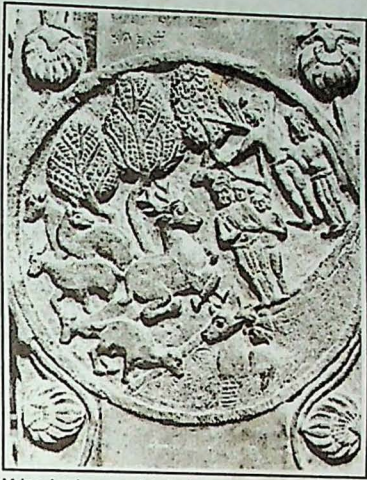


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MANKIND

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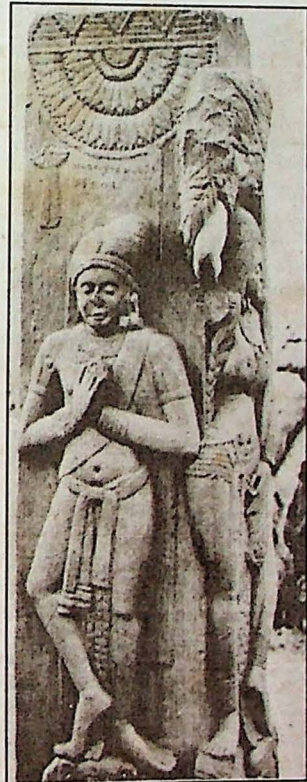
Mriga Jataka, roundel of railing post from the Stupa.



Chulakoka Devi

Donated by
Dr. VINAYAK PUROHIT
MANKIND, Pune

THE BHARHUT SCHOOL
second half of 2nd Century B.C.
(See inside p.3)



Kubera, King of the Yakshas



at Bharhut as first uncovered.

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Rammanohar Lohia

Vol. 3, No. 1, October 1997

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Mankind continues its presentation of Indian Classical Art. We had featured the Mathura School on the Front and Back Covers of the April 1997 issue of *Mankind* and also three portrait heads of the Maurya Period in our last issue. We now present the Bharhut School. (More details on next page.)

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Our *Opening Statement* this time takes irreverent and highly sceptical notice of the passing away of the gold-digger, flirt and low-brow Diana and of the non-secular Roman Catholic Conversion Specialist Teresa. It also notes the frantic antics of the racialist Netanyahu and of the 31 Jewels/Curses of India, that is Bharat.

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We have reiterated, enlarged and updated our *Credo*. Readers may find it useful to keep this lengthy piece aside, and read it section by section each evening over a length of time. We are going to follow-up the economic aspects in a separate article that will appear in a future issue, perhaps soon.

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India's Place in the Sun compares the Areas, the Populations and the GDP-PPP for 1960 and 1994 for all the countries and continents of the world. This is a most important basic data sheet which *Mankind* readers are advised to use as permanent reference.

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Wah Kya Kahen ! this time deals with :

- Radcliffe, a self-confessed British ignoramus who divided our India in 3 parts in order to permanently disable all the 3 nations of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh;
- Mayawati and Kanshi Ram, the most notoriously opportunistic couple known to this country of master maneuverers and intriguers, continue their hunt for symbolic glory;
- the extraordinary and multiple divisions amongst the Dalits;
- a new book on India's greatest scientific genius Satyendranath Bose;
- the Stalinist hero and home minister Indra. Gupta who finds the number of Dalits killed at Ramabai Nagar, Mumbai, insufficient for removal of the State Government and is possibly waiting for the number of killings to rise to a few hundreds or possibly thousands;
- V.P. Singh, who is proving that he is alive and kicking by continuing his intrigues to bring Kanshi Ram within the United Front;
- Irfan Habib, the old Stalinist war-horse, who is as usual sitting on the imperialist barbed wire fence and therefore squirming;
- International Development Fund aid that is with-interest-loan is inexorably dragging India into the debt trap;
- the miserable quantum of bank credit to the SSI sector;
- the enormous amount of customs and excise duties collected from our crude oil and petroleum sector which make nonsense of the official claim about our growing Oil Pool Deficit;
- Gulshan Kumar who seems to have been killed, not by one but by many assassins;
- the manner in which privatisation is leading to a collapse of

higher education in India;

- the projected replacement of the State monopoly, Doordarshan, with Rupert Murdoch's private monopoly headed by the same *naukersshah*, Rathikant Basu;
- The notorious MNC, Imperial Chemical Industries, which is seeking to swallow up an Indian industrial unit, the Asian Paints.

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Our section on Lohiana continues with his notes on the *Unity of the People of India* and the *Rivers of India*.

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In our brief survey of significant world news, *Chalo Duniya Dekhe !* We examine :

- the brilliant insight with which Che Guevara had picked up Laurent Kabila of Congo-Kinshasa as a revolutionary leader of great potentiality some 30 years ago;
- the recent revelations that have emerged from the KGB archives that Stalin has met his death at the hands of the very secret service that he had so lovingly fashioned;
- the crimes of the Japanese government during the last World War;
- the date from which we might count the great Western concerns for human rights.

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Adda At Nukkad carries an important letter from Dr. M.P.R. Reddy.

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We conclude our serialisation of Fakirmohan Senapati's magnificent novel *Chhamana Atha Guntha* (1898).

FURTHER NOTES ON THE COVER PAGE : THE BHARHUT SCHOOL

Bharhut is located in Madhya Pradesh, South West of Allahabad just across the U.P. - M.P. border. Nothing is now visible of the 2nd century B.C. Stupa at this Buddhist site other than a shallow, circular depression in the ground. Bricks and sandstone fragments are strewn all around; portions of broken images are even fixed into the walls of a nearby modern Hanuman temple. British imperialist vandalism has caused the removal of the railings and gateways to the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the Allahabad Museum; and to a number of European and American collections.

At Bharhut and elsewhere, the gateways or *toranas* are imitations in stone of the wooden portals of early Indian towns, and in the same way the construction of the railing itself is an imitation in stone of a post-and-rail fence with lens-shaped rails fitted to openings in the uprights. Most prominent in the decoration of the railings are the carvings of *yakshas* and *yakshis*.

One of the most frequent motifs of Bharhut railings is the *dohada*, a woman or *yakshi* embracing a tree, usually the flowering Sal. This is a symbolism that goes back to the period in Indian history when nature spirits were worshipped, and trees were associated with old fertility festivals, when young men and women gathered the flowers of the Sal tree. There are many Indian legends, relating the power of women and *yakshis* to bring trees into immediate flowering by embracing the trunk or touching it with their feet. The *yakshi* is first and foremost, a fertility symbol. She is not only the bride of the tree, but she stands for the sap of the tree, and for the life fluid of all creation. The male counterparts of the *yakshis*, *yakshas* are also represented on the Bharhut railing, and *Kubera*, chief of the *yakshas* and guardian of the North, is among these deities precisely identified by an inscription.

In addition, we find medallions filled with floral motifs, busts of turbaned rajas, *jataka* tales and scenes from the life of Buddha.

On the cover page of an earlier issue of *Mankind* (Vol. 2, No. 7, April 1997) we have shown that the first *yakshas* and *yakshis*, of the Mathura School which date from the 7th century B.C., and in all likelihood, represented the first feudalists of India who desired to perpetuate their images in lasting stone.

The *jataka* tales depicted on the medallions mark the beginnings of the world-renowned Narrative Style in Indian sculpture and painting. We shall deal further with this Narrative Style in future cover pages of *Mankind* when we shall illustrate the works of the Sarnath, the Sanchi and the Amravati schools.

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BHARAT RATNAS OR BHARAT ABHISHAPS ?

Exe. Edr.

DIANA

It was a disgusting spectacle when Tony Blair as Labour Prime Minister spoke in such sycophantic terms about "the nation being devastated by Diana's passing away and the bereavement of the Royal family and the shock felt by everybody in Britain" and so on so forth. He forgot all his socialist commitments. Not only that, he also forgot the minimal republican sentiments of an ordinary liberal!

Let nobody forget that the British royalty costs the British people £ 50 million per year (Rs 280 crores) (See, *The Times of India*, 15.9.97). And Diana was a parasite of parasites, having received in divorce settlement, £ 17 million (Rs. 95.2 crores) plus the title of Princess of Wales plus residence in Kensington Palace plus other perks. How shameful and degrading of Tony Blair to blare out such rubbish about the intimate association of the British royalty with the British people! The association is that of a royal leech stuck to a living body. The royalty sucks out £ 50 million per year (Rs. 280 crores)! Let us never forget that during the two World Wars (1914-19, 1939-45), whilst members of royal family went around the country and the world calling on the British people and the peoples of the Empire to make supreme sacrifices, the royal family did not pay a single penny as income tax! (It is claimed by Nicholas Coleridge in *Paper Tigers*, 1994, at p.8 that: "Rupert Murdoch's journalistic drag hunt of the British royals was largely responsible for the Queen's decision to pay tax, and accelerated the Prince and Princess of Wales' separation". We do not know how far this is true, but Coleridge and Murdoch seem to believe in the story.)

We give below, recent data on the royal parasites. Earlier, from the reign of William and Mary, 1689, whence the history of civil list begins, all sorts of extraordinary exactions were carried out with royal abandon. On numerous occasions, royal debts amounting to millions of pounds were cleared by

Parliament (e.g. £ 34 million between 1782 and 1820). We will not go into these details here.

What is the worth of this silly woman, Diana, *who herself rang up, just* six hours before her killing by a drunken driver in a Paris road tunnel, a leading London journalist whose tabloid paper published the entire lengthy interview as an obituary note on the morrow of the fateful night.

This glamour girl was a born gold-digger and celebrity-hunter. She was well-trained by the Spencer family, which had preserved its landed properties over the last 300 years of turmoil, Civil War and confiscations by the Tudors, the Stuarts, the Cromwellian republicans, the Restored Stuarts, the imported Dutch Oranges and the Germanic Hanoverians who have been juggling with their own family name, calling themselves, sometimes Windsors and at other times Mountbattens and Battenberg-Mountbattens in order to hide their heavy Germanic associations.

That is why, when some comprador Indians talk to me about the ancient Royal lineage of the British, I cannot help but burst out with loud laughter! What is the lineage? English, French, Scottish, Dutch, German, Greek or some other?

How can this monarchical succession be uninterrupted as claimed by the innumerable flatterers, when Charles II was beheaded by the Cromwellians in 1649 and two Acts of Settlement had to be passed by Parliament to cover Dutch and German importations? Eliza II, who was Saxe-Coburg-Gotha-Wettin, by a decree of 1952, the year of her accession, officially declared that she was a Windsor and in 1960, again decreed that she was Mountbatten-Windsor. Earlier, George V in 1917 had renounced the German title of Prince of Battenberg and adopted the surname Mountbatten. Prince Philip, Eliza II's consort, was the only son of Prince Andrew of Greece, and became a British subject only in 1947.

What is the great lineage which these wretched Germano-Greeks are claiming?

And what has Diana to do with this lineage?

Diana was a gold addict like Jacqueline Kennedy, who had to marry a Greek shipping magnate to provide "adequately" for her children by Kennedy. Diana also had to think of the legacy that she should leave for William and Harry though William is the designated heir to the £ 50 million (rupees 280 crores) which is earmarked for the royal family by the brainwashed and bamboozled people of England.

Diana had already collected a gold and diamond ring worth \$230,000 (Rs. 83 lakhs) from Dodi Fayed, a completely empty-headed playboy who along with his father were engaged in playing their own games.

Mohammed Fayed, the owner of Harrods in London and the Ritz in Paris was a *persona non-grata* in England. He had been refused British citizenship despite his wealth, because of his involvement in multiple scandals with arms dealer Adnan Kashoggi, whose sister was his wife and Dodi's mother. Fayed had recently bribed Conservative MPs who got up and asked "paid for" questions in the House of Commons. A House of Commons enquiry commission is right at this moment seized of the matter. Mohammed thought that through his son Dodi and his immense wealth, he would be able to rehabilitate himself with the British public by claiming that he was the father-in-law of the "People's Princess"!

All the parties to all these nefarious goings-on were using the media to serve their own ends.

Diana and Charles had been leaking selected tid-bits to the media for several years since their marriage broke down. These tid-bits were no doubt designed to educate the sons William and Harry! Both William and Harry must have matured quickly as they learnt of Diana's infidelity with the royal equerry Hewitt as openly admitted by her in the course of the lengthy BBC Panorama interview given in 1995. William and Harry must have further benefited by their father's admission of adultery with Camilla Parker-Bowles!

Both parents had the interests of their children at heart! Both tried their best to educate them very fast in *La Dolce Vita!* *The Sweet Life*, a 1960 film by Federico Fellini that popularised the term "paparazzi" meaning photographer mosquitoes that hover and stalk. Diana, a congenital gold-digger had the temerity to claim that she was somehow presenting feminist interests. Is feminism to be redefined as the right to sleep with

rich playboys and gigolos?

Building up media hype is a very great asset. Jacqueline sold her memorabilia for a fine sum of \$ 21 million. The sale was originally promoted to benefit certain charities, but all of it ended up in the coffers of Jacqueline's brats by Jack the Ripper who carried on with innumerable models and starlets including Marilyn Monroe.

Similarly, Diana who whipped up media hype with her candid shots in the gym, clad in royal briefs and further posed shots of semi-nude kissing on yacht deck with Dodi, created such an interest about herself that she was able to sell her cast-off clothes for \$ 5 million (rupees 18 crores) at a New York auction last year.

There is another link between Diana and Marilyn. Diana's friend, Elton John, the rock singer, had originally composed a lyric to the memory of Marilyn Monroe, "Candle in the Wind". This ditty was regurgitated by him for Diana's funeral service. Why this rock genius could not think up a new ditty for Diana is a wonder! This song cassette is likely to fetch £ 14 million (rupees 78.4 crores). One wonders what sort of Western civilization they are building where regurgitated funerary ditties fetch crores and crores. Again in the Jacqueline Kennedy tradition, establishment spokesmen are promising that most of the generated funds will be allocated to

charities.

I think that this is not necessary. Diana's whole life was a saga of charity so why make special allocation? The £ 17 million that Diana received in divorce settlement will presumably revert to William and Harry along with her jewels. The Spencers are going to be compensated by erection of a memorial-cum-tourist centre on their estate Althrop. A grand Diana monument, probably shaped like a naked huntress, or some similar Greek Folly, will fetch them a steady annual tourist income which will surely keep happy several generations of Spencers.

Let us never forget that the Queen, according to both *Fortune* and *Forbes'* listings of the rich and the famous, was the richest person in England. As noted earlier, she never paid any income tax till 1993 and from that in respect of only her of the crowds could not go very far! Original estimates of the expected crowds to watch the funeral procession were placed by the BBC and the CNN at 60 million. This was quickly slashed down on the day of the funeral to 10 millions, 6 millions and 2 millions by all the journalists present. By the end of the day, the official figure had come down to 1 million! I have a feeling that even this was largely exaggerated. Despite the immense media hype and of the TV coverage spread over some 12 hours, it

BURDEN OF BRITISH ROYALTY

	Victoria 1837	Edward VII 1901	George V 1910	Edward VIII 1936	George VI 1937	Elizabeth II 1952
Privy purse	-	£110,000	£110,000	£110,000	£110,000	£60,000
Salaries and retirement allowances of household	-	125,800	125,800	134,000	134,000	185,000
Expenses of household Works	-	193,000	193,000	152,800	152,800	121,800
Royal bounty, aims and special service	-	20,000	20,000	-	-	-
Unappropriated	-	13,200	13,200	13,200	13,200	13,200
Supplementary provision	-	8,000	8,000	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	95,000
	£385,000	£470,000	£470,000	£410,000	£410,000	£475,000

(Source: *EB, Macro*, 1973, Vol. 5, p 836)

NOTES :

1. Of this amount £ 40,000 in respect of the king's possible marriage, and £79,000 representing the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, were undrawn.
2. In the reign of Elizabeth II, £ 40,000 was paid to her consort, Prince Philip, from the consolidated fund until the Civil List Act, 1972, when this was increased to £ 65,000.
3. The Civil List Acts, 1901-37, made provision for an annuity of £ 70,000 to the widow of a sovereign. Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary drew this allowance and Queen Elizabeth, the queen mother continued to draw it till 1972, thereafter she received £ 95,000.
4. In 1842, Queen Victoria had undertaken voluntarily to pay income tax. Edward VII continued the voluntary payment. George V discontinued the practice, but in exchange placed on the Civil List the cost of state visits of foreign royalties previously defrayed from public funds (A mere procedural change). In 1916, the king made a voluntary gift of £ 100,000 towards the cost of World War I.
In 1948 George VI transferred to the consolidated fund a sum of £100,000 representing the savings on the Civil List during World War II.
5. In addition to the Civil List the sovereign receives the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster. The heir apparent, if the only or eldest son of the king, is Duke of Cornwall and as such possesses the revenues of that duchy. Edward, prince of Wales (later Edward VII), received the revenues of the duchy, then £60,000 a year, with the addition of £40,000 on marriage; the Duke of York (later George V) £ 80,000, with addition of £ 20,000; Edward, prince of Wales (later Edward VIII) £ 80,000. Prince Charles, Duke of Cornwall, received one-ninth of the revenues until he was 18, £ 30,000 a year until he was 21 and thereafter voluntarily surrendered half the revenues to the government's consolidated funds.
6. Annual provisions and increases to other members of the royal family were made under the Civil List Acts of 1952 and 1958, and were again increased under the Civil List Act, 1972, with the Duke of Gloucester receiving £ 45,000; Princess Anne, £ 15,000; and Princess Margaret, £ 35,000. The sovereign's younger sons at 18 and before marriage were to receive £ 20,000, and after marriage £ 50,000; younger daughters at 18 and before marriage would receive £ 15,000, and after marriage £ 35,000. A contingent future annuity of £ 60,000 was payable to a widow of the Prince of Wales and a £ 20,000 annuity was to be provided for the Duchess of Gloucester and to any future wife of a younger son of the sovereign in the event of any of them surviving her husband.
7. Elizabeth II waived the former £ 60,000 privy purse and received a Civil List income of £ 9,80,000 free of tax.
8. As aforesaid, the total burden of the royal parasites and parasites upon parasites is £ 50 million annually or Rs. 280 crores.

seems that only about 5 lakhs of lost and bewildered middle-class souls gaped and stared as the cortege wended its way down London streets and far into the northern counties.

The British working people showed by their absence what they thought of the little flirt Di who was supposedly the " People's Princess " and the " Princess of Hearts " and whose great friends belonged to the great intellectual classes otherwise known as fashion designers, rock singers and showbiz personalities. *

Ultimately, the decrepit Eliza II, mother-in-law, may prove to be right about Diana's real worth. Though she was forced to return to London to make a special telecast on the eve of the funeral service and stand outside the gates of Buckingham Palace in honour of the passing cortege, it is almost certain that Diana will fade from public memory, not in years and months, but in weeks and days.

TERESA

Is it not shameful on the part of the so-called Secular State of India to accord national funerary honours to a little, worthless thespian who was a miserable little Roman Catholic nun ?

What a terribly ridiculous front page headline that appeared in the *Indian Express* on 14.9.97 ! :

" Secular adieu to saint of all communities. "

Teresa never resigned from the Roman Catholic faith ! To the end of her life she remained faithful to her R.C. vows and to the papacy that had sanctified and promoted the genocide of Amerindians from the 16th to the 20th centuries; the slave trade involving millions of Africans from the 16th to the 19th centuries; that had fully participated in the Holocaust Crimes of Hitler's gang from 1933 to 1945; which had fully supported the Portuguese and Dutch imperialists who carried out forcible conversions in Goa, Ceylon, South Africa, Malacca and elsewhere. Have we the space and time to prepare voluminous listings of the crimes committed by the Roman Catholic church in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Australasia ? Do not their own encyclopedias admit the horrible cultural crimes which the R.C. church carried out in the Pacific Islands, burning and destroying Maori, Australian aboriginal and Polynesian artifacts, costumes, masks, rituals and music ?

Surely we have gone mad as a nation ! By all her charitable efforts, did this demented Mother alleviate Indian poverty ?

To a question from a journalist in regard to her anti-abortion stand, whether it is possible for her to economically support all the millions of unborn children of the world, this foolish nun replied, " I have never refused to accept any child " ! Does this village idiot not realise that all the ships, airplanes, trains and road vehicles of the entire world will not suffice to logistically move all the millions of unborn children of the world, present population of about 5.5 billion, to the various Missionaries of Charity centres in Calcutta and the rest of the world ?

Choose any year that you like. 1950 or 1960 or 1979, when this R.C. nun received the Nobel Peace Prize, choose any damn year, has Indian poverty been alleviated, even miniscully, fractionally, decimally, to the slightest extent, by Teresa's efforts ?

If Teresa had really been able to make an impact on social reality, then we should all shut down all our political, social, economic, cultural activities and join the Mission of Charity.

The very fact that the destitute and the downtrodden and the despised, keep on queueing up in front of Teresa's centres proves our point that charity cannot solve socio-economic problems facing India and the Third World !

If Teresa will throw a meal or two or shower a few currency notes upon the poor of the country, how does it help ?

All that happens is that the R.C. church succeeds momentarily in covering up its horrible history of crimes against

humanity !

All that happens is that some members of the middle classes are bamboozled into believing that this futile Teresa deserved a Nobel Peace Prize !

All that happens is the horrendous dimensions of Indian poverty get highlighted.

All that happens is that the village idiot Teresa is made to appear as a sincere fighter for the poor and the destitute.

There are some 2.16 lakh members of the R.C. monastic orders in the world as reported by *Ency. Brit.* 1983, Micro, Vol. VIII, pp 500-1. Perhaps there might be 3 lakhs by now. Knowledgeable sources as covered by BBC and CNN suggest that generally the religious orders for women i.e. the nuns, number to the male priests in the proportion of 2 to 1. Let us therefore assume that there are a million members of the mendicant orders of the R.C. church who have taken the vows of poverty, chastity, etc.

We, social scientists and political economists, must realise that this vast enterprise is being run by successive popes on a self-supporting basis. The members of the male and female religious orders collect the money with which they run the various charities which cover their own salaries and costs of living.

Like British imperialists who conquered India with Indian troops and with costs debited to the Indian treasury, the papacy is a vast self-supporting exercise, with of course, occasional subsidies from White Neo-Colonialist congregations, who throw a few charitable dollars and marks and pounds and francs, every now and then to prevent revolutions from breaking out in the Third World.

Neo-Colonialist pressure upon India is so great that Vajpayee of the BJP travelled to Calcutta to leave a wreath leaning on Teresa's coffin, alongwith Hillary Clinton, the Spanish Queen, this and that ambassador or his wife, this and that dignitary and his mother; not forgetting the *chirkuts* Narayanan, Gujral, Jaipal Reddy and other non-entities.

During the last 50 years, during which several *jagatgurus* have passed away as also many Sikh, Parsi, Jain, Buddhist, Muslim religious leaders, has any other non-Christian saintly soul received similar national military honours for his or her last journey ?

Why are we doing this and why do we all call ourselves secular ?

Once on a journey from Bombay to Pune in the Deccan Queen, I happened to run across Madhu Dandavate, the present vice-chairman of the Planning Commission, whom I have known for the last 50 years and more as an extremely stupid, clownish, spineless and selfish careerist. Madhu was intent on picking my brains about Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika*. In the course of our conversation, he let fall the remark that secularism means *sarva dharma samabhav* (secularism is not removal of religion from all state concerns, but it means the accord by the state of equal status to all religions).

Then why has our Indian state not given equal honour to departing Parsi *mobeds* and *dasturs*, Muslim *ulemas* and *mullahs*, Jain *acharyas* and *sadhvis*, Sikh *gurus*, the *guravs* of OBCs and the shamans and *bhuvavs* of the tribals ?

It is neither possible nor desirable to accord equal status to all religions ! There will be endless disputes !

Secularism is just an excuse to promote the separation of Kashmir from India under Anglo-American imperialist pressure!

Secularism is just a device to appease the neo-colonialist, mainly Christian powers of the OECD and to comply with their strategy of LPGW ! (Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation).

Secularism is just a ploy to isolate the BJP which has swiftly

forged ahead with its own bunch of allies : the Akalis, the Haryana Vikas Party, the Samata Party, the Bahujan Samaj Party and the Shiv Sena.

Secularism is a strategy to try to save the Congress-*Naukershahi* Combine which is on its last legs !

Alright ! I challenge Dandavate to show me how the Indian state has and is going to accord *sarva dharma samabhav* to all the religions practised by the people of India ?

As Sister Nirmala has said " if poverty were to be eradicated then there would be no jobs for the sisters of missionaries of Teresa ? What shall we then do ?" (Source : *Samakalin*, 18.9.97)

The R.C. church, the Pope, Teresa's religious order and the neo-colonialists are not in the business to eliminate or alleviate Indian poverty. On the contrary that poverty must be perpetuated so that the charitable work can be eternalised !

Both the Pope and Teresa have repeatedly asserted that the main task of the Missionaries of Charity has always been that of proselytization or conversion. I am an atheist and therefore am unconcerned with the varieties of mumbo-jumbo that the converts reject or accept. However, it is undignified and demeaning for anyone, to convert anyone from one religion to another on the basis of a blackmailing tactic involving offers of better nutrition, medicare and shelter. Indian journalists, thoroughly comprador and corrupt, have recently taken to complimenting themselves on their investigative reporting. Therefore, they should now find out how many exactly the R.C. church converted to Christianity from the start of Teresa's mission in 1948 to the present. That will place the whole matter of her charitable work in the proper perspective !

NETANYAHU SHOWS HIS TRUE COLOURS

Benjamin Netanyahu is surely the yahu that was identified by Jonathan Swift as the prototype of comical humanity.

Look at the scenario. First of all, with the assistance of the temporary imperialist lease-holder, Israel occupies 55 percent of the Arab House in 1948. From then till now, it wages some five wars in order to occupy the rest of the premises, as well as parts of the neighbouring buildings belonging to Egyptian Arabs, Lebanese Arabs and Syrian Arabs (Sinai, South Lebanon and Golan Heights).

Finally, it gives up its illegal occupation of Sinai in 1981.

It still continues to occupy a self-designated South Lebanese Security Zone and Golan Heights in 1997.

Israel is also in occupation of all the corridors, lobbies and balconies of the Original Arab Home of Palestine. It has posted armed sentries at every vantage point and does not allow Arabs to move from one part of the house to another. When Israel is attacked in one of the compartments into which the Arab complex has been partitioned, Israel has the effrontery and shamelessness to blame the poor Arabs who are cowering and shivering in some remote corner of the basements and attics of the old building !

What have the Arabs to do with what's going on in Israel ruled territory ? Why should it be presumed that the Suicide Bombers have not been born and bred within Israeli territory ? Weren't the Oklahoma Militiamen born within United States ? Were they not of pure native American growth ? In any case, how are Arabs responsible for what goes on within Israeli territory ?

Suicide Bombing is the ultimate form of guerilla struggle ! No power on earth can ever stop those who are anxious to make the ultimate sacrifice.

Yasser Arafat must understand that his sharing of the Nobel Peace Prize with racist-militarists like Yitzak Rabin and Simon Perez cannot come cheaply ! For Rabin and Perez, who are little rats selling armaments for the Western Military Industrial

Complex, it may be very easy, but Yasser, from his past life as a guerilla, a life which he has repudiated and betrayed, must know that abject surrender is the only thing which will satisfy Israel and her master USA, who are both currently demanding that Arafat should arrest and detain innocent Arabs at random without a scrap of evidence just as Israel has been doing all along. Netanyahu wants Arafat to join him in taking civilian " hostages " as a measure of counter-terror.

He should learn from the three ambushes carried out by Hezbollah in South Lebanon, which finished off 12, 5 and 2 Israeli soldiers just last week, that the way out is by valiant fighting. Already a large body of opinion has arisen in Israel, which is demanding an immediate and total withdrawal of Israel from the so-called Security Zone in Lebanon that has actually become a death trap for young Jewish draftees.

ARAFAT MUST GO !

LONG LIVE HAMAS AND HEZBOLLAH !
ISRAEL MUST IMMEDIATELY VACATE SOUTH LEBANON
AND GOLAN HEIGHTS !
DOWN WITH AMERICAN AND ISRAELI RACIALIST NEO-COLONIALISM !
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF ARAB PEOPLES !

BHARAT RATNAS OR BHARAT ABHISHAPS ?

Little minds of the Congress-*naukershahi* ruling elite of the country have adjudged the following 31 to be the great men and women of India (Bharat Ratna means Jewels of India).

This is like everything in India. Completely topsy turvy. Those who never fought for the freedom of India, judge who should be honoured as India's Freedom Fighters. The corrupt sit as a jury to decide panels of innumerable Inquiry Commissions investigating the truth of Scams and Scandals. Cowardly careerists who have made killing a lifestyle, become valiant generals and commanders in the armed forces. Academicians who have achieved nothing in their lives, achieve the highest civilian academic honours.

Entirely fitting in with this pattern, we have 31 Bharat Ratnas, not counting the only deserving person, Subash Chandra Bose, who was posthumously given the award in 1992. Bose's family behaved in the correct dignified manner and declined to receive the honour which was then shamelessly rescinded.

Of the 31 awardees, the overwhelming majority have been Congress leaders and their cronies. Five former Presidents, including Rajagopalachari, who was Governor-General, have become Bharat Ratnas (C. R., S. Radhakrishnan, R. Prasad, Zakir Hussain, V. V. Giri). Of the thirteen Presidents that India has had, three have been " Acting ". Thus, all the first five Presidents, in chronological honour have received their desserts (C. R. as Governor-General may be taken as the first President of Dominion Status India). I suppose, the turn of the other ex-Presidents will come in due course. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Giani Zail Singh, R. Venkataraman, S. D. Sharma and K. R. Narayanan may have to wait for quite a long time, since from 1976 the wretched jury of small minds has begun to confer posthumous awards !

Apart from the first five heads of state, the first few PMs have also become precious jewels (Nehru, Nanda, Shastri, Indira, Morarji and Rajiv).

Nanda was prime minister twice. Both times as Acting PM between the tenures of Nehru and Shastri and between those of Shastri and Indira.

Since the elderly Charan Singh seems to have been chronologically excluded, and Bofors Rajiv has already jumped the queue, we may permanently exclude a Charan Singh from our present concern. Bût V. P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao, Vajpayee, Gowda and Gujral may continue to

hope for atleast posthumous glory.

Apart from these two categories of Congress bosses (with Morarji being both Congress and non-Congress boss and straddling the fence) several Congress State Chief Ministers have been elevated to the supreme civilian status, viz. G. B. Pant, B. C. Roy, P. D. Tandon and K. Kamaraj. Several other Congress bigshots and smallshots have also benefited, like Sardar Patel, Abul Kalam Azad, Vinoba Bhave, Aruna Asaf Ali, and the obscure Bhagwan Das. (The merits of the last-mentioned gentleman are entirely unknown to me, except that it is sometimes whispered that B. Das was a "philosopher" from Varanasi. Not even a Congress sycophant or *naukershah* in minion has yet been able to spell out the essence of Das' philosophy !)

Apart from Subash Bose, possibly the Frontier Gandhi is the only individual who might have deserved a recognition from free India. Abdul Gaffar Khan was thoroughly betrayed by Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. In the 1937 elections, his province, the NWFP had voted for the Congress. His province was contiguous with India through Kashmir but British Imperialism chose to award it to Pakistan and filled the cup of inequity full by granting the 1000-mile distant Bangladesh to Old Pakistan !

Leaving aside the galaxy of these old Congress warhorses, we may notice 2 allies of Congress in the list of Ratnas, M. G. Ramchandran and B. R. Ambedkar (the latter was a member of Nehru's first cabinet).

We need not remind *Mankind* readers that the present ruinous state of India's economy and culture is largely due to the policies pursued by the above stalwarts.

I do not think it is necessary to analyse the list further, though we may add that a list made up of purely worthless Congress worthies would not do ! After all, some other bourgeois eminences have to be added, in order that the Congress fellows may be able to shine by some amount of reflected glory. Thus, C. V. Raman, Mother Teresa and Nelson Mandela, nobel laureates, have also received the dubious distinction of being Bharat Ratnas.

In the case of Nelson Mandela, I think the Congress guilt complex was at work. Gandhi never supported any black movement, whilst he was in South Africa, perfecting his unique techniques of *satyagraha* (= insistence on Truth). Belatedly, the Congress *naukershah* combine of India decided to wash away a part of their guilt by inducting Mandela into their highest honours list. Actually, it was quite safe to do so, because Mandela had already betrayed the Black people and surrendered to imperialism and racialism, as the voluminous evidence before the Truth Commission in Johannesburg has made manifest. The Blacks of South Africa have received nothing. Most of the state money is still going to the Whites ! Scores of white murderers have made elaborate confessions and are demanding exoneration !

Thus, Bharat Ratna to Mandela was quite safe and he automatically joined the Congress to the anti-apartheid struggle, of which Gandhi had never been a part ! In fact, Gandhi had joined the British against the Dutch during the Boer Wars and against the Blacks in the Zulu wars.

The third guilt of the Congress was the award to Aruna Asaf Ali for her participation in the August Movement which the Congress repudiated by an official resolution of the Working Committee at its meeting on 11.12.1945.

Gandhi had already disowned the movement in his correspondence with the then Home Secretary. Aruna's Bharat Ratna sought to appropriate the August Movement for the benefit of the Congress-*naukershahi* regime.

The above discussion has covered 26 Bharat Ratnas / Abhishaps.

The remaining five fall into two groups :

Three (Karve, Kane, M. V.) were harmless old men, in the evening of their lives, who had stood aside from the National Movement, whom the Congress-*naukershahi* ruling elite chose merely as *alibis* to suggest that all the selections had not necessarily been tainted by the Congress brush !

Two (JRD and Satyajit) were very active in the anti-national and pro-imperialist ranks. JRD had supported every imperialist cause with money and enthusiasm, and Satyajit had ideologically hit out at nationalism to the best of his ability. (Both, in his work as an executive of a British advertising agency and in his films.) Both, having supported white sahibs all their lives quickly made adjustments with the *khadiwalas* and *swadeshi sahibs* in the period 1945-47.

We may tabulate as follows :

30 Bharat Ratnas / Abhishaps

- 1 Former Governor-General, belonging to the Congress Party. (C.R.)
- 4 Former Presidents all belonging to the Congress Party. (R. Prasad, S. Radhakrishnan, Zakir Hussain and V. V. Giri)
- 5 Former P.M.s, all belonging to the Congress Party. (Nehru, Shastri, Indira, Morarji and Rajiv)
- 4 Former C.M.s, all belonging to the Congress Party. (Pant, Roy, Tandon, Kamaraj)
- 4 Prominent Congress Leaders (Patel, Azad, " Obscure " Das, Bhave)
- 2 Prominent Congress Allies (MGR and B. R. Ambedkar)
- 3 Great Congress Guilts (Frontier Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, the latter also a Nobel laureate, Aruna Asaf Ali)
- 2 Nobel laureates (Raman, Teresa)
- 3 Congress Alibis (Karve, Kane, Viswesvariya)
- 2 Anti-National Villains (JRD and Satyajit Ray)

30

The saving grace is that so far the *naukershahs* have been kept out of the Bharat Ratna list. One must be thankful for small mercies !

Originally the *naukershahs* had been excluded from the Padmashri, Padmabhushan and Padmavibhushan lists. But later they flooded the ranks of civilian honourees. How can paid servants of the people who have been filching money right and left, how dare such worms aspire to receive honours ? That is adding insult to injury.

Though, we must admit that via M. Viswesvariya and B. R. Ambedkar, two ex-*naukershahs*, the latter gang has already inserted a wedge. They might very soon flood the list of Bharat Ratnas too.

That would be a proper climax and the correct double curse / abhishap !

On the whole, let us shout :

**LONG LIVE CONGRESS NAUKERSHAHI
COMPRADORISM!**

**LONG LIVE SUPPORTERS OF PARTITION LIKE C.
RAJAGOPALACHARI, J. NEHRU, A. K. AZAD, V. PATEL, R.
PRASAD, G. B. PANT, B. C. ROY AND OTHERS !**

**LONG LIVE SYCOPHANCY, BOOTLICKING AND
NEPOTISM !**

LET CONGRESS GUILTS AND ALIBIS BE GLORIFIED!

LONG LIVE USE OF ENGLISH !

LONG LIVE CORRUPTION !

THE CURSES OF INDIA ARE ITS JEWELS !

RATNAS ARE ABHISHAPS !

MANKIND'S CREDO : 1997

Exe Edr.

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

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

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

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

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

Whilst re-reading the Opening Statement of the Oct. 1995 and Oct. 1996 issues, we feel that we should include a sharper definition of the international context.

Here we propose to rely upon the two editorials that we wrote, in Dec. 1995 : *Capitalism's Second Breath*; and *The Tri-Polar World of the 21st Century* in Sept. 1996.

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

Capitalism's Second Breath

From 1871, the year of the Paris Commune, capitalism was on the decline. This was admitted by their own spokesmen :

"The five great events in the first half of the 20th century (two World Wars, the

CAPITALISM'S SECOND BREATH

All five great events of the first half of the 20th century (two World Wars, the Great Depression and the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions) were unfavourable to capitalism as admitted by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1973 edn. Vol. 4, p. 845.

Capitalism's final slide was marked by two developments :

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

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

After 1975 everything changed.

Great Depression and the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions) were unfavourable to capitalism" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, vol. 4. p. 845) The creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and the American defeat in Vietnam in 1975 marked the nadir of capitalism.

Of the great powers, America was the only country which became richer be-

cause of World War II, while Europe almost bled to death. America produced almost half of the world's GDP. In 1945 America possessed two-thirds of the world's total gold reserves - 20 billion out of 33 billion. This economic power was reflected in US military strength. Its armies counted 12.5 million service personnel.

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

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

set of remarkable recoveries :

- Germany was reunified and the GDR was dissolved;

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

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

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

- The USSR has split into fifteen constituent republics and civil wars are raging in atleast five of them.

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

The Indian economic hegemony over the world was subverted by Europe between 1830 and 1945. The European ascendancy was followed by an American supremacy from 1945 to 1975. The USSR challenge to the US was formally ended from 1989.

How and why did capitalism acquire its second breath ?

CAPITALIST RESURGENCE

The resurgence of capitalism was marked by 1978—The acceptance by China of Deng Xiao Peng's turn to "market socialism". Deng inaugurated the so-called era of *kaifeng* and *gaige*. These were the original Chinese terms, which were translated and popularised later on in Russian by Gorbachev as *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

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

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

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

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

RATIONALE OF CAPITALIST RESURGENCE

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

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

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

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

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

If we look carefully at the macro-economic factors, the tremendous increase in the contribution to the national GDP made by the Services Sector is striking. It is nearly 2/3rds of the total in all advanced countries, in recent times. This contribution is lower only in the case of the developing countries. The Industry Sector's contribution is one quarter to one-third and that of agriculture is 5 % for the richer countries (See *World Bank Reports*, 1978-1995, tables titled "Structure of Production", changed to Table II, "Growth of the Economy" in the 1997 Report.)

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

Brainwashing via religion, sports, arts and electronic media has become a major factor in the world economy.

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

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

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

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

- (i) Misery has been deliberately accumulated and

concentrated in the Third World by burdening it with trade deficits, adverse terms of trade, unrepayable foreign debts and constant devaluations of their national currencies.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISTS

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

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

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

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

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

The Centre-State relations must be overhauled to expand the revenue-earning and taxation powers of the States. The

NEW STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISTS

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

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

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

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

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

Centre shall deal with Foreign Policy and Trade, Currency, Defence and Inter-State Relations in all respects (Communication, Transport and Commerce, etc.)

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

Tri-Polar World in 21st Century

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

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

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

The emerging challenge of the Asiatic Rim of the Pacific, has been forecast and concretised in *Mankind's* first issue. We had shown there that by 1991, these East Asian countries had begun to gestate about 35 per cent of the world GDP, in Purchasing Power Parity terms, an increase of 13 percentage points between 1960 and 1994. (See pp. 34-5 in this issue)

Let us consider a few straws in the wind

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

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

● Clinton's legislation to permit American interests to sue those who have recently invested in Cuba, Libya and Iran is being challenged by Europe and Canada. America has tried to justify this on the grounds that Cuba confiscated American properties 40 years ago without paying any compensation and the present value of such American claims is \$ 100 billion, or an amount that is 50 times Cuba's annual exports today. This matter is being taken to the International Court of Justice at the Hague where Europe is challenging the right of USA to pass "extra-territorial" laws. Last week France's Total has entered into a \$ 2 billion gas deal with Iran and EU has backed France!

● The US heavy-handedness in Vietnam and Myanmar is

TRI-POLAR WORLD IN 21ST CENTURY

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

also found distasteful by the European and ASEAN countries.

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

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

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

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

● Europe is attacking American obduracy in Iraq.

PRO-BRITISH BIAS INGRAINED IN PROGRESSIVIST-STALINISTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tri-faceted dictum of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation" is actually four-faceted — the fourth facet being "Westernisation". This fourth facet is deliberately kept hidden. Retention of English is just one aspect of this Western bias. Our technology and industries are being subordinated to Western multinationals.

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

SUMMARY OF WORLD TRENDS

Power Bloc	% of World GDP in PPP terms in 1960	% of World GDP in PPP terms in 1994	Rise or Fall % points
NAFTA	32.14	26.42	-5.72
UNIFIED EUROPE	36.37	27.40	-8.97
PRA/ARP (Pacific Rim of Asia or Asiatic Rim of Pacific)	14.59	26.19	+11.60
REST OF WORLD (Excluding India)	12.84	16.25	+3.41
INDIA	4.06	3.74	-0.32
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	0.00

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

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

Colonial History

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

It all begins with the bogus Aryan Invasion Theory.

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

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

It should be emphasised that the Vedas which belong, in the main, to the time horizon of 4500-2500 B.C. contain not even a memory trace of the arrival of the Aryans from

anywhere outside the *Sapta-Sindhu* region. All the mountains, rivers and other geographic features, as well as all the animals and plants referred to in Vedic literature are totally and entirely of Indian origin and of Indian provenance to this day.

The second "invasion" in chronological order, was that of Darius I, the Great Achaemenid Emperor, whose satrapies included certain borderlands between India and Iran. The lists and numbers of satrapies of Darius I varied at different times. The earliest is the Bisitun text (518 B.C.) which gives 23 provinces or satrapies and the latest is in his tomb inscription, which lists 30 such lands. (Possessions of Darius I the Great, incidentally included Thrace and Macedonia in Europe.) Of these, seven, (Khurasan-Parthia, Aria, Bactria, rangiana-Seistan, Arachosia-Kandahar, Maka-Makran, Ganonara-Kabul) are even today divided between Iran, Afghanistan and pre-partition India (Satrapies No. 4,5,6,9,10,11 and 13, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973 Vol. 17, pp. 658-9). The eighth territory Hindukush-Sind (No. 14) was the only region falling wholly within India, but it consisted of mainly trans-Indus lands.

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

Third in chronological order was the minor intrusion of 4th

INVASION OF INDIA BY INDIANS

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

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

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

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

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

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

century B.C. by Alex III, the Insignificant Perso-Macedonian. He was badly beaten and lost his entire army and navy in and around the Baluchistan desert. (See the sections in *Ulti khopdi* in the Oct and the Nov. 95 issues of *Mankind*.)

Next in line, fall the bunch of alleged invasions by Indo-Parthians, Indo-Bactrians (transmuted into Indo-Greeks by interested Western imperialists), and Indo-Scythians. Let us, right at the outset, make it clear that these nomadic and semi-nomadic bands, generally practising transhumance, were (1) entirely of mixed origins; (2) spoke Sanskrit-derived languages; (3) owed allegiance to a motley of religions—Buddhism, Magianism, Manichaenism, Zoroastrianism and

HIRED MERCENARIES DO NOT FORM FOREIGN NATIONS

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

Hinduism; (One Heliodorus "ambassador" of a small kingdom in Punjab to *Vidisha*, a kingdom in Madhya Pradesh, erected a pillar in 2nd century B.C., at Vidisha, near Bhopal, inscribing thereon that he "was a *Bhagavata*," i.e. a follower of Vaishnavism. Menander (fl. 160-135 B.C., claiming to be the greatest of the "Indo-Greek" kings, ruled over Bactria and adjoining lands like the Swat Valley in Kashmir, Kandahar in Afghanistan and up to the Ravi in Punjab. He was converted by Nagasena to Buddhism and the discussion between the pupil and the master has come down to us as *Milinda-panha* (Questions of Milinda, i.e., Menander.) (4) never extended their influence beyond Punjab and Gujarat; and (5) were mostly Indians of N.W. India. In short, the bunch of invasions and occupations of India were, of the same sort as the mythical Aryan invasions by India of India. Unable to find true foreigners, the silly Westerners are constantly recording invasions by Indians of India!

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

Next, we may take up the brief Arab piratical raids upon the coasts of Sindh, Gujarat and Kerala in the 8th century A.D. Why such petty thieving raids should be exaggerated into full scale invasions by Western historiographers is a mystery to

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

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

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

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

Even in anti-religion, in atheism, the Indians were the first, the oldest and the most continuous: from Charvakas and Lokayats, through Buddha and Mahavira, to the Shad-Darshanists (Kanada, Kapila, Patanjali, Gautama, Jaimini and Badarayana.), all of whom, according to D. P. Chattopadhyaya (*Indian Atheism*) were basically either atheists or agnostics. In any case they were *Nastiks*, or non-believers in the Vedas. We should not forget the contributions of Brihaspati, Kumarila, Sayana-Madhava, Shankara, Nagarjuna, etc.

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

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

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

those only, who are ignorant of the standard procedures adopted by imperialists and neo-colonialists.

The real so-called Islamic invasions of India commenced in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. and were supposedly consolidated with the establishment of the Delhi

Sultanate of 1290 to 1556 A.D. But why should Muslims be considered "foreigners" in India? After all, Undivided India was the largest and the most populous Muslim nation in the world!

The Pathan rulers of the Delhi Sultanate may have found it convenient to loot Hindu temples in Somnath Patan and Mathura and Kannauj in the name of Islam, but this is a standard feudal ploy of the medieval period, as much in Europe as in India. Needless to add, the Pathan hordes, entirely Indian, speaking Sanskrit-derived languages and dialects, donning Indian costumes, fond of Indian cuisine, belonging to the Indian musical system, why should they be called foreigners? Furthermore, they did not drain India of any wealth, they merely redistributed some of it in their own favour and settled down in Delhi as permanent occupants. Why should such people be called foreigners? In fact, Sher Shah Suri drove out Babar the Turk's son, Humayun, and the Sur dynasty ruled till Akbar, whom one can hardly call a devout Muslim, firmed up Moghul rule in 1556.

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

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

If so, all Christians in Europe will become Palestinians!

Thousands of artisans who depended upon state patronage may have found it politic to convert

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

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

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

PETER THE GREAT ON INDIA

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

economic national entity, whatever may be your race, religion or language.

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

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

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

• "Anglo-French Wars in the Carnatic: 1744-61; Plassey: 1757; Acquisition of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and N. Sircars: 1765. First Mysore War: 1767-69; Rohilla War: 1773-74; First Maratha War: 1775-82; Conquest of Gujarat: 1778-89; Second Mysore War: 1780-84; Third Mysore war: 1790-92; Campaign in Ceylon: 1795-97; Subjugation of the Nizam: 1798; Fourth Mysore War: 1799; Second Campaign in Ceylon: 1803; Second Maratha War: 1803-05; Nepal War: 1814-16; Pindari War: 1817; Third Campaign in Ceylon: 1815-18; Third Maratha War: 1817-19; First Burma War: 1824-26; Bharatpur: 1827; Coorg Conquest: 1834; Sind War: 1843; First Sikh War: 1845; Second Sikh War: 1848-49; First Afghan War: 1838-42; Second Afghan War: 1878-81; Third Afghan War: 1919-21; Tibetan Expedition: 1903-04; Persian War: 1856-57; Annexation of Baluchistan and Makran: 1894; and Campaigns in Manipur, Tirah, Chitral, etc., 1891-97."

A few more landmarks may be noted:

• The decisive overturn in the balance of trade between India and Great Britain occurred in the years

1814 to 1835, or rather more particularly, between the years 1814 and 1821. This is exemplified by the overturn in the exports and imports of cotton textiles.

Overturn in Textiles

Year	British cotton manufactures exported to India	Indian cotton piece-goods imported into Great Britain
	(Yards)	(Yards)
1814	818,208	1,266,608
1821	19,138,726	534,495
1828	42,822,077	422,504
1835	51,777,277	306,068

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

It is emphasised that when "factories" at Surat and Bombay are mentioned (or at Hoogly, Calcutta, Masulipatan, Madras, Cochin, Calicut, and so on), it does not mean that the English

SHIP BUILDING AN INDIAN SPECIALITY

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

owned or controlled the entire towns. They merely owned or rented certain premises and warehouses, within those towns, which establishments were kept in varying states of armed defensive preparedness. Some were more fortified, some very little. After their triumph in India, British imperialist historians are making out as though they owned and controlled entire townships and extensive surrounding territories which they called "factories." This is silly and childish.

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

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

- The legal foundations of the property system were reconstituted with the coming into force of the Civil Procedure Code, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Penal Code in the years 1859-60. This was the decisive overturn of the feudal property relations and their replacement by bourgeois property forms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Six : it took a very long time for British imperialism to conquer

BRITISH CONQUEST PERIODISED

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

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

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

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

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

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

The two Childs were determined to vindicate the

Company's authority both against English rivals, who threatened to break down their monopoly, and the Moghul rulers, who obstructed their ambitions to increase their revenue. The Childs were more inclined to do so, in 1886 as the Company owed 281,250 Pound sterling to native merchants of Surat and it had become inconvenient to discharge even the interest of such a sum. So these agents of an essentially dishonest system of trading involved the Company in a War (1686-9) with the Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire was still a going concern and soon the E.I. Co. found that it could not be defied with impunity. During this Childs' childish war against the mighty Moghuls, the English suffered severe reverses. In Bengal, the Nawab drove the English out of Hijli where they had taken refuge and cut off their retreat through Chittagong. In other parts of India, the Moghul reaction was equally swift and drastic. The factories at Surat, Masulipatan and Vizag were seized. Bombay was attacked by the Sidd's fleet and the whole island with the exception of the castle was occupied. The English were humbled, and in the words of their historian Mill, "they stooped to the most abject submissions. They submitted a contrite petition that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned.

THE HORROR OF BRITISH CONQUEST

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

Aurangzeb listened to the entreaties of their envoys and agreed to grant a new firman in 1690, on condition that the Company paid all the dues of the Indian merchants, give compensation for the

losses inflicted on the Empire and recall John Child from India. On fulfillment of these terms, Bombay was evacuated and the old permits for trade on the West Coast and in Bengal, rented 3 villages of Sultanati, Govindpur, and Kalighat from the Nawab, and became a Zamindar." (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Volume One, 1961, pp. 205-7 from where

the entire above account has been summarised.)" Tara Chand concludes with the following lines:

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

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

Seven : It took a fortuitous concatenation of circumstances in Europe and North America for England to emerge as the leading imperialist power of the world, in the middle of the 19th century.

Portugal, which had pioneered in Far Eastern trade from 1498, was occupied by Spain from 1580 to 1640. The Dutch, who were ruled by Spain, fought an Eighty Years War of liberation against Spain and drove the Portuguese out of India and Indonesia. Then, the French and the British engaged in a Seven Years War (1761-63). A few years later, the French in the course of their Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1793-1814) occupied Holland and Spain, to further accidentally strengthen the hands of England.

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

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

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

India continued to be a sink of precious metals. Van Twist writing on the wealth of the kings of Hindustan says that, "al-

though there were no gold or silver mines in India, large quantities of both were imported from foreign countries, and it was forbidden to export them," (Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Life*, Lahore, 1929, pp. 56-7) "India is rich in silver," writes Hawkins, "for all nations bring coyne and carry away commodities for the same; and this coyne is buried in India and goeth not out." (*Ibid*,

p.57). Terry estimates that "an Indian ship returning from the Red sea was usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in gold and silver." (*Ibid*). He adds, "many silver streams runne thither as all rivers to the sea, and there stay, it being lawful for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities, but a crime not less than capital to carry

any great summe thence." From England alone India imported in 50 years from 1708 to 1757 twenty-two million pounds worth of bullion. (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations*, op. cit., p. 208) Only a fraction of the large imports of specie was used for coinage, the rest went into private hoards and manufacture of jewellery.

"The complaint that India hoards the gold supply of the world is as old as Pliny." (*Historiae Naturalis*, VI, 26). The early Muhammadan historian Shahab-ud-Din notices it (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 583). Bernier complains : "It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure in Hindustan." (*Travels*, op. cit. p. 202). Dr. Fryer similarly writes, "So that though it be not of the growth of this country, yet the innate thrift of the Gentiles and the small occasion of Foreign expenses, and this humour of their laying up their talent in Napkin, buries the greatest part of the Treasure of the world in India." (*A New Account of East Indies*, Hakluyt Society, p. 283). "The love of Indians for precious metals and their hoarding habit attracted the attention of early British officers" (See Foster, *Letters Received*, IV Introduction XXXIII).

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

- In the territories ruled by Akbar, it is estimated that there were 120 cities and 3,200 towns. Agra had an estimated population of 5 to 6.6 lakhs, which was larger than that of London during the same period. Delhi compared favourably with Paris. Ahmedabad

was almost equal to London. Lahore was second to no European city and the population of Patna was about two lakhs.

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

The products of Indian industry not only fulfilled the needs

BENGAL LOOT AND DASTAK FAMINE

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

BRITISH " DEMOCRACY "

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

of Asia and Africa, but were also in great demand in the markets of Europe. They reached the Western countries by sea and land routes.

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

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

- Similar to the Surat monopoly in diamond polishing, Madras and Hyderabad had a near-monopoly in boring microscopic holes in pearls, and in threading them with special needles made in Surat. Unfortunately, this industry has languished, whilst diamond polishing has been revived in a big way, in the entire belt from North-Gujarat to Bombay suburbs. Pearls from all over the world, especially the odd-shaped ones, keep arriving in Madras-Hyderabad for further processing. If the Government of India and the CSIR took some interest, it may even now be not too late to tap the skilled labour pool in Hyderabad, to develop a multi-hundred crore export and re-export trade of natural pearls from India. But, this is a *dalal* nation, who may find it temporarily more profitable to handle cultured pearls imported from Japan!

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

- In ship-building, India had no rival, not even Ottoman

Turkey, which actually chose to build its fleet in India, with Indian teak. There was a flourishing ship-building industry at Dacca, Allahabad, Lahore, Thatta, Masulipatam, Pulicat, Calicut, Surat, Goa, Bassein, Satgaon, Chittagong and all along the Bengal

and Malabar coasts. 40,000 boats plied on the Indus and a flotilla of 40,000 to 50,000 boats was to be found in Bengal. Balkrishna estimates that the total shipping entering or leaving Indian ports annually amounted, in the early 18th century to 3,45,000 tons, of which 85,000 tons were employed in foreign trade. (Balkrishna, *op.cit.*, pp. 279-81)

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

Finally, the Indians were so superior to Englishmen in culture

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

"I could never make an end of telling such a variety of manufactures as well in gold, silver, iron, steel, copper and other metals, as in precious stones, choice woods, and other valued and rare materials. For they are all cunning folk and owe nothing to the people of the West, themselves endued with a keener intelligence than is usual with us and hands as subtle as ours; to see or hear a thing but once is, with them, to know it. A cunning and crafty race; not, however, fraudulent, nor easy to defraud. And what is to be observed of all their manufactures is this, that they are both of good workmanship and cheap; I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians; they have nothing barbarous and savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt manners and customs of the Portuguese; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all

REGIME OF GENOCIDAL TERROR

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

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

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

very curious and desirous of learning. In fact, the Portuguese take more from them than they from the Portuguese; and they that come fresh to Goa are very simpletons till they have acquired the airs and graces of the Indies. It must then be understood that all these countries of Cambaye, Surat and others (in the region) of the river Indus and of the Grand Mogor,

are the best and the most fertile of all the Indies and are, as it were, a nursing mother, providing traffic and commerce, for all the rest; so, too is the kingdom of Bengal, where their manners and customs are the same. The people both men and women, are there more cultivated than elsewhere; those countries are the marts of all the ships of India, and their living is better than anywhere else... No people in the world know so much about pearls and precious stones, and even at Goa the goldsmiths: lapidaries and other workmen occupied with the finer crafts, are all Banians (Banias) of and Brameins (Brahmanas) of Cambaye, and have their own streets and shops." (*The voyage of F. Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies*, Volume II Part I Hakluyt Society, pp. 248 -50).

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

To quote Dupleix, " the Company sends out beggars as employees and officers who haven't a shirt to put on their backs". (Dupleix to de Bacquencourt, February 15, 1753, quoted by Thompson V.M., in *Dupleix and his Letters*, New York, 1933, p. 724).

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

to work upon" (Quoted by Anderson, *The English in Western India*, Bombay, 1854, p. 130).

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

And further, " The court of Directors must be called as witnesses to show the prevalence

REGIME OF HYPOCRITICAL HEARTLESSNESS

Indians refused to live under British imperialist rule. The expectation of life at birth in 1921 reached the nadir of about 2 years.

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

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

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

courtesy, law or order, their insolent hooliganism made walking in the streets dangerous. " Fighting is delicious to our Englishmen," was the opinion of a contemporary. Gin drinking had assumed formidable proportions. Drunken young men committed all kinds of outrages. ' Monocks,' 'dancing masters', and tumblers', waylaid men and women, beat them, cut noses, rolled matrons in barrels down Snow Hill and committed indecencies.

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

Thieves, robbers and highwaymen abounded. " One is forced to travel even at noon, as if one were going to battle," wrote Walpole. Crime, smuggling gambling, animal-baiting, adultery and profligacy were common. Relations between the

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

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

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

" It is difficult to find a parallel to a victory won so cheaply. At Plassey the British losses were 7 Europeans and 16 sepoy killed and 13 Europeans and 36 sepoy wounded.

The gain was dominion over the richest province of India - a vast territory yielding a revenue of over twenty-five and a half million rupees a year, and inhabited by nearly thirty million people," (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 1 1971, pp 223-4.)

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

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

"Plassey created a most anomalous situation in Bengal. The conquered country was left without a master. The nawab was shorn of all authority. The East India Company was far away, and in any case it was a commercial concern not organised for the exercise of political and administrative functions. The Government of England was hardly aware of what the Company's agents were doing and little conscious of its responsibilities towards the conquered people . 'Power', Lecky

observes, was practically monopolised by a great multitude of isolated officials, far removed from all control and commanding great bodies of disciplined sepoy." (W.E.H. Lecky *A History of England till the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV, p. 262)

" Some of the officials were desperate adventurers of broken fortunes and tarnished honour. They had come to India at a time when very few of the best Europeans would have considered themselves bound to apply the whole moral

HUNTER'S HORROR

W.W.Hunter the great British Imperialist historian, upon whom the British lay great store, and one who was the Father of the Imperial Gazetteer Series, has a peculiar laconic way of expressing himself, when it comes to the genocidal famines campaign unleashed by Britain in India :

"All the officers, civil and military alike, were tainted with the common corruption. Their legal salaries were paltry and quite insufficient for a livelihood. But they had been permitted to augment them, sometimes a hundred-fold, by means of private trade and gifts from the native powers. Lord Clive quitted India for the third and last time in 1767. Between that date and the governorship of Warren Hastings in 1772, little of importance occurred in Bengal beyond the terrible famine of 1770, which is officially reported to have swept away one - third of the inhabitants." (W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, 1886, p. 387).

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

law to men of pagan creed and of a colour differing from their own" (*Ibid*). The depredations of these men were not unlike the effects of a swarm of locusts setting upon a rich green field says Lecky, 'whole districts which had once been populous and flourishing were at last utterly depopulated, and it was noticed that on the appearance of a party of English merchants, the villages were at once deserted and the shops shut, and the roads thronged with panic-stricken refugees'. (*Ibid.*, p.264)

No moral scruples deterred these greedy officials of the Company from gathering wealth. 'Never before had the native experienced a tyranny which was at once so skillful, so searching and so strong.' (*Ibid.*, p 264). The writers, factors and merchants of the Company had suddenly become officials with enormous powers. They were paid meagre salaries and were permitted to supplement them by private trade.

The conquest of Bengal offered them a golden opportunity. They used their powers to drive their Indian and other rivals out of the trade. They refused to pay customs and transit dues, sold their exemptions to Indians for large sums, intimidated Indian functionaries, prohibited other traders from dealing in goods they sold themselves, coerced the villagers to purchase their goods at exorbitant prices and to sell their own to them at cheap rates. They monopolised trade in the primary necessities of life and charged famine prices for them. They employed other methods too to swell their incomes. They imposed fines, collected taxes and lent money to the impecunious and improvident Indian nobles and chiefs at exorbitant rates of interest. They practised extortion, jobbery and bribery. Mir Qasim complained to the English Governor and his Council in May 1762 that, ' this is the way your Gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants... Setting up the colours and showing the passes of the company, they use their utmost endeavours to oppress the peasants, merchants, and other people of the country.... In every village and in every factory they buy and sell salt, betel-nut, rice straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and commodities of the peasants, merchants, etc. for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and oppression they oblige the peasants to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee; and for the sake of five rupees they

bind and disgrace a man who pays a hundred rupees in land-tax; and they allow not any authority to my servants.' (Philip Woodruff, *The Men who Ruled India: The Founders*, p 106).

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

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

"The higher officials—the Governors, the Generals, the Councillors, etc., made enormous fortunes from presents exacted from Indian princes and officials who looked to their favours for the positions they coveted and occupied. James Mill gives an account of the sums distributed by the princes

and other natives of Bengal from the year 1757 to the year 1766. The total amount reaches the staggering figure of approximately six million pounds sterling or six crores of rupees (Mill and Wilson, *The History of British India*, fifth edition, Vol III, pp. 357-60) This is exclusive of the jagir of Clive which secured for him the enormous revenue of \$ 30,000 per annum. Clive returned to England at the age of thirty-four, with a fortune of more than \$ 40,000 a year, and a sum of \$ 50,000 for his relatives (Lecky W.E.H., *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* Vol. IV., p 263; Malcolm, Sir John, *Life of Robert Lord Clive* Vol. II London, 1836).

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

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

BRITISH CONQUEST NEITHER OUT OF RACIAL OR CULTURAL SUPERIORITY

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

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

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

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

The bogus cultural superiority claims of Europeans, made by many 19th century British scoundrels like Macaulay, James Mill, William Bentinck and others are totally hollow as has been proved elsewhere in this article! The scum of British society came in contact with Indian civilisation in the 18th and 19th century A.D. and probably learnt a modicum of culture from the Indians! They admitted this earlier and many Englishmen themselves wrote as quoted by us here, comparing Britishers to "monkeys" when placed side-by-side with educated Indians! But this simple truth backed up by the evidence of continuous export surpluses in commodities, technologies and ideas that India enjoyed for thousands of years, which drained the world's gold and silver hoards to India, year after year, at least from 100 B.C. to 1820 A.D. (Pliny the Elder to George Forster's testimonies), was not admissible once Britain had carried out the First Industrial Revolution (c. 1765 - c. 1860) and converted India's relentless export surpluses into a drain of wealth from India in the heydays of Imperialism (from 1860-1947).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The spirit of greed let loose by Clive affected all sections of English society. The proprietors of the Company clamoured for higher dividends. In 1767, the rate was raised to ten per cent and in 1771 it was proposed to enhance it to twelve and a half percent. Even the Ministers and the Parliament of England were infected. The idea that India could be made to pay for the National debt was extraordinarily captivating, and was bound up with current exaggerated notions of Oriental wealth. Clive had written to Pitt that the Bengal conquest could 'in time' be used for this purpose, and Beckford thought that the 'East' might become a source of direct revenue. A pamphleteer maintained that India under the direct government of the Crown would yield sufficient profit to discharge the debt." (Holzman J. M., *The Nabobs in England*, New York, 1926 p.21)

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

"Clive had debauched the Company, Chatham was concerned lest he should debauch the nation." The danger was real. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, public morality was at its lowest ebb in England. Corruption was rampant. *Pocket and rotten boroughs from which members of Parliament were returned were a saleable commodity.* The King and leaders of parties were eager to purchase them and hence they were anxious to extort large sums of money from the Company. Equally rich servants of the Company who had returned as 'nabobs' were keen upon building up influence in the legislature. An illustration of these tendencies was the general election of 1768 in which as many as twenty-one of them were returned. "The new parliament was a true gathering together of the nabobs." (Davies, A. Mervyn, *Clive of Plassey*, 1939, p. 462). There were four Clives among them. The others were men who had played a prominent part in the recent events in India. (By the middle of the 19th century the E. I. Co. Nabobs elected to the British Parliament numbered over 60. I.H. Chapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, Vol. 1, Ch. IV; population of Great Britain in 1751 was 7.25 millions, in 1781, 9.25 millions and in 1810, 10.94 millions).

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

Only one more mendacious lie remains to be named. That

is about the boast that Great Britain is the oldest democracy in the world. This is an outrageous untruth for it was only in 1921 that electorate exceeded 50 percent of the age group eligible to vote. The position is detailed in the table below :

Growth of the Electorate of Gr. Britain

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

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

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

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

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

The Case for Socialism Restated

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

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

Therefore, we have opted to strike out along the Lohiaite path of a restructuring of our ideological base along more universal lines. In the course of summing up the contents of *Mankind* in its first year, we have highlighted, the following features of Rammanohar Lohia's vital contributions :

- Economic thought, based on essential, ethical and moral values of a philosophy of egalitarianism.
- The nationalist fervour with which he viewed the world in transition from Nation States to a World Government.
- The exercise of a Revolutionary Will to transform the conjectural and momentary social reality.
- The theory of *vishesh avasar* (special opportunity) for the downtrodden and the despised, i.e. the *dalits* and the *pidits* of this country.
- A view of world history that does not accept the primacy of Europe.

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

The Modern Case for Socialism

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

The economic case for socialism is very simple. The private capitalist owners of means of production withdraw an enormous amount from the total social product, in order to pay to themselves profits, interest and rent. Therefore, a perpetual crisis of overproduction and underconsumption is gestated.

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

The modern case for socialism is very simple :

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

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

2) Environmental degradation is the other result of free market operations. The limited resources of the planet are mercilessly exploited, in an anarchic, unplanned manner, without thought of our own progeny. Global warming is taking place, acid rain is falling upon nations that are far from the sources of

pollution, the Brazilian and Indian rain forests are disappearing, hundreds and thousands of species are becoming near extinct. Bio-diversity and planned growth are anathema to capitalism, and it is impossible to avoid total social and physical disaster if capitalism is not restrained drastically by public prohibitions.

3) Apart from Genetic Waste and Environmental Disaster, Capitalism continuously organises destructions of productive capacities through an endless series of limited and global wars.

In an earlier note in *Mankind*, we have presented the data on the Two World Wars of this century (1914-9 and 1939-45). After the end of the 2nd World War, already, by 1988, 145 limited wars have occurred, which have cost many millions in lives and billions in dollars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What has happened to our moral fibre? We watch with equanimity, all that the poor and the downtrodden suffer so patiently, so silently, so unobtrusively!

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

I am not referring to the hordes of beggars that one meets at all street corners, though of course that is a horrible sight! But I am talking of the millions of landless labourers who toil so hard in our lakhs of villages, the low caste *dalits*, the oppressed *pidits* and the innocent tribals, the beedi workers, the crores of propertyless dispossessed, the millions of port-workers,

FAMINES AND DEMOGRAPHY

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

British imperialism created conditions in which Indians could not live! The average expectation of life at birth fell to less than 20 in the decade of 1911-21.

construction workers, the factory hands, the railway and transport workers, the skillful craftsmen. What crime have they

NEW C.A.

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

committed?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Have we no manly or womanly choice in the matter?

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

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

What has capitalism done to us human beings?

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

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

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

We are masters of our destiny. We can do that which is

good for all of us.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mankind shall have it.

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

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

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

Enough !

ALL MEN ARE BORN EQUAL AND ARE BROTHERS!

NO MAN SHALL SET HIMSELF APART AND

ELEVATE HIMSELF ABOVE OTHERS!

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

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

Let us return specifically to India ! And still more specifically to India of the post-1947 era !

India has been flung into an all-pervasive, deep-going crisis by the vested interests of the West. Every facet of our collective existence, economic, political, social, cultural and moral has been thrown into a cauldron. It all began in 1765, when Britain acquired the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the name of EI Co. and created, within five years, the *Dastak Famine of 1770* which carried away nearly half the population of the provinces, or some two crores of poor and starving Indians died. Between 1770 and the end of British rule, another 6 crores were exterminated by man-made famines (Wadia & Merchant,

Our Economic Problem 1959, pp. 87-8). The famines of the 18th and 19th centuries in India were merely famines of purchasing power, which were created as a part of the grand British imperialist strategy of forced underdevelopment and imperial loot. Foodgrains, oilseeds, and beverages remained the most important items of exports till 1930s. (Vera Anstey, *The Economic Development of India*, 1942, Table XVII. p. 536).

Of this process of primitive accumulation, the Indian

REVOLUTIONARY CHANCE

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

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

The acceptance by the Government of India from mid-1991 of the *Structural Adjustment Programme and the Strategy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation* imposed by the *Trimurti* of neo-colonialism i.e. WB, IMF and WTO (the last known till recently as GATT), have created conditions almost identical with those that prevailed in 19th century India, when British-made famines, one after another, ravaged the land and the bones of the Indian weavers, who had for many centuries clothed the entire world with cotton and silk garments, till almost the 1820s, bleached the plains of the Ganga and the hills and plateaus around the Cauvery. Today, the progeny of these weavers, who were deindustrialised, ruralised and pauperised, as landless agricultural labourers for the greater glory of British imperialism, are starving in Uttarakhand, Magadh, Jharkhand, Dandakaranya, Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Bhilistan and surrounding tracts. Not only just starving, quite often dying too!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jawahar was incensed at this charge of Lohia, since the latter had earlier proved that Jawahar spent on himself at least Rs. 25,000 per diem. (See Lohia's book "*Rs 25,000 A Day*") I was present in the gallery when this debate took place, and if I remember right, Nanda, the Planning Minister, intervened to suggest a compromise figure of 10-1/2 annas against Lohia's

ONE IS TO 25,000

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

5-1/2 and Jawahar's 15-1/2. It was all too ridiculous for words ! Actually Jawahar's per diem expenditure on himself was absolutely disproportionate, whether the earnings of the average Indian was 35 paise or 95 paise or anything in between. In any event, the overall average per diem income of an Indian in 1961-62 was just 80 paise or less than a rupee (at 48-49 prices).

Jawahar was spending on himself, per day, 25,000 times more than the average Indian.

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

As opposed to the mass of the have-nots, a creamy layer of compradors, consisting of just 2% or 3% of the population has garnered all the benefits of the tortoise-pace "Hindu rate of development" that has occurred since 1947. The masses have gained nothing, except a little bit of longevity, which though significant, is still much below not only the advanced West, but also of countries like Sri Lanka and China. From a subhuman level under British rule of about 20 in 1921 and of about 27 at the end of the direct British rule in 1947, the expectation of life at birth in India has climbed to around 61 in 1992, whilst in

China and Sri-Lanka, it stands at 69 and 72 respectively. The comprador state of India, from 1947 to 1995, has been the principal engine of primitive accumulation and has progressively screwed more and more out of the Indian poor, extracting immense taxes in the form of excise duties, and sales taxes, and redistributing the same to the rich in the form of tax holidays, depreciation allowances and monopoly profits in a protected market. The 2% or 3% of the creamy layer of comprador class consists in the main of English-knowing, upper-caste upstarts, speculators, parvenus, black-marketeers, brokers, commission agents, stewards, pimps, and former imperialist-endowed titleholders, and such other bourgeois riff raff and lumpen capitalists. Class divisions and income disparities have enormously widened and deepened in Indian society, after 1765, after 1860, after 1947, and especially after mid-1991, when the Congress-Bureaucracy combine of Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh seized power and abandoned even the minimal nationalistic and socialistic rhetoric that was earlier hypocritically proclaimed by the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty of Jawaharlal, Indira and Rajiv who ruled India from 1946-64 (Jawaharlal), 1966-77 (Indira), 1980-84 (Indira, second term) and 1984-89 (Rajiv).

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

Jawahar Nehru was fully aware of this birth-blemish and basic limitation to the sovereignty of the Indian polity which came into being on August 14/15 1947. *That is why India has two names* ("India, that is Bharat" as per the Indian Constitution, Article 1, Clause 1), and *two National Days*, namely the so-called Independence Day of August 15, 1947 and the Republic Day of January 26, 1950. Jawahar thought that he could cheat history. He imagined that all he had to do was get to the bogus

Constituent Assembly of 1946-49 to pass a resolution of self-empowerment, and then everything would be alright. But an assembly of infamous stooges and erstwhile collaborators of imperialism cannot change its character by self-appointment and self-laudation.

A Dominion Assembly, like the C.A. of 1946-49, with limited sovereignty prescribed by a foreign House of Commons, one-third appointed by the powerless princelings, two-third indirectly elected by British Indian Provincial Assemblies, themselves elected on the basis of a mere 8% franchise, with the electorate divided into 70 different kinds of constituencies, fragmented on the basis of race (Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Tribals etc.), religion (Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, etc.), caste (scheduled castes), sex (women voted separately), economic status (landlords, plantation owners etc.) educational

PAKISTAN'S VIOLATIONS

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

accomplishments (graduates), and such other absurd restrictive qualifications, whereby not only certain types of candidates were filtered out by a semi-elective process, but also, they were chosen by *electorates of their own sort* or peers, such a gathering of brokers, *kala gumastas, banians, dubashes, khansamas, stewards, dalals, pimps*, imperialism-endowed title-holders, was not entitled to

pass a resolution and arrogate to itself a representative character on behalf of the Indian people.

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

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

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

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

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

The election of a new Constituent Assembly is a matter of national salvation. This new constitution would empower the Indian people for the first time to control and reign in the bureaucracy; stamp out official corruption; establish parliamentary control over the executive, including the judiciary through parliamentary committees that oversee all government

departments; grant the right of information to the people; decentralise the police administration to the *Zilla-parishad* level; re-form the Central-State relations by allocating to the Centre merely Defence, Foreign Affairs, Currency and Finance, External Trade & Customs, Inter-State Commerce, Transport and Communications, and matters that affect Sovereignty, Unity, Security and Integrity of the Country, leaving all the rest to the States.

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

This New Constituent Assembly should be triple in size to the present Lok Sabha, which has merely 550 members for a population of 900 millions. One-third would be elected by the present first past-the-post geographical constituencies, one-third would be elected on proportional basis through party lists,

and the remaining one-third by collegiates of *zilla-parishad* members voting in State-wide groups. (The Rajya Sabha is anomalous both in name and in function and will be abolished). All the MPs would be subject to recall by their electors. There could be other fundamental changes. There will be no Governors, the Chief Justices of

the State High Courts will officiate on all ceremonial occasions.

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

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

The Partition of India in 1947 was the greatest crime against the Indian people, perpetrated by the elite-compradors of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League and was supported by the undivided Communist Party of India. The 1947 Partition resulted not only in the killings of 6 lakh innocents (equivalent to the casualties of a major war), but also caused the biggest single event of migration known to human history, of 17 millions. This Partition of 1947 was accepted by the INC and ML compradors, whom Lohia identified as the "*Guilty Men*

of India's Partition" (See Lohia's book of the same name).

The Communists of India had never been part of the nationalist mainstream of Indian politics. The Second World War, which according to them had become a People's War from 1941, carried to a climax their anti-national activities. They betrayed the freedom fighters of August 9th, 1942, to the imperialist police, and stood aside from the INA struggles of end-1945 when the masses came out into the streets to protest against the court-martial of INA officers Dhillon, Sehgal and Shah Nawaz Khan. They supported the historic crime of Indian Partition in 1947. The Communists of India now stand divided into the CPI, CPI(M) and numerous factions of CPI(ML). Some of their leaders have, in recent times, confessed that they have made grave errors in supporting the 1947 Partition of India, and in oppressing the anti-imperialist struggles of 1942-1945. It is hoped, that these leaders and their cadres have learnt valuable lessons from not only these pro-imperialist manoeuvres of the war years, but also the serious strategic errors which they made

STATE'S PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

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

by propping up the semi-fascist Indira Gandhi regime of 1969-71, when Indira's government survived on Communist votes in the Lok Sabha ! And again in 1975-77 when Indira imposed an Internal Emergency ! Once again, repeating history, the communist leaders have confessed to serious errors a few years after committing them

repeatedly ! Their basic disorientation is no doubt a consequence of their non-involvement in the national mainstream freedom struggle.

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

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

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

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

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

queuing up for Magasay Awards, Booker Prizes, Lutyan Medals, and such other emblems of mental servitude.

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

The second pillar of compradorism in India is the Aryan Invasion Theory, which falsely makes out that India has been subject to endless invasions from times immemorial beginning with the supposed Aryan Invasion in 1500 B.C. This Aryan Invasion Theory is a figment of a sick imperialist fantasy. Our Vedas know of no Aryan arrivals from outside ! And this is the oldest literature of India and entire world dating back to c. 4500 B.C. ! Vedas relate to the *Sapta Sindhu* region, which is the oldest riparian civilization of the world, older than those of the Nile, Tigris-Euphrates, Mekong and the Huang Ho by over one thousand five hundred years. And Indian history knows of not only the fewest foreign invasions, much less than the endless ones known to Europe, but also exemplifies the innumerable repulsions that India succeeded in mounting whenever approached from 4500 B.C. to 1750 A.D. The Indian feudal structure was so powerful and resilient that it could absorb for some six millennia, all the external shocks that it received. In fact, the international feudal chain broke down in Europe precisely because there it was weak, petty and worn out. The historic advantage of backwardness lay with Europe in the Middle Ages.

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

India's foreign policy has been bankrupt from the start. Instead of pursuing steadfastly, a policy of simple and solid economic gains for the country, J. Nehru was fooled by the cunning flatterers of the West, that he was a world Statesman and Messiah of Peace. Actually, Jawaharlal was made into the "dog walking beneath the cart", who thinks that the weight of the cart is borne by his shoulders. Nehru or India did not bring any peace to Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Palestine or Congo. Jawahar merely provided the cheap policing of the cease-fires and the truces that were arranged by the principal contending parties, who alone determined the peace terms negotiated among themselves. It was the Chinese and the North Koreans on one side and the Americans and the South Koreans on the other, who warred with each other and negotiated the terms, under which cessation of hostilities took place at the end of the Korean war (1951-53). Indian policing of the DMZ (De-Militarised Zone) or holding custody of POWS, was at best irrelevant. India carried out minor peon-like chores at the behest

of America. Here is the need or the scope to alleviate this *Chaparasi* of American Presidents and British Prime Ministers to the level of a great Statesman or an Apostle of Peace? The same goes for all the other limited wars mentioned in South East Asia, the Middle-East and Africa. How can a partitioned, weak and poor nation like India ever aspire to become the arbiter of the fates of nations across the planet? It was all foolishness and Nehruism !

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

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

Therefore, India should take the initiative to solve the problem once and for all, and merge Eelam and Tamil Nadu and at the same time include the expanded Tamil Nadu into a new

THREE SUPREME INDICES

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

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

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

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

federative unit of the revolutionary, socialist India. This is the only lasting solution to the problem for both India and Sri Lanka.

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

Truly, along this path lie the possibilities of permanent

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

India should agitate in every international forum to demand:

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

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

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

The Congress has merely been compradoristically appeasing, the neo-colonial interests of the West. Just as today the Croats, the Bosnians and the Serbs are ethnically and communally cleansing each other, out of their respective territories in the erstwhile Yugoslavia, Pakistan has equally systematically and inhumanly cleansed the Hindus, the Sikhs and others out of Pakistan, and forced most of them into India. Comprador India has been at the same time compelled to observe virtual silence by the Anglo-American neo-colonialists. According to them, "Pakistan is a rogue country, though as our military ally, it may appear to be nearer to us. However, India must

observe the highest possible civilised standards and not make too much out of the obviously ethnic crimes that occurred between 1947 and 1997." It is not good on the part of Pakistan, they say, but then Pakistan is a small country, and should be forgiven its wayward ways. India is A Great Ancient Civilization, and, they continue, it should overlook and magnanimously forgive Pakistan.

That Pakistan has never been a nation has been obvious from the start. The leader of the Jio-Sindh movement, G. M. Sayyed, recently made a deathbed confession, that the greatest blunder he had made, in his long life of 90 odd years, was the support he lent to the demand for Pakistan. An independent Baluchistan government in exile led by the Bugtis already exists in Iran. Similarly, an independent Pakhtun movement flourished, backed by Afghanistan, till recent times. Another proof of non-viability of Pakistan is provided by the Mohajirs of Karachi and Sind, who are migrants from India and who could never be absorbed in the Pakistan polity, in spite of the passage of fifty years ! Their fate was similar to the fate of Biharis in Bangladesh, who could not be absorbed into the new state of Bangladesh which India helped to bring into existence in 1971. The problem of Buddhist Chakmas of Arakan is another facet of the same dictum that religious communities do not a nation make.

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

The internal policies of India lie equally in shambles. The industrial, the fiscal, the patent, the agricultural and all other related policies of the Government of India have been pawned to the neo-colonial *Trimurti* of WB, WTO and IMF. National planning has come to an end. Only the 'structural adjustment programme' of the *Trimurti* is being implemented. *MANKIND* pledges itself to fight against this "structural adjustment programme" which has been implemented in 70 Third World countries, without a single success story.

Everything is rotten or foreign or both in India. A small scale industry has come into existence in the environs of Bombay and other metropolitan centres, which stamps completely Indian manufactures, with foreign brand names. USA in India often means the United Sindhi Association of Ulhas Nagar, (now to

be renamed Sindhunagar, as if by a change of name, it will begin to stink less). International brand names like IBM, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Nescafe, Sony and hundreds of others have established a stranglehold over the Indian market. The monster of consumerism strides like a colossus over the Indian stage. The bureaucracy has tilted the playing field against Indian entrepreneurs as per the Bombay Group of Industrialists themselves. *Swadeshi* is anathema to the Congress and its *naukershahs*.

It is a proclivity of the comprador mind, to attribute imaginary superiority in every

C. A. OF 1946-9

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

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

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

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

Bay of Bengal !

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

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

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

Thus making a hash of three religions, which he could have easily avoided by a simple reference to any encyclopedia !

In both ignorance and sycophancy, Indian compradors have plumed the nadir.

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

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

It is small wonder how smoothly the compra mind slides over the devastating British-made famines of the 19th century, which carried away over eight crores of our countrymen and plunged the average expectation of life for an Indian to about 20 by 1921 !

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

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

The net per capita availability per day in grams of pulses, the primary source of protein for the poor, has fallen, according to the pre-budget *Economic Survey* of 1994-95, from 61 grams in 1951 to 38 grams in 1994. (Net availability is another bourgeois subterfuge that assumes that the total production plus imports of our country are communistically distributed amongst the people and does not consider their capacity to buy, which is the real problem).

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

According to the UNDP *Human Development Report* 1994, Indians living in absolute poverty numbered 350 million, those without access to sanitation 750 millions, illiterate adults of age 15 plus were 270 millions, malnourished children under 5 were

60 millions, the infant mortality rate was 89 (compare China's 27 & Sri Lanka's 71). Is it necessary to continue this litany of the terrible human suffering, that has been imposed on India by the *Trimurti* of neo-colonialism in collaboration with Congress and *Naukershah* compradors?

Apart from the Primary Treachery of Partition, the Congress leaders of India have inflicted the following additional punishments upon the people of the country :

• It is a national shame that the free and compulsory primary education upto age 14 promised in Section 45 of the

Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 remains unfulfilled upto the present.

• It is a national shame that despite the fact that the language of the country was to be Hindi under Section 343 of the said Dominion Status Constitution, and English was to be used only for a transitional period of 15

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

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

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

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

• It is a matter of national shame that India's foreign debt should have reached a level of 100 billion dollars today, almost

FOUR SUPPORTS OF COMPRADORISM

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

matching the cumulative trade deficit for the last 50 years. It is the duty of opposition in the country to inform the G-7 and the OECD nations that the future non-comprador government of India shall repudiate the senseless and wasteful foreign debts accumulated by the Congress *dalals*. There is no other way of coming out of the impending crunch of the imperialist jaws, which are inexorably closing in upon India, in the form of the Debt Trap.

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

Much of the US \$ 100 billion foreign debt of India incurred by the Congress compradors is a financial cover-up of rampant corruption and gross bureaucratic inefficiency. Opposition parties must unite

and from right now forewarn foreign governments that the future government of India will repudiate all the unnecessary, illegitimate and corrupt debts incurred by the Congress party. From the time of Jawahar, who, as Dr. Lohia proved, spent on himself at least 25,000 times as much as an average Indian, and lived and entertained in a grand style in a mansion of 82 rooms, the Congress Party has treated India as its private property, to squander, fritter and ruin, as may please its party leaders from time to time. No self-respecting opposition party should aspire or inherit the ignominious legacy of the comprador Congress Party. *True inheritors, in the narrow sense, can never move beyond the rottenness of the past!*

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

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

- It is a matter of horrible national shame that scores of thousands of crores of public money has been swallowed up

by corrupt Congressmen, "Trojan Horse" NRIs and local *naukershahs* during the last few years in the Bofors Scandal, the Sugar Scandal, in the West-land, Helicopter Purchase Scandal (which Rajiv refused to accept even if gifted, but which we quietly swallowed for Pawan Hans, once certain preliminaries were undergone by sellers), the HID Submarine Scandal (where the Indian Embassy officially discovered a 12.5% under the table payment), the Bombay Stock Exchange Scandal (wherein Harshad Mehta's open accusation of having given a bribe of 1 crore rupees to P. V. Narasimha Rao, the former Prime Minister, was never taken to court by the PM), the Real Estate Scams in and around the national and state capitals, the shameful Telecom Scam by ex-minister Sukhram, which has landed him in Tihar Jail and the hundreds of additional scandals, scams and imbroglions that go on endlessly and interminably so openly and freely that corruption has become a way of life with us. As Dr. Lohia used to put it, the body of India has become so pushed and suppurating that if one attempted to touch it, the finger would find no resistance at the skin level and would just plunge to the bones!

As the days pass and as we move past the 11th Lok Sabha polls which were held a few months ago, the polarisation of Indian society is proceeding apace. At one pole we have the status quo political formations, and at the other the revolutionary forces.

The status quo parties must be redefined in revolutionary terms. The status quo political front is made up of not only the Indian National Congress, which

is almost entirely responsible for the evils of the day, but must also include the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), or the old Jana Sangh; the Janata Dal (JD), which was the erstwhile Janata Party; the Shiv Sena (SS) which from being a provincial entity confined to Maharashtra, has erupted for the first time upon the national scene; the All India Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (AIADMK), which is a successor to the DMK; the Telugu Desam Party (TDP), which has staged a comeback in the last November 1994 Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections; the Communist Party of India (CPI); the Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M); the splintered factions disguised under various labels but which may be collectively described as Communist Party of India Marxist - Leninist (CPI-ML); the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM); the Akali Dal (AD), which also has thrown up innumerable factions; the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP); the Samata Party; and similar elements, groups and alignments. **There are two essentials which define the vision and politics of all these status quo forces :**

a) All of them accept the framework of the present constitution which was formulated by the Indian National Congress in 1946-49; and

b) All of them, to a lesser or greater degree, accept the present economic framework of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation". All of them are willing to provide unlimited number of incentives to foreign investments, to the MNCs and TNCs (Multinational Corporations and Trans National Corporations). When Narasimha Rao, Manmohan Singh and Pranab Mukherjee repeatedly proclaim that the Economic Reforms Policy of the Indian National Congress,

THREE FRONTS

As we move past the 11th Lok Sabha polls three broad fronts are emerging led by the BJP, the NF-LF and the Congress. All of them accept the constraints of the present dominion status constitution of 1946-49 and the regime of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation."

Mankind rejects all the three electoral fronts as irrelevant and calls upon the idealistically inclined community of concerned intellectuals of India to help project the Fourth Force of the Indian People.

which is but another name for the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB-IMF-WTO, has come to stay forever, all that they mean is that, more or less, all the visible major opposition parties have accepted the present economic agenda prescribed by international finance capital.

It is not that all the status quo parties are united in their political electoral policies. In fact, amongst the status quo parties, the following three broad alignments are being crystallised:

1) The BJP-SS led forces perhaps to be joined by the Samata Party, along with the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bahujan Samaj Party and similar organisations.

2) The National Front - Left Front coalition, that at the moment includes all the Communist groups, plus most of the regional formations like the TDP, the JD, the JMM, the AD, etc.

3) The third force is represented by the bankrupt and exhausted, Indian National Congress, its Communalist coalition partners in Kerala, and perhaps certain other desperate individuals. It is well to warn such rudderless lost souls, that on the verge of total rout, the Congress may make verbal concessions and that they should not be tempted by such antics.

All those who seek to inherit the post-1947 Indian state created by British imperialism, the Congress and the Muslim League, are leading the people of India into a blind alley. We must make a clean break with the past and create a new Indian state via a new Constituent Assembly directly elected for the first time on the basis of universal, equal, adult franchise.

At the other pole, the revolutionary forces, the Fourth Force, must not concern themselves overmuch with temporary electoral alliances and such gains and losses. Ours should be a politics of programmes, principles and popular movements. To us revolutionaries, status quo politics with all its nuances and modifications and reforms is anathema. As Dr. Lohia was fond of saying, "Aandhi jab chalti hai, tab chal jati hai!" (A whirlwind dust-storm, even when invisible, happens when it happens, and carries all before it!) The revolutionary forces may appear today to be small, disorganised and disunited. But in a twinkling of an eye, they may assume gigantic proportions and sweep away the garbage of centuries!

It is impossible to list the crimes which have been committed by the Congress over the last fifty years. There wouldn't be enough newsprint available in the entire world to print such a list! Reformists and journalists can only go on exposing and analysing them till the cows come home. What is necessary now is to make the transition to socially informed action and sweep away, once and for all, the Indian National Congress of compradors into the dustbin of history. MANKIND pledges itself anew to this cleansing task.

A Second War of National Independence has been joined.

The Working of the UF Government

In the meantime, as a result of the 1996 General Elections

to the 11th Lok Sabha, a Make-Shift and Opportunistic Alliance of Thirteen defeated small parties has assumed power as the United Front. There was no mandate for coalition, and all these parties had fought against each other bitterly and abusively in the course of elections.

The Congress Party, as a second largest grouping in Parliament, had suffered, primarily due to its economic policies, the worst electoral defeat in its post-1947 history.

The General Elections were thoroughly analysed in *Mankind* volume 1, Number 9, June 1996.

Basically, a pro-Western government with the same economic programme as the preceding Congress *Naukershahi* combine, has come into power, under the guise of a CMP (Common Minimum Programme), worked out after the poll, and which

CMP was a mere rehash of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the preceding government as forced upon it by the WB and IMF. This programme of "globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation" was originally formulated by the same gang of comprador agents of Neo-colonialism, by a team of stooges that included P. Chidambaram, the new Finance Minister, and by the adventurer, Jairam Ramesh, associated with the PMO.

All these miserable and heinous intrigues were carried out under the umbrella of philosophy of Secularism, to deny power to the party that had won the largest number of seats in the General Elections. The BJP was sidetracked by the specious reasoning of Secularism, which has been analysed in another article in the issue on Iraq.

Secularism has always meant a coalition of pro-Western elements and the new Inder Gujral government of the UF is faithfully following all the policies of the earlier Narasimha Rao - Manmohan Singh combine.

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

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

MANKIND'S CREDO : 1997 (Contd. on Pg. 38)

Inter-Continental and National Comparisons of Area, Population and GDP (PPP).

INDIA, NAM, COLD WAR, SOVIET COLLAPSE, EMERGENCE OF TRI-POLAR WORLD, TIGER ECONOMIES AND RELATED MATTERS.

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Introductory Remarks

We have been presenting in the pages of *Mankind* a series of statistical statements making inter-continental and national comparisons of Areas, Populations and National Incomes. These are the three broad parameters which determine a nation's comparative status in the World Polity.

For ready reference, we may list our earlier statistical presentations :

1. *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, pp. 55-62.

The Current International Comparison between 7 Main Elements of Exploiters (USA, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, UK and Canada) and the 7 Principal Victims amongst the Exploited, (China, India, Russia, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico and Iran) based on the 1991 GDP (PPP) data, with further details of G-7, NATO, and OECD (28 Countries) as against 25 major exploited entities. (A total of 53 territorial units)

2. *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 4-5, Jan. - Feb. 95, pp. 43-57.

Data with regard to 201 countries was presented showing not only Areas, Populations and National Incomes, but also a comparison was made between 1960 GDP and 1991 GDP, both on PPP terms. At the same time the confrontation between the 29 members (including prospective members) of G-7, NATO and OECD nations and 25 principal exploited

countries was highlighted.

3. *Mankind* Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 96, pp. 56-67.

We had expanded the table of comparative data to 210 countries and territories, and stressed the emergence of the Tri-Polar World, which will dominate the international political economy in the first half of the 21st century.

4. *Mankind* Vol. 2, No. 3, Dec. 96, pp. 60-61 and 65-67.

We had brought up the data to 1994, and also provided detailed comparison between India and China.

In earlier issues of *Mankind* we had pointed out the nature of the statistical methodological innovations that *Mankind* had introduced in the area of International Comparisons. The London *Economist* had followed our lead in part, and we had

invited them to take the next 3 steps for which we had shown the way :

a. We believe that it is not enough merely to compare the nations of the world with each other on PPP terms as we had done earlier, and which the London *Economist* had followed later on. It was necessary to present National Data as proportions of World Total. This would enable the relative strengths of nations to emerge sharply.

b. We had adduced comparative data over time. We had selected the years 1960, 1987 and 1994. The National to World proportions over these years would reveal the dynamics of the process. The relative strengths of National Economies was measured over a time span of 34 years.

c. On the basis of the above methodology of International Statistical Comparisons we had noticed the emergence of the TRI-POLAR WORLD of the 21st century. This is the tri-faceted confrontation which is going to increasingly absorb the energies of humanity in the immediate period ahead.

We continue our statistical investigations in the dynamics of the world economy with the tables appended hereto:

I. Inter-Continental Comparisons.

II. National comparisons of some 50-odd entities, which alone are significant in World Politics.

III. Four bar charts showing Areas, Populations, 1960 GDP (PPP) and 1994 GDP (PPP) of the entire world. The last mentioned 4 bar charts are the best, simplified solutions to the new methodology of International Statistical Comparisons which we have been pioneering in *Mankind*.

A few notes on these latest tabulations will be found useful by the perceptive reader.

TABLE I.
INTER-CONTINENTAL COMPARISONS OF
AREAS, POPULATIONS AND NATIONAL INCOMES.

CONTINENT	AREA	POPULATION	GDP-PPP	GDP-PPP
	(% of WORLD)	(% of WORLD)	(% of WORLD) (1960)	(% of WORLD) (1994)
ASIA ¹	30	60	21.5	35.0
EUROPE ¹	7	13	36.00	27.5
AFRICA	20	12	4.00	4.0
N. AMERICA	16	8	32.00	26.0
S. AMERICA	12	6	5.00	6.0
OCEANIA	6	1	1.50	1.0
	91 ²	100	100.00	100 ³

I. INTER-CONTINENTAL COMPARISONS.

We present hereinbelow Table I : Inter-Continental Comparisons of Areas, Populations and National Incomes.

SOURCES : Area and Population, *The New Webster's International Encyclopedia, 1994*, Appendix Earth Facts pp. 8-9. For GDP(PPP) of 1960 and 1994, *Mankind, Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 1996*, pp. 58-66.

NOTES : 1. Asiatic Russia and European Russia have been divided for Area and Population, as per the data provided by *The New Webster Encyclopedia*, already cited. For GDP-PPP of 1960, we have taken USSR as a whole, from *Mankind*, issue quoted above. For further details of the collapse of the Soviet economy, as well as those of the *Warsaw Pact Countries* of

Eastern Europe, see, *Mankind, Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 96*, p. 67. For GDP-PPP of 1994 we have utilised World Bank data from *World Development Report 1996*. We have divided the 15 constituent republics of the former USSR as follows :

We have placed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Russ. Fed in Europe; whilst Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have been placed in Asia.

2. The World total of Area for the 6 continents enumerated above is only 91%. The rest 9% is Antarctica, which has virtually no population and no GDP.

3. Because of rounding, the total GDP on PPP terms for 1994 does not add up to 100.

TABLE II.
SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL ENTITIES.

(Those countries that possessed more than 1% of the world total of Area, Population or National Income)

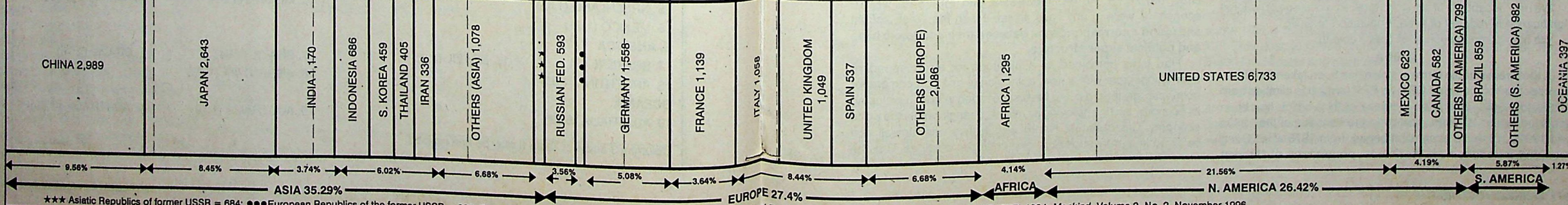
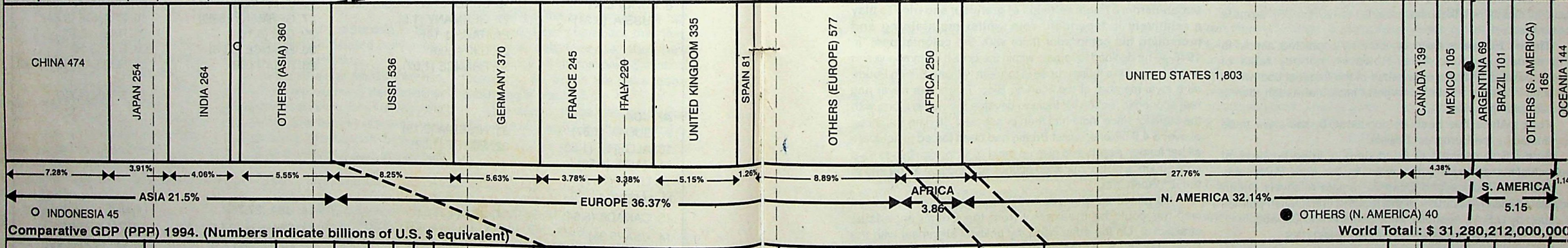
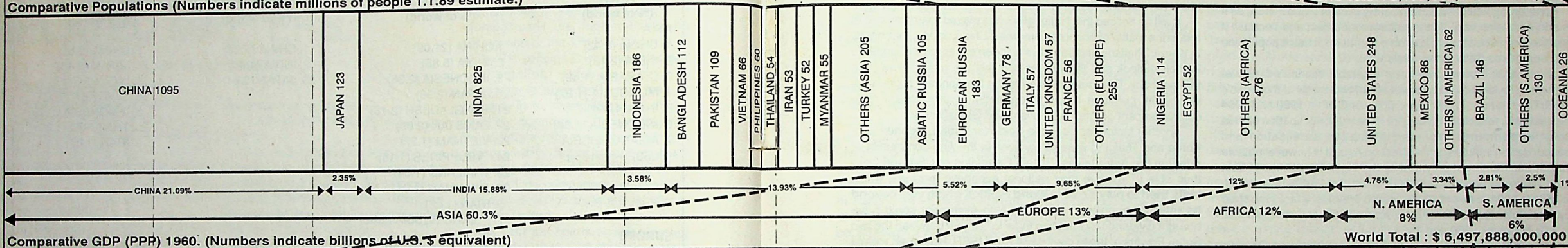
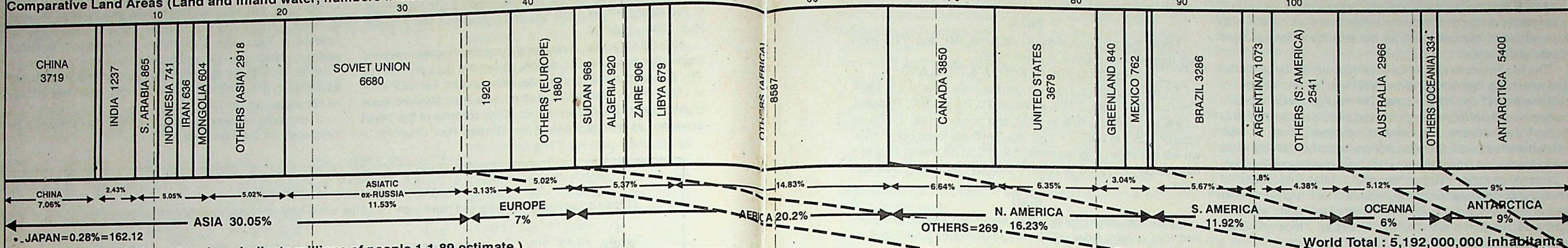
1 AREA (% of world)	2 POPULATION (% of world)	3 GDP-PPP (1960) (% of world)	4 GDP-PPP(1994) (% of world)
ASIA			
1. CHINA (6.42)	1. CHINA (21.09)	1. CHINA (7.28)	1. CHINA (9.56)
2. INDIA (2.13)	2. INDIA (5.88)	2. INDIA (4.06)	20. JAPAN (8.45)
3. S. ARABIA (1.49)	3. INDONESIA (2.36)	20. JAPAN (3.91)	2. INDIA (3.74)
4. MONGOLIA (1.27)	20. JAPAN (2.36)		33. S. KOREA (1.47)
5. IRAN (1.09)	21. BANGLADESH (2.13)		3. INDONESIA (2.19)
6. INDONESIA (1.04)	22. PAKISTAN (2.09)		25. THAILAND (1.29)
7. ASIATIC RUSSIA (11.53)	23. VIETNAM (1.27)		5. IRAN (1.07)
	24. PHILIPPINES (1.15)		
	25. THAILAND (1.04)		
	26. MYANMAR (1.04)		
	5. IRAN (1.02)		
	7. ASIATIC RUSSIA (2.02)		
EUROPE			
8. EUROPEAN RUSSIA (3.31)	8. EUROPEAN RUSSIA (3.5)	8. USSR (8.25)	27. GERMANY (5.08)
	27. GERMANY (1.5)	27. GERMANY (5.68)	30. FRANCE (3.64)
	28. ITALY (1.14)	29. U.K. (5.15)	28. ITALY (3.37)
	29. U.K. (1.09)	30. FRANCE (3.76)	29. U.K. (3.35)
	30. FRANCE (1.07)	28. ITALY (3.38)	34. RUSSIAN FED. (1.90)
			35. SPAIN (1.72)
AFRICA			
9. SUDAN (1.67)	31. NIGERIA (2.19)		
10. ALGERIA (1.58)	32. EGYPT (1.02)		
11. ZAIRE (1.56)			
12. LIBYA (1.17)			
N. AMERICA			
13. CANADA (6.64)	14. USA (4.76)	14. USA (27.76)	14. USA (21.56)
14. USA (6.35)	16. MEXICO (1.63)	13. CANADA (2.14)	13. CANADA (2.81)
15. GREENLAND (1.45)		16. MEXICO (1.61)	16. MEXICO (1.99)
16. MEXICO (1.31)			
S. AMERICA			
17. BRAZIL (5.67)	17. BRAZIL (2.8)	17. BRAZIL (1.54)	17. BRAZIL (2.75)
18. ARGENTINA (1.85)		18. ARGENTINA (1.07)	
OCEANIA			
19. AUSTRALIA (5.12)		19. AUSTRALIA (1.14)	19. AUSTRALIA (1.03)

Columns 3 and 4 of Table II may be first noticed.

contd. on p.36

WORLD BALANCE OF POWER

Comparative Land Areas (Land and Inland water; numbers indicate thousands of square miles; Bottom line gives percentage to World Total) World total ; 57, 900,000 Square miles



*** Asiatic Republics of former USSR = 684; ●●● European Republics of the former USSR = 225. Source : (i) Area and Population : The New Webster's International Encyclopedia, 1991; (ii) GDP (PPP) 1960 and GDP (PPP) 1994; Mankind, Volume 2, No. 2, November 1996.

One : It will be apparent that compared to other continents the demographic density is higher in Asia. There are valid reasons for this :

Asia is the continent of the oldest civilizations of the earth. It is the centre of origin of all the most significant cultigens, which have provided humanity with all the important domesticated plants and animals.

The two Americas and Africa were depopulated by genocidal and enslaving operations of the Western imperialist powers between the 16th and 20th centuries. The near-genocidal Western campaign of man-made famines in India could not be carried to its logical conclusion. A nationalist movement arose in India which thwarted British imperialist efforts to barbarically liquidate the Indian people, after the famine toll had gone beyond 8 crores!

Inter-imperialist rivalries aborted a total subjugation of several important population aggregates in East and South-east Asia. Thus demographically this region of the world escaped lightly, as compared with the two Americas, Africa and Sub-continental India.

Therefore, whilst Asia has merely 30% of world's area, as it is and has been very rich in natural resources; and because it has the longest history of human occupation; it has a population that comprises 60% of the world total.

If National Income had been equitably distributed all over the world, Asia should have had about two-thirds of the world's GDP. The figures of 21.5% and 35% for GDP in 1960 and 1994 respectively, reflect the history of imperialist occupation of Asia and the permanent de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation inflicted by the West on Asia. It is however notable that due to the thrust provided by the Tiger-Economies of East Asia, its proportion of World GDP in 1960 of 21.5% has shot up to 35% in 1994, a rise of 13.5%, which is almost exactly matched by the relative loss suffered by Europe of 8.5% and by N. America of 6%, between 1960 and 1994.

Two : The continents of Africa, S. America and Oceania have all maintained their shares so far as GDP in PPP terms is concerned.

Three : Europe is also very densely populated, almost to the same extent as Asia. However, nobody talks of overpopulation of Europe, because of the Imperial Loot which resulted in an accumulation of great industrial wealth, during the last two centuries.

Four : Africa has been de-populated by the slave trade conducted by the European powers.

Five : S. America has been de-populated because of genocidal massacres of Amerindians by the White Europeans.

Six : N. America and Oceania remain relatively under-populated mainly because of the racist immigration policies pursued by U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

II. SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL ENTITIES.

We may accept 1% of the world total, as a criterion of national significance in respect of Area, Population or GDP.

We may compile such a list (see Table II)

CHINA

A most remarkable forward stride has been taken by China. Its proportion of the world GDP on PPP terms has climbed from 7.28% to 9.56%. This is an increase of 31% which has been achieved in just 16 years, mainly in the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. (Chinese expansion began, from 1978 when Deng Xiaoping introduced his revisionist programme of "Market

Socialism".)

JAPAN

Japanese expansion occurred mainly in the 70s. Its progress has been from 3.91% of the world to 8.45%, an increase in relative strength of 116%.

INDIA

Under the guidance of the World Bank, IMF and WTO, India has regressed in relative strength by 8%.

INDONESIA, SOUTH KOREA & THAILAND

Three, far eastern, Tiger economies have emerged in 1994. They are Indonesia, 2.19% as against 0.7% in 1960; Thailand, 1.29% as against 0.40% in 1960; and South Korea, 1.47% as against 0.26% in 1960. If we put together these three economies, we will notice an improvement of 264% in 34 years. This is a remarkable accretion of relative strength between 1960 and 1994.

IRAN

One other Asian country has made remarkable progress and that is Iran, from 0.66% in 1960 to 1.07% in 1994 an improvement of 62%.

It will be noticed that Nationalism has played a very important role in the matter of economic progress. China, Japan, Indonesia, S. Korea, Thailand and Iran have all been extremely nationalistic in their outlook and this has helped them to move forward on the fast track. Comprador India has on the contrary regressed, principally because it has fallen victim to the current neo-colonialist cant of Internationalism and Globalisation.

Another factor has been the Cold War. Japan, Indonesia, S. Korea and Thailand were all involved in the Anti-communist or rather in the Anti-Stalinist Russia Campaign of USA and were thus able to improve their national economic fortunes; whilst **India tried to play a role in World Politics which was beyond its internal economic capacity.** Non-Alignment could have brought dividends by enabling India to bargain between the two Super Powers of those days, USA and USSR. **However, Nehru suffered from a tragic delusion of grandeur and tried to play a relatively independent role whilst maintaining and promoting his comprador links with the colonial past.** In 1948-49 he decided to remain within the British Commonwealth and devalued the Indian rupee in tandem with the British Pound as a loyal member of the Sterling Bloc. There was never any real economic reason for India to devalue the rupee along with the sterling; since India had then possessed Sterling Balances of over \$ 4.6 billions, whilst Britain had been forced to liquidate all her foreign assets and give up most of its foreign bases as a consequence of its exhausted economic condition at the end of the IInd World War.

This ruined his chances both ways, he neither bargained well nor could he breakaway from the British imperialist straitjacket. On the other hand, by political alignment with the U.S., Japan, S. Korea, Indonesia and Thailand, whose economies were in any case affiliated with the West, sought and **found a correspondence between their economic base and political super-structure.**

Had India combined its aspirations for an independent international role with a new, anti-colonial and non-comprador economic strategy, it could have succeeded in both developing its economy and in improving its relative strength within the world economy. Unfortunately, Nehru was in love with himself and believed in merely superficial and cosmetic changes. Thus he

fell between the two stools of divergent economic and political programmes. **Either, Non-Alignment should have led to a true socialist orientation, or a compradorist economic framework should have led to an open alignment with the Western Powers. Nehru wanted Non-alignment with a non-socialist economic base. This was not only tragic but ridiculous and absurd.** Nehru's economic (and internal political) policies were non-aligned with his external Non-alignment policy framework. **Nehru having been born a schizophrenic lurched from one side to another and like all drunkards came to a sorry end!** He had written in his Autobiography without understanding the implications of his own confession. That he belonged neither to the East nor to the West, at home nowhere.

This is exactly what compradorism makes necessary: You are neither here nor there, you are literally nowhere.

Therefore, it is easy "to dream and fantasise" about Non-alignment, but impossible to break away from Western imperialist culture and society.

Now let us take up the changes in GDP (always on PPP terms) between 1960 and 1994 in the non-Asiatic world.

USSR / RUSSIAN FED/FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS

The most dramatic collapse in recent times has been that of Stalinist USSR.

Here, it will again be noticed by the perceptive reader, that it was not possible to either hold all the 15 republics of the old USSR together, or to keep the satellite Eastern European Warsaw Pact countries tied to Russia on a non-Stalinist basis. Either a terror regime with concentration camps, absolute censorship and total dictatorial control over the minds and lives of the people could have been maintained, or a completely new association of free socialist economies could have been attempted. **It was not possible to half-liberate the peoples of Russia and Eastern Europe. It was not possible to de-Stalinise only to some extent as Krushchev, Brezhnev and co. attempted, not to speak of Kosygin, Mikoyan, Podgorny, Andropov** and such other illustrious worms. Either you have a regime of total terror that Stalin established between 1928-53 or you have a libertarian, Leninist - Trotskyist - Old Bolshevik pattern. It is in the long-run either one or the other. You cannot have half-hearted liberalisation and at the same time maintain a tight control over the political economy and the socio-cultural complex. Freedom will have to be complete, total and absolute, sooner or later; alternatively total state control, an authoritarian terror regime and absolute dictatorship must be accepted, in the same long run.

Gorbachev from 1985 tried a new half-way house, and promulgated *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*, imitating Deng's new line of 1978 of a swerve towards *Kai-feng* and *Gaige* (*Glasnost* and *Perestroika* are exact Russian translations of the Chinese terms *Kai-feng* and *Gaige* meaning in English Openness and Restructuring).

In passing we may note that the Chinese turn towards "Market Socialism", was neither entirely market oriented nor was it truly socialist. It was merely a highly nationalistic orientation of a basically State Capitalist Command Economy with minor modifications in favour of corrupt and mafia style bureaucratic gangsterism based on the traditional Chinese War-cordism, derived from age-old feudal, regional loyalties. But Deng and his followers have kept intact the structure of State Capitalism which was imposed upon a semi-feudal peasant economy in 1949, especially after the break with Krushchev's

Russia in the early 60s. The US perception of the reality of the Sino-Soviet rift of the early 60s, came belatedly in the 70s when Nixon was forced to de-recognise Taiwan and finally recognise Mainland China as a Permanent Member of the Security Council with full veto powers. In short, China became the truly Non-aligned power of the world from the early 70s, Non-aligned to both USA and USSR. China had been *de facto* Non-aligned since the early 60s, but *de-jure* recognition of its Non-alignment came ten years later!

Therefore, the current 102 member Non-aligned Movement is truly **headless in a double sense**. China, which is the real Non-aligned power is not a member of the NAM. Whilst India, which was pretending to lead it, has been completely sidelined and has actually regressed economically over the last 4 decades!

Let us now return to Russia. Gorbachev could not formulate a nationalist platform for his country in the same manner as Mao Tse - Tung, Chou En - Lai, Lui Shao - Chi, Chu - Teh, Lin - Piao and others could with their background of anti-Japanese national liberation struggle from 1931 to 1949. Gorbachev on the contrary was a symbol of Stalinist Russia which had oppressed and exploited all the Warsaw pact east-European countries, as well as the fourteen constituent SSRs of the USSR. Thus for Gorbachev to assume a nationalist garb was absolutely ruled out. At the same time without a nationalist credo it was not possible to create, even temporarily a half-way house between State capitalism and Free Market capitalism. Therefore Yeltsin emerged, who went all out for restoration of private capitalism and Gorbachev was eliminated between 1989 and 1991. The Soviet Empire broke up and the Soviet Union itself disintegrated.

The current position with regard to GDP on PPP terms is that the old USSR had a total national income of 8.25% of the world in 1960. The collapse of the Soviet economy (and of the Soviet bloc), in the late 80s and early 90s, has resulted in a present relative strength of 3.09%, or a net loss of over 5%! Of this diminished level the Rus. Fed., by itself commands just 1.90%! The Stalinist Empire is dead! USA and EU have reconquered Eastern Europe; West Germany has re-absorbed East Germany; Poland, the Czechoslovak Republic and Hungary are about to be inducted into NATO; and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are next in line for re-attachment to OECD! (See for more detailed measurement of the decline of the USSR and its constituent units, *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 95, p. 58 and Vol. 2, No. 2, Nov. 96, p. 67)

GERMANY

Next let us consider the case of unified Germany. Despite the re-unification of the two Germanys, the relative share of Germany has marginally declined from 5.68% of the world to 5.08%. This is in line with the general decline of Europe in the world economy (See Table I above)

UK / FRANCE / ITALY

More dramatic however has been the decline of relative strength of these three old, exhausted imperialist powers. From about 1/8th of the world economy they stand now at merely 1/10th. This despite all the glorification of the Marshall plan, the European Miracle and such media-hype!

SPAIN

We must recognise the forceful emergence of Spain over the last two decades. Franco had led Spain into a blind alley, but after his death in 1975, Spain seems to be slowly emerging as a significant European economic power.

contd. on p.60

MANKIND'S CREDO : 1997

(contd. from pg .31)

The election to UP Assembly held in late 1996, resulted in BJP winning 177 seats out of 425, as the largest party; with Mulayam Singh's Samajwadi Party winning 109 (UF as a whole got 133), BSP coming third with 67 and Congress a poor irrelevant fourth with just 33. For 6 months, nothing happened and Congress-appointed Governor, Bhandari, compounded the constitutional anomaly by twiddling his thumbs. Ultimately, after months of shameless horse-trading and corrupt deal-making, BJP and BSP came to a power-sharing arrangement, with Mayawati ruling as the CM for the first six months, and Kalyan Singh following with his six months ruling term, which has just begun on 21st Sept. 1997. In our shamocracy, where both Central Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sahbas lack power, this farce " *naukershahi* - notocracy " will and must continue !

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

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

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

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

However, as matters stand today, the Indian people are likely to bear witness to a BJP victory in the next general elections , about to take place around Feb.-March 1998, and will have the terrible burden of BJP rule for the next 2 or 3, if not 5, years. This is a fearful price to pay, but there are no short-cuts to education of the masses, who can, and should learn only by the real life experiences.

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

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

RE-ASSERTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE

The central issue that faces humanity is that of its future. What is going to be the nature of the next mode of production which will sustain mankind's evolutionary climb? After all, we are certainly not going to remain where we are. If capitalism were capable of redeeming mankind from its present tragic plight, it would never have landed us in the first place in such a crisis. How is the pain and torture, death and destruction, poverty and desolation of the Third World going to be removed? How are the horrendous dimensions of inequalities; rising and unending unemployment; ethnic cleansing and racialism; mafia rule in the so-called Transitional Economies (what used to be the Second World of the former USSR and its satellites); the sharp degradation of the environment; the spectacular rise in violence and crime; and the near eclipse of all humanitarian cultural values; how are all these developments in the First World itself going to be resolved?

State capitalist bureaucracy which is the economic base of Stalinism, Maoism, Titoism and such other political manifestations of the last 75 years, offer no solution. In fact, Stalin's concentration camps and Pol Pot's pyramids of skulls actually represent a calamitous degeneration.

Therefore, to arrest the headlong fall of mankind and all humanitarian values, it is urgently necessary to reassert the values of democratic socialism. We have already discussed the temporary reasons that made possible the Second Breath of Capitalism. The re-conquest of Stalinist Russia and Comprador India, the super-enlargement of the Services Sector, the Information Revolution, the spectacular growth in the Youth and Real Estate Markets, these, and related factors can only provide a temporary reprieve for capitalism.

The emergence of the Tri-Polar World portends renewed Trade Wars and endless Limited Wars and even threatens the possibility of a Limited Nuclear Holocaust !

In any case, the environmental disaster is a time-bomb that is ticking away. It is obvious that the earth will not be able to sustain unplanned capitalist appropriation of nature for long !

In recent times, the socialist ideology has attracted much opprobrium. Stalinist defamation of communism was definitely the major reason, but the corruption of the Socialist Parties of the West on the basis of the Welfare Services promoted out of the super-exploitation of the Third World, has also been a major contributory cause.

Even in the capitalist West, voices of dissent have surfaced. In many countries of Europe (in 9 out of 15 members of the EU), Socialist Parties have returned to power because of the popular disaffection with the consequences of untrammelled capitalism. Some old social democrats like Schumacher have come out with ponderous theses propounding the philosophy "Small Is Beautiful". Pacifists, Greens and Women's Liberationists have got together to project varied programmes of Social Reforms.

In the Third World, and in India, various Ethical and Moral Cultural solutions are being propounded. Vast numbers of sensitive intellectuals have been alienated by the mad capitalist rush towards Consumerism, High Living, Ad Culture and Reckless Speculation. Non-violence is being preached as

though it was a new discovery not known to Buddha in the 7th century B.C!

Innumerable spiritualist mirages are being dangled before the toiling masses of our country and the Third World. The varied messages of Vivekananda, Ramakrishna, Aurobindo, Maharshi Yogi, Rajneesh, and a thousand other *gurus*, *buwas* and charlatans have come to the fore advocating all sorts of magical formulae.

Our difficulty with all these pseudo-solutions is that the basic economic compulsions underlying their appreciation of the crises facing mankind have not been spelled out. We must first understand the necessity of the solutions. Why is it inevitable? What are the structural factors in modern capitalism that have necessitated their programmatic pronouncements?

Nothing can be solved or resolved just because some individuals, however gifted or learned they may be, desire it. We human beings live and extract a living from our environment under specific socio-economic conditions. These socio-economic conditions in their totality represent the Mode of Production. One mode of production yields to another in an evolutionary succession as the forces of production expand and the horizons of our knowledge enlarge.

That is why we have pinpointed the unhealthy and sick

Fourth, all cosmetics, dentrifices, soaps, detergents, hair care sprays, skin care lotions, etc. must be classed as medicines and drugs and thus excluded from ad promotion campaigns.

Fifth, safety standards must be strictly enforced and hoardings, posters and other visual displays must be excluded from all traffic arteries especially from the roads surrounding educational complexes.

There are many other exclusions that can be enforced on grounds of public safety, health hazards, environmental protection, corruption of young minds, prohibition of lotteries, excessive rewards and a thousand other parameters.

Nature abhors a vacuum. Therefore, removal of all the evils listed above should in all probability result in redirecting youthful energies into more socially useful channels. Community work, adult literacy drives, collective labour to fulfill healthy goals, all these are likely to receive a boost.

This is not the place to go into minute details of all those hundreds of cooperative efforts that will create a better life for all the millions of toilers living around us. Let us give prestige to hard work and socialised labour. Let agriculture and simple manufacture of necessities receive our highest regard and priorities. Let parasitism and personal greed be demoted. Let the joy of simple healthful living be recognised as the best.

All men are born equal, and are brothers !
Let equality be a basic constitutional right of all Indians !
Life and Liberty are meaningless without Equality !

overgrowth of the Services Sector as the central problem facing humanity during the last phase of capitalism which commenced from the 1980s.

We must smash the Services Sector!

We can see that the parasitical growth of the Real Estate and Youth markets and the so-called Information Revolution are all parallel and inter-linked phenomena.

Some corporations get together and loft a satellite into space, then they arrange uplinking via certain monopolised wavelengths. Then they sell downlinking facilities with coded transponders to gangs of cable operators who collect rentals from television set owners. Real estate and telephone, fax and cable links are now intertwined in new building societies coming up all over the world.

Nothing is being manufactured by anyone. It is a world of airy nothings; brainwashing media hype; division of market by brand segments; advertisement mystique; sick consumerism; upmarket fashion designing; vulgar catwalking; 24-hour sports, music and showbiz channels and so on. It is a world of psychedelic lights, rock and pop rhythms, heavy beats, naked displays of wealth, greedy grasping and general hysteria. All centred around the concept of democratic rights of choice between alternative brand names. It is a promotion of Western cultural values and disgusting degeneration into sophisticated barbarism.

We must smash the Services Sector! We must destroy neo-colonialist tantrum-promotions! We must proceed with overlapping restrictions that deflate the whole business!

First, we must exclude the five essentials of life from the purview of manipulation by media moghuls. Once nutrition, clothing, shelter, education and healthcare are excluded, more than half the edifice will crumble.

Second, corruption of young minds must cease.

Third, environment must be protected.

It is a long haul. Capitalist greed has penetrated into every pore, lolling about on sun-drenched beaches and senseless tourism has spoilt everything. Life was never meant to be lived in the obnoxious, evil and vulgar bourgeois way.

Let us build a good socialist society where people are not at each other's throats all the time. Human beings have overcome many hurdles in the course of their sojourn upon this planet. Capitalist culture is one more hurdle that has to be overcome. Let mankind gather together all its mental and physical capacities and get rid of the capitalist nightmare that has overshadowed and poisoned our existence.

This world and its civilization is the patrimony of all of us. Let us share it equally. Let every man, woman and child prosper. Let everyone of us achieve the full potentialities of our genetic make-up.

CAPITALISM WILL PASS !
SOCIALISM WILL BE REALISED !

ANNEXURE I
HEINOUS BRITISH IMPERIALIST ROLE IN INDIAN HISTORY

Central to any understanding of contemporary comprador, India is the character of British imperialist rule over India. We are publishing at the end of this *Credo*, a box on the terribly distorted picture that Marx had about India. The reasons for this are not far to seek:

- Marx was a very poor scholar of history in general and of non-European and non-north west-European history in particular. All that he knew was related to a very small region of the world, viz, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, France, England and Ireland. He did not know much about either south Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Malta, Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and Turkey) or of East Europe (Europe east of the Oder-Neesse line). I do not know how much he knew of Scandinavia,

but in all likelihood it must have been precious little.

- Secondly, Marx hailed from a Jewish family but his father had converted himself to the Christian faith for careerist reasons. Therefore, Marx's views on religious philosophy, assumed the character of "the fanaticism of the new convert".

- Furthermore, Marx and Engels had imbibed from the Young Hegelians all the arrogant, racist, Prussian prejudices of the Central European White Man. Marx and Engels could never understand that world history had known much greater men and ideologues than those that fell within the ambits of the narrow Germanic-French-English vision of the 19th century.

- Above all, he had formed a politico strategic alliance with the arch conservative, Lord Palmerston during the Crimean War (1856-59), precisely at the time of the great nationalist uprising in India, which the British imperialists sought to belittle

LAND REVENUES OF BENGAL		
	Actual collection in rupees	Actual collection in pounds (£)
By Todar Mall's settlement, 1582	10,693,152	1,070,000
By Sultan Suja's settlement, 1658	13,115,907	1,312,000
By Jaffar Khan's settlement, 1722	14,288,186	1,429,000
By Suja Khan's settlement, 1728	14,245,561	1,425,000
By Cossim Ali's settlement, under Mir Kassim, 1762-63	6,456,198	646,000
By Nundcomar's settlement under Mir Jaffer, 1763-64	7,618,407	762,000
By Mahomed Reza Khan's settlement under Dewani, 1764-65	8,175,533	818,000
By Mahomed Reza Khan's settlement under Dewani, 1765-66	14,704,875	1,470,000

(Source : R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India, Early British Rule*; p.85)

by calling it the Indian Mutiny (1857-60). Palmerston was the butcher of our so-called First War of National Independence. Not only were many mutineers exiled to the Penal Colony of Andaman (Andaman became a Penal Colony just then), but also Palmerston the imperialist swine was personally responsible for "blowing the rebels from cannon mouths"! This completely distorted Marx's image of India and of the Third World, so much so that he failed to take into account the "primitive accumulation" that was carried out by Britain in India in his chapter-VIII on Primitive Accumulation of *Kapital*, Vol. 1, which work was central to his entire theoretical outlook.

- In general, Marx became beholden to East India Company directors like Thomas Mun, Josiah Child, who were pioneers in economic pamphleteering in England and who were often used by Marx as sources for his own economic writings. In this manner, Marx imbibed all the rotten racist and imperial prejudices of mid-19th century.

Marx did not grasp the full significance of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which, the East India Company acquired from the subedar of the Moghuls in 1765. With this acquisition, a qualitative sea change occurred in the nature of Indo-British trade. After 1765, Britain ceased to bring bullion to India, as it had been doing from the foundation of the EI company in 1601.

Henceforth, the surplus from the revenues of India became available as "investments". These "investments" were utilised for the purchase of Indian goods, especially textiles and were exported to England with no return in any form to India.

Thus started the stream of Unrequited Exports from India or the Drain of Wealth.

We have published in *Mankind*, long extracts from R. C.

Dutt's, two volume study, "*Economic History of India : Early British rule, and , The Victorian Age*", 1901 and 1903, wherein these 'investments' have been tabulated. (MK, Vol. 1, No 2-7 and No. 9; 5 instalments). These "investments" were formed out of the surplus from Land Revenue, that was pure Indian Loot. The East India Company kept the salaries of both the White Nawabs and the Kala Gumastas as low as possible allowing both plenty of scope for private trading and corruption, whilst maintaining the highest possible level for Land Revenue Demand, despite the severest famines, so that the maximum could be declared as Surplus. This Surplus was utilised to buy Indian goods, not only for consumption in England but also for re-export to European markets.

Not only that; there were other systematic exactions carried out all over the country in hundreds of cases.

The extraordinary high level at which Land Revenue Demand was placed will be apparent from the following table.

In short, the first year of Diwani meant the highest ever level of Land Revenue.

An idea of the other extortions that went on may be had from the following :

"Every occasion for setting up a new Nawab was considered a suitable opportunity for shaking the proverbial pagoda-tree of the East. When Mir Jaffar was first made Nawab after the battle of Plassy in 1757, the British officers and troops had received a bonus of £ 1,238,575, out of which Clive himself had taken £ 31,500 besides a rich jagir or estate in Bengal. When Mir Kasim was made Nawab in 1760, the presents to the British officers came to £ 200,269, out of which Vansittart had taken £ 58,333. When Mir Jaffar was made Nawab a second time in 1763, the presents amounted to £ 500,165. And now, when Najim-ud-Daula was set up in 1765, further presents came in to the extent of £ 230,356. Besides these sums received in presents, amounting within eight years to £ 2,169,665, further sums were claimed and obtained as restitution within this period amounting to £ 3,770,833." (Source : R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India, Early British Rule*; pp.32-3)

The above is merely a sample of what went on in India. Hundreds of such incidents of naked loot occurred. As British troops fanned out to one native princeling after another, as soon as EI Company's troops had taken any town in which the Raja or Nawab's *kothi* were located, Englishwomen rushed into the Zenana of the princes and tore earrings and noserings out of the earlobes and nostrils of the residents, leaving them bleeding. (B. D. Basu, *Rise of Christian Power in India*, 1931).

We remind our readers that hitherto the situation had been quite different as Thomas Mun records "The EI Company had to export £ 30,000 in bullion on each voyage to finance its trade." (EB. 1983, Micro, Vol. VII, p.99) By the time the ship returned from Persian Gulf carrying British bullion, French bullion, Dutch bullion, Portuguese bullion and so on, the total returning cargo of precious metals amounting averagely for each voyage by each ship to £ 200,000 (See Brijnarayan, Hawkins, Terry, Balkrishna etc. quoted above).

After 1765, everything changed. Now, Indian revenues financed British conquest of India and nothing was paid in return for the perennial excess of Indian exports over Indian imports. (See, Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, 1901, p. 31-54)

After 1860, direct British Colonial rule was substituted for EI Company rule. It was not possible to show the loot as "investments" or "exactions". It became necessary to cover-up the brutal transactions with more and more layers of hypocrisy.

Henceforth, the following euphemisms were applied to cloak the dirty drain of wealth from India.

1. "Home Charges" - These were amounts debited to India at the sweet will of the Imperial power.

2. Cost of Wars of Imperialist conquests carried out by Britain from Abyssinia, Egypt and East Africa through Persian Gulf to Malaya and China were debited to India.

3. Public debt was created by Government of India for recklessly expensive railway construction, irrigation and PWD works and Guaranteed by the colonial administration in India, and all interest charges were paid from the Indian treasury.

4. Exceptionally high salaries were paid to White vermin serving in India and all their savings were handed over to British Managing Agency Houses, trading and manufacturing in India. These Managing Agency Houses in turn drained India of capital and wealth.

The export surplus never stopped. (See, Congress Select Committee, *Report on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India*, 2 Volumes, 1931; Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India, 1934*; D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times, 1924*)

The upshot was,

"This annual drain of £ 3,000,000 on British India" wrote Montgomery Martin in 1838, "amounted in thirty years, at 12 percent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest to the enormous sum of £ 723,997,917 sterling; or, at a low rate, as £ 2,000,000 for fifty years, to £ 8,400,000,000 sterling! So constant and accumulating a drain even on England would soon impoverish her; how severe then must be its effects on India, where the wages of a labourer is from two pence to three pence a day?"

"For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and sometimes four million pounds sterling a year from India, which has been remitted to Great Britain to meet the deficiencies of commercial speculations, to pay the interest of debts, to support the home establishment and to invest on England's soil the accumulated wealth of those whose lives have been spent in Hindustan. I do not think it possible for human ingenuity to avert entirely the evil effects of a continued drain of three or four million pounds a year from a distant country like India, and which is never returned to it in any shape." (See, Montgomery Martin's, *Eastern India*, London 1838. Introductions to vols. i. and iii. quoted by R. C. Dutt in *Economic History of India, Early British Rule*, pp.409-10)

It will be immediately apparent that this constant drain of wealth from India to Britain resulted in de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India. Thus British rule became synonymous with the reign of terror unleashed by an unending series of famines of purchasing power. Foodgrains and oilseeds remained the biggest items of exports from India right through the entire period of British rule, specially 1765 and 1860 to 1947. Poor people died in front of shops and warehouses full of foodgrains, as they did not have the capacity to pay the prices demanded by the grocers and the British export houses.

That famines were an inescapable part of British rule was fully understood by William Digby ("*Prosperous*" *British India*, 1901, chp.IV). We cannot possibly quote Digby in full. Therefore, we are merely giving below the contents of his ch. IV.

Chapter IV

FAMINES : THEIR PRESENT FREQUENCY AND THE CAUSE OF THAT FREQUENCY

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(Source : William Digby, '*Prosperous*' *British India*, pp. xxxi-ii)

Wadia and Merchant, in their work, *Our Economic Problem, 1943/1959* pp87-88 have brought Digby's figures up-to-date. They have calculated that "whereas in 125 years from 1775 to 1900 the mortality from starvation in India was 40,000,000, in forty-four years between 1901 and 1944 the mortality has been placed at 30,000,000."

Since the above grand total of 70 million mortalities for the entire period 1775 to 1944, does not include the deaths due to

the Dastak Famine of 1770, which carried away 1/3rd to 1/2 of the then population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which must have therefore numbered 15 to 20 million. We have always maintained that British-made famines of purchasing power in India caused the near genocidal killings of 8 1/2 crores of Indians.

Famines and genocidal killings of 8 1/2 crore Indians was such a systematically laid out Imperialist plan, that we were constrained to note as follows in our article *Greatness Thrust Upon B. R. Ambedkar* (*Mankind*, Vol. 2, No. 7, April 1997, pp9-24).

"Four Famine Commissions were appointed by the imperialist administration in quick succession. The First, under Sir George Campbell, reached the strange conclusion that Indians were excessively dependent on agriculture and until the occupational pattern was diversified, famines were bound to recur! This was a vicious conclusion since the British had deliberately followed a policy of de-industrialisation and ruination of crafts so that India had perforce developed a monoculture of agriculture.

"The Second Famine Commission of 1878-80 was presided over by Sir Richard Strachey, Sir John Strachey's elder brother. Sir John had suggested in 1874 a Famine Insurance plan as he considered that famines in India were "normal periodic calamities". Accepting John's ideas, Richard actually instituted a regular department of famine relief and went on to suggest "that the greater and necessary efforts to save all possible lives would go far to render the future government of India impossible. The embarrassment of debt and the weight of taxation, consequent to the expenditure thereby involved, would soon become more fatal to the country than the famine itself." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973 edition, Vol. 9, p.58B. See also *EB*, 73, Vol.12, p.149)

"In other words, genuine famine relief was incompatible with British rule. That is to say, for British rule to continue, Indians must continue to die in famines so paternistically organised for them by the benevolent imperial administration!

"A Third Commission appointed in 1898 under Sir James Lyall confirmed the principles enunciated by the Second".

"The Fourth Famine Commission of 1901 went one better and placed special emphasis on the importance of moral strategy since moral depression led to physical deterioration". (*E.B.*, 1973 edition, Vol. 12, p.149). It was suggested that Famine Relief consisted of Moral Suation!

"All these calamitous and genocidal horrors were bound to have their impact on Indian demography. Let us look at the data on Expectation of Life at Birth."

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH			
Year	(Years)		
	Expectation of life at birth		
	Male	Female	Combined
I Mainly British Period			
1901-11	22.6	23.3	22.9
1911-21	19.4	20.9	20.1
1921-31	26.9	26.6	26.8
1931-41	32.1	31.4	31.8
1941-51	32.4	31.7	32.1

Summing up:

To sum up, without understanding correctly the British

Imperialist role in India, it is not possible to understand the nature of the Indian crisis. The crucial importance of 1765 and the acquisition of the Diwani or the Land Revenue Collection rights is crucial. Upto that time there was flow of wealth from the world to India. After that year there commenced a drain of wealth from India to England. "From England alone, India imported in 50 years from 1708 to 1757, 22 million pounds worth of bullion." (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India, 1600-1757*, p.208). After 1765 the reverse process began with a drain of wealth from India of the order of 3 to 4 million pounds per year.

The drain of wealth caused de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India which again resulted in a systematic regime of famines of purchasing power for the Indians and a near genocidal killing of 8 1/2 crores of poor Indians. This brought about such a decline in the average expectation of life at birth between 1911 and 1921 that an Indian could not averagely expect to reach adulthood.

ANNEXURE II

MANKIND'S TARGETS

It will have become apparent to all the readers of *Mankind*, that our writings are principally directed at the following 5 targets.

- Socialists
- Ambedkarites
- Naxalites
- Activists already involved in ongoing struggles.

Young intellectuals, entering the political arena for the first time.

1. SOCIALISTS :

We have appealed to the socialists who had been, at one time or another, followers of Narendra Dev, Chandrashekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Achyut Patwardhan, Jayprakash Narain, Ashok Mehta, S. M. Joshi, Tridib Choudhury, Srikantan Nair, Soumen Tagore and Rammanohar Lohia, to mention just a few, that they should eschew the reformist line which has split them into innumerable factions and led them into impossible ideological contradictions and betrayals. They must give up vulgar opportunism and cheap careerism in order to rediscover the path of an egalitarian Indian society, free from oppression and exploitation of the many by the few, a society which will lead mankind towards Permanent Peace and a World Government.

After Rammanohar Lohia's passing away in 1967, the Socialists have split into hundred coteries, centred around ephemeral personalities, like Raj Narain, Madhu Limaye, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Laloo Prasad Yadav, George Fernandes, J. H. Patel, Rabi Ray and several more. They have all fought each other in various combinations without any principles being involved, in an endless series of internecine struggles. They have all joined hands with reactionaries and class collaborators from time to time and shamelessly betrayed their erstwhile socialist principles and professions. Some of them like Laloo Yadav and Sharad Yadav have sunk so low in the mire of corruption that the Indian masses will heave a sigh of relief when they are eliminated, without a visible trace, from our midst. Some like Mulayam Singh Yadav and Janeshwar Mishra have compromised themselves so badly with criminals that the idealistic and true Indian socialist can have only contempt for them.

A new socialist chapter must be written in the book of Indian history. It can be written only by a future generation of young

socialists, who are idealists, who are true to their original dearly held principles and who believe in the highest ethical standards of personal and public behaviour.

In short, we want the socialists to return to the revolutionary path which they had followed in the period 1942 to 1947 when they lead the August movement, participated vigorously in the Anti-INA Officers' Trial Demonstrations of end 1945, and came out in the streets of Bombay to support the Naval Ratings' Mutiny of 1946.

They must return to the old ways and reshout the slogans :

EK DHAKKA AUR DEO !

EK DHAKKA AKHRI KA !

2. AMBEDKARITES :

The next group that we have targeted are the dalits, the OBCs, the SCs and the STs who had been at one time lead by Jyotiba Phule, B. R. Ambedkar, the Justice Party of Madras, and similar formations, and who are now split into a dozen factions of the Scheduled Caste Federation of India (SCFI), or stand dispersed within the ranks of the Bahujan Samaj Party of Kanshi Ram and Mayawati.

These *dalits* and *pidits* of our country, who form the overwhelming majority of our people, must orient themselves to revolutionary nationalist and socialist goals. We must build a Socialist India of Empowered Dalits. There is no other solution to the Indian crisis.

The so-called Ambedkarites, the Phuleites and the various groupings of the Adi-Dravidas (who accepted at different times the leadership of the Justice Party, Periyar Ramaswamy Naicker, Annadurai, Karunanidhi, M. G. Ramachandran and Jayalalitha) must break up their ranks. The leftists amongst them must radicalise themselves and become nationalists. They must give up their pro-imperialist and class collaborationist ways, which were exemplified by Ambedkar's membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-46) and his participation, along with Shyama Prasad Mukherji, in Nehru's first cabinet of 1946-51.

Of the Adi-Dravidas of the old Justice Party which was a British creation, we may note that Periyar Ramaswamy Naicker, was a Congressman, and defected only when ill-treated at a Congress Annual Session in Calcutta. According to T. N. Seshan, in a recent book, when Seshan was the Collector of Madurai, he came across evidence that Annadurai was a CIA agent ! We do not know the exact truth of this claim, however, Karunanidhi, MGR and Jayalalitha were all terribly corrupt, and have all been exposed as soon as they were out of power.

The Ambedkarites erred horribly in collaborating with British Imperialism in the entire period, from the Round Table Conferences (1931-32) to the Second World War (1939-45). It may be that the Hindu Mahasabha also collaborated with British Imperialism in the Second World War, as did the then Unified Communist Stalinist Party of India, as dictated by Josef Stalin, who operated through the CPGB leaders, Harry Politt and Rajni Palme Dutt.

It is not a question of who and how many collaborated with the Imperialist devil. Their immense numbers are of no consequence. The point is, that, they were ideologically bankrupt and only disgraced themselves by attempting to shore up the unsaveable British Empire.

The Ambedkarites must learn from their sad past of treachery and compromiseism. The toiling masses of India cannot march ahead, except along the path of class struggle, of which the Nationalist struggle against Colonial and Neo-Colonial powers is itself, but a facet of the International class conflict

between world capital and world proletariat.

In the present acute phase of the world economic crisis, the burden of neo-colonialist exploitation of the Third World falls all the more heavily upon the Dalit groups within the Indian population. They form the bulk of the landless labourers, perhaps numbering as many as 20/ 30 crores. They are the poorest of the poor. They are the ones who are socially and economically discriminated against. They live below the poverty line, these OBCs, SCs and STs. It is their women who die in childbirth and whose children die so frequently in infancy. It is they, who lack adequate nourishments. They live in hovels wearing tattered clothes. They do not know English and they do not have access to the levers of power. That is exactly why we believe that a left Ambedkarite Force is bound to arise in the near future. *Mankind* forecasts, awaits and welcomes their arrival in the Indian revolutionary arena.

3. NAXALITES :

At the latest count, there are dozens of so-called Naxalite formations all over the country, representing a total cadre of several hundreds.

Probably, most of them have come into being out of personal ambitions and intrigues of the undisciplined, and frequently corrupt, second and third rank cadres of the old Communist-Stalinist Movement of India. In their origins, the Naxalites were never revolutionaries. They were parts of a bureaucratized, reformist apparatus, dictatorially ruled, by the greatest counter-revolutionary of the 20th century, Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili "Stalin" (1879-1953).

This is not the place to go into the historical reasons for the rise of counter-revolutionary Stalinism and its long period of existence upto 1978-85. (Deng's New Course from 1978 and Gorbachev's from 1985). We may merely note that it was the Stalinist triumph in 1924 which made the transition to capitalism so very easy and smooth in the early 1980s, both, in Russia and China.

We may briefly chronicle the greatest revolutionary betrayals perpetrated by Stalin and his gang, between 1924 and 1953 which were all faithfully echoed and defended by the United CPI (1925-64), the CPM (1964-97), the CPI (1964-97) and the CPI ML (1969-97).

1. The betrayal of the Chinese Revolution (1927-29)
2. The betrayal of the German Revolution (1931-33)
3. The betrayal of the French and the Spanish Revolutions (1935-39)

Historically, there was only one force which could turn the tide against Stalinism, and that was Nationalism. On four occasions, Stalinism failed, and in each case, it was as leaders of Nationalist Movements that Tito, Mao, Ho and Castro triumphed in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam and Cuba and won the Civil Wars against their imperialist adversaries, Russia-Britain, Japan-USA, France-USA and Spain-USA in 1941-48, 1931-49, 1945-75, 1898-1959.

Not only are the Naxalites heirs to a rotten Reformist State Capitalist Stalinist Tradition, but further they have worsened the situation for themselves with a frenetic, hysterical and anarchist twist. It should have been long apparent to them that no "revolutionary activity" can be sustained for decades. Revolutionary agitation can be carried on for an extended preparatory period but no "activity". If the latter is insisted on as proof of loyalty and vigour by inexperienced sectarian leaders, it is bound to result in individualism, excesses, terrorism and frustration. Even to corruption and worse horrors (as

reported in *The Week*, 17-8-97, p.26-8, which reads, *inter alia*, that "But when state committee member of PWG, Andhra Pradesh, Puli Anjaiah was arrested in Bangalore. He had 7 crores in cash, gold, two cars, two bikes, two dogs and two servants. He was living in a bungalow for which he was paying Rs. 10,000 as monthly rent.")

Of course, we cannot say whether the news appearing in the bourgeois press is unbiased. Nevertheless the police seizure of such wealth from a Naxalite hideout is alarming, even if the amount seized were to be ten times lower.

The Naxalites have reached a dead-end as most of their cadres know, in the heart of their hearts.

It is necessary for them to re-orient and re-arm themselves with a new revolutionary ideology.

First of all, they must repudiate totally, their Stalinist past. They must openly confess their past mistakes. They supported British Imperialism in the Second World War. They participated in the formation of Pakistan and they betrayed the August 1942 freedom fighters. They called Subash Bose a fascist. All these were heinous crimes.

Without a frank and detailed repudiation of their rotten Stalinist past, it is not possible for anyone to forge ahead.

However, their supreme crime was that of supporting the Partition of 1947.

That is why *Mankind* feels that the most important change that the Naxalites must make is in the nationalist direction. They must grasp that nationalists all over the Third World are struggling against the Neo-Colonialist governments of the West, and particularly against the WB, IMF and WTO.

The annual outflow from the Third World to the rich, neo-colonial powers is \$ 21.5 billions. It is impossible to visualise industrial and technological progress for the poor nations of the world.

Revolutions must initially break out in the national arena. Only after the defeat of G-7 and OECD will it be possible to establish collaborations between the different nations of the world. Revolutionaries must first be nationalists.

Thus, *Mankind* calls upon all revolutionary elements within the various Naxalite formations to firmly repudiate Stalinism and adopt the Revolutionary, Nationalist and Socialist goal for all the People's Movements in India.

4. The fourth group to which *Mankind* has addressed itself are an amorphous mass of concerned intellectuals and cadres, who are already active in various fields :

- (1) Feminists, who are in varying degrees, attached to the struggle for gender equality.
- (2) Greens, who are trying to counter the capitalist greed which is destroying our planetary environment.
- (3) Radicals, who are waging various battles against the Indian State for denying civil liberties and human rights to the oppressed and exploited.
- (4) Anti-war activists, who are agitating for a truly peaceful world and who stand for a reduction in armaments and excessive defence outlays.
- (5) Anti-corruption crusaders, who believe that those in public life should give up their current corrupt ways and must set up high ethical and moral standards.

All these groups are already actively participating in various popular movements. Often, they have organised themselves as NGOs.

As NGOs they often act as agents of foreign powers.

Anyway, *Mankind* would like these activists to think things

out to the end. They must become ideologically conscious and accept the revolutionary nationalist and socialist programme.

5. Apart from the above four target groups, there are a large number of young people, who are completely dissatisfied with the current economic and political set-up. They are exploring new ways and new directions. *Mankind* approaches these young people with a message of hope. We believe that India has a great future, provided of course, the present ruling elite is thrown out and a new, highly motivated, morally and ethically sound and ideologically correctly oriented new leadership emerges in the country.

In short, we in *Mankind* are striving for a revolutionary turn on the part of the Socialists; a radicalisation of the Ambedkarites and other Dalits; an acceptance of a nationalist outlook by the Naxalites; and an ideological focussing, on the part of numerous, diverse social activists and young intellectuals, on the demands for a New Constituent Assembly and for a New Anti-Neo-Colonial Economic Policy.

ANNEXURE III

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE NEW SETTING

We have already presented a theoretical outline for the rise and blooming of *Capitalism's Second Breath* (See *Mankind*, Dec 1995, p.3)

Upto 1975, roughly everything was going well with the World Socialist Movement. In 1971, India had struck a mighty blow against Anglo-American Neo-Colonialism, and forced the dismemberment of Pakistan, their favourite child, and created the new nation of Bangladesh. By 1975, after a marathon heroic struggle, spread over three decades, Ho Chi Minh's guerilla forces had managed to throw the Franco-American imperialist forces out of Vietnam. In the same year, 1975, the Portuguese Empire came to an end in Angola and Mozambique. Comparatively speaking, India had struck the mightiest blow. Bangladesh today has a population of 11 crores. Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique had populations which were much less.

After 1975, everything changed :

We identified FIVE MAIN cumulative reasons for the change.

■ Particularly after 1970, the structure of capitalist economy altered. The Services Sector became predominant with all the advanced economies, tilting in favour of Services to the extent of 48 to 72 percent as proportion of GDP. (See *UNDP Report 1993*, p.42, reproduced on the Back Cover of our issue of July/Aug 1997)

■ In our analytical view, this development was unprecedented and was probably due to the spectacular growth of the Real Estate property market; the so-called Electronic Information Revolution; and the explosion of the Youth Market.

■ At the same time, the world Military Industrial Complex had succeeded in promoting more than 150 Limited Wars across the globe, mainly involving the Third World in its murderous coils.

■ All the above elements led to the reconquest of the Stalinist Empire, in and around the U.S.S.R. (1985-91), the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the Reunification of Germany (1989-91), ultimately resulting in the admission of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary into NATO (1997).

■ Coinciding with the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellites, was the reconquest of India carried out since mid-1991 under the Structural Adjustment Programme promoted

by the Neo-Colonial *Trimurṭi* of WB, IMF, WTO and euphemistically called the policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation (LPGW). The stupendous growth in the power and influence of the MNCs and TNCs of the world was indicated by the table published in the Jul/ Aug 1997 issue of *Mankind* at p.35, which table we are reproducing alongside for ready reference.

STATE AND CORPORATE POWER

That MNCs/ TNCs are formidable entities in world political economy is very well known.

STATE AND CORPORATE POWER, 1994

(U.S. \$ billions)

Country or Corporation	Total GDP or Corporate Sales
Indonesia	174.6
General Motors	168.8
Turkey	149.8
Denmark	146.1
Ford	137.1
South Africa	123.3
Toyota	111.1
Exxon	110.0
Royal Dutch/ Shell	109.8
Norway	109.6
Poland	92.8
Portugal	91.6
IBM	72.0
Malaysia	68.5
Venezuela	59.0
Pakistan	57.1
Unilever	49.7
Nestle	47.8
Sony	43.9
Egypt	30.4
Nigeria	30.4
Top five corporations	871.4
Least developed countries	76.5
South Asia	451.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	246.8

Under the New Conditions, we have to not only reiterate and reformulate our New Case for Socialism, (See, the section and title, *The Modern Case for Socialism*, which was earlier published in the Oct '96 Credo in *Mankind*, pp.15 f.f.), but we have also to spell out the new strategy which will enable us to stage a revolutionary overthrow of resurgent capitalism.

We shall now outline our concrete programme of revolutionary action to combat the new situation created by world capitalism.

Our main aim has to be a deflation and reduction in the size of the Services Sector. The locus of the Services Sector itself, maybe placed at the quadruple junction of Sports Hysteria, Light Music Hype, Showbiz Promotion and Advertisement

Brainwashing. All these four facets are poisoning our lives, subverting all ideals of decency and ethics, promoting a vicious culture of greed, violence and crime and are destroying the very roots of egalitarianism.

We are suggesting a complex of overlapping measures which will blow up the hegemony of the Services Sector and destroy its stranglehold on national and world economies.

THE ATTRITION OF THE SERVICES SECTOR

This can be achieved only by the recognition of our basic and fundamental demand of Life, Liberty and Equality for every human being.

Life and Liberty are generally accepted by all democratic societies, though, in practice, the vast majority of poor people living on this earth are denied both Life and Liberty. They die like flies, of hunger, malnutrition, disease and exposure to the elements. Their Liberty is merely notional, for bourgeois democracy cannot reach them. They lack empowerment, without which it is not possible to preserve Life or Liberty.

Those who made the French Revolution did pay lip service to the ideal of Egalité within the triad of Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité. But the bourgeoisie interpreted this slogan as "equality of opportunity", or "equality before law". This was a sham because there cannot be real equality before law or real equality of opportunity under conditions of gross inequalities of income, wealth, education and control over means of production, distribution and exchange.

We must do away with such hypocrisies and shibboleths. For us, revolutionary socialists and nationalists, the goals must be Life, Liberty and Equality in the true sense, in praxis, i.e. the mass of the people must be empowered so that they can guarantee to themselves, all three things, Life, Liberty and Equality.

Flowing from this basic premise, we must guarantee the five essentials of life to everyone, viz, Food, Clothing, Housing, Education and Health Care.

Therefore, no brainwashing effort by advertisement can be permitted in these areas of the *Panchbhutas*.

- No advertisement of food and drink and smoke can be permitted. Already the world bourgeoisie has been compelled to accept severe restrictions on ad promotions of tobacco, especially, the campaigns directed at women and children. Similar partial controls over liquor advertisements are in place in many nations. We must make these controls foolproof in respect of tobacco and liquor, and extend them to cover all food items and all fast food joints and all restaurants, hotels, grocery stores, chain stores and department stores and mail-order business. The nutritional requirements of human beings must be placed beyond the sphere of influence of ad agencies and other manipulators of the mass mind. Let different individuals, organisations and corporations produce different nutritional products that we can eat, imbibe and spread their message by word of mouth or direct mail. Let certain goods gradually receive and benefit from consumer preference. But all foodstuffs must be generically identified and packaged. Let he who enters the market by basmati rice or ambamohar rice or any other variety of rice, let that rice be sold in hygienically packaged bags or sachets. But why should MacDonald Burgers or Kentucky Fried Chicken or Savoy Hotel or Pizza Huts or hundreds of particular brand names be circulated?

The whole house of consumerist cards will come crumbling down as soon as brainwashing in the area of nutrition, clothing, housing, education and medicare is eliminated. No drugs can

be patented, as brands, all will have to be sold under their generic names.

Particular brands of cement cannot be advertised (See below our suggestions regarding social ownership of all land for housing).

Clothing is clothing ! It is not necessary that it should be branded and named by Reliance or Gwalior or Garden or Century or Siyaram or any such rubbishy, patented nomenclature. Similarly, all aids and equipment relating to education. No pencil or pen can be advertised, no schoolbook or textbook can be publicised. No coaching classes can indulge in any publicity campaigns and so on. People will buy, or not buy, whatever is needed as and when they like, totally uninfluenced by any hysterical ad campaigns.

Apart from insistence on generic designations for all consumer items within the ambit of the *panchbhutas*, two other significant restrictions will apply to all ad promotion campaigns.

One : No advertisement will violate the norms in respect of environmental degradation. Nothing can be promoted, which harms the global environment which is to be inherited by future generations of mankind.

Two : No advertisement will be tolerated, particularly in the area of drugs and medicines, which endangers the health of the people. Safety standards will be strictly enforced, and whatever the drug manufacturing companies may do by word-of-mouth propaganda or direct mail to medical practitioners and shopkeepers, they cannot use the mass media to promote unhealthy, and/or harmful medical products and practices. No hospitals can be advertised, nor surgical equipment, or any thing of that sort.

- Another important barrier will be : prohibition of anything and everything that smacks of media hype directed at young people below the age of 25.

A complex of measures will be taken .

The maximum price for any seat at a sports meet or pop concert or anything of the sort will be average per diem per capita GDP on PPP terms. Secondly, nobody can win enormous sums as prize money or as endorsement. Anything more than the annual per capita GDP-PPP is tantamount to a lottery and all gambling and awards for chance happenings will be strictly banned.

If we control the price of the seat as well as the amount of reward offered, we shall soon see the entire hype and hooplah about millions of dollars won by tennis stars, golf champions, rock concert artists and so on will disappear.

Recently at the U.S. Open, two 17 year-olds, Venus Williams and Martina Hingis banged tennis balls across a net with the minimum of proficiency and within an hour or so won over a million dollars or rupees three-and-a-half crores.

A little while ago, the Maharashtra Government was bribed by a promoting firm of diamond merchants in exempting from entertainment tax, a rock concert by Michael Jackson and this resulted in a Rs. 11 crore gift to the paedophile Jackson in just one night. The organisers and Jackson were so crooked that they fudged accounts and avoided all income and other taxes. What is the skill of these tennis players and rock artists when compared to the labour and skill of our weavers or carpet makers or jewellers or leather workers or potters or metal workers ? Is it at all just and fair that such media events as tennis tournaments and pop concerts should be compensated with crores of rupees and millions of highly skilled craftsmen should receive a pittance?

That is why we believe that equality, real equality of wages and compensations should be established between different vocations. The bourgeois heirarchy of skills is fundamentally rotten and wrong. Men and women are inherently capable of skillful labour and by and large their appetites and abilities are highly similar. They should be paid wages, salaries and compensations which are more or less equal. The rewards should be more or less equal. For a single day's effort or for a few hour's work, nobody should receive a greater compensation than the average per capita annual income on PPP terms.

We know that the ideal of equality may not be realised all at once, but let us at least curb these horrible excesses of inequality!

CONSUMERISM IS ANATHEMA !

DEMOCRACY DOES NOT MEAN FREEDOM FOR AD AGENCIES TO LAUNCH BRAINWASHING CAMPAIGNS !
NO AD PROMOTIONS OF ANY PRODUCT RELATING TO NUTRITION, CLOTHING, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND MEDICARE !

NO AD PROMOTION DIRECTED AT WOMEN AND YOUTH BELOW AGE 25 !

NO AD PROMOTION OF WAR INDUSTRIES !

NO AD PROMOTIONS THAT HURT ENVIRONMENT !

NO AD PROMOTIONS OF ANYTHING THAT AFFECTS THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF HUMAN BEINGS, EITHER NOW OR IN FUTURE !

MARX ON INDIA

Marx made many irresponsible, mean, uncharitable and deplorable statements about India, under the influence of the East India Company Directors who were pioneers in economic pamphleteering in England and upon whom Marx had extensively relied for his own research work. In the process, Marx had absorbed consciously and unconsciously the Imperialist and Racialist notions of the E I Company bosses. Amongst the most important lying statements made by Marx about India, we may list the following :

1) "That India had no history." This absurd canard was propagated by Marx as though people had to have a special history making organ in order to spin out history like a silkworm. Man makes history as he lives and makes a living. It requires no special effort or organ ! As a matter of fact India had the longest continuous record in world cultural history beginning with the *Rig Veda* which dates 4500 B.C. - 2500 B.C.

Marx's European ancestors were barbarians roaming about the jungles and steppes of Europe, when Indians had already acquired the sciences of mathematics, linguistics, astronomy, ayurveda, chemistry, metallurgy and political economy. Marx had made light-mindedly a deplorable statement based entirely upon his gross ignorance of world history.

2) Marx further put his foot in his own mouth when he said that "India had no alternative but to be conquered by Russia, Turkey or Great Britain" and that he personally preferred an occupation by the last mentioned.

The astounding effrontery of Marx's racialist arrogance is simply appalling. Why could not India have had a self-reliant solution, like Japan, when in the middle of the eighteenth century it had the richest and technologically the most advanced

economy in the world? Precious metals flowed from every quarter of the globe into India, as there was very little that the world could sell to India; whilst at the same time, India clothed the whole world with its cotton textiles, supplied the world with its rare spices, built teak ships for the navies of the East India Companies of England, France, Holland and Portugal, exported oilseeds, perfumes, gums, resins, dyes and millions of other goods of unique craftsmanship and skill.

If Japan could realise independent bourgeois development, much more so in the case of India! Secondly, if India had to be conquered by one of the three, why should not a revolutionary choose the weaker powers like Russia and Turkey?

Since from the weaker, India could have possibly liberated itself earlier. Why is White England to be preferred to Non-European Ottoman Turks and semi-Tartar Russians?

The racist arrogance of Marx visible in his writings, on India and elsewhere, is staggering! And that too from a baptized Jewish family descendent, where the father had sought to make a career out of dissimulation!

3) "That in India an extraordinary domestic union of cultivation and industry prevailed which made the India village well-nigh, self-sufficient and prevented all further economic progress."

Can idiocy and punditry sink lower?

India was exporting hundreds and thousands of tons of an immense variety of commodities each year to the entire world. India had the largest standing army of the world. (It was estimated from the strength of Chandragupta Maurya's army in 4th century B.C. that the total population of India must have exceeded one crore of human beings!) India had the largest cities of the world till the eighteenth century as Marx himself noted at one place. Indian textiles were so superior to the crude British production till c. 1820 that Britain had to levy protective duties ranging from 70 percent to 400 percent on Indian imports and that the domestic use of Indian muslin and calicos was prohibited by law to English householders. [See Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814), *Persuasion* (1814) and *Northanger Abbey* (1818), as well as R.C. Dutt's two volumes of *Economic History of India, Early British Rule Victorian Age* (parts of the last two works have been published in earlier issues of *Mankind*, November 1995, pp. 12-26; December 1995, pp. 85-97; Jan.-Feb. 1996, pp.86-97; March 1996, pp.86-96)]

On the contrary it was the European village that was so poor that it was nearly, per force self-sufficient.

4) Marx's point of view was narrowly Eurocentric! Europe had to be marginal to World History till its genocidal intervention in the New World, till its enslaving depredations in Africa, till its de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India and till its forced narcotic traffic upon China had created the fund of primitive accumulation which enabled it to carry through the bourgeoisification process, for the first time in world history. In short Europe had been marginal to world history till the 19th and the 20 centuries.

5) Marx had accepted journalistic hackwork for the *New York Daily Tribune* and did not always know what he was writing. (In fact some of the articles were written in his name by F. Engels.) Marx like a typical journalist purveyed all sorts of popular prejudices held by the English middle-classes who had enriched themselves out of Indian Loot. Also he had made a political alliance with Tory Prime Minister, Palmerston who was the butcher of the Indian Nationalist rebels of the 1857-60, against the Russian Czar, the *bete noire* of English populism of the mid-nineteenth century.

6) Marx had failed to appreciate the crucial significance of the acquisition of the diwani or land revenue collection rights by the East India Company in 1765. It is the surplus from land revenue that enabled EI Company and the drain of wealth from India commenced which was to become a torrent and a flood tide in the following decades. According to Thomas Mun, EI Co. had to bring in gold and silver worth 30,000 pounds for each voyage to India till 1765!

7) Marx was dimly and partially aware of the destruction of Indian industries by British Imperialism, since he could write that "the bones of the Indian weavers bleached the plains of Bengal and Bihar". But Marx did not understand fully the historic and demographic significance of the British strategy of de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India. We have summarised the consequential series of near genocidal famines of purchasing power that engulfed India and which carried away over eight and a half crores of Indians. We have described the policy of infliction of famines upon India by British Imperialism in great detail in our article on Ambedkar (*MK*, April 1996, pp.86-97);

Whilst Marx was still alive, two Famine Commissions had already been set up by the bloody-minded British. But Marx had lost all contact with reality, in relation to his writings and thinking about India.

The Grand Strategy of British Imperialism for India that of De-industrialisation, ruralisation and Pauperisation led to the demographic calamity of 1911-21. On an average no Indian could hope to grow to adulthood under Imperial Rule. The average expectation of life at birth had fallen to 20.1 years.

8) Marx childishly observed certain signs of "regeneration in India", all of which proved to be merely mirages.

- Railways did not bring about accelerated industrialisation since the British Imperialists bought all their stores, including red tape and pins and clips from England, till the First World War.

- The recruitment of Indians into the army did not result in any acquisition of power and strength by Indians. It merely cheapened British rule and prolonged it.

- The recruitment of India babus had the same effect as above. In fact these brainwashed comprador babus are the bane of Indian politics to this day.

It is possible that had India been next door to little Britain as was the case with Ireland, and had Indian workers infested British industrial centres as the poor Irish had done, Marx might have corrected himself with regard to India. He changed his position about Ireland about five times and ultimately reached the correct conclusion that the liberation of Ireland is absolutely necessary for a true liberation of the English working class.

Let us conclude with the reiteration that Marx who knew very little World History, was totally wrong about India, and all his major statements about India, leading to the false conclusion that British Imperialism played an "unconscious progressive" role in India, were fundamentally and totally wrong.

What Gail Omvedt and other Neo-Stalinists think about Marx and his analysis is completely irrelevant. *Jahan bans hi nahin, to bansuri kahan se bajegi?* Where there is no bamboo, who is claiming that she played on the bamboo flute?)

(References to Marx's writings are sourced in "*Mankind* Vol.1 Dec.1995,pp.44-64.)

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WAH KYA KAHEN !

A SELF-CONFESSED BRITISH IGNORAMUS DIVIDES A NATION OF FORTY CRORES IN FIVE WEEKS !

BSP's SYMBOLIC LOGIC AND COUP DE GRACE

DIVIDED DALITS

A NEW BOOK ON S. N. BOSE

MURDER OF DALITS IS PERMISSIBLE !

V. P. SINGH IS ALIVE AND INTRIGUING !

IRFAN SUPPORTS AND DENIES COMPRADOR CRIMES

A SELF-CONFESSED BRITISH IGNORAMUS DIVIDES A NATION OF FORTY CRORES IN FIVE WEEKS

In the last days of the Raj, the British were bent on partitioning India. As such ignorance about India was considered a qualification. Sir Cyril Radcliffe was appointed chairman of the Boundary Commissions which were to divide contiguous Muslim from non-Muslim areas in Punjab and Bengal, and demarcating the border between emerging Dominions of India and Pakistan. By his own admission, Cyril Radcliffe was "an ignoramus on India", and he got only five weeks to demarcate the boundary since Nehru and Jinnah urged a faster job for a smooth transfer of power.

When the Sikhs realised that they would lose their rich farmlands and shrines by Partition, they threatened violence and wanted their own homeland. The convenient thesis preferred in Delhi was that the violence would die down with Partition but the then governor of Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins differed from this view and said that Partition would drive a boundary through areas homogeneous in everything except religion.

There was terror and tragedy everywhere as the trickle of refugees seeking safety across the national borders was swelling and terror groups began forcing the minorities out and seizing their lands and properties. Official reports failed to capture the terror and tragedy of thousands of families forced

from their homes to seek refuge among distant strangers.

Radcliffe had to work all alone without assistance because the four judges chosen to assist him — 2 Muslim and 2 non-Muslim — could not work together. Mountbatten had assumed that after Partition, he would be governor-general of both dominions. But when Jinnah announced his decision to be governor-general of Pakistan, Mountbatten wrote to Attlee that he was uncertain whether to accept the Congress invitation to be governor-general of India, because he did not want his "impartiality" as Viceroy to be questioned. He also kept his distance from Radcliffe in order to appear even-handed. Attlee ostensibly feared that if a Hindu became the governor-general of India then the prospects of a conflict with Pakistan would heighten. And so he asked Mountbatten to stay on as governor-general of India, and assured him that it would not reflect on his impartiality. This was a magnificent charade. One imperialist hypocritical rascal Attlee was reassuring another consummate imperialist scoundrel that the latter's actions were correct and a third imperialist swine, Radcliffe, was all right! What a farce!

In a letter to Sir Stafford Cripps, Mountbatten claimed that Jinnah's own followers were aghast at his stand; as though Mountbatten's perception of Jinnah was not self-serving! Nehru agreed with Mountbatten as he was cuckolding him; but Patel felt that Jinnah intended to set up a fascist dictatorship

in Pakistan with designs against India.

Gandhi was in two minds. On the one hand, he knew that the British had failed to merge the Indian native states with India. And, on the other, the British were proclaiming that the native states should take an independent course. But without British imperialist military commitment, the Indian states were in no position to defy Sardar Patel in a majority of cases; or Patel's Pakistani counterpart in the majority of cases relating to North-West India. That is why at the time of partition, Gandhi was mumbling nonsensical platitudes like, "India's people should remain united"; "India's leaders have accepted Partition and the Indian people must do the same"; "There should be no communal rioting"; "Radcliffe award may divide homes and fields but it is a sacred part of the deal between the Congress and the Muslim League"; "the Sikhs should remain in Punjab, though Hindus were willing to accommodate them in India"; and such other babbling. Nobody knew what he meant. Probably he himself was too bewildered to see anything clearly. Towards the end, very often he would let fall remarks that he would welcome an end to "this mortal existence".

Sardar Patel was entrusted with the task of persuading the princely states to accede to the Dominion of India. Some of these states had already resolved to accede on the basis that the Centre would be responsible for foreign affairs, defence and communication and that they would enjoy domestic autonomy. Most of them were aware that after the British left, no help would be available to counter domestic unrest unless they acceded to India.

However, the securing of accession of the bigger states was not easy. The Nizam of Hyderabad wanted independence or to be a part of the British Commonwealth and was disappointed when the British did not promise him military support. He wrote a letter to the Viceroy and insisted that the India Independence Act be placed before the British government. Mountbatten did not reply until the Bill repudiating treaties with the princely states was passed by the British Parliament. But his demand did not repudiate the option of seeking independence. The Nizam was set on the same course as Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir. But both of them failed in their designs.

(Source : Outlook, 23.7.97)

BSP's SYMBOLIC LOGIC AND COUP DE GRACE I

Ambedkarisation of the state of Uttar Pradesh is currently under progress. But of course with the heartiest blessings of the Chief Minister of UP, Mayawati ! Her 'Ambedkarisation Project' has been going on unabashedly, spending hundreds of crores of rupees from the state exchequer in the process. Construction of buildings, installation of statues, naming or renaming colleges, universities, IAS coaching centres, hospitals, guesthouses, roads and districts after Dalit heroes is a part of " this mammoth task of fiddling with symbols", that she has taken upon herself.

The total cost estimated for the project of the Ambedkar Udyan to the tune of Rs. 12 crore earlier, has now shot upto Rs. 80 crore, leaving aside the cost of land which the state has acquired. Incidentally, the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) has not yet been paid for the land acquired. The Parivartan Chowk being built in Lucknow is for depicting the philosophy of Ambedkar on a huge pillar. An old Ambedkar statue in Hazratganj, Lucknow is being replaced by a huge bronze one.

Mayawati has started spreading her Bahujan Samajwadi message also in other parts of the state. The Shahuji Centre for SC and ST students, the Jyotiba Phule Swachchakar Ashram Padyhati Vidhalaya on the outskirts of Lucknow for 1,000 children of sweepers, B. R. Ambedkar IAS and Provincial Civil Service coaching centres in Aligarh, Agra and Varanasi, Shahuji Maharaj and B. R. Ambedkar statues that are soon to be installed to adorn Kanpur, and Shahuji Maharaj Nagar district that has been carved out of old Chitrakoot, are some of them.

And all this extravagance is at the expense of the poor people of UP who have been already impoverished by five decades of Congress misrule. Now BSP misrule will finally finish them off !

[Source : India Today, 28.7.97]

**IDF AID TO INDIA
BANK CREDIT TO SSI SECTOR
CUSTOM AND EXCISE DUTIES COLLECTED
FROM CRUDE OIL AND PETROLEUM
PRODUCTS
KHOON KHILE HAI GULSHAN GULSHAN !
PRIVATISATION MAY LEAD TO COLLAPSE OF
HIGHER EDUCATION
FOREIGN MONOPOLY REPLACES STATE
MONOPOLY !
NEO-COLONIAL MNCs ON THE RAMPAGE**

A NEW BOOK ON S. N. BOSE

Readers of *Mankind* may be able to recall *Mankind's* long article on *Comprador Science and Technology*

Sciences.

The book will be of interest to the lay person, since the first volume consists of mostly his technical papers, including 2 papers he submitted to Einstein, which won him global renown, while this one deals with his life and achievements.

Satyendra Nath Bose was born in 1894 and died in 1974, just after he turned 80. His family had taken to English education and were employed in various departments of

WHAT PRICE AMBEDKARISATION ?

PROJECT	COST (Rs)	STATUS
AMBEDKAR VILLAGES (11,000)	350 crore	Under implementation
AMBEDKAR UDHYAN, Lucknow	120 crore	Under construction
SANT RAVIDAS PARK, Varanasi	50 crore	Foundation stone laid
SHAHUJI MAHARAJ CENTRE, Lucknow	12 crore	Completed.
PARIVARTAN CHOWK, Lucknow	10 crore	Near Completion.
JYOTIBA PHULE ASHRAM, Lucknow	6 crore	Near Completion.
AMBEDKAR STADIUM, Lucknow	5 crore	Completed.
AMBEDKAR VIP GUEST HOUSE, Lucknow	5 crore	Completed.
AMBEDKAR HOSTELS (12 districts)	3 crore	Budget Sanctioned.
AMBEDKAR IAS COACHING CENTRES(3)	1 crore	Under construction.
AMBEDKAR STATUE, Lucknow	25 lakh	To be installed.
ANNUAL AMBEDKAR GAURAV SAMMAN	1.25 "	Instituted.

(Source : India Today, 28.7.97)

(See, *Mankind*, Mar 96, pp.32-41) in which we had noted that the world famous scientist S. N. Bose was a personal friend of Dr. Lohia and had presided over a *Angrezi Hatao Sammelan* sponsored by Lohia in Hyderabad in the mid-50s. S. N. Bose was a nationalist and in his chemical laboratory, under the immediate direction of Sattu Sen, arson bombs were manufactured with financial assistance from Bose. These used to arrive in Bombay during the August 1942 Movement days. The carrier from Calcutta to Bombay used to be a Pune comrade, Sindhu Deshpande.

We in *Mankind* are happy to take note of a recently published book, *S. N. Bose : The Man and His Work*, Part II by Principal Editor Santimay Chatterjee, S. N. Bose National Centre for Basic

government. He had six sisters who were younger than him. As a boy he was attracted to the swadeshi movement, but on one occasion when his classmate Meghnad Saha was thrown out of school for walking into the class barefoot, and Satyen supported Meghnad, Satyen's father made it clear to him that the family could not afford to let him get blacklisted for government employment by indulging in anti-British activities. But Satyen's sympathies lay with those who sought freedom, including freedom from having Western culture and English language thrust on them.

The first major milestone in young Satyen's career came in 1915-16. Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, wanted to introduce the study of science,

particularly advanced physics and chemistry, in the curriculum. Einstein, whose Theory of Relativity had been set out in 1905, was almost unknown in India and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee wanted it to be introduced in the curriculum. He selected Bose and Meghnad Saha for the task and as a result, each was to achieve world fame in a few years.

All this has been extracted from fragments of his diary in Bose's own words.

In 1920, Bose, assisted by Saha, produced a translation of Einstein's Theory of Relativity which was published by Calcutta University in the same year. It was the first English translation to appear anywhere in the world.

In 1926, after he was appointed Reader in Physics at Dacca University, he went to Europe. He was always very keen on visiting Europe, especially in the years that shook physics.

The most productive part of Bose's life was the 10 or 12 years stretch from 1916. He published papers in important journals and was in touch with Einstein. Einstein himself translated one of his papers and had it published. In one letter, Einstein commended an important idea of Bose's and the concept was later christened *boson* by Dirac.

Unlike scientists like Homi Bhabha and Vikram Sarabhai, few knew about Satyen Bose, since Bose was not interested in publicising his papers. Once a problem was solved, he was no longer interested in it; he would throw away the paper. He believed that it was important that the problem was solved; who solved it was only of secondary interest.

However, Bose's achievements seem to fade out after the age of 38. Also this volume does not show evidence that Bose produced work of any significance in his later years.

When Viswa-Bharati became a central university, Satyen Bose was appointed its Vice-Chancellor. When he

insisted on punctuality and wanted to turn the prayer hall, which was used only once a week, into a library, he could not do so, as the university court told him that it was against the "hallowed" practice instituted by Tagore. He felt isolated, became irritable and finally, as he said himself, he was kicked upstairs by the Government of India, which made him a National Professor.

Bose was the recipient of Padma Vibhushan in 1955.

Mankind regrets that Bose, who deserved a Nobel Prize, stooped down to accept this miserable honour, or rather dishonour from the compradors, who had slighted him all along. We have briefly sketched the insults heaped upon him by the much lauded and completely undeserving *naukarshah* scientist, Homi Bhabha in our *Comprador Science and Technology*, referred to in the first para of this notice.

(Source : *Frontline*, 5.9.97)

V. P. SINGH IS ALIVE AND INTRIGUING !

A recent meeting between former P.M. and Janata Dal "ideologue and polymath", V. P. Singh, who seems to specialise increasingly in back-room intrigues, and BSP supremo Kanshi Ram in a New Delhi hospital where Singh is undergoing treatment was the beginning of the BSP-BJP rift in Uttar Pradesh triggered by BSP's demand for the speaker's removal.

Singh proposed the formation of a broad anti-BJP front and Kanshi Ram welcomed this move as he was looking for a way out of his party's alliance with the BJP.

Once this proposal for a "secular" alliance against the BJP was in the air, Congress President Sitaram Kesri met Kanshi Ram.

Within weeks, Kanshi Ram demanded that UP assembly speaker Kesrinath Tripathi must quit office as part of the deal for handing over chief ministership to the BJP.

The BJP turned down the BSP demand for a change in the speakership.

MURDER OF DALITS IS PERMISSIBLE !

Indrajit Gupta, the Home Minister, said in Lok Sabha : that the "unprovoked, reckless and indiscriminate" firing by Mumbai police on Dalits was no ground to dismiss the state government.

(Source : *Indian Express*, 5.8.97)

DIVIDED DALITS

Mankind readers may like to have a ready reference for the internecine war going on between dalit factions.

MAHARASHTRA

Ten warring leaders united under the RPI banner in December 1995: Prakash Ambedkar, Ramdas Athavale, Raja Dhale, T.M. Kamble, B.C. Kamble, Shivram Moghe, Jogendra Kawade, Namdeo Dhasal, R.S. Gavai and Ghanshyam Talwatkar.

The RPI is presently once again divided, although there has been no official split.

- (i) The Prakash Ambedkar faction does not see eye to eye with Ramdas Athavale.
- (ii) R.S. Gavai has his differences with Ambedkar.
- (iii) Raja Dhale is opposed to both Gavai and Athavale.
- (iv) The Dalit Panthers are for revival of the militant movement.

NORTH INDIA

Main Party : Bahujan Samaj Party

Dominant Castes : Chamar, Jatav, Pasis and Mazhabis.

Uttar Pradesh : BSP has made inroads.

Punjab : With BSP and Akalis.

Ram Vilas Paswan's Dalit Sena is also trying to infiltrate, but so far without success.

TAMIL NADU

Deeply divided in the state. There are 16 factions.

1. The Devendra Kula Vellalar Federation.
2. Republican Party of India - Shaktidarshan faction.
3. Republican Party of India - Dr. Seppan faction.
4. Indian Natives Association.
5. Ambedkar People's Liberation Front
6. Dalit Action Committee.
7. Ambedkar Indian Democratic Movement.
8. Ambedkar Freedom Panthers.
9. Ambedkar Freedom Tigers.
10. Dalit Youth Brigade.
11. BSP Tamil Nadu Unit
12. The Movement for Uprising of the Oppressed.
13. The Confederation of Ambedkar Organisations.
14. SC and ST Federation of Tamil Nadu.
15. The Tamil Nadu Wing of the All India Ambedkar Movement.
16. The Coordination Committee of the Arunthaiyars.

The anti-BJP front idea was shot down by Mulayam Singh Yadav and Ram Vilas Paswan when V. P. Singh proposed it to them. As a result of this, the BSP leadership saw their party facing isolation. In an attempt to recover its position the BSP projected its rally on September 15th as " a national convention to assess the status of Dalits 50 years after independence ". At the same time, the BSP went back on its demand for the speaker's removal in UP assembly.

In its lurches from side to side, between the Congress and the BJP, between the Samajwadi Party and the Samata Party, between any Tweedledum and any Tweedledee, Kanshi Ram has virtually exhausted all his options. The only way out for him is a precipitous collapse!

(Source: *The Times of India* 15.9.97)

IRFAN SUPPORTS AND DENIES COMPRAADOR CRIMES

'Towards Freedom' project of the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), has come under severe criticism in a section of the media mainly for two reasons. One, the high costs that it involves and the other, the inordinate delays in its completion.

The project was undertaken in 1973 with a view to tell the story of 10 eventful years before independence by a documentation from India based on all the historical sources — official documents, private papers and regional language documents. The main purpose behind this attempt was to bring out the facts about those eventful years, from a national perspective, as against the British - centred version contained in the *Transfer of Power in India*, 8 huge volumes edited by N. Mansergh.

Very little could be achieved in the first 12 years, i.e., from 1973 to 1985 ! As only one volume covering the year 1937, edited by P. N. Chopra was published in 1985. By then Rs. 88 lakhs had already been spent. On taking over as ICHR Chairman in September 1986, Irfan Habib tried to rejuvenate the project by inviting a team of eight historians to expedite the remaining work. This team included, Basudev Chatterji, K. N. Panikkar, Bimal Prasad, Sumit Sarkar, Mushirul Hasan, Gyanendra Panday, Bipan Chandra Sood and Ravinder Kumar. S. Gopal was made

general editor of the series in the place of P. N. Chopra. However, this did not improve matters. Since all these editors were full-time employees elsewhere, having various academic responsibilities in their hands, much progress could not be made. Another 70 lakhs were spent by 1997 with 8 more volumes still to be released !

In the opinion of the former ICHR Chairman Irfan Habib, the editors are not to be blamed for the increasing costs, the principle being that *naukershahs* can never be blamed ! There was no misuse of funds in his opinion. What price his opinion ? Does it mean that the expenditure was properly vouchered and many clerks and peons laboured over many years monetarily benefiting both themselves and their bosses, without doing anything useful ?

Why the Government of independent India should suppress the evidence of the black deeds of the colonial period is a question that immediately arises.

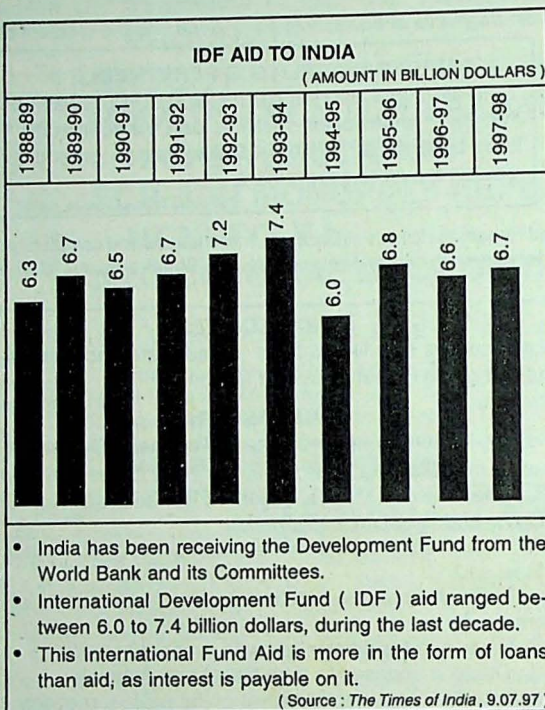
Irfan who was himself a Stalinist supporter of imperialism in the war years should easily understand that compradorism by Congress and Communists cannot bear much scrutiny. British Imperialists, the Muslim League, the Congress and the Communists were all part of a criminal conspiracy to deny the fruits of freedom to the Indian people and to carry through the partition of 1947 which blighted all Indian prospects right at birth.

(Source : *Frontline*, 5.9.97)

KHOON KHILE HAI GULSHAN GULSHAN ! FILM VIOLENCE LEADSTO REAL VIOLENCE

The brutal killing of music tycoon Gulshan Kumar in Bombay made the headlines on August 12, which virtually paralysed the Bombay film industry. Gulshan Kumar is the latest victim of the extortion wave that has come to overtake the film industry. Producer Mukesh Duggal had been gunned down in March. This followed an attempt made on the life of Rajiv Rai, the director of 'Gupti' in July. There are other bigshots of the film industry receiving threatening calls from different

underworld gangs in the recent past. No wonder therefore if Gulshan Kumar's killing has had a numbing effect on the entire



BANK CREDIT TO SSI SECTOR
(Rs. CRORE)

YEAR	NET BANK CREDIT	CREDIT TO SSI	PERCENTAGE SHARE OF SSI
March 1991	1,05,632	16,783	15.83 %
March 1992	1,12,160	17,398	15.51 %
March 1993	1,22,782	19,388	14.60 %
March 1994	1,40,914	21,561	15.30 %
March 1995	1,63,038	25,843	15.29 %
March 1996	1,84,391	29,482	15.90 %

About 152 lakh people are employed by the SSI (Small Scale Industries) units, But the Banks have sidelined them, on the excuse that their creditworthiness is not as strong as the larger corporations. The result, as the above figures indicate, the credit given to small scale units has not crossed even 16 percent of net bank credit, in the last six years.

(Source : *The Indian Express*, 28.07.97)

film industry.

The underworld's association with filmdom is not new and goes back to the days of Haji Mastan, who financed films. It has apparently become more tangible in the last decade as film budgets shot up to Rs. 5 crore and more. A steady flow of hard cash is a 'dire need' for all producers and directors in order to ensure the smooth progress of their projects. The bankers ask for collateral and other securities which most film makers cannot provide. The producer or director is left with only two alternative sources of finance : *The Underworld and the Hawala Method*, where private financiers supply funds from their foreign bank accounts. No method remains a 'safe source' for the producer or the director, when such sources begin to knock on the doors of the filmy bosses in order to get back their money. This is where the underworld comes in the picture. The extortionists make the victim succumb to their demands. Threatening calls, blackmailing, demands for the overseas rights of the film, and brutal killings are some of the methods resorted to by the extortionists to create the sensation and fear required for promoting their business.

And Gulshan Kumar was easy meat. The meteoric rise of Gulshan Kumar from an ordinary juice vendor to the head of a Rs. 250 crore music empire in a short span of twenty years from the seventies, was an event that could hardly go unnoticed. Low price and high volume strategy of Gulshan Kumar paid off and marked the audio-cassette revolution in India. He could reach a peak of success by forcing HMV to reduce the price of audio cassettes to match the T Series price range. Gulshan Kumar ventured into film production with 'Aashiqui' and 'Dil' which became big hits. Like the other producers, Gulshan Kumar was also receiving threats and the protection he had had was a sten gun wielding bodyguard provided to him by the Ghaziabad Police. The security guard was conveniently absent on that fateful day.

Gulshan Kumar's murder proves that the underworld has decided to impose its will upon the filmmakers. They are not bothered about the bad publicity that their criminal acts will attract. Crores of their money are directly involved in film production and distribution. They have found that the Indian film producers and directors are frauds who will cheat their own mothers. The film makers are not only involved in all sorts of shady transactions, but they do not hesitate to default on the payments due to their own financiers.

Furthermore, in this turbulent gutter of extortion, sale of overseas distribution rights, underinvoicing of exports and overinvoicing of imports, drug smuggling, prostitution racketeering, shady under the table cash transactions of real estate and innumerable complicated deals partly legal and partly illegal, a culture of crime flourishes. It is impossible to determine the morality and the ethicality of any specific transaction. The entire context is vicious and no permanent solution can be envisaged. The SS/BJP Government will continue. The corrupt police officers and the underworld leaders like Dawood, Gawli, Abu Salem, the Thakur brothers will periodically exchange fire, killing off and on filmmakers and bystanders, who may or may not be involved in the primary criminal activities. In a street shoot-out anything can happen. What we must realize is that

today's streets are crowded with ministers, legislators, police officers, gangsters, hawala dealers and film-makers who are all interested in persuading their own selfish and greedy ends.

(Source: *The Week*, 24.8.97)

PRIVATISATION MAY LEAD TO COLLAPSE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Here is a news item of a Ministry of Finance proposal to cut down government subsidy in higher education from almost 95 percent today to 50 percent over three years and then to 25 percent in another 2 years. This proposal comes in the latest paper drafted by the Department of Economic Affairs, where a given list of hidden and visible subsidies classifies higher education as "non-merit goods / services"

The argument advanced in defence of this proposal is that : since the subsidies are not benefiting the target audience but only those chosen few who hail from the middle and upper-middle classes; why subsidise the sector ? With a very low social rate of return, it will not benefit society as a whole.

This has sent shock-waves in the academic circles. Academics are nonplussed over the fact that higher education has been termed as "non-merit goods / services". This will surely be a fatal blow for the entire network of almost 9,000 colleges in India. When the need of the hour is to percolate benefits of the higher education system down to the

lower sections of the society, the reduction of funds would have disastrous effect on the higher educational institutions. It could kill many institutions, denying higher education opportunities to many. For the other sources of finance, like alumni funding, foreign students and industry collaborations, are too uncertain. Our elite wants its privileges to be secure, never mind the downward percolation theory !

(Source : *India Today*, 1.9.97)

FOREIGN MONOPOLY REPLACES STATE MONOPOLY !

NEO-COLONIALISM TAKES OVER FROM COMPRADORS !

Of late there has been much talk about DTH (Direct - to - Home) TV services, especially since the Government officially banned the DTH last month. The STAR TV was to provide a platform for these DTH services. The STAR announced its readiness to launch DTH services in March this year and battlelines were clearly drawn between the Government and STAR's CEO.

Rupert Murdoch's STAR TV channel, a child of News Television India, has already penetrated the upper echelons of opinion makers in Indian society. This meagre penetration was made easier by focussing on India-specific news coverage. In a well-planned strategy carried out by Murdoch, an offer was first made to a former Doordarshan (DD) director-general, Rathikant Basu, to take up the charge of the STAR operations; with a salary as high as a million dollar per year. By giving three months notice to the Department of Personnel and Training, he sought voluntary retirement with forfeiture of his pension. On joining the STAR TV, Basu who had been earlier credited with commercially rejuvenating DD, stepped up Hindi programmes during prime time on Star Plus and thus fell foul of the Zee Telefilm's Subash Chandra. He also incurred the wrath of the

CUSTOM & EXCISE DUTIES COLLECTED FROM CRUDE OIL & PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

(Rs. IN CRORES)

YEAR	CUSTOMS	EXCISE
1994-95	6209	6695
1995-96	8453	7160
1996-97	12437 *	9087 *

* Provisional

(Source : *Times of India*, 11.8.97)

Information and Broadcasting Ministry, when a flock of bureaucrats who had worked with him earlier, deserted DD to join him. It is a list of senior bureaucrats that includes Indira Mansingh, DD deputy director-general; V. Basavaraj, DD's controller of programmes; and Urmila Gupta, DD deputy director-general.

No wonder, that Murdoch could easily steal the show co-opting everybody and anybody who mattered. With almost no competition, he set his business plans rolling without any inhibitions. In order to salvage DTH out of troubled waters, it was paramount to control public opinion. Every effort was therefore made to present the STAR in a tailored perspective. Consequently, 'DTH' found a place in all leading newspapers. The former Secretary of Information and Broadcasting, Bhaskar Ghose wrote a column titled 'Why is everybody afraid of DTH?' All major articles published, were for defending DTH. Furthermore, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of Indian freedom STAR telecast a prime time programme on 50 years of Indian broadcasting in which all former directors general of DD were paraded to say how terrible the functioning of the official media has been and how the "ban" on DTH is archaic and retrograde.

No doubt STAR has acquired formidable lobbying power and with Prasar Bharati bill, in its early stages of implementation, that day would not be far away for Murdoch to see his dream come true by thrusting DTH down the throats of the government and the people. Hitherto we were forced to accept the monopoly of the state-controlled mass media. In its place, we are now to have a private monopoly by a foreign devil. How is this an improvement?

The Delhi *naukershah* is already preparing for an abject surrender to Rathikant Basu and Rupert Murdoch. The following excuses are being advanced:

1. The government does not want to be *seen* acting in haste.
2. Action against Basu would frighten the MNCs at a time when India is desperate for foreign investment.
3. The government should not be *seen* to be acting in a 'vindictive manner'.
4. A legal loophole makes it difficult for the government to take action against Basu.
5. There should be no hurry in acting against international media moghuls
6. Blacklisting Basu would serve no purpose.

(Source : India Today, 1.9.97 Indian Express, 2.9.97, 5.9.97, 6.9.97, 15.9.97)

NEOCOLONIAL MNC ON THE RAMPAGE

The Asian Paints, the market leader in Indian paint industry, showed its true *compra* colours and turned out to be a "poor white", when one family - the Chokseys - one of its promoters,

sold 9.1 percent stake in Rs. 930 crore Asian Paints to ICI PLC of the U.K. in a £ 23 million deal.

Atul Choksey's stake of 9.1 percent (36,66,400 lakh shares) was first sold out to Kotak Mahindra at a price of Rs. 347.50 per share. Kotak Mahindra signed an agreement with ICI PLC to sell these shares at Rs. 351 per share. Kotak Mahindra made a profit of Rs. 1.28 crore out of this transaction in just two days!

A SHORT LIST OF IMMEDIATE FAILURES OF GUJRAL GOVERNMENT

- Formation of Rashtriya Janata Dal and the decision to keep it out.
- DMK's threat to pull out its ministers and the tongue lashing given by M. Karunanidhi.
- The divisions in the Janata Dal over the RJD issue.
- Continuation of RJD ministers without allowing entry to their party.
- Failure to decide on petrol price issue.
- Confusion over fifth pay commission recommendations.
- Framing of hawala charges against Janata Dal president Sharad Yadav.
- Wrangle with left over economic reforms.
- Joining hands with the BJP in the Lok Sabha to isolate the Left parties.
- Dissatisfaction of the Samajwadi Party over Uttar Pradesh situations; Deve Gowda's threat to go on fast on this issue.
- Gujral - Kesri bonhomie.
- Stalling of Women's Reservation Bill.
- Withdrawal of Insurance Bill.

(Source : The Week, 17.8.97)

That is how capitalist sharks swallow each other ! On the National Stock Exchange (NSE), the Asian Paints scrip shot up to touch Rs. 353.80 from Rs. 311.75, in the same period.

How did ICI manage to get a foot in the Asian Paints' door? Atul Choksey could have given the other promoters the choice to buy out his stake, instead of selling it to a rival. But in an interview given to *The Times of India*, Atul Choksey, ex-managing director, expressed no regrets. He said that differences between the families were such that he preferred to sell off to the foreign MNC. As far as he is concerned, the Chokseys were fully within their rights to do so. No law has been broken and with his stake, the ICI is not entitled to a place on the Asian Paints board ! Obviously being a *pucca* comprador, Atul Choksey is not

concerned with national interests! Even if ICI does not immediately get a place on the Board of Directors, what of the future ? Atul is not concerned ! He wants his immediate profit !

Where does this deal leave the others ? The three remaining promoter families hold around 41 percent. Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) hold 6.3 percent, the Indian financial institutions hold 11.55 percent. Of the 11.55 percent institutional holding, UTI holds around 9.82 percent. Public holding in the company is around 29 percent. In order to get any form of management control, ICI needs at least 24 percent. ICI may launch a public offer for Asian Paints as soon as they increase their stake to 10 percent. But its best bet would be to use purchase of Atul's stake as a launching pad and convince one of the promoter families to sell its stake.

The three existing promoters of Asian Paints, as far as they are concerned, have been working hard to sabotage government approval of the ICI purchase. However, all that ICI has to arrange is a corrupt deal with some *naukershah* and all things will be hunky-dory ! The promoters have for the time being decided to enter into a new share holding agreement, in which every promoter will have the first right of refusal, if any one of them wants to unload.

But if tomorrow, foreign institutional investors, decide to sell off their shares to ICI, that will take its stake up to 15.4 percent. Then getting an entry into the kitchen of Asian Paints would become easy because later it can make an open offer to the Indian shareholders and try to pick up 9 percent to take their holdings to 24% control level.

THE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

Rammanohar Lohia

Some effort has already been made to establish the essential unity of India by reference to her myths or history or centres of pilgrimage. I would not in the least minimise the hold of heroes of myth or history over the people's mind. Nor would I underrate the unifying effect of centres of pilgrimage and travel scattered all over the country, in fact, built precisely to occupy the four directions. I would only like the narration of the essential unity of India to be supplemented by discoveries relating to the essential unity of the Indian people. Anthropologists, geographers and historians can do much in this connection, but apparently, they do not have much material on this topic in their books and libraries nor have they received the first impulse for such research. They must, therefore, travel vastly and become great listeners of the old and new tales of the people and, of course, start by opening their minds to the incredible unity of their people and common men.

The word "Sabri" is a fantastic case in point. It occurs first as the name of the woman who had dug her teeth into a berry and given the uneaten half to Ram. The first literary record of this document was made over 2,500 years ago and, if it not a myth but an actual story, it took place around 5,000 years ago. Sabri has of recent become the subject of some curious research. She is supposed to be the woman whom Ravana mistook for Seeta and carried away to Lanka. An effort is being made to establish her as the special friend of Ram, for no man and woman eat such other's leaving unless they are united by an extraordinary bond.

Sabri rolls up again as the name of the tribe from whom the image of god Jagannath was stolen around a thousand years ago. It was an Adivasi group, an aboriginal tribe, of Orissa. So was Ram's Sabri an Adivasi of what is now Madhya Pradesh, a neighbour of Orissa in the same parallel. The story of the

stealing of the Sabri-god of Jagannath is highly romantic. There is the usual dream of the king of the plains, the despatch of the cleverest minister to the Adivasi areas, the sprouting of love between this minister and the daughter of the Adivasi king and the eventual stealing of Jagannath. To this day, god Jagannath of Puri is served in addition to the usual Brahmin priests and Pandas, by a non-Brahmin group, which is called the Sabri-Panda, particularly during the fortnight or so when the god is ill.

The word occurs, again in the deep south. One of the holiest temples of Kerala is the Sabri Malai temple, which has in recent years acquired additional virtue because it was reported to have been spoliated. Hordes of black-robed pilgrim go in a particular season of the year to this temple of Sabri of the mountains or the mountain of Sabri.

There seems to be no doubt that Sabri was the name of a very vast group of Indian people. It was spread almost all over the country. Its assimilation into what is today the Indian people is indeed complete. It seems to have left no direct progeny but all the Indian people are its progeny and its name occurs in myths, geography, history or present-day customs as in the far north of Ayodhya and in the deep south in Kerala.

The "Mehars" of the area around Porbandar are again what may today be called a backward caste or an Adivasi group. It is an error to compare the woman of one group with those of another in their general beauty, for all women are beautiful in Saurashtra as elsewhere. But the figure of Mehar women is exquisite, as though made in heaven. And their blouses are all afire with the combination of two or three very deep and sparkling colours.

I had earlier met these Mehars sometimes called Mohars in the far west to Rajasthan on the India-Pakistan frontier. The mehars or Mohars of

Rajasthan are the most numerous group among the Muslims on the western frontier generally known as Sindhis. Such Mehar women as I was able to see in Rajasthan were different; they were not so luscious and the effect of wind and sun was on their skin, but, in their slender hardness, they were no less attractive. There must have been something common between these two groups either, their skirts, which were unsewn and wrapped well and gracefully, or some quality of their eyes and their face, for I had to ask three or four times before I was assured that the Mehars of Suarashtra are Hindus unlike the Muslim Mehar of Rajasthan.

I would skip over resemblance between the names of the Waghers or Baghers of Saurashtra and the Baghels of Madhya Pradesh. This name seems to be derived from the tiger. It is quite possible that wholly unrelated groups may have taken on this name because they fancied themselves to be brave. There is, however, a very prevalent saying in Saurashtra about these Waghers also called Kabas, which I would like to record not alone for its great philosophy but also for the oneness of almost all the languages of India. After the death of Krishna, Arjun was powerless against the robbers and dacoits of Saurashtra, who fell on him, his treasure as well as his women. He was armed with the same kind of weapons which carried him to victory in the great war of Mahabharat. Power belongs to Time and not to man, so goes the saying and it ends, "*Arjun Kabe Lutio, Wahi Dhanush Wahi Ban.*" It is difficult to believe that this language is Gujarati and not Hindi or Brij or Avadhi. I came across the name of caste in Suarashtra called Saintwar, which occurs also in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, again a backward caste. Not enough attention has been given to backward caste and Adivasi groups for research, but they are, I believe, a gold mine for the discovery of India's past as also for her future rejuvenation.

Since I got to know the meaning for Telugu word "Cuddappah". I am naturally very greatly reassured about my beliefs but I am also somewhat puzzled. Cuddappah or Guddappah in Telugu means threshold same as Delhi in Sanskrit or Dehliz in Persian means threshold. The Dilli of the North was a varitable threshold for all the tribes and conquerors that came into India from the North.

(contd. on p. 56)

RIVERS OF INDIA

Rammanohar Lohia

Now I wish to speak on a subject which should normally concern religious heads but since they are indulging in unnecessary and futile things, they are unconcerned about this. As for myself, I wish to make it clear that I am an atheist; let no one therefore misunderstand that I have begun to believe in God. The way of life in present day India as well as in the past has been associated with some river or the other, as in other parts of the world, but on a much larger scale. If I had been in the teaching profession instead of politics I would have probed deep into such an association. Rama's Ayodhya was situated on the bank of Sarayu. Kuru, Mourya and Gupta dynasties flourished on the bank of the Ganga, and the Moghul and Souraseni towns and capitals stood on the banks of Jamuna. The need for water throughout the year may be one reason but there may be cultural reason too. Once I had been to a place called Maheshwar where Ahalya had established a powerful rule for some time. The sentry on duty surprised me by

(contd from p. 55)

Cuddapah in Andhra Pradesh must have also been a threshold. I cannot say when this name occurs for the first time in history and I am, therefore, unable to advance a hypothesis. But then something else is almost breath-taking. Delhi is the threshold to Mathura and to Chittaur. So is Cuddapah the threshold to Chittoor and to Madura. It is not at all surprising that Chittaur gets changed to Chittoor and Mathura to Madura and vice versa. Without doubt there is the reenactment of a drama of similar import and personnel. I am not at all interested in whether the drama was first enacted in the south or in the north; the essential for me lies in its reenactment. The distances of Mathura and Chittaur from Delhi are practically the same reversed, as those of Chittoor and Madura from Cuddapah.

asking to which river I belonged. It was an amusing question because instead of inquiring about my language or the city or the town in which I dwelt he asked me about the river. All big kingdoms have been established on river banks, — for instance, the kingdoms of Cholas, Pandyas and Pallavas were on the banks of Kauvery, Vygieyr and Palar rivers respectively.

Out of 40 crores of our country's population, about a crore or two have a dip daily in rivers and 50 to 60 lakhs drink river water. Their minds and hearts are linked with the rivers. But rivers have been polluted with water and excreta from the cities falling into them. The dirty water is largely from factories, and in Kanpur the factories are mostly leather ones making the water still more unhealthy. However, thousands of people drink and bathe in such waters. I had spoken on this problem in Kanpur over a year ago.

Should we launch an agitation against the pollution of river water? If such an agitation succeeds, it would also result in the saving of much money. The dirty water instead of being channelled to the Ganga or Kauvery should be carried through drains up to 10 or 20 miles and released into fields. Manure factories could be established there. It looks expensive. But the entire outlook has to undergo a radical change. The expenditure might run into crores but is not the government spending 2,200 crores every year on the Five-Year Plans? May be, the execution of some other projects will have to be suspended. But I know the obstacles that would come in the way of implementing such a scheme. The present rulers and those who aspire to be the rulers of the future think in terms of Europeanising our country in an artificial manner. Who are the rulers of today? They may be a lakh, or even less, who know a bit of English. They know how to use forks and spoons and put on ties and coats. They constitute

the powerful world and their leader is Pandit Nehru. Sri Sampurnanand is also a symbol of such world though by his looks he does not appear European but Shri Nehru too would be taken for a coloured person if he goes to America.

In the city Banaras, there has been an agitation over the God Vishwanath. A new temple is now being built. In fact it was not God Vishwanath about whom there was an agitation but the fight was between Brahmin God and Chamar God. The Hindu mind is unnecessarily entangled in useless affairs. If only Karapatriji had acted in the manner I had suggested, the problem would have been solved. But which world does he represent? He represents the millionaires and the feudal lords of Rajasthan. Nothing can be solved by constructing two temples of Vishwanath instead of one. What is necessary is the reconstruction of the entire country and elimination of poverty.

Who are the soldiers in the army today? they are sons of the poor and it is they who lose their lives. It is they who take orders from the officers trained in the artificial atmosphere of Dehradun and Sandhurst. The officers come from the wealthy class. They are representatives of the modern world. Why should they bother about the millions of this country? They do not have the mind of an Indian at all. If they had, the river purification projects should have been ready by now. I want that people outside the party should join hands with the Socialist Party in holding the meetings, taking out processions and organising conferences to compel the government to undertake the project of preventing water pollution. We should also be prepared, if the dirty water is not directed towards the fields within 3 to 6 months, to destroy the present drains. Such a destruction will not involve any violence. Kabir has said :

माया महागनि मैं जानी
केशव की कमला बन बैठी
शिव के भवन भवानी
पंडा की मूत बन बैठी
तीर्थ में भई पानी ।

What is it in a tirth (pilgrimage)? only water. So the people should shout at the government " You shameless ones, stop this sacrilege." I am, however, an atheist. With me it is not a question of pilgrimage. The point is whether this country should belong to the 30 lakhs or the 40 crores ?

-1951- February 24; Banaras speech
(From Interval During Politics, 1965)

CHALO DUNIYA DEKHE !

CHE GUEVARA ZINDABAD !
STALIN RICHLY DESERVED HIS DEATH AT THE
HANDS OF THE KGB!
ATOM BOMB OR MICROBES - WHICH IS WORSE!
SINCE WHEN DO WE DATE
WESTERN CONCERNS FOR
HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS?
FORMOSUS
BORGAS
COLOGNE

Asso. Edr.

CHE GUEVARA ZINDABAD

Commandante Ernesto Che Guevara was one of the principal architects of the Cuban Revolution. In Cuba he is remembered for his contribution not only to the cause of the Cuban people but also for the internationalist vision for which ultimately he sacrificed his life. He perceived his life's purpose as part of a struggle in which the fight to break U.S. control over Cuba and Latin America was crucial.

Fidel Castro gave him the major responsibility of aiding the Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the MPLA, and other Left-wing regimes in Africa in the mid-1960s. Che was shocked by the elimination of the legendary Congolese leader, Patrice Lumumba by the CIA and so he secretly went to Congo to try to keep alive the revolutionary flame lit by Lumumba.

Che, and his band of guerillas were captured and assassinated in Bolivia on the orders of the CIA on October 9, 1967. Furthermore, the CIA and its collaborators in Bolivia went to great lengths to obscure the circumstances surrounding his death and the site where he was buried.

Cuba was trying to locate Che's grave since 1967 but a CIA orchestrated disinformation campaign kept the investigators off track. After Che was killed, his hands were amputated. General Gary Prado, who captured Che, always maintained that his body was cremated and his ashes scattered over the surrounding mountains.

However, in November 1995, retired

Bolivian General Mario Vargas Salinas said that Che's body was buried in the airport runway at Valle Grande, a small town near the city of Santa Cruz in Bolivia and Cuba started the search in earnest. After 18 long months the grave was finally located with the joint efforts of a team of Argentinian, Cuban and Italian forensic experts, anthropologists and geophysicists.

Guevara's mortal remains and that of four of his comrades were returned to Cuba in July 1997. President Fidel Castro formally received the casket containing the remains of his closest comrade-in-arms, the Argentinian-born Che, 29 years after his death.

According to an article written by Gabriel Garcia Marquez in 1976, the guerilla leader Che was helping in 1965 was called Laurent Kabila. Today Kabila is the President of Congo, after having defeated the forces of Mobutu Sese Seko, the ex-president for 32 years of Congo-Kinshasa. Mobutu's forces were principal agents of the CIA, at the time and carried out the barbaric execution of Lumumba.

Today Che has become an international icon, and in the homes of the poor in many Latin American countries his picture is kept next to that of Jesus Christ. Also, many struggles, successful ones and ongoing ones, in Latin America have been inspired by the ideals of Che. A huge portrait of Che overlooks the Plaza de la Revolucion in Havana, the Cuban capital.

Che's daughter Aleida read out a letter when Castro received the casket in

Havana. It said: "Today they remains have come back to us, but they have not returned defeated; they come transformed into heroes, eternally young, valiant, strong and daring."

(Source : Frontline, 5.9.97)

STALIN RICHLY DESERVED HIS DEATH AT THE HANDS OF THE KGB!

A just-released book in Russian, *Stalin*, written by historian Eduard Radzensky, retraces the last days of Josef Stalin and makes a startling revelation that the awesome Soviet dictator was "put to death" by the KGB and did not die of brain haemorrhage, as given to believe in medical reports. The death of the Communist party supremo was shrouded in mystery for the past 45-odd years.

After having laid hands on classified material and managing to get interviews with the only surviving security aide of Stalin, Mr. Radzensky pieced together events of those fateful five nights starting February 28, 1953, when Stalin was last seen alive by his security guards. Stalin was officially pronounced dead only on March 5, 1953.

Security guard Pavel Lozgachev told the author that KGB chief Lavrenti Beria and chief of security Ivan Khrustal were behind the heinous crime. He also says that when he last saw him, Stalin was alive and trying to summon help. But no doctors came to attend on him and the respiration machine was brought after the 74-year-old man had died. Also, no post-mortem of the body was ever conducted.

Mr. Radzensky writes further that the KGB chief eliminated Ivan Khrustal and the other security personnel but Lozgachev was allowed to live as he did not know much. However, the KGB chief, Beria, too was placed before the firing squad a few months later.

During the subsequent regime of President Khrushchev, the body of Stalin was exhumed and he was publicly denounced as a "blood-thirsty tyrant". The body was later buried outside the Kremlin Wall.

(Source : The Times of India, 18.8.97)

ATOM BOMB OR MICROBES - WHICH IS WORSE!

Fifty-two years after the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two cities are demanding an apology, not from the United States but from their own national government. Since the end of World War II, Japan has flaunted the image of a "victim". Now, the real victims, Hiroshima and Nagasaki,

which together lost over 250,000 people in the bombings, are telling the world that Japan was as much "victimiser" as "victim", perhaps more. One victim, Suzuko Numata says that, "Japan caused as much agony to others in the region as the US did to us but the other Asians never got their due."

Japan too was responsible for a number of war crimes :

- Imperial Japanese troops massacred thousands in Nanking in 1937. One Veteran said "chopping off people's heads felt like cutting radishes."

- The troops produced and used chemical weapons, in China, and raped women.

- The troops forcibly recruited and put women in Korea and the Philippines into prostitution. Known euphemistically as "comfort women", they were forced to provide sex to the troops.

Japan has never apologised publicly for its crimes and has never compensated her victims. She has also denied the use of biological weapons as well as the existence of Unit 731, where mustard gas, whose long-term impact is matched only by the A-bomb, was produced. An ex-worker of the poison gas facility in Okinoshima says, "Japan's crime in using chemical weapons was as big as America's"

Of the 30 war-damages suits filed in Japanese courts, for the first time, a case has been made out against the use of chemical weapons; when 108 Chinese victims of germ warfare demanded individual compensation of 10 million yen each.

The Japanese are yet to accept the grim realities of their war crimes. This was brought into focus last year when the Nagasaki museum got off to a rocky start. It included a permanent exhibit on Japan's role as aggressor in Asia. Japanese war veterans claimed that the picture was taken from American propaganda material and got authorities to replace it with a softer picture taken just before the 1937 Nanking massacre.

Thus, the judgement of most people in Japan is that Japan's hands are far from clean.

It may be that the atom bomb was a weapon of monstrous terror, but the Japanese imperialists who used biological weapons against the Chinese; sacked Nanking and other populous centres; and systematically used Korean and Filipino citizens as "comfort women" were not far behind the American Atomic fiends !

(Source : Outlook, 15.9.97)

SINCE WHEN DO WE DATE

WESTERN CONCERNS FOR

HUMAN AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS ?

WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN AND

INTELLECTUAL RIGHTS IS A HORRIBLE JOKE ! : 5

FORMOSUS (b.c. 816 - d. April 4, 896), Pope from 891 to 896, whose posthumous trial is one of the most bizarre incidents in papal history.

Pope John VIII (875), mistrusted him and in 876 Formosus was excommunicated. He was absolved under Pope Marinus I, who restored him to his see of Porto in 883. During the pontificates of Popes Marinus, St. Adrian III, and Stephen V (VI), Formosus' influence grew, and he was elected Stephen's successor on Oct. 6.891.

Formosus requested King Arnulf of the East Franks to invade Italy. In Rome in 896 Formosus crowned Arnulf emperor.

At a Roman synod (popularly called the "Cadaver Synod") conducted by Pope Stephen VI (VII), Formosus' political enemies

had his corpse exhumed, propped up on a throne and subjected to a posthumous trial—during which a deacon answered for the corpse. His election was declared invalid, his acts were quashed, and his fingers of consecration were cut off. Formosus' corpse was then cast into a grave, but later thrown into the Tiber River. These ghastly acts divided Rome politically, causing Stephen's imprisonment and his death by strangulation. Pope Theodore II reinstated Formosus' ordinations and solemnly buried his body.

(Source : EB, Micro, vol. IV, p. 234)

SINCE WHEN ... ? : 6

BORGIA CESARE (b.1475-6-d.1507) Cesare Borgia was the son of Alexander VI, the most notorious of the Renaissance popes. His career was a classic example of how the popes of the 15th century made use of their families in attempting to recover the power and prestige lost by the papacy during the Great Schism (1378-1417 when two or more claimants fought over the papal throne). Cesare helped his father in preserving the independence of the papacy during the French invasions of Italy after 1494 and in re-establishing papal control within the Papal States of central Italy. For this purpose he was made duke of the Romagna and captain general of the armies of the church; at the same time he shared with his father that glow of infamous notoriety that was to become associated with the name of Borgia.

Cesare was cited by his contemporary Machiavelli as an example of the new "Prince", and it is perhaps for this characterisation by the famous Renaissance political theorist that he is best known.

Youth and education. Born 1475/1476, probably in Rome, he was the son of his father's most famous mistress, Vanozza Catanei. His father, at that time Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, was vice chancellor of the church and had had three earlier children by other mistresses. Cesare was, however, the oldest of the four children born to Vanozza and Rodrigo (the others being Juan, Lucrezia, and Jofre) and was Rodrigo's second son. As was customary for second sons he was educated for a career in the church and in 1480 was dispensed from the slur of illegitimacy by Pope Sixtus IV so that he might hold ecclesiastical offices.

Although he was born in Italy and spent most of his life there, Cesare's family and cultural background was almost entirely Spanish.

Rise to power : The election of his father as pope in 1492 changed the fortunes of Cesare Borgia. Besides becoming an archbishop, he was also made a cardinal in 1493, with the titular Church of Sta. Maria Nova; he was now one of his father's principal advisers. It was already clear, however, that he did not have a true religious vocation; he was better known at the papal court for his hunting parties, his amorous liaisons, and his magnificent clothes than for the meticulous observance of his ecclesiastical duties.

On the death of Pedro Luis in 1488 the title of duke of Gandia had by-passed him and gone to his younger brother Juan, and it was he who was made commander of the papal army in 1496 for the first of Alexander's campaigns against his rebellious nobility, the Orsini. Cesare was reputed to have been extremely jealous of his brother, and when Juan was mysteriously murdered in 1497 it was obvious that Cesare was the culprit. He was certainly capable of murder, as he subsequently proved.

The activities of Alexander and Cesare, although they conformed very much to a pattern established by earlier 15th century popes, aroused immense opposition within the Papal

States and from the other Italian states. The propaganda war waged against them was vitriolic and lastingly effective. Cesare was portrayed as a monster of lust and cruelty who had gained an unnatural ascendancy over his father after having supposedly killed his favourite son, Juan. It seems likely, however, that the two Borgias worked very much in harmony; Alexander was by far the more astute politician, and Cesare the more ruthless man of action. Ambitious and arrogant, he was determined to establish himself as an Italian prince before his father died and left him deprived of the political and financial support of the papacy. *Aut Caesar, aut nihil* ("Either Caesar or Nothing") was the motto he adopted to indicate the single-mindedness of his purpose. A number of political assassinations have been attributed to him, but the crime of which he was most clearly the author was the murder in August 1500 of his brother-in-law Alfonso, duke of Bisceglie, the second husband of Lucrezia. It seems likely that this was an act of personal vengeance rather than a politically motivated assassination, but it contributed greatly to the fear and loathing in which Cesare was held.

The best example of Cesare's methods was the third Romagna campaign (1502-03). He opened with a lightning march on unsuspecting Urbino, which surrendered without a shot being fired. He then turned on Camerino, which was also quickly subdued. At this stage his leading commanders, fearing his power, turned against him in the so-called Magione conspiracy. Cesare, stripped of most of his troops, was forced to fight defensively in the Romagna. With lavish use of papal funds, however, he managed to rebuild his army while at the same time working on the diplomatic front to break up the league of the conspirators. Having succeeded in breaking it up, he arranged a rendezvous for reconciliation with some of the conspirators at Senigallia and, having isolated them from their troops, he then arrested and executed them (December 1502).

The subsequent election of a bitter enemy of the Borgias, Giuliano della Rovere, as Pope Julius II, lessened his already slim chances of survival. Julius refused to confirm Cesare as duke of the Romagna or captain general of the church and demanded the restoration of the Romagna cities. Cesare was arrested, won a brief respite by agreeing to surrender his cities, and fled to Naples only to be arrested once more by Gonsalvo di Cordoba, the Spanish viceroy, who refused to join him in a league against the Pope. Cesare was then taken to Spain and imprisoned, first in the castle of Chinchilla near Valencia, and then at Medina del Campo, from whence he escaped in 1506. Unable to see any immediate prospect of returning to Italy, he took service with his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre, and was killed in 1507.

Assessment : Cesare Borgia was a man of extraordinary contrasts. Machiavelli found that he could be at times secretive and taciturn, at others loquacious and boastful. He alternated bursts of demonic activity, when he stayed up all night-receiving and despatching messengers, with moments of unaccountable sloth, when he remained in bed refusing to see anyone. He was quick to take offence and rather remote from his immediate entourage and yet very open with his subjects in the Romagna, loving to join in local sports and to cut a dashing figure.

There can be no doubt of the impact that he made in the Italy of his own day, but this impression was largely because of the backing he received from papal money and French arms. He was undoubtedly a master of politico-military manoeuvre, and it was a combination of daring and duplicity that brought him his striking successes and made him feared all over Italy.

His abilities as a soldier and an administrator, however, were never really tested. He fought no major battles in his short military career, but this was perhaps a measure of his success as a planner. He had little time for the organisation of the government of his Romagna duchy, but there are indications that he had plans for centralised government and bureaucratic efficiency, which to some extent justify the claims made for him as an administrator by Machiavelli. His interests tended to be scientific and literary rather than artistic, but once again time was too short for him to emerge as an important Renaissance patron. Leonardo da Vinci was for a short time his inspector of fortresses but executed no artistic commissions for him.

Machiavelli's apparent adoration for a man who was so widely feared and abhorred has led many critics to regard his portrayal of Cesare as an idealization. This interpretation, however, is not really the case. Machiavelli was well aware of the failings and limitations of Cesare Borgia, but he saw in him some of the qualities that he considered essential for the man who aspired to be a prince. The aggressiveness, the speed and ruthlessness of planning and execution, the opportunism of Cesare all delighted Machiavelli, who saw far too little of these qualities in the Italy of his day. Machiavelli was not attempting a rounded portrait of Cesare's character and qualities, which baffled him as much as they did most of his contemporaries.

(Source : *EB, Macro, Vol. 3, p. 41-43*)

SINCE WHEN....? : 8

BORGIA, LUCREZIA (b. 1480 - d. 1519) Italian noblewoman and a central figure of the infamous Borgia family of the Italian Renaissance. Daughter of the Spanish cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI, and his Roman mistress Vanozza Catanei, and sister of Cesare, Lucrezia is often accused of sharing in their many crimes and moral excesses. In historical perspective, however, she seems to have been more an instrument for the ambitious projects of her brother and father than an active participant in their crimes. Her three successive marriages into prominent families helped augment the political and territorial power of the Borgias.

In 1491, the young Lucrezia was successively betrothed to two Spanish nobles. But after her father became pope in 1492, he sought an alliance with the Sforza family of Milan against the Aragonese dynasty of Naples. Accordingly, Lucrezia was in 1493 married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. When Alexander allied himself with Naples, and Milan with the French, Giovanni, fearing for his life, fled from Rome and became an enemy of the Borgias, later charging incestuous relations between Lucrezia and Alexander. Alexander annulled the marriage in 1497 on the dubious grounds of non-consummation.

Seeking to strengthen his ties with Naples, the Pope in 1498 arranged a marriage between Lucrezia and the 17-year-old Alfonso, duke of Bisceglie, an illegitimate son of Alfonso II of Naples. Upon Cesare's alliance with the French king Louis XII (1499) and his subsequent campaign in the Romagna, which threatened Naples, Alfonso fled Rome in August but returned with Lucrezia in October. In July 1500 he was wounded by four would-be assassins on the steps of St. Peter's. While recovering he was strangled by one of Cesare's servants. The murder provoked the desired rupture with Naples.

Lucrezia retired to Nepi, and during this period of the mysterious *Infans Romanus* (Roman Infant) was first seen the three-year-old boy named Giovanni, with whom Lucrezia appeared in 1501. Two papal bulls recognised the child as the

illegitimate son, first of Cesare, then of Alexander who was probably the true father. The mysterious origin of the child as well as Lucrezia's presence at a celebrated night orgy at the Vatican have been used to support the charges of incest in the Borgia family.

Alfonso d'Este, son of Ercole I, duke of Ferrara, married Lucrezia on Dec. 30, 1501, although he shunned the union for a time because of the Borgia's unsavoury reputation. This marriage was arranged by Cesare to consolidate his position in the Romagna. When Alexander VI died in 1503, Lucrezia ceased to play a political role and led a more normal life at the brilliant court of Ferrara, which became a centre for the arts and letters of the Italian Renaissance. She returned to religion in her last years and died at the age of 39.

(Source : *EB, Micro, Vol II, p. 166*)

SINCE WHEN.....? : 8

COLOGNE AS A CENTRE OF NAZI HORROR

Konrad Adenauer, Cologne's pre-war mayor and the first postwar chancellor of West Germany had built the legend that the Rhine-land is liberal, Catholic and resistant to every dictatorship.

But truths to the contrary have emerged. The legend is totally bogus. A new permanent exhibit sponsored by the city authorities in the former Gestapo headquarters documents the city's persecution of Jews, Gypsies and slave labourers.

The city has taken as its emblem the huge trade-fair buildings on the east bank of the Rhine, but it seems that the vast halls of the trade fair were used by the Nazis to house prisoners of war and slave labourers. The widely accepted argument among most people in Cologne is that it is the liberal heart of the Rhineland and that it had been far less receptive to Nazism than most others. But photographs at the exhibit display how rapturously Hitler was received there during a visit in 1936. In 15 rooms, the exhibit of photographs, newspaper clippings, documents and such artifacts as the prewar radios that carried Nazi propaganda traces the city's history from the founding of a Nazi Party branch there in 1921 to the end of World War II, when Cologne lay in ruins.

Equally, though, the exhibit records the terror inflicted on civilians in the city by the vast Allied air bombardment, while the resistance to the Nazis is also chronicled.

(Source : *Times of India, 18.8.97*)

Contd. from p.37

INDIA, NAM, etc.

AFRICA

As far as GDP is concerned, Africa does not boast of a single country which has a National Income of over 1% of the world. In 1960 there were only two countries in Africa which were of some economic importance viz. Nigeria with 0.75% of the world and South Africa with 0.73%. By 1994, Nigeria had declined to 0.41% and S. Africa to 0.66%. At the same time Egypt had emerged, within the new African context as a contender, with 0.68% of the world total.

USA

We must remember that Paul Kennedy had noted in his *magnum opus* that USA had emerged as the greatest power on earth at the end of World War II and had attained a GDP level of 50% of the world (Paul Kennedy, *The Rise Fall & the Great Powers*, 1989, p. 461). By 1960 its share declined to a little less than 28% and by 1990 to a little over 21%. At the same time Asia forged ahead from about 21% to over 35%. Absolutely the American National Income has no doubt increased from 1.8 trillion to 6.7 trillion from 1960 to 1994, but its relative strength in the world economy which grew from \$ 6.5 trillion to \$ 31.3 trillion, has fallen, because the rest of the world has grown much faster than the USA.

CANADA / MEXICO

The other two partners of USA in NAFTA viz. Canada & Mexico have held their own between 1960 and 1994, and in fact marginally improved their share (Canada's share went up from 2.14% to 2.81% and Mexico's from 1.61% to 1.99%)

BRAZIL

The success story in S. America has been that of Brazil whose share of the World's goods and services has gone up to 2.75% in 1990 from 1.54% in 1960.

AUSTRALIA

Australia has marginally declined from 1.14% in 1960 to 1.03% in 1994.

OVERALL

As we have already noted whilst discussing the continental shares of the various parts of the world, Asia has leaped forward and relatively Europe and N. America have declined. This has been mainly due to the leap forward by China, Japan, Indonesia, S. Korea and Thailand, the tiger economies of the Far-East; whilst the relative decline of Europe and N. America has been due to the declining share of UK, France & Italy alongwith that of the USSR in Europe and that of USA in N. America (See particularly *MK, Vol 2, No. 2, p.57* for a study of the "Emergence of Tri-Polar world of the 21st century")

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from
Dr. M.P.R. Reddy and Reply

9-62/2 Ramanthapur
Hyderabad 500013
6.9.1997

My dear Dr. Vinayak Purohit,

I am happy to see your single minded dedication to *Mankind*, and your determination to carry forward the ideology of nationalism and socialism, the legacy of Dr. Lohia. Posterity will remember with gratitude your heroic fight for the socialist ideology, at a time when socialism is no longer attractive to old timers, and to the so-called communists who quote Marx and Engels and pay homage to the ideals of the Russian Revolution.

The last decade of the Twentieth century has witnessed your marvellous devotion to the socialist idealism, although the votaries of the socialist cause have been dwindling in the face of globalisation and privatisation and neo-colonialism.

Your proings into the rise of nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the rule of the Indian National Congress are a welcome study for the present generation of socialist enthusiasts. The study of Ambedkar was a reminder to the new school of ideologues who have made him a demigod and missionary for the liberation of Dalits.

We do not expect leaders like **George Fernandes** to add to our knowledge of the Quit-India Movement which started the chain of events that led to the Transfer of Power, because they belong to the post quit India-generation of politicians. You have rightly given us excerpts from the voluminous writings of **Lohia**. Since you have participated in the Quit India Movement and absorbed the idealism of the heroes of the Open Rebellion, you also gave us your reminiscences of the Revolution that led to the overthrow of colonial state, and the regeneration of the masses.

Mankind could tell us more about the heroic role of **Subhas Chandra Bose** and the INA which played no mean role in shaking the foundations of British

imperialism. The celebrations of fifty years freedom have not told us about the historic provisional government set up by Bose, and his epochmaking, Women's Brigade under Captain Lakshmi.

How can we forget the large contribution of Bose to Hindu-Muslim unity through the ranks of the INA and the inauguration of women's emancipation, when the women's brigade participated in the Liberation struggle? Why is Captain Lakshmi who was cabinet member in Netaji's Provisional government of free India which was winning recognition among the masses is not getting her due recognition today? Why are the so-called national leaders in the Parliament not speaking about Captain Lakshmi and her leadership of the women's brigade of the INA? If Aruna Asaf Ali deserves a Bharat Ratna, Captain Lakshmi no less deserves an equal honour at the hands of leaders who are celebrating fifty years of freedom, and honouring our heroes and heroines of the last one hundred years.

I wish to hear your comments on these aspects of freedom struggle.

With warm regards,

Yours affectionately
M.P.R. Reddy

Reply

20.9.97

Dear Dr. Reddy,

Many thanks for your goods words about me and *Mankind*!

Suddenly, without any conscious effort on my part, as I revived *Mankind*, it appears to me that the floodgates burst open. All the internal blockages gave way and I began to express myself consistently over a wide range of subjects. This search for internal consistency and logicity immediately led to an ideological formulation of the underlying principles of Nationalism, Socialism and Revolutionism.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my work and the more I expressed, it seems the more I have to express. It is the fast-breeder reaction that has overwhelmed me.

I am so glad that towards the eventide

of our lives, we were able to establish a mental rapport that has covered a wide range of subjects.

Please keep up your spirits and I am sure all your health problems will fall under a regime of peace and mental equanimity.

In the next instalment of *25 Turning Points in World History*, which will appear probably in November or December 1997, I have included the bunch of revolutionaries of our time: **Leon Trotsky** as the finest of the old Bolsheviks; **Subhas Bose** as the best of the South East Asian group of 1941-45; **Mao-Tse-Tung** from amongst the Chinese; **Laurent Kabila** of the Africans; and **Fidel Castro** and **Che Guevara** of the Latin Americans.

You have correctly made mention of **Subhas Bose's** vital contributions in the areas of Hindu-Muslim Unity and Women's Liberation Movement. After all, the ideals of communal harmony and gender equality can only be realised in the course of revolutionary action, which was in many ways initiated by the INA.

Of course, if **Aruna Asaf Ali** deserves a **Bharat Ratna**, then **Captain Lakshmi** deserves it much more! But I am wary and weary of these honours. Who are these petty Naukershahs and cheap and illiterate Congressmen to decide the list of award recipients? What are the qualifications of the jury members themselves who are judging?

No one who is truly honourable can receive any honour from dishonourable Selection Committees.

As you know, even though **Subhas Bose** was a liberal bourgeois leader of patriots, he had a much bigger vision of India. He formed the first Committee for National Planning; for Hindi as the National Language; for Hindu-Muslim Unity in action; for formation of **Rani of Jhansi brigade** within the INA; for collaboration with Asian Powers rather than with European blood-suckers, and so on.

We are planning to be in Hyderabad in the last week of December in an effort to meet all of you; **Ravela** and **Aruna Somayya**, **Dr. Gopalakrishna**, **Madhava Rao**, **Keshav Jadhav**, **Anjaiah**, **Ramdass**, **Turlapati Satyanarayan**, and all the other friends who have encouraged *Mankind*.

Yours Sincerely
Vinayak Purohit

THE GREATEST MODERN INDIAN NOVEL :
SERIALISED PUBLICATION

CHHAMANA ATHA GUNTHA : 7

Fakirmohan Senapati

CHAPTER XXIII RETRIBUTION

The Birupa river is very wide—not less than a mile—at Gopalpur. But the main current flowing to the south of the river is narrow and deep.

The Gopalpur ghat was full of sand. It was only in high flood that water came up to the ghat. As there had been no heavy rain for the last 10 or 12 days, the river had wasted away. But the water was rising a little now. Countless pieces of straw and twigs were being swept away in the current. The river was very deep and infested with several kinds of crocodiles and alligators. No one would venture into knee-deep water. The crocodiles used to create havoc when there was a flood in the river. They would come out of patches of foam and kill animals.

A ferry-boat was always there, waiting to take villagers across the river. The boatman remained in attendance, day and night, in a hut. He used also to ferry the Government mail-bag for which he got a fee of Rs. 2/- per month.

The villagers did not make any cash payment. In the harvest season, the boatman went about from field to field and got one sheaf of paddy from the field of each family. On weekly market days, the dealers who crossed the ferry paid him in kind some such thing as a quarter dozen of small dried Fish, one or two brinjals, a pinch of salt or a few drops of mustard oil. On some days a big money-lender or a passing stranger would tip him a pice or two. The amount varied in consideration of time, place and circumstances; but if a Government servant, such as a Thana Daroga, a Munshi or a Kanungo happened to come there for crossing the river, the boatman was generously remunerated with the pulling of his ears, a slap on his cheek and much abuse. The boatman Chandia

Behera used to say that he had been doing this job of plying the ferry boat all his life and a sturdier boatman was not to be found in that part of the country.

The night was approaching its end. There had been heavy rain accompanied by a great storm which had now subsided. The sky was still overcast with clouds and little twinkling stars shone here and there through the openings in the clouds.

At such a time, there came to the Ghat a man with a small bundle on his back; going a distance of four or five hundred cubits from the Ghat, he came back again. One could guess that he was thinking of swimming across the river, but lacked the strength and courage.

Chandia Behera had tied the boat with a long rope to a pole fixed in the sand, and was lying asleep in his hut near the Ghat. The traveller shouted for the boatman, looking furtively behind him every now and then.

"Who is this traveller at this unusual hour?" Chandia thought to himself. "Whoever he might be, let him wait till the day breaks."

But the traveller called out again, "Please come out of your hut, brother boatman. I shall give you an extra something for your tiffin." Chandia could hold himself no more. He coughed once or twice. Oh : What a charm there is in the offer of an extra something. What to speak of a boatman, even big persons cannot resist the temptation when they are offered extra money.

"Who is calling?" Chandia responded from within. "Wait till the day breaks. I won't come out even if you offer me a lakh of rupees."

Traveller—"Brother boatman : I have a law-suit to attend to at Cuttack. So I am in a hurry. Take five rupees."

"Five rupees from a single passenger", the boatman reflected. In all his life, Chandia had never handled five

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.

The pleader Ram Ram Lala gets Mangaraj to mortgage his zamindari to the pleader towards the cost of litigation. At the end of the hearing in the Sessions Court, Mangaraj is sentenced to 6 months in prison. The pleader files no appeal in his case.

Mangaraj's maid, Champa and Govinda barber steal all his jewellery and cash, and leave the village Govindpur. They soon fall out with each other about the division of the loot and Govinda murders Champa and appropriates all the booty.

rupees at a time. Only a minute ago, he had said he would not stir out even if a lakh of rupees were offered. But now he

was afraid lest the traveller turn back; or the day might dawn, whereupon he would get one pice or two at most. "Wait, wait, I am coming". He came out of the hut, oar in hand. "All right. Give me whatever you like. It is for you and you alone that I have come out of my hut. I would not have stirred out for anyone else."

The traveller handed over five rupees.

The boatman counted the coins three or four times, shifting them one by one from one hand to the other. He tied the money in a corner of his waistband and tucked it securely in his waist. He looked around, then looked at the sky and found that the night was nearly gone.

The traveller had seated himself on the prow. Warning him to take his seat carefully, the boatman touched the boat with his right hand and touched his forehead with the same hand, repeated this gesture twice again; invoking the name of "Ganga Mata" (Mother Gangaes), he unfastened the boat and got into it.

The strong current caused by the on-rush of flood water, from the upper course of the river, made it difficult to control the boat. He rowed with all his might but it floated down a good deal in the strong current.

It was now almost dawn. Someone was singing at the Gopalpur Ghat :

Rama and Lakshmana went out to chase the deer
When Ravana in saint's disguise did appear.
"Come out, give me alms," said he,
"Else I'll pronounce a curse on thee."

The traveller was looking anxiously towards the Gopalpur Ghat. As the sound of the song reached his ears, the traveller became restless. He stood up in the boat which began to rock.

"Sit down, you, sit down," the boatman cried. Then looking toward the Ghat, he added, "Hallo, the mail-runner has arrived."

So saying, he veered round and started to row back to the Ghat. The traveller became nervous and said, "Please, boatman, don't turn back. Get me across the river first."

"But the mail bag is a Government affair and my foremost duty," the boatman replied. "Do you want me sent to prison?"

It was daylight now. The boatman noticed that the traveller was spattered with blood all over his body. There were bloodstains on his clothes, on his hands and on his bundle. Taken by surprise, the boatman exclaimed, "What is this? Where did the blood come from? Have you murdered someone?"

The traveller did not wait to reply. He took up the bundle in a hurry and jumped into the stream despite the boatman's frantic warnings. He had scarcely swum a distance of 15 or 20 cubits when a man-eating alligator snapped him up. The bundle also sank in the stream after floating down a short distance.

Chandia stood looking on, asking himself, "Who was this man? Where was he coming from? And where was he going to?"

For a long time Chandia Behera chose to keep the whole thing a secret for some reason or the other. When the traveller jumped into the stream, some palm-leaves fell from his pocket into the boat. Chandia kept them concealed in his hut. After some time, he got one leaf read by a literate passenger. The contents are given below.

"At about 2 o'clock in the day, on the 2nd day of the dark fortnight in the month of Phalguna in the 7th year of Mukunda Deva's reign, I Sama Sahu an oil-man of this village Govindpur execute this deed for a loan of Rs. 10/- received from

Ramchandra Mangaraj Zamindar of Govindpur, to defray the expenses of marriage of my son Bhima, and I hereby agree to repay the loan in paddy at the prevailing rate, with 50 percent interest from my threshing-floor in the month of Pousa. I execute this deed with the Sun, the Moon and the ten Deities who protect the universe as witnesses."

For several days thenceforth Chandia Behera used to stare vacantly into the water while rowing his boat past that spot.

CHAPTER XXIV INVESTIGATION OF MURDER

It was about 9 o'clock in the morning. The rain had stopped. Gopi Sahu the shop-keeper came to open his shop as usual with a torn dirty napkin on his head, the basket containing his wares on his shoulder and the key in his hand.

As he unlocked the room, his eyes were assailed by a terrible sight, which rendered him speechless like a statue. A dead woman lay in a pool of blood, her glazed eyes staring at the thatched roof. He felt faint. The entire room was blood-stained. There was blood near the hearth and on the cooking pot. The walls were sprinkled with blood, as if it had been squirted from a syringe.

Gopi ran home and informed the villagers, who came running to see the sight. The village Chowkidar, Sauntia Jena, ran to the Police out-post, 3 miles from Gopalpur, to lodge information. At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Jamadar (Head-constable) Sh. Torab Ali came to the spot with Constable Pitu Khan.

Sh. Torab Ali was a very strict officer. He was a terror to everyone for miles around and even a pregnant cow, so it was said, would step aside to make way for the jamadar to pass. The jamadar, covering his nose, proceeded to examine the dead body. It was that of a woman in a silk sari with some gold and silver ornaments on her neck and arms. The woman's neck had been severed as a Mussalman does to a chicken. A blood-stained razor lay by her side. Innumerable flies had settled on the body and many more were buzzing about in the room. The mud-floor of the room had been scratched and pitted by her struggling legs when her throat was being cut.

The Jamadar could not remain there long on account of the offensive smell and her ghastly appearance. Coming out of the room, he concluded, by a masterly process of deduction, that it was a murder case but by no means a case of dacoity. Had it been the latter, there would have been no ornaments on the person of the deceased. Under his orders, two sweepers dragged out the dead body with ropes tied round the legs and placed it on the bank of the river. The ornaments were removed from her person and put in a bag to be sent to the Magistrate.

An enquiry was instituted. The Chowkidars and constables arrested suspects from five adjoining villages and brought them before the Jamadar who held court under the banyan tree. Three to four hundred persons had been rounded up. But all were not detained there. Most of them were being let off after enquiry. Meanwhile, scores of vultures hovered around the dead body as it lay on the sand bank of the river, some of them flying close upon it. More than a dozen jackals and dogs had already come to the scene. The dogs were nibbling at one of the ankles. Some vultures were tugging at the other ankle when a jackal approached. The vultures then moved aside a little and sat with wings out-stretched.

The Jamadar recorded the statements of many persons.

The statement of the aged shop-keeper, Gopi Sahu : "I am now at the fag-end of my life. Would I tell a lie at this ripe age ?

Today is the Ekadasi and I am observing a complete fast. I swear on this Tulasi plant that I know nothing of this case. For the last six months, I have been confined to bed and have not come to the shop"

The statement of Chandia Behera, the boat-man : "No one was crossing the river on account of rain and storm. I did not come to the river bank for the last 4 days."

Similar statements of many persons were recorded. The sun was about to set. The Jamadar and the constables were consulting each other as to whether the enquiry should be closed that day or postponed till next day, when a kite perched on a branch of the tree eased itself on the Jamadar's beard making half of it white. The Jamadar stood up in a towering rage and called the kite all sorts of names. The Chowkidars too abused the kite and threw stones at it. The Jamadar washed his long beard clean with three potfuls of water. Then he gave his finding.

"Look here. No one knows the dead woman. Most probably she is a way-farer. She was not been murdered. Her death is due to snake-bite."

Gopi Sahu, the shop-keeper, immediately hailed the officer as the "incarnation of Justice" and said, "This place is full of snakes. Thousands of snakes have come floating from somewhere in the flood to take shelter here. The village was deserted for fear of the snakes. Yesterday I came to the shop but ran away when I found a big cobra moving about."

Chowkidar Muturu Malik also agreed. "Yes, Incarnation of Justice : This place is full of snakes. The other day when I was coming to you, I saw 15 cobras at the foot of this tree."

Budhai Dhapat Singh, the Chowkidar of village Mugpur, bore testimony to the fact of a poisonous snake having been moving at the door of the house when the woman was sleeping inside on the night before last.

The Jamadar thereupon closed his investigation and submitted a report to the Daroga (Inspector of Police) of Kendrapara to the effect that an up-country beggar woman had died of snake-bite the night before yesternight; that the dead body bore marks of snake-bite; that there was no shade of doubt and no other allegation as to the nature of her death. The report, enclosed in an envelope, was sent to the Thana with some presents for the Daroga and the Munshi.

Under orders of the Jamadar, four sweepers dragged the dead body by a rope tied round its neck and set it afloat in the river. The boatman Chandia Behera saw the dead body, as it floated down the river, seized by an alligator exactly where Govinda had met a similar fate.

On his way across the river, the Jamadar was remarking to the constable, "Such a serious case and it did not fetch us even two hundred rupees". To which the constable replied, "Such was the will of the Almighty. His will be done."

Gopi Sahu stopped going to his shop from that day. The storm that continued for three days in the month of Kartika swept away the structure. That pathway was also abandoned. Chandia Behera shifted his ferry half a mile down to Hariapur. Even in day time, nobody ventured in future to pass that way. People told how the hideous evil spirit of a woman rocked the banyan tree and moved its branches. Many people had seen her sporting in the sand of the river bed at mid-day. Gopalpur Ghat was no longer called by that name. People called it Petunipada-the haunt of a female evil spirit.

CHAPTER XXV EVENTS IN THE HOUSE OF MANGARAJ

The world-famous diamond, Kohinoor, was supposed to ruin the family which held it in possession. Convincing proof had been supplied ever since Allauddin's time and all the way down to Ranjit Singh. But the glory of England is gradually increasing in the world since that precious stone came to adorn the crown of Queen Victoria of England. Poison, which destroys the life of man, manifests the greatness of godhead when it is swallowed by Mahadev. The right thing in the right place causes no trouble.

Apart from these ponderous instances, let us take an insignificant case like that of our "Six Acres and a Half". People say there is no land so fertile as that plot of low-land in Govindpur village. But it brings a curse on any family that takes possession of it. The Banghasingha family was ruined; Saria lost her life and all her possessions; and now look what happened to the family of Mangaraj within not six months, nor even six fortnights, since the land was taken by Mangaraj.

On the fourth day after Mangaraj was sent up as an accused to Cuttack, it was found that the floor of his strong room had been dug up knee-deep at four places. Govinda and Champa were nowhere to be seen in the house that morning. Some people reported having seen them going to Cuttack.

The sons of Mangaraj, who had been afraid of their father, were now enjoying full liberty. His eldest son had been susceptible to fits of insanity. Smoking of Ganja (hemp) day and night made him an out-and-out lunatic. The other two were busy catching bulbuls to train for fighting on Makar Sankranti day which was fast approaching. For expenses, they were selling paddy recklessly.

Today there was great commotion in the village. Mangaraj's house and property were to be sold by public auction. Mangaraj had been fined Rs. 500/- by the Judge, and this money was to be realised by selling his movable property. It was about midday. The police Jamadar, Constables and Chowkidars numbering about eight or ten were bringing out the goods from the house and putting these in the open. The married young women of the house left it in panic and waited in the garden behind. None of the sons was present. The account-keeper wanted to say something but the Jamadar frowned on him and he kept quiet. Mukunda moved in and out saying "Yes, Sir" to everything he was asked.

The goods were put to auction. Did anyone ever hear of a pair of bullocks, that had been yoked to the plough for two years only, selling for 4 to 5 rupees. The milch cows were sold at a rupee each. Heifers 2 years old were sold for a song. Very soon the Jamadar had the sale proceeds up to the required amount. There was none to take care of the cows and bullocks. They roamed about, uncared for, in the fields and pathways. The ploughmen had not received their wages for two years. We are told they realised their dues from the yield of the cattle and of the mango gardens and cocoanut groves.

But about the middle of the month of Kartika, the harvesting of the yearly paddy had not yet begun. The Pana ploughmen had gone away, taking with them some of the cattle.

It was widely rumoured that the Judge had dispossessed Mangaraj of his Zamindari and had transferred it to a pleader who was coming to take possession of it on Makar Sankranti day. The tenants could not care less; whoever their Zamindar, they would have to pay him his dues. But some people were jubilant. Out of fear and shame Mangaraj's rent-collectors dared

not approach the people in the villages to realise the revenue, not to speak of extorting their own surcharges. The ill-natured did not fail to pass sarcastic remarks at them within their hearing.

CHAPTER XXVI THE MENDICANT

On the seventh day after Mangaraj was sent up to Cuttack, a mendicant came from Puri, the holy place, and took up residence in the Bhagavata house of Govindpur. Lalita Das was a middle-aged man, dark of complexion and well-built. From his shaven head a single lock of hair protruded like the stem of a water-melon. Five strings of bit-sized Tulasi beads encircled his neck. He used to get up very early in the morning and after taking his bath smeared a white paint over his nose and forehead. He covered his body with stamps of God's name, looking like a bearing (postage due) letter returned from the dead-letter office. His dress comprised a loin-cloth over an underwear, a wrap printed with God's name and a small bag in his hand.

The mendicant spent his day going around the village chanting God's name; in the evening he used to sing religious songs accompanying himself on a tambourine, after which he recited the Chaitanya Bhagavata to huge gatherings in the Bhagavata house. Some ten or twelve elderly weavers of the village had asked to be initiated by the mendicant into his sect.

But he was not to be seen for the last two days. At the same time, Marua, maid-servant of the Mangaraj house had also disappeared. Some said she had gone with the mendicant to Brindavan. If she had really gone on a pilgrimage in company with the pious man, we are unwilling to bring censure and remark on the character of the pious man and his chaste companion by speaking ill of them. But one detail makes us suspicious.

Marua was very faithful to the youngest daughter-in-law of the house of Mangaraj. She was her constant companion. The daughter-in-law's ornaments were kept in her box together with the ready money presented to her on the occasion of "the first look" at her face in her father's and her father-in-law's house at the time of her marriage. The box was now lying open with the contents missing.

The front door of the house of Mangaraj, which used to be crowded with people going in and coming out all day and night, was now overgrown with weeds. In the course of a few months all the wealth, prestige and influence of the Mangaraj family had vanished. The Goddess of fortune had made good her escape.

CHAPTER XXVII A STRANGE RE-UNION

Man reaps as he sows. One has to bide the consequences, either good or bad, according as one's actions are good or bad. Clever people think they can do something secretly and very cautiously beyond the range of anybody's vision. Nobody marks the falling of a small seed on the soil, but the tree that grows out of it cannot escape notice. You, and sometimes your descendants, will enjoy the fruits of the tree that you have planted. You who exult in power, pride and wealth, do not know what can be achieved by one whom you look down upon as an insignificant creature. The Subedar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa could not escape the consequences of ill-treating a mere Fakir and Guru Govinda, the Sikh, saved himself from mortal risk by doing good to an ordinary Mahomedan.

Mangaraj had to suffer humiliation at the hands of those

Domas of Ratanpur whose imprisonment he had brought about because they kept watch over the house of Baghasingha. Seeking Mangaraj in jail, the Doma prisoners mocked him; sarcastically they said, "Our comrade has come", "our father-in-law has come", "our master is here with us." When Mangaraj was put to pressing oil with the Domas of Ratanpur, he received kicks and slaps from them.

One thing we had forgotten to mention is that Gobra Jena was sentenced to one year's R. I. for perjury.

Time waits for none. People say that happy days fly fast, and the days of misery linger on. Say what you like, the day runs its own course. The eight Praharas of the day run their full course without any deviation for a single moment. Mangaraj had now passed two months in jail.

He was shifted to another cell, as the one in which he used to sleep needed some repairs. There were eight raised platforms in each compartment of the jail for eight prisoners to sleep on. It so happened that the six Domas of Ratanpur and Gobra Jena were put in one compartment with Mangaraj.

At that time there was no lunatic asylum in Cuttack like the one that now exists in the Dargha bazar. Lunatics also used to be confined in the jail. Their enclosure was at a short distance from the cell in which Mangaraj was kept. There was a particularly furious mad man in the lunatic asylum. Getting no sleep at night, he used to laugh and dance and jump about crying, "My Saria, my six acres and a half." Whenever he caught sight of Mangaraj, he rushed to bite him but usually the warders managed to check it. One day he flew at Mangaraj all of a sudden and bit away his nose. The native doctor and the compounder bandaged the wound.

At 9 A.M., the Civil Surgeon came and examined one of the prisoners who had just died. A reference to the register showed that it was the dead body of prisoner No. 977, Gobra Jena. He then turned to prisoner No. 957, Ramchandra Mangaraj. There were swellings all over this man's body. His severed nose was bleeding and he was vomiting blood at times. The Civil Surgeon ascertained violence to be the cause of the injury.

An enquiry was held with much ado. But it could not be ascertained who committed the violence. The patient himself was too weak to tell. The warder who had been on watch in the night deposed that he had heard sounds of hard blows exchanged at dead of night. The six Domas deposed that Gobra Jena and Ramchandra Mangaraj had exchanged blows between themselves.

The enquiry ended. The Civil Surgeon ordered that the friends and kinsmen of the patient take him to his home for treatment, as there was little chance of his survival. The order of the Civil Surgeon passed through the Police Station and reached Govindpur.

Mangaraj's sons had by now almost exhausted the stock of paddy. They knew their father too well to welcome the prospect of his return. Which wise man would seek his own ruin?

The old ploughman Mukunda raised some money by selling two steers and half a dozen pack saddles. He hurried to Cuttack with a palanquin and bearers to bring Mangaraj home.

CHAPTER XXVIII CONCLUSION

Mangaraj lay motionless on the ground, near the Tulasi Chaura in the court-yard of his house, on an old tattered mat, exactly where his wife had been found dead three months ago. The two village physicians, Siba Chamar and Kartik Naik, who

were attending on him, had declared the case hopeless.

Gopia Tanti had now taken up the treatment. Gopia Tanti, alias Gopi Kaviraj, was an efficient physician of established reputation. He was known to the people of four villages and had a roaring practice which kept him awfully busy day and night.

Getting up early morning, he went to see his patients with a chadar tied round his waist, a red-coloured towel placed on his shoulder, a bamboo stick in his hand and his medicine bag hanging under his armpit. His bag contained pills for 72 diseases, tied and preserved separately in pieces of silk cloth. Gopi's uncle too had been a reputed physician. His medicine used to be like magic for his patients. Gopi had preserved till now the pills prepared by his uncle.

Gopi seated himself to the right of the patient and felt his pulse for a long time. Looking upward with his eyes closed, he tried to diagnose the disease.

Mukunda was looking vacantly at the Kaviraj. "What did you find?" he asked. Looking grave, the Kaviraj made a show of his proficiency in the science of medicine by quoting a Sanskrit verse which had no bearing on the case. He then gave a ridiculous interpretation of the verse and averred that the case of the patient was almost hopeless. "Yet", said he, "am I an ignorant Kaviraj like so many others? You will see how I take away the malady." So saying, he tied a knot in a corner of his chadar.

"Why are there so many swellings on the patient's body?" Mukunda asked anxiously.

The Kaviraj again quoted a Sanskrit line and said the swellings were due to dropsy. He prescribed musk as the most effective remedy for the disease. Reciting another quotation from Sanskrit, he prescribed that a portion of the musk be painted on the fore-head and another portion taken by mouth. The Kaviraj

took four annas from Mukunda and gave him a gram of musk from his bag.

The patient moved restlessly as the Kaviraj was explaining his diagnosis of the disease and the prescription of the medicine. A tear fell from eyes. Mangaraj had been very ill for four days. Whenever he dozed off, he would be seized by a night-mare and wake up with a start, uttering in broken syllables the words "Six acres and a half". His voice had become feeble and feebler till it became quite unintelligible. Whenever Mangaraj, fell into an uneasy slumber, he would dream of a huge head with dishevelled hair, big white teeth and a long protruding tongue, rushing to devour him. Mangaraj remembered having seen a woman seated in the verandah of the weaver, Bhagia. It now appeared to him as if that woman had been transformed into this terrible figure which demanded in a thundering voice, "Give me my six acres and a half"

In another fit of delirium Mangaraj saw a dreadful skeleton gazing hungrily at him with her mouth wide agape. He knew well that figure of one whom he had dispossessed of her land and who had starved herself to death. Then thousands of mad men, all looking like Bhagia, swarmed suddenly out of the dark clouds in the sky, each with a sword and an iron mace in his hand. He felt as if he was simultaneously hit by all the mace-bearers on his head. Mangaraj would fain have escaped, but he had no strength of body, no power of speech.

In his helplessness, Mangaraj was reminded of the sacred name of God, who protects the helpless and purifies the sinful. He saw the shining figure of a woman eager to bring peace and solace seated on a golden throne in the endless sky far beyond the solar sphere. Mangaraj felt the soft touch of her hand on his person as it used to be in earlier times whenever he was lying ill on the sick-bed. That figure was now beckoning to Mangaraj. Swiftly, his soul winged its way towards the blessed figure.

(Concluded)

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EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR BACK COVER

Since 1983 the world picture has changed drastically.

From 1972 to 1982, there was an average transfer of resources to the extent of \$ 21 billion to the developing countries.

From 1982 to 1990 averagely, there was a net drain of resources from the developing countries to the Industrialised countries to the extent \$ 21.5 bln. per year. (See table below)

NET TRANSFER (OVERALL)

YEAR	TOTAL (US \$ billions)
1972	7.1
1973	10.8
1974	16.7
1975	—
1976	21.5
1977	25.0
1978	33.2
1979	31.2
1980	29.5
1981	35.9
1982	20.1
1972-82	
average	21.0
1983	3.7
1984	-10.2
1985	-20.5
1986	-23.6
1987	-34.0
1988	-35.2
1989	-29.6
1990	-22.5
1983-90	
average	-21.5

In short, with the arrival of Capitalism's Second Breath (1978 Deng announces China's turn to market socialism based on *kai-feng* and *gaige*; followed by Gorbachev's acceptance of capitalism rooted to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, which were the Russian terms for the Chinese equivalents) a more intensive exploitation of the Third World began.

In face of the net transfer of \$ 21.5 bln. per year from the

developing countries to the industrialised nations (organised as G-7, NATO, EU, and OECD) it was not possible for Third World countries to develop industrially and technologically in a manner that would narrow the gap between the advanced and backward countries in the foreseeable future.

After Capitalism's Second Breath, international disparities can only go on widening so that a collapse and an explosion are the only conceivable results for the Third World.

The headlong rush to a collapse / explosion is confirmed by the table on Big Military Spenders.

All the oil wealth of Oman, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Tajakistan, Myanmar and Brunei Darussalam is being drained by the Military-Industrial-Complex of the West.

Further, the examples of these oil rich nations, plus N. Korea and China, indicate that a major confrontation between the units of the tri-polar world, viz. USA and its Allies, EU and its Allies, and the Pacific Rim of Asia is not far away. (See, *Mankind* articles on *Tri-Polar World in 21st Century*, Aug-Sept. 1996 and *The Emergence of the Tri-Polar World*, Nov. 1996)

Four figures at the bottom of the back cover presenting trends in infant mortality, maternal mortality, life expectancy and percentage of people without access to health services from the latest UNDP Report of 1997 demonstrate the deepening chasm that divides the developing world from the industrialised West. These disparities are stoking the fires of the collapse-explosion syndrome, which we have been referring to above.

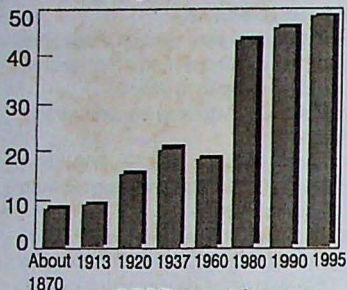
How hollow are the claims of the industrialised countries in regard to the public sector is revealed by the data published by the latest World Bank Report, 1997. As percentage of their GDP, the OECD countries have been spending between 40 and 50 per cent of their national incomes between 1980 and 1995. It is the developing countries which are lagging far behind despite their desires and/or claims. They have not been able to spend more than 30% of their GDP as government expenditure from 1975 to 1990.

The State is a much bigger entity in the OECD countries than in the developing countries by a factor of almost 10 to 20 percentage points in the last two decades !

Privatisation is only for the Transitional Economies of the former U.S.S.R. and its Satellites; and for the Third World. The advanced industrial countries are free to buy-off social revolution by immense amounts of Welfare Services and Farm Subsidies, apart from the enormous Defence Outlays.

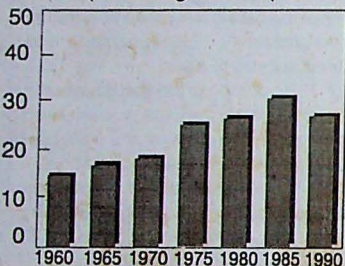
The State has grown everywhere

Total government expenditure
(Percentage of GDP)



OECD countries

Central government expenditure
(Percentage of GDP)



Developing countries

Note : Data for the OECD countries are for central and local government, including social security expenditures.
Source : Tanzi and Schuknecht 1995; OECD, Various years; IMF, various years.

Source : World Development Report, 1997, p.2.

BIG MILITARY SPENDERS

Country	Military expenditure as % of GDP, 1995.	Military expenditure as % of combined education and health and expenditure 1991.
Korea, Dem. People's Rep. of	25.2	-
Oman	15.1	283
Iraq	14.8	271
Croatia	12.6	-
Kuwait	11.8	88
Saudi Arabia	10.6	151
Israel	9.2	106
Russian Federation	7.4	132
Tajikistan	6.9	-
Pakistan	6.5	125
Myanmar	6.2	222
Brunei Darussalam	6.0	125
China	5.7	114

Source : Human Development Report, 1997, p.103.

People without access to health services

Percentage of the population, 1990-95

Least developed countries

51%

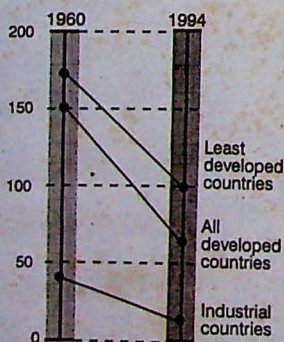
All developing countries

20%

Source : Human Development Report, 1997, p.29.

Trends in infant mortality

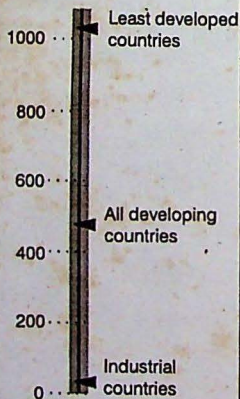
Per 1,000 live births



Source : Human Development Report, 1997, p.28.

Maternal mortality rate, 1990

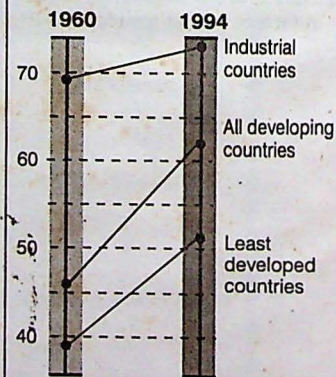
Per 100,000 live births



Source : Human Development Report, 1997, p.29.

Trends in life expectancy

Life expectancy (years)



Source : Human Development Report, 1997, p.29.

For explanatory notes see inside back cover