vienna. Difficulties of time and distance and of bad weather and lack of supplies, forced the Sultan to raise the siege. The campaign was successful, however in a more immediate sense,

for John was to rule thereafter over most of Hungary until his death, in 1540. A second great campaign in 1532, ended as a mere foray into Austrian border territories. The Sultan, preoccupied with affairs in the East and convinced that Austria was not to be overcome at one stroke, granted a truce to the Archduke Ferdinand in 1533.

The death of John in 1540 and the prompt advance of Austrian forces once more into central Hungary drove Suleyman to modify profoundly the solution that he had imposed in the time of John. His campaigns of 1541 and 1543 led to the emergence of three distinct Hungaries—Habsburg Hungary in the extreme north and west; Ottoman Hungary along the middle Danube, a region under direct and permanent military occupation by the Ottomans and with its main centre at Buda; and Transylvania, a vassal state dependent on the Porte and in the hands of John Sigismund, the son of John Zapolya. Between 1543 and 1562, the war in Hungary continued, broken by truces and with few notable changes on either side; the most important was the Ottoman capture of the Banat of Temesvár (Timisoara) in 1532. After long negotiations a peace recognising the status quo in Hungary was signed in 1562.

Suleyman waged three major campaigns against Persia. The first (1534-35) gave the Ottomans control over the region of Erzurum in eastern Asia Minor and also witnessed the Ottoman conquest of Iraq, a success that rounded off the achievements of Selim I. The second campaign (1548-49) brought much of the area around Lake Van under Ottoman rule, but the third (1554-55) served rather as a warning to the Ottomans of the difficulty of subduing the Safarid state in Persia. The first formal peace between the Ottomans and the Safarids was signed in 1555, but it offered no clear solution to the problems confronting

the Ottoman Sultan on his eastern frontier.

The naval strength of the Ottomans became formidable in the reign of Sultan Suleyman. Khayr, ad-Din, known in the West as Barbarossa, became *kapudan* (admiral) of the Ottoman fleet and won a sea fight off Preveza, Greece (1538), against the combined fleets of Venice and Spain, which gave to the Ottomans the naval initiative in the Mediterranean until the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Tripoli in North Africa fell to the Ottomans in 1551. A strong Spanish expedition against Tripoli was crushed at Jarbah (Djerba) in 1560. Ottoman naval power was felt at this time even as far afield as India, where a fleet sent out from Egypt made an attempt in 1538 to take the town of Diu from the Portuguese.

Suleyman's reign was notable for more than military and naval exploits. He surrounded himself with administrators and statesmen of unusual ability, men such as his grand viziers (chief minister) Ibrahim, Rustem, and Mehmed Sokollu. "Ulama" (specialists in Islamic law), notably Abu Al-Su'ud (Hoca Celebi) and Kemalpaşa-Zade made the period memorable, as did the great Turkish poet Baki and the architect Sinan. Suleyman built strong fortresses to defend the places he took from the Christians and adorned the cities of the Islamic world (e.g. Mecca, Damascus, and Baghdad) with mosques, bridges, aqueducts, and other public works. In Istanbul, Suleyman's capital, the architect Sinan built several famous mosques for him, including the one bearing his name (Suleymaniye Cami), and others for his viziers Rustem and Mehmed Sokollu. In general, Suleyman completed the task of transforming the previously Byzantine city of Constantinople into Istanbul, a worthy centre for a great Turkish and Islamic empire.

(Source: EB, Macro, Vol 17, pp. 748-5)

### Announcement

All Advisory Board Members and Invitee-Observers are reminded that the Second Annual Advisory Board Meeting will take place at *Mankind's* office in Pune on Sept. 27/28, 1997 (Sat. & Sun) Individual invitations have already gone. They should make it a point to attend.

# THE MYTHS ON CHILD LABOUR

## Labouring under delusion

Based on a document by Vikas Adhyayan Kendra

### COMMENT

India has completed 50 years of independence. India today has an estimated 70 - 80 million child labourers. Put in another way, there are 70-80 million children prematurely leading adult lives. Despite the Constitution's Articles 24, 39 and 45 which prohibit labour by children under fourteen years of age and call for the protection of children below the age of fourteen against hazardous employment, exploitation and moral and material abandonment and guarantee them free and compulsory education. 70-80 million children are working under conditions damaging to their development - physical, social, emotional and spiritual. 70-80 million children are subsidising India's economy even as their basic rights to education, health, leisure are violated.

### MYTH

**Employers are only obliging children by employing them.**

### FACT

Employers are only concerned about profit and child labour can be exploited at no cost to them : " Certain sectors such as agriculture tend to rely heavily on child labour because of the pliability of children on low wage. Children enter the labour market at a very early age, even before they are six years old, [working] alongside their parents, either for no wage or for a negligible income. The household sector [ the middle class in particular ] employs a substantially large number of child labour. There is a selfish interest involved in recruitment of children for daily household chores. Industries like beedi making, glass making, carpets, gem and stone polishing, matches, fireworks, have thrived purely on the strength of child labourers, who work long hours for low wages and complain little. Some of these industries, namely, gem and jewellery, carpets, brass artware, handlooms, agarbatti, tea, are India's major export earners and child labourers provide the competitive edge. There is thus, a vested interest in employment of children because of the sheer economics that supports it."

"The owners and the management [carpet industry of Kashmir] refused to give me a job. They openly say the young children suit them better. Low wages are the chief reason. To cap that, children are not the ones who would grumble against the bad working conditions or organise a protest rally." - Bashir Bhatt <sup>8</sup>

### MYTH

**If children do not work, they and their families will starve.**

### FACT

Starvation persists even when families and children in it are working. Starvation is a result of a combination of factors, including price policy, low income, low purchasing power, income disparity, unequal food distribution, poor availability of food, lack of access to food production and unequal land ownership patterns.

The inequitable land distribution is evident in the fact that, " between 1961-1991, the proportion of cultivation declined while that of agricultural labourers increased, indicating that a vast section of population, including tribals are getting alienated from land."<sup>2</sup> Child labour trends reflect this change. " There has been a shift in numbers working on their own farms to children working on the farms of others."<sup>3</sup>

Alienated from their land and means of livelihood, the rural poor migrate to urban centres. Food subsidy through the Public Distribution System (PDS) becomes inaccessible to them because proof of residence is necessary for obtaining the ration card. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the New Economic Policy have worsened the situation. For instance, under SAT, the PDS outlets have been scaled down. Another example is the emphasis on exports. " A hike in cotton yarn prices and steady export of cotton yarn in abnormal prices which had to be borne by weavers and their co-operators. Starvation deaths were reported from Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu as small units shut down. " <sup>4</sup>

### MYTH

**Child labour is the result of the poor having more children than they can provide for.**

### FACT

The wealth of a nation is its people. The tendency, however, is to view them not in terms of their potential, but their sheer numbers. A dubious circular reasoning therefore holds sway. High population growth causes poverty, which gives rise to child labour, hence high population growth is the cause of child labour. The focus remains on the numerical strength of families ignoring the denial of their basic rights. For instance, the poverty index measures " calorific consumption and not what people are denied in education, health and other issues."<sup>5</sup> Child labour therefore cannot be attributed solely to population growth. This is confirmed by the fact that while " The growth of the child population is declining since 1971 and a continuation of this trend will result in a decrease in the child population by 2001 as a whole. The inter state variation will continue to be enormous"<sup>3</sup>

Kerala for instance has the lowest incidence of child labour and it is attributed to the fact it has invested in human beings, in political commitment, in radical change in the countryside, in

Pointing to Gandhi's picture on his T-shirt, Mani (13) remarks, " He got freedom for India, but it makes no difference for children like me who must slog 12 hours a day to earn a livelihood." Mani is one among the thousands of children working in the knitwear industry in Tirupur which produces nearly Rs. 5000 crores in foreign exchange by way of exports. Mani was in his first year of school in Ayikoundan Palayam village in Tamil Nadu when his parents discontinued his education. They are agricultural labourers who find work only in the cultivating season. After completing four years of school Mani's sister dropped out to take charge of the household. Mani roundly abuses politicians whom he holds responsible for the high rate of inflation. "Powerloom workers in my neighbouring village of Sevurur are selling off their kidneys to clear off their debts, " he pointed out angrily <sup>10</sup>

Pomabhai Solanki, an 11 year Adivasi boy from Gujarat earns Rs. 14/- a day. He works from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., carrying heavy marble slabs in a quarry over a distance of half a kilometre, to and fro. He suffers from constant headaches and his legs and arms ache with the strain of lifting the heavy slabs. His parents till a hilly piece of land which yields little, making it difficult to survive. States Pomabhai, "I don't like to work, but what can I do? I am forced to work. All children should go to work. I too studied till the 4th standard but my village had no school offering higher classes. So I slowly moved into working."<sup>10</sup>

land reform, in a strong working *panchayat*."<sup>5</sup>

#### MYTH

Parents would rather send their children to work than to school.

#### FACT

A National Consultation of the Rights of the Child concluded that "The withdrawal of children from the labour market through mass enrollment by NGOs effectively disproves the 'poverty argument' very often used to justify continuance of child labour."<sup>6</sup> "The idea that some children have no alternative other than to work is so universally entrenched, that social workers attached to agencies implementing direct support programmes were

14 year old Mylappa is bonded to a landlord who grows jowar, ragi and sunflower, in his fields. Mylappa's father has taken a loan from the landlord to rebuild his house which had collapsed in the rains. Mylappa's tasks include cotton plucking, ploughing, watering and tending the landlord's cattle. His day begins at 5 a.m. and ends at 8 p.m. . He has lunch at the landlord's house, but is made to sit outside because he is a Dalit. He has never been to school. Mylappa hopes one day to cultivate his own plot; the family's two acres were mortgaged long ago.<sup>10</sup>

initially reluctant to persuade parents of working children to enrol them in formal schools. They feared that parents of child labourers will not accept the idea of full time- formal schools, nor will they absorb or accept the fall in family incomes caused thereby. Individual and community acceptance of education as an alternative to work did not turn out to be difficult as it was feared to be. The families of child labourers who are motivated to stop working must be compensated through stipends was proved wrong; lasting effects were obtained even where no stipends were given. More difficult than parental resistance to maintaining their wards in formal schools, was the difficulty in satisfying the administrative requirements for admission. Documentary evidence of date of birth, transfer from a private school (in the case of children re-integrated into schools) were greater barriers in enrolling children into schools."<sup>7</sup> In the final analysis, "the universalisation of elementary education not only means universal facilities, universal enrolment and universal retention but also universal quality of teaching and learning." (Problems of Universal Elementary Education", Poromesh Acharya, *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 3, 1994.)

#### MYTH

Children themselves want to work.

#### FACT

When children express their preference for work, it is because of their inability to conceive of an alternative. Children are compelled to work because of the non-availability or lack of

Gunny sack in hand, 12 year old Rupali Kamble from Pune, Maharashtra, begins her round at 5 a.m. each morning, picking paper, cardboard, glass, tin, bottles, metal, plastic and milk sachets. Rupali contends that all children work out of compulsion and that adults should be paid more, "because things are so expensive. If they have money, they can send children to school, buy books, clothes. They may spend it on alcohol and such things and they have to be made to understand." Rupali is happiest when reading and would like to study. "The Government should build a school near my house and a playground.", she states firmly. The government had promised her family alternative accommodation when their land was taken away. Rupali now stays with an older brother, two younger sisters and an aunt in a semi-permanent house which collapsed during the last monsoon. Earlier, they were occupying a pavement.<sup>10</sup>

access to schools, an irrelevant school curriculum and physical abuse from teachers. For children, earning enhances their feeling of self-worth and hence their demands centre on the improvement of their working conditions and dignity of labour. However the issue of enabling work environment should be dealt with separately without obscuring the realisation of children's rights. The expression of the desire to work by children reflects their lack of trust in adults to change their situation. Child labour is ultimately an indictment of societal apathy and indifference to their plight.

#### MYTH

There is nothing wrong in allowing children in non-hazardous occupations.

#### FACT

The word 'hazardous' is a debatable point because while referring to industries here, one is not referring to the inherent hazardous nature of an industry. The reference is to what is hazardous to the child. In this respect, even jobs which are not inherently hazardous become hazardous for children, if they are made to do the job for long period, and if they are being denied their right to development, education, medical care, recreation, leisure and play. The differentiation between hazardous and non-hazardous derives from the lexicon of industrial occupations and has reference to adult employment. To apply it to child labour is to ignore the *de facto* violation of children's basic rights and restrict action to child labour in the formal, organised sector. Furthermore, while an occupation can be described along a continuum, regardless of its nature, it entails exploitation where children are involved. Hence, every labourer is a priority and the nature of employment cannot be applied as a criterion. Child labourers in so called 'non-hazardous' employment like the service sector's tea-stalls, restaurants and domestic sector like household work are vulnerable to physical, mental and sexual abuse. Poor working environment, like closed, dark and ill-ventilated rooms damage the development of the child. The continuous hours of work result

in exhaustion and even death.

According to Sheela Barse, what is often ignored is the psychological trauma children face wherein " they get conditioned to perceive and accept oppression, exploitation, repression and slavery as normal." ("Children of Those Lesser Guardians," *The Times of India*, August 12, 1995)

#### MYTH

**If children work, they become equipped with skills for the future.**

#### FACT

The task allotted to child labourers are simple and repetitive such as labelling, filling, rolling, fetching and carrying. "Skills" is a misnomer when applied to the backbreaking toil and drudgery children engage in. The hard physical labour, exposure to the elements, dust, toxic fumes, chemical solutions damages children's health irrevocably, shortening their life span and impairing their development.

For instance "in the match factory, the association of passivity with females leads to girls being expected to sit continually in the same posture. It causes menstrual disorders and uterine problems which girls are conditioned to suppress." (G. Shantha, CACL, 1994). In the gem polishing industry, vision declines before the age of thirty. The skills training can always come at the later stage without being at the expense of the well-being and development of the child. It is a well-known fact that serious vocational training can be assimilated only by older children.

#### MYTH

**Child labour is necessary to preserve traditional arts and crafts.**

#### FACT

In reality, the argument of preserving tradition cloaks the reality of children bonded to families or who are hired labour, who are never taught the actual craft. Learning of a particular art or craft by children within their families, as a part of their socialisation, should be integrated with their education. Moreover, " skills previously the preserve of a few families are now widely available in the labour market because of statesponsored training programmes which cover industries like pottery, carpet, gem-polishing, lock industry. Moreover, new technology has rendered many of these skills irrelevant. The artisan has been transformed into a factory worker by the large-scale nature of production."<sup>8</sup>

" You can't sacrifice your family for work. It is bad enough that one son has not been educated and therefore he has to work at this job ( colouring a brass plate. ) But this little one will study. He can always learn the craft. After all, he belongs to a family of artisans. In any case, education will only improve his ability to work." - Sayeed bhai, a painter in the Moradabad brassware industry.<sup>9</sup>

#### MYTH

**Children work faster and have nimble fingers needed in certain types of work, especially knotting carpets.**

#### FACT

" A carpet manufacturer V. R. Sharma admitted in an interview that ' it is a myth that child labour is essential and the children are capable of weaving better carpets than adults,' ( *Indian Express*, 16 June 1987 ). A study conducted by the Madras Institute of Development Studies for the Government of India found that there was no truth in the ' nimble fingers ' argument. Examination of the seventeen processes in match manufacture showed that children were employed in simple tasks requiring a

speed of movement and co-ordination of action, but no special aptitude, which children might possibly have and adult lose. In fact, not only were adults employed in all these operations, but they outnumbered children in the surveyed units and most crucially, their modal rate of physical production was more than that of children. There is no reason therefore to accept the ' nimble fingers ' argument either on the grounds of adults' inability to work or due to their allegedly lower pace of work. "

#### MYTH

**Industry will collapse if child labour is not available.**

#### FACT

" The International Labour Organisation held a workshop to present the findings of studies that have been conducted on the profitability to an industry if child labour was replaced with adult labour. The industries examined included carpet, brassware, gem polishing, match industries. It was found that looking only at the economic implications, the increase in the cost of a product caused by replacing children with adults is only marginal, can be largely absorbed by the industry or if passed on to the customer, the increase in the sale of the final product would also be marginal."<sup>9</sup>

" It is possible to alter the structure of industries in a manner whereby the small-scale/ informal unit [ which has a large concentration of child labour making it really competitive ] can be made viable without having to take recourse to the super exploitation of women and children. One of the problems in the carpet industry is the large number of intermediaries between the manufacturer / exporter and the weaver / master craftsman cooperatives of the small loom owners, the weavers, with these having direct access to the market needs to be considered."<sup>2</sup>

#### MYTH

**A global ban on child labour products will force the elimination of the practice of child labour and protect children's rights.**

#### FACT

The proposals for a global ban come from the developed nations and focus on exports. Child labour is essentially a domestic problem as only approximately 8% of India's child labour force is engaged in the export sector. Linking the concerns of human rights to trade can only serve the protectionist interests of the developed countries. These social clauses and blanket boycotts make no commitment to the rehabilitation of child labourers.

#### MYTH

**Legislation prohibiting child labour are sufficient to resolve the problem.**

#### FACT

Legislation prohibiting child labour may end up compounding the problem by legitimising child labour. For instance, the Child Labour ( Prohibition and Regulation ) Act, 1986, is in violation of Article 14, 21, 23 and 24 of the Constitution. This legislation removes the protection given by these Articles to children against employment in all hazardous work and against exploitation and injustice by not prescribing a minimum age and prohibiting employment of children only in certified occupations and processes.

Furthermore, " having enacted so many Acts, little attention has been given towards enforcement. In the absence of enforcement, the legislative measures are easily flouted. Between 1990-1993, at the central level only 537 inspections were undertaken under the Child Labour ( Prohibition and Regulation ) Act, 1986; a total of 1203 irregularities were detected, but only 7 prosecutions were launched. At the state

level, while 60,717 inspections were launched, only 5,060 violations were observed, out of which 772 were convicted...

The plethora of laws cover only about 8% of the total, as these laws are not applicable in the case of agriculture and also tertiary activities such as retail and wholesale trade, restaurants etc. Normally, there is a total lack of political will to resolve the problem of child labour. Even if the Labour Minister's decisions taken at the last three conferences are implemented, much progress can be made...

Finally, there is total failure of the Government in the area of compulsory education of children up to the age of 14 (Article 45). Several states have made commendable efforts in the direction of providing educational facilities, but none has been able to do anything to check the phenomenon of high drop-outs.<sup>7</sup>

12 year old Chintamani Acharya has been working since the age of seven in a garage in Bhubaneswar. "Actually, I used to go to school but never liked studying. It was so boring. I would keep my bag in school and then run away. It was an older boy who introduced me to garage work. But now I don't want to work. The garage owner always beats me, my father beats me. I feel very sad. I never liked school because it used to be open for one day and shut for ten."<sup>10</sup>

#### MYTH

**Child Labour cannot be abolished.**

#### FACT

"The task is big, but not such as to prove unwieldy as either unwieldy or burdensome. It is worth pointing out that poverty as such has not stood in the way of the other developing countries from taking care of child labour. This shows that what has caused the problem of child labour to persist here is really not dearth of resources, but lack of real zeal. Let this not continue." (Supreme Court judgement on the Writ Petition No. 465 of M. C. Mehta v/s the State of Tamil Nadu and Others, '86)

"We must see the child as a human person in a holistic perspective... The time has come to recognise the primacy of the Rights of the Child and to take effective steps on the basis of that primacy to promote the cause of Child Development... That priority ought not to be allowed to become an empty verbiage or an occasional incantation. It should be reflected in our national policies, programmes, budgeting and the design of public and private life." (Task Force on implementation of the Child Labour Act and Action Plan)

"Elimination of child labour should be linked with issue of ration cards to poor families." (Velumani, INTUC, *Elimination of Child Labour*, Report on second workshop, National Institute of Rural Dev., (Ed.) Dr. T. Haque, '96)

The examples of Kerala and West Bengal, particularly relating to rural child labour, may suggest that basic agrarian reforms are a more potent means of containing the problem of child labour."

(*Child Labour - A worsening Situation*, B. N. Juyal)

"There is a deep malaise in our society, which impacts our young children. If we continue to value a few elite qualifications far more than real competence for doing useful things in life, especially facility in English language, and if the economic distance between those who can manage to cross some academic hurdles, and those who can't, continues to widen, we will probably continue to spend our efforts in designing hurdles, instead of opportunities to learn with joy." (Yashpal Commission Report on ways and means to reduce academic burden on school students, one factor responsible for the high

dropout rate.)

Campaign Against Child Labour (CACL) believes that in consonance with the Constitution's prohibition of child labour, no child below of 14 must engage in labour. An official policy must be geared towards the abolition of child labour Effective decentralisation and encouragement to local civic bodies to take principal responsibility for prevention and eradication of work need to be targetted for immediate eradication e.g. child prostitution and children working in conditions of bondage.

The first necessary alternative is the implementation of free relevant, quality, compulsory education for all children under 14 years. This if implemented, would certainly deter the process of children being drawn into the work force. This does not imply that children should wait to go to school till the entire system is improved. Children must be enrolled in schools and be provided with all possibilities for education immediately. The task of reorganising or restructuring the education system and experimenting with different approaches should go side by side with the enlisting of children into the educational system and universalising elementary education immediately as education by itself is intrinsically valuable.

Ongoing efforts need to address development issues of the communities from where children come into employment. Initiatives for child labour eradication must be combined with community development and social mobilisation. A comprehensive, integrated approach is required to address sector specific issues, rural / urban / tribal, regional and cultural specifically. This necessitates the active participation of civil society and a synergy between the various government programmes which are dealing separately with aspects that impinge on child labour. Strict implementation of existing laws backed by political will can serve as an important preventive measure.

Public opinion should move towards abolition rather than regulation. Child labour cannot be legitimised in any circumstances and eradication of child labour should be the basic goal.

The whole issue of Child Labour is intimately related to the forward march of the entire nation which is being thwarted by the neo-colonial interests which are implementing a programme of Structural Adjustment as formulated by the trinity of WB, IMF and WTO. This Structural Adjustment Programme is known as the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation.

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# CHHAMANA ATHA GUNTHA : 6

Fakirmohan Senapati

## CHAPTER XX

### PLEADER RAM - RAM LALA

The accused sat with his eyes closed in a corner of judicial lock-up, leaning against the wooden railings. Four constables kept watch. Alas! there was none to speak a word to that man. In prosperity all are friends and slaves of money, but in adversity one is deserted. There are people whose houses no one frequents and there are people whose houses are always crowded. Man is a creature of circumstance. An English poet has said, "A man without a friend is like a world without a sun".

When someone said, 'Good morning, Mangaraj', the prisoner looked up with a start. Time was when he thought nothing of such greetings, but today it had the effect of infusing new life in him. He scanned the visitor from head to foot, a tall figure in a loose *chapkan* stained here and there with ink and extending up to his knees. The visitor had a big turban on his head and a folded scarf wrapped round his neck and laid cross-wise upon his breast. He wore a fine Dhoti with an ornamental three - line border. A pair of old - fashioned slippers covered with floral designs, reed pen stuck in his ear, long whiskers and a mouth full of betel leaf completed the picture.

The sight of this man agitated the mind of the accused with hope, surprise and suspicions. He had not to wait for long. Gopi Singh, the constable on duty introduced him to the man and said, "Ram - Ram Lala is his name. He is a leading member of the bar. Depend upon him. The Saheb (Magistrate) has regard for his pleadings".

The pleader spoke like a dear old friend. "Mangaraj, why didn't you inform me before the case took such a serious turn? I am always busy with law - suits. My clients do not allow me time even to breathe. But I hurried to you as soon as your name reached my ears.

Mangaraj heaved a deep sigh and burst into tears. With folded hands he went down on his knees and touched the ground with his head.

"Please get up," the pleader said. "From this moment I take up the entire charge of your affairs. Rest assured. Don't worry. Last night I have been to the bungalow of the Magistrate. I had a talk with him about several cases. Had I been informed of your case, I could have done a lot for you. I have now come to know everything about your case. The bloody rascal, the Daroga, is at the root of all this. You will see what a plight I shall bring him to. Just let me talk to the Magistrate."

With folded hands, Mangaraj said, "I am undone, Vakil Saheb. Please save me. You are my god-father. I am like a child and ignorant. I leave everything to you."

"You need not explain anything to me. I know all," the pleader said. "I shall do the needful. But there is one thing that you should know. It is a very serious case in which your life is at stake. If you are not alert from the beginning, the result will be capital punishment. That rascal Daroga is after you. You are an intelligent man. I need not tell you more. You know well the ways of the law-courts. It will cost money. If you are afraid of spending, that won't do. You will have to open your purse. Do you know what that Daroga is saying? He says it is a murder case and fit for capital punishment. Life has got to be saved at any cost. You have earned money. Now you have to decide whether you will save your life or your money."

"How much will it cost?" Mangaraj asked with tearful eyes. "I have not a single pie with me, Sir, nor is there any man with me to get money from my home. The Daroga does not allow my servants and account-keeper to talk to me. Get me free and I shall pay you one thousand rupees when I get home."

Constable Gopi Singh interrupted Mangaraj with a jibe. "Was it with this

## 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.

Bhagia approaches Mangaraj for a loan to build a temple. Mangaraj executes a loan bond mortgaging Bhagia's six acres and a half to himself. He then takes possession of the weaver couple's land on the basis of a decree by the court. Bhagia and Saria's house is auctioned and their cow taken away. Bhagia goes mad in utter despair and his wife Saria starves herself to death at Mangaraj's residence.

The police daroga charges Mangaraj with murder. The English judge finds Mangaraj not guilty of murder. But Mangaraj is found guilty of stealing the weaver couple's cow and put in prison.

much of sense in you that you were managing an estate? This is not a sale transaction. How can payment be deferred? The pleader wants ready cash to work for his clients. Without money the pleader won't even speak a word. Bring out your money if you want to win the case. Vakil saheb, I won't allow you to talk further with the accused. The Nazir ordered me to allow only a few words. I am not the only man on duty here. There are four of us."

"Your see, Mangaraj?" the pleader said. "It is not an easy affair. You will have to win over everyone from the constable right up to the trying court. It is such a serious case that no other pleader would

have had the courage to take it up, even if he were paid ten thousand rupees in cash. When you have made me your god-father, I cannot leave you helpless. All right, I shall bear all the cost of litigation, which will come to not less than Rs. 10,000, and you will execute a deed mortgaging your Zamindari in my favour. All the money may not have to be spent. I shall give you an account of the expenditure to the last pie, after your release."

Mangaraj sat immersed in thought for a while, his head resting on his hand. A guilty mind is always suspicious. Mangaraj was fully aware of the implications of such a mortgage deed. But a drowning man catches at a straw if he can get at it.

Ram-Ram Lala acted very promptly in execution of the work. Within two hours he had purchased the stamp paper, drafted the deed, made a fair copy of it and got it registered in the Registration Office before it closed for the day.

"Now, Mangaraj", he said, when it was all done, "sit calm and quiet in the lock-up. I am here to help you. Don't worry."

## CHAPTER XXI THE SESSIONS COURT

The Sessions Court at Cuttack is crowded today. People are flocking to witness the hearing of the case of Mangaraj. There is a great rush and much noise. Two ushers are adding to the uproar by their loud cries of, "Silence." An important Zamindar from the Muffasil is in the dock for murder. The magistrate had committed the accused to the Sessions, where the hearing has been going on for five days. Today is the last date of hearing.

The proceedings have not been started yet, because the mail bound for England is to leave tomorrow and the Judge is writing a letter beginning, "My dear Lady".

When a criminal case is taken up for hearing, the European judge busies himself with an English newspaper or sets about writing letters. All the proceedings of the case are entrusted to the Bench Clerk. The Judge merely initials the statements of witnesses and reads out the judgement.

Today, however, the Judge will have to do everything himself, because one of the witnesses is an Englishman, and also because he will have to write the judgement in English. So he licks the envelope, closes it, gives it to his peon for posting, and then says, "Well Babu : Put up the case."

The Clerk calls out :

"Isan Chandra Sarkar, Government Pleader -  
Present yourself.

"Enayat Hossain, Pillice Daroga -  
Present yourself.

"Ram-Ram Lala, Pleader for the accused -  
Present yourself.

"Accused Ramchandra Mangaraj".

The accused stood up in the dock with folded hands.

The Civil Surgeon, seated to the right of the Judge, took his oath on the Holy Bible and said, "My name is A.B.C.D. Douglas; Father's name, E.F.G.H. Dougleas; Nationality English; Age 40; Residence, at present, Cuttack.

"I am Civil Surgeon of Cuttack District. At 7.30 in the morning of the 8th, the body of Saria was examined before me in the Government post-mortem house. As identified by Chowkidar Gobra Jena, I say that the dead body was that of Saria. From what I have come to know from the examination I dare say that no deadly weapon or any such thing caused her death. I have sufficient proof that her death was caused by prolonged starvation and excessive mental agony".

Questioned by the Court, the witness said - "The dead body bore no marks of injury. Her blood had dried up; there was almost no blood in the heart. Her stomach was almost empty.

There was nothing in the kidney and the viscera. All these indications show that she died of starvation."

Questioned by the Government Pleader, the witness replied, "Yes, Gobra Jena particularly pointed out to me three marks on the back of the dead body. I have examined these too carefully. But these were not marks of injury. They were slight scorching marks caused by a hot iron or some other heated thing after life had become extinct."

Questioned again by the Government Pleader, the witness said, "No. I did not dissect the dead body myself. The Native Doctor Gouranga Kar and the Compounder Basudev Patnaik dissected it in my presence."

Further questioned by the Pleader, the witness replied with some irritation. "I have been working as Civil Surgeon for the last 10 1/2 years. I was previously, attached to the Military Department. I passed the medical examination from the London Medical College." In answer to another question, he said, - "I used to be a hospital assistant. I was promoted for my service in the Burmese War."

Turning to Defence Counsel, the Judge said, "Have you got anything to ask?"

Ram-Ram Lala looked towards the Civil Surgeon and asked, "Was there any mark of the lathi, now exhibited in the Court, on the back of the dead body?"

Judge - "Nonsense. Isn't there anything else you want to ask?"

The Pleader again turned to cross - examine the witness - "Well, you say that Saria died of starvation. Did she fast of her own accord or did the accused make her fast?"

Judge - "Never mind. Go on. Go on."

Pleader - "Well, is there any evidence of Saria having died at the house of the accused?"

The Judge got angry and said, "If you ask such irrelevant questions, I shall cancel your license."

Pleader - "Your lordship is the master of the universe."

Those among our readers who are pleaders themselves should bear in mind that this happened sixty years ago.

After the statement of the accused was recorded, the case was argued by the pleaders on both sides. It was tough fight which lasted for over two hours. In the meantime, the Judge had finished reading a newspaper and had also had his tiffin. Had the Judge not intervened, the argument would have continued endlessly.

According to the orders of the Court, the Office Superintendent wrote out the judgement. It ran into 12 sheets of paper and took three days to draft before it was pronounced. We have procured a certified copy of that judgement. But as we are always brief, we shall give here only such extract as will enable the reader to know all about the case.

### Judgement

In the Court of the Civil & Sessions Judge.

H.R. Jackson Esq. - Sessions Judge.

In the district of Cuttack, Orissa Territory, in the revenue Estate of the East India Company.

Plaintiff - The East India Company.

Versus Defendant - Ram Chandra Mangaraj, Vill. Govindpur, Paragana Asureswar, District Cuttack.

The charge of murder of a weaver woman named Saria and

looting the belongings of her house.

Having studied all the records of the case and after hearing the evidence of the parties and the arguments of the pleaders on both sides, it appears that it is a case sent up by the police. The District Magistrate had committed the accused to the Sessions, charging him with murder. To establish the charge against the accused, the Police has produced eight witnesses. I have very carefully examined to witnesses and after hearing the arguments of pleaders for both the parties, I come to the conclusion that the accused did not kill Saria by beating her with a bamboo stick as alleged by the Police. Prolonged starvation and mental agony are the causes of her death. My finding is based upon the definite and clear evidence of the Civil Surgeon, who is an important witness in this murder case and who attests that the dead woman bore no marks of injury on her person.

From the evidence of the witnesses I have got sufficient proof of the case being a concocted one. I believe the first informant, Gobra Jena, chowkidar, is at the root of this plot. A comparison of his F.I.R. (First Information Report) with his subsequent statement before the court will clearly show that he has tried his utmost to give a touch of varisimilitude to a false thing, and has been unable to defend himself in the cross-examination. The two eye-witnesses, Bana Jena and Dhakei Jena, who allege having seen the accused beating Saria to death with a bamboo stick, are relations of Gobra Jena. They live at a distance of 4 miles from the house of the accused. It was quite impossible for them to have seen the occurrence by keeping themselves awake at dead of night. From the map of the locality filed by the Police, it clearly appears that there are three blocks of houses between the place where the accused is alleged to have beaten Saria and the place from where the witnesses are said to have seen the occurrence. So it is quite impossible for the line of vision to pass through the intervening blocks. There is sufficient reason to disbelieve the witnesses on account of discrepancy in their statements in the cross-examination and collateral circumstances. These unfortunate village folk, who are very simple in nature, are unable to realise the seriousness of what they have attempted to do at the instigation of designing persons. Gobra Jena has been repeatedly exposed in his cross-examination and found to be telling lies. I order his prosecution.

The Police has taken depositions from some witnesses to prove the previous vicious character of the accused. From this, I am convinced that the accused is adept at robbing others of their property by intrigue. But there is no evidence of his having used criminal force on any person. The commission of murder is impossible on the part of such a man and there appears to be no motive for it.

The police has seized the weaving instruments and the utensils of the deceased Saria and Bhagia Chand from the house of the accused. From the list furnished by the accused to the Civil Court it appears that six and a half acres of land belonging to Bhagia Chand was mortgaged on contract basis to him. The accused has purchased all the instruments and utensils in auction sale for the recovery of the cost of litigation in the Civil Court. Of course there is sufficient reason to believe that the mortgage deed, its execution, and auction sale were all fraudulent transactions. But that is not the point at issue for consideration in the present case. I am convinced that the insanity of Bhagia Chand and the fasting of Saria unto death are due to the grief caused by the appropriation of their six and

a half acres of rentfree land, and all their property. But for these offenses the accused cannot be convicted of murder.

The Police has seized a black cow called Neta from the courtyard of the accused. Both parties admit that the cow belongs to Bhagia Chand. The accused says that he has purchased it in the public auction sale made by the Civil Court bailiff for recovery of the cost of the suit. But this is totally false as there is no mention of a cow called Neta in the list of articles put to sale bearing the signature and seal of the Civil Court, which is produced before me. I have got sufficient evidence to prove that the accused is very good at the art of misappropriating other people's property by fraud and deceit. He was a man of ordinary status. By adopting dishonest means he has amassed much wealth. Being an influential Zamindar of the locality, he has misappropriated the said cow, knowing that Bhagia Chand is too weak to defend himself.

In consideration of the grounds given above, it is ordered that the accused Ramchandra Mangaraj be acquitted of the charge of murder, but convicted for criminal misappropriation of the cow called Neta. He is sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for six months and pay a fine of Rs. 100, or in default to undergo R.I. for another 3 months.

17-5-1832.

Sd/ - H.R. Jackson  
Sessions Judge

The court has risen. The Judge's coach is already off. Four constables came out of the court lock-up with the accused in handcuffs and with a jail warrant. Ram-Ram Lala, who had taken his seat at the foot of the banyan tree in front of the court, saw the accused from a distance and called out, "You saw, Mangaraj, how I fought for you before the Judge. I saved you from the gallows. Never mind. Go to the prison without fear.

I shall get you acquitted by appealing to the supreme Court before you have pressed out one jar-ful of oil in the jail".

He took no steps to file an appeal.

#### CHAPTER XXII

#### FATE OF CHAMPA, THE MAID-SERVANT

People going to Cuttack cross the Birupa river at Gopalpur Ghat. The Village of Gopalpur was formerly situated at this place, but it was washed away by a great flood. The village is there no more but the Ghat still remains and is called after the name of the village.

There is a big banyan tree at the Ghat. Gopi Sahu had a shop at the foot of the tree, covering about seven cubits by five. One half of it was a room; the other half, in front, was walled on three sides. Next to the room was a verandah about 2 cubits in length. Any passing traveller who halted at the Ghat could cook his food there.

Gopi was now too old to do the work of a farmer. The death of his wife the previous year had pulled him down. His sons too did not want their father to work. But Gopi was not a man to sit idle. As something is better than nothing, he had kept himself busy for about a year now by opening a shop. He used to come to his shop at about 9 O'clock in the morning after taking a frugal meal and go back home in the evening after fastening the door of the shop with a heavy lock.

He lived about a mile away. Rice, dal, salt, flattened rice, tobacco leaf, were his stock in trade. Going back in the evening, he would carry these things home in a basket.

Gopi used to tell the people of his village now and then that he could get a lot of money if he could

opium in the evening, without which he could not sleep at night. After taking opium, he would have a little snack of some powdered flattened rice or powdered fried rice. He had the habit of smoking too. But he met his expenses from his own income. His sons had given him a few rupees to start the shop. He lived on the small profit he made and kept the capital intact.

It was a day in the month of Aswina. The sky had been overcast with clouds throughout the day. Two or three showers of rain had already fallen. The path was muddy but there was no way-farer.

The sun had not set but it was getting dark, Gopi muttered a curse. "What ill-omened face did I see first thing in the morning? Such an unlucky day that I did not sell even half a pice worth of tobacco leaf." He put his wares in a basket, tied a napkin round his head and sat down in his verandah, looking at the sky and telling himself, "The sun has not yet set."

Waiting for some passer-by to come crossing the river, he was looking intently towards the Ghat, and singing a hymn:

"My days are passing out, I do not pray;  
All my time I idle away,  
The tide of life is ebbing fast,  
It'll merge in Eternity at last.  
Beset by worldly affairs, I forget  
To pray to God, His bliss to get.  
Oh God, my Saviour : mercy take,  
For your sinful servant's sake.

Someone called out, "Shop-keeper : Can we find lodging here?"

Gopi woke from his reverie to see two way-farers in front of the shop. One of them was a man wearing a dhoti, with a napkin wrapped round his head, a small bundle on his back and a palm-leaf umbrella on his shoulder. Behind him was a woman wearing a silk sari, with another folded linen sari covering her head and body. Nothing but her nose-ring was visible. From the dress of the strangers, Gopi at once gathered that they were wealthy people. Stepping down from the verandah in hurry, he bowed to both of them respectfully and said, "Come in, please. You are quite welcome to my shop. Stay here and cook your food. I shall supply all you need."

Gopi brought them two pots of water to wash their dirty feet, and spread out his tattered mat for them to sit on. The woman washed her feet first, changed her wet clothes and seated herself cross legged on the mat.

Seeing the ornaments on her person, Gopi had been addressing her with all the respect due to persons of wealth and position, and the woman was well pleased. Untying a four-anna piece from her apron, she flung it to Gopi saying, "Look here, old man : Fetch us things for cooking."

Gopi picked up the four-anna piece, turned both sides and examined it carefully. Then he kissed it two times, and touching his forehead with it as many times, tied it in one corner of his dhoti. It was apparent from his expression that he was thinking, "I must have seen some lucky face this morning to have got a four-anna piece even before fetching anything." This was the first time it had happened to him since he started his shop.

Gopi brought all the necessary things for cooking and lit a fire in the hearth. The woman set about cooking and the man went with a jar in his left hand to fetch some water.

"Old man : Would you have milk and ghee here?" the woman no deadly ~~we~~ <sup>eat</sup> take my meal without these things." sufficient proof that ~~no~~ <sup>that I have</sup> ~~that I have~~ <sup>enough</sup> ~~by~~ <sup>things</sup> starvation and excessive mental agony".

not fit to be served to you. Fine flattened rice, pure cow's milk, sugar or fresh molasses would have been suitable for your supper. Big fish, green plantain fruit, mung dal, milk and ghee would have been the proper things for your dinner. What shall I do? This is a poor country place. It is my sheer good luck that the dust of your feet has graced my poor cottage. Give me a few copper coins and let me go round the village to see if I can get anything for you."

The woman again flung him a four-anna piece. Gopi carefully tucked it away as before and ran to his village.

At about eight in the night, Gopi's youngest son Brundaban arrived with two or three *tolas* of ghee on a plantain leaf formed into the shape of a cup, half a seer of milk in an earthen pot and two brinjals. He put these things on the verandah and respectfully said, "Madam and Sir : my father is nightblind and could not come. He told me to come to you with these things." So saying he went away.

There was no third person in the shop. The woman was cooking food and the man was helping her. They began talking.

Woman - "Did you hear, Govinda? Didn't you listen with your ears open? They were addressing me as a lady and now I shall be addressed like that wherever I go. Who ever addressed you before as Master? Come with me to Cuttack. Come with me and you will see what I shall make of you. I am tired of urging you for the last four days to go to Cuttack."

Govinda - No, no, Mistress Champa : Let us return to our village. We shall put up there, purchase lands and engage ploughmen to cultivate them."

Champa - "People rightly say that the barbers are the worst among men, as dark nights are the worst of all nights. What do we want with lands? What I have got with me will not be exhausted even in a hundred years, even if we live entirely on it without doing any work."

Govinda - "No. That won't do. I shall go to my village. I have not heard anything from my home for a long time. I am anxious to go home. Give me my share and let me go. As for yourself, do whatever you like."

Champa - "What did you say? Your share? What kind of share is that? Your demand for a share is as ridiculous as a dwarf lifting his hands for the moon. The wealth was mine when it was there, and it is mine also when it is here. Have I stolen it? For the last seven days, you have tired me by making me wander in mud and rain from village to village and from house to house. Do you know who buried the gold mohurs, silver coins and gold ornaments in three places in the bed-room of Mangaraj. At dead of night, I dug the holes and both the Master and I buried them. Did you know about all these things? Are not these mine? Who else can claim these?"

Govinda - "Yes, you buried the wealth and did everything else. But would you have got anything without the key of the house? Who hit upon the idea of getting the key."

Champa - "Well done : I know empty vessels sound the most. What a wonderful device did you contrive. Could I not have done as much? You saw how my feet were blistered by running four miles on heated sand after Mangaraj, and how I cried bitterly and made myself hoarse. And yet you say that you told me the trick. Do you aspire to excel me in wit? I wonder at your audacity. Well, you know how I got the Sanad (deed of ownership) from inside the wooden chest of the Brahmin widow by making friends with her and by staying at her house for a night. Did you tell me the way to do all that too?"

Govinda said nothing more. He strode out angrily and took his seat in the verandah. Champa too kept silent. Trained in the same school, taking lessons from the same master, being equally shrewd, none of them was inferior to the other. Why should one yield so easily to the other? They knew each other too well. Champa apprehended that if she went to Govinda's house and the money and the gold passed from her hands into those of the barber (Govinda), it would be no easy affair to get these back. Moreover, she thought, Govinda's mother and wife might dislike her presence.

Govinda on his part apprehended that if Champa once set foot in Cuttack, it would not be easy to check her.

When two persons pulling in opposite directions are equally matched in their strength, both of them keep their respective positions. It was now 11 or 12 O'clock in the night. The meal was ready. Champa pondered over something for a while. Then she came up to Govinda and said softly. "Look here, Govinda : You say your home is eight miles across the river. All right. If you agree to go to Cuttack, I shall give you some money, hand it over to your family and come back. If you don't listen to me, I won't give you a single pie, not to speak of money or gold. Come, my dear : Let us eat. I am very hungry."

Govinda was too awfully hungry and was perhaps reluctantly getting up to partake of the meal when Champa, unable to see Govinda in the darkness, lost her temper.

Hearing no reply from Govinda, she exploded. "I damn care for you. A servant gets all swollen-headed if he is coaxed too much. Do whatever you like. I don't mind if you eat or not."

Govinda had been about to get up, but slumped back again on hearing this. He thought to himself, "Alas, I am a servant and she is the mistress". But he did not utter a word.

Govinda had been dreaming of a bright future for himself; immense landed property, servants and bullocks, milch - cows tethered within his home precincts and crowd of debtors waiting at the door of his house for loans. But he was now going to be altogether deprived of what he had expected. Wandering about all day in mud and rain had exhausted him. To add to this, he was oppressed with hunger.

Govinda had so far been brooding over it in sullen silence. But when Champa called him a servant, he felt as if he had been stung by a scorpion. He was unable to give vent to his anger. He knew that even two of his kind could not overpower Champa. With his own eyes he had seen Champa on several occasions beat up Mangaraj's strong and stout ploughmen. Anger smouldered in his mind like fire inside a pile of husk.

Champa served out the boiled rice in two leaf-plated and poured cooked dal into the pits she had made in the middle of the rice heaps. Then, looking out to see if anybody was watching, she poured on to her rice the potful of milk which had been brought by Brundaban.

Govinda was watching her from his vantage point in the dark. The sight of milk poured over her rice made him feel as if fire had been poured over his body. He thought to himself that if Champa was capable of such meanness in the sharing of a little milk, the sharing of money and gold was simply out of question.

Champa called out to him aloud and said, "Look here. Take care of your meal. You may or may not eat. I cannot flatter you so much."

Washing her mouth with a handful of water, Champa sat down to her meal, which she lapped up in an incredibly short time in big mouthfuls at a time. She washed her mouth in front of the hearth after the meal, looked out once more, and again asked Govinda to come and take his meal. There was no reply.

Annoyed, she spread herself out on the mat, taking care that the bundle they had brought was securely under her head.

Govinda continued to brood over the situation, sitting in the verandah as before. He was now fully convinced that it was not easy to "take the gem out of the hood of the she-snake." Govinda had even expected something more from Champa. It is in the nature of man to expect respect, love, devotion and obedience from a woman.

It was pitch-dark by now. The south wind was whistling in the trees, it rained every now and then, and the banyan tree standing by the river looked dark and forbidding. Its branches rattled weirdly. Bats came flying up from all directions, hung a while from the tree and flew away again into the sky. They were shrieking and gnawing at the banyan fruits which dropped down to the earth below with a pattering sound. The snoring of Champa from inside the house made things all the more dreadful.

Govinda started from a stupor and looked in all directions. He could hear the yelping of two animals qurelling under the massive darkness of the banyan tree. The light of the lamp in the room was gradually fading away. A faint ray of light radiating from the lamp dimly in that encircling gloom looked like a streak of red from the western sky late in the evening falling on the endless east.

Govinda watched the two jackals fight each other for some scattered banyan fruits. One of them ultimately drove away the other and took sole possession. What Govinda saw of the jackals set him thinking and planning.

He sat up and looked carefully around. Gently, very gently he rose and looked Champa over from head to foot. He had kept his barber's bag in a niche in the wall. Gently, he took out something from the bag. Girding up his loins tightly with his waist band, he took a firm grip on what he held in his hand. Going softly up to Champa he looked venomously at her. Like a wolf watching a sleeping cow from the cover of a forest, he stared at her, his eyes burning and his grip tightening.

He was cautious and calm, not even taking a deep breath. As he stepped up to Champa, his right foot forward, a shaft of light fell on her face. Startled, Govinda fell back and ran out to the verandah.

There was nothing there except the dreadful devilish sounds. Some bats, like patches of darkness, flew away from the lower branches of the tree. Govinda realised that the shaft of light had been only a reflection from what he had in his hand. Mustering courage again, he stepped into the room and pounced upon Champa like a wolf on its prey.

In that moment, the lamp died out with a flicker. There was a sound of violent groaning and struggling and then all became quiet in the room. The jackal ran away hurriedly, alarmed at the sound. The bats flew away from the tree, flapping their wings furiously. A terrible squal of wind shook the branches of the tree and the earth around it. In the midst of the impenetrable darkness, some horrible deed had been done.

(The last instalment of *Chhamana Atha Guntha* will appear in the next issue of *Mankind*.)

# SEX, REPRODUCTION AND LOVE

## THE COLLAPSE OF THE BOURGEOIS MARRIAGE

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

A dead-end has been reached with bourgeois marriage. The divorce rate has crossed 50%, or 1 in 2 in USA, and in UK and EU, the rate is not much lower at about 40 percent. A new problem has arisen in the United States. There are about 2 lakh "runaway husbands", who have abandoned their wives and children in order to avoid alimony and maintenance demands. The single-mother family, is quite the norm all over the West. Domestic violence, and adultery are universal. Prostitution has been incorporated into a limited liability company on the Sydney Stock Exchange. Sex tourism has become an integral part of tourism the world over. There are streets in Delhi, where, women from the Soviet Republics sell themselves for a pittance in order to just carry back to their Central Asian homelands, a few worldly goods at the end of an "Indian working holiday." There are millions of Russian and East European women available in the flesh markets from Amsterdam and Hamburg to Trieste and Barcelona. Criminal paedophile gangs are operating in Belgium and France with a network of pimps stretching from the Caribbean to Goa and Macao.

All these indices of the destruction of the nuclear, monogamous bourgeois family are so well-known that people have become blasé about them. We no longer even appear to be shocked when couples separate, divorce, or for one reason or another break-up. Children are often a problem, in the initial stages, but they too gradually get adjusted to a turbulent and often traumatic existence with one parent and the "visiting rights" enjoyed by the other.

It is obvious to me that all these happenings are a result of a mismatch between property rights and socio-cultural affairs concerned with Sex, Reproduction and Love.

In this article, we shall leave aside, Private Property Rights, which are the

root cause of almost all evil in the world. We are socialists, atheists, rationalists historical and dialectical materialists. Therefore, for the time being, we shall put aside the basic and fundamental evil of Private Property Rights.

Let us concentrate on the issues of Sex, Reproduction and Companionship.

However, right at the outset, we must make it clear that our views regarding the "Shape of Things to Come" are predicated upon a realisation by *Mankind* of the next stage in human societal evolution. What we have suggested can come into being only when Man has ceased to exploit Man; when Woman has become the true equal of Man; when Private Property Interests have ceased to influence Social Affairs.

If Capitalism continues, it is impossible to solve the crises into which, marriage as an institution has been plunged. Women will remain degraded, second-class citizens in any bourgeois society, and such "second-class citizens" can have no free options in sexual behaviour like those we have suggested. **But capitalism will pass.** We must begin to visualise the Future of the Family in the Era of Socialist and Nationalist Equality that will follow the end of the present Unequal and Exploitative Order.

### SEX

Sexual repression under bourgeois class rule had touched such horrendous dimensions that a limited specialist in psychology, Sigmund Freud, actually reached the conclusion that sexual repression was the cause of all the stresses and strains of the modern world. (See: Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900/1953, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, 1905/1953, *Taken and Taboo*, 1913/1955, *Civilization and its Discontents*, 1930/1961: In each case the first date represents the publication of the German original and the alternative date is that of the English translation).

Freud's approach was so narrow and stultifying that he ultimately fell out with all his best pupils: Karl Jung, Alfred Adler, Geza Roheim, each of whom tried to found a school of his own (Collective Unconscious, Power Equation, Primal Image.) Ultimately, several approaches to Marxism emerged, as represented by Karl Mannheim, (*Ideology and Utopia*, 1929), Herbert Marcuse (*Eros and Civilization* 1958) and Karen Horney. (*The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, 1937) (We also draw the reader's attention to Calverton and Schmalhausen, ed., *Sex in Civilization*, 1929, which is dated but nevertheless still useful).

Let us cut through all the verbiage and endless philosophising. Young men and women marry and very soon the problems of economic existence, parenting and anxieties and worries of middle and old age cause them to be disillusioned with each other. All the romance disappears, novelty in sex is atrophied and the feelings of *deja vu* and boredom take over. They begin to quarrel with each other and soon acrimony and bitterness, frustration and anger, irritation and violence become the daily routine. Very soon a formal or informal parting of ways occurs.

I think that the whole business of pre-marital sexual exploration, of adjustment to a hectic sexual life in the immediate post-puberty phase, the adjustment to the menstrual rhythm on the part of the female and of less traumatic but nevertheless similar critical traumas on the part of the male, all these pile up on each other and cause a lot of physical and mental tension.

Actually, sex is a simple, recurring need or appetite. Just as one never gets tired of food and water, one never gets completely fed-up with sex. After all it is a physiological need. A repetitive exercise of certain convulsive muscular movements. One pays for food in a restaurant or for the labour of a porter at a railway station or for that of a woman in a red light district. A coolie or porter exercises certain muscles for a small payment and a prostitute or a sexual partner exercises another bunch of muscles of the thigh, abdomen and the pelvic regions, for a slightly different scale of payments.

There are of course associative social factors involved and by and by we shall be dealing with each of them.

All conceptions of virginity and exclusivity are really offshoots of the acquisitive propensity of the bourgeois mind. The capitalist wants to leave behind

his miserable possessions or wealth and he wants to make sure that his child gets his legacy. He has to arrange all the idiotic social compulsions that promote high-falutin notions of purity, chastity, et.al. **Because fundamentally, maternity is a certainty but paternity is a reasonable or otherwise supposition.**

I do not want to go into the matter of social evolution of modes of production and their reflections in the sexual sphere. I am not sure of the precise familial repercussions of the pastoralist order. Krishna had 84,000 gopis, Draupadi had at least 5 husbands, Kunti had pre-marital and post-marital relations with many "Gods" with robust sexual appetites, and there are many *rishis* and sages littered on the pages of the *Puranas* and Epics with all sorts of peculiar sexual desires and liaisons.

Greek slave society had dull, sequestered wives, as well as *dikterai*, the state-supported common prostitutes. There were also the *hetaerae*, or more exclusive courtesans and call-girls, apart from innumerable homosexual *catamites*.

In the Indian feudal set-up, there were, the *Deredars*, i.e., those who erected temporary tents near garrison towns and catered to the common soldier. Then there were the *kothewaliyan*, who were the higher-priced courtesans, residing in their own *kothas* or establishments. And of course there were any number of intermediate grades of nautch girls and singing girls. In Japan, the feudal warriors or Samurai were entertained by *geishas* who may be taken as the equivalent of our Indian *kothewaliyan* and the Greek *hetaerae*.

In the bourgeois period, of course there are the well-established state-licensed, red-light districts, where the sex-trade is carried on in the crudest commercial form. In Amsterdam, the women sit behind well-lit large glass windows displaying themselves to those customers who would like to view the goods offered before hiring the so-called sex worker. In Bombay, red-light area, the women are actually caged in the same manner as animals in a zoo, and can be inspected by prospective buyers of the sex commodity with the same freedom as in Amsterdam.

In fact, the whole matter of prostitution is beset with a gigantic stigma of hypocrisy. It is somehow made out that the trade in sex is, "illegitimate" and is, "morally degrading". Actually, as has become quite well-known now, the Japanese invading armies provided officially, thousands of Chinese, Korean and Filipino comfort women, for its troops right from 1931 to 1945 ! (In the case of Korea and Taiwan, from 1910 and 1895 !) The Indian Army authorities were dragged over the coals in the Central Assembly, for the official despatch of several hundred prostitutes to Mesopotamia in order to take care of the Indian soldiers stationed there during the First World War. In the Southern States of the United States, actually, slave breeding farms were set up with "one stud serving many cows" in each slave dormitory !

I do not know who has created this nonsense about prostitutes carrying on a particularly reprehensible profession. If women can roll *bidis* and some of them can walk down catwalks in *haute couture* salons, displaying their limbs and muscles, and porters can lift loads at railway stations, what is so unethical about sex workers carrying on their activities in red-light districts or *geishas* and call-girls practising their profession in nightclubs and other shady joints ? The labour market is a vast pool. Different segments of the same market, cater to different needs and demands of society. How is an armament factory worker, who is producing lethal weapons, more or less "morally

repugnant" than a simple prostitute ?

Of course, it is true that women are being doubly, trebly and quadruply exploited. They are, first of all, kept illiterate in their millions by bourgeois society. They are forced into the sex trade by their circumstances, but all sections of the labour market are equally "forced", depending upon their level of education, skill and poverty. When models sleep with their designers, or secretaries with their bosses, or chorus girls or cine extras with their theatrical and cinematic producers and directors, why should such activities be considered to be more legitimate than the open trade in the sex commodity by prostitutes? If the worker, manufacturing land mines, that are killing thousands of innocent farmers in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Myanmar and in scores of other countries; and if the pesticide processor can genetically distort and make hell the existence of umpteen future generations; if they can carry on holding their heads high, what is so very reprehensible about the little Nepali teenager carrying on her trade in a Kamathipura *kothi*, mortgaged to a bank which is realising enormous rents from the properties pledged with it?

The whole business of bourgeois hypocrisy is sickening ! They make distinctions where no logical difference obtains ! Something is considered to be ethically degrading just because it suits some moralisers to help depress the wage levels in the sex market. All that they achieve is merely cheaper sex in the flesh trade ! Where is the high moral ground to be located in the miserable, oppressive, exploitative bourgeois society ?

*Mankind* firmly believes with Charlie Chaplin that numbers sanctify ! It would like to add that, **along with numbers, distance and length of chains** are equally effective in the matter of sanctification. Because the land-mine is made in the Skoda factory in Prague and the killing fields and far away in Afghanistan, Myanmar, Cambodia and Vietnam, we presume that the worker and the manufacturer is innocent and morally aboveboard ! Because the chain of cause and effect between the pesticide-maker and the genetically deformed generation is very long, therefore, the former is engaged in legitimate economic activity and the prostitute's trade is illegitimate ?

Consider the Nobel Prize. The donor was Nobel, a manufacturer of dynamite. The irony is that, Nobel's Selection Committee for the various prizes, actually award a Peace Prize! How is Nobel's profession morally sounder than that of the poor prostitute ? **I would say that Nobel did far greater harm to the people of the world during his lifetime than all the prostitutes of the world, put together during their lifetimes!**

Constraints of space prevent us from following this line of argument. Therefore, let us return to the limited *leit motif* of this article.

The social history of prostitution is a subject that we can deal with as an independent study. We need not go into it here. We may merely note that like everything else in bourgeois society, sex is a commodity. It is bought and sold under certain specific socio-cultural and politico-economic conditions. It may take the form of instant gratification, or it may take the *Mutah* form for a few nights, or the mistress form for few years, or the marriage form for very nearly an entire life span. The price payable will vary with the time span involved and the responsibilities that devolve upon the parties concerned. The monetary transactions will similarly vary from a few rupees to dowry payments involving crores of rupees, and transfer of shares, and of companies with enormous assets.

One feature is common to all modern marriages. Some

property transaction is invariably involved, either immediately or eventually. In "arranged marriages," the monetary transactions are spelt out very clearly. Even in "love marriages", the cost of parenting will be necessarily calculated, because, in bourgeois society, children are an individual responsibility. And so long as parents are personally responsible for bringing up children, it is impossible to eliminate commerce from the marriage business.

Actually, sex and property matters have very little direct connection. Only the institution of marriage, which is a social arrangement, connects these two disparate spheres of human activity.

Men and women possess sexual organs and appetites. The structure and function of the male and female genitalia are designed for intermingling.

Here, we may make a slight digression and note the peculiarities of the physiology of sexual intercourse.

On the whole, the design of the female sexual organs is more advanced than that of the male. In the case of the male penis, the functions of erotic satisfaction, excretion and reproduction via sperm ejaculation are all confused. In the case of the female, the clitoris has been sharply differentiated. It has no function except the erotic-sexual. The vagina has multiple functions. The erotic, the excretory (menstruation) and the reproductive.

Secondly, the entire cycle of erection, penetration and ejaculation is a trifle complicated and spasmodic. A man may have an unsatisfactory tumescence and in any case, will need a period of withdrawal and rest after convulsive ejaculation. In the case of the female, no elaborate, preparatory erection is involved and repeated climaxes in close succession are entirely feasible and are quite normal.

Furthermore, the male attains a high level of sexual capacity and performance very quickly, very soon after puberty, whose onset is roughly between the ages of 12 and 15. In the case of the female, sexual arousal and awareness are a little more spread over, say between 12 and 18.

At the same time, it has been established by various studies like the *Kinsey Report on Male Sexual Behaviour and the Hite Report of Female Sexual Behaviour*, that not only is the sexual appetite of young persons enormous, cases being known of 10 ejaculations per day for young boys; over prolonged periods of time. However, it is also known that females have unlimited appetites for sex at relatively more advanced ages, like say 35 to 45.

It seems obvious to me that young people not only need sexual encounters with their own peer group but also that they could be easily guided by a somewhat older sexual partner.

Therefore, I would suggest that triple amalgamation in marriage of sex, reproduction and love be split up three ways.

I feel that the first 10 or 15 years of sexual maturity be devoted to exploration and experimentation. In other words, children of both sexes between the ages of 12/15 to 25 or so, may freely live with slightly older partners between the ages of 35 and 45, and they should have simultaneously, multiple liaisons with members of the opposite sex of the same age-group as well.

The trite observations, that, males have the "seven-year-itch" or that females would like to "renew romance" when nearing menopause and similar hazards, adulteries, deceptions, etc. would be generally overcome by this arrangement. Men will enjoy sex with younger women and women will have the pleasure of the company of young men in bed.

Already, per-marital sex is a fact of life in affluent Western

societies. At the same time, literally millions of young people are "living together" for varying periods of time before plunging into marital responsibilities.

I think that the proposal I have made of open-ended "living together" of younger folk of 12/15-25 with older sexual partners of 35 to 45, will solve many problems, psychological, sociological and economic. The older partner will guide the younger one in many different ways. Also, repression, aberration, neurosis, deviant behaviour and so on will become less frequent. After all, the sexual organs and appetites are all too human. It is better to allow them untrammelled scope for a limited number of socially recognised periods, rather than, repress them arbitrarily and idiotically with all sorts of unhealthy consequences.

## REPRODUCTION

It is obvious to me that whether we accept demographic data or insurance risk analyses or medical-physiological tables, slice it which ever way you like, the human body, both male and female, is at its peak performance between the ages of 25 and 35. Men and women of this age-group should come together and reproduce, so that we have an ever healthier next generation. Since, in future, human societies are likely to restrict the number of off-springs to just one or two, this ten year span provides for proper spacing of pregnancies and at the same time, reduces the risk of both infant and maternal mortalities, and also maximises the chances of survival and healthy growth.

Even today, various societies in different parts of the world lay down minimum ages for marriages for men and women. My suggestions are in the direction of logicity and rationalisation. Let us put behind us the present system of bourgeois anarchy and chaos. Let us not leave things unplanned. Let us have order and simplicity. Let young men and women come together for the specific purpose of reproduction and child care. Let them reproduce healthy children, just one or two, and provide them with all the parental love and care that they can bestow, upto the age six, when I feel, for many reasons, that society should take over the responsibility for education. All children from the age of six to twenty, should be hostelised and brought up by some public authority, who will oversee their education through school, technical training institutes and colleges/ universities.

Of course, nobody is advocating the elimination of affection and parental love. The children will go home during their vacations and live with their natural parents as long as both sides are willing and able to live together in cordiality.

The problems of broken homes, runaway fathers, unwed single mothers and similar traumatic situations will rarely arise under the suggestions which I am making with due humility.

No socio-political situation can be solved 100%. There will be some problems, remaining to be solved by future history. What I am saying is, let us solve 90% of our present day familial problems.

Let us recognise the vigour and thrust of raw sexual appetites. There are no womanisers and rakes in society, neither are there nymphomaniacs. These are all social creations. Even hundreds of years hence, in a socialist society, there will be some neurotic man or woman who will sell sexual favours for some petty psychic consideration and there will be one or two idiotic sadists who will compel sexual co-operation. But let us not try to be perfectionists and endeavour to solve all problems at once.

Let us get on with our job of being serious social scientists. Let young men and women of 15 to 25 be attached to and be



guided by members of the opposite sex of the age group 35 to 45. Let them at the same time have sexual relationships with their peers. Let this kind of "living-in" and restricted promiscuity flourish for the first 10 or 15 years of sexual maturity. At the end of it, all the novelty and all the curiosity will cease to be. Thereafter, let them pair-off in monogamous couples and gestate with kindness and affection, one or two healthy children who will be nurtured by the affectionate couple for the first few years of the child's life. Thereafter, let public authorities establish sufficient number of coeducational institutions where all the children would receive equal treatment and will be brought up by professional educationists, who know their subjects, and, who are answerable to the judicial and other supervisory authorities.

### LOVE

Once we have separated Sex and Reproduction from the complex of man-woman relationships, the residue is largely Love.

On a macro-level, on large-scale social level, involving not individuals but collectivities, the highest expression of Love is to be found in the camaraderie at the barricades, when individuals move beyond themselves, submerge their personalities and angularities in something larger, in an ideal that is beyond self and join hands with other men and women to overthrow an unjust, oppressive and exploitative social order. At such time, he or she acts quintessentially as a human being. **For a human being is not a human being, till he/she has proved that he/she can act selflessly, that he/she is willing to die for a cause that is beyond his self-centered, narrow, selfish goal.**

But in the limited, liberal bourgeois micro-behavioural level, love becomes restricted to a very narrow circle: sweetheart, wife, children, parents and a few more. Even the nation is beyond the ken of such limited minds. Such individuals merely promote family, caste and creed interests.

However, let us not go into those larger groupings and let us confine the discussion to the level of the individual psyche. Even there, it is generally accepted that marriage is not a mere appropriation by one partner of the genitalia of the other, as Kant said. Even to the limited extent of the wife and family, an individual transcends his ego, develops tolerance of the feelings, failings, and foibles of the marriage partner and tries to look at the world with a dual vision.

But here again, property interests vitiate the situation. There are innumerable domestic quarrels that grow out of a conflict of property interests between the "clan" of the husband and that of the wife. Also, shares of husband and wife in total earnings give rise to acrimony. Ultimately, nothing much can be done within the ambit of private property relations. Little incidents of selfishness fester and suppurate.

It will be observed that under my scheme of things, all men and women of the age-group 35 to 45 would be entering into more or less promiscuous sexual relations with younger folk of postpuberty to approximate age 25.

In other words, all men and women have had 2 periods of more or less complete sexual freedom: At the immature young age of 12/15 to 25, they have had relations with middle-aged elder folk; and the latter age-group of 35 to 45 has been reinvigorated by sexual encounters with the younger folk.

Now comes the vital period of nearly 30 years, from age 45 to age 75 when men and women, at their creative best mentally and psychologically, should come together as co-workers,

comrades and companions.

A man is a social being. He can never live alone. And whilst at his workplace he may mix with tens and hundreds and thousands, he needs a life partner with whom he can share, the joys and sorrows of living during the closing years of his life. A highly cultured, civilised behaviour and gentle manners/morals are the necessary concomitants of such companionship.

I feel that a lonely man is a brute. He is only half a man and half an animal. He needs the oxygen of societal existence. He must collaborate closely, including occasional intimacy in bed, with a member of the opposite sex in order to find fulfillment and loving help under conditions of bourgeois exploitation and oppression. Many idealistic men and women can find fulfillment in joint participation in class struggles. **After all bourgeois society will end!** What are they to do after that? I think, companionship, recollection and savouring of nostalgia, shared experiences of life's travails, a little fond recollection of humorous or sad experiences, all these things, it seems to me, are educative, healthful and necessary.

### CONCLUSION

I think as a revolutionary, as a socialist and as a nationalist. That is how I think. Such an approach comes to me naturally.

I am also an atheist and a dialectical and historical materialist. I am a rationalist and a monist. All these attitudes and approaches are ingrained in me. I cannot think otherwise.

Therefore, I think every man and woman should first of all separate all property interests from marital problems.

The present bourgeois institution of marriage has completely confused matters related to Sex, Reproduction and Love. I do not think any single arrangement can pass the test on all three counts.

I think; as a species, *Homo sapiens sapiens* have a fairly long life of averagely about 75 years, the world over. I think we should conveniently divide, this life into 5 periods :

- (i) Pre-puberty : age 0 to 12/15
- (ii) Post-puberty and Youth : age 12/15 to 25
- (iii) Middle Age : age 25 to 35
- (iv) Advanced Middle Age : 35 to 45
- (v) Maturity and Old-Age : age 45 to 75

In this essay, we are not concerned with the pre-puberty period . We give very little importance to the psycho-analytical learned rubbish about Collective Unconscious, Primal Image, Oedipus/Electra Complex, Libido and Superego, Pecking Order and Power Play and such other trivia.

Men and women are endowed with the ability and the desire to intermingle their genitalia. There is no harm in it. A man or a woman can have many sexual encounters, episodes, partners and associates. They have been naturally and physiologically endowed and in the post-puberty period encapacitated.

It has always been a mystery to me why men and women should not have sex with many partners, many times. Two eggs are released every month by the woman's two ovaries for some 30 years! As for the millions of sperm cells, they are countless. If some of these sperm cells are allowed to impregnate the eggs, foetuses will result. Nobody has yet proved that any male sperm cell will not or cannot fertilise any female egg and that the whole cycle of arousal, erection, intromission, ejaculation and detumescence is not pleasurable for the man or that a similar cycle does not occur in the female body. Both men and women enjoy sex and they generally have it as many times as is socially sanctioned.

In current unequal society, generally the rich have many more

opportunities for fornication, than the poor. There are "swinging couples" in the West who freely exchange partners. There are "sex tours" for the aimless rich travellers. There are red-light districts everywhere. And millions of women make a daily living out of "sexual work".

It is sheer bourgeois hypocrisy to close one's eyes at the total breakdown of the monogamous bourgeois nuclear family as a viable, social institution with a long life.

Whatever happens, this kind of absurd and anarchic situation, is not going to be perpetuated.

First of all, class society creates sex deprivations for the many. The elites of different class epochs have a terrific time with *hetaerae*, harems, *kothewalls*, *jananas*, sex tourism and so on. The poor young man or woman is made to feel envy and bitterness, frustration and neurosis. Just as we treat all children equally, why should we not treat adolescents, with their powerful, newly-felt sex urges, equally indulgently? Let young people sleep with each other and discover for themselves, the implications of their sexuality.

There is no scientific evidence for the repressive view that the vagina or the penis will be harmed by many sexual intercourses with many partners. STD, AIDS, low sperm count, ovarian malfunctioning, cancer of the reproductive organs, Rh-negative incompatibility with pre-natal circulation, are all side-issues that are not relevant here.

The trouble is that after repression and severe restrictions, including religious prohibition, especially the Judaeo Christian concept of "Sex as Sin", a great big mystique is created out of sex, as though it was some great thing.

Acually, sex is no big deal, except in repressed conditions. It is a natural occurrence, that is periodic and interesting. Like yawning, sneezing or some aerobic exercise or a yoga *asana* ! I have provided certain analogies with the knowledge that sex has its own unique, pleasurable and ecstatic connotations too.

After all, no human activity is entirely duplicated. If it were duplicatable, it would cease to be differentiated. The dialectics of the situation is that things are similar and dissimilar at the same time.

I am not denying the uniqueness of sex. Neither am I demeaning it. But let us not go to the other extreme and make sex the be all and end all of all existence.

Sex is not the goal of life, except in the narrow sense that sexual activity is a precondition for continuation of life.

But many things contribute to continuation of life. We eat and drink and perspire to cool ourselves and breathe to maintain metabolism, excrete in order to periodically ingest, flex our muscles, scan with our senses, and so on. Without all these simultaneous activities, we wouldn't be able to live or have sex!

As we grow older, and as the first flush of intense or morbid curiosity about sex wanes, we become aware, more and more, of the communicational dimensions of sexual contacts. To put it crudely, we do not merely fuck the body of the opposite partner, we fuck the mind also! In fact, in respect of sex, as in all other matters, the mind takes over the universe of experience. We like to court the other sex, we flirt, we experiment, we watch reactions, many a times we perform all these probes without any physical fulfillment.

The truth is that we have a scanning mind. So long as the body lives, the mind helplessly, ceaselessly, endlessly keeps on scanning the horizon from end to end, from here to eternity.

That is how we are. That is what we are. We have a past, a present and a future. We are in constant dynamic motion. We are becoming!

Sex is like that. Nothing great or awesome and overpowering. It is just one of the run of the mill occurrences of daily life. We begin sexual activity in a playful, tentative manner. Having found it to be enjoyable and pleasurable, we pursue it more seriously, steadfastly and single-mindedly.

There are foolish rich fellows who boast of their multiple sexual conquests as they boast of their multiple possessions (cars, bungalows, yachts, company shares or any other bloody triviality)! "I have slept with a hundred women", some idiot may shout. So what? Any damn fool can have sex. It is a part of his or her natural equipment. The point is not to have sex with multitudes of women or men, but to learn from such encounters wisdom, gentleness, camaraderie, and so on.

That is why, I believe that let there be order in the sexual sphere as in all other spheres of life. Let us think, plan and bring about a just and dynamic social system. Let us have sex, plenty of it, but not in the chaotic class society way when a few slave-owners or feudalists or capitalists monopolise all pretty women and leave the populace deprived and repressed. Let everyone have as much sex as his/her body and mind can stand.

We believe that our five stage division of sexual life points to a reasonable solution. It provides for guidance at certain stages in matters sexual, it permits experimentation and exploration, it provides for healthy progeny, it takes care of a peaceful denouement after all the storm and stress and frenetic frenzy. It provides for a civilized way out of the present mess, it is fair and just to all the members of a social formation. It is good to think of all our fellow human beings as not enemies or rivals. They are partners and helpers in our social existence. Let us all get-together and live in loving friendly amity. Above all, let us plan things in such a way that strife, envy, cruelty, deprivation and repression are minimised and so that creative, productive life is prolonged.

At least, let us begin the debate.

## 1. Cost of Global Markets to Developing Countries

This is the most important bar chart of this issue.

The figure is self-explanatory. *Human Development Report, 1992*, by the UNDP may itself be quoted from pp.66-7 :

### "Losses for unequal access

"Developing Countries suffer major losses because they are denied market opportunities.

"These losses arise in two ways. First, even where markets work freely, the poor nations participate as unequal partners. Second, where developing countries might have a competitive advantage, the markets are often restricted.

"Consider capital markets. The developing countries have paid extremely high real interest rates in some periods—because of their economic weakness, because of falling commodity prices, and because of perceptions of the risks of lending to them.

"During the 1980s, when industrial countries were paying 4%, the developing countries were effectively paying 17%. (See illustration no. 4. on Back Cover of last issue; *MK*, July-Aug'97) On a total debt of over \$ 1 trillion, this cost them about \$ 120 billion, in addition to a reverse debt-related net financial transfer that reached \$ 50 billion in 1989.

"The weakness of developing countries is also evident in commodity markets and in the markets for services—where they would probably gain some \$20 billion if they did not lack the necessary access and finance to compete on an equal footing.

"The second major cause of losses—market restrictions—is most evident in the labour market. **Immigration controls cost, at a comparative estimate, \$ 250 billion—though some studies suggest that the figure could be much higher.** Restrictions on the flow of goods because of tariff and non-tariff barriers cost at least \$ 40 billion a year of this, \$ 35 billion are due to restrictions on manufactures (the Multi-Fibre-Arrangement alone accounts for \$ 24 billion), and \$ 5 billion are due to restrictions on tropical, resource based and agricultural products. Technology markets are also closely guarded. The losses there for developing countries may be in the range of \$20 billion, though it is difficult to make an accurate estimate.

"There are, of course, interlinkages between the various markets. And the losses are cumulative, since opportunities denied at present become greater with the passage of time. Overall, the cost of global markets to developing countries can be broadly estimated at \$500 billion a year."

## 2. Workers' Remittances, 1989.

"In 1989, the developing countries received about \$25 billion in official remittances from industrial countries and the Gulf. Of this, Egypt received around \$4 billion, India and Turkey around \$3 billion and Pakistan around \$2 billion. On an average, this amounts to more than \$700 per worker per year, or around \$1000 if unofficial remittances are also taken into account.

"For Asian countries, estimates of unofficial remittances vary between 10% to 60% of official remittances depending on the country. In the Philippines in 1985, an estimated one-third of total remittances went unrecorded at the central bank.

"A study in Egypt suggested a multiplier effect for remittances

of 2.2—that is, remittances of 1 million Egyptian pounds increased the GNP by 2.2 million pounds. Similar studies in Pakistan suggested a multiplier of 2.4."

(Source : *HDR 1992*, p.56-7)

To all those foolish people who advocate globalisation with gusto, like the Mata Hari of the MNCs Gail Omvedt, we suggest that they demand, first of all, "the globalisation of labour". In fact, if true free movement across borders is assured to the labouring masses of the Third World, *Mankind* is willing to rethink and abate its Revolutionary Nationalist platform.

In fact, why don't our Stalinist-Progressivists and Naxalites pick up our challenge : Let labour move freely between countries, and let us see for how long the Western countries are able to carry on their super-exploitation of the Poor of the Developing Countries!

## 3. Estimated Capital Required To Compensate For Migration Restrictions.

"If labour migration were to remain restricted and if the labour-sending countries were instead offered private foreign capital investment to compensate for the loss of remittances and income, how much capital investment would be required ?

A recent study answered this question for five Asian economies by assessing the full income effect of remittances on the worker's home-country economy and the incremental capital-output ratios for the countries of emigration."

"The compensatory capital per migrant ranges from \$ 12,000 in Bangladesh to \$ 32,400 in the Philippines—and the financing gap from \$ 3.1 billion to \$ 20.2 billion for the same countries."

(Source : *HDR, 1992*, p.59)

Even using very conservative assumptions, immigration controls deny developing countries income (direct and indirect) of at least \$ 250 billion a year.

## 4. Migration Of Skilled Workers From Developing Countries.

This figure needs no comment.

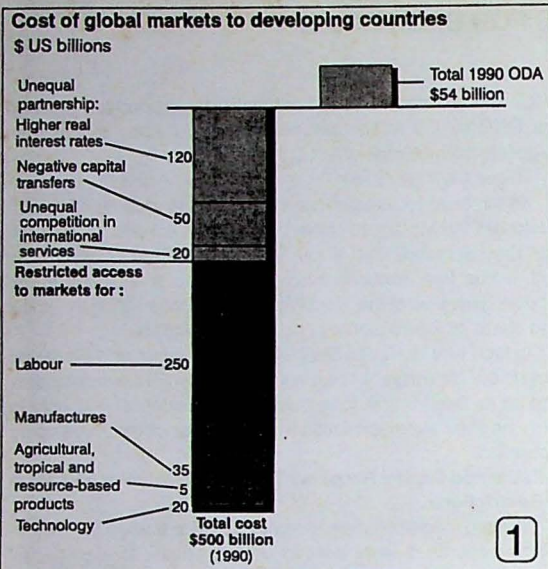
## 5. Global Income Disparity, 1960-89.

This figure too needs no comment.

## 6. Services' Growing Share In GDP, 1970-90

In our earlier study "Capitalism's Second Breath", December 1995, we had pinpointed the extraordinary spurt in the relative contribution of the various sectors to the National GDP. We had drawn attention to the fact that, after about 1970-75, the world economy had changed dramatically. In all Advanced countries, the Services sector was now contributing between 55 to 72 percent of the National Annual GDP. Even in India, between 1970 and 1990, there has been a relative shift from 33% to 40% (See, *WB Report, 1995*, Table 3, p.166, for share of services sector in Indian GDP for year 1970; and *WB Report, 1992*, Table 3, p.222, for data of year 1990) The trend for the years 1990-95 is also in the same direction and stands at 41% (See, for 1995, *WB Report, 1997*, Table 12, p.236.)

How to combat, in a revolutionary manner, the new economic situation created by "senile" capitalism, is our central problem. We shall be tackling this problem in the revised, enlarged and updated presentation of our Credo which will appear in the October 1997 issue of *Mankind*.



Source : UNDP Report, 1992, p.67

Country	Remittances (US \$ billions)	As % of GNP	As % of exports	As % of import	As % of ODA
Yugoslavia	6.3	8.8	47	43	-
Egypt	4.3	13.1	166	57	270
Portugal	3.4	7.5	26	18	-
Turkey	3.0	4.1	26	19	-
India	2.7	0.9	17	14	141
Pakistan	1.9	4.7	41	27	17
Morocco	1.3	6.0	40	24	299
Bangladesh	0.8	3.9	59	22	43
Jordan	0.6	10.6	61	27	200
Tunisia	0.5	4.8	16	11	195
Colombia	0.5	1.2	8	9	740
Philippines	0.4	0.8	5	3	43

2

Source : Human Development Report, 1992, p.56

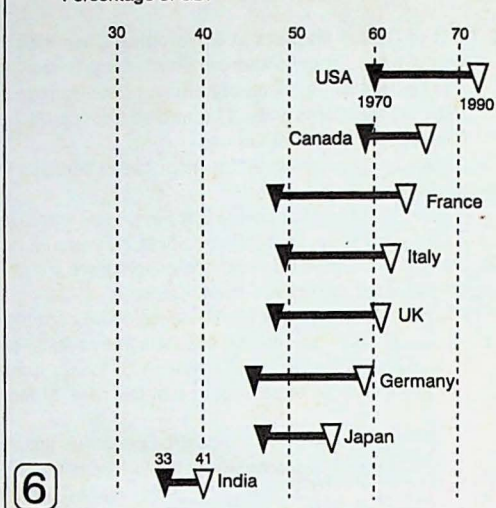
### ESTIMATED CAPITAL REQUIRED TO COMPENSATE FOR MIGRATION RESTRICTIONS.

3	Remittances times a multiplier of 2.3	Incremental Capital output ratio	Estimated compensatory capital (\$ millions)	Migrants abroad (thousands)	Compensatory capital Per migrant (dollars)	Foreign direct investment 1989 (\$ millions)	Financing gap : Compensatory capital minus FDI (\$ millions)
Bangladesh	1,700	1.8	3,060	250	12,200	3	3,057
Pakistan	6,900	2.8	19,320	1,200	16,100	176	19,144
Philippines	3,900	5.4	21,060	650	32,400	854	20,206
Sri Lanka	730	4.4	3,212	130	24,700	18	3,194
Thailand	2,200	3.7	8,140	350	23,260	3,116	5,024

(Source : Human Development Report, 1992, p.59)

### Services' growing share in GDP, 1970-90

Percentage of GDP



Source : UNDP Report, 1993, p.42

### GLOBAL INCOME DISPARITY, 1960-89.

Percentage of global income

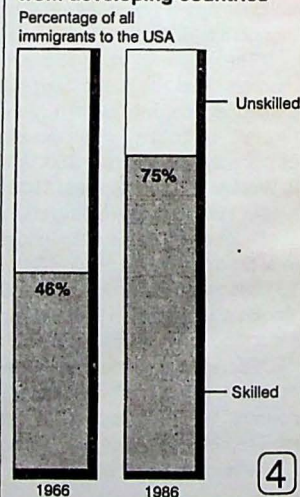
	Poorest 20% (%)	Richest 20% (%)	Richest to Poorest	Gini Coefficient
1960	2.3	70.2	30 to 1	0.69
1970	2.3	73.9	32 to 1	0.71
1980	1.7	76.3	45 to 1	0.79
1989	1.4	82.7	59 to 1	0.87

5

(Source : Human Development Report, 1992, p.36)

### Migration of skilled workers from developing countries

Percentage of all immigrants to the USA



Source : UNDP Report, 1992, p.56