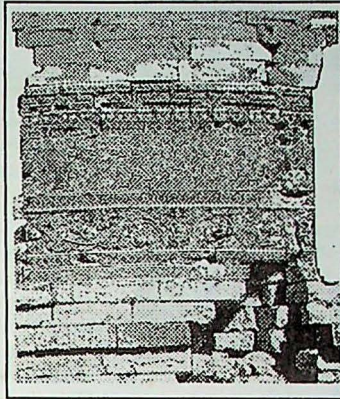
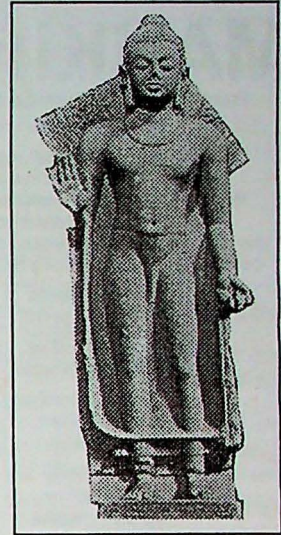


I Dhamek Stupa, Sarnath, c. 4th century B.C.



II Dhamek Stupa, Sarnath, detail.



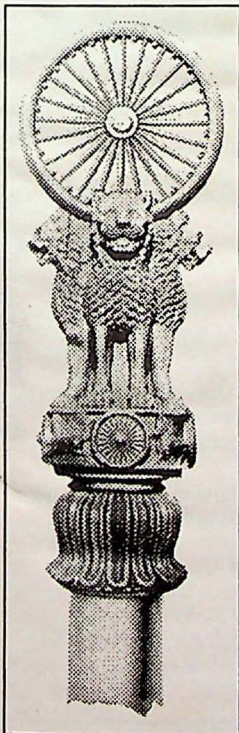
IV Standing Buddha, Sarnath, 5th century A.D.

# MAN KIND

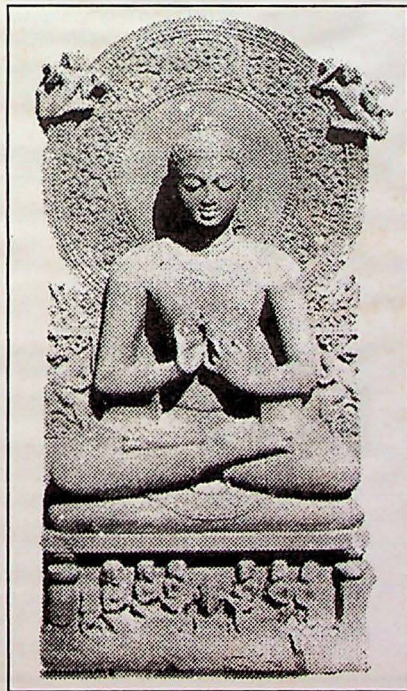
FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol. 3, No. 2, Nov. 1997

Price Rs. 25/-



III Sarnath Capital (Restored), Mauryan, 3rd century B.C.

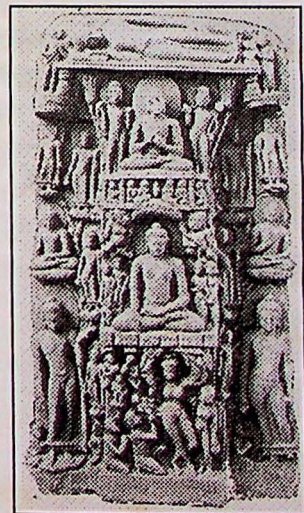


V Buddha preaching the First Sermon, Sarnath, 3rd century B.C.

## The Sarnath School

(4th century B.C. to 6th century A.D.)

(See Inside p.3)



VI Scenes from the life of Buddha, Sarnath, 3rd century B.C.

# MANKIND

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*Mankind* continues its pattern of presentation of Indian Classical Art on the **Front Cover** and valuable economic data on the **Back**. This time on the **Front Cover**, we feature the **Sarnath School** which is known to most of our countrymen in the form of the **National Insignia**. Further notes follow at the bottom of p.3.

# 4

Our 26th **Opening Statement**, this time covers :

The Neo-Colonialist US list of Notified Extra-territorial Terrorist Organisations;

A Friendly Appeal to Naxalites;

The High Rentals charged by the art galleries and the implications of such fees for our art;

A Historical insight provided by a recent marine archaeological find off the coast of South Africa; and,

A brief report on the Second Annual Advisory Board Meeting.

# 12

We continue our survey of current political events. **Wah, Kya Kahen** I picks up :

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What petroleum price hike means for the poor in India;

The devastation of the environment caused by Sterlite in Tamil Nadu;

How all the big scams of yesteryear, Bofors, Airbus, St. Kitts forgery and HDW submarine have been stalled by R. C. Sharma, the CBI director, on instruction from the Congress-

pampered *naukershahs*;

How a leading Indian compra journalist proves that his ancestry was tainted;

The attack on women in Punjab, Rajasthan and Kerala;

How turmeric has been saved from American multi-nationals;

How Ratan Tata has taken charge of the Tata Empire in the service of MNCs;

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How degenerate Britain mounts exhibitions of horror art and Rushdie's obituarial fornication of Diana, along with the impudent antics of Eliza II on her Indian tour;

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In **Masterpieces of World Literature**, we have this time introduced Jane Austen and the first chapters of *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion*.

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Kevin Watkins analyses the ruin of **Rwanda and Somalia** wrought by the neo-colonialist West.

# 65

In **Adda at Nukkad**, we carry a few communications from S. N. Nagarajan, Shiv Kumar Sharma, Dr. Malika Mistry and Dr. Suhas Kolhekar. The latter deals with the ongoing agitation against Enron, and the latest development regarding the Narmada Bachao Andolan. Also, there is a brief note about Kombucha Tea, which is, another name for the Karagasuk Tea which we had noticed in the May 1997 issue of *Mankind*.

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We continue our series on **25 Turning Points in World History** with brief biographies of the greatest revolutionaries of the modern era : Leon Trotsky, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse tung, Subhas Bose, Patrice Lumumba, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

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From the Lohia archives we reproduce the first part of an interesting early writing : **The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps**, published by Padma publications, way back in 1942.

# 67

Notes on the economic Data and Figures on the **Back Cover** are printed here.

# 54

In our series, **Masterpieces of Classical Indian Literature**, we have been able to find a place for the famous *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, T.S.Eliot copied almost literally the last portion of the *Brihadaranyaka* in his, *The Waste Land*, 1922.  
The **Brihadaranyaka Upanishad** introduced by Dr. Vinayak Purohit.

### THE SARNATH SCHOOL : 4th Century B.C. to 6th Century A.D.

#### Notes on Cover Page Illustrations

I-II. After attaining enlightenment at Bodhi Gaya, about 200 kms. south of modern Patna, old Pataliputra, the capital of India and the world's largest city of those days, i.e. from 4th century B.C. to 6th century A.D., Gautama Buddha reached the Deer Park, at Sarnath, certainly the world's oldest Natural Reserve, and preached his First Sermon. Sarnath is located 10 kms north of Varanasi, probably the world's oldest city that is still living.

The Dhamek Stupa is situated in the Deer Park where Buddha took up his residence with his five disciples and commenced his mission as a teacher. The Dhamek Stupa commemorates this event.

"The building consists of a stone basement, 93 ft. in diameter, and solidly built, the stones being clamped together with iron to the height of 43 ft. Above that is brick work, rising to a height of 110 ft. above the surrounding ruins, and 128 ft. above the plain. Externally the lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces, each 21ft. 6 in. wide and 15 ft. apart. In each is a small niche, intended apparently to contain a seated figure of Buddha, and below them, encircling the monument, is a band of sculptured ornament of the most exquisite beauty. The central part consists—as will be seen by the detail shown in figure II alongside—of geometric patterns of great intricacy, combined with singular skill, and, above and below, foliage equally well-designed."

(Source : James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. 1, 1910, pp. 72-3)

III This is the famous Sarnath capital that has been accepted as the National Insignia by India.

Whether, the finial of *Dharmachakra* consisted of 24 spokes as shown here and as depicted in our Insignia, or of 32 spokes as illustrated in Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture : Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, 1971, Plate XV, is a moot point.

IV It is said that the standing Buddha type evolved at this site. This particular statue of chunar stone was dedicated in the year A.D. 474 in the reign of Kumaragupta by a monk named Abhaymitra. The statue shows an even further departure from the style of Gandhar, by the complete disappearance of any indication of the folds of the drapery. It is as though the mesh of strings of the Buddhas of Mathura had fallen away leaving the Buddha clothed in a smooth sheath like a transparent garment, that completely reveals the form of the body beneath it. Another marked contrast is with the columnar rigidity of the Buddhas of Amravati and Mathura. Here, the body is slightly broken on its axis, a device that imparts a certain liveness and moving quality to the Sarnath type. The *dehanchement* has not yet reached the

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**NEO-COLONIALISM!**

**MANKIND'S FRIENDLY APPEAL TO NAXALITES!**

**OUR ARTISTS ARE BECOMING MULTI-MILLIONAIRES**

**AND ARE DISTANCING THEMSELVES FROM THE  
PEOPLE**

**INDIAN TRADE DEMANDED ENGLISH TREASURE TILL  
AT LEAST 1755! CLIVE'S GOLD IMPORTS INTO INDIA  
SECOND ANNUAL ADVISORY BOARD MEETING.**

Exe. Edr.

**SHAMEFUL COMPRADORISM AND  
SHAMELESS NEO-COLONIALISM!**

US imperialism, which is the greatest enemy of the peoples of the world and which has, time and again, mounted terrorist attacks upon Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Panama, and other Latin American nations over the last century, particularly from 1898 to the present; which has felt free to attack Lebanon, Syria, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Somalia and other targets in the Middle East; which has propped up the racist regimes in Israel and South Africa; and which has supported such horrors as Suharto, Mobutu, Marcos and so on, has unilaterally declared some 20 organisations, the world over, as terrorist outfits! It is a classic case of the pot calling the kettle black! Vulgar bootlickers of the governments of India and Sri Lanka are congratulating themselves for having persuaded the USA to include the LTTE of Sri Lanka and Harkat-ul-Ansar of J&K in the U.S. hit list, which inclusion makes fund-raising in and travelling to USA illegal. (See, *Indian Express*, and *Times of India*, 10.10.97)

As a matter of fact, learning a lesson from this neo-colonialist and fascist move of the Clinton administration, the governments of the Third World should ban the entry of US citizens and perhaps even diplomats into their countries, irrespective of whether they come as tourists, CIA agents, World Bank and IMF officials, politicians or under any other disguise.

**THEY ARE ALL ECONOMIC  
SABOTEURS!**

Who is USA to promulgate such "extra-territorial laws"? Europe is challenging the Helms-Burton Act which imposes penalties upon those companies which trade with Iran, Libya and Cuba. (In the last named country, just this fortnight, US financed terrorist groups have exploded bombs targeted at a Havana hotel.) Does not the spineless UF government of India know that the US may unilaterally decide to consider the pro-Centre tribal organisations in the North-Eastern states of India as terrorist outfits? Or they may consider any leftist militant group or trade union in India as "terrorists". Who has conferred the right of world policing upon the US army and the Secret Service?

*Mankind's* response is principled and determined. We are a sovereign nation and we are quite capable of taking care of such insignificant elements as the Harkat-ul-Ansar.

*Mankind* also calls upon Prabhakaran and the LTTE to boldly plunge into the politics of the mass movement in Tamil Nadu. After all, if Eelam is to be realised, how can Tamil Nadu be kept out of it? Why should Prabhakaran be on the defensive and continue to lose ground to the Sri Lanka government of Chandrika Kumaratunga, as has been happening over the last few months? We have a militant organisation on our soil, viz. the LTTE, and why should this cadre be excluded from our politics? Eelam, including Tamil Nadu, would form a part

of the united, federated, socialist states of India, Sri Lanka (part), Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, and Pakhtunistan!

The imperialists, and following them, the compradors have kept the people of our countries apart, so as to divide them, weaken them and exploit them. We revolutionary socialists and nationalists must gather together our forces and achieve a true confederation of the exploited and oppressed masses of our land.

**DOWN WITH UNILATERAL US  
IDENTIFICATION OF TERRORIST  
GROUPS OF THE WORLD!**

**NO US INTERFERENCE IN THE  
INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA AND  
SRILANKA!**

**FORWARD WITH THE SOCIALIST  
UNITY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE  
INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT!**

**INDIA AND SRILANKA ARE  
CAPABLE OF TAKING CARE OF THEIR  
OWN PROBLEMS!**

**DOWN WITH ALL EXTRA-  
TERRITORIAL LAWS OF US  
GOVERNMENT!**

**THE US NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO  
POLICE THE WORLD!**

**THE US IS ITSELF THE GREATEST  
TERRORIST OUTFIT IN THE WORLD!  
DOWN WITH US NEO-  
COLONIALISM!**

**FORWARD TO A WORLD  
SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF FREE  
NATIONS!**

**MANKIND'S FRIENDLY  
APPEAL TO NAXALITIES!**

We have stated earlier in the columns of *Mankind* that the CPI (ML) inherits a rotten Stalinist tradition.

Proof of this is once again provided by the agenda of the forthcoming sixth Congress of the CPI (ML) Liberation groups scheduled to begin from October 20 to 25 at Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. As reported in the press, the issues of **communalism, corruption and criminalisation are to dominate the conference's discussion of strategy in the present political situation.**

The murderous attacks on each other by the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the CPI(ML) Party Unity Faction in Bihar are going to occupy the centre stage.

"More than 300 official delegates from Bihar have been selected to attend this session which will be more than 50 percent of the total delegates. Three

official delegates namely, Amar Nath Yadav, party MLA from the Darauli assembly segment (Siwan district), Kamlesh Sharma (Jehanabad) and one delegate from Sasaram are still behind bars. The party has asked the Bihar government to release these three leaders so that they could attend the congress.

"Perhaps for the first time, several international communist party organisations belonging to the Philippines, Germany, Australia and the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist) have agreed to participate in this Congress, besides the South Asian Solidarity Group of London and South-East Asia Solidarity Group of Canada. At least 650 delegates from different parts of the country are expected to attend it."

*Mankind* has always considered the Naxalites to be representing a friendly force. Mankind calls upon the Naxalites to give up their sectarian and terrorist strategy and tactics which are bound to lead to excesses of the personality cult, communalism, corruption and criminalisation as the Naxites themselves have discovered. *Mankind* calls upon the Naxalites to join open, popular mass agitations and movements, thus enabling them to embrace our common triple objectives of Nationalism, Socialism and Revolutionism. (Source : *The Times of India*, 8.10.97)

#### OUR ARTISTS ARE BECOMING MULTI-MILLIONAIRES AND ARE DISTANCING THEMSELVES FROM THE PEOPLE

The current rentals of art galleries in Bombay provide an indication of the way the wind is blowing in our art world.

ART GALLERY	RENTAL PER DAY
1. National Gallery of Modern Art, C.J. Hall	Rs 22,000 for individual and Rs 44,000 for group shows and commercial exhibitions.
2. Jehangir Art Gallery	Rs 800 to Rs 1,000 (likely to be increased to Rs 1,000 and Rs 1,300)
3. Cymroza Art Gallery, Bhulabhai Desai Road	Rs 7000
4. Sakshi, Kemp's Corner and Pundole, Flora Fountain	Both galleries charge selected artists, 40 to 60 percent of sales.

Sarayu Doshi, the wife of Premier Automobiles owner, Vinod Doshi, is the honorary director of the National Gallery of Modern Art at C.J. Hall. She naturally does not consider the rates to be excessive.

We are also not really bothered about the rates charged and paid for these days by the artists. That is a minor issue.

The bigger question is : **Those artists who pay upto Rs 22,000 per day can only produce such works of art as would conform to the prejudices and proclivities of the Establishment.** If they challenge the comprador attitudes of our elite; or challenge the conscience of the audience by stirring up the viewers; or suggest a moral or ethical stance which questions the status quo; or convey any kind of disturbing message, the enormous outlay on rentals per day is at risk.

This is how capitalism enforces conformity. It becomes too expensive to dissent ! Who is going to risk losing his shirt or her blouse in the face of such extortionate rental demands? (source: *Samkalin*, 9.10.97)

#### INDIAN TRADE DEMANDED ENGLISH TREASURE TILL AT LEAST 1755 !

#### CLIVE'S GOLD IMPORTS INTO INDIA

Our flippant and silly journalists have been writing about the discovery from sea-bed, off Cape of Good Hope, of 1400 gold coins worth 3000 pounds belonging to Clive, the ruffian who looted India mercilessly, whilst entering in his diary that "I was astounded at my own modesty"! The Indian bootlicking journalists have missed the entire historical point! *Mankind* has repeatedly stressed the crucial importance of 1765 when Great Britain acquired the Diwani or revenue collecting rights the Mughals of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from when Commenced the Drain of Wealth from India and the amassing of Primitive Accumulation by British imperialism. **From 1765 the revenues of India were used to effect exports from India without any return to our country.**

How the Indian journalists could have missed the truth is a mystery!

"Christies is selling a collection of Indian jewellery of which at least two lots are said to have originated with Clive. These are little baubles compared to the hoard of gold coins that are expected to fetch 500,000 pounds at auction next month."

"The gold coins, a very small part of the fortune Clive amassed from India, were found lying at the bottom of the Indian Ocean in what is thought to be a 18th century pirate shipwreck.

"In 1753, Clive returned to England having made a fortune for himself in India. He served as a Whig MP for two years and went back to India after withdrawing 3,000 pounds in gold coins from the Bank of England.

"3000 pounds was a fortune in the 18th century. Clive set sail for India on board the merchant ship *Stretham* on April 22, 1755. For some reason his gold coins travelled on another ship, the *Doddington*. The manifest of the *Doddington* records : 'One chest of gold, marked RC No. 1qt. Weighing just over 653 ounces (18.512 kg).'

"As it turned out, Clive's decision to be on the *Stretham* rather than with his gold was wise.

"On July 17, the *Doddington* hit a reef as it rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sank with the loss of 247 lives. Some 23 survivors landed on Bird Island, off Port Elisabeth.

"Clive arrived in Bombay unaware of the fate that had met his gold. After six months, 17 of the 23 survivors lived to tell Clive the story of the *Doddington* and his gold." (Source: *The Indian Express, The Times of India*, 7.10.97)

We continue: "Clive, who later became the governor of Bengal, left Calcutta in 1767. In 1773 he came under fire in British Parliament on charges of corruption during his governorship. Though cleared of all charges, two years later the 'Clive of Plassey', as he was called by his countrymen for his victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, committed suicide at the age of 49." (Source : *The Times of India*, 7.10.97)

Clive had looted India with both hands and gone back to England to become an MP for two years. But when he got an opportunity to return to India, he had to carry a part of his old loot back in the form of bullion. Because 1765 was still 10 years away ! **To make money from Indian imports into Britain, Clive had to pay hard cash.** That's why he carried 1400 coins worth £3000. Of course, after buying goods from the Indian market, he would have multiplied his profits many times.

But the point is, till 1765, Clive and his fellow looters had to

pay in gold and silver, hard cash for their purchases. **After 1765, the surplus from Indian revenues, mainly land revenues, became available, on a regular basis as Investments for purchase of Indian manufactures and raw materials.**

Let us re-emphasise that even prior to 1765, the E.I.Co's. officers looted huge amounts from the Indian landed gentry. Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim were sold the subedari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa repeatedly and Clive and his gang pocketed huge amounts.

**"Enormous sums were exacted from Mir Jafar as the price of his elevation.** The Company claimed 10 million rupees as compensation for its losses. For the English, native and Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta were demanded, respectively, 5 million, 2 million, and 1 million rupees; for the naval squadron and the army, 2½ million rupees apiece. The members of the Council received the following amounts:- Mr. Drake, the Governor, and Colonel Clive, as second member of the Select Committee, 280,000 rupees each. Colonel Clive also received 200,000 rupees as Commander-in-Chief and 1,600,000 rupees 'as a private donation'; Mr. Becker, Mr. Watts, and Major Kilpatrick, 240,000 rupees each, besides, 'private donations', amounting in the case of Mr. Watts to 800,000 rupees. The gratifications of a personal character, including the donation to the troops and the fleet, aggregated £1,238,575; while the whole claim amounted to £2,697,750. The English still cherished extravagant ideas of Indian wealth. But **no funds existed to satisfy their inordinate demands, and they had to be contented with one-half the stipulated sums.** Even of this reduced amount, **one-third had to be taken in jewels and plate, there being neither coin nor bullion left.**

"At the same time, the Nawab made a grant to the Company of the *zamindari* or landholder's rights over an extensive tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the District of the Twenty-four Parganas. The area of this tract was 882 square miles.

"Clive became the landlord of his own masters, the Company. Clive was enrolled among the highest nobility of the Mughal Empire, with the rank of commander of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, and a large allotment of land near Calcutta in 1759. (His Mughal title was "Sabat Jung.")

"The sum of Rs. 222,958, the amount at which the land was assessed when first made over to the Company in 1757 was paid to Lord Clive from 1765 until his death in 1774, when the whole proprietary right reverted to the Company.

"From 1760 to 1765, Clive was in England. **He had left no system of government in Bengal, but merely the tradition that unlimited sums of money might be extracted from the natives by the terror of the English name.** In 1761, it was found **expedient and profitable to dethrone Mir Jafar, the English Nawab of Murshidabad and to substitute his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, in his place.** On this occasion, besides private donations, the English received a grant of the three Districts of Bardwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, estimated to yield a net revenue of half a million sterling. But Mir Kasim soon began to show a will of his own and to cherish dreams of independence.

"The Company's servants claimed the privilege of carrying on their private trade throughout Bengal, free from inland dues and all imposts. The assertion of this claim caused affrays between the customs officers of the Nawab and the native traders, who, whether truly or not, represented that they were acting on behalf of the servants of the Company. The Nawab alleged that his civil authority was everywhere set at nought.

"Two thousand of our sepoy's were cut to pieces at Patna; about 200 Englishmen, who there and in various parts of the Province fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, were massacred.

"Meanwhile, the Council at Calcutta had twice found the opportunity they loved of selling the government of Bengal to a new Nawab. But in 1765, Clive, now (Baron Clive of Plassey in the peerage of Ireland) arrived at Calcutta, as Governor of Bengal for the second time.

"In 1765, the Delhi Emperor, who in his turn granted to the Company the *diwani* or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with the jurisdiction of the Northern Circars. A puppet Nawab was still maintained at Murshidabad, with an annual allowance from us of £600,000. Half that amount, or about £300,000, was paid to the Emperor as tribute from Bengal.

**"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."**

All the above quotes are from the horse's mouth. These lines were written by W.W. Hunter in his, *The Indian Empire*, 1886, pp. 383-7, in a section entitled, "English Misrule in Bengal."

#### CONCLUSION

We shall now recapitulate. At the end of the 18th century, Aurangzeb had so severely chastised the two Childs who were in charge of the E.I.Company's affairs in Surat and in London that **the English were compelled to beg for forgiveness in the most abject terms and laid low for half-a-century.**

Then Dupleix, of the French E.I.Company, perfected the technique of **using Indian revenue and Indian troops to conquer the Deccan. Clive copied this in East India and began looting India in a big way as detailed by Hunter, following the Battle of Plassey, 1757.**

However, these depredations of the English were unsystematic and chance happenings. After the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars in 1765, the devastations became systematised. **The surplus from land revenue was now applied to purchase of Indian manufactures and raw materials and these appropriations were henceforth called "Investments."** The resulting Drain of Wealth caused unprecedented famines of purchasing power and led to the de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India.

The transitional period was from the the Battle of Plassey in 1757 to acquisition of *diwani* in 1765.

However, the withdrawal of part of his earlier loot by Clive from the Bank of England in 1755, **shows that upto that point, Indian trade had to be financed by cash brought in from abroad.**

#### SECOND ANNUAL ADVISORY BOARD MEETING.

The Second Annual Meeting of the Advisory Board of *Mankind* was held in Pune at Hansali, Damle Path on 27.7.97 and at Sinhagad on 28.9.97.

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre called the meeting to order on the 27th

morning and invited Dr. Purohit to present his Note.

Dr. Purohit then proceeded to present his Note. (reproduced below)

Comrade Gomez discussed the issues raised by Dr. Purohit in his Note and suggested that the Tamil problems referred to therein maybe further elaborated. He also suggested that an analysis of the Stalinist politics of the CPI and CPI (M) may also be included along with the discussion relating to the Naxalites (Both these suggestions have been incorporated in the Enlarged Note reprinted below)

The next morning at Sinhagad, Comrade Julia Zimmermann from Bonn, Germany, gave a picture of the current political situation in her country. Comrade Gomez then followed up with an appeal to all those present (apart from Board Members, a number of local invitees were also present) to strengthen *Mankind*, spread its revolutionary socialist and nationalist message and to try to enlist 10 subscribers by each person present.

Dr. V.V. Gopalakrishna gave a picture of the political situation in Andhra Pradesh, particularly with reference to the cyclone that had struck the central Godavari delta recently.

**CIRCULAR LETTER ADDRESSED TO  
ALL MEMBERS AND INVITEES TO THE SECOND  
ANNUAL ADVISORY BOARD MEETING (27-28 Sept. 97)  
MANKIND'S FIRST TWO YEARS  
Oct. 95 - Sept. 96 and Oct. 96 - Sept. 97  
A Self -Assessment**

I

**OUR PLACE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD**

1. *Mankind* has filled a definite niche in Indian polity and history.

There is no other journal published in India which in its contents, in any way or to any measure overlaps with *Mankind*. There is no Indian journal that can compare with *Mankind* either for its intellectual level, breadth of vision or for its revolutionary thrust.

That *Mankind* has established its presence on the Indian scene, has been universally acknowledged by almost all its readers. Many have written to us to this effect. Many more have conveyed the same appreciation to us orally. Without any self-laudation or exaggeration, we may humbly record that *Mankind* has been warmly welcomed amongst all the concerned, intellectual, academic, activist and socially aware trends and circles. Even those who disagree with us, are agreed that *Mankind* represents a distinct angle of vision and a unique stylistic forthrightness, that was hitherto missing from our journalism and writing.

There have been three main reasons for the exclusive niche that *Mankind* has been able to occupy :

**MANKIND HAS BEEN STEADFASTLY SOCIALIST IN ITS OUTLOOK.**

**IT HAS BEEN STAUNCHLY NATIONALIST.**

**IT HAS CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED THE REVOLUTIONARY LINE.**

Another virtue for which *Mankind* can take pride is the comprehensiveness of its vision. It has covered a vast area : History, Economics, Sociology, Politics, Philosophy, Religion, Art, Literature, Sports, Mass media, Science and Technology, Medicine and Health, Statistics, International Comparisons, and so on, covering the entire gamut of activities and attitudes of

interest to mankind.

Another aspect may be mentioned. *Mankind* has presented a consistent view of the world. Naturally, we are indebted to our forebears of the historical and dialectical materialist ideological stream, stretching from **Blanqui, Babeuf, Saint-Just, Proudhon, Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Lasalle, Liebknecht, Luxembourg, Plekhanov, Lenin and Trotsky to Lohia, Schachtman, Malraux, Silone, Souvarine, Wilson, Cliff, Mandel, Mao, Ho, Castro, Guevara** and others of the more recent years. Whilst relying upon these revolutionary ideologues, each taken in his best period, we have tried to present an intrinsically well-knit position valid for all areas, extending from Philosophy and Religion, through History, Sociology, Politics and Economics to Art, Literature, Culture, Science and Technology.

We may cap this overview with the remark that no reader of *Mankind* has as yet found any flaw with the consistency of our vision. Whatever be the field and theme, we believe we have succeeded in presenting a single, unified, integrated point of view and logical train of thought.

II

**MANKIND'S FOCUS**

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, Chandrashekar 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 to 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 Dr. Rammanohar Lohia's passing away in 1967, the Socialists have split into a 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 led 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 led 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.

As far as the *dalits* in the South are concerned, they all derive from the Adi-Dravida movement, founded by Periyar Ramaswamy and later led by Annadurai, Karunanidhi and M. G. Ramachandran.

The Adi-Dravida movement was itself an off-shoot of the old Justice Party which was a British imperialist creation. At that time, in the '20s and the '30s, Periyar was a Congressman. His ill-treatment at a Congress convention in Calcutta, forced him to denounce the Congress in sheer disgust. He then formed the Dravida Movement, which split up after his marriage at an advanced age to a very young girl.

Annadurai and Karunanidhi felt that Periyar's image as a social reformer had become tarnished by such an unequal marriage alliance.

T. N. Seshan in his recent book has alleged that for some time Annadurai had swung to a pro-American position in the post-independence period. Seshan has alleged that Annadurai had become an informant for the CIA whilst Seshan was the Collector of Madurai. Whatever may be the truth of this allegation, the fact is that the Americans have played dirty politics all over the world for the last century and they may have financially contributed to the Anti-Hindi riots that struck Tamil Nadu in order to weaken the government of India.

Unfortunately, in the context of an economic scenario of stagnation and poverty intensification, both Karunanidhi and MGR who succeeded Annadurai, fell prey to the temptations of corruption which tendency was taken to its climax by Jayalalitha's administration of the '90s.

For a healthy development of radical politics in Tamil Nadu, it is necessary that the leftists amongst the Adi-Dravidas and *dalits* should break away and give a new revolutionary, nationalist and socialist direction to Tamil politics.

In this connection, the LTTE may have a positive role to play. Sri Lanka, whose Tamil population is about 1/4th to 1/3rd

(official census data is very often fudged) of the total, is one of the very few countries where the franchise became more restricted after independence in 1948, than it had been under the Soulbury constitution of 1931. Five years residence in Ceylon was then considered sufficient for voting and citizenship entitlement and adult franchise had then been conceded. The LSSP led by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva had aroused the Tamil plantation workers to a consciousness of their rights. His colleagues, Dr. Philip Gunawardana, Dr. N. M. Perreira and Leslie Gunawardana had led many an agitation amongst the Tamils of Ceylon and the LSSP, the Trotskyist party in Ceylon, had a vigorous Tamil section within it.

The machinations of the weak, comprador, Ceylonese bourgeoisie, which was even more spineless than its Indian counterpart organised within the INC, surrendered much earlier to imperialist blandishments. The Shastri-Sirimavo pact rendered lakhs of Tamils in Sri Lanka, not only voteless but actually homeless.

Both, the LSSP and the splinter group NSSP have fallen on lean days and have succumbed to both the fundamentalists and communalist Buddhist political groups in Sri Lanka as well as to the neo-colonialist pressures from World Bank, IMF and WTO. The opportunistic and compromiser coalition politics pursued by the LSSP leadership, after the loss of its working class base that had been made up of Indian Tamil plantation workers, has caused a severe setback to radical politics in Sri Lanka. Both LSSP and the breakaway NSSP have been reduced to one member each in the current parliament of Sri Lanka.

The leftists amongst the Ambedkarites must radicalise themselves and become nationalists. They must give up their pro-imperialist and class collaborationalist 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.

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 maybe 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 Pollitt and Rajni Palme Dutt.

It is urgently necessary that the leftists amongst the Ambedkarites; the Radical *dalits* of the Adi-Dravida and Justice Party movement that culminated in the various DMK factions; and the plantation workers of Sri Lanka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu as well as all militants and guerillas within and without the LTTE should combine their forces to realise the goal of Eelam as a Socialist State within the Confederation of the Socialist States of sub-continental India! The problems of the Tamil plantation workers of Ceylon; the demand for constitution of an independent Eelam on both sides of the Palk Straits; the aspirations of the Tamil peoples of both Sri Lanka and India for an independent Socialist State of their own; the radical movement represented by the LTTE and other militant outfits, all these agitations and struggles are inextricably bound with each other.

**That is why, the LTTE should go on the political offensive and openly participate in the mainstream politics of both Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu. If Rajiv can organise IPKF to combat LTTE in Sri Lanka, why should not the LTTE project**



**a political support movement in Tamil Nadu?**

**There is no Sri Lanka-Tamil problem that is not simultaneously the problem of Sri Lanka Tamil plantation workers!**

**There is no Sri Lanka-Tamil problem which is not simultaneously the problem of Tamil Nadu Tamils!**

**Let all the radical forces amongst the Tamils, plantation workers, fisherfolk, workers and peasants in both countries, Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu, get together and force the creation of a Socialist Eelam!**

If Bangladesh can be formed against the wishes and machinations of Pakistan, China, UK and USA in 1971, what is so impossible about forming a Socialist Eelam against the wishes and manoeuvres of UK, USA and the current comprador set-ups in Delhi and Colombo?

**FORWARD TO A SOCIALIST EELAM AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CONFEDERATION OF SOCIALIST STATES OF SUB-CONTINENTAL INDIA !**

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 compromise. 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 nourishment. 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 :**

The Communist movement in India is supposed to have come into existence some time between 1919 and 1925. The latter year is claimed as the foundation year by the CPI. (Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, M. N. Roy, Abani Sengupta, Karl Radek, Ashfaqullah Khan and several other individuals had formed groups in Berlin, Mexico City, Moscow, Tashkent, Kabul and elsewhere and claimed to have sent emissaries to India).

According to the official CPI history several groups came together in India in the year 1925 to form the CPI. The significant point behind this claim is that by 1925, Stalin had taken charge of affairs in Russia and begun to lean upon the leaders of the CPGB to control the Indian party using imperial communication channels. (Many changes have taken place both, in the leadership of the CPGB and CPI over the last 70 years but the core group that controlled the Indian party was represented in London by Harry Pollitt, Rajni Palme-Dutt and V. K. Krishna

Menon and their Indian counterparts were S. A. Dange, P. C. Joshi, B. T. Ranadive, Ajoy Ghosh, Jyoti Basu, Mohan Kumaramangalam, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Harkishan Singh Surjit.)

In short, the CPI inherited a double criminal legacy of Stalinism and imperial social reformism.

At the same time, the British business houses were interested in promoting trade unionism amongst the textile workers of Bombay and in the jute mills of Calcutta. Thus the imperialist owners encouraged radical trade unions in Bombay, Kanpur, Calcutta and Madras. The British monopolists were interested in raising wages of workers in India so that they could compete more effectively with the Indian compradors.

That is the principal reason why the Indian Communist Party never joined the nationalist mainstream and consistently opposed the INC. The CPI's major crimes against the nationalist struggle of the Indian workers and peasants, for liberation from economic and political fetters imposed upon them by British imperialism and its agents, may be listed as : opposition to the 1931 mass movement; ultra-left disruption of the unity of the working-class movement 1928-34; collaboration with British imperialism in World War II after 1941; betrayal to the police of the nationalist freedom fighters of the 1942 movement; opposition to the working-class struggles on the grounds of promotion of War Effort from 1941 to 1945; support to the Divide and Rule policy of British imperialists culminating in support to the formation of Pakistan and Division of India in 1947; support to the Razakars in Hyderabad-Andhra in 1947-48; support to Indira's minority government and the Internal Emergency of 1975-77; and support to the opportunistic UF government from 1996 to the present.

The Sino-Soviet rift of 1961 led to a break-up of the CPI, and by 1964, the two factions of the party were organised as CPI and CPM. Eventually, a further split occurred within the CPM and 30 years ago the CPI (ML) came into existence. The various CPI (ML) groups are meeting at Varanasi at the end of the month in a Unity Conference (See, a separate report in this issue of *Mankind*.)

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 Dzhughashvili "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.

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, 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 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, pp.26-8, which reports, *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 Subhas Bose a fascist. They supported Indira during the Internal Emergency. 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 \$ 20 to \$ 34 bln.; and that it is impossible to visualise industrial and technological progress for the poor nations of the world. In such of context of endless Drain of wealth.**

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 Peoples' Movements in India.

#### 4. FEMINISTS, GREENS, RADICALS, PACIFISTS, ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADERS, ETC.

The fourth group to which *Mankind* has addressed itself is 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. YOUTH

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 leadership emerges in the country.

### III SECULARISM

*Mankind* does not believe in the Progressivist-Stalinist-Communist cant about Secularism. It does not accept the secularist credentials of the Indian National Congress or of the Centrist forces like the Janata Dal.

First of all, all those who had supported and are supporting the Partition of India, can never be secularists. Secondly, England and Japan have never been secular and have yet fostered the scientific spirit. Thirdly, Pakistan has expelled all religious minorities, particularly Hindu and Sikh, and has destroyed thousands of places of worship belonging to the minority communities. On these counts, Pakistan owes India compensation of many billions of rupees. The destruction of the Babri Masjid is being made much of. Actually, Pakistan has destroyed on an average, atleast 1 temple or *gurudwara* per month over the last 50 years. Thus, Pakistan has enacted its own type of Babri Masjid incidents by the hundreds. Under Anglo-American pressure, the people of India have not been allowed to react to these innumerable atrocities committed by Pakistan since Pakistan is a particular friend of the Western Powers.

There is nothing communal about *Mankind's* stand that is often anti-Pakistan, because as far as *Mankind* is concerned,

Anglo-American neo-colonialism is a particular enemy of ours just as Pakistan is a particular friend of the same Anglo-American neo-colonialists.

The Indian State of the last 50 years has acquiesced in Pakistani crimes against humanity under the direct pressure of Anglo-American imperialism.

*Mankind* firmly believes in and reiterates Rammanohar Lohia's call for a Confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

"Secularism" has been made into a shibboleth by our Stalinist-Progressivists. Kashmir provides them with an excuse to surrender to neo-colonial machinations. *Mankind* does not care what Maharaja Hari Singh intended through his letter of accession to India in 1948. *Mankind* does not also care a hoot about Jawahar Nehru's reference to the UN Security Council. India is a sovereign country and the wishes of a feudal relic cannot affect its international borders. By the same token, as a sovereign nation, India can withdraw, at any time that it desires its reference to the thieves' kitchen that is called United Nations.

*Mankind*, further suggests the formation of a Mohajiristan on the east bank of the Indus river from the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Kutch to the Punjab border. This Mohajiristan should be treated as a Free Trade Zone by both India and Pakistan and Karachi and Kandla should become Free Ports. Indians, Pakistanis and NRIs of both countries everywhere in the world should be invited to invest massively in the industrial development of Mohajiristan. An international force, recruited from the Third World, should police the new state of Mohajiristan.

#### IV

#### SECRET CRITICISM

It has been often suggested, in Indian Leftist circles that our criticism of say Socialists or Ambedkarites or Naxalites should not be made openly, as this will be made use of by the reactionaries to attack the Left.

*Mankind* repudiates this silly argument. By hiding the truth, it is not possible to fool anyone.

*Mankind* believes in the politics of popular movements and people's struggles.

Our cadres must be trained to participate in mass movements and therefore, they must be equipped with the intellectual arguments that they will inevitably face in the streets.

Revolutionary arguments can never be used by reactionaries.

*Mankind* firmly believes in open, ideological debate.

#### V

#### NEW INITIATIVES

Over the last two years *Mankind* has published about 1500 pages of theoretical writing, i.e. about 3000 pages of ordinary book-size. Most of this writing, we feel, has been of lasting value and has given a new revolutionary direction to our dialectical and historical materialist understanding of India and the world.

On an average, in our *Adda At Nukkad* section of *Mankind*, we have published about 7 to 10 readers' reactions in each issue. The letters from the readers have been, generally speaking, quite appreciative of the new directions which *Mankind* has been exploring.

Early this year, *Mankind* took the initiative in forming the

National Association of Independent Leftists and Socialists Periodicals. (NAISLSP) It was suggested by us that we may join together on the basis of a simple two-point programme :

**For a New Constituent Assembly to be elected for the first time on the basis of Universal, Equal, Direct, Adult Franchise.**

**For a new people-friendly economic policy that would combat the Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation programme that is being imposed upon India and the Third World by the G-7 and OECD powers through the agency of the trio of WB, IMF and WTO.**

However, our initiative fell on barren ground as the two-dozen journals that we had addressed failed to respond. Perhaps the times are as yet not right for our venture and we might think of renewing it after some time.

To make our journal more attractive for the intelligent and sensitive reader we have included several new series of articles covering Indian Classical and Modern Art, and Indian and World Literature. The response has been quite positive.

We have also been presenting statistical data on Indian and World Economy. Our methodological contributions to the area international Statistical Comparisons have been noticed by several journals, here and abroad. We have not only compared National Income data on PPP basis but compared the National GDP on PPP basis as proportions of World Totals. Furthermore, we have compared the National PPP Proportions over a historical timespan (from 1960 to 1994).

*Mankind* has also started a local discussion group in Pune (*Mankind* Vichar Manch) and we have already published several papers that were first read at the meetings of the MVM.

To coincide with the Second Annual Meeting, we have launched the *Mankind* pamphlet series. Number one in the series bears the title, *Eka Nutan Sanvidhan Parishadesathi* (For A New Constituent Assembly) by Dr. Vinayak Purohit (Marathi).

#### CONCLUSION

In an annexure to this Note of Self-Assessment, we have listed the major articles that we have published in *Mankind*.

Let me end on a personal note.

I have personally found fulfillment in my writings for *Mankind*. I have covered a vast area of history, economics, philosophy, politics, sociology and so on. In fact, what have I not dealt with in the columns of *Mankind*?

Writing for *Mankind* has forced me to be consistent. This has been a great advantage. Not only have I been able to express myself fully, but through *Mankind* I have been able to work out the linkages between the different areas of human knowledge and activity.

The only regret is that my books have taken a backseat. For 2 years now, I have been forced to put aside and neglect the books that I want very much to write : A big book on Indian history, an autobiography, a novel, a history of Indian Art, and a few more, if time permits. I am 70 years old, and must necessarily hurry up. *Mankind* has absorbed too much of my time and energy. I wish one of you would come forward and relieve me of this burden, which of course, is a pleasure too.

I am in two minds.

Dr. Vinayak Purohit  
Exe. Edr.

# WAH KYA KAHEN !

## RAIL FREIGHT HIKE

## WHAT DOES THE PETROLEUM PRICE HIKE MEAN FOR THE POOR ?

## MNC ON THE RAMPAGE !

## MR. STALLER

## A COMPRA SCOUNDREL'S HEINOUS ANCESTRY EXPOSED!

## WOMEN UNDER ATTACK FROM PUNJAB AND RAJASTHAN TO KERALA !

## TURMERIC SAVED FROM AMERICAN PREDATORS

## TATAS ARE TROJAN HORSES FOR MNCs !

## REAL ESTATE SCAM

### RAIL FREIGHT HIKE

Indian ministers have become masters of the art of dissimulation and hypocrisy.

In the General Railway budget presented in February this year, Ram Vilas Paswan, the railway minister, had accepted kudos for sparing essential commodities from the general fare increase that he had announced.

However, within six months, he has placed a heavy impost upon freight rates of essentials (Coal, foodgrains, pulses, sugar, LPG cylinders, urea, etc.), bringing an additional Rs. 240 crores to the Railways for merely the remaining 5 1/2 months, i.e. an annual additional burden of about Rs. 500 crores !

So now, what should the people do to Ram Vilas ! Deliver 500 crore kicks on his backside ?

(Source : Indian Express and Times of India, 7.10.97)

### WHAT DOES THE PETROLEUM PRICE HIKE MEAN FOR THE POOR ?

According to Sitaram Yechury, the CPM Politbureau member, the total quantum of taxes collected from the oil industry as of March 31, 1997 for the year 1996-97, was Rs. 28,900 crores. Out of this only Rs. 902 crores have been transferred to oil companies. If the entire amount (Rs. 28,900 crores) was transferred to the oil companies not only would they be able to wipe out the deficit but also strengthen their position. This

### Asso.Edr.

money that was meant for the oil industry, the government has used elsewhere. So you raise resources from the oil sector, use them to manage the fiscal balance of the general budget and then put the price burden on the working people. This is where fraud is being played on the people.

Rs. Crores

1. Ostensible deficit on the Oil Pool Account (OPA) as claimed by the Petroleum Ministry of the UF Government. 15,500  
(Frontline, 27.6.97)
2. Government collects as Custom and Excise duties on Petro Products 28,900  
(Yechury's calculation, ibid)
3. Actual Surplus on OPA 13,400  
(claimed by Yechury, ibid)
4. Concessions given to the richer sections in 1997-98 budget 20,000  
(calculated by Yechury, ibid)
5. Price Hike of September 97 yields extra revenue as claimed by Govt. 6,000  
(Outlook, 15.9.97)
6. Now the Poor carry the burden of the double imposts. (3+5) 19,400

We have in the above table summarised the data as calculated and claimed by Com. Sitaram Yechury and published in the journals sourced above. It

will be clear to our readers that almost all the concessions made to the affluent sections of our society in Chidambaram's "miracle" Budget of 1997-98 are being extracted from the poor via the Oil and Petroleum Sector alone.

Will Comrade Yechury, the Stalinist-Communist-Progressivist, now resign from the United Front Steering Committee ? Will his party the CPI(M) on the basis of the data provided by himself cease supporting from outside the UF government of Inder Gujral ? Or will the CPI(M) continue the game of double-dealing and duplicity by both criticising the government and continuing to support it ?

(Source : Frontline 27.6.97, Outlook 15.9.97)

### MNC ON THE RAMPAGE

On August 30, 1997, two workers died in an explosion at the Sterlite Industries copper smelting plant at Tuticorin in Tamil Nadu. Two other workers were seriously injured.

The management claimed "intentional sabotage". But one of the injured workers told a representative of the People's Watch, Tamil Nadu, a human rights group, that hours before the accident, a group of workers had repeatedly informed the senior Sterlite managers that the pipes of the Rotary Holding Furnace were leaking and this needed urgent attention. The police have suggested that instead of taking shelter behind the sensational 'sabotage' theory, the Sterlite management should take corrective measures.

Earlier, on July 5, 1997, 120 people were hospitalised due to a gas leak in Tuticorin. All these people working in the vicinity of the Sterlite Industries copper smelter complained of breathing problems, eye irritation and vomiting. The Tamil Nadu Pollution Control Board found that the problems were caused by the inhalation of sulphur dioxide emission from the unit. The TNPC Board ordered the immediate shut down of the plant.

The Sterlite Industries operations in India are only one instance of the onslaught of foreign MNCs on India. This company was forced out of the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra due to the sustained opposition of the local population. It set shop in Tamil Nadu towards the end of Jayalalitha's "corruption climax" regime which gave 156 hectares of land to Sterlite in the industrial complex at Tuticorin and arranged the supply of 18,000 cubic metres of water daily to the project. In addition, fiscal incentives relating to sales

tax were also given to Sterlite by the state government.

The Tuticorin plant of Sterlite is to produce copper anodes needed to manufacture electrolytic copper for its copper refinery in Silvassa, Gujarat.

The "Green Bench" of the Madras High Court, comprising Chief Justice K. A. Swami and Justice D. Raju, has directed the Tamil Nadu Pollution Control Board (TN PCB) to inspect the Tuticorin plant and file a report whether the environmental clearances obtained by Sterlite are in order. The court issued the directive on Nov. 12, 1996 while admitting a public interest petition filed by the National Trust for Clean Environment. The petition said that the clearances obtained by Sterlite were vitiated by the fact that neither the Central Pollution Control Board nor the state level TNPCB had made an independent investigation of the environmental impact of the Sterlite plant's operations.

In addition, the Sterlite plant has also violated the Standing Order issued by the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests on Jan. 27, 1994. This notification prescribes that the feasibility report and the Environmental Management Plan of any project can be approved only after a public notice is issued in newspapers inviting objections. This stipulation has not been followed in the Sterlite case.

The Anti-Sterlite-People's Struggle Committee is a joint organisation of political parties and local fishermen organised in the Tamil Nadu Fishermen's Forum. The convenor of the Forum, Anton Gomez, M. Appadurai of the CPI and V. Gopalsamy of the MDMK have launched a series of protests against Sterlite.

The fisherfolk played a crucial role in the blockade of the port, which frustrated Sterlite's efforts to get its ore consignment from being unloaded on October 18-19, 1996.

The Anti-Sterlite People's Struggle Committee staged a demonstration in front of the factory after the August 30 explosion. People from villages around the factory organised a *rasta roko* (road block) on the road to Palayamkottai on September 1, 1997 to protest about the Sterlite management's indifference to the impact of its activities on the lives of the people in the area. The company was forced to

disburse Rs. 2 lakhs as compensation to each of the dead workers.

On September 3, 1997, the Deputy

Shaheed Bhagat Singh in the famous "Assembly Bomb Case".

Before going into details of this deposition, it would be proper to take a look at the turn of events as they unfolded in the late 20s. It was a period of unrest in India, when two major movements were stirring up the people who were trying to free themselves from the British yoke. One was the peaceful movement of non-resistance or satyagraha led by Gandhi and the comprador elite of India, and the other was the true revolutionary movement led by leaders like Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Surya Sen, Pritilata Wadedar and Mahabir Singh.

The Indian people were groaning under the imperialist regime of endless racialist oppression and cruel economic exploitation. When Simon and his team came to India to dole out some concessions to the Indian middle-classes, a call for boycott was given by Gandhi. In the erstwhile United Punjab Province a peaceful procession was taken out in the streets of Lahore on 30th October 1928. The processionists held black flags aloft and asked Simon to 'go back'. Without any provocation, the police went berserk and inflicted *lathi*blows on the protestors. Lala Lajpat Rai, leading the procession; succumbed to injuries and died on 17th November 1928. This incident enraged the activists of the revolutionary movement. It was their resolve to avenge Lala's death. On 17th December 1928, mistaking J. P. Saunders for Scott, the scoundrel responsible for killing Lajpat Rai, the revolutionaries fired shots at Saunders, Assistant Superintendent of Police. Coincidentally, this incident was followed by the arrest in March 1929 of trade union leaders S. A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, S. V. Ghate and 29 others of the United Stalinist-Communist Party of those days. A protest was made on this account by Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt, when on 8th April 1929, bombs were thrown in the Hall of the Central Assembly; where the Trade Dispute Bill was being debated. Bhagat Singh and Dutt courted arrest after raising revolutionary slogans and throwing leaflets in the Central Hall.

When the trial of this case started before the Sessions Court in the first week of June 1929, Sir Shobha Singh was one of the eleven prosecution witnesses. In

MR. STALLER		
Cases registered / examined by R. C. Sharma, new CBI Director		
Case	Year	Status
Bofors	FIR registered in January '90	Proposed chargesheet ready in 1997; no witness examined after the FIR was lodged.
Airbus case	FIR registered in March '90	Case lying uninvestigated
St. Kitts	FIR registered in April '90	No investigation until 1994; charges made ready in 1997.
HDW deal	FIR registered in April '90	Case lying uninvestigated

(Source : Outlook, 16.7.97)

Chief Inspector of Factories in Tirunelveli ordered Sterlite plant at Tuticorin to shut down the Rotary Holding Furnace until the unit was made safe for workers. On Sept. 9, the Tamilnadu Fishermen's Forum and the Coastal Action Network have sought the Tamil Nadu Governor's intervention for the permanent closure of the copper smelter.

Other industries in the area have also begun to look on Sterlite as a potential threat to the welfare of the people in Tuticorin.

Trade union sources have found that most workers in the Sterlite factory are employed by labour contractors and this makes organising them a difficult task.

Mankind supports the demands of the workers and hopes for an early victory by them against a criminal multinational organisation which is killing its workers and is destroying the environment around the factory.

(Source : Frontline, 24.1.97, 3.10.97; Outlook, 1.9.97)

#### A COMPRA SCOUNDREL'S HEINOUS ANCESTRY EXPOSED !

The dark side of this much celebrated personality, known for his building and construction work in New Delhi — father of compra-journalist and novelist Khushwant Singh — has come under scrutiny. Somehow a practising advocate, Arvind Jain, got hold of a five page deposition of this Shobha Singh which had been mixed up with the records of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). This deposition was the one made to the British government in the court of judge Middleton. Shobha Singh appeared as a prime prosecution witness against

his deposition, Shobha made a point that he saw a person throwing some thing into the pit of the Hall, whilst Shobha was looking out for his friends sitting in the gallery below. Shobha also deposed that he had seen a second man who also threw something, and that he heard at the same time the sounds of two shots. Bhagat Singh while making a statement at the end of prosecution evidence, did not deny the charge that the bombs were thrown into the Central Hall. However, he emphatically pointed out that, "the witnesses, who deposed that they had seen bombs being thrown by us, have no scruples in telling lies." Justifying the use of force and his concept of revolution Bhagat Singh further added, "It was the only effective method of solving the great social problems of the times, the problem of bringing economic and political independence to the workers and peasants, constituting the mass of the people."

It was the saddest thing that some of the Indian fellowmen, in whose service Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries were ready to sacrifice their lives, had no scruples in giving evidence against them. The trial resulted in a judgement awarding life imprisonment to both the revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh and B. K. Dutt.

And here is Khushwant Singh, the son of Shobha, who has no qualms about the treachery to the Indian people that his father had committed during pre-independence days. Instead of admitting and apologising for his father, Khushwant has the temerity to ask : "Why malign someone who can't defend himself ? In any case, Bhagat Singh was not hanged for bomb-throwing in the Assembly, but for killing Saunders." It is as if his father was not guilty of treachery to the nationalist cause. *Wah Kya Kahen ! Or Kya Nahin Kahen !*

*Bap Waisa Beta !* Shobha the carpenter-contractor, was guilty of affronting the nation ! The son Khushwant, the scribbler, has the gall and the cheek to split hairs about which court case led to Bhagat Singh's death sentence !

(Source : *Indian Express*, 30.9.97; *Trials of Independence*, B. R. Agarwala)

## WOMEN UNDER ATTACK, FROM PUNJAB AND RAJASTHAN TO KERALA !

The city of Jaipur observed a total *bandh* only recently. This was a most successful bandh, as people from all walks of life, viz. teachers, students, lawyers and other activists joined the shut down. Politicians were out of it. The people had come together to protest against a rise in crimes against women.

The girl met the accused Om Bijamiyam who was staying in a hostel opposite her house. She was coaxed into having an affair with a promise of marriage. The drama however began when Om started passing her from friend to friend. She was blackmailed into having sex with a gang of student hoodlums for almost seven years ! This is the second instance of atrocity, of blackmail and gang-rape, committed against innocent women in the last four months.

It was too much ! It became an occasion for the citizens of Jaipur to express their anger and to attempt to pressurise the government to act promptly to bring all culprits to book. Had action been taken earlier, atleast one innocent victim might have been saved ! One earlier victim of gang-rape, Bhanwari Devi, had the final word, "If I had received justice, if the men who had raped me had not gone scot-free, this case would never have happened."

Another incident of sexual harassment is making fresh headlines in Rajasthan. The Alwar sexual exploitation racket, or the Shalini Sharma case as it has become known, involves Shalini Sharma, the ex deputy chairman of the State Social Welfare Board and a Bharatiya Janata Party functionary. Herself and

her husband, Rajesh Sharma, had been accused by a teacher employed in Shalini's school, of sexual exploitation in June last year. The teacher had charged that she and a few other girls were drugged and raped, and photographs of them in compromising positions were taken in order to blackmail them.

While the case is yet to be heard before a court, arrangements have already been made to further victimise the victim. The victim's father, a government employee, received an order transferring him from Alwar to Bharatpur. He demanded that he should be allowed to stay on, till his daughter's case was decided. His plea was unheard.

Rajasthan is not the only state of India where great efforts are made to give sexual harassment cases a quiet burial. This is the situation all over India, particularly in Punjab where the plight of women has very few listeners.

The state of Punjab figures at the top in the list of 5,000 dowry deaths recorded in UNICEF's report : 'The Progress of Nations, 1997' A study conducted by Dr. Pramod Kumar and Ms. Renuka of the Institute for Development and Communication (IDC), Chandigarh, on atrocities against women in Punjab, reported that for every dowry death case, 27 other were going unreported. According to them, cases of dowry deaths get hushed up because dowry is not just socially accepted, it is even considered desirable by the middle classes. Even agencies like the panchayats, municipality members, mahila mandals, community leaders and NGOs, who try to intervene in dowry matters, urge the in-laws to scale down their demands or the fathers of the brides to make some effort to meet them. In short, these interveners consider demands for a scaled down dowry as a reasonable demand ! After a dowry death they themselves often persuade the victim's father against reporting. "*Ladki Wapas Nahin Ayegi*" ("The girl will not return to life") is the most common phrase of consolation. IDC has also listed other reasons such as fear of ostracism, lack of awareness of laws and financial compulsions. A field survey carried out by the IDC reported that even women serving jail terms for killing their daughters-in-law, did not repent for their heinous acts ! Our comprador culture has really created monsters !

In many incidents of rape, dowry and other crimes against women, it has been noticed that it is the caste lobby along with the bureaucracy and the politicians, that works against victims of sexual molestation. In all cases, the criminal-political-*naukershah* nexus takes over and succeeds in denying justice to the innocent victims. In most cases, money provides the means for a perpetrator to get off the hook. A striking recent example is of the scores of tribal women of Kerala who have been victimised by non-tribals. The tribals have been burdened with illegitimate children and have been forced to fend for themselves. The problem of these sexually exploited unwed mothers is particularly acute in the tribal areas of Waynad and Attappady districts. Government estimates put the number of unwed mothers in Thirunelly panchayat of Waynad at 99.

The State Government of Kerala with the help of a Women's Commission has taken upon itself the task of establishing paternity of all children born out of wedlock. The Women's Commission is optimistic about this venture and emphasises that section 53 of the Criminal Procedure Code could be invoked against non-cooperative accused to force him to undergo a DNA test.

The tardy pace at which the matter has been conducted, does very little to assuage the spirits of the Adivasis of Waynad. They feel that they have suffered too long. Non-tribal settlers invaded their lands, addicted them to alcohol, and abused their women. Adivasis of Panavalli from Waynad district are up in

arms today. By proclaiming self-rule as the only means for self-protection, they put up a banner forbidding the entry of outsiders in the Adivasi colony of Panavalli. Though this NO ENTRY board was later removed by the forest department, the Adivasis have not lost their fighting spirit. They want to spread the message of resistance in other tribal areas of Kerala and the country as a whole, in order to combat the exploitation of tribal women by outsiders.

(Source : *Outlook*, 22.9.97; *The Week*, 17.8.97; *Indian Express*, 4.10.97)

### TURMERIC SAVED FROM AMERICAN PREDATORS

In August 1997, a patent on the healing properties of turmeric granted to two American scientists of Indian origin by the United States Patents and Trademark Office was rescinded. This happened after the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), India, had moved an application which argued that the healing properties of turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) have been known to Indians as a household remedy for centuries.

This victory has demonstrated that if India musters the political will, it can successfully tackle marauding foreign companies from pirating its herbal wealth and traditional knowledge for private profit.

The turmeric patent revocation is also a landmark because prior to this victory, India has reacted in a lackadaisical and spineless fashion to the appropriation of its traditional fund of knowledge by foreign business interests. The case of the Neem tree is an example of the supine attitude of the Indian administration. Neem has been used for hundreds of years in India as a pesticide as well as a medicinal plant. Indian scientists had been researching on Neem but had failed to apply for the specific process which would make the active pesticide agent in Neem last for more than a fortnight. In the meantime, a US company applied for a patent on this process and was granted it. When India filed an objection against this patent, it lost the case.

In the case of the turmeric plant, the CSIR backed its application by an exhaustive and systematic documentation and records of its traditional uses as evidence of prior knowledge.

Another positive consequence of the turmeric case has been that the CSIR has launched an effort to build up documentation on a wide variety of herbs. A team of scientists has identified 400 such herbs and is now working towards having them

patented for the benefit of the people of India.

The uses to which these plants and herbs are put are a result of centuries old and painstaking experimentation done by various communities in India. Systematic efforts have to be made to identify the contributions made by these indigenous communities in building this pool of knowledge and mechanisms have to be worked out whereby the benefits of this traditional knowledge become available to the majority of the Indians who need this knowledge to lead a healthier and happier life.

(Source : *Frontline*, 3.10.97; *India Today*, 8.9.97; *Indian Express*, 13.9.97)

### TATAS ARE TROJAN HORSES FOR MNCs !

C. M. Ibrahim, the Civil Aviation Minister finally agreed to float the much-talked Bangalore International Airport project as a joint venture between the Centre, the Karnataka Government and a Tata-led consortium. The end came after months of *naukershahi* wrangling.

The quarrel was over the fact that the consortium was insisting on the build-own-operate project format, as specified in the letter of intent, while Ibrahim wanted it changed to build-operate-transfer. Ibrahim had to give in due to mounting pressure from the PMO and Ministries of Finance and External Affairs. Jayanti Natarajan's induction as Minister of State for Civil Aviation is also said to have helped push matters through for the Tatas.

The joint venture will have an equity base of Rs. 500 crore. The foreign holding of 49 per cent will be equally split between Raytheon and a group of Singapore firms joined in the consortium. The Tatas will hold 26 per cent, Airports Authority of India 10 per cent, State Government 6 per cent and FIs 9 per cent.

The project site in Devanahalli, near Bangalore, was also mired in controversy. After the project was publicised over a year ago, land prices in the area spiralled, prompting H. D. Kumaraswamy, MP, to lobby for a shift of the site to his own constituency Kanakpura. But counter-lobbying by Industries Minister R. V. Deshpande ensured that there was no change.

Now, Tatas, MNCs from Singapore, local Ministers, MPs and MLAs, Central and State *Naukershahs*, all will make money. Every year dividends and royalties will flow out ! The poor will pay and pay and pay !

(Source : *India Today*, 15.9.97)

### STOP PRESS

In Congo-Brazzaville, the pro-Western pseudo-democratic regime of Pascal Lissouba has been overthrown by the Marxist dictator and former-general Denis Sassou Nguesso.

Nguesso had ruled Congo-Brazzaville from 1977 to 1992, when, with the help Mobutu Sese Seko of the then Zaire, he was overthrown in a rigged election.

The attack by Lissouba upon Nguesso's residence and seizure of arms from there in July precipitated the crisis which has finally resulted in a restoration to power of Nguesso. Once again, the assistance from the enclave of Cabinda by Angola's president Jose E. Dos Santos has been decisive, just as it was in the case of Laurent Kabila's overthrow of CIA stooge Mobutu Sese Seko earlier this year.

It is obvious that the days of Gabon's president Paulin Obame Nguema are numbered. Gabon has been tied up with the De Beers Diamond Syndicate as well as with Western oil interests. Mobutu, when he ran away from Zaire, used Gabon as the intermediate stage in his flight to exile in Morocco, before he died just the other day.

It is good that the Central African Scene is undergoing a violent change and at long last the African leaders like Kabila, Nguesso and others are imposing their own native black solutions upon the region. After the murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1961 and the installation of Tshombe, Kasavubu and Mobutu in 1965, at last the Western powers seem to be beating a retreat in this part of the world.

# CHALO DUNIYA DEKHE !

**FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY  
ELIZABETH FORSTER - NIETZSCHE ( 1846 - 1935 )  
MOBUTU AND SUHARTO : TWIN OFFSPRINGS OF CRIMINAL  
AMERICAN LIASON WITH THE THIRD WORLD !  
EVIL DAYS IN BRITAIN !  
SINCEWHEN DOWE DATE WESTERN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN  
RIGHTS ?  
EUROPEAN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE  
DATED FROM TOMORROW !**

## **FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

In his keynote address to 2,108 delegates at the 15th national party Congress of September 1997, Chinese President and Communist Party Chief, Jiang Zemin reiterated that China is still in the primary stage of socialism during which the nation should gradually put an end to underdevelopment and eventually realise socialist modernisation. According to Jiang, it would take at least a century to complete the historical process.

His 30,000 character report to the first Congress after Deng Xiaoping's death in February 1997, was titled "Hold High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory for an All-Round Advancement of the Cause of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to the 21st Century."

The state-owned enterprises (SOE) employ an estimated 100 to 150 million urban Chinese. There are 50 to 100 million rural unemployed who have made their way to the cities. If the reforms which Jiang Zemin indicated are carried out, massive redundancies and job losses would result as the state-owned enterprises are handed over to the private sector.

Another important change indicated by Jiang was a reduction of another 500,000 men from the People's Liberation Army by the year 2000. This follows the one million reduction carried out in the 1980s. Thus the PLA which had a total strength of 4 million in 1978 when Deng took control will have a strength of 2.5

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million in 2000. This demobilisation is aimed at forming a leaner and more elite corps.

"Model workers" - Li Suli, Li Guo'an and three others - were presented to the international press at a news conference in the midst of the 15th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. They were lauded for their industry, selflessness, kindness and loyalty to the party.

Li Suli is a bus conductor; Li Guo'an is a military engineer credited with drilling more than 300 wells in the Gobi Desert; Xu Hu is a Shanghai plumber who works nights; Wang Qimin, an engineer in oil exploration, and Wu Jinyin, a life long party official in Henan Province.

At the news conference, Li Suli said: "I am an ordinary member of the Communist Party and an ordinary bus conductor ..... I think the new measures represent emancipation of the mind."

Lei Feng, a driver in the People's Liberation Army was identified as one of the earliest "model workers" by the Chinese Communist Party. Lei who died in 1962 was called a "rustless screw" by Mao Tse Tung.

Readers will notice that the Chinese identification of "model workers" follows Stalin's projection of Stakhanovite individuals and groups. These are basically "models" for speeding up the work routine. The Chinese announcement of "model workers" indicates that the CPC is demanding more sacrifices, more sweating and more output from the Chinese workers who are already groaning under draconian discipline.

Shang Dewen, an economics professor at Beijing University and a party member put forward a proposal for ending the exclusive rule of the Communist Party. Liu Ji, a top advisor to Jiang Zemin and a vice-president of the official Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Wang Jiaqi, vice-president of the Central Party School to train Communist cadres also voiced the demand for more political freedom as millions of Chinese improve their economic status.

While Mao was the "Great Helmsman" and Deng was officially "the Paramount Leader", Jiang Zemin is referred to as part of a collective.

Qiao Shi, Chairman of the National People's Congress and General Liu Huaqing who were Jiang Zemin's foes were manoeuvred into "retiring".

The seven members of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party elected at this Congress are :

1. **Jiang Zemin**, 71, who rose from relative obscurity to head the party when Zhao Ziyang was purged as party chief after the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations. He was re-elected as General Secretary of the party.
2. **Li Peng** also retains his seat and is expected to take over as head of parliament after his second five year term expires in March-1998.
3. **Zhu Rongji**, 69, rises to number three making him a virtual certainty to takeover as premier in March 1998. He gained prominence as Deng Xiaoping's chief economic trouble-shooter and is a pragmatic reformer.
4. **Li Ruihuan**, 63, keeps his place.
5. **Hu Jintao**, 54, the youngest member, concentrates on running the Communist Party and his power base in the Communist Youth League.
6. **Wei Jianxing**, 61, takes the seat of his mentor, Qiao Shi. He is China's top trade union official.
7. **Li Lanqing**, 65, owes allegiance to Jiang Zemin and is the government's international messenger of China's economic reforms.

(Source : Indian Express, 13.9.97, 18.9.97, 22.9.97; Times of India, 15.9.97, 20.9.97)

## **MOBUTU AND SUHARTO : TWIN OFFSPRINGS OF CRIMINAL AMERICAN LIASON WITH THE THIRD WORLD**

Almost exactly at the same time, 32 years ago, Mobutu and Suharto were placed in power by CIA-staged military coups, in Congo-Zaire and Indonesia.

Mobutu's death in disgrace and in



exile in Morocco was reported in early September. Mobutu Sese Seko had stashed away anything between \$ 6 to \$ 10 billion in Swiss accounts, French real estate and Belgian castles. We are sure that Laurent Kabila is at work to track down these stolen properties and restore them to the Congolese people.

Mobutu's blood brother, Suharto, staged a military coup against the lumpsum comprador Sukarno, whose arrival in any city of the world, during those heady days of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1949 - 65, used to create a spectacular rise in the price of prostitutes of the red-light districts of those cities.

Sukarno, who was a medical practitioner, made a great claim in his Autobiography "that he had added half-an-inch to the average height of an Indonesian."

As in all other matters, Suharto is bent upon reversing all of Sukarno's policies. Probably he intends to cut the stature of the average Indonesian by at least half an inch !

About the billions stashed away by him abroad, not much has yet been revealed, though the secrecy of Swiss accounts is no longer iron-clad. Over two thousand names of Holocaust Victims had to be advertised 3 months ago in 60/70. leading newspapers and journals of Euro-America by the Swiss Banking Federation in order to belatedly and retrospectively avoid the stigma and compensate for the Swiss bankers' complicity with Hitler. More recently, just last week, the Swiss have frozen the bank accounts of Benazir Bhutto and Asif Zardari.

I am sure Indonesian revolutionaries will catch up with Suharto as Laurent Kabila's forces caught up with Mobutu. The day of reckoning can't be long, in coming, since Suharto seems to be dying of cancer and U.S.A. is already preparing for the succession by pushing forward Meghavati Sukarnoputri at one end, and East Timor's pro-Portuguese, Christian scoundrels Jose Ramos Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo at the other.

As an aside we may note that the Nobel peace prize invariably foretells or closely follows major US neo-colonialist moves (Aung San Su Kyi; Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Clerk; Yasser Arafat; Yitzak Rabin and Simon Perez; the 14th Dalai Lama; etc.)

Suharto and the CIA have gone a few steps further. A vast empire of nepotistic network has come into being. Facts relating to the wealth of some of the leading figures of this criminal *bhatijavadi* as we call it in India, are now available :

## SUHARTO'S LOOT OF INDONESIA THE SUHARTO INC. NETWORK.

### All the President's men and women

Many Indonesians in big business are linked to the president. Some key components - and cross-holdings - of Suharto Inc. :

#### OLD FRIENDS

**Liem Sioe Liong**, 80. Has known the president since the 1950s. Controls Indonesia's largest conglomerate as well as a host of businesses regionwide. One of Asia's richest men.

**Mohamed "Bob" Hasan**, 65. Ties with Suharto and the army helped him secure a big chunk of the lucrative forestry sector. The president's weekly golfing buddy.

#### RELATIVES OF HIS OWN GENERATION

Suharto's half-brother, **Probo - sutedjo**, 66. Once commanded the clove import monopoly. Retains interests in glass and autos.

**Sudwikatmono**, 61, the president's cousin. His Subentra group holds the monopoly in film import and distribution. Board member of Indocement and Indofood, two major Liem companies.

#### THE CHILDREN

**Siti Hardyanti Rukmana (Tutut)**, 47, the eldest child. Controls listed Citra Lamtdro, which is involved in a wide range of businesses at home and abroad. Shareholder in Liem's Bank of Central Asia, while husband Indra Rukmana has a sizable stake in the listed Bimantara group of Tutut's brother, Bambang.

**Sigit Harjojudanto**, at 44 the eldest son. Also holds slice of Bank of Central Asia as well as 40 % of brother Tommy's Humpuss group. Involved with British Petroleum.

**Bambang Trihatmodjo**, 43, His Bimantara group is strong in shipping, electronics, satellites and entertainment. Irked by national car project recently awarded to Tommy.

**Hutomo Mandala Putra (Tommy)**, 34, major owner with brother Sigit of Humpuss. The company is in practically everything - oil, gas, aviation, toll-road construction and

agribusiness. Succeeded uncle *Probosutedjo* in the clove business as head of the Clove Marketing Board. Handed unprecedented waivers for national car project.

**Siti Hediati Harijadi (Titiek)**, 37. Married to the fast-rising Brig. Gen. Prabowo Subianto. Growing interests with brother-in-law Hashim Djojohadikusumo.

**Siti Hutami Endang Adiningsih (Mamie)**, 31. Novice compared with her siblings. Only known contract - so far - is a North Jakarta land reclamation project.

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

### ELIZABETH FORSTER-NIETZSCHE (1846 - 1935)

Sister of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, who became his guardian and literary executrix. An early believer in the superiority of the Teutonic races, she married an anti-Semitic agitator, Bernhard Forster. In the 1880s they went to Paraguay and founded the Neuva Germania, a supposedly pure Aryan colony; but the enterprise failed, and Forster committed suicide. Amidst a major financial scandal, Elizabeth failed to make a national hero of her husband or to salvage the colony as an island of Teutonic Christianity. She next served as Nietzsche's guardian at Weimar after his mental breakdown in 1889. On his death (1900) she secured the rights to his manuscripts and renamed her family home the Nietzsche-Archiv. Refusing public access to her brother's works, edited them without scruple or understanding.

She collected some of his notes under the title *Der Wille zur Macht* ("The Will to Power") and presented this work, first as a part of her three-volume biography (Leipzig, 1895 - 1904), then in a one volume edition (1901), and finally in a completely remodelled two-volume edition (1906) that has been widely considered Nietzsche's *magnum opus*. After her death scholars re-edited his writings and found some of Elizabeth's versions distorted and spurious; she forged nearly 30 letters and often re-wrote passages. The discovery of her forgeries and the original texts had a profound influence on subsequent interpretations of Nietzsche's philosophy.

(Source : EB 1983, Micro, Vol. IV, p. 237)

## AND A GRANDCHILD

Ari Sigit, 25, Sigit's son. In fertilizer and beer. Farmers say fertilizer prices have increased since he entered the business. Unsuccessfully tried to impose a levy on beer sales in Bali. His permit was withdrawn but he retains distribution rights elsewhere in the country.

(Source : *Asiaweek*, as reported in *Christian Worker*, December 1996; *Indian Express*, 9.9.97, 9.10.97)

## EVIL DAYS IN BRITAIN !

When a country's empire crumbles, its culture degenerates. That is what has happened to a European offshore island which doesn't have a proper name for itself. At various times, it has been called England, Great Britain or United Kingdom. By whatever name it is called, the name always stank.

Playing second fiddle to USA across the Atlantic and to United Germany across the Channel, this former mighty imperial power now reduced to careful balancing and traipsing between "powerful" friends, has fallen so low that it does not know where to stop.

Three recent instances of its intellectual collapse and moral degeneration may be cited.

**One :** The Royal Academy's exhibition of Young British Artists opened in September 1997. The show consisted of 115 works from 42 artists born between 1958 and 1971.

For the first time in the 230-year history of the Royal Academy, a room was declared off-limits to people aged under-18. Indians should remember that the Royal Academy was among the first fruits of the Indian loot, garnered by Britain in the middle of the 18th century.

Amongst the highlights of the exhibition were the following :

- The lifesize fibreglass nudes representing children with male and female genital organs in place of mouths and noses by two Chapman brothers, who further claim that the exhibits "will not encourage child abuse."
  - Another one of their pieces is a montage of dismembered male body parts.
  - Other pieces on display show thousands of flies feeding on rotten flesh before being electrocuted to death on the bars of an electric device commonly used by bakeries to combat wasps. The work, by Damien Hirst, the so-called "enfant terrible" of English art scene, even reeks of decomposition.
  - The show also includes a "work of art (?)" (for want of a worse word) called "Self" of 1991, by one Mark Quinn, who it seems literally siphoned off nine pints of his own blood, poured it into a plaster cast of his own head and froze the outcome.
  - There is also a portrait "Myra" of 1991 which is a mosaic of thousands of children's palm prints in black, white and grey. For the record, "Myra" stands for Myra Hindley, who is Britain's most notorious child killer, and is currently serving a jail term.
  - One more uplifting "art-work" is Sarah Lucas' two fried eggs and a *seekh kabab*, melons and cucumbers, described in the brochure as "a visual pun on femininity."
- Two :** Salman Rushdie, the upstart, comprador crow has reached the low point of bad taste and vulgarity in his notice of the accidental death in a road mishap brought upon herself by Diana and her fiancé, playboy billionaire, Dodi Fayed. The couple were killed on the day of their engagement by a driver who was both drunk and drugged.

The little pipsqueak Salman thinks no end of himself. He is like the village idiot who croaks like a bloated frog just because in the village pond there are not many who can croak like him in English. This *dadal* Salman suffers not only from the elephantiasis of the ego, but also from verbal diarrhoea. He has converted the anti-establishment literary technique of Magic Realism, much-exploited by dissident Latin Americans, into a meaningless acrobatic exercise in support of the conservative status quo.

The would-be pornographer Salman, lets fall the following nuggets.

"Think of it this way. The object of desire, the Beauty, the Blonde (Diana), is repeatedly subject to the unwelcome attentions of a persistent suitor (the Camera) until the dashing glamorous knight (riding in his automobile) sweeps her away. The Camera with its unavoidably Phallic long-lensed snout, gives pursuit. And the story reaches its tragic climax, for the Automobile is driven not by a hero but by a clumsy drunk. Put not your trust in fairy tales or chivalrous knights. The object of desire, in the moment of her death, sees the phallic lenses advancing upon her, snapping, snapping. Think of it this way, and the pornography of Diana Spencer's becomes apparent. She died in a sublimated sexual assault."

*Wah Kya Kahen !*

**Three :** Corresponding with the horrifying and disgusting artshow put up by the Young British Artists; and with Salman Rushdie's obituarial fucking up of Diana, is the boorish, vulgar and cheap behaviour of Elizabeth II, who first hid away in Scotland whilst Diana was being mourned, and who after insistence by Tony Blair, returned to London to appear live on TV and radio in a self-exonerating and apologetic national and international hook-up, and who finally stood outside the gates of Buckingham Palace with her whole family of wax-work horrors to honour the passing cortege.

This wretched woman who is the symbol of imperial exploitation and oppression of India has the temerity to be right now visiting India ! Her family stood aside and clapped with delight the blowing from cannon mouths of the nationalists of 1857-60 and committed hundreds of other atrocities upon the poor of the Indian sub-continent.

Ultimately, the British police-led communal riots of the '30s and the '40s ended in the Holocaust of Partition which killed off 6 lakhs and created 1.7 crore refugees in 1947. This despicable woman is refusing to apologise for the crime of Jallianwala Bagh. It's a shame that the Government of India is allowing her to lay a wreath at the martyr's memorial at Jallianwala Bagh, whilst refusing to apologise for the dastardly crime. In fact, why is she allowed to tour India, unrepentant and with her head held high ?

The Maoris in New Zealand had much greater spirit. This worthless woman was forced to apologise to them for the seizure and expropriation of their ancestral lands and transfer to the White settlers.

Let Gujral learn from the Maoris what is national self-respect ! Let him not lead a pack of salivating dogs circling around the legs of the White royal boors and ruffians !

To rub salt into the wounds of India, British Foreign Secy. Robin Cook is preparing spicy dishes for the spineless, comprador toadies. Cook is offering again and again British mediation on Kashmir to India. After India has repeatedly spurned his efforts and called them "outside interference" in the internal affairs of India, Cook's persistence means that he is in urgent need of a kick in the pants, preferably one in the front with hob-nailed boots, which will render him stunned and impotent for sometime !

But Indian compradors are so spiritless and spineless that as far as the comprador elite of India is concerned, British rule over the country has never ended. One worm named S. S. Biswas, Director of the National Museum, was caught red-mouthed licking the nether extremities of Her Royal Highness ! He had the utter gall and temerity to issue an invitation card naming the Queen first and our own President second on the invites issued for an exhibition of imperial loot mounted by the British Museum showing 327 works called, "The Enduring Image". Was it an "Image of Enduring Imperialism" that was being exhibited ?

Actually *The Times of India* has fallen on its face to suggest that :

- "the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Human Resources Development can certainly take a tip or two from the way this exhibition has been mounted";

- "This is a golden opportunity for the Indians to update their skills in mounting major exhibitions."

It is disgusting beyond measure and stinks to high heavens that British imperialism is allowed to show off looted art treasures from Egypt, the Middle East and its former colonies, including quite a few from India, in the very capital of the country, which was de-industrialised, ruralised, pauperised and mercilessly looted.

Secondly, it is shocking to find that Indians have lost all sense of self-respect and are allowing this head of the Anglican Church to lay a wreath in Jallianwala Bagh without even rendering a belated, verbal apology for an outstandingly horrible crime committed by British imperialism.

This wretched Queen can apologise to the Maoris; the Americans can apologise to the Red Indians; the Japanese can apologise to the Koreans; the British can apologise to the Irish for a century-old famine; Australians can apologise to their aborigines; Germans can apologise to the Jews and the Czech Republic. (See, *Samakalin*, 12.10.97 for a list of imperialist crimes admitted and apologised for.)

But, what a wonderful ruling class we have ! The compradors will not allow the Queen to apologise for the officially admitted 397 killings at Jallianwala Bagh, or for the 1137 injured on 13th April 1919 !!

If our comprador elite is to be considered to be Indian, then I don't want to be an Indian ! I am ashamed to be an Indian !!

(Source : *The Times of India*, 20.9.97, 9.10.97; *Indian Express*, 21.9.97, 10.10.97, 11.10.97; *Outlook*, 22.9.97)

## EUROPEAN CONCERNS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE DATED FROM TOMORROW !

There is no end in sight to the horrible tale of Holocaust horrors ! Maurice Papon, a Frenchman who worked for the Vichy government in occupied France from 1940 to 1945, has at last

been indicted. He had signed the warrants of arrest for 1,500 Jews, sending them to Nazi concentration camps, and to their certain deaths !

François Mitterand had shielded for many years, Frenchmen who had collaborated with Hitler in the latter's crimes against humanity. Mitterand had himself been honoured by the Vichy Govt ! There are hundreds of such rotten elements to be found all over Europe. In Germany, where only a few were punished. In Italy, where almost no one has received his just desserts, and in France, Switzerland, U.K. and in other European countries, where bankers have misappropriated crores of dollars belonging to European Jews and where hundreds of individuals personally involved in Hitler's crimes are strutting about as free agents protected by powerful vested interests. One underling of Hitler, an Austrian Nazi named Kurt Waldheim, after doing dirty fascist jobs in Austria and Yugoslavia, actually became the Secretary-General of the UN ! Maurice Papon is now 87 years old and his friends are pleading that his age should be taken into account as a mitigating factor. Did Papon and his associates consider the cases of elderly Jews who were being sent to death camps ? Did the Swiss and English bankers, who confiscated monies belonging to Jews, make any exception in favour of aged and elderly Jews ? Capitalism, imperialism, racism and fascism are invariably interlinked. You cannot have one without the other members of the

### SINCE WHEN DO WE DATE WESTERN CULTURE ... ? SLAVE TRADE BEGINS c. 1445

FERNANDES JOAO, (fl. mid-15th century), Portuguese traveller to West Africa whose seven months stay among the nomads of Rio de Oro, later in the Spanish Sahara, supplied Prince Henry the Navigator with intelligence for advancing Portuguese slave-trade. In 1445 Fernandes went with a Portuguese trading ship to the Rio de Oro, at latitude of about 23° N. When a Moorish trader wished to return with the ship to Portugal to investigate trade possibilities, Fernandes volunteered to remain as a hostage with his family. He was welcomed by the nomad sheep-herders of the region. Taken south across the desert to visit an old patriarch, Fernandes found that the nomads obtained their slaves from Negro kings who raided other tribes. Upon his return to Portugal he furnished Prince Henry with detailed information of the Western Sahara and about trade possibilities with the Guinea Coast, from about 15° N to 15° S. As a result, the Portuguese ceased the hazardous raiding of the African coast for slaves, and from 1448 made profitable slave-trading agreements with Moorish and Negro chiefs. In 1446 and 1447 Fernandes again visited Rio de Oro to make further trade agreements.

(Source : *EB* 1983, *Micro*, Vol. IV, p. 104)

### CORE OF BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD IS DOUBLY LOOTED

FARO — Southernmost city of Portugal, held by the Moors from the eighth century until 1249, when it was looted and captured by Alfonso III. The city was the last Moorish stronghold in Portugal. It was sacked by the English in 1596. The former Bishop's Palace Library was pillaged by the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth I's favourite and lover in 1596 and formed the nucleus of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(Source : *EB* 1983, *Micro*, Vol. IV, p. 58)

### FOX, SIR WILLIAM (b. Jan. 20, 1812 - d. June 23, 1893)

After emigrating to New Zealand in 1842, Fox became an agent for the New Zealand Company the following year and its principal agent in 1848. His lobbying in England (1851-52) was probably responsible for the addition of Taranaki to the five original provinces, in the Constitution of 1852, which granted self-government.

Fox re-entered New Zealand politics, in 1861, concerned about the First Taranaki War (1860-61) between settlers and the native Maori. As colonial secretary and minister of native affairs (1863-64), he advocated a vigorous war against the Maoris, and confiscation of their lands.

(Source : *EB*, *Micro*, Vol IV, p. 258)

chain manifesting themselves sooner or later.

Many Jews have become Nazi horrors themselves, especially racist elements like Rabin, Perez and Netanyahu. But that does not absolve Hitler of his anti-semitic crimes.

We hope that Papon is properly punished even if he has to be helped to the electric chair !

It is a question of historic justice and retribution ! These Vichy vermin must pay for their crimes against humanity ! So that the future is made safe for humanity !

(Source : *Indian Express*, 11.10.97)

# HEALTH CARE IN INDIA

Introductory Remarks by Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Without a clear understanding of the role of British imperialism in India, and of the near genocidal campaign of man-made famines of purchasing power created by it, it is not possible to have a correct appreciation of any aspect of the Indian crisis.

The British strategy of de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation carried out from 1765, along with the destruction of Indian crafts and industries resulted in a permanent famine of purchasing power in India. There was never any shortage of foodgrains in Indian grocery stores and shops. Foodgrains, oilseeds, sugar, beverages, fibres and spices remained the principal items of export from India right through the colonial period upto 1947. Only demography was devastated as the following census statistics reveal.

People died in front of shops full of foodgrains. As we have noted repeatedly in the columns of *Mankind*, including the Dastak Famine of 1765-70 which carried away 1/3rd to 1/2 of the population of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa immediately after its acquisition by the E.I. Company, and upto the end of the British rule, some 8 1/2 crore Indians were killed off by British Imperialism (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, pp. 87-8).

Without an understanding of the British imperialist role in Indian history, without a proper perspective on the morbidities and mortalities of the British colonial period and its three major phases, (1765-1818: From the Dewani to the Defeat of the Marathas in the 3rd Maratha War; 1818-1860: The crucial transitional period; and, 1860-1947: From the end of "Mutiny" to end of British Direct Rule), it is not possible to have an in-depth understanding of the health situation in India.

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH (Years)			
Year	Male	Female Combined	
<b>I Mainly British Period</b>			
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
<b>II Mainly Post-Independence Period</b>			
1951-61	41.9	40.6	41.3
1961-71	46.4	44.7	45.6
1971-81	50.9	50.0	--
<b>III More Recent Data</b>			
1960	--	--	42.0
1975	--	--	50.0
1985	--	--	56.0
1994	--	--	62.0
<small>(Sources: C.M.I.E., <i>Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy</i>, Vol. 1, All India, August 1986, Table 2.2 for data in I and II. World Bank, <i>World Development Reports</i>, 1976, 1987 and 1996, for data in III, Tables 17, 1 and 1 respectively)</small>			

"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" (*Ency. Brit.*, 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 of the Second.

"The Fourth 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 Suasion!"

"We request the reader to focus upon the data for 1911-21 in Section I, Mainly British Period. The expectation of life at birth during this decade sank to 20.1. Indians refused to live under imperial dispensation. They just couldn't manage it! An average expectation of life of 20 years is an obvious absurdity for the Indian people!

"As far as Indian demography is concerned, a point of no return had been reached. The nadir had been attained! An Indian could not averagely live to adulthood, if adulthood is defined as 21 years.

"The drain of wealth from India caused the de-industrialisation, ruralisation, and pauperisation of the country. This in turn resulted in famines of purchasing power. Genocidal killings of over 8 crore Indians led to the attainment of the demographic nadir. All these developments were bound to cause and did cause Nationalist Resistance, which we will examine now.

"Nationalism was a life and death matter for the masses of India. In order to live, the people of India had to turn to Nationalism and expel British imperialism."

(Source: *Mankind*, April 1997, pp. 11-12)

## ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH

True, contact with the white man did not cause such devastating epidemics in India, as happened in the case of the Red Indian populations of the Americas.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, two frightful consequences did ensue. On the one hand pauperisation of Indians shortened their lives drastically and imperialist-made famines debilitated the afflicted population to such an extent that epidemics raged amongst the survivors. On the other hand, with a sharp rise in the number and forms of contact between Englishmen and Indians, many infections appeared in particularly virulent forms, especially tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

The earlier and to us completely unfamiliar situation was described by Walter Hamilton as follows :

"Compared with the West Indies and other tropical regions, Hindoostan may be considered a very healthy country, being little afflicted with many distempers that are destructive in other countries. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the medical history of India is that it does not tolerate any infectious fever, typhus, yellow fever and the plague being equally unknown east

of Indies. Cancer is nearly unknown within the tropics; and *ptisis pulmonalis* is not common. Scrophula is rare, although instances occur from particular causes, and the formation of stone in the bladder is but very seldom experienced. Although climate does not prevent attacks of the gout, yet they are certainly less common and severe than in cold

countries, and quite unknown to abstemious natures. Acute rheumatism is rare between the tropics and the chronic kind is more easily cured than in Europe. Within the last fifteen years, a new and very fatal disease has visited at different times Hindoostan, and swept off great numbers of natives; but its virulence has latterly very much abated, as it originally commenced, without any assignable cause, either from improvement of climate, diet, habits or mode of treatment.<sup>2</sup>

Eighty years later the entire approach has undergone a sea change and we are confronted by the more familiar scene of chronically unhealthy India.<sup>3</sup>

Heavy mortality was sought to be explained on large philosophic, social and moral grounds. "The tendency of European civilisation is to give man more complete control of his surroundings whereas in India ...."<sup>4</sup> The same absurd sweep continues : "The whole tone of religious thought, with its philosophy of fatalism is against the individualistic self-assertion necessary to success in the struggle for existence : it is opposed to cooperation for civil ideals; and it promotes indifference to life. Disastrous effects on a larger scale frequently follow on the congregation of vast numbers at places of pilgrimages..."<sup>5</sup> But Indian religious thought had not changed its form for centuries, at least not since early 19th century, when Hamilton had found Indians to be extraordinarily healthy. Yet the homilies pour thick and fast : "The universal custom, of early marriage lives, countered in the West by the celibacy (sic !) of large classes...Premature strain on reproductive function tends to their earlier cessation in India... to earlier degeneration... to premature senility."<sup>6</sup>

After all this unscientific rubbish, excuses are proffered.

"The duties of daily life are ordered and performed as religious rites which the British Government is pledged to respect... and herein lies one difficulty in securing the observance of the sanitary ordinances which have occupied so large a place in the Statute Book of recent years."<sup>7</sup>

The admissions also peep through the text : "with respect to nutrition, it cannot be doubted that the quality and nature of the food of the majority leaves much to be desired. These effects are strongly emphasised in the times of scarcity and famines..."<sup>8</sup> But the imperialist habit of standing things on their heads constantly reasserts itself. "Poverty of which sickness and mortality are perhaps the chief causes"<sup>9</sup> is asserted, instead of poverty being shown as the cause of sickness and mortality. And imperialist viciousness is never absent. "Under ordinary conditions the essential protein (nitrogenous) element available is largely diminished by primitive methods of cooking."<sup>10</sup> Lastly, bland, comforting lies are purveyed. "We may see the results in the rapid recuperation of people after famine and epidemics, and possibly in the relative immunity they possess to some of the chief causes of mortality."<sup>11</sup>

Further evidence is provided by Bishop Heber's journal :

"I know not from what singular fatality it has arisen, that almost all the principal establishments of the English in India have been fixed in bad situations.

"The English were compelled to fix on spots previously uninhabited and untilled, which of course, in an

anciently-peopled country, have generally been neglected in consequence of some natural disadvantage." (Source : Reginald Heber, D.D., *Narrative of a Journey... etc.*, 2 volumes, 1844, p.7)

Heber confirms the criminality of British conduct in India.

"I was sorry to find that some of the British officers disgraced themselves by rapacity and extortion." (*Ibid*, p. 13)

"I was to-day talking with Dr. Smith on the remarkably diminutive stature of the women all over India.

"He answered that the Sepoys, and respectable natives in general, kept their women out of our way as much as possible; but that he, as a medical man, had frequently had women of the better sort brought to him for advice, whose personal advantages corresponded with those of their husbands, and who were of stature equal to the common run of European females." (*Ibid*, p. 75)

It is remarkable that the stature of well-nourished females in India was observed by Heber to be equal to the average European height !

It is this kind of notice of the health of Indians in the early 19th century that should be taken cognizance of by our health workers. Imperialist loot caused de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation and this in turn causes precipitate decline in health standards, which finally creates the morbidities and mortalities which are reflected in the demographic data of the decade 1911-21.

We need not elaborate further. Hamilton recorded that India was a very healthy country and infectious fevers were "not tolerated and lung diseases were uncommon. Such were the striking features of the medical history of India in the early nineteenth century. Eighty years later, fevers, lung diseases and

bowel complaints were shown to be the chief causes of heavy mortality and low expectation of life. Suddenly the philosophy of life followed by Indians and their age-old customs became responsible for the evils perpetrated by the British policy of de-industrialisation and ruralisation. The gazetteer itself admits that "nine-tenths of the population live from land. We may juxtapose this to the statement made by the Famine Commissioners of 1880: "No remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." But till the end of imperialist rule no meaningful change occurred — in 1947 the Indian people were even more overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture than they had been since the beginning of imperialist rule.

The crucial importance of year 1765 should never be lost sight of. Till that time, all the European traders had to pour in bullion in order to purchase Indian goods and as François Bernier noted, "gold and silver, after circulating in every quarter of the globe, came to be swallowed up and buried in India." (Bernier, *Travels*: 1636-1668, 1914 edition, p. 202)

It is the application of the surplus over administrative expenses out of land revenue that commenced from 1765, caused the Drain of Wealth from India which grew into a torrent as imperialism captured more and more of the country and devastated it by carrying away goods which were paid for by the Indian revenues themselves. This area has been explored thoroughly by *Mankind* and we refer the interested reader to our *Credo* 1997, published in the last issue and to the works by R. C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji and William Digby quoted therein.

The drain of wealth from India; the imperialist policy of de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation; the genocidal famines that devastated land from 1765-1947, wherever British rule became effective; the unending and continuous export surplus of India; all these were bound to cause a serious deterioration in the health standards of the Indian people.

We had devoted a whole section to the people's health in our earlier study, *"The Gazetteers as Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process"*, (MK, March 1996, pp. 52-3)

As a finale, we will quote once again from François Bernier, :

"To say the truth, few persons in these hot climates feel a strong desire for wine, and I have no doubt that the happy ignorance which prevails of many distempers is fairly ascribable to the general habits of sobriety among the people, and to the profuse perspiration to which they are perpetually subject. The gout, the stone, complaints in the kidneys, catarrhs and quartan agues are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with any of these disorders, as was the case with me,

soon experience a complete cure. Even the venereal disease, (which was brought by the British to India, where it is still known as *phirangi-rog*— ed. *Mankind*) is not of so virulent of character, or attended with such injurious consequences, as in other parts of the world. But although there is a greater enjoyment of health, yet there is less vigour among the people than in our colder climates."

(Source : Bernier's *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, pp. 253-4)

Whether the extraordinary health enjoyed by Indians was due to their sobriety, healthy and nutritious diet, use of herbal medicines as prescribed by Ayurveda, yoga exercises, plentiful sunlight or other climatic factors, or any other reason, the cause of the terrific deterioration in health of the Indians in the 19th century is absolutely certain. It was the drain of wealth and fall in purchasing power, i.e., poverty, which blighted the health of the entire nation.

Until this feature of imperial British rule over colonial India is fully grasped by an investigator, it is not possible to understand the ABC of the health situation of our country.

The British imperialist role was not "unconsciously progressive" as the Indian Stalinist-Communist have propagandised; but was "consciously reactionary," as known to all revolutionary Nationalists and Socialists. As a result of the drain of wealth from India or Indian loot, Britain could carry through its programme of primitive accumulation and accomplish the first Industrial Revolution of 1765-1860.

With these essential prefatory remarks, we present the views of Chauhan, Antia and Kamdar as summarised by themselves in the opening chapter of their report.

Source:

1. It has been variously estimated that the Red Indian population of Pre-Columbian America, North and South, exceeded over 11.5 crores and that almost all of them are eliminated by the epidemics brought by the Whites, whilst a minority was slaughtered by genocidal campaigns. For each Indian scalp, the authorities paid a fixed sum and it was official policy that "the best Indian was a dead Indian."
2. *Hamilton's East India Gazetteer*
3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. 1, 1907, Ch. 10. "Public Health and Vital Statistics."
4. *Ibid.*, p. 500
5. *Ibid.*, p. 501
6. *Ibid.*, p. 500
7. *Ibid.*, p. 502. Possibly there is a reference here to the murder of Plague Commissioner Rand and his associate Ayerst by the Chaphekar brothers. But the allusion is inappropriate as the British officers were known to have raped Indian women in the course of their inspection tours to enforce sanitary rules. Such nefarious activities had nothing to do with respect for religious rites supposedly manifested by the British Government.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 501
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*

## HEALTH CARE IN INDIA : A PROFILE

Devraj Chauhan, N. H. Antia, Sangita Kamdar

### OVERALL SCENARIO

• For a realistic understanding of the issues concerning India in a proper perspective, it would be useful to bear in mind the three main dimensions of the country : (a) Its continental-dimensions both in area and population with wide physical and socio-economic diversities, (b) the parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise functioning under a federal set up and

[ This is an outright lie. India is a Dominion Status Shamocracy with a Constitution that provides no powers to elected representatives of the people and which provides for an Irresponsible, Corrupt, and Super-Dominant Bureaucracy that has negated all democratic rights of the people. — Exe. Edr. ] (c) the mixed economy where both the

public and private sectors operate side-by-side. These three factors have tremendous bearing on the functioning of the various sectors in India.

- The overall scenario of health care in India is an admixture of light and shade; of some remarkable achievements and also grave failures. [This is another half truth which belongs to the comprador category of wishy-washy middle-of-the-road, compromiser and meaningless jargonish statements. There are no "lights", and only a multiplicity of "shades" in the five areas of fundamental human needs. Food, clothing, shelter, education and medicare have been denied to the vast majority of our poor. — Exe. Edr.] Over the last fifty years or so, a vast network of health care services and personnel have been built up. Among the good features special mention needs to be made of the excellence of its top institutions of research and training and highly specialised and super-special services often based on Western models. Besides, it is largely a service depending on urban hospitals with a curative approach. Despite the establishment of a large number of Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and rural hospitals, its urban bias is still pronounced and a disproportionately large expenditure is still incurred in urban areas. Most of the medical practitioners and services not only in quantity but even more in quality are also concentrated in towns and cities alone. The principal beneficiaries of these medicare services are the upper and middle classes but the poor living in urban slums and rural areas who form about a third of India's population, by and large remain outside the purview of health care services; just as the other benefits of development. In short the present modern health-services are generally urban-based and elite-oriented. The coming-up of super-speciality like Apollo, Hinduja and Lilavati hospitals in metropolitan cities are further strengthening this trend. Though 30 per cent of beds in these hospitals are reserved for the poor; in actual practice this never materialises. On the other hand the functioning of the Primary Health Centres (PHCs) meant for the poor in rural areas provides a dismal picture. Since the system is devoid of any participatory element it has actually increased the dependency on the costly treatment. In short a substantial chunk of whatever health services and medical education is available, is largely appropriated by the upper classes. Doctors trained at huge public cost are not available to serve the rural areas. Quite a few prefer to go abroad. The health delivery system in rural areas where three-fourths of the Indian population live is inadequate and defective. The recent efforts to assist the indigenous systems of medicine like Ayurveda, Unani, etc. have proved to be quite inadequate and have marginal effect on the situation. Even the Ayurveda 'vaidyas' prefer to practise allopathy.

- Over the years, due to the expansion in the health care network, and control of the major communicable diseases as well as improvement of the non-medical components of health e.g. nutrition, education, water-supply there has been a steady decline in the death rate from 23 in 1951-61 to 10 in 1991. Naturally this has resulted in the improvement of expectancy of life at birth. Half a century ago an average Indian at birth lived 41 years. Today he can expect to live a lifespan of 62 years. This is no mean achievement but when compared with other developing countries like China and Sri Lanka we are still lagging behind in this respect. Besides, mortality rates are still distressingly high among women and children. The infant mortality rates are still about 70 per thousand live births which

is much higher than the USA (8), the UK (6), Sri Lanka (16) and China (30). Under five mortality is regarded as an important development indicator which reflects *inter alia* the state of provision of not only medical care but also food, shelter, clean water, sanitation, etc. In this respect too, the under 5 mortality in India is much above that in Sri Lanka or China. At the same time the mortality rates among children and women of the child-bearing age are very high in India, the maternal mortality rate being as high as 460 (1980-92) per lakh live births. As a result, we have an adverse sex ratio and it has been even more unfavourable to women over the past nine decades except during 1981-91.

- The present morbidity and mortality patterns do show some significant variations from the past. Famines no longer take the massive toll of life as they used to; smallpox has been eradicated, cholera and plague have been curbed; immunisation has protected several children from dangerous childhood diseases like whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus, polio, smallpox, etc. But in other respects, the overall character of morbidity has not changed much materially. Diseases arising from poverty, ignorance, malnutrition and undernutrition, bad sanitation, lack of safe drinking water and adequate housing which result in low levels of immunity still continue. These include tuberculosis, gastro-enteritis, malaria, leprosy characterised as communicable diseases (rarely occurring in the developed countries) and measles, tetanus, whooping cough, bronchitis and pneumonia, scabies, worms and fevers, especially among children.

- In both morbidity and mortality there are large inter-State variations: Death rate of 6 per thousand population in Kerala vs. 12 in Madhya Pradesh. Even within a State there may be wide variations. The differences between the urban and the rural areas are also very significant. There is marked difference in health status between the upper and the middle classes and the bulk of the poor people including socially disadvantaged groups on the other. Amongst them the gender differences also stand out. The health status in India, thus, is closely correlated with caste, class, income and above all gender differences.

- Communicable diseases still form a major cause of morbidity in our country. Massive attempts have been undertaken for the control of such diseases through the organisation of national programmes for these major scourges like smallpox, tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy, AIDS, etc. The performance of these programmes show that the situation among the communicable diseases continues to be dynamic -- smallpox has been eradicated and some are brought under control. New diseases like AIDS have appeared and necessitate the evolution of new strategies to combat recurrence of old diseases such as tuberculosis and together with it malaria, cholera and plague, the four major diseases of Pre-Independence India. Vectors and microbes have developed resistance so that search for new insecticides and drugs becomes a continuous fight with diminishing returns. Even established strategies to combat a disease have become ineffective and hence need change. The fight against communicable diseases is, thus, a continuous process.

- For quite some time to come, communicable diseases will have to have priority in a country like ours because they often result in a high degree of morbidity and mortality, specially among the poor. At the same time, with increasing life expectancy

and changes in life-style under the TV culture, other health problems — non-communicable diseases like mental health disorders, cardio-vascular diseases, cancer, and occupational health hazards have emerged. These are often described as the diseases of affluence or elite. These have a strong socio-cultural predisposition and relationship with environmental factors. However it is important to emphasise that for adequate control of such diseases non-pharmacological ways, that is a change in the life-style, yoga and meditation and other indigenous systems have to be given emphasis and indiscriminate use of medicine and surgery have to be avoided wherever possible.

- Nutritional deficiency, poor personal and food hygiene, poor water and bad sanitation which increase the risk of infection together with inadequate immunisation are still the most frequent causes of morbidity and mortality specially among the poor and the weaker sections of the society like women and children. From the nutritional point of view, a small section of society in the high-income bracket who have no shortage of food is also becoming prone to diseases of overeating and affluence. On the other hand, undernutrition, in general, forms a major cause of many diseases among the poor and vulnerable sections of the society. Malnutrition is particularly severe among the women and children from these sections. Paradoxically, on one hand we have huge buffer stocks of foodgrains and on the other hand we have millions going hungry on account of inadequate public distribution system and lack of purchasing power. What is worse, the purchasing power of many poor families seems to be shrinking with increasing inflation what Amritya Sen calls entitlement. Alcoholic drinks and other wasteful expenditures reduce the money available for purchase of essential food even further. Moreover, the women and children do not get their due share in whatever little food ultimately reaches a poor family. About a third of India's population lives below the poverty line i.e. in abject poverty, not getting enough food to sustain their body with requisite calorie intake. No significant dent has been made on the massive problems of malnutrition, undernutrition and environmental sanitation. We still have, therefore, miles to go in controlling several communicable diseases which have almost disappeared in the developed world and diminished as in China.

- India is considered to be a country with 'high' spending and 'low' outcomes. India's spending on health at \$ 21 per capita in 1990, is considered to be high in the context of the low average on health of income prevailing in the country. High expenditure on health in a low income country is not considered to be a desirable phenomenon. They point to the disease burden in the country and to the inevitable nature of expenditure incurred.

- A study of health expenditure in Jalgaon district of Maharashtra in 1987 estimated that the net out-of-pocket expenditure on health was about Rs. 175 per capita which constituted 7-8 per cent of the household's consumption expenditure. The World Bank estimated per capita out-of-pocket expenditure on health to be Rs. 240 (World Bank, 1993)

- Generally, per capita health expenditure increased as class status (income) moves up. The NCAER (1992) study revealed that household expenditure per illness episode was Rs. 123 and Rs. 139 for the lowest classes in urban and rural areas respectively. Against this, expenditure incurred by the highest class was Rs. 226 in urban areas and Rs. 195 in rural areas. NCAER (1995) which provides data for household

expenditure per illness episode for non-hospitalised illnesses for the year 1993 also highlights the rural-urban and across income group differences. Fees and medicines constitute the major item of expenditure in both rural and urban areas. However, transport is an important item of expenditure in rural areas.

- The main reasons for the apparent paradox of 'high' expenditures and poor health outcomes lies in the proliferation of an unregulated private sector. Though India's overall expenditure on health is as high as 6 per cent of GDP, the public sector's share is only 1.3 per cent of GDP, whereas the private sector claims 4.7 per cent share of GDP (World Bank, 1993). A disturbing fact is that even these low public sector allocations to medical and public health (MPH) have been falling over the years. Family Planning accounts for a large proportion of government expenditure on MPH.

- The low share of public sector expenditure in total health expenditure is to be viewed in the context of the high prevalence of communicable diseases in the country. The inaccessibility of public health facilities, the long waiting period and the delays caused due to unavailability of services under one roof, the bribes which need to be paid, unavailability of essential drugs affect the quality of health care services. This prompts the people to seek private health care services.

- A study of 15 major States in India shows that political commitment is more important than income as determinant of government spending on health care. The effectiveness of government expenditures on MPH can be tested in terms of attainment of health status. The extent of female literacy, the degree of accessibility of health care services and the availability of infrastructural facilities interact with each other and determine the utilisation of health care services and the effectiveness of government expenditure.

- In spite of all the additional funds provided by the government, health is still a low priority area. Moreover, whatever money is spent at the top only a fraction reaches the poor and the needy at the grass-roots level. Out of one rupee spent, it was stated by a previous prime minister that, only 15 paise reach the poor beneficiaries. The remaining 85 paise get leaked out through pores and loopholes. The 'reached out' proportion may vary with varying degrees of the commitment of the bureaucracy and awareness among the beneficiaries and their level of organisation. So in between the investment and the intended beneficiaries there is a missing link of the effective organisation. This is to be provided by the Panchayati Raj institutions empowered with responsibility, resources and the requisite information with the support of NGOs and dedicated social workers like Anna Hazare.

- The 1993 World Bank report has defined the new strategy for curbing public health services which serve the 85 per cent of our population living in rural India and the urban slums; while giving full rein to the private sector which has converted health and illness into a lucrative business and a drug industry. Three quarters of the present burgeoning expenditure of six per cent of the GDP is now in the private sector which together with the public sector is also chiefly located in the urban areas. Even here the most expensive component of hospital load is largely undertaken by the public sector, offering specialised care which is mainly used by the urban and also some of the rural poor. Even though small 200-bed hospitals in

(contd. on p.45)



# WORLD BANK AND IMF RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICAN MISERY

Kevin Watkins

Half a century ago the Bretton Woods Conference created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the twin pillars of what was to be a new world order built on the foundations of full employment, prosperity and cooperation. Both institutions planned lavish celebrations in 1995 for their 50th birthdays. But their original architects, among them John Maynard Keynes, were widely rumored to be marketing the event by turning in their graves. For today the World Bank and the IMF are the custodians of a neo-liberal world order which is consigning large swathes of the developing world to mass unemployment and human misery.

Nowhere is their failure more starkly apparent than in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the economic policy horizon has been dominated by IMF-World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) for more than a decade. As one country after another succumbed to the lethal combination of rising debt and falling commodity prices in the early 1980s, the IMF stepped in with short-term loans to plug the resulting trade and budget deficits. The World Bank, hitherto involved mainly in financing infrastructural projects, entered the arena with longer term loans for recovery.

## SHOPPING LISTS OF CONDITIONS

Along with the SAPs came shopping lists of conditions, which effectively transferred policy sovereignty from Africa to the headquarters of the World Bank and IMF on 19th Street in Washington. Compliance with IMF-World Bank public expenditure, interest-rate and money-supply targets has become a condition for Western assistance, as have import liberalisation and deregulations of labour markets. Currency devaluation, such as that announced by the West

African countries of the franc zone in 1994, has been another central ingredient.

The aims of these measures has been to balance budgets, raise the incomes of the rural poor through price liberalisation, improve competitiveness and encourage foreign investment. More recently, both the World Bank and the IMF have also made a commitment to improving human welfare a hallmark of their public statements. The Bank's ex-president, Lewis Preston, told one Annual Meeting that "the achievement of sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction" are the criteria against which it must be judged. And if you believe his staff, the SAPs medicine is working. In a recent paper the Bank's senior economist for Africa, Ishrat Hussain, claimed adjustment policies have had "favourable effects for most of the poor," and created a platform for recovery.

The facts tell a different story. Over the past decade average incomes in Africa have fallen by 2 percent a year, leaving living standards lower than they were in the early 1970s. Investment levels have fallen by half in real terms and unemployment has quadrupled to over 100 million. Meanwhile, after a decade of "export-led growth", Sub-Saharan Africa's share of world trade has fallen from 4 percent to 1 percent and its debt has quadrupled to \$ 160 billion.

That debt represents 110 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa's annual income — a greater burden than in Latin America at the height of the debt crisis there.

True, the World Bank and IMF can point to Ghana and handful of "model pupils" which have achieved marginal improvements in living standards. But even these showcases raise more questions than they answer. For example, Ghana's growth has been maintained by

some \$ 9,000 million in foreign aid since 1983 and an environmentally ruinous export drive. The country's tropical forests, already less than a quarter of their original size, are being felled at an alarming rate to provide European consumers with mahogany toilet seats, and the Ghanaian government with the resources to service its \$ 4 billion external debt.

Even on the most optimistic scenario, Africa's decline is set to continue into the next century. Because the region has the youngest and fastest-growing population in the country, it needs to grow by almost 5 percent a year and generate 10 million new jobs annually just to keep incomes and employment constant. According to the World Bank's most recent projections the actual growth rate will be around 3 percent, implying a further fall in living standards. This compares with a 2 percent increase in average living standards for developing countries as a whole.

## THIRD WORLD WITHIN THE THIRD WORLD

The upshot is that Africa is fast becoming the Third World within the Third World: its citizens poorer, less healthy and less educated than their counterparts in Latin America and Asia. Some 220 million people — almost half the region's population — already live in grinding poverty, and the proportion is rising. Africa is now the only developing region in which human welfare indicators such as malnutrition, access to health and education and infant mortality are worsening. Today a third of all the world's children who die from the age of five are African, even though they account for less than 10 percent of the child population.

So, what has gone wrong? To start with, Western governments have failed to recognise that successful adjustment is inconceivable for Africa without a far-reaching debt write-off. Currently, Sub-Saharan Africa is repaying over \$ 10 billion annually to its creditors, four times as much as the combined health and education budgets for the region. And even this tells only half the story, since these repayments represent less than half of what is due, so that arrears are building up at an alarming rate.

According to the UN Children's Fund, ending the bleeding of Africa through debt repayments would release sufficient resources to meet basic human needs in health, education and nutrition by the end of the century. Yet progress

towards debt relief remains derisory. The British government's laudable efforts to persuade other creditor governments to write off two thirds of official debt continues to be blocked by Japan, and the question of debt owed to the IMF has yet to be brought onto the agenda. This is despite the fact that repayments to the Fund have drained Africa of \$ 2 billion since the mid-1980s. Uganda, the world's fourth-poorest country, is now faced with a debt service bill of \$ 200 million over the next four years.

The IMF's increasingly parasitic role in Africa could be ended if Western governments accepted the need for reducing its financial exposure in Africa. They could start by ordering the Fund's managers to finance a debt reduction facility, either by

selling off the IMF's gold stocks or through a new issue of its financial stock (known as Special Drawing Rights) Instead they insist that tampering with IMF debt stocks will undermine the international monetary system — a vision which is as absurd as it is apocalyptic.

Debt relief, amounting to between 80 and 100 percent for most countries, is vital to African recovery. So too is a reorientation of SAPs away from their aggressive promotion of primary commodity exports. In a recent publication on Africa, the Fund pointed to the expansion of exports in adjusting countries as one of its main achievements. In fact export growth has been part of the problem, since it has contributed to over-

## SOMALIA

In Somalia, the state collapsed largely as a result of an austerity programme imposed as of the early 1980s by the IMF to enable Mogadishu to meet its obligations to the Paris Club of official creditors. The influx of US food aid and the dumping of grain surpluses also played a key role in destabilising Somali agriculture.

The economic reforms undermined the fragile exchange relationship between the "nomadic economy" and the "sedentary economy", i.e. between pastoralists and small farmers, characterised by money transactions as well as traditional barter. The devaluations of the Somali shilling imposed by the IMF were conducive to hikes in the prices of fuel, fertiliser and farm inputs. The impact on agriculturalists was immediate, particularly in rain-fed agriculture. Urban purchasing power declined dramatically, government extension programmes were curtailed, infrastructure collapsed and deregulation of the grain market and the influx of "food aid" led to impoverishment of farming communities.

The IMF-World Bank programme pushed the Somali economy into a vicious circle: the decimation of the herds pushed the nomadic pastoralists into starvation, which in turn backlashed on grain producers who sold or bartered their grain for cattle. The entire social fabric of the pastoralist economy was undone. The collapse in foreign exchange earnings from declining cattle exports backlashed on the state's finances, leading to the breakdown of the government's economic and social programmes.

Small farmers were displaced as a result of the dumping of subsidised US grain on the domestic market combined with the hike in the price of farm inputs. The impoverishment of the urban population also led to a contraction of food consumption. In turn, state support in the irrigated areas was frozen and production in the state farms declined. The latter were to be closed down or privatised under World Bank supervision.

The economic reforms were marked by the disintegration of health and educational programmes. By 1989, expenditure on health had declined by 78 percent in relation to its 1975 level. According to World Bank figures, the level of recurrent expenditure on education in 1989 was about \$ 4 per annum per primary school student, down from about \$ 82 in 1982. From 1981-89, school enrolments declined by 41 percent (despite a sizeable increase in school-age population), textbooks and school materials disappeared from the class-rooms, school buildings deteriorated and nearly a quarter of the primary schools closed down. Teachers' salaries declined to abysmally low levels.

According to World Bank estimates, real public sector wages in 1989 had declined by 90 percent in relation to the mid-1970s. Average wages in the public sector had fallen to \$ 3 a month, leading to the inevitable disintegration of the civil administration. A programme to rehabilitate civil service wages was proposed by the World Bank (in the context of a reform of the civil service), but this objective was to be achieved within the same budgetary envelope by dismissing some 40 percent of public sector employees and eliminating salary supplements. Under this plan, the civil service would have been reduced to a mere 25,000 employees by 1995 (in a country of 6 million people) Several donors indicated keen interest in funding the cost associated with the retrenchment of civil servants.

In the face of impending disaster, no attempt was made by the international donor community to rehabilitate the country's economic and social infrastructure, to restore levels of purchasing power and to rebuild the civil service: the macro-economic adjustment measures proposed by the creditors in the year prior to the collapse of the government of General Siyad Barre in January 1991 called for a further tightening over public spending, the restructuring of the central bank, the liberalisation of credit (which virtually thwarted the private sector) and the liquidation of and divestiture of most of the state enterprises.

In 1989, debt servicing obligations represented 194.6 percent of export earnings. The IMF loan was cancelled because of Somalia's outstanding arrears. The World Bank had approved a structural adjustment loan for \$ 70 million in June 1989 which was frozen a few months later due to Somalia's poor macro-economic performance. Arrears with creditors had to be settled before the granting of new loans and the negotiation of debt rescheduling. Somalia was tangled in the strait-jacket of debt servicing and structural adjustment. The rest is recent history.

supply of primary commodities and a price slump that has cost Sub-Saharan Africa \$ 12 billion a year in lost export earnings. In Ivory Coast, for example, coffee exports rose by a quarter between 1988 and 1990, but fell by a similar amount in value. Moreover, increased Sub-Saharan exports in already saturated primary markets have had the effect of adding to the world price depression.

Debt relief and the reorientation of SAPs away from the zero-sum game of primary commodity export production is only part of the problem. Far more fundamental reforms are needed, some of which lead in the direction of the Keynesian policies originally envisaged for the IMF and World Bank. These reforms will require both a commitment to redistributive policies, and a political revolution in the management of the World Bank and

## RWANDA

The Western media has presented the Rwandan genocide as a profuse narrative of human suffering, while carefully neglecting to explain the underlying social and economic causes. In fact the crisis in Rwanda was punctuated by a continuous series of donor roundtables (held in Paris), cease-fire agreements and peace talks. The various initiatives were closely monitored and coordinated by the donor community, in a tangled circuit of "conditionalities". The brutal impoverishment of the population, resulted from IMF reforms as well as from the war, precluded a genuine process of democratisation.

Rwanda was once considered in some regards a "successful model" of integrated rural development. But the repeal of the government's policy of local-level self-sufficiency and food security (ordered by the Bretton Woods institutions), together with the plunge of coffee prices, on the world market in 1989, led to massive impoverishment of small farmers. This deterioration of the economic environment, together with the imposition of sweeping macro-economic reforms by Bretton Woods institutions, exacerbated simmering ethnic tensions and accelerated the process of political collapse.

The devaluation of the Rwandan franc ordered by the IMF was implemented six weeks after the beginning of the civil war in October 1990. It was presented to public opinion as a means of rehabilitating a war-ravaged economy. Not surprisingly, exactly the opposite results were achieved, exacerbating the damage of the civil war. From a situation of relative price stability, the plunge of the Rwandan franc contributed to triggering inflation and the collapse of real earnings. The balance-of-payments situation deteriorated dramatically and the outstanding external debt increased by 34 percent between 1989 and 1992. The state administrative apparatus was in disarray, state enterprises were pushed into bankruptcy and public services collapsed. Health and education collapsed under the brunt of the IMF-imposed austerity measures.

In early October 1990, at the very moment when the fighting started, millions of dollars of so-called "balance-of-payments aid" (from multilateral and bilateral sources) came pouring into the central bank's coffers. These funds administered by the central bank had been earmarked (by the donors) for commodity imports. Yet it seems likely that a sizeable portion of these "quick disbursing loans" were diverted by the regime and its various political factions towards the acquisition of military hardware from South Africa, Egypt and Eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The economic crisis reached its climax in 1992 when Rwandan farmers in desperation uprooted some 300,000 coffee trees.<sup>2</sup> Despite soaring domestic prices, the government had frozen the farmgate price of coffee at its 1989 level (125 Rwandan francs a kilo), under the terms of its agreement with the Bretton Woods institutions. The crisis of the coffee economy backlashed on the production of traditional food staples, leading to a substantial drop in the production of cassava, beans and sorghum. The system of savings-and-loan cooperatives which provided credit to small farmers had also disintegrated. Moreover, with the liberalisation of trade and deregulation of grain markets as recommended by the Bretton Woods institutions, (heavily subsidised) cheap food imports and food aid from the rich countries were entering Rwanda with the effect of destabilising local markets.

Under the "free-market" system imposed on Rwanda at the very outset of the political crisis, neither cash crops nor food crops were economically viable. The entire agricultural system was pushed into crisis. The state administrative apparatus was in disarray, due partly to the civil war but also to the austerity measures and sinking civil-service salaries.

While the international donor committee cannot be held directly responsible for the tragic outcome of the Rwandan civil war, the austerity measures combined with the reckless and irresponsible IMF-sponsored November 1990 devaluation, contributed to impoverishing the Rwandan people at a time of acute political and social crisis. Deliberate manipulation of market forces destroyed economic activity and people's livelihood, fuelled unemployment, and created a situation of generalised famine and social despair.

**Michel Chossudovsky**

1. There has been no official confirmation of press reports that balance-of-payments aid was diverted towards military expenditure. According to Washington-based Human Rights Watch, Egypt agreed with Kigali to supply \$ 6 million worth of military equipment. The deal with South Africa was for \$ 5.9 million. See *Marches Tropicaux*, 28 Jan. 1994, p. 173

2. This figure is a conservative estimate. Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Profile, Rwanda Burundi 1993/94, London, p.10.

IMF.

The essential difference is between the IMF of today and the body envisaged by its original architects. For Keynes, the IMF was intended as an instrument of stability and expansion, its loans enabling governments to overcome trade and budget problems without recourse to deflationary policies. That is why the Fund's Articles require it to restore stability "without resorting to measures destructive of national prosperity".

### MONETARISM

Unfortunately, the IMF is dominated by vintage early 1980s monetarism rather than Keynesianism. Its view — uncritically endorsed by the World Bank — is that inflation is the main obstacle to recovery in Africa; and that inflation is a consequence of excess money supply. This explains the IMF's preoccupation with monetary discipline and "stable prices" (for which read zero inflation) to the exclusion of achieving wider objectives like full employment, and it mirrors the thinking which led to Britain's crippling involvement in the Exchange Rate Mechanism.

In Sub-Saharan Africa the consequences of the Fund's monetarist straitjacket have been disastrous. Economic infrastructures have collapsed in the face of public spending cuts, undermining market reforms and deterring domestic and foreign investment. At the same time, potentially competitive, labour-intensive industries have been hit by sudden hikes in interest rates, spiralling costs for imported technologies and increased competition from imports. The predictable result has been a process of disinvestment and de-industrialisation.

In Zambia, investment in the textile industry has virtually collapsed with the loss of over 40,000 jobs in the last year alone. The country's Association of Manufacturers and trade unions have both warned that a wholesale collapse of the small-scale sector is imminent. Yet the IMF's deputy director for Africa, Edwin Bornemann, recently described Zambia as a "model" for other countries to follow. The reason: inflation has been lowered from 200 percent to minus 5 percent in six months.

This is more than the classic case of a "successful" cure having the unfortunate side effect of killing the patient. Across Africa adjusting countries have reduced their budgets by applying harsh monetary discipline, only to see inflationary pressures re-emerge at lower levels of economic activity. This reflects the fact that in many countries inflation is now caused more by shortage of goods than by excessive money supply.

All of this suggests, as the Economic Commission for Africa has argued, that the emphasis of adjustment should be switched toward restoring manufacturing capacity, which is running at less than 50 percent in most countries. This will require an end to the heedless pursuit of inflation targets, allied to a combination of selective protection, subsidised credit and strong government support. These were the types of policies which underpinned industrial development in South Asia, yet both the World Bank and the IMF dogmatically reject their application in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### DEREGULATION

Successful adjustment and poverty reduction will also require the abandonment of the World Bank and the IMF's dogmatic attachment to deregulation as the panacea for poverty reduction. The reality of deregulation under SAPs is that it exacerbates already huge discrepancies between rich and poor, as elites acquire the trappings of a consumerist Western lifestyle while the vast majority sinks into deepening poverty.

Take the deregulation of labour markets, which has been a hallmark of adjustment across Sub-Saharan Africa. Most countries have effectively abolished minimum wage protection, with the result that wages have fallen by over half in real terms. In Tanzania, the minimum wage is now insufficient to buy the maize and beans needed to support one worker, let alone a family — and few employers pay the minimum wage. Much of the burden of adjusting to the resulting pressures has fallen on women, who are increasingly forced to supplement family incomes through long hours of low-paid work in the informal sector.

Attempts to defend minimum standards have been handicapped by anti-union legislation. The Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions, for example, has recently condemned amendments to labour laws allowing employers arbitrarily to dismiss workers and restricting the right to strike. Elsewhere, notably in Ghana, violations of basic labour rights are a standing feature of SAPs. So is the erosion of deeper social and economic rights. In Zimbabwe, for example, the imposition of fees for basic health services has excluded poor rural women from pre-natal services. The result, according to a report by Jean Lennox, a health researcher at the London School of Economics, has been a 30 percent increase in maternal mortality over two years and a parallel rise in infant mortality.

In the countryside, as in the towns, the small-holder producers who comprise the majority of Africa's poor have been largely bypassed by the benefits of SAPs. Devaluation and the removal of government marketing monopolies have, as the World Bank says, increased prices. But in the absence of redistributive measures — such as land reform, investment in smallholder credit and support for marketing infrastructures in more marginal areas — to enable the poor to participate in markets on more equitable terms, the grains have gone principally to monopoly traders and local elites. Women farmers in the eastern province of Zambia, for example, are currently receiving less than half the "official" market price for their maize from private-sector traders.

It would be unrealistic to expect the World Bank and the IMF to break the vicious circle of poverty, mass unemployment and economic collapse in Sub-Saharan Africa. Neither institution is remotely accountable to the African citizens whose lives they dominate; and both remain wedded to an arcane neo-liberal philosophy. That philosophy has been abandoned by many Western governments seeking to address their own problems of slow growth and unemployment. It has also been more widely challenged. Recently US Vice-President Al Gore publicly condemned the IMF for contributing to the impoverishment of millions of Russians and paving the way for the election of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

He was right. But when it comes to Africa, Western governments including the Clinton Administration, have done little more than act as a Greek chorus for the World Bank and IMF, echoing their specious claims that "adjustment is hurting but working". It is time to end the double standards.

(From Eric Toussaint & Peter Drucker (eds.), *IMF/World Bank/WTO: The Free Market Flasco*)

# 25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY : V

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In this fifth part of our series, *25 Turning Points in World History*, we are taking up a bunch of contemporary revolutionaries : Leon Trotsky, Subhas Bose, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

We would have liked to include Laurent Kabila in the group. However, many details of his biography remain as yet unrecorded. All that is known is that Che Guevara collaborated with him when Che was in Central Africa in the 60s. We have identified Kabila as our guru of non-violence. (*Mankind*, June 1997, pp.6-8)

We have selected Patrice Lumumba and Laurent Kabila as the greatest leaders to emerge out of the African freedom struggle. (We hope to publish a bio-sketch of Kabila at a later date in the columns of *Mankind*)

Fidel Castro and Che Guevara are the most outstanding leaders of the Latin American Liberation Movement.

Our Asian group is more numerous since 60 percent of humanity lives in Asia. We have chosen Bose, Ho and Mao.

From Europe, we have chosen the finest product of the Russian Revolution, Lenin's close collaborator, Leon Trotsky, who kept the revolutionary banner flying till he was foully murdered by Stalin's agent in 1940.

## LEON TROTSKY (1879 - 1940).

Leon Trotsky was the outstanding leader of the Russian Communist Revolution. From 1905, when he became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, to 1917, when he once again resumed the post and upto 1940 when Stalin's assassin felled him, Trotsky was the true supreme leader of the "European proletariat". A gifted theorist and agitator, Trotsky was the principal leader of the October (November, newstyle) 1917 uprising and went on to serve the Soviet government as commissar of foreign affairs and commissar of war, before his ultimate political defeat and exile by Joseph Stalin.

**Early life and education.** Trotsky was born Lev Davidovich Bronstein in the village of Yanovka in the Ukraine on November 7 (October 26, old style), 1879. His father, David Bronstein, was an independent farmer of Russified Jewish background who had settled as a colonist in the steppe region. His mother, Anna, was middle class and educated. He had an older brother and sister, not counting two siblings who died in infancy.

At the age of eight, young Bronstein was sent to school in Odessa, where he spent the next eight years residing with the family of his mother's nephew, a liberal intellectual. He showed intellectual brilliance and a literary and linguistic gift. When he moved to Nikolayev in 1896 to complete his schooling, he was drawn into a underground Socialist circle and introduced to Marxism. After briefly attending the University of Odessa in 1897, he returned to Nikolayev to help organise the underground South Russian Workers' Union.

**Revolutionary career.** In January 1898, Bronstein was arrested for revolutionary activity and spent the next four and a half years in prison and in exile in Siberia (during which time he married his co-conspirator Aleksandra Sokolovskaya and fathered two daughters). He escaped from Siberia in 1902 with a forged passport bearing the name Trotsky, which he adopted as his revolutionary pseudonym. His wife remained behind, and the separation became permanent.

Following his escape, Trotsky made his way to London, where he joined the group of Russian Social-Democrats working with Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) on the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* ("The Spark"). A remarkably articulate speaker and writer, Trotsky quickly assumed a leading role within the party.

At the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, held in Brussels and London in July 1903, Trotsky sided with the Menshevik faction — advocating a democratic approach to Socialism — against Lenin

and Bolsheviks, rejecting Lenin's dictatorial methods and organisational concepts. Shortly before this, in Paris, Trotsky had met and married Natalya Sedova, by whom he subsequently had two sons, Lev and Sergey both of whom later used their mother's name, Sedov).

Upon the outbreak of revolutionary disturbances in 1905, Trotsky returned to Russia. He became chairman of the St. Petersburg Soviet (Council) of Workers' Deputies when it organised a revolutionary strike movement and other methods of defiance against the Tsarist government. In the aftermath, Trotsky was arrested with the other leaders of the soviet, jailed, and brought to trial in 1906.

While in jail Trotsky wrote one of his major theoretical works, "Results and Prospects", setting forth his theory of permanent revolution. This was an effort to adjust Marxist theory to Russian conditions of a backward country in revolutionary ferment. A bourgeois revolution in Russia, Trotsky held, would lead to a continuous or permanent state of revolution during which the proletariat could take power in the urban centres. Even though Russia was a largely peasant country, this seizure of urban power would not prove temporary in Trotsky's view because the revolution in Russia would create a permanent state of revolution internationally as well. The Russian Revolution would inspire proletarian revolution in the West and assure the establishment of Socialist governments that could support the revolutionaries in Russia.

In 1907, after a second exile to Siberia, Trotsky once again escaped abroad. He settled in Vienna and supported himself as a journalist, serving as a war correspondent in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. He remained active in Russian Social-Democratic émigré circles as a celebrated but isolated figure on the left wing of the Menshevik faction.

As such, he engaged in intermittent polemics with Lenin and the Bolsheviks over organisational and tactical questions.

At the outbreak of World War I, Trotsky joined the majority of Russian Social-Democrats who condemned the war and refused to support the war effort of the Tsarist regime. He moved to Switzerland and thence to Paris, where he helped to edit an anti-war Russian journal. In 1915 he participated in the international conference of anti-war Socialists at Zimmerwald in Switzerland. Trotsky's anti-war agitation led to his expulsion from France in 1916. He went

to Spain, whence he was ordered out again, and arrived in New York in January 1917. There he joined the Bolshevik theoretician Nikolay Bukharin in editing the Russian-language paper *Novy Mir* ("The New World").

**Leadership in the Revolution of 1917.** Trotsky hailed the outbreak of revolution in Russia in February (March, new style) as the opening of the permanent revolution he had predicted. Independently, he took a position similar to Lenin in calling for the overthrow of Prince Georgy Lvov's Provisional Government by the workers. Late in March, Trotsky and his family left the United States by ship for Russia but were detained by the British authorities when the vessel put in at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Released a month later at the behest of the Russian government, Trotsky reached Petrograd in mid-May and assumed the leadership of a left wing Menshevik faction, the Interdistrict Group, who were of one mind with the Bolsheviks in agitating for a new revolution.

Following the abortive July Days uprising, Trotsky was arrested in the crackdown on the Bolshevik leadership carried on by Aleksandr Kerensky's liberal government. In August, while still in jail, Trotsky was formally admitted to the Bolshevik Party at the party's Sixth Congress, along with the Interdistrict Group. He was also elected to membership on the Bolshevik Central Committee. Trotsky was released from prison in September, at the time of General Lavr Kornilov's abortive right wing coup against Kerensky, and shortly afterward he was elected chairman of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies when the Bolsheviks and their allies established a majority in it. Thenceforth, until the Bolshevik seizure of power, while Lenin was still in hiding, Trotsky was the principal leader of the Bolshevik Party in its preparations to take power.

In the debates among the Bolsheviks over whether to accede to Lenin's insistence on the violent seizure of power, Trotsky took a middle course. He agreed with Lenin's call for the overthrow of the Provisional Government but calculated that this could be done under the cloak of legitimacy provided by the forthcoming Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which the Bolsheviks expected to dominate. He threw himself into the work of winning control over the Petrograd garrison, particularly through the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet (which he inspired as chairman of the soviet, though he was not actually chairman of the committee). Trotsky's strategy was not to mobilise enough force to protect the Congress of Soviets while it voted itself into power and to prevent a countercoup by the Kerensky government in the meantime.

When fighting was precipitated by an ineffectual government raid early on November 6 (October 24, old style), Trotsky took a leading role in directing countermeasures for the soviet, while reassuring the public that his Military Revolutionary Committee meant only to defend the Congress of Soviets. Governmental authority crumbled quickly, and Petrograd was largely in Bolshevik hands by the time Lenin reappeared from the underground in the early hours of November 7 (October 25, O.S.).

The congress was swiftly led to proclaim the Bolshevik's programme and to install the new Soviet government headed by the Council of People's Commissars, with Trotsky as commissar of foreign affairs.

Trotsky continued to function as the military leader of the Revolution when Kerensky vainly attempted to retake Petrograd with loyal troops. He organised and supervised the forces that

broke Kerensky's effort at the Battle of Pulkovo on November 13 (October 31, O.S.). Immediately afterward, he joined Lenin in defeating proposals for a coalition government including Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries.

**Role in Soviet government.** As foreign commissar, Trotsky's first charge was to implement the Bolsheviks programme of peace by calling for immediate armistice negotiations among all the warring powers. Germany and its allies responded, a cease-fire was agreed on, and in mid-December peace talks were begun at Brest-Litovsk. Early in January 1918, Trotsky entered into the peace negotiations personally and shocked his adversaries by turning the talks into a propaganda forum. He then recessed the talks and returned to Petrograd to argue against acceptance of Germany's annexationist terms, even though Lenin had meanwhile decided to pay the German price for peace and thus buy time for the Soviet state. Between Lenin's position and Bukharin's outright call for revolutionary war, Trotsky proposed the formula "no war, no peace". When the Germans resumed their offensive in mid-February, the Bolshevik Central Committee was compelled to make a decision; Trotsky and his followers abstained from the vote, and Lenin's acceptance of the German terms was narrowly endorsed.

Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky resigned as foreign commissar and turned the office over to Georgy Chicherin. He was immediately made commissar of war, theretofore a committee responsibility. As war commissar, Trotsky faced the formidable task of building anew Red Army out of the shambles of the old Russian Army and preparing to defend the Communist government against the imminent threats of civil war and foreign intervention. Trotsky chose to concentrate on developing a small but disciplined and professionally competent force. He was particularly criticised for recruiting former tsarist officers ("military specialists") and putting them to work under the supervision of Communist military commissars. Trotsky's military policies were resisted unsuccessfully by a coalition of ultra left purists and rival party leaders, notably Stalin, with whom Trotsky had an acrimonious clash over the defence of the city of Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad, now Volgograd). Trotsky's approach was, however, vindicated by the success of the Red Army in turning back attacks by the anti-Communist White armies in 1918 and 1919, with Trotsky himself frequently in charge in the field.

With the triumph of the Communist forces at the end of the Russian Civil War in 1920, Trotsky, retaining his office as commissar of war, turned his attention to the economic reconstruction of Russia. He first proposed a relaxation of the stringent centralisation of War Communism to allow market forces to operate. Rejected in this, he endeavoured to apply military discipline to the economy, using soldiers as labour armies rather than demobilising them, and attempting to militarise the administration.

During the Civil War and War Communism phase of the Soviet regime, Trotsky was clearly established as the number-two man next to Lenin. He was one of the initial five members of the Politburo when that top Communist Party policy-making body was created in 1919. In sheer intellectual power and administrative effectiveness, he was Lenin's superior and did not hesitate to disagree with Lenin on numerous occasions, but he lacked facility in political manipulation to win party decisions against Lenin. Trotsky took a prominent part in the launching of the Comintern (Communist International) in 1919 and wrote its initial manifesto calling for the overthrow of

capitalism throughout the world.

As a relative newcomer, moving in abruptly to the top level of leadership in the Bolshevik Party, Trotsky incurred the personal enmity of a number of long-standing Bolsheviks, particularly Grigory Zinoviev, who had figured as Lenin's second in command for several years prior to 1917. Trotsky and Zinoviev were adversaries on every party issue from 1917 to 1924, Trotsky's later struggle with Stalin was less personal, although the two clashed more than once during the Civil War period.

In the winter of 1920-21 widespread dissension broke out over the policies of War Communism, not only among the populace but among the Communist Party leadership as well. The point at issue in the protracted controversy was the future role of the trade unions. The utopian left wing wanted the unions to administer industry; Lenin and the cautious wing wanted the unions confined to supervising working conditions; Trotsky and his supporters tried to reconcile radicalism and pragmatism by visualising administration through "governmentalised" unions representing the central state authority.

The crisis came to a head in March 1921, with agitation for democracy within the party on the one hand and armed defiance represented by the naval garrison at Kronstadt on the other. At this point Trotsky sided completely with Lenin, commanding the forces that suppressed the Kronstadt Rebellion and backing the suppression of open factional activity in the party. As did virtually the entire party, Trotsky accepted Lenin's retreat from ideal communism in favour of the New Economic Policy, including his conventional view of the trade unions. This degree of accord, however, did not prevent Trotsky from losing a substantial degree of political influence at the **Tenth Party Congress** in March 1921. The party Secretariat, up to this time controlled by the followers of Trotsky, was restaffed and put in the hands of supporters of Stalin.

**The struggle for the succession.** When Lenin was stricken with his first cerebral haemorrhage in May 1922, the question of eventual succession to the leadership of Russia became urgent. Trotsky, owing to his record and his charismatic qualities, was the obvious candidate in the eyes of the party rank and file, but jealousy among his colleagues on the Politburo prompted them to combine against him. As an alternative, the Politburo supported the informal leadership of the troika composed of Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, and Stalin, with Stalin, as general secretary to the Communist Party, rapidly obtaining control of the organisational levers.

In the winter of 1922-23 Lenin recovered partially and turned to Trotsky for assistance in correcting the errors of the troika, particularly in foreign trade policy, the handling of the national minorities, and reform of the bureaucracy. In December 1922, warning in his then-secret "Testament" of the danger of a split between Trotsky and Stalin, Lenin characterised Trotsky as a man of "exceptional abilities" but "too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs." Just before he was silenced by a final stroke in March 1923, Lenin invited Trotsky to open an attack on Stalin, but Trotsky chose to bide his time, possibly contemplating an alliance with Stalin against Zinoviev. Stalin then moved rapidly to consolidate his hold on the party organisation and the Central Committee at the 12th Congress in April 1923. Trotsky had lost his most auspicious opportunity for establishing himself as Lenin's successor, partly as he explained himself, out of a reluctance to assert himself while Lenin still lay dying.

By fall, alarmed by inroads of the secret police among

party members and efforts to weaken his control of the war commissariat, Trotsky decided after all to strike out against the party leadership. In October he addressed a wide-ranging critique to the Central Committee, stressing especially the violation of democracy in the party and the failure to develop adequate economic planning. Reforms were promised, and Trotsky responded with an open letter, "The New Course," detailing the direction they should take. This, however, served only as a signal for massive propaganda counterattack by the leadership against Trotsky and his supporters on grounds of factionalism and opportunism. At this critical moment, Trotsky fell ill of an undiagnosed fever and could take no personal part in the struggle. Because of Stalin's organisational controls, the party leadership easily won, and the "New Course" controversy was terminated at the **13th Party Conference in January 1924 (the first substantially stage-managed party assembly)** with the condemnation of the Trotskyist opposition as a petty bourgeois, Menshevik-like, illegal faction deviation. Lenin's death a week later only confirmed Trotsky's isolation. Convalescening on the Black Sea coast, Trotsky was deceived about the date of the funeral, failed to return to Moscow, and left the scene to Stalin.

Attacks on Trotsky did not cease. When the 13th Party Congress, in May 1924, repeated the denunciations of his violations of party discipline, Trotsky vainly professed his belief in the omnipotence of the party. The following fall he took a different tack in his essay *The Lessons of October 1917*, linking the opposition of Zinoviev and Kamenev to the October Revolution with the failure of the Soviet-inspired German Communist uprising in 1923. The party leadership replied with a wave of denunciation, counterposing Trotskyism to Leninism, denigrating Trotsky's role in the Revolution, and denouncing the theory of permanent revolution as a Menshevik heresy. This verbal abuse was followed in January 1925 with Trotsky's removal from the war commissariat.

Early in 1926, following the split between the Stalin-Bukharin leadership and Zinoviev-Kamenev group and the denunciation of the latter at the **14th Party Congress**, Trotsky joined forces with his old adversaries Zinoviev and Kamenev to resume the political offensive. For a year and a half this "United Opposition" grasped at every opportunity to put its criticisms before the party membership, despite the increasingly severe curbs being placed on such discussion. Again they stressed the themes of party democracy and economic planning, condemned the leadership's concessions to bourgeois elements (especially the peasantry), and denounced Stalin's theory of "Socialism in one country" as a pretext for abandoning world revolution.

The response of the leadership to this campaign was a rising tide of official denunciation, supplemented by an anti-Semitic whispering campaign. In October 1926 Trotsky was ousted from the Politburo; just a year later he and Zinoviev were dropped from the Central Committee for printing their platform clandestinely. After an abortive attempt at a demonstration on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution in November 1927, the two were expelled from the Communist Party. At the 15th Congress in December, the opposition was ritually condemned without a single voice represented in its favour, and the entire Trotskyist group was expelled from the party.

During this period of fruitless political struggle, Trotsky carried on an enormous intellectual activity. He produced books on a wide range of subjects from international politics to literature

and the elevation of mass culture, as well as innumerable platforms, essays, and diatribes that were condemned to remain unpublished.

**Exile and assassination.** In January 1928, Trotsky and his principal followers were exiled to remote parts of the Soviet Union, Trotsky himself being assigned to Alma-Ata in Central Asia. There he kept up an active correspondence with his supporters, condemning Stalin's methods in initiating the new industrialisation drive and endeavouring to keep his own men from making their peace with Stalin. In January 1929 Trotsky was banished from the territory of the U.S.S.R.

Trotsky was initially received by the government of Turkey and domiciled on the island of Prinkipo. He plunged into literary activity there and completed his autobiography and his history of the Russian Revolution, while simultaneously striving to organise and encourage the anti-Stalin factions that had been expelled from various Communist parties throughout the world. In 1933 Trotsky secured permission to move to France. After Hitler's victory in Germany, he gave up the hope of reforming the Communist International and called on his followers to establish their own revolutionary parties and form a Fourth International. This movement (whose American branch was the Socialist Workers' Party) proved to be little more than a shadow organisation, although a small founding conference was officially held in France in 1938.

In 1935 Trotsky was compelled to move to Norway, and in 1936 under Soviet pressure, he was forced to seek asylum in Mexico, where he settled at Coyoacán, near Mexico City. He was represented as the principal conspirator, in absentia, in the treason trials of former Communist opposition leaders held in Moscow in 1936, 1937, and 1938. The evidence of treasonable plotting was, however, proven to be fictitious by an investigating commission chaired by the American philosopher John Dewey.

Trotsky remained outspoken in his criticism of the Stalin regime as a bureaucratic and "Bonapartist" perversion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He came to the conclusion that the Russian Revolution had as early as 1923 entered the conservative phase of Thermidor (by analogy with the overthrow of the radical Jacobins in France in July 1794 in the month of Thermidor according to the Revolutionary calendar). This backsliding of the revolution Trotsky explained with reference to his theory of permanent revolution: a socialist regime under Russian conditions of backwardness, isolated by the failure of world revolution, was bound to degenerate. By 1937 he was calling for a new revolution in the U.S.S.R. to restore power to the workers.

Subsequent to Trotsky's political defeat in 1927, the official history of the Communist Party was rewritten to minimise and denigrate Trotsky's role in the Revolution and in the Soviet regime. After the Moscow Trials he was represented as having been a counterrevolutionary plotter ever since the Revolution. Following Premier Nikita Khrushchev's destalinisation campaign in 1956, the treatment of Trotsky's role was moderated but not fundamentally re-examined. His widow was unsuccessful in petitioning for his rehabilitation by the Soviet authorities.

Trotsky was the object of the two assassination attempts, presumably by Stalinist agents. The first, a machine gun attack on his house by David Siqueiros, the painter and guru of Satish Gujral, our Inder's brother, failed. The second was successful when a Spanish Communist by the name of Ramon Mercader, who had won the confidence of the Trotsky household, fatally wounded Trotsky with an alpine axe on August 20, 1940. The

Soviet government disclaimed any responsibility, and the murderer was sentenced to the maximum 20-year term under Mexican law.

**Assessment:** Trotsky was undoubtedly the most brilliant intellect brought to prominence by the Russian Revolution, outdistancing Lenin and other theoreticians such as Bukharin both in the range of his interests and in the imaginativeness of his perceptions. He was an indefatigable worker, a rousing public speaker, and a quick and decisive administrator.

In the period of Stalinist darkness, Trotsky kept the flame of revolution alive. He was the greatest European revolutionary of the period 1905-40. He might have made important tactical errors in the period 1924-29, but he will be finally judged by history, for his great practical revolutionary activity, between 1917 and 1924 and for his theoretical contributions from 1905 to 1940.

(Source: EB, 1983 ed., Vol. 18, p.717-720)

## HO CHI MINH (1890-1969)

Ho Chi Minh (real name Nguyen That Thanh), leader of the Vietnamese national movement for nearly three decades and president of North Vietnam (now Vietnam) from 1945 to 1969, was one of the prime movers of the post-World War II anticolonial movement in Asia and one of the most influential Communist leaders of the 20th century.

**Early life.** The son of a poor country scholar, Nguyen Sinh Huy, Ho Chi Minh was born on May 19, 1890, in the hamlet of Hoang Tru, in the Nghe An province of Vietnam, then French Indochina. He was brought up in the village of Kim Lien. He had a wretched childhood, but between the ages of 14 and 18 he was able to study at a grammar school in Hue. He is next known to have been a schoolmaster in Phan Thiet and then was apprenticed at a technical institute in Saigon. In 1911, under the name of Ba, he found work as a cook on a French steamer. He was a seaman for more than three years, visiting various African ports as well as Boston and New York City. After living in London from 1915 to 1917 he moved to France in the middle of World War I. There he worked, in turn, as a gardener, sweeper, waiter, photo retoucher and oven stoker.

During the six years that he spent in France (1917-23), he became an active socialist under the name Nyugen Ai Quoc (Nyugen the Patriot). He organised a group of Vietnamese living there and in 1919 addressed an eight point petition to the representatives of the Great Powers at the Versailles Peace Conference that concluded World War I. In the petition, Ho demanded that the French colonial power grant its subjects in Indochina equal rights with the rulers. This act brought no response from the peacemakers, but it made him a hero to many politically conscious Vietnamese. The following year, inspired by the success of the Communist revolution in Russia and Lenin's anti-imperialist doctrine, Ho joined the French Communists when they withdrew from the Socialist Party in December 1920, and he denounced the evils of French and British colonialism in his journal *Le Paria* ("The Outcast"; Paris).

After his years of militant activity in France, where he became acquainted with most of the French working-class leaders, Ho went to Moscow at the end of 1923. In January 1924, following the death of Lenin, he published a moving farewell to the founder of the Soviet Union in *Pravda*. Six months later, from June 17 to July 8, he took an active part in the fifth Congress of the Communist International, during which he criticised the French Communist Party for not opposing colonialism more vigorously. The text of his statement to the Congress is noteworthy because it contains the first formulation



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of his belief in the importance of the revolutionary role of oppressed peasants (as opposed to industrial workers). From then on he was an important figure in World Communism.

In December 1924, under the assumed name of Ly Thuy, Ho went to Canton, a Communist stronghold, where he recruited the first cadres of Vietnamese nationalist movement, organising them into the Vietnam Thanh Nien Cach Menh Dong Chi Hoi (Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth Association), which became famous under the name Thanh Nien. Almost all of its members had been exiled from Indochina because of their political beliefs and had gathered together in order to participate in the struggle against French rule over their country. Thus, Canton became the first home of Indochinese nationalism.

When Chiang Kai-shek, then commander of the Chinese Army, expelled the Chinese Communists from Canton in April 1927, Ho again sought refuge in the Soviet Union. In 1928 he went to Brussels and Paris and then to Siam (now Thailand), where he spent two years as a representative of the Communist International, the world organisation of Communist parties, in Southeast Asia. His followers, however, remained in South China. Meeting in Hongkong at the beginning of May 1929, members of the Thanh Nien decided to form an Indochinese Communist Party. Others in the Vietnamese cities of Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon, began the actual work of organisation, but some of Ho's lieutenants were reluctant to act in the absence of their leader, who had the confidence of Moscow. Ho was brought back from Siam, therefore, and on February 3, 1930, he presided over the founding of the party. At first it was called the Vietnamese Communist Party, but after October 1930, Ho, acting on Soviet advice, adopted the name Indochinese Communist Party (PCI). Thus, the movement received greater international recognition and avoided the suggestion of "petit-bourgeois nationalism" implied by the earlier title. In this early phase of his career, Ho acted more as an arbiter of conflicts among the various factions, allowing the organisation of revolutionary action, rather than as an initiator. His prudence, his awareness of what it was possible to accomplish, his care not to alienate Moscow, and the influence that he already had achieved among the Vietnamese Communists can be seen in these actions.

The creation of the PCI coincided with a violent insurrectionary movement in Vietnam. Repression by the French was brutal; Ho himself was condemned to death in absentia as a revolutionary. He sought refuge in Hongkong, where the French police obtained permission from the British for his extradition, but friends helped him escape, and he reached Moscow via Shanghai.

In 1935 the seventh Congress of the International, meeting in Moscow, which he attended as a chief delegate for the PCI, officially sanctioned the idea of the Popular Front (an alliance with the non-communist left against Fascism) — a policy Ho had advocated for some time. In keeping with this policy the Communists in Indochina moderated their anticolonialist stance in 1936, allowing for cooperation with "antifascist colonialists". The formation of Premier Léon Blum's Popular Front government in France in the same year allowed leftist forces in Indochina to operate more freely, although Ho, because of his condemnation in 1930, was still not permitted to return from exile. Repression returned to Indochina with the fall of the Blum government in 1937, and by 1938 the Popular Front was a dead letter.

In 1938 Ho returned to China and stayed for a few months with Mao Tse-tung at Yanan. When France was defeated by Germany in 1940, he and his lieutenants, Vo Nguyen Giap and Pham van Dong, plotted to use this turn of events to advance their own cause. About this time he began to use the name Ho Chi Minh (He Who Enlightens). Crossing over the border into Vietnam in January 1941, the trio and five comrades organised in May the Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence of Vietnam), or Viet Minh; this gave renewed emphasis to a peculiarly Vietnamese nationalism.

The new organisation was forced to seek help in China from the government of Chiang Kai-shek. But Chiang distrusted Ho as a Communist and had him arrested, Ho was then imprisoned in China for 18 months, during which time he wrote his famed *Notebook from Prison* (a collection of short poems written in classic Chinese, a mixture of melancholy, stoicism, and a call for revolution). His friends obtained his release by an arrangement with Chiang Fa-k'uei, a warlord in South China, agreeing in return to support Chiang's interests in Indochina against the French.

In 1945 two events occurred that paved the way to power for the Vietnamese revolutionaries. First, the Japanese completely overran Indochina and imprisoned or executed all French officials. Six months later the United States dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and the Japanese were totally defeated. Thus, the two strongest adversaries of the Viet Minh and Ho Chi Minh were destroyed.

Ho Chi Minh seized his opportunity. Within a few months he contacted U.S. forces and began to collaborate with the OSS (Office of Strategic Services, U.S. undercover operation) against the Japanese. Further, his Viet Minh guerrillas fought against the enemy in the mountains of South China.

At the same time, commandos formed by Vo Nguyen Giap, under Ho's directions, began to move towards Hanoi, the Vietnamese capital, in the spring of 1945. After Japan's surrender to the Allies, they entered Hanoi on August 19. Finally, on September 2, before an enormous crowd gathered at Ba Dinh Square, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam independent, using words ironically reminiscent of the U.S. Declaration of Independence: "All men are born equal: the Creator has given us inviolable rights, life, liberty, and happiness ...!"

All obstacles were not removed from the path of the Viet Minh, however. According to the terms of an Allied agreement, Chiang Kai-shek's troops were supposed to replace the Japanese north of the 16th parallel. More significantly, France, now liberated and under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle, did not intend to simply accept the *fait accompli* of an independent Vietnam and attempted to reassert its control. On October 6 Gen. Leclerc landed in Saigon, followed a few days later by a strong armoured division. Within three months, he had control of South Vietnam. Ho had to choose between continuing the fight or negotiating. He chose negotiations, but not without preparing for an eventual transition to war.

Ho Chi Minh's strategy was to get the French to make the Chinese in the north withdraw and then to work for a treaty with France in which recognition of independence, evacuation of Leclerc's forces, and reunification of the country would be assured. Negotiations began in late October 1945, but the French refused to speak of independence, and Ho was caught in a

stalemate. In March the deadlock was broken : on his side, Ho Chi Minh allowed parties other than the Viet Minh to be included in the new government, in an attempt to gain a wider base of support for the demands made on the French; at the same time, the French sent a diplomatic mission to China to obtain the evacuation of the Chinese soldiers. This was done, and some of Leclerc's troops were also removed from Haiphong, in the north. Having secured the withdrawal of the Chinese, Ho signed an agreement with the French on March 6. According to its terms, Vietnam was recognised as a "free state with its own government, army, and finances," but it was integrated into a French Union in which Paris continued to play the key role. Twelve days later, Leclerc entered Hanoi with a few battalions, which were confined to a restricted area.

The agreement was unsatisfactory to extremists on both sides, and Ho Chi Minh went to France for a series of conferences (June to September 1946) and concluded a second agreement with the French government. But the peace was broken by an incident at Haiphong (November 20-23, 1946) when a French cruiser opened fire on the town after a clash between French and Vietnamese soldiers. Almost 6,000 Vietnamese were killed and hope for an amicable settlement ended. Sick and disillusioned, Ho Chi Minh was not able to oppose demands for retaliation by his more militant followers, and the first Indochina war began on December 19.

After a few months, Ho, who had sought refuge in a remote area of North Vietnam attempted to re-establish contact with Paris, but the terms he was offered were unacceptable. In 1948 the French offered to return the former Annameese (Vietnamese) emperor Bao Dai, who had abdicated in favour of the revolution in August 1945. These terms were more favourable than those offered to Ho Chi Minh two years earlier, because the French were now attempting to weaken the Viet Minh by supporting the traditional ruling class in Vietnam. But this policy was not successful. The Viet Minh army, commanded by Giap, was able to contain the French and Bao Dai's forces with guerrilla tactics and terrorism, and, by the end of 1953 most of the countryside was under Viet Minh control, with the larger cities under a virtual stage of siege. The French were decisively defeated at Dien Bien Phu on May 7, 1954, and had no choice but to negotiate.

**The Geneva Accords and the second Indochina war.** From May to July 21, 1954, representatives of eight nations — with Vietnam represented by two delegations, one composed of supporters of Ho Chi Minh and the other three supporters of Bao Dai — met in Geneva in an attempt to find a peaceful solution. They concluded with an agreement according to which Vietnam was to be divided at the 17th parallel until elections, scheduled for 1956, after which the Vietnamese would establish a unified government.

It is difficult to assess Ho's role in the Geneva negotiations. He was represented by Pham van Dong, his most faithful associate. The moderation exhibited by the Viet Minh in accepting a partition of the country despite their triumph at Dien Bien Phu and in accepting control of less territory than they had conquered during the war follows the pattern established by the man who had signed the 1946 agreements with France. But this flexibility, which was also a response to the pressures exerted by the Russians and Chinese, did not achieve everything for Viet Minh. Hanoi lost out because the elections that were to guarantee the country's reunification were postponed indefinitely by the United States and by South Vietnam, which was created on a *de facto* basis by this time.

North Vietnam, where Ho and his associates were

established, was a poor country, cut off from the vast agricultural areas of the south. Its leaders were forced to ask for assistance from their larger Communist allies, China and the Soviet Union. In these adverse conditions Ho Chi Minh's regime became repressive and rigidly totalitarian. Attempted agricultural reforms in 1955-56 were conducted with ignorant brutality and repression. "Uncle" Ho, as he had become known to the North Vietnamese, was able to preserve his immense popularity, but abandoned a kind of humane quality that had distinguished some of his previous revolutionary activities despite ruthless "purges" of Trotskyists and bourgeois nationalists in 1945-46.

The old statesman had better luck in the field of diplomacy. **He travelled to Moscow and Peking (1955) and to New Delhi and Jakarta (1958)**, skilfully maintaining a balance between his powerful Communist allies and even, at the time of his journey to Moscow in 1960, acting as a mediator between them. Linked by old habit, and perhaps by preference, to the Soviet Union, but aware of the seminal role China had played in the revolution in Asia, preoccupied with using his relations with Moscow to lessen China's influence in Asia, and above all, careful to assert Vietnamese rights, Ho Chi Minh skilfully maintained a balance between the two Communist giants. When the war was resumed, he obtained an equal amount of aid from both.

**Beginning about 1959, North Vietnam again became involved in war.** Guerrillas popularly known as the Viet-cong, were conducting an armed revolt against the U.S.-sponsored regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam. Their leaders, veterans of the Viet Minh, appealed to North Vietnam for aid. In July 1959, at a meeting of the central committee of Ho Chi Minh's Lao Dong (Worker's Party), it was decided that the establishment of socialism in the North was linked with the unification with the South. This policy was confirmed by the third congress of the Lao Dong, held shortly thereafter in Hanoi. During the congress, Ho Chi Minh ceded his position as the party's secretary general to Le Duan. He remained chief of state, but from this point on, his activity was largely behind-the-scenes. Ho certainly continued to have enormous influence in the government, which was dominated by his old followers, Pham van Dong, Truong Chinh, Vo Nguyen Giap, and Le Duan, but he was less actively involved, becoming more and more a symbol to the people. His public personality, which had never been the object of a cult comparable to that of Stalin, Mao, or even Tito, is best symbolised by his popular name, Uncle Ho. He stood for the essential unity of the divided Vietnamese family.

This role, which he played with skill, did not prevent him from taking a position in the conflict ravaging his country, especially after American air strikes against the North began in 1965. On July 17, 1966 he sent a message to the people ("nothing is as dear to the heart of the Vietnamese as independence and liberation") that became the motto of North Vietnamese cause. On February 15, 1967, in response to a personal message from U.S. President Lyndon Johnson, he announced: "We will never agree to negotiate under the threat of bombing." Ho lived to see only the beginning of a long round of negotiations before he died on September 3, 1969.

The removal of this powerful leader undoubtedly damaged chances of an early settlement. His funeral was held in Hanoi's Ba Dinh Square, where, 14 years earlier he had proclaimed the resurgence of the state of Vietnam. Le Duan, Ho's successor as the party head, read his remarkable last will and testament. In it, Ho spoke of the Vietnamese people as his "nephews," reflecting a peculiarly Vietnamese relationship suggested by

the words *bac* (a paternal uncle even more highly respected than a father) and *ngghia* (a term implying self-sacrifice and the necessity of helping one's kin). Equally characteristic are his references to the "plains and mountains" of Vietnam and his insistence that Vietnam must again be united under one "roof". These phrases are suggestive of the realities of a peasant life and its relationship to the land and hearth, which alone give meaning to Vietnamese national feeling. But he links this national feeling to the hope for a "worldwide revolution," which is again characteristic of the man who devoted 50 years of his life to Marxism-Leninism.

Ho Chi Minh left no family. He is not known to have had a wife, and his brothers and sisters died before him. His death caused no great changes either in the conduct of the Indochina war or in the power structure of his country. The collective leadership he fostered during his lifetime seems to have filled the gap left by his death.

Among 20th-century revolutionaries, Ho waged the longest and most costly battle against the colonial system of the great powers. One of its effects was to cause a grave crisis in the national life of the mightiest of capitalist countries, the United States. As a Marxist, he stands with the Yugoslav leader Tito as one of the progenitors of the "national Communism" that developed in the 1960s, and (at least partially) with Communist China's Mao-Tse-tung in emphasizing the role of the peasantry in the revolutionary struggle.

Most of Ho Minh's writings are collected in the two-volume *Selected Works*, published in Hanoi in 1960, in the series of Foreign Language Editions.

(Source: *EB*, 1983, Macro, Vol 8, pp.981-83)

### MAO TSE-TUNG ( 1893 - 1976 )

As China emerged from a half century of revolution as the world's most populous nation, Mao Tse-tung (in Pin-yin romanization, Mao Ze-dong), its principal revolutionary thinker and for many years its unchallenged leader, must be accorded a critical place in the story of the country's resurgence. To be sure, he did not play a dominant role throughout the whole struggle. In the early years of the Chinese Communist Party, he was a secondary figure, though by no means a negligible one, and even after the 1940s (except perhaps during the Cultural Revolution) the crucial decisions were not his alone. Nevertheless, looking back over the whole period since the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, Mao Tse-tung can fairly be regarded as the principal architect of the new China.

**Early years.** Born on December 26, 1893, in the village of Shao-shan, Hunan Province, Mao was the son of a poor peasant who had become affluent as a farmer and grain dealer. He grew up in an environment in which education was valued only as training for keeping records and accounts. From the age of eight, he attended his native village's primary school, where he acquired a basic knowledge of the Confucian Classics. At 13, he was forced to leave and begin working full time on his family's farm. Rebelling against paternal authority, Mao left his family to study at a higher primary school in a neighbouring county and then at a secondary school in the provincial capital, Ch'ang-sha. There he came in contact with new ideas as formulated by such political and cultural reformers as Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao and the Nationalist revolutionary Sun Yat-sen. Scarcely had he begun studying revolutionary ideas when a real revolution took place before his very eyes. On October 10, 1911, fighting against the Manchu dynasty broke out in Wu-ch'ang, and within

12 days the revolt had spread to Ch'ang-sha.

Enlisting in the unit of the revolutionary army in Hunan, Mao spent six months as a soldier. While he probably had not yet clearly grasped the idea that, as he later put it, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," his first brief military experience at least confirmed his boyhood admiration of military leaders and exploits. In primary school days, his heroes had included not only the great warrior-emperors of the Chinese past but Napoleon as well.

The spring of 1912 saw the birth of the new Chinese Republic and the end of Mao's military service. For an entire year he drifted from one thing to another, trying in turn a police school, a soap-making school, a law school, a business school, studying history in a secondary school, and then spending some months reading many of the classic works of the liberal tradition in the provincial library. This period of groping, rather than indicating any lack of decision in Mao's character, was actually a reflection of China's situation at the time. The abolition of the official civil service examination system in 1905 in modern schools had left young people in a state of uncertainty as to what type of training could best prepare them for a successful career or for service to their country.

Mao eventually graduated from the First Provincial Normal School in Ch'ang-sha in 1918. While officially an institution of secondary level rather than of higher education, the normal school offered a high standard of instruction in Chinese history, literature, and philosophy. While at the school, Mao Tse-tung also acquired his first experience in political activity by helping to establish several student organisations. The most important of these was the New People's Study Society, founded in the winter of 1917-1918, some of whose members were later to join the Communist Party and to follow Mao's leadership to the final Communist victory in 1949.

From the normal school in Ch'ang-sha, Mao went to Peking University, China's leading intellectual centre. The half year he spent in Peking working as a librarian's assistant was of disproportionate importance in shaping his future career, for it was then that he came under the influence of the two men who were to be the principal figures in the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party : Li Ta-chao and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Moreover, he found himself at Peking University precisely during the months leading up to the so-called May Fourth Movement of 1919, which was to a considerable extent the fountainhead of all the changes that were to take place in China in the ensuing half century.

In a limited sense, May Fourth Movement is the name given to the widespread and intense student demonstrations protesting against the Paris Peace Conference's decision to hand over former German concessions in Shan-tung to Japan instead of returning them to China. But the term also evokes a period of rapid political and cultural change, beginning in 1915, that resulted in the Chinese radicals' acceptance of Marxism-Leninism as the answer to China's problem and the subsequent founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. This period also saw the shift from the difficult and esoteric classical written language to a far more accessible vehicle of literary expression patterned on colloquial speech. At the same time, a new and very young generation moved to the centre of the political stage. To be sure, the demonstrations on May 4th were launched by Ch'en Tu-hsiu, but the students soon realised that they themselves were the main actors. In an editorial published in July 1919, Mao wrote :

*The world is ours, the nation is ours, society is ours. If we*

*do not speak, who will speak? If we do not act, who will act?*

Since then, his generation has never ceased to regard itself as responsible for the nation's fate, and indeed, its members are still in power today, both in Peking and in Taipei.

During the summer of 1919 Mao Tse-tung helped to establish in Changsha a variety of organisations that brought the students together with the merchants and workers — but not yet with the peasants — in demonstrations aimed at forcing the government to oppose Japan. His writings at the time are filled with references to the "army of the red flag" throughout the world and to the victory of the Russian Revolution, but it was not until the winter of 1919-20, after fleeing from Hunan, where he held a campaign against the military ruler there, that he became committed to Marxism. He spent that winter in Peking reading translations of the Marxists writings, which he said, *built up in me a faith in Marxism from which, once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterwards waver.*

**Mao and the Chinese Communist Party.** In June 1920, after a change of governors in Changsha, Mao returned to his native province as principal of the primary school, and in September or October of that year he organised a small Communist group there. That winter he married the first of his three wives, Yang K'ai-hui, the daughter of his former ethics teacher. Although his duties at the school occupied most of his time, he managed to keep up his political activities on a part-time basis. He did attend, in the summer of 1921, a meeting of representatives from other Communist groups in China, along with two delegates from the Moscow-based Comintern (Communist International), and helped to found the Chinese Communist Party. In 1923, when the young party entered into an alliance with Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) in order more effectively to fight the inefficient and oppressive regime in Peking, Mao abandoned his job as a principal to become a professional revolutionary and political leader.

In 1923-24, he lived mostly with his wife and two infant sons in Shanghai, where he was a leading member of the local Kuomintang organisation, as well as of the Chinese Communist Party. In winter of 1924-25, he returned to his native village of Shaoshan for a rest. There, after witnessing demonstrations by peasants stirred into political consciousness by the shooting of several dozen Chinese by foreign police in Sanghai (May and June 1925), Mao suddenly became conscious of the revolutionary potential inherent in the peasantry. Although born in a peasant household, he had, in the course of his student years, adopted the Chinese intellectual's traditional view of the workers and peasants as ignorant and dirty. His conversion to Marxism had forced him to revise his estimate of the urban proletariat, but he continued to share Marx's own contempt for the backward and amorphous peasantry. Now, however, he turned back to the rural world of his youth as the source of China's regeneration. Following the example of other Communists working with the Kuomintang who had already begun to work with peasants, Mao began to channel the spontaneous protest movements of the Hunanese peasants into a growing network of peasant associations.

• **The Communists and the Kuomintang.** Pursued by the military governor of Hunan, Mao was soon forced to flee his native province once more and returned for another year to an urban environment — this time to Canton, the main power base of the Kuomintang, then led by Chiang Kai-shek since the death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925. But, though he lived in Canton, Mao still focussed his attention on the countryside. Apart from

editing the Kuomintang's leading organ, *the Political Weekly*, and attending the Second Kuomintang Congress in January 1926, Mao served at the Peasant Movement Training Institute, set up in Canton under the auspices of the Kuomintang, as principal of the sixth training course. Although Chiang Kai-shek still declared his allegiance to the "world revolution" and wished to avail himself of Soviet aid, he was determined to remain master in his own house. He therefore expelled most Communists from responsible posts in the Kuomintang in March 1926. Mao, however, stayed on at the institute from May to October of that year. He remained there because of the common bond of nationalism he shared with Chiang, in spite of Chiang's suspicions of the Communists. As it turned out, most of the young peasant activists Mao trained were shortly at work strengthening the position of the Communists against the Kuomintang.

In July 1926, Chiang Kai-shek set out on a Northern Expedition aimed at unifying the country under his own leadership and overthrowing the conservative government in Peking as well as other dissident warlords. At the close of the training session in October, Mao once more returned to Hunan, where, in January and February 1927, he conducted an investigation into the peasant movement, which led him to conclude that in a very short time several hundred million peasants in China would "rise like a tornado or tempest — a force so extraordinarily swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to suppress it." Strictly speaking, this prediction proved to be false. Revolution in the shape of spontaneous action by hundreds of millions of peasants did not sweep across China "in a very short time", or indeed at all. Chiang Kai-shek, who was bent on alliance with the propertied classes in the cities and in the countryside, turned against the worker and peasant revolution, and in April of 1927 he went so far as to massacre the very Shanghai workers who had delivered the city to him. Stalin's strategy for carrying out revolution in alliance with the Kuomintang collapsed, and the Chinese Communist Party was virtually annihilated in the cities and decimated in the countryside. But in a broader and less literal sense, Mao's prophecy was justified. In August 1927, Mao led a few hundred peasants who had survived the autumn harvest uprising to a base on the Ching-kang Shan (Ching-kang Mountains) and embarked on a new type of revolutionary warfare in the countryside in which the Red Army, rather than the unarmed masses, would play the central role. But it was only because a large proportion of China's hundreds of millions of peasants sympathised with and supported this effort that Mao Tse-tung was able in the course of the civil war to encircle the cities from the countryside and thus defeat Chiang Kai-shek and gain control of the country.

**The road to power : Mao's 22 years in the wilderness (1927-49) can be divided into four phases.** The first one of these is the initial three years when Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, the commander in chief of the army, successfully developed the tactics of guerrilla warfare from the base areas in the countryside. These activities, however, were regarded even by their protagonists, and still more by the Central Committee in Shanghai (and by the Comintern in Moscow), as a holding operation until the next upsurge of revolution in the urban centres. In the summer of 1930 the Red Army was ordered by the Central Committee to occupy several major cities in south central China in the hope of sparking a revolution by the workers. When it became evident that persistence in this attempt could

only lead to further costly losses, Mao disobeyed orders and abandoned the battle to return to the base in southern Kiangsi. During this year Mao's first wife was executed by the Kuomintang and he married Ho Tzu-chen with whom he had been living since 1928 and who bore him five children.

The second phase (the Kiangsi period) centres on the founding of the Chinese Soviet Republic, November 1931, in a portion of Kiangsi Province, with Mao as chairman. Since there was little support for the revolution in the cities, the promise of ultimate victory now seemed to reside in the gradual strengthening and expansion of the base areas. The Soviet regime soon came to control a population of several million; the Red Army, now grown to a strength of some 200,000, easily defeated large forces of inferior troops sent against it by Chiang Kai-shek in the first four of the so-called encirclement and annihilation campaigns. But it was unable to stand up against Chiang's own elite units, and in October 1934 the major part of the Red Army, Mao and his pregnant wife all abandoned the base in Kiangsi and set out for the northwest of China, on what is known as the Long March.

The Kiangsi period of 1931-1934 is by far the most obscure and controversial in the history of Chinese Communism and in Mao's own career. There is a wide disagreement among the specialists as to the extent of Mao's real power, especially in the years 1932-34, and as to which military strategies were his or other party leaders'. But the majority view appears to be that, in the last years of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Mao functioned to a considerable extent as a figurehead with little control over policy, especially in military matters, and that he achieved *de facto* leadership over the party (though not the formal title of Chairman of the Central Committee) only at the Tsunyi Conference of January 1935 during the Long March.

In any case, when a few thousand troops, who had survived the perils of the Long March arrived in the northwest in the autumn of 1935, events were already moving towards the third phase in Mao's rural odyssey, which was to be characterised by a renewed united front with the Kuomintang against Japan and by the rise of Mao to unchallenged supremacy in the party. In August 1935 both the Comintern at its Seventh Congress in Moscow and the Chinese Communists from one of their halts during the Long March proclaimed the principle of an anti-fascist united front, and in May 1936, the Chinese Communists for the first time accepted the prospect that such a united front might include Chiang Kai-shek himself, and not merely dissident elements in the Nationalist camp. The so-called Sian incident of December 1936, in which Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by military leaders from northeastern China who wanted to fight Japan and recover their homelands rather than participate in civil war against the Communists, accelerated the evolution towards unity. By the time the Japanese began their attempt to subjugate all of China in July 1937, the terms of a new united front between the Communist and the Kuomintang had been virtually settled and the formal agreement was announced in September 1937.

In the course of the anti-Japanese war, the Communists broke up a substantial portion of their army into small units and sent them behind the enemy lines to serve as nuclei for guerrilla forces which effectively controlled vast areas of the countryside, stretching between the cities and communication lines occupied by the invader. As a result, they not only expanded their military forces to somewhere between 500,000 to 1,000,000 at the time of the Japanese surrender but also established effective grass-roots control over a population which may have totalled as

many as 90,000,000. It has been argued that the support of the rural population was won purely by appeals to their nationalist feelings in opposition to the Japanese. This certainly was fundamental, but Communist agrarian policies likewise played a part in securing broad support among the peasantry.

During the years 1936-1940, Mao Tse-tung had, for the first time since 1920s, the leisure to devote himself to reflection and writing. It was then that he first read in translation a certain number of Soviet writings on philosophy and produced his own account of dialectical materialism, of which the best known portions are those entitled "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." More important, Mao produced the major works which synthesised his own experience of revolutionary struggle and his vision of how the revolution should be carried forward in the context of the united front. On military matters, there was first *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War*, written in December 1936 to sum up the lessons of the Kiangsi period (and also to justify the correctness of his own military line at the time), and then *On Protracted War* and other writings of 1938 on the tactics of the anti-Japanese war. As to his overall view of the events of these years, Mao adopted an extremely conciliatory attitude towards the Kuomintang in his report entitled *On the New Stage* (October 1938), in which he attributed to it the leading role both in the war against Japan and in the phase of national reconstruction which would follow it. By the winter of 1939-40, however, the situation had changed sufficiently so that he could adopt a much firmer line, claiming leadership of the Communists. This was spelled somewhat more openly in *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, written primarily for party members, than in *On New Democracy*, which was aimed at a wider audience, but otherwise the argument in both pieces was similar. Internationally, the Chinese revolution was a part of the world proletarian revolution directed against imperialism (whether it be British, German, or Japanese); internally, the country should be ruled by a "joint dictatorship of several parties" belonging to the anti-Japanese united front. For the time being, Mao felt, the aims of the Communist Party coincided with the aims of the Kuomintang, and therefore Communists should try not to rush ahead to socialism and thus disrupt the united front. But neither should they have any doubts about the ultimate need to take power into their hands in order to move forward to socialism. During this period, in 1939, Mao divorced his second wife and married a well-known film actress, Lan P'ing, known today as Chiang Ch'ing.

The issues of Kuomintang-Communist rivalry for the leadership of the united front are related to continuing struggle for supremacy within the Chinese Communist Party, for Mao's two chief rivals — Wang Ming, who had just returned from a long stay in Moscow and Chang Kuo-t'ao, who had at first refused to accept Mao's political and military leadership — were both accused of excessive slavishness toward the Kuomintang. But perhaps even more central in Mao's ultimate emergence as the acknowledged leader of the party was the question of what he had called in October 1938 the "Sinification" of Marxism — its adaptation not only to Chinese conditions but to the mentality and cultural traditions of the Chinese people.

Mao could not claim the first-hand knowledge of how Communism worked within the Soviet Union possessed by many other leading members of the Chinese Communist Party nor the ability which some of them enjoyed to read Marx and Lenin

in the original. He could and did claim, however, to know and understand China. The difference between him and the Soviet-oriented faction in the party came to a head at the time of the so-called Rectification campaign of 1942. This programme aimed at giving a basic grounding in Marxist theory and Leninist principles of party organisation to the many thousands of new members who had been drawn into the party in the course of the expansion since 1937. Among the materials for study were writings by Lenin, Stalin, and George Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Comintern leader. But a second and equally important aspect of the movement was the elimination of what Mao called "foreign dogmatism"—in other words, blind imitation of Soviet experience and obedience to Soviet directives.

The Rectification Campaign of 1942 has been bitterly denounced since the early 1960s by Soviet spokesmen as an attempt to purge the Chinese Communist Party of all those elements genuinely imbued with "proletarian internationalism" (i.e., devotion to Moscow). It is therefore not surprising that, as Mao's campaign in the countryside moved into its fourth and last phase—that of civil war with Kuomintang—Stalin's lack of enthusiasm for a Chinese Communist victory should have become increasingly evident. Looking back on this period in 1962, when the Sino-Soviet conflict had come to a head, Mao declared:

"In 1945 ..... Stalin blocked the Chinese revolution, saying that we must not fight a civil war but must collaborate with Chiang Kai-shek. Otherwise, the Chinese nation would perish. At that time, we did not apply this, and the revolution was victorious. After the victory of the revolution, he (Stalin) again suspected that China would be like Yugoslavia and I would turn into Tito."

This account of Stalin's attitude is substantiated by a whole series of public gestures at the time, culminating in the fact that when the People's Liberation Army took Nanking in April 1949, the Soviet ambassador was the only foreign diplomat to accompany the retreating Nationalist government to Canton. Stalin's motives were obviously those described by Mao in the above passage; he did not believe in the capacity of the Chinese Communists to achieve a clear-cut victory, and he thought they would be a nuisance if they did.

**Formation of the People's Republic of China.** Nevertheless, when the Communists did take power in China, both Mao and Stalin had to make the best of the situation. In December 1949 Mao, now chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, travelled to Moscow, where, after two months of arduous negotiations, he succeeded in persuading Stalin to sign a treaty of mutual assistance accompanied by limited economic aid. Before the Chinese had time to make profit from the resources made available for economic development, however, they found themselves dragged into the Korean War in support of the Moscow-oriented regime in P'yongyang. Only after his baptism of fire did Stalin, according to Mao, begin to have confidence in him and believe he was first and foremost a Chinese nationalist.

Until several years after Stalin's death, the Chinese continued to go about "building socialism" in a way essentially similar to that which had been followed in the Soviet Union; i.e., based on centralised planning with an emphasis on heavy industry, especially in the form of large capital-intensive enterprises built by Soviet assistance. Mao later declared this policy as unfortunate but inevitable in view of the Chinese Communists' lack of experience in economic development. In

the countryside, too, the stages of land reform, followed in due course by collectivisation, were similar to those in the Soviet Union, though the details were somewhat different. Throughout the first half decade of the Chinese People's Republic, Mao rarely appeared in public. Apart from speeches welcoming foreign diplomats and officials decrees which he signed as chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, very few statements were issued in his name. On July 31, 1955, however, he suddenly emerged from this ceremonial role with an important speech calling for acceleration in forming agricultural cooperatives, which differed markedly from the provisions of five-year plan officially adopted only the day before. This marked the beginning of a four-year period during which Mao constantly and actively sought to promote his own policies in every sphere, often against the opposition of senior comrades.

**Mao's re-emergence, 1955-59.** In the winter of 1955-56, Mao Tse-tung edited a three-volume compilation of materials on the "Socialist High Tide" in China's countryside, designed to illustrate the advantages of rapid collectivisation. In the spring of 1956, three months after Nikita Khrushchev, then first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, made a secret speech denouncing Stalin's purges of the Party after 1934, Mao proclaimed the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom"—that is, the freedom to express many diverse ideas—designed to prevent the development of a similar repressive political climate in China. The uprisings of 1956 in Poland and Hungary against Soviet domination did not induce him to retreat from this policy; instead, he pressed on even more boldly in his celebrated speech of February 27, 1957, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." It was evident at the time that the Hundred Flowers policy was never intended as a liberalisation policy in the usual sense of the term. But neither was the invitation to "bloom" merely a trap to snare those with dissident opinions. Mao's hope was that the intellectuals and specialists, whom he had hailed in January 1956 as indispensable to the development of China's economy, would be more likely to support the regime wholeheartedly if the party demonstrated that it did not regard itself as infallible and was willing to listen to criticism. Mao soon discovered, however, that he had miscalculated. Far from contenting themselves with denouncing particular defects in the system, the critics called into question the most fundamental principle of the system itself, namely, the leadership by the Communist Party.

Mao, therefore, in 1957, turned his attention from the elite to the masses. If the specialists were not yet sufficiently "red," he would remould them by sending them to work at the grass-roots level. Meanwhile, he would rely primarily on the creativity of the rank and file as the agent of modernisation. Mao was pushed in this direction by his disappointment with the intellectuals but economic necessity played an even greater role in the genesis of the new policies known as the Great Leap Forward. In the face of dwindling Soviet assistance, Mao concluded that China's economic development could best be assured by emphasising small labour-intensive enterprises, which would require a substantial degree of local initiative, rather than capital-intensive programmes. These policies were put into effect in the spring and summer of 1958 in the framework of the "people's communes," which spread rapidly throughout the Chinese countryside.

There was still an element of Leninist orthodoxy in the system that emerged at this time, namely, party leadership. The kind of leadership involved, however, went against the grain of Leninism, essentially an elitist philosophy in which the

intellectuals lead the workers and the workers lead the more backward peasants. In handing over control of both political and economic affairs to party secretaries at the commune level, who were often peasants themselves, Mao made a decisive departure from Leninism. He was quite right when he said later that 1958 had marked the end of Chinese reliance on the Soviet model.

**Setback and retirement.** The Great Leap Forward, while its economic effects were not wholly negative, did disorganise industrial production, the disruption of the countryside caused by the overhasty introduction of the communes, combined with a series of natural disasters, also lead to a severe food shortage. As a result, opposition from Mao's colleagues forced him to retreat from these bold policies and accept a more orthodox approach to economic problems, stressing centralised planning and material incentives. In the autumn of 1959 the Minister of Defence, P'eng te-huai, was removed from his post because he had criticised Mao's economic approach too openly, but in the years 1960 - 1962 it was P'eng's policies rather than Mao's that were applied by the party leadership. Mao's retirement in 1959 from the post of chairman of the Chinese People's Republic was not a consequence of these setbacks, for it had been announced within the party at the end of 1957. Nevertheless, although Mao remained chairman of the Communist Party, he was less in the public eye until the mid-1960s. Meanwhile, Lin Piao, P'eng Te - huai's successor as Minister of Defence, was turning the People's Liberation Army into a "great school of Mao Tse-tung's thought," thereby laying the foundation of Mao's comeback.

It is from this period that one may date serious disagreements and rivalry between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i, who replaced Mao as chairman of the Republic. Though, in some respects, their approach to revolution in the 1920s and 1930s was different (Liu adopting a more orthodox view stressing the role of the urban proletariat), there was clearly an effective political alliance between them from the early 1940s. In 1945, at the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, it was Liu who made the speech hailing Mao Tse-tung's thoughts as the guide to all the party's work, and in 1958 he supported Mao fully on the question of rapid economic development. He did not agree, however, on the decentralised and loosely coordinated pattern of development which characterised the Great Leap Forward, and beginning in 1960 he came into conflict with Mao through his support of a more orthodox, Soviet-type model.

At the 10th Plenary Session of the Central Committee in September 1962, Mao issued the call, "Never forget the class struggle!" In the spring of 1963 he translated this into action by launching a Socialist Education Movement, which, in his view, would prevent China from "changing colour" and becoming revisionist like the Soviet Union. The movement became a battlefield for the opposing concepts of revolution held by Mao, on the one hand, and the leaders of the party organisation, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, on the other. In the autumn of 1963 Teng produced a new directive to guide the movement, heavily imbued with Leninist elitism as compared to Mao's original draft, and in autumn of 1964 Liu revised the directive further in an attempt to reach a compromise between Mao's views and Teng's. In January 1965, Mao intervened once more with a new and still more radical directive, denouncing the danger of "revisionism" in the Central Committee, but he was already moving towards the idea that a completely new form of political action was required—the gigantic and unprecedented.

undertaking that was to be called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

**The Cultural Revolution.** Mao concluded that the Socialist Education Movement had become merely another rectification movement similar to that of 1942. There had been many such campaigns since 1949, and the party cadres were adapting themselves to them: they would go through the prescribed motions, produce the necessary self-criticism, then continue acting as they had before. This time the party as a whole, and not merely individual elements in it, would have to be disciplined and remoulded.

It is difficult to assess the consequences of the gigantic upheaval of the years 1966-69, although the general pattern of the movement is clear enough. First came the phase of Red Guard violence, in which the party organisation was attacked and the party officials beaten up by young zealots loyal to the Chairman, discreetly guided and supported by the army. From January 1967 to September 1968 came the "seizure of power" by revolutionary committees in the various provinces, comprising an alliance of former party cadres, young Red Guard and "revolutionary rebel" activists, and representatives of the People's Liberation Army. Then followed a period of "tidying up," symbolised by the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1969, and the attempt to reanimate the party organisation at all levels by retaining most of the previous memberships but altering the spirit of the party bureaucracy and its relations with the masses.

While the Cultural Revolution can hardly be seen as the logically inevitable outcome of Mao's previous ideas and career, he so thoroughly identified himself with this attempt to transform the whole spirit and structure of Chinese society that assessment of the man and his life work must begin with it. Like many earlier episodes in Mao's life, the Cultural Revolution was full of contradictions. The most basic of these was that between the extraordinary development of the Mao cult, the call to be "boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao," on the one hand, and the effort to promote spontaneity and grass-roots initiative on the other. Mao himself would no doubt have claimed that, in the struggle with the entrenched party bureaucracy, he had no alternative but to throw his own personal prestige and charisma into the balance. Moreover, he would have argued, if one is to extirpate the roots of bureaucracy, which lie in the attitude of arrogant superiority (and that attitude in China has always characterised those who could boast of a certain amount of book learning, from the mandarins of the past to the modern party cadres and technical experts), the only solution lies in promoting ideas simple enough to be grasped by the people and a type of education adapted to the needs of the people.

There is a considerable element of truth in this official Maoist view of the Cultural Revolution. But at the same time, Mao's well-intended goal of increasing the general level of education and culture was pursued in such a way as to paralyse advanced research and humiliate those who possessed high levels of expertness, thus inhibiting the development and use of skills that Mao described as essential to China's progress. And the cult of Mao and Mao's thought, while giving the average man the conviction that he understood the most essential philosophical truths and the confidence to speak up and participate actively in the affairs of society, also had stultifying and impoverishing effects on intellectual life as a whole.

Mao died in Peking on September 9, 1976.

**Assessment.** In the attempt to view not only Mao's later policies but his life as a whole, his profound contribution to

China's national resurgence is indubitable. Although it was not Mao's achievement alone, in view of the central role he played from 1940s until his death, he must be given a large portion of the credit. To what extent the policies he promoted during the Great Leap Forward, and subsequently during the Cultural Revolution, contributed to China's economic development international prestige, is of course, subject to debate. Nonetheless, there was substantial economic progress, and the new China which he led and symbolised became a factor to be reckoned with in international affairs as it had not been in modern times.

To Asia, Africa, and Latin America he offered China's experiences as a model of "people's war," which may be an appropriate solution in some circumstances but a source of division, dogmatic hair-splitting, and unnecessary sacrifice in others. To students and others in advanced industrial societies of Europe and North America, he offered inspiration in the shape of a call to root out selfishness, bureaucraticism, and the enslavement of man to machine, but no infallible recipe for achieving those ends. The Chinese revolution and Mao's political theories will stand as landmarks in history.

(Source : EB, Macro, 1983, vol. 11, pp.645-69)

### SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (1897 - 1945)

"Described as a "patriot of patriots" by Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose fought for Indian independence with courage and devotion. But his role in the Indian struggle was different from that of Gandhi himself, for Bose's most spectacular gestures were military ones.

"He was born on January 23, 1897, the son of prominent lawyer in Cuttack, Orissa. As a boy Subhas Chandra sought an ideal to which he could devote his life, poring over the letters and the speeches of Swami Vivekanand, a Hindu saint and religious leader of the late 19th century, while hardly 15. He later enjoyed a career at the University of Calcutta, proceeding thence to Cambridge. In 1920 he passed the Indian civil service examination, but soon after he resigned to fight for his people and hurried back to India.

"The noncooperation movement had been started by Mahatma Gandhi, who had made the INC a powerful nonviolent organisation. Bose was advised by Gandhi to work under C.R. Das (Indian politician, founder and the leader of the Swaraj [Self-rule] Party) in Bengal. There he became a youth educator, journalist, and commandant of the Bengal Congress volunteers. His activities led to his imprisonment in December 1921. When the Swaraj Party was formed in 1923, Bose was a devoted adherent. In 1924 he was appointed chief executive officer of the corporation of Calcutta, with Das as mayor. Bose was soon after deported to Burma, suspected of connections with secret revolutionary movements. Released in 1927, he returned to find Bengal Congress affairs in disarray after the death of Das.

"Gandhi now resumed his Congress activity, and Bose was elected President of the Bengal Congress. In 1928 he was general officer commanding the Congress volunteers in the INC session at Calcutta. His imposing figure, leading a parade of disciplined youth in military formation, gave people visions of a national militia, which accorded ill with Gandhi's philosophy. In the Congress session Bose moved a resolution demanding India's independence. He did not get a majority this time, but in 1929 session Gandhi himself sponsored the independence resolution. It received overwhelming support. When the civil disobedience movement was started in 1930, Bose was already in detention. Released and then re-arrested, he was finally

allowed to proceed to Europe after a year's detention. In enforced exile, he wrote *The Indian Struggle*, 1920-34, made a firsthand study of Europe after the Treaty of Versailles, and pleaded India's cause with European leaders. He returned from Europe in 1936, was again taken into custody, and released after a year. In 1938 he was elected president of the INC and formed a national planning committee, as well as a policy of industrialisation. This did not harmonise with Gandhian economic thought, which clung to the spinning wheel as a symbol. Bose's vindication came in 1939, when he defeated a Gandhian rival for re-election. Nonetheless, the "rebel president" felt bound to resign because of the lack of Gandhi's support. He founded the Forward Bloc, hoping to rally radical elements, but was again incarcerated in July 1940. His refusal to remain in prison at this critical period of India's history was expressed in a determination to fast to death, which frightened the British government into releasing him. Though closely watched, he escaped from his residence in disguise to Germany, hoping to exploit the international situation in favour of India.

"In Germany Bose raised a body of Indian volunteers to fight against the western powers. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and the fall of Singapore to the Japanese, he thrilled the East by arriving at Penang Island off the west coast of Malaya after about three month's hazardous passage in a German submarine. He then flew to Tokyo, planning to strengthen the Independence struggle in India by obtaining a Japanese aid against British. Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army in Japanese captivity were set free to join him, and Indians from Singapore and other places in Southeast Asia also volunteered. He formed a trained army of three active divisions, each consisting of 10,000 soldiers and 20,000 volunteers. In October 1943 he proclaimed the establishment of an independent Indian government, and his Indian National Army, enjoying equal status with the Japanese Army, advanced to Rangoon and thence overland into India, reaching Kohima and the plains of Imphal (near the Burmese border, about 200 miles north of the Bay of Bengal). In a stubborn battle the army, lacking Japanese aerial support, was defeated and forced to retreat but for some time succeeded in maintaining its identity as the liberation army of India. Bose was unbroken in defeat and reportedly died in a Japanese hospital on August 9, 1945, after his plane had crashed in Taiwan. By his actions Bose proved that Indians in the British Indian Army could also be inspired by patriotic fervour."

By his work Subhas proved that had the Japanese Air Force been able to provide the necessary air cover to the INA's Manipur and Arakan operations, he too would have become master of a part or the whole of India and furthermore, he might have been placed by the Japanese in power, just as they had done in the case of Aung San in Myanmar, Pibul Songgram in Thailand, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, Emilio Aguinaldo in Philippines and Sukarno in Indonesia.

Actually, Subhas Bose had been ceded territory in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (renamed by Bose as Shaheed and Swatantra islands in 1943) and in parts of Manipur and Arakan, from where he issued postage stamps and other tokens of his Statehood. (flag, anthem, etc.). Post-colonial history of India could have taken an entirely different turn, had such developments come about. As we know, ultimately, Aung San became the ruler of Myanmar (then Burma) with whom the British were forced to negotiate. Similarly, Ho Chi Minh, to whom the Japanese surrendered power in Hanoi, at the time of their departure in 1945, became the supreme power in Vietnam, at



the end of a long drawn out Civil War fought with the French (1945-54) and the U.S.A. (to 1975). Sukarno, in Indonesia, also assumed power in 1949 and remained at the helm of affairs till the American stooge, Suharto, carried out a successful military coup in 1965. Aguinaldo, was arrested when the Americans returned to Philippines in 1945, but had to be released by a Presidential amnesty and became a member of the Council of State under President Elpidio Quirino in 1950. Pibul Songgram had led a coup against the Thai King Prajadhipok (Rama VII) in 1932. Pibul's policy was Nationalist at home and pro-Japanese, abroad. After 1945, under Allied pressure, a government of Pridi Phanomyong had taken over. But Pibul returned to power in 1948 and continued upto 1957, when Sarit Thanarat carried out a coup within a coup.

The living examples of Aung San, Pibul Songgram, Ho Chi Minh, Aguinaldo and Sukarno, prove that Subash Bose's strategic thinking was along the right lines.

Let us remember that Subhas Bose's "Government of India in exile" with territories in Manipur, Arakan and Andaman Nicobar was recognised by several governments of the world, viz, those of Germany (Hitler did not help Subhas whilst Subhas was in Germany from 1941 to 1943, but recognised his Azad Hind Government under Japanese pressure), Italy, Japan, Croatia, Thailand (Siam), Myanmar (Burma), Philippines and the Japanese puppet government of China (called the Nanking Government in those days). [See *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Vol. VI, 1946-48, p. 7821]

Thus, it will be seen that Aung San of Burma, Pibul Songgram of Thailand, Emilio Aguinaldo of Philippines actually collaborated with Subhas Bose from 1943 to 1945.

Ho Chi Minh was rather diplomatic and tried to ride two horses at the same time (See his bio-sketch elsewhere in this issue). Because of Russian support that he had received earlier and more of which he hoped for, he did not join the other Southeast Asian nations in recognising Subhas' Azad Hind Government in a forthright manner. But Ho actively supported Subhas, allowing him to recruit members of the INA from the Indo-China (as Vietnam was known in those days) and gave other material help to Subhas.

"In June 1942 a conference of Indians from Siam, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, *Indo-China*, claiming to represent some 3,000,000 Indians, was held at Bangkok; that an 'Indian Independence League' was established in that city with the aim of securing India's independence; that the League had a membership in the above mentioned countries of about 750,000; that at a conference in Singapore on July 4, 1943, Ras Behari Bose, president of the League, formally handed that office over to Subhas Chandra Bose; that the latter announced the forthcoming creation of the *Azad Hind Government* with himself as *Netaji* (Leader) and c-in-c of the INA; and that a National Bank of *Azad Hind* had been opened in Rangoon in April 1944 in which the amount deposited to the credit of the 'Provisional Government' was \$ 15,353,144 in addition to cash collections amounting to \$ 5,350,000 and donations in kind valued at \$ 86,310." (See above cited *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, same page)

Indian Stalinist-Progressivists should particularly note the cooperation extended by their Vietnam hero, Uncle Ho, to Subhas Bose in the years 1943 to 1945. It is only very recently that the Indian Stalinists have admitted that their earlier characterisation of Subhas Bose was "wrong" and that Subhas was a patriot and not a fascist, which they had called him, all through from 1941 to 1997.

However, there were two vital differences, between the situation faced by other Southeast Asian leaders and Subhas Bose's Azad Hind Government: One, Japanese military strength was over-stretched and could not provide air cover for the Indian National Army's incursions into India, whilst the American counter-offensive in the Pacific began to undermine Japanese control over the Melanesian and Micronesian islands from 1943. Secondly, all of a sudden in August 1945, Japanese power collapsed following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Had the American counter-offensive flagged, either in 1943 or in 1945, we would have had an entirely different historic scenario and the Partition of India could not have been carried out by British imperialism with Muslim League, Congress and Communist cooperation in 1947. India would have remained a unified nation and the history of South Asia and the World could have taken a new direction.

Our tasks would have been made much easier !

(Source: *EB, Macro*, 1983, Vol 3, p. 53 and Vol. 16, pp. 722-3)

### PATRICE LUMUMBA (1925 - 1961)

"The first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo (renamed Zaire by Mobutu, but restored as Congo by Kabila, in 1997) after it achieved independence from Belgium, the radical nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba saw his regime disintegrate through a revolt of the army, arranged by the USA, the secession of the wealthiest province, Katanga, and invasion by the country's former masters. He was evicted from office by the president less than three months after he assumed office and murdered by the CIA four months later. But at the time of his death, he was hailed throughout the continent as "the hero of Africa," and in his own country he has been officially proclaimed by successors who opposed him during his lifetime as "the national hero." He was thus the strange paradox of the hero who succeeded posthumously, the hero whose memory evokes aspiration and achievement.

"Patrice Hemery Lumumba was born on July 2, 1925, in the village of Onalua in Kasai Province, Belgian Congo. He was a member of the small Batetela tribe, a fact that was to become significant in his later political life. His two principal rivals, Moïse Tshombe, who led the breakaway of the Katanga Province, and Joseph Kasavubu, who later became the nation's president, both came from large, powerful tribes from which they derived their major support, giving their political movements a regional character. In contrast, Lumumba's movement emphasised its all-Congolese nature. Lumumba's parents were Catholics. At 13, however, he went to a Protestant mission school to receive training as a male nurse. He attended the school for two years but left before getting a diploma.

"Lumumba then went to Kindu-Port-Empain, where he obtained employment and became active in the club of the évolués (educated Africans). He began to write essays and poems for Congolese journals. He applied for and received, not without difficulty, the *carte d'immatriculation*, the document that conferred full Belgian citizenship.

"Lumumba moved to Léopoldville (now Kinshasa) to become a postal clerk and went on to become an accountant in the post office in Stanleyville (now Kisangani), the capital of Orientale Province. There he contributed his energy and intelligence to many organisations, and he continued to contribute to the Congolese press. In 1954 he applied to enter the opening class of the first Congolese university, Lovanium.

He was refused admission because he was married and the university authorities insisted that all its students live on campus.

"In 1955 Lumumba became president for Orientale Province of the APIC, a purely Congolese trade union of government employees which was not affiliated, as were other unions, to either of the two Belgian trade-union federations (Socialist and Catholic). He also became active in the Belgian Liberal Party in the Congo. Although conservative in many ways, the party was not linked to either of the trade-union federations, which were hostile to the APIC. In 1956, Lumumba was invited with others to make a study tour of Belgium under the auspices of the Minister of Colonies. On his return, as he disembarked from the airplane, he was arrested on a trumped up charge of embezzlement from the post office. He was convicted and condemned one year later, after various reductions of sentence, to 12 months imprisonment and a fine. Lumumba's friends collected money to pay his fine and support his family.

"The year 1956 was a turning point in Congolese political life and the beginning of the expression of nationalist ideas. When Lumumba got out of prison, he obtained a position in a private firm, a beer concern, of which he became sales director in Léopoldville. He grew even more active in politics. In October 1958 he founded the Congolese National Movement (Mouvement National Congolais; MNC), the first nationwide Congolese political party. In December he attended the first All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, where he met nationalists from all over the African continent and was made a member of the permanent organisation set up the conference. His outlook and terminology, inspired by the pan-African goals, now took on the tenor of militant nationalism.

"In 1959 the Belgian government announced a programme intended to lead in five years to independence, starting with local elections in December 1959. The nationalists regarded this programme as a scheme to install puppets before independence and announced the boycott of the elections. The Belgian authorities responded with repression. On October 30, there was a clash in Stanleyville that resulted in 30 deaths. Lumumba was imprisoned on a charge of inciting to riot.

"The MNC now decided to shift tactics, entered the elections and won a sweeping victory in Stanleyville (90 percent of the votes). In January 1960 the Belgian government convened a Round Table Conference in Brussels of all Congolese parties to discuss political change, but the MNC refused to participate without Lumumba. Lumumba was thereupon released from prison and flown to Brussels. The conference agreed on a date for independence, June 30, with national elections in May. Although there was a multiplicity of parties, the MNC came out far ahead in the elections; it was the only party to compete in all the provinces and gained 41 of 137 seats (the nearest other party having 13 seats). Lumumba emerged as the leading nationalist politician of the Congo. Manoeuvres to prevent his assumption of authority failed, and he was asked to form the first government, which he succeeded in doing on June 23, 1960.

"A few days after independence, some units of the army rebelled, largely because their Belgian commander refused to acknowledge that independence should improve the Congolese soldiers' treatment, pay, and prospects of promotion. In the confusion, the mineral-rich province of Katanga proclaimed secession. Belgium sent in troops ostensibly to protect Belgian nationals in the disorder. But the Belgian troops landed principally in Katanga where they sustained the secessionist regime of Moïse Tshombe.

"The Congo appealed to the United Nations to expel the

Belgians and help them to restore order. As prime minister, Lumumba did what he could to redress the situation, but it was not easy. His army was infiltrated by American agents like Mobutu, his civilian administration untrained, the United Nations forces (whose presence he had requested) condescending and assertive, and the political alliances underlying his regime very shaky. The Belgian troops did not evacuate and the Katanga secession continued.

"Since the United Nations forces refused to aid him in ending the Katanga secession, Lumumba decided to use his army. He appealed to the Soviet Union for planes to assist in transporting his troops to Katanga. He asked the independent African states to meet in Léopoldville in August to unite their efforts behind him. His moves alarmed the neo-colonialists led by USA, particularly the Western powers and the supporters of President Kasavubu, a political rival of Lumumba's who pursued a moderate course in the coalition government and favoured some local autonomy in the provinces.

On September 5 President Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba. The legalities of the move were immediately contested by Lumumba. There were thus two groups now claiming to be the legal central government. The United Nations Secretariat was uncertain in its response but tended to favour Kasavubu. On September 14, power was seized by the Congolese army leader Col. Joseph Mobutu, (President of Zaire as Mobutu Sese Seko for 32 years, overthrown by Laurent Kabila this year), who later reached a working agreement with Kasavubu. In October the General Assembly of the United Nations, by a divided vote, recognised the credentials of Kasavubu's government. The independent African states split sharply over the issue.

On November 27 Lumumba sought to travel from Léopoldville, where the United Nations has provided him with physical protection within the confines of his home, to Stanleyville, where his supporters had control. He was caught by Kasavubu's forces and arrested on December 2. On January 17, 1961, he was placed in an airplane and delivered to the Katanga secessionists regime, where he was murdered. Conflicting reports on the manner of his death were subsequently issued by Moïse Tshombe, which were obviously a tissue of lies. His death caused a scandal throughout Africa, and later, retrospectively, his enemies proclaimed him a "national hero."

"What was it about Lumumba that caused such intense emotion? His viewpoint was not exceptional. He was for a unitary Congo and against division of the country along tribal or regional lines. He supported pan-Africanism and the liberation of the colonial territories. He proclaimed his regime one of "positive neutralism", which he defined as a return to African values and rejection of any imported ideology, including that of the Soviet Union.

"There are probably two things about Lumumba that aroused the wrath of his enemies. He was a man of strong character who intended to pursue his policies, regardless of the enemies he made abroad; and the country he headed was a key area in terms of the geo-politics of Africa. Its wealth, its size, and its contiguity to white-dominated southern Africa made his opponents fear the consequences of a radical or radicalised Congo regime. Moreover, in the context of the Cold War, the Soviet Union's support for Lumumba appeared as a threat to many in the West.

"Lumumba developed in his own brief political life from an incipient nationalist member of an educated elite with grievances about the racial limitations of a colonial situation, to a radical

nationalist tribune of the people who sought the liberation of the masses. It took a man of ambition, intelligence, energy and courage to make this transition. Murdered for his virtues and for his deeds, he has become an inspiring revolutionary symbol. As such he has continued to play a role in emergent Africa."

(Source: *EB, Macro*, 1983, Vol. 11, pp.185-187)

### FIDEL CASTRO (1926- )

Fidel Castro Ruz led the Cuban revolution to power in 1959 and has headed the Cuban government ever since — the first and only Communist regime in the Western Hemisphere. His international influence grew in the late 1970s after he dispatched tens of thousands of combat troops to fight in Africa.

He was born near the village of Birán, in the Mayari municipality of Oriente province, the easternmost in Cuba, on August 13, 1926. His father, Angel Castro y Argiz, an immigrant from Galicia in northwest Spain, had seven children, two by his first wife. While still married to her he had five more illegitimate children from his cook, Lina Ruz González. Fidel was the second of these; Raúl later to become, too, a major figure in Cuban affairs, was the youngest. Fidel's father cultivated sugarcane and some other crops. Although the Mayari region was poor, Angel Castro was financially well off, though not a very wealthy man, in an area long dominated by the United Fruit Company.

Fidel Castro attended Roman Catholic boarding schools in Santiago, the capital city of Oriente province, and later attended the country's leading Jesuit-run boarding school, Belén, in the city of Havana. He graduated from the School of Law of the University of Havana after five years. Although he probably began reading Marxist works at the university, he did not become a Communist until the late 1950s.

His main activity at the university — where organised gangs sought to advance a mixture of romantic goals, political aims, and personal careers — was politics. In a minor way he participated in an attempted invasion of the Dominican Republic organised in Cuba in 1947 and in urban riots that broke out in Bogotá, Colombia, in April 1948.

In October 1948 Castro married Mirta Diaz-Balart, over the objections of her family, and his only son, also named Fidel, was born in September 1949. He and his wife were divorced in 1955.

Castro became a member of the Cuban People's Party (called *Ortodoxos*) in 1947 and was their candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives (from a city of Havana district) in the elections scheduled for 1952. On March 10, 1952, however, former Cuban president General Fulgencio Batista, overthrew the government of Pres. Carlos Prío Socarrás and cancelled the elections.

Fidel Castro began to organise a revolution early in 1953. On July 26, he led a small group against the Moncada barracks in the city of Santiago, but it failed and Castro himself was arrested. His self-defence at his trial was to become his major statement during the 1950s. Known by his concluding words, "History Will Absolve Me" (*La Historia Me Absolverá*), the document attacked the anticonstitutional, repressive, and corrupt practices of the Batista government, calling for political and civil liberties. He also called for a land reform and other rural improvement programmes along with programmes for industrialisation, the partial sharing of profits between shareholders and workers, and a pledge not to introduce new taxes.

Upon his release from prison in 1955, Castro went to Mexico to organise the next step in the revolution, heading an

organisation called the 26th of July Movement. On December 2, 1956, he led a group that landed in Oriente province, Cuba, aboard the yacht "Granma." Meeting initial setbacks, Castro and his brother Raúl, Ernesto (Che) Guevara, and a few others retreated into the Sierra Maestra of southwestern Oriente province to wage guerrilla warfare against the demoralised, ill-equipped, and badly led armed forces of Batista. Independently of Castro, many other efforts were made to overthrow the Batista government, but none of these others succeeded. As internal political support waned and military defeats multiplied, Batista fled the country on December 31, 1958.

Fidel Castro has always remained the commander in chief of the Cuban armed forces. In February 1959 he became prime minister and thus head of the Cuban government. In December 1976 he became also president of the State Council of the Cuban National Assembly, while continuing as head of the government. He is also the chief executive officer, called the secretary general, of the Communist Party of Cuba (*Partido Comunista de Cuba*, with which Castro's movement was merged in 1961) — the only political party operating legally in Cuba under the constitution of 1976. He is also a member of the party's principal organ, the Political Bureau (*Politburo*), and of the Central Committee.

Fidel Castro's political style has emphasised active engagement and self-discipline. Moderately tall, athletic, and bearded, he believes that individuals can overcome most obstacles if they have the will to do so and that revolution, at home and abroad, is the important mission worth pursuing. As he said, "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

He is man of extraordinary personal energy, keen intelligence, and a very fine political sense in domestic affairs and foreign policy. He is a spellbinding orator who can speak often and at great length. He has had the support of many, but he also provoked revolt and exile among hundreds of thousands of Cubans (many of whom left for the U.S.). He aligned his government with the Soviet Union in 1960 and in 1961 announced that he was a Marxist-Leninist.

His policies have been far reaching. His government has vastly expanded educational opportunities and institutions. It has redistributed economic wealth, income, and access to health facilities. All education and health services in Cuba are free of charge. Every citizen has guaranteed employment and also has the obligation to work.

Fidel Castro's government on gaining power took over property owned by the U.S.-based enterprises in 1959 and 1960. By the early 1960s all economic ties between Cuba and the United States were broken, and the U.S. government was equipping thousands of Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro's government; their landing at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, however failed. Castro's close alliance with the Soviet Union has provided Cuba with economic subsidies and military support against the United States.

In 1962 the Soviet Union stationed ballistic missiles in Cuba, and the world came closer to nuclear war. The crisis ended when the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its nuclear weapons from Cuba in exchange for a pledge that the U.S. would no longer seek to overthrow the Cuban government. Nevertheless, operatives of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency continued for some time to plot to assassinate Castro.

Castro has supported violent revolution abroad, especially in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Guatemala in the 1960s. In 1975 the Cuban government (with Soviet support) decided to enter the Angolan civil war on the side of the popular Movement for the

Liberation of Angola that won the war. Again with Soviet support in 1978, the Cuban government assisted Ethiopia in defeating an invasion by Somalia. Fidel Castro's government entered the 1980s with as many combat troops — about 40,000 — posted abroad (relative to Cuba's population) as the U.S. had in Vietnam at the height of the war.

(Source: EB, 1983, Macro, Vol.3, pp.993-4)

### ERNESTO ("CHE") GUEVARA (1928-1967)

A prominent figure in the Cuban Revolution of the 1950s and '60s and an important official in Fidel Castro's Communist Government in Cuba, "Che" Guevara exerted an important influence on the theory and tactics of guerrilla warfare.

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born in Rosario, Argentina, on June 14, 1928. The eldest of five children in a middle class family of Spanish-Irish descent and leftist leanings, he was known for his radical views even as a boy. Though suffering from the attacks of asthma that were to handicap him throughout his life, he excelled as an athlete and a scholar, completing his medical studies in record time in March 1953. He spent many of his holidays travelling in various countries of Latin America, and his first-hand observations of their economic and political problems — specifically, of the great poverty of their masses — convinced him that the only solution lay in violent revolution. His travels also taught him to look upon Latin America not as a collection of separate nations but as a cultural and economic entity, the liberation of which would require intercontinental strategy.

In 1953 Guevara went to Guatemala, where Jacobo Arbenz headed a progressive regime that, through various reforms, especially land reform, was attempting to bring about a social revolution. Around this time Guevara acquired his nickname, from a verbal mannerism of Argentinians who punctuate their speech with the interjection *che*.

The overthrow of Arbenz regime in a coup supported by United States Central Intelligence Agency in 1954 persuaded Guevara that the United States would always oppose progressive leftist governments in Latin America and other developing countries of the world. This conviction which he later expressed in many speeches and writings, became the cornerstone of his plans to bring about Socialism through a world revolution. He left Guatemala for Mexico, where he met the Cuban brothers Fidel and Raul Castro, political exiles who were preparing to return to Cuba with an expeditionary force in an attempt to overthrow the dictatorship force of Fulgencio Batista. Guevara joined Castro's force and began to train for guerrilla warfare. On November 25, 1956, he and 81 other young men left Mexico on a yacht "Granma" and landed in the Cuban province of Oriente a few days later.

Immediately detected by Batista's army, they were almost wiped out in the first encounter; the few survivors, including the wounded Guevara, were able to reach the mountain chain known as the Sierra Maestra, where they set up the nucleus of a guerrilla army. The rebels slowly gained in strength, seizing weapons from Batista's forces and winning support and new recruits from the local peasantry and the intellectuals and workers in the cities. Guevara exhibited great skill and courage in combat and soon became one of Castro's ablest and most trusted aides. In July 1957 he was made a major and appointed leader of the rebel army's second column. He recorded the two years spent in overthrowing Batista's government in a detailed account entitled *Pasajes de la guerra revolucionaria* (Eng. trans., *Reminiscences of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, 1968), first published in 1963.

After Castro's victorious troops entered Havana on January 2, 1959 and established a Marxist government, Guevara became a Cuban citizen, divorced his Peruvian wife, Hilda Gadea, by whom he had one daughter, and married a member of Castro's army, Aleida March, by whom he had four children. He became as prominent in the new government as he had been in the revolutionary army, representing Cuba on many commercial missions and delegations to African, Asian and Communist countries. He also became well known in the West for his opposition to all forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism and for his attacks on U.S. foreign policy in Africa, Asia, and especially Latin America. An active participant in the economic and social changes brought about in Cuba by Castro's government, he occupied such important posts in his adopted country as chief of the Industrial Department of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, president of the National Bank of Cuba, and also as minister of industry.

During this period, he defined Cuba's policies and his own views in many speeches, articles and essays, the most important of which are "*El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba*" (1965; "*Man and Socialism in Cuba*" 1967), an examination of Cuba's new brand Communism, and a highly influential manual on guerrilla strategy and tactics (Eng. trans., *Guerrilla Warfare*, 1961).

After April 1965 Guevara dropped out of public life and then vanished altogether. His disappearance was varyingly attributed to the relative failure of the industrialisation scheme he had advocated while minister of industry, to pressures exerted on Castro by Soviet officials disapproving of Guevara's pro-Chinese Communist outlook, and to serious differences between Guevara and the Cuban leadership regarding Cuba's economic development and ideological line. In October of that year, Castro revealed a letter written to him by Guevara some months earlier in which Guevara reaffirmed his enduring solidarity with Cuban Revolution but explained that "other nations are calling for the help of my modest efforts" and that, having "always identified with the world outcome of our Revolution," he had decided to go and fight as a guerrilla in other liberation struggles being waged in different parts of the world.

Guevara's movements and whereabouts remained secret for the next two years, although he sent a letter that was read aloud at the first conference of the Tricontinental Solidarity Organisation, held in Havana in April 1967. In this letter, known as the "Message to the Tricontinental," Guevara analysed the world situation and called for all-out war against imperialism and the forces of reaction. During this period, he may have gone to North Vietnam and several countries in Latin America; it is also probable that he secretly returned to Cuba in 1966, but the facts have never been established positively. It was later learned that he had spent some time in Congo with other Cuban guerrillas, helping to organise the Patrice Lumumba Battalion, which fought in the civil war there. (Laurent Kabila was one of Che's closest associates in Congo as has been established by recent revelations)

In the autumn of 1966, Guevara went to Bolivia, incognito, to create and lead a guerrilla group in the region of Santa Cruz. He spent the next 11 months training the Bolivian guerrillas and fighting with them, meticulously recording their progress and setbacks in a diary that was found and published after his death. On October 8, 1967, the group was encircled by a special detachment of the Bolivian Army and almost annihilated. Guevara was captured after being wounded and shot soon afterward.

While pictures of the dead guerrilla chief were being

circulated and the circumstances of his death were being debated, Guevara's legend began to spread. Demonstrations in protest against his death occurred in many parts of the world, and articles, tributes, and poems were written about his adventurous life and tragic death. Even those liberal elements that felt little sympathy with his militantly Communist ideals during his lifetime expressed regret for his death and admiration for his integrity and spirit of self-sacrifice. He was singled out from other revolutionaries by many young people in the West because he rejected a comfortable middle class background to fight for those who were deprived of political power and economic stability. An intellectual and a thinker, he believed in putting his theories into action; he was called "the most complete human being of our age" by the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre.

(Source : EB, Macro, 1983, Vol. 8, pp. 464-5)

#### POST SCRIPT

Jerusalem : An Israeli newspaper has published what it said were previously unseen photographs of the final days of revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara and his guerrilla gang.

The 11 black-and-white photographs published in the *Haaretz* newspaper's weekend magazine on Thursday include a picture of a bare-chested Guevara lying on a cot soon after he was executed by Bolivian soldiers in 1967.

Other photographs show Guevara and his men slaughtering pigs for food and lounging in the jungle, and the bodies of the dead guerrillas slumped over mules and horses as they are carted away by soldiers.

They newspaper said it obtained 70 photographs, but refused to say how they were acquired. Editors say the

newspaper spent a month authenticating the pictures through laboratory tests and expert evaluations.

Udi Asheri, editor of the weekend magazine, said some of the pictures were probably taken by one of the guerrillas, and others by Bolivian soldiers. They show Guevara and his rebel fighters "on the run from Bolivian authorities" in rare moments of relaxation.

In one picture, Guevara, wearing his trademark black beret, is drawing water from a well. Other pictures show a guerrilla with a freshly slaughtered hog and others lounging by a campfire.

Other photographs show the aftermath of a grisly battle between Guevara's men and Bolivian troops — the bodies of three bearded guerrillas laid out on wool blankets being reviewed by a line of soldiers. A close-up photograph shows the body of Guevara's best friend Roberto Coco Fredo.

According to *Haaretz*, a man in a green beret in a photo of Bolivian village is one of the consultants the United States allegedly sent to assist the Bolivian army in their fight against the guerrillas.

Bolivian forces seized Guevara and other rebels on October 8, 1967, near Vado Del Yeso, southeast of the Bolivian capital of La Paz, then flew them to La Higuera, 480 km away, where Guevara and some of his guerrillas were executed.

Guevara's remains, buried three decades ago under a remote Bolivian airstrip, were returned to Cuba, his adopted homeland, in July. They are to be laid to rest in a specially built mausoleum in Santa Clara, Cuba, during a Communist Party congress in October. (AP).

(Source : Times of India , 27.9.97)

(contd from p. 24)

#### HEALTH CARE IN INDIA

rural and even in urban areas would provide cheaper as well as more personalised humane and effective services to the local population, the existing mega public hospitals do provide tertiary care to the poor for which they would otherwise have no alternative while the rich and the upper middle class can afford to use private hospitals and nursing homes. The Primary Health Centres, if strengthened and operated as comprehensive preventive and curative service would provide at least some succour to those whose very basis of health has been undermined by the new strategy in the process of Structural Adjustment under way.

- There seem to be hardly any distinction in planning for 'health' and 'health services' so that little attention is paid to the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of health. Consequently, the network of health services happens to be top-heavy, over-centralised, heavily curative in its approach, urban-and elite oriented, expensive and dependency-creating. These severe shortcomings of the whole system cannot be cured by small tinkering here and there. Any attempt to pump in more resources into the system of this style will further complicate our major health problems instead of solving them. The total reorientation of the existing system calls for integrated plans for health and development including family welfare. The reorientation of the system should aim at programmes of nutrition, improvement of the water, sanitation and environment, expansion of immunisation coverage and education rather than only at curative services as well as the super-specialities at the top. The alternative perspective integrates promotive, preventive and curative aspects of health and is community-based, people-oriented,

decentralised, democratic and participatory. Nothing short of these radical changes, it is emphasised, will meet the formidable challenges posed by the responsibility of ensuring the 'Health for All'. But it seems to be a distant dream, looking at the current pace of health services. In this endeavour, it may be repeated that the Panchayat Raj institutions at the grass-roots level are required to be strengthened and empowered with adequate funds, power, responsibility and requisite information at all levels. The health of a society is intimately connected with its value system, philosophical and cultural traditions and its social, economic and political organisation. This is all the more so when one is planning for the health of the poor rather than the provision of the health services alone. It may be added that in respect of education and health services provided by the public sector, there is a strong case both on the grounds of revenue and equity, for the better sections of the society to pay adequately for the services utilised by them. Unfortunately the private sector at present happens to be over-exploitative and the public sector is lacking responsibility and sensitivity in the delivery of health services. That both have to change is the crying need of the hour.

- The provision of good and adequate health care for all citizens specially for the poor and underprivileged should be the goal of our national health policy. Health is a function not only of medical care but also of the overall integrated development of society—cultural, social, economic and political. The major programmes which will improve the health of the people thus fall outside the realm of health care as such. Poverty, inequality and ignorance are the greatest diseases of our society. Rapid economic growth with equity and improvement of the status of women in the society are the basic requirements for improving the health of the people.

# THE MYSTERY OF SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS AND THE BRITISH DRAFT PROPOSALS-I

Rammanohar Lohia

## CHAPTER I

The India mission of Sir Stafford Cripps is wrapped up in mystery. Knowing as he did the mind of Indian leaders from previous intimate experience, why did he agree to come out to India with proposals that he should have known were foredoomed to failure? Why did Churchill send him? There is also a strange discrepancy between what Cripps said and did upto the moment he felt there was some chance of success and his sayings and doings afterwards. Is there a reason behind this? What sort of man is Cripps?

### SIR STAFFORD'S SOCIALISM

What sort of man is Cripps? A single occurrence answers this question better than any other. During the Italo-Ethiopian War, Sir Stafford Cripps outlined his position as a socialist and refused to take sides in what he said was a struggle between Italian capitalism and Ethiopian feudalism: Such an attitude is revelatory of a man's general outlook on life as also his level of education and mental maturity. Although a socialist, Cripps showed himself up in this attitude as a European and not as a world-citizen. There are many men in Europe who, in spite of all their sincere professions of racial equality, cannot rid themselves of the white man's burden. It is part of their sub-conscious make-up. If one told them about it, they would honestly feel wronged. But they have such an illimitable faith in the attainments of European civilisation that they, the European socialists, must needs be crusaders in the cause of Europe. They are the more arguing species of imperialists. Sir Stafford Cripps is one of them.

Even so, Cripps was a socialist and he ought to have known better. Socialism, however, like any other body of doctrines, is not just one or two straight principles

but a mass of interlinked ideas. To judge these would require mature thought and a capacity to weigh. *Sir Stafford's is a simple mind.* He cannot and does not wish to understand complexities. It was enough for him to know that a socialist is opposed to both feudalism and capitalism and that machine civilisation is better than rural living and, for the moment at least, he was unaware of the other socialist principles of self-determination for nations and decentralisation in economy. Sir Stafford will undoubtedly repudiate to-day his former view of the Italo-Ethiopian war. That again has been due not so much to real understanding as to his later developed love for collective security. Sir Stafford is a man of half-a-dozen straight ideas and he does not suffer from the pale cast of sicklied thought.

### LUCK IN RUSSIA

One may wonder how a simple mind could become such a strong force in British politics but one should not. Sir Stafford is in that long line of simple-minded British politicians whose last great representative was Baldwin. Of tolerably good parentage and extremely successful in their own trade or profession, these men possess one great quality, the knack to back the right horse. Sir Stafford backed Russia in time. He did not bring about the Russo-German war, he was at Stalin's court when the war broke out. He got the laurels. He became a force. With another run of luck, he would have become the most powerful individual in England but, here, his simplicity of mind stood in the way.

### CRIPPS' SOMERSAULTS IN INDIA

Sir Stafford attempted to back India. The horse was a loser. But why should he have tried to swop horses midstream, why should he have sung praises and later cavilled and carped? There is no doubt that, during his first ten days in

India, Sir Stafford talked business with congressmen and exchanged pleasantries with the rest. His way of talking business was suave and convincing like a travelling salesman's. We have it on the authority of Maulana Azad that Cripps had agreed to reduce the Viceroy to the position of the British King. During the last five days, his mood changed entirely. He almost told the purchasers to look at the catalogue where everything had been listed and not to worry him about any oral explanations he did not remember having given. His abuse of the Congress was clear and definite; he got out of a difficulty by telling the untruth that Congress was asking power for the Hindus.

### SUGGESTED EXPLANATION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has a theory to explain this glaring irrationality of conduct. Jawaharlal thinks, at least thought on the morrow of the Cripps' failure, that Delhi and Whitehall diehards were frightened at the exceedingly alluring promises which Cripps was making to Indian nationalism and, being his superiors, they pulled Sir Stafford up. This may be true but there is one big drawback in this theory as an explanation of Sir Stafford's conduct. It gives all the power and, therefore, all the blame to the Cabinet in London and the Viceroy in India and reduces Sir Stafford Cripps to being a robot. **Sir Stafford is, indeed, part-robot but he is also part-advocate.** He advocated the old imperialist plea of communal differences in India rather too well to be a machine. And, if it is suggested that a false sense of loyalty to his country and colleagues impelled Sir Stafford to defame the Indian National Congress at the moment, more than three months have since elapsed and he could have atoned. Even if he would not speak, he could at least have resigned his cabinet post. **He is instead attempting to lead the British offensive against Indian nationalism.** It is obvious that any theory to explain his strange behaviour must take into account the workings of his own mind and not merely those of his colleagues and superiors. The Viceroy in India and the Cabinet in London were certainly black, but Cripps too played a shady role!

Another explanation has been attempted. With the progress of his conversations, Sir Stafford is said to have felt the deadening influence of non-violence upon Congress leaders and their desire, under certain conditions, to make

peace with Japan. Cripps himself appears to give this theory his sanction. Apart from the fact that adherence to non-violence and a peace of surrender with aggressors go ill together. But the Congress leaders' present state of mind is indisputably clear and Sir Stafford could not possibly have misread it; they would not seek peace with aggressors. Moreover to suggest that the principle of non-violence stood in any way between Sir Stafford and the Congress Working Committee is to fly in the face of facts. Anybody who studies its resolutions and the utterances of its spokesmen must admit that the Working Committee has in recent months shied from non-violence like an unbroken colt. At times, its pleadings have been so woefully pathetic as if non-violence were a crime. Sir Stafford could not possibly have been so deaf and, shall I add, dumb. That Mahatma Gandhi might have insisted with Cripps on the efficacy of non-violence could not have brought about a change in his attitude. He knew of Gandhiji's position before he had embarked on his sugared salesman's talk and his later fulminations must, therefore, have their reason elsewhere.

### IS THERE REALLY A MYSTERY ?

Mystery is often created by missing the obvious. Between the two dissimilar attitudes of Cripps, there was the intervention of the American Johnson. Sir Stafford resented it and he even made chagrined references to it. This was natural. Open American intervention in imperial affairs would touch an Englishman on the raw same as an old man would feel when power started slipping from his hands into those of a viriler set. Aside from being nationally susceptible, Sir Stafford was personally sensitive. After Johnson's intervention, the mission had lost half its charm for Cripps. Even if he had succeeded, he could not have gathered all the plums. The plot was developing into a two-heroes business. Sir Stafford was both nationally and personally piqued. Even this would not be an entire explanation. His abuses were too strong for a pique. There was some keener disappointment. Moreover, his mission was failing even before America's representative intervened; there was something in this failure itself that caused his bitterness.

### THE PREMIER DREAMS

I suggest that the irrationality of Sir Stafford can have only one explanation. This lies in the difference between a dream and a nightmare. While Sir Stafford dreamt, he talked suavely; when the nightmare came, he lost his mental balance. He saw the premiership of the British empire disappearing. He had hoped to succeed in his mission in India and that he argued, would raise the stock of British radicals and displace the conservative Prime Minister of England. In the failure of his mission, he saw his hopes dashed and there was bitter disappointment and ashy frustration. What is today reasoning by a process of elimination may receive full corroboration, at a not distant date, in the memoirs of the negotiating leaders. It is just possible that Cripps talked about his hopes to Indian leaders, in fact, used them as a persuasion. Would not better days lie in store for Indian nationalism with a progressive Prime Minister, could not Cripps have said this ?

This theory is apparently derogatory of Sir Stafford, but not really so, at least, not very much so. At the time that Cripps might have been betraying the trust of his colleagues in India, he perhaps felt that Churchill was behaving likewise, for double-crossing is a frequent practice among realistic colleagues. Again, it will be a half-truth to say that Cripps was inspired by considerations of personal power alone. Power-politics and

national politics are inextricably mixed up. In the mind of some very honest politicians, particularly those who do not believe so much in ideas as in the personal touch, resides the gnawing thought that, if only they were at the head, things would go roaringly well. Cripps wanted to be Prime Minister not only for his own sake but for that of England, the British Empire, in fact, the whole world. He felt that he had the capacity in him which Churchill obviously did not possess, to breathe progressive activity in the administration of England. He was in dead earnest about succeeding in India so as to gain in prestige and influence and to be Prime Minister and, with the vastly added power, to manage things better in the British Empire. It was a dream of spiral ascent, where Cripps and the Empire were, in the mind of Sir Stafford, synonymous.

### WHY THEN DID HE COME TO INDIA ?

We are now brought to the question of what made Sir Stafford come out to India. It was his indifference to ideas and definite formulations, belief in the personal touch and habit of evolutionary progress. Politicians in free and prosperous countries may talk loose radicalism while in opposition but they also form the habit of alternately walking in and out of the government. Progress is to them more an amorphous movement onwards than a definite and well-formulated advance. They become evolutionary by habit, although they may exhibit occasional radicalism in speeches, their conception of political improvement is to a large extent change in administrative personnel. Sir Stafford had guessed that Indian leaders would be as wise as he and, human nature being the same all over, would react similarly. That is why, although he may have expected the disapproval of Congress leaders to the formulation of British proposals, he believed that an amorphous talk about revolutionary possibilities and a concrete vision of change in government personnel would finally bring them round. He had not the maturity of experience to see that India was neither free nor prosperous and her nationalist politicians, with the possible exception of Rajagopalachariar, were built on a different pattern. Rajagopalachariar is perhaps the only grand manner politician in India who has the unobjectivity of a free people and the nonchalance of a rich country. The Congress leaders, however, are generally objective enough to realise that, until foreign rule is ended, they have little capacity for all else. They are, therefore, hesitant about mere administrative changes. They desire a infusion of strength in their people, for unsupported by it, they feel helpless even in seats of authority. They have not the etherealness of spirit to forget that their country is neither free nor prosperous and they, therefore, demand a definite break from the past, in thought as well as in action. Moreover, it is just possible that the Indian mind is not as capable of vague ideas as the British mind is; it is more thoughtful and less personal. In any case, the tragedy of Sir Stafford lay in the possession of a simple honest imperialist mind which is incapable of grasping that men's habits are different and they clash fearfully and, when they do so, bitterness is the outcome.

### WHY DID CHURCHILL SEND HIM ?

Was Churchill astute enough to foresee all this when he sent Cripps out ? That would perhaps be overemphasising his ego and underrating his statecraft. He might indeed have been anxious to show an upstart rival his place but other springs of action appear to have been more dominant. There was some necessity of the British State which drove Churchill to accept the Cripps mission. In vulgar terms, it was the

pressure of nationalist opposition in India and its reflection in the pressure of public opinion in England and among the Allies especially in China and America. These pressures, to make sense, must be studied in relation to the basic necessity of the British State.

### ENGLAND'S NECESSITY TO MAINTAIN THE EMPIRE

The Empire is England's necessity. Economic and geo-political factors compel England to continue maintaining a far-flung Empire. Glamour and traditional usages and needs of the ruling class have added the weight of the spirit and of history to this compulsion, so that the Empire is today the basis of existence of the British State. **Without an Empire, the present population of England cannot be maintained, not even at levels of living lower than the existing ones. The best-planned socialist commonwealth in Britain cannot meet this pressure without the riches of an Empire.** The existing British State which has peopled the little island to fantastic proportions must either break or hold on to the Empire. Moreover, the apparatus of sea-power was admirably suited to policing the extensive empire of an island which had neither the strength nor the misfortune to seek for near and contiguous expansion on land. This geo-political apparatus and the industrial machine have made of the British State essentially the British Empire. What will the factory-worker together with his exploiting master, the trader, the administrator, the seaman and, above all, the book-writer and the political gentry do without an Empire? To all these the Empire is as the blood in their veins. The ruling class in England realises this. Present-day England is coeval with the Empire. To save Britain and to save the Empire are interchangeable terms. This is no mere jingling of jingo bells. It is the life-cry of the existing British State. **Churchill is the lustiest cry of all English children and he is also the supreme exponent, in speech and in action, of the imperial necessity of the British State.**

### THE NAVY CAN'T DO IT

England's geo-political situation, which gave her until recently an admirably same navy-controlled empire, is now a source of great weakness to her. What distinguishes our century from its predecessor is the remarkable intensity with which political awakening, is spreading over all the world. The slaves are up. It is easy enough to police a whole continent of sleeping men with an efficient little navy but, when they have bestirred themselves into activity, numbers count. Hundreds of millions of men can no longer be ruled from the coastlines or from a distance of thousands of miles. The nineteenth was the century of ports and harbours and therefore of the navy; the twentieth is the century of the hinterland and, therefore, of huge land forces which obviously include the air arm. **England has an intensely rebellious hinterland in her Empire, her navy is no longer up to it, and she is faced with far vaster land forces of her imperial rivals. She is outnumbered by external foes and is internally threatened by rebellious subject-populations. Her need therefore is, firstly, to appease her freedom demanding subjects and secondly to develop alliances with powers of great land forces.**

Cripps' India Mission was an expression of this need. It would be a market-place half-truth to regard the mission as a concession made by Churchill to unwelcome American or Chinese pressure or to clamourings among his own people. These pressures and clamourings are only an outward symptom of what goes far deeper down. If Churchill at all made a

concession, it was to this deep-down imperious need of the state to appease a rebellious subject-nation at a time when its geo-political situation had deteriorated, when its chief instrument of armed might, the navy, was no longer able to hold its own against the huge armed quantities of other land-powers.

[ Readers will notice how prophetic Lohia was about the British Indian Navy's strategic situation! When the Naval Ratings in Bombay revolted in Feb. '46, Britain immediately decided to send the Cabinet Mission to India, that eventually wound up the British Empire! -- V.P. ]

### THEREFORE APPEASEMENT

There are two needs of the British State, to hold on to the Empire as also to appease rebelling populations. These two needs are in no wise contradictory of each other. They may only appear at times to pursue divergent paths. In the ultimate analysis, these two needs are related to one another like a mother to her suckling child, for where is the need to appease a subject-nation if there is to be no empire. The process of appeasement must definitely fall short of the end of the empire. If a subject-nation cannot be satisfied with anything less than the destruction of all foreign rule, the basic need of an imperialist State to hold on to the empire at all costs must assert itself. Concessions to a revolting population are only a device to save an empire, when it is in distress. **Churchill and Cripps do not differ in their desire to continue the empire; they differ in their emphasis.**

### BUT WITHIN LIMITS

A State never commits intentioned suicide. To pursue the simile, it is either killed by outside assassins or withers, disrupts and dies through internal decay. Statesmen may differ in their opinion about what is necessary to restore the health of the State and to strengthen it; they are united in obeying the mandate of its basic need. The basic need of the British State is the British Empire. When Mahatma Gandhi wants British statesmen to give up their empire, this is perhaps expecting too much of a set of people whose free will in politics is rather limited. The significance, however, of Gandhiji's wish lies not so much in its content as in the procedure envisaged. An opponent must in every event be appealed to do the right thing, even if he is obviously incapable of it. This gives greater assurance to one's own forces, pleases the neutrals and discomfits the opponent's ranks. Such appeals, however, are sometimes misused. **There is always a tendency in a revolting population to be appeased with something less than its entire objective. Cripps' India Mission should have proved, if proof were still needed, that an imperial state never willingly and wholly gives up its Empire; it only loses its possessions to stronger forces.** This elementary observation is, however, beyond the grasp of some. To them, Mahatma Gandhi's appeals are a God-sent. **They tone down the appeals and continue to wait upon the pleasure of His Majesty's Government for another edition of the Cripps' Mission.**

A statesman usually carries many strings to his bow. In the event of one snapping, he is always ready to make use of the second or third string. As Cripps failed in his appeasement policy, he harped on the communal differences in India. Divide and rule is a permanent string of imperialist policy. It serves two ends. It is a propaganda device to seek self-justification, to trap neutrals and to confound the rebelling population. It is also an administrative device to create barriers and to break the will of a revolting nation into



several mutually conflicting desires. The observe of Cripps the appeaser was Cripps the divider and that he played his old imperialist part only too well was due to an over-dose of personal frustration and bitterness.

## CHAPTER II BRITISH DECLARATION

The Draft Declaration of the British Cabinet issued by Sir Stafford Cripps on March 29, 1942, has been described by an Oxford Professor as the Declaration of Indian Independence. No State in history has to-date liquidated its territories unless forced to do so by a foreign conqueror or internally successful revolutionaries. It is indeed true that the British State in India has for some time past been faced with both threats. However at the time the British made their Declaration of India neither of the threats had eventuated. There was no inescapable compulsion. It was at best a case of prudent foresight, an attempt to forestall events. But no State has ever acted to the point of liquidating a part of itself, and vital part at that, before a threat has actually become a compulsion. Such foresight is unknown. It presumes too much. It posits a serenity of prophetic wisdom, which is not given to shrinking States.

Refreshing originality is only possible to individuals and revolting groups and, possibly also, to a newly awakened people and their State. The past weighs too heavily on a State whose continued existence over many years has driven it into an accustomed routine. Such a State has its numerous institutions and their personnel and, what is least changeable of all, the devices it has perfected for its rule. These devices are designed to secure the State against foreign invasion and internal rebellion. No State which has had time to perfect its devices of rule can ever completely get rid of them. Its statesmen may, in a moment of pressing necessity, see visions of a new world in the future but their current action, like the fluttering of a caged bird, is limited by their existing practices. The past dominates the present in such States and the future, at its best, is a blurred and indeterminate vision. At all events, even the blurred visions of a better future in such a State are severely unrelated to the rigid devices of a present that is only a continuation of the past.

### FUTURE FREEDOM ASSURED?

The British Declaration contemplated a future for India. It sought to make this future pleasant. It talked of a treaty between India and Britain which would "cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to India hands." This description is not equivocal. It seemed to go to the root of the conflict between Indian and Britain. It foresaw an India, not long after cessation of hostilities, which is completely freed from British control. The future is pleasant and there does not appear to be any blurring of outlines. Lest there may be any doubt, it is made clear that the Indian Union will be "in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs."

There was indeed ample ground for a proud Indian to feel hurt that his Union "shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown." [This is exactly what happened in 1947-48!-V.P.] But a Declaration made in goodwill and not as a result of defeat could not be otherwise. Moreover, the Indian Union was given power "to decide in future its relationship" with the British Empire. Once it was formed, the

Indian Union, as Cripps said, would be free to disown the Crown and act like Canada which "can join the U.S.A. tomorrow if it wants to." Such tomorrows indeed never come and, even if they do, they take decades in arriving. A right admitted is not automatically a right exercised. **And the right of separation which has been generously granted by a superior Power to a weaker nation is seldom exercised. Only when a nation, at the end of a successful struggle, wrests rights from its erstwhile rulers does it choose to exercise them.**

The economic relationship of India to Britain in the future was modelled more or less on the same lines as the political relationship. Cripps said, "we are not going to make any condition in the Treaty as regards guaranteeing the vested rights of British interests in India" and in respect of expropriation measures he suggested "the Union will be free to take all measures which are open to a sovereign State to take." This was perhaps the most refreshing feature of the Cripps Mission. The British commercial interests in India have ever been a thorn in our flesh. They have always been put up as a minority interest to thwart our economic and political advance. For the first time perhaps have the British made, what is of course only a theoretic admission, that British capital and trade are no concern of India's numerous minorities and that they need not be guaranteed. A theoretic admission, however, is not necessarily a practical reality. **An Indian Union, which is created through the generous assistance of Britain, will, out of oriental gratefulness, refuse to expropriate British interests and, even if it chooses to do so, will not have the necessary strength and international backing to deny compensation. Incidentally, it does not need to be argued that most British interests in India do not deserve compensation.**

### JURISTIC, NOT REAL FREEDOM

The future Indian Union, as contemplated in the British Declaration, was juristically free from British political and economic control. That this juristic freedom might not have been real freedom is inherent in all declarations of independence made by a ruler to the ruled. Old ties either snap suddenly or take wearisome long in loosening. That depends on whether the erstwhile ruled have themselves drafted their own Declaration of Independence or whether their rulers have had it drafted for them. The British Declaration offered India the right to be free economically and politically, and that this right may have taken long in exercising is inherent in all political action where grant and not power have been the motivating forces. **No proud people, which is in a hurry to do things, ever accepts declarations from others.** The British Declaration granted India the right to be free in fairly clear terms. Apart from the fact that right to be free is not necessarily the actual exercise of freedom. It is also of deciding importance to discover as to whom the British Declaration granted this right. Who was to be the inheritor of British authority in India? This question would have been unnecessary, had the British declaration talked of India as a single country with comparatively uniform institutions. The Indian people would then have been the inheritors of British authority. How they chose to exercise that authority and what organic institutions they built for themselves would then have been left entirely to the decision of the Indian people. But the British declaration talks dubiously of India and even this tremendously elementary concept of what is India appears to have more than one meaning. **The right to be free is not worth**

much if it is not clear as to who is to be free.

## BALKANISATION OF INDIA

The British Declaration draws two pictures of the future in India, in fact of future India herself. One picture is of India, whole and united. Another is of India split up into several countries. [This is exactly what happened in 1947. India was trifurcated into West Pakistan East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Residual India--V.P.] Amidst such confusion even the great fact of India which has endured for centuries seems to vanish away and its place is taken up by manifold speculations and possibilities. The British Declaration has made of India a speculation. The right to be free was granted not to an existing reality but to a speculative fiction.

It is indeed true that the emphasis in the British Declaration appears to rest on a United India "the object is the creation of a new Indian Union" declares the British Draft. It is not several Indias but one India that is truly contemplated. Should this India come into being, and this appears to have been the object of the British draft, there would be no further difficulty about the devolution of power. But the British objective, almost as soon as it was stated, was subjected to various modifying and altering clauses. **India is split up into four Indias.** There is the India of any such British Indian Province which chooses "to retain its present constitutional position," the India of such non-acceding provinces which decide to form a Union of their own [i.e. West and East Pakistan of 1947-V.P.], the India of Indian States which may not elect to adhere to the Constitution and finally the dismembered rest of India to form the Indian Union. These were indeed merely possibilities. The British Draft did not view them as certainties. But doubts and uncertainties are great dissolvers of institutions. **And here the very existence of a country was doubted.** That not all the four Indias appear to be likely events and that some of the doubts are rather remote is no answer to the charge that the base on which all else rests in India, the country itself, was assailed by uncertainties. **This cannot but cause an agonising feeling to any one who believes in the destiny of India.**

## INDIAN STATES

The India of the Indian States was the least remote of the doubts raised in the British Draft. The status quo in the Indian States which is entirely outmoded by the progress of events and whose chief sanction is the British bayonet was guaranteed. **The few hundreds rulers of Indian States were given the right to sit in the Constitution-making body as if they were ahundred million people. After their nominated representatives had taken part in the deliberations of the proposed Indian Union, they were also free to walk out of it.** They were given the right to enter into separate treaties with the British Government in London. Such treaties would necessarily have related to Foreign Policy and Defence. **The British Empire had thus reserved to itself the right, in the event that the Princes were willing and they are always willing, to station its troops in several parts of India and move them from one place to another and also to direct the foreign policy of one fourth of our population.** The proposed Indian Union would probably have had to guarantee the passage of British troops through its own territories, on roads, rivers and railways in the event that an Indian State made a request for them. Moreover, the internal pattern of living in Indian States and their institutions of political conduct would probably have been very dissimilar from those in the proposed Indian Union.

Apart from the possibility of intrigues in the interest of reaction, this would probably have caused serious friction between different parts of India and invited foreign intervention. Whenever the British so chose, they would have been in a position to intimidate the proposed Indian Union through the instrument of the Indian States; it would have been the affirmation in form and denial in substance the right of India to be free.

## SECEDING PROVINCES

If the Indian States were the least remote of freedom's enemies in the British Draft, the non-adhering provinces that were given the right to form a Union of their own would have been potentially the most dangerous. The difficulties of intrigue and friction and likely foreign intervention and guaranteed passage of foreign troops would have been there in a more accentuated form. It is indeed true that the contingency of non-adhering provinces was not very likely. Only if sixty percent of the people's representatives in a province did not vote for adherence to the Indian Union, did the dissenting minority have the right to demand plebiscite. There must be the willing consent of well over half the population in any one area to an organic law, unless the decision is to be made by force. On the present strength of the disruptive forces in the country, all the provinces would most likely have adhered. Even here there were grave grounds of fear, at least of forced compromises on Free India with British commercial interests, **for a handful of Britons, as in Bengal, control over ten percent of the votes in the deciding Legislature.** There was, however, the prospect of united working among the dominant parties in the country, once the national government were allowed to be formed, and that would probably have softened the Muslim League and made it alter out of shape its demand for separation. As against this probability of one Indian Union comprising all the British provinces of India, it must be admitted that **the idea of the country's dismemberment has for the first time been given a place.** There is a possibility that this may feed the agitation for separation. The history of any agitation is the story of growth on successively broadening levels of partial victories or partial suppressions. The British acceptance, however niggardly, of the idea of India's dismemberment as already been seized upon by disruptionists as a victory. Their agitation has reached a level broader than the preceding, when the British had not yet made their declaration. **The British Draft is already and in certain circumstances, may far more be one of the many causes that will perhaps produce civil strife in India.**

## PRETEXTS FOR THE POLICY

Why did the British government have to admit the possibility of States and Provinces non-adhering and to give them the right, under certain conditions, to break India into pieces? There is first the plighted-word theory and the British distaste, so it is said, for breach of promise. What contracts they would have violated, if they had not given the non-adherence right to provinces, is hard to discover. The pledge in the British Draft that the Treaty between India and Britain "will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government for the protection of racial and religious minorities" was more than adequate. As far as the treaties with Indian States are concerned, they are so obsolete that not to scrap them would show a dishonourable collusion between two contracting partners. In fact, these are not treaties but the command of a superior to an inferior and the bowing and scraping and benignity that follow. **In regard to the possible dismemberment of India**

accepted in the British Draft, the plighted word theory is almost entirely a pretext.

There is then the theory of dissenters' revolt. It shall not be merely a rhetorical answer, but one in which the desire and strength of State-building is embedded, if National India were to suggest that dissenters' revolts were Free India's business and not that of the evacuated British. This, however, would not be an academic answer. But then no fool-proof academic enquiry is possible. Much will depend on that intangible and unforeseeable quantity, the temper of the people, when the British have left. It is indeed true that the Princes and a section of Muslims have now and then threatened dire consequences upon a Free and United India. These threats have produced a certain fear atmosphere. What part of this fear atmosphere is genuine, it is difficult to say; one part, at least, is something on which foreign rule thrives and its supporters fatten. It the second part is more deciding than the first, Free India need have no fear of dissenters' revolts. Free India alone can give an answer, whether in dismemberment or in coercion or, what is most likely, in an amicable settlement. The longer this answer is delayed, the greater becomes the separateness of identity of the various communities in the country. In any case, Muslim fears could more properly have been treated in that part of the Draft which related to the present settlement; to have incorporated them in the picture of Future India was either a grave error of the British or their traditional devices of rule.

The British Draft contains many divergent outlines of Future India. It is like a bad and blurred photograph. Was the landscape unsteady or the hand of the photographer shaky? Did his hand tremble on set intent or due to infirmity? Curiously enough, the answer is in the affirmative to all these questions. All the factors were probably operative at the time the photograph was taken.

#### ANALYSIS OF BRITISH INTENTIONS

This brings us to the question of British intentions towards India. British statesmen, preeminently Sir Stafford Cripps, regard the demonstration of their sincerity as the greatest success of the British Draft. On the face of it, this claim is unfounded; for the right to be free was offered to an indeterminate India which was still in the lap of the gods and nobody could tell what exercise would be made of this right. Nevertheless, the British can argue that they had made up their minds that India should be free. True enough, but they had also made up their minds, or would make them up when the time came, for several other things. **There are several British intentions towards India, not one.** It cannot be otherwise. Even individuals own a whole ladder of resolves, in fact, several ladders placed side by side. **In their loves and hates and money-making and power-pursuit and the rest, they possess a whole scale of objectives and, if at the moment they appear to be going up one ladder, let there be an interference, they will jump on to the next and yet another ladder that have been placed alongside.** All men do this; the only difference between a good man and a bad man lies in dignity and being true to oneself.

Sir Stafford Cripps should be the first to admit that a multiplicity of intentions is to be found most in a statesman and, still more so, in a cabinet of statesmen. Leaving aside sordid issues of personal power of which most statesmen are in small or large measure victims, their opinions on general issues are in a fluid state and they have got to be so. Take Sir Stafford himself. Let us presume that he wants India to be free. What then? He wants India to be part of a World Federation, if that is not possible, to be under the British Crown, if that is not possible,

to enjoy unhindered sovereignty. He would like India to develop her own industries but he would also want his own people to live in comfort, world trade to increase and national tariffs to be held in check and obstructive British interests in India to be conciliated with concessions that he considers legitimate. He perhaps likes India to develop uniformly democratic institutions but, in the light of what he considers practical realities, he would want the country to put up for a few more years with the arbitrary rule of the princes. This is not all, presuming Sir Stafford is pure as snow, but no man can make that claim. Let us now take Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill. They probably have the same wants as Sir Stafford; only what is third-stage with him is first-stage with them. Mr. Eden is perhaps half-way between the two types. The Draft Declaration of the British Cabinet was a compromise of all these desires and the varying intensity with which they are held. That is why provision is made in the British Draft for a whole fleet of ladders of resolves placed alongside of each other. If the British seem to be going up the ladder of one Indian Union at the moment, there is no guarantee that, with some interference and under changed conditions, they may not jump off to the ladders of princely or disruptionists' India. These then will be the levers whereby, in all sincerity and honour to the pledged word, they will force unsavoury compromises upon Future India.

A State has no intentions; it knows only action and shows tendencies. That is why the intentions of a statesman are fluid and changing. The action of the British State in respect of India has been and continues to be to dominate her; there is in addition, one tendency, among many others, to appease in a measure the Indian desire for freedom. The other tendencies of the British State are past-controlled and serve its need of existence. **Almost throughout the nineteenth century the Indian States were perfected as the shock absorbers of the wars and revolts of India against Britain and their function continues.** During the four decades of the twentieth century, the Indian Muslims were sought to be used as a broad social base for British rule against the rising tide of Indian freedom and unity and British efforts have to an extent succeeded. The use of the Indian States and of minorities is therefore the traditional device of rule of the British. Political devices and instruments tend to acquire, through long use, a life of their own. Even if the British so chose, they could not entirely escape them. And why should they choose to do so? The law of existence forbids them to deny themselves the use of these instruments. The hand of the photographer had shaken on set intent as also through compulsion. In its draft declaration, the British state has unmistakably shown two divergent tendencies of approach to India, Free India as also Unfree India, United India and Disrupted Indias. **When the recipient itself was unknown, what was the grant of freedom worth?** Moreover, this freedom could any day be curtailed if not in law, then through the use of traditional devices of British rule. It would have been a case very much worse than that of Egypt. Britain and Egypt were in their last treaty given equality of opportunities in the matter of flying over each other's territories, but this was only juristic equality. In actual practice, Egypt had then only forty aeroplanes to Britain's four thousand and she had no possibilities of increasing her air-arm of which Britain has shown herself so rich. India's juristic freedom would have been much worse; it would not only have been limited by her internal resources or civil strife but also subject to the vagaries of any future British statesmen who chose to pursue the regressive trend of the British Draft.

## WHAT OF THE PRESENT?

If the future of India as contemplated in the British Draft was to this extent past-dominated, what of the present? It should be very much more so and it is. If the progressive trend appears to be more pronounced than the regressive in that part of the British Draft which related to the future, it is the other way about in what was the present settlement. This is in the fitness of things. Statesmen are not so much concerned about the future as with the tendencies of the present and they arrange these in some sort of an order of preference. The present settlement in the British Draft was not likely to further the progressive trend.

## DEFENCE OF INDIA

The current arrangements envisaged in the British Draft were so briefly sketched out that they were vague. They related principally to the defence of India and the character of the government that was to be and the British meaning was made clear only as the negotiations progressed. In respect of defence, the Draft said that the British government "must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India." This enunciation may do credit to a foreign minister who is arguing the case of his country against another but does not wish to see war between the two. As a clause in a working treaty, it is thoroughly pious and slippery except in one point, **the retention of the control and direction of Indian defence in British hands.**

As negotiations progressed, the British government tried to put a little more concreteness in its proposals for defence. Indian defence was thenceforth to be the responsibility of two departments, the War Department under the British Commander-in-Chief and the Defence Department under a representative Indian. Two attempts were made by Sir Stafford to define the functions of the two departments. The earlier attempt sought to give an exhaustive list of the powers and responsibilities of the Defence Department. Thirteen items were listed. Two of these were rather amusing, the supply of tea and bread and beer and, possibly, stiffer drinks to troops and the knitting of woollens for our brave soldiers. For the lists said, "all canteen organisations" and "amenities for, and welfare of troops and their dependents, including Indian soldiers abroad" and it must have been a momentary lapse of Sir Stafford that made him forget the rather highly entertaining item of dances and cabarets and songstresses for troops. These were to be left to the Indian Defence Department. It was of course not all fun; there was work too. Perhaps the most important and, also the most exacting, work of defence department lay in five directions; the denial policy, the policy of evacuation from threatened areas, economic warfare, public relations and, of course, demobilisation. Indians had asked for strenuous duties and they had now no reason to complain. The "representative Indian" was to be given all the unpleasant business of a war, superintending over the miseries that the war is causing to his people without, of course, having anything to do with the waging of it and the broader policies and, by jingo, he was also to explain to his countrymen as the public relations chief why he was harassing them. The remaining six items were midway between light amusing work, Sir Stafford knits too by way of distraction, and powerless but onerous responsibilities. **All told, the Indian Defence Member would have had several faces, a merry**

**spinster, a jolly hotelier, a diplomatist commercial traveller, a stationer washing his hands in invisible soap, a harassed accountant and, above all, a demon of destruction without the power to heal.**

When the Working Committee showed its lack of humour by rejecting this proposal, Sir Stafford made yet another effort. This time, he defined the functions of the War Department. The British War Member would have been responsible for the governmental relations of General Headquarters, Navy Headquarters and Air Headquarters which included as item number one, "examining and sanctioning all proposals emanating from G.H.Q. and A.H.Q." Any further description was entirely superfluous but a State document must, I believe, carry more than one item and so three more heads were added. To enquiries as to what the governmental relations and proposals of the various Headquarters specifically meant, Sir Stafford turned an amazed eye. Why did men ask about the obvious; it is such a nasty habit with some and a source of deep embarrassment. The War Department was to be the War Department, that was all.

Whatever chinks in the armour of the British Empire in India might still have been left and, who knows what clever Indian might have attempted to abrogate to himself powers under the plea of "organising to the full" India's military and other resources, were removed by the late revelation that the Government of India would consist of the Viceroy and his Executive Council answerable to him. The army is the chief obvious instrument of a foreign authority; there is no subtlety about it as about the other devices of foreign rule and it is therefore never transferred, unless after defeat, to popular control. In reserving to itself the responsibility for and control over the Indian army, and the present settlement in the British Draft was perfectly clear on this point, the British government behaved to pattern. The natural tendency of the British State to retain India as a possession was here in full, immediate and undisguised operation.

## ARMY IS EMPIRE

Sir Stafford does not waste too many words over this tendency. His observation to the Indian National Congress is voluminously laconic: "this Defence is, as you know, a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government, while unity of Command is essential in the interests of the Allied help to India." The Working Committee was importunate in asking accommodation for the Indian Defence Member alongside of the British War Member; a quarter berth would have done. **I hope this will not happen again.** The Working Committee has agreed to leave the entire operational activity of the war to the British and, in regard to general policy-framing, was profuse in its assurances to Sir Stafford that its determination to wage war on the Axis was keener than his. But the British Cabinet was adamant. It wanted all the concerns of the Indian army for itself; operational activity, organisational control and policy-framing. To have surrendered in the immediate present any one of these three items would have meant that the British Cabinet had wholeheartedly accepted, at any rate, the idea of liquidating the empire in India. Cabinets seldom accept an idea wholeheartedly and their wholehearted execution of it is still more seldom.

Aside from the obvious desire to retain the Indian empire, there were perhaps other background reasons for the British refusal to surrender in the immediate present any vital concerns of the Indian army. Sir Stafford appears to hint at one. In the interests of the Allied help to India, he wanted unity of command. It is disinterested why, if the Allied help to India is disinterested

and in furtherance of democracy, the Allies should insist on a British War Member. Was a return expected for help given? Moreover, there appears to have been some distrust in the British mind about what an Indian War Member might not do even in the midst of the war; his government might choose to follow a policy divergent from that of the Allies.

### THE INDIA GOVERNMENT

The character of the war-government proposed by the British government was not clear at the outset. The British draft spoke of "the immediate and effective participation" of Indian leaders in the counsels of their country and elsewhere. This is a rather loose description almost surely deliberate. It may indicate either a norm unilaterally accepted by the British government or a quasi-legal arrangement between two parties. Sir Stafford's earlier effusions about the Indian Cabinet and the National Government that would have been immediately formed strengthened the view that the arrangement between India and Britain was to be legal, at any rate, quasi-legal. But then this cheerful presaging of a break for India was made at homely chats with our leaders and pressmen; it was only meant to create an atmosphere. There was nothing legal about it. The Indian climate, however, is no longer suitable for confidence-men or, if that is too harsh an expression, for charmers of the phrase. Sir Stafford discovered this rather late. But he had nothing to offer except norms and wishes. The legal

arrangements were to continue unaltered. The Government of India was to be, as before, the Viceroy and a Council answerable to him. The Council would have had no status, legal or otherwise, except what the British representative chose to give it in the background of the normative atmosphere which the draft and Sir Stafford had attempted to create. The only sanction of the Council would have been resignation, a fact which Sir Stafford emphasised overmuch. Well could Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru say, "that is not the way to bring about a settlement".

The relationship between any two countries can be studied best in the tendency of State-behaviour to wards one another that is uppermost in the immediate present. The Indian State, if it can at all be so called, was to be a branch of the British State, wholly so in legal status and, to a considerable extent, in actual substance. The British draft had tried to veil this relationship with a dubious expression, Sir Stafford in his earlier utterances had tried to phrase it away altogether and it was only when the Congress insisted that the veil was lifted and the powder-and-paint was removed. The prolongation of the Congress-Cripps negotiations over two weeks had its reason not only in the Congress representatives' rather keen desire for a settlement but also in the reluctance with which Cripps agreed to descend from the stratosphere on to solid ground. British statesmen, as any other, can be ingratiating sellers of rotten ware.

(To be continued)

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# MASTERPIECES OF INDIAN LITERATURE : II

## THE UPANISHADS

### Introductory Remarks by Dr. Vinayak Purohit

#### I The Religio-Philosophical Text

Sanskrit Literature is the oldest in the world and the oldest amongst the literatures of any Indo-Aryan language.

Sanskrit may be divided into two major periods:

**Vedic** : stretching from about 6000 B.C to about 700 B.C. and

**Classical** : from about 300 A.D. to the 19th century A.D.

The Rigveda is the oldest of the Vedas and though its beginnings may be as early as 6000 B.C., the core of it belongs to c. 4500-1500 B.C.

To each of the four Vedas are attached a *Brahmana*, an *Aranyaka* and an *Upanishad*.

The *Brahmana* lays down the various rites-*kriyakarmas* to be performed and explains the procedures for the same. It interprets the words of the *mantras* occurring in the *Samhita*, how they are to be understood in the conduct of the sacrifices the *Brahmanas* constitute a guide for the conducts of *yajnas*.

(Source : Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Sawmi, *Hindu Dharma, the Universal Way of Life*, 1996, p.199)

The word '*Aranyaka*' is derived from '*aranya*'. '*Aranya*' means a 'forest'.

Vedic rites like sacrifices are to be performed by the householder (*grihastha*) living in a village. But after his mind is rendered pure through such rites, he goes to a forest as a recluse to engage himself in meditation.

The *Aranyakas* prepare one for one's stage in life as an anchorite. They expound the concepts inherent in the *mantras* of the *Samhitas* and the rites detailed in the *Brahmanas*.

The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, as its very name suggests, is both an *Aranyaka* and an *Upanishad* and it begins with a philosophical explanation of the horse sacrifice.

The *Chandogya* and *Brihadarnyaka Upanishads* are the last two of the ten

major *Upanishads* and also the biggest. They are bigger than all the other eight of the ten put together. The first is part of the *Chandoyoga Brahmana* of the *Samaveda*.

'*Tat tvam asi*' (that thou art), is the mantra which proclaims the non-difference between the individual self and the *Brahmana*. '*Tat tvam asi*' is the *mahavakya* of the *Samaveda*.

The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* comes last. '*Brihad*' means 'great'. It is indeed a great *Upanishad*,

#### *Brihadaranyaka*

Generally, an *Upanishad* comes towards the close of the *Aranyaka* of the *Sakha* concerned. While the *Isavasyopanishad* occurs in the *Samhita* of the *Sukla-Yajurveda*, the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* is in the *Aranyaka* of the same Veda. As a matter of fact the entire *Aranyaka* constitutes this *Upanishad*. There are two recensions of it: the *Madhyandina Sakha* and the *Kanva Sakha*. Sankara has chosen the latter for his commentary.

This *Upanishad* consists of six chapters. The first two are the '*Madhu-kanda*', the next two are the '*Muni-kanda*' in the name of Yajnavalkya, and the last two are the '*Khila-kanda*'.

It is in this *Upanishad* that the celebrated statement occurs that the *Atman* is neither this, nor this (*Neti, neti*). The self cannot be described in any way. '*Na-iti*' -that is '*Neti*'. It is through this process of '*Neti, neti*' that you give up everything—the cosmos, the body, the mind, everything—to realise the self. After knowing the *Atman* in this manner you will develop the attitude that the phenomenal world and all its creatures are made up of the same essence of bliss.

The first *kanda* contains the teachings received by the Brahmin Gargya from the Ksatriya Ajatasatru. This shows that kings

like Ajatasatru and Janaka were knowers of the Brahman. We also learn that women took part on an equal footing with the sages in the debates in royal assemblies on the nature of the *Brahman*. There was, for instance, Gargi in Janaka's assembly of the learned. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* also tells us about Yajnavalkya's two wives : of the two, Katyayani was like any housewife and the second, Maitreyi, was a *Brahmavadini* (one who inquires into the *Brahman* and speaks about it). The instruction given by Yajnavalkya to Maitreyi occurs both in the *Madhu-kanda* and the *Muni-kanda*. Here we have a beautiful combination of storytelling and philosophical disquisition.

When Yajnavalkya is on the point of renouncing the world, he divides his wealth between his two wives. Katyayani is contented and does not ask for anything more. Maitreyi, on the other hand, is not worried about her share. She tells her husband : "You are leaving your home, aren't you, because you will find greater happiness in *sanyasa* than from all this wealth ? What is that happiness ? Won't you speak about it ?"

Yajnavalkya replies you have always been dear to me Maitreji. Now, by asking this question, you have endeared yourself to me more." He then proceeds to find out what is meant by the idea of someone being dear to someone else. His is indeed an inquiry into the concept of love and affection.

Before renouncing the world, Yajnavalkya held disputations on the Ultimate Reality with Kahola, Uddalaka Aruni and Gargi in Janaka's royal assembly. These debates, together with the teachings he imparted to Janaka, are included in the *Muni-kanda*.

The two concluding chapters that from the *Khila-kanda* of the *Upanishad* bring together scattered ideas.

#### II OUR HISTORICAL MATERIALIST INTERPRETATION

The four Vedic *Samhitas* obviously belong to the Pastoralist MOP. (Mode of Production). All wealth was held in the form of herds of animals and the Aryan tribal leaders who were Brahmanas, held them in their possession. *Kamadhenu* was the supreme possession, the cow that yielded all that man could desire.

In fact, parts of the *Atharvaveda* may have been the oldest *Samhita* as it is a collection of magical, shamanistic chants, which indicate a transitional stage from HFFG (Hunting, Fishing, Food-Gathering)

to the Pastoralist MOP.

The so-called Indus Civilization or Harappa-Mohenjo Daro Civilization as a distinct entity, was a figment of the overheated imperialist historiography of the 20th century.

There was no separate Indus Civilization. Both Vedic and Harappa Cultures were the same, based upon the Sapta-Sindhu region, where the prime river was the Saraswati. The so-called Harappa culture presents the remains left behind by the Vedic people.

It is ridiculous on the part of Western historiographers to suggest that in the same *Sapta sindhu* region in the same period (The Westerners place Harappa Culture in 2500-1000 B.C. and the Vedic Culture in 1500-500 B.C.), There could be two distinct cultures or civilisations, one lacking material remains and possessing only literature (the Vedic), and the other possessing only material remains and lacking literature ! (The Harappa culture is supposed to have a script, undecipherable according to the Westerners, but no literature, the signs being merely "ownership labels / seals."

There were two Great Wars fought on the banks of the Sapta-Sindhu rivers which included the Saraswati. Latest research by Indian archaeologists has established the fact that the Indus or the Sindhu river changed its course many times during the historic period. The Saraswati flowed between the present day Sutlej and the Yamuna, and debauched at the eastern end of the Gulf of Kutch, whereas the present day Indus meets the Arabian Sea at the Western end of this bay, A tectonic disturbance resulted in the drying up of the Saraswati

which today survives as the dried up bed of the seasonal Ghaggar. Or it could be that the Saraswati was captured by the Indus and survives as the Sutlej (old name *Satadru*); or it may have been captured by the Ganga and survives as the Yamuna.

"The legendary Saraswati flowed through the Thar desert. Scientists at the Central Arid Zone Research Institute (CAZRI) have confirmed this after extensive research on the likely course of the Saraswati, referred to as the "mother of rivers" in the *Rig Veda*." (Source : *Manorama Year Book*, 1993, p. 408)

The first Great war was the *Dasarajna*, fought by King Sudas against some ten hostile tribes. This war led to the first Great Dispersal of Indo-Aryans from the Sapta-Sindhu regions to Central Asia and further west towards Iran, Anatolia and Europe. Since this war forms the central theme of the *Rigveda*, it must have occurred sometime between 4500 B.C. and 3000 B.C.

The Second Great War was the *Mahabharata* which almost brings the Vedic period to an end and probably took place sometime between 2000 B.C. and 1000 B.C.

The three *Samhitas*; *Rig*, *Yajur* and *Sama*, are practical manuals for the 3 most important classes of priests. The *Rigveda* is for the *hotra* class of priests, the *Yajur* for the *Adhvaryu* class and the *Sama* for the *Udgatar* class.

The *Brahmanas* attached to each of the *Samhitas* clearly belong to the same Pastoral horizon as they were the guidebooks for the minutiae of the rituals. It is with the *Aranyakas* that the Ksatriya kings began to raise philosophical questions and doubts about the Vedic propositions. In Janaka's royal assembly Yajnavalkya, as has been noted above

held disputations on the Ultimate Reality with Kahola, Uddalaka Aruni and Gargi.

The same Ksatriya Kings were called *nastiks* by the Vedic Brahmins as they established the first territorial kingdoms with agro-feudal basis. These territorial agricultural kingdoms became known as the 16 Mahajanapadas and date from about 700/600 B.C. The Ksatriya feudal overthrow of the Pastoralist Vedic Brahmin order was carried out under the banners of Buddhism, Jainism and Ajivikaism. These religions were called *nastik ideologies*.

The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* is a document of immense historical and sociological value. Yajnavalkya is a seer who is a perfect materialist and hedonist. He demands and expects to receive gifts of cows, dasa girls and various meats and wines.

The overall evolutionary pattern seems to have been as follows : The so-called Indus or Harappa civilization of 2750-1250 B.C. is but a phase of the Vedic pastoralist civilization of 6000-700 B.C. The *Dasarajna* Great War of around 3000 B.C. resulted in a shattering dispersal of tribes to Central Asia and Iran (and further West in due course). This weakened seriously the fabric of the pastoralist class society, creating the conditions for the first attempt at feudalisation and agriculturalisation that is known at the Indus-Harappa culture. This attempt failed. Then ensued a Second Great War, the *Mahabharata*. Now, under the banner of Buddhism, Jainism, Ajivikaism, and other Heterodox doctrines, and supported by internal dissensions represented by the *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads*, this second attempt at feudalisation of the pastoral society succeeded, and gestated the famous 16 Mahajanapadas of 700/600 B.C.

# The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad

(Selections)

## Chapter II

### The Path to Immortality

4.1 "Maitreyi," Yajnavalkya said to his wife one day, "the time has come for me to go forth from the worldly life. Come, my dear, let me divide my property between you and Katyayani."

**MAITREYI**

4.2 My lord, if I could get all the wealth in the world, would it help me to go beyond death ?

**YAJNAVALKYA**

Not at all. You would live and die like any other rich person. No one can buy immortality with money.

**MAITREYI**

4.3 Of what use then are money and material possessions to me? Please tell me, my lord, of the way that leads to immortality.

**YAJNAVALKYA**

You have always been dear to me, Maitreyi, and I love you even more now that you have asked me about immortality. Sit here by my side and reflect deeply on what I say.

4.4 A wife loves her husband not for his own sake, dear, but because the Self lives in him.

A husband loves his wife not for her own sake, dear, but because the Self lives in her.

Children are loved not for their own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

Wealth is loved not for its own sake, but because the Self lives in it.

Brahmins are loved not for their own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

Kshatriyas are loved not for their own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

The universe is loved not for its own sake, but because the Self lives in it.

The gods are loved not for their own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

Creatures are loved not for their own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

Everything is loved not for its own sake, but because the Self lives in them.

This Self has to be realized. Hear about this Self and meditate upon him, Maitreyi. When you hear about the Self, meditate upon the Self, and finally realize the Self, you come to understand everything in life.

4.6 For Brahmins confuse those who regard them as separate from the Self. Kshatriyas confuse those who regard them as separate from the Self. The

universe confuses those who regard as separate from the Self. Gods and creatures confuse those who regard them as separate from the Self. Everything confuses those who regard things as separate from the Self.

Brahmins, Kshatriyas, creatures, the universe, the gods, everything: these are the Self.

4.7 No one can understand the sounds of a drum without understanding both drum and

4.8 drummer; nor the sounds of a conch without understanding both the conch and its

4.9 blower; nor the sounds of a vina without

4.10 understanding both vina and musician. As clouds of smoke arise from a fire laid with damp fuel, even so from the Supreme have issued forth all the Vedas, history, arts, sciences, poetry, aphorisms, and commentaries. All these are the breath of the Supreme.

4.11 As there can be no water without the sea, no touch without the skin, no smell without the nose, no taste without the tongue, no form without the eye, no sound without the ear, no thought without the mind, no wisdom without the heart, no work without hands, no walking without feet, no scriptures without the word, so there can be nothing without the self.

4.12 As a lump of salt thrown in water dissolves and cannot be taken out again though wherever we taste the water it is salty, even so, beloved, the separate self dissolves in the sea of pure consciousness, infinite and immortal. Separateness arises from identifying the Self with the body, which is made up of the elements; when this physical identification dissolves, there can be no more separate self. This is what I want to tell you, beloved.

**MAITREYI**

4.13 I am bewildered. Blessed One, when you say there is then no separate self.

**YAJNAVALKYA**

Reflect on what I have said, beloved, you will not be confused.

4.14 As long as there is separateness, one sees another as separate from oneself, hears

another as separate from oneself, smells

another as separate from oneself,

speaks to

another as separate from oneself thinks of

another as separate from oneself knows

another as separate from oneself. But when the Self is realized as the indivisible unity of life, who can be seen by whom, who can be heard by whom, who can be smelled by whom, who can be spoken to by whom, who can be thought of by whom, who can be known by whom? Maitreyi, my beloved, how can the knower ever be known?

## CHAPTER III

### The Imperishable

1 King Janaka of Videha once performed a lavish sacrifice and distributed many gifts. Many wise men from Kuru and Panchala attended the ceremony, and Janaka wanted to know who was the wisest among them. So he drove a thousand cows into a pen, and between the horns of each cow he fastened

2 ten gold coins. Then he said : "Venerable brahmins, these cows are for the wisest one among you. Let him take them away."

None of the other brahmins dared to speak, but Yajnavalkya said to his pupil Samashrava: "Son, you can drive these cows home." "Hero of seers!" his pupil exclaimed joyfully, and he drove them home.

The other brahmins were furious. "How presumptuous!" they shouted. And Ashvala, the royal priest, asked: "Yajnavalkya, do you really believe you are the wisest of those assembled here?"

Yajnavalkya replied: "I salute the wisest, but I want those cows."

(8)

Then Gargi, daughter of Vachaknu, said: "Venerable brahmins, I shall ask Yajnavalkya only two questions. If he answers them well, no one here can defeat him in a spiritual debate.

"Ask Gargi," the sage replied.

**GARGI**

2 Yajnavalkya, as a warrior from Kashi or Videha rises with bow and arrow to fell his opponent, I rise to fell you with two questions.

**YAJNAVALKYA**

Ask them, Gargi.



## GARGI

3 That which is above heaven and below the earth, which is also between heaven and earth, which is the same through past, present, and future, in what is that woven, warp and woof? Tell me, Yajnavalkya.

## YAJNAVALKYA

4 That which is above heaven and below earth, which is also between heaven and earth, which is the same through the past, present, and future, that is woven, warp and woof, is space.

## GARGI

5 My first question is answered well. Now for my second question.

## YAJNAVALKYA

Ask, Gargi.

## GARGI

6 In what is space itself woven, warp and woof? Tell me, Yajnavalkya.

## YAJNAVALKYA

7-8 The sages call it Akshara, the Imperishable. It is neither big nor small, neither long nor short, neither hot nor cold, neither bright nor dark, neither air nor space. It is without attachment, without taste, smell, or touch, without eyes, ears, tongue, mouth, breath, or mind, without movement, without limitation, without inside or outside. It consumes nothing, and nothing consumes it.

9. In perfect accord with the will of the Imperishable, sun and moon make their orbits; heaven and earth remain in place; moments hours, days, nights, fortnights, months, and seasons become years; rivers starting from the snow-clad mountains flow east and west, north and south, to the sea.

10 Without knowing the Imperishable, Gargi, whoever performs rites and ceremonies and undergoes austerities, even for many years, reaps little benefit, because rites, ceremonies, and austerities are all perishable. Whosoever dies without knowing the Imperishable dies in a pitiable state; but those who know the Imperishable attain immortality when the body is shed at death.

11 The Imperishable is the seer, Gargi, though unseen; the hearer, though unheard; the thinker, though unthought; the knower, though unknown. Nothing other than the Imperishable can see, hear, think, or know. It is in the Imperishable that space is woven, warp and woof.

## GARGI

12 Venerable brahmins, count yourselves fortunate if you get away with

merely paying this man homage. No one can defeat Yajnavalkya in debate about Brahman.

With these words Gargi ended her questions.

## CHAPTER IV

### *The States of Consciousness*

1 Yajnavalkya came to Janaka, king of Videha, saying to himself, "I will not talk today." But earlier, while they were discussing the fire ceremony, Yajnavalkya had promised him any boon he wanted. Now the king asked the sage permission to question him.

## JANAKA

2 Yajnavalkya, what is the light of man?

## YAJNAVALKYA

The sun is our light, for by that light we sit, work, go out, and come back.

## JANAKA

3 When the sun sets, what is the light of man?

## YAJNAVALKYA

The moon is our light, for by that light we sit, work, go out, and come back.

## JANAKA

4 When the sun sets, Yajnavalkya, and the moon sets, what is the light of man?

## YAJNAVALKYA

Fire is our light, for by that we sit, work, go out, and come back.

## JANAKA

5 When the sun sets, Yajnavalkya, and the moon sets, and the fire goes out, what is the light of man?

## YAJNAVALKYA

Then speech is our light, for by that we sit, work, go out, and come back. Even though we cannot see our own hand in the dark, we can hear what is said and move toward the person speaking.

## JANAKA

6 When the sun sets, Yajnavalkya, and the moon sets, and the fire goes out and no one speaks, what is the light of man?

## YAJNAVALKYA

The Self indeed is the light of man, your majesty, for by that we sit, work, go out, and come back.

## JANAKA

7 Who is that Self?

## YAJNAVALKYA

The Self, pure awareness, shines as the light within the heart, surrounded by the senses. Only seeming to think, seeming to move, the Self neither sleeps nor wakes nor dreams.

8 When the Self takes on a body, he

seems to assume the body's frailties and limitations; but when he sheds the body at the time of death, the Self leaves all these behind.

9 The human being has two states of consciousness: One in this world, the other in the next. But there is a third state between them, nor unlike the world of dreams, in which we are aware of both worlds, with their sorrows and joys. When a person dies, it is only the physical body that dies; that person lives on in a nonphysical body, which carries the impressions of his past life. It is these impressions that determine his next life. In this intermediate state he makes and dissolves impressions by the light of the Self.

10 In that third state of consciousness there are no chariots, no horses drawing them or roads on which to travel, but he makes up his own chariots, horses, and roads. In that state there are no joys or pleasures, but he makes up his own joys and pleasures. In that state there are no lotus ponds, no lakes, no rivers, but he makes up his own lotus ponds, lakes, and rivers. It is he who makes up all these from the impressions of his past or walking life.

11 It is said of these states of consciousness

13 that in the dreaming state, when one is sleeping, the shining Self, who never dreams, who is ever awake, watches by his own light the dreams woven out of past deeds and present desires. In the dreaming state, when one is sleeping, the shining Self keeps the body alive with the vital force of *prana*, and wanders wherever he wills. In the dreaming state, when one is sleeping, the shining Self assumes many forms, eats with friends, indulges in sex, sees fearsome spectacles.

16 But he is not affected by anything because

17 he is detached and free; and after wandering here and there in the state of dreaming, enjoying pleasures and seeing good and evil, he returns to the state from which he began.

18 As a great fish swims between the banks of a river as it likes, so does the shining Self move between the states of dreaming and waking.

19 As an eagle, weary after soaring in the sky, folds its wings and flies down to rest in its nest, so does the shining Self enter the state of dreamless sleep, where one is freed from all desires.

21 The Self is free from desire, free from evil, free from fear.

As a man in the arms of his beloved

is not aware of what is without and what is within, so a person in union with the Self is not aware of what is without and what is within, for in that unitive state all desires find their perfect fulfillment. There is no other desire that needs to be fulfilled, and one goes beyond sorrow.

22 In that unitive state there is neither father nor mother, neither worlds nor gods nor even scriptures. In that state there is neither thief nor slayer, neither low caste nor high, neither monk nor ascetic. The Self is beyond good and evil, beyond all the suffering of the human heart.

23 In that unitive state one sees without

30 seeing, for there is nothing separate from him; smells without smelling, for there is nothing separate from him; tastes without tasting, for there is nothing separate from him; speaks without speaking, for there is nothing separate from him; hears without hearing, for there is nothing separate from him; touches without touching, for there is nothing separate from him; thinks without thinking, for there is nothing separate from him; knows without knowing, for there is nothing separate from him.

31 Where there is separateness, one sees another, smells another, tastes another, speaks to another, hears another, touches another, thinks of another, knows another.

32 But where there is unity, one without a second, that is the world of Brahman. This is the supreme goal of life, the supreme treasure, the supreme joy. Those who do not seek this supreme goal live on but a fraction of this joy.

#### JANAKA

33 I give you another thousand cows! Please teach me more of the way to Self-realization.

#### YAJNAVALKYA

35 As a heavily laden cart creaks as it moves along, the body groans under its burden when

36 a person is about to die. When the body grows weak through old age or illness, the Self separates himself as a mango or fig or banyan fruit frees itself from the stalk, and returns the way he came to begin another life.

37 Just as when a king is expected to visit a village, the mayor and all the other officials turn out to welcome him with food and drink, all creation awaits the person who sheds his body having realized Brahman. "Here he comes!" they say. "Here comes Brahman

38 himself!" But the senses, while that man lies dying, gather around and mourn the Self's departure, as courtiers mourn when their king is about to leave.

#### (4)

1 When body and mind grow weak, the Self gathers in all the powers of life and descends with them into the heart. As *prana* leaves the

2. eye, it ceases to see. "He is becoming one," say the wise; "he does not see. He is becoming one; he no longer hears. He is becoming one; he no longer speaks, or tastes, or smells, or thinks, or knows. By the light of the heart the Self leaves the body by one of its gates; and when he leaves, *prana* follows, and with it all the vital powers of the body. He who is dying merges in consciousness and thus consciousness accompanies him when he departs, along with the impressions of all that he has done, experienced, and known.

3 As a caterpillar, having come to the end of one blade of grass, draws itself together and reaches out for the next, so the Self, having come to the end of one life and dispelled all ignorance, gathers in his faculties and reaches out from the old body to a new.

4 As a goldsmith fashions an old ornament into a new and more beautiful one, so the Self, having reached the end of the last life and dispelled all ignorance, makes for himself a new, more beautiful shape, like that of the *devas* or other celestial beings.

5 The Self is indeed Brahman, but through ignorance people identify it with intellect, mind, senses, passions, and the elements of earth, water, air, space, and fire. This is why the Self is said to consist of this and that, and appears to be everything.

As a person acts, so he becomes in life. Those who do good become good; those who do harm become bad. Good deeds make one pure; bad deeds make one impure. So we are said to be what our desire is. As our desire is, so is our will. As our will is, so are our acts. As we act, so we become.

6 We live in accordance with our deep, driving desire. It is this desire at the time of death that determines what our next life is to be. We will come back to earth to work out the satisfaction of that desire.

But not those who are free from desire; they are free because all their desires have found fulfillment in the Self. They do not die like the others; but realizing Brahman, they merge in Brahman. So it is said:

When all the desires that surge in the heart are renounced, the mortal becomes immortal. When all the knots that strangle the heart are loosened, the mortal becomes immortal. Here in this very life.

As the skin of a snake is sloughed onto an anthill, so does the mortal body fall; but the Self, freed from the body, merges in Brahman, infinite life, eternal light.

#### JANAKA

I give you another thousand cows! Please teach me more of the way to Self-realization.

#### YAJNAVALKYA

Those who realize the Self enter into the peace that brings complete self-control and perfect patience. They see themselves in everyone and everyone in themselves. Evil cannot overcome them because they overcome all evil. Sin cannot consume them because they consume all sin. Free from evil, free from sin and doubt, they live in the kingdom of Brahman. Your majesty, this kingdom is yours!

#### JANAKA

Venerable One, I offer myself and my kingdom in your service.

#### CHAPTER V \*

##### *What the Thunder Said*

The children of Prajapati, the Creator-gods, human beings, and *asuras*, the godless—lived with their father as students. When they had completed the allotted period the gods said, "Venerable One, please teach us." Prajapati answered with one syllable: "Da."

"Have you understood?" he asked.

"Yes," they said. "You have told us *damyata*, be self-controlled."

"You have understood," he said.

Then the human beings approached.

"Venerable One, please teach us."

Prajapati answered with one syllable: "Da."

"Have you understood?" he asked.

"Yes," they said, "You have told us *datta*, give."

"You have understood," he said.

Then the godless approached.

"Venerable One, please teach us."

Prajapati answered with the same syllable: "Da."

"Have you understood?" he asked.

"Yes," they said. "You have told us *dayadhvam*, be compassionate."

"You have understood," he said.

The heavenly voice of the thunder repeats this teaching. *Da-da-da!* Be self-controlled! Give! Be compassionate!

*OM shanti shanti shanti*

(Source: Eknath Easwaran, *The Upanishads*, 1987, pp. 35-51)

*\* This part has been almost literally copied by T. S. Eliot in his *The Waste Land*;*

# MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE : 6

## JANE AUSTEN AND HER TIMES

Introductory Remarks by Dr. Vinayak Purohit

-I-

As we have noted earlier in *Mankind*, and contrary to middle class comprador belief, the English literary tradition is about the poorest and thinnest in Europe. The major European literary streams are those of Russia, France and Spain.

After prolonged servitude to Rome, extending from 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., England was invaded by three major Germanic tribes; the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes. The Saxons colonised the southern parts of Britain; the Angles occupied the Northern parts; and the Jutes settled down in Isle of Wight and parts of Hampshire.

Latin was prevalent under Roman tutelage and the Germanic-Teutonic intrusion was from the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the Norman-French conquest of 1066.

The Normans defeated the Danes who were in occupation of large parts of England and Scotland from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

**Thus, Britain has possibly the longest continuous history of servitude to foreign occupation in the world, of more than one-and-a-half millenia, from 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the end of the Anglo-Norman period in the 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D. as we shall see immediately below.**

**"Anglo-Latin Literature up to 1422."** From Augustine's mission in 597 until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the language of education and culture, in England as well as on the continent was Latin.

**"Anglo-Norman (or Anglo-French)"** designates the French language as spoken and written in the British Isles from the Norman conquest until the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the Anglo-Norman period, the channel might as well not have existed, and English men of letters had their

education and often their careers - as much in France as in England."

(Source : *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 1994, p.29)

The gestation period of English language lasted till the end of the "Hundred Years' War between France and England that continued intermittently from 1337 to 1453 and ended with the expulsion of the English from France."

(*Ency. Brit*, 1983, *Micro*, Vol.V, p.208)

Coinciding with the above was the break from the Roman Catholic Church, contrived by Henry VIII (1491-1547) who was the founder of the Anglican Church, which promoted the English language. Henry VIII was the father of Elizabeth I (1558-1603).

Till the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Latin and French were held in high esteem in English literature. Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1343-1400) was fluent in French and Francis Bacon (1561-1626), in Elizabethan times, wrote several works in Latin.

The Bible was translated into English as King James' authorised version in 1611.

Thus, English is one of the youngest languages of the world and after 1947 and the loss of India, it would have died a lingering death, but for the fact that U.S.A., which had accepted English as the *lingua franca* amongst the motley crowd of European immigrants who had flooded the country, had become a super-power at the end of World War II. As a matter of fact, USA claims to be the Supreme Power of the World after the collapse of the Soviet Union (1985-91), though the reality is of a Tri-Polar World. (See, *Mankind's Credo* published in our last issue)

English literature is younger than the literatures of many of the so-called vernaculars of India. Its presence in the country is entirely due to the comprador Indian elite's subservience to American neo-colonialism.

II

Jane Austen and Charles Dickens are the only two English novelists worth reading, apart from Jonathan Swift and George Orwell the essayists.

She wrote about six and a half novels of which *Sandition* she could not live to complete and *Susan* or *Northanger Abbey* was a early, slight parody of the Gothic novel.

Her major literary efforts were five novels:

-*Sense and Sensibility*, 1811

-*Pride and Prejudice*, 1813

-*Mansfield Park*, 1814

-*Emma*, 1816, and

-*Persuasion*, posthumously in 1818.

It can be seen from the above listing, that Austen wrote precisely in the period of the Revolutionary (1789-1804) and Napoleonic wars (1804-1815).

In other words, those were stirring and momentous times. It is amazing to record that within the limited horizons of the English literary tradition, Jane Austen's vision was still more limited and narrow. None of her novels is directly related to the great events that were taking place all around her. The only indirect references to the cataclysmic events into which England was plunged are the few allusions in *Persuasion*, to admirals and captains of the British fleet, obtaining quick promotions, getting rich very fast, seizing of big prizes by them and the search by these Navy men of easy leases of country seats on which they could settle down upon retirement.

All the references in *Persuasion* are laudatory. There is not the slightest criticism of the manner in which the quick fortunes were acquired, nor any moral qualms about the thieving on the high seas, practised by these upstarts.

Jane Austen's *oeuvre* is limited in another drastic way. Hers was a strictly blinkered outlook. All her novels are about courtship, engagement and marriage. In fact, all her novels end with the marriage of the expectant and coolly calculating heroine who hypocritically persuades the world that she has married for love. In fact, excessive emotional attachment is always condemned on the grounds of prudence and caution.

However, Jane has a sense of humour and her characters are expertly drawn as in a swift line drawing. They all speak the same stilted, witty repartee and behave as cardboard cutouts. However, there is a sense of homely fun in the pictures of the young heroes and heroines that she draws. (All the heroes and heroines are in their teens and twenties. Forty is definitely very old for Jane.)

They are all coupon clippers and holders of pastoral livings. No important character does anything vigorously to earn a living. Of her five novellas, we have selected the first few pages of *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* as they are her more mature works, and betray a greater sense of reality.

As an aside, we may note that at the time that Jane was

writing, India had not been fully conquered by Britain and therefore there is, right through *Mansfield Park* and *Persuasion* a great awe about things Indian. Indian textiles are supreme, Indian shawls are wonderful and everything about India is great, and luxurious and resplendent.

The change comes with Charles Dickens, when, India and things Indian are held in increasing contempt. The anti-Indian pro-imperialist genre of English literature, is its predominant strain of the last 100 years, and climaxed with the hysterical outpourings of Rudyard Kipling, the Nobel Laureate of 1908 and a consummate racialist scoundrel who ended his days in the company of Cecil Rhodes in apartheidist South Africa.

## MANSFIELD PARK (1814)

JANE AUSTEN

About thirty years ago, Miss Maria Ward, of Huntingdon, with only seven thousand pounds, had the good luck to captivate Sir Thomas Bertram, of Mansfield Park, in the county of Northampton, and to be thereby raised to the rank of a baronet's lady, with all the comforts and consequences of an handsome house and large income. All Huntingdon exclaimed on the greatness of the match, and her uncle, the lawyer, himself, allowed her to be at least three thousand pounds short of any equitable claim to it. She had two sisters to be benefited by her elevation; and such of their acquaintance as thought Miss Ward and Miss Frances quite as handsome as Miss Maria, did not scruple to predict their marrying with almost equal advantage. But there certainly are not so many men of large fortune in the world, as there are pretty women to deserve them. Miss Ward, at the end of half a dozen years, found herself obliged to be attached to the Rev. Mr. Norris, a friend of her brother-in-law, with scarcely any private fortune, and Miss Frances fared yet worse. Miss Ward's match, indeed, when it came to the point, was not contemptible, Sir Thomas being happily able to give his friend an income in the living of Mansfield; and Mr. and Mrs. Norris began their career of conjugal felicity with very little less than a thousand a year. But Miss Frances married, in the common phrase, to disoblige her family, and by fixing on a Lieutenant of Marines, without education, fortune, or connexions, did it very thoroughly. She could hardly have made a more untoward choice. Sir Thomas Bertram had interest, which, from principle as well as pride, from a general wish of doing right, and a desire of seeing all that were connected with him in situations of respectability, he would have been glad to exert for the advantage of Lady Bertram's sister; but her husband's profession was such as no interest could reach; and before he had time to devise any other method of assisting them, an absolute breach between the sisters had taken place. It was the natural result of the conduct of each party, and such as a very imprudent marriage almost always produces. To save herself from useless remonstrance, Mrs. Price never wrote to her family on the subject till actually married. Lady Bertram, who was a woman of very tranquil feelings, and a temper remarkably easy and indolent, would have contented herself with merely giving up her sister, and thinking no more of the matter: but Mrs. Norris had a spirit of activity, which could not be satisfied till she had written a long and angry letter to Fanny, to point out the folly of her conduct, and threaten her with all its

possible ill consequences. Mrs. Price in her turn was injured and angry; and an answer which comprehended each sister in its bitterness, and bestowed such very disrespectful reflections on the pride of Sir Thomas, as Mrs. Norris could not possibly keep to herself, put an end to all intercourse between them for a considerable period.

Their homes were so distant, and the circles in which they moved so distinct, as almost to preclude the means of ever hearing of each other's existence during the eleven following years, or at least to make it very wonderful to Sir Thomas, that Mrs. Norris should ever have it in her power to tell them, as she now and then did in an angry voice, that Fanny had got another child. By the end of eleven years however, Mrs. Price could no longer afford to cherish pride or resentment, or to lose one connexion that might possibly assist her. A large and still increasing family, an husband disabled for active service, but not the less equal to company and good liquor, and a very small income to supply their wants, made her eager to regain the friends she had so carelessly sacrificed; and she addressed Lady Bertram in a letter which spoke so much contrition and despondence, such a superfluity of children, and such a want of almost everything else, as could not but dispose them all to a reconciliation. She was preparing for her ninth lying-in, and after bewailing the circumstance, and imploring their countenance as sponsors to the expected child, she could not conceal how important she felt they might be to the future maintenance of the eight already in being. Her eldest was a boy of ten years old, a fine-spirited fellow who longed to be out in the world; but what could she do? Was there any chance of his being hereafter useful to Sir Thomas in the concerns of his West Indian property? No situation would be beneath him—or what did Sir Thomas think of Woolwich? or how could a boy be sent out to the East?

The letter was not unproductive. It re-established peace and kindness. Sir Thomas sent friendly advice and professions, Lady Bertram dispatched money and baby-linen, and Mrs. Norris wrote the letters.

Such were its immediate effects, and within a twelve month a more important advantage to Mrs. Price resulted from it. Mrs. Norris was often observing to the others, that she could not get her poor sister and her family out of her head, and that much as they had all done for her, she seemed to be wanting to do more; and at length she could not but own it to be her wish, that poor Mrs. Price should be relieved from the charge and expense of

one child entirely out of her great number. "What if they were among them to undertake the care of her eldest daughter, a girl now nine years old, of an age to require more attention than her poor mother could possibly give? The trouble and expense of it to them, would be nothing compared with the benevolence of the action." Lady Bertram agreed with her instantly. "I think we cannot do better," said she, "let us send for the child."

Sir Thomas could not give so instantaneous and unqualified a consent. He debated and hesitated -- it was a -- serious charge -- a girl so brought up must be adequately provided for, or there would be cruelty instead of kindness in taking her from her family. He thought of his own four children -- of his two sons -- of cousins in love, etc. -- but no sooner had he deliberately begun to state his objections, than Mrs. Norris interrupted him with a reply to them all whether stated or not.

"My dear Sir Thomas, I perfectly comprehend you, and do justice to the generosity and delicacy of your notions, which indeed are quite of a piece with your general conduct; and I entirely agree with you in the main as to the propriety of doing everything one could by way of providing for a child one had in a manner taken into one's own hands; and I am sure I should be the last person in the world to withhold my mite upon such an occasion. Having no children of my own, who should I look to in any little matter I may ever have to bestow, but the children of my sisters? -- and I am sure Mr. Norris is too just -- but you know I am a woman of few words and professions. Do not let us be frightened from a good deed by a trifle. Give a girl an education, and introduce her properly into the world, and ten to one but she has the means of settling well, without farther expense to anybody. A niece of ours, Sir Thomas, I may say, or, at least of yours, would not grow up in this neighbourhood without many advantages. I don't say she would be so handsome as her cousins. I dare say she would not; but she would be introduced into the society of this country under such very favorable circumstances as, in all human probability, would get her creditable establishment. You are thinking of your sons -- but do not you know that of all things upon earth *that* is the least likely to happen, brought up, as they would be, always together like brothers and sisters? It is morally impossible. I never knew an instance of it. It is, in fact, the only sure way of providing against the connexion. Suppose her a pretty girl, and seen by Tom or Edmund for the first time seven years hence, and I dare say there would be mischief. The very idea of her having been suffered to grow up at a distance from us all in poverty and neglect, would be enough to make either of the dear sweet-tempered boys in love with her. But breed her up with them from this time, and suppose her even to have the beauty of an angel, and she will never be more to either than a sister."

"There is a great deal of truth in what you say," replied Sir Thomas, "and far be it from me to throw any fanciful impediment in the way of a plan which would be so consistent with the relative situations of each. I only meant to observe, that it ought not to be lightly engaged in, and that to make it really serviceable to Mrs. Price, and creditable to ourselves, we must secure to the child, or consider ourselves engaged to secure to her hereafter, as circumstances may arise, the provision of a gentlewoman, if no such establishment should offer as you are so sanguine in expecting."

"I thoroughly understand you," cried Mrs. Norris; "you are everything that is generous and considerate, and I am sure we shall never disagree on this point. Whatever I can do, as you

well know, I am always ready enough to do for the good of those I love; and, though I could never feel for this little girl the hundredth part of the regard I bear you own dear children, nor consider her, in any respect, so much my own, I should hate myself if I were capable of neglecting her. Is not she a sister's child? And could I bear to see her want, while I had a bit of bread to give her? My dear Sir Thomas, with all my faults I have a warm heart: and, poor as I am, would rather deny myself the necessities of life, than do an ungenerous thing. So, if you are not against it, I will write to my poor sister to-morrow, and make the proposal; and, as soon as matters are settled, I will engage to get the child to Mansfield; you shall have no trouble about it. My own trouble, you know, I never regard. I will send Nanny to London on purpose, and she may have a bed at her cousin, the sadler's, and the child be appointed to meet her there. They may easily get her from Portsmouth to town by the coach, under the care of any creditable person that may chance to be going. I dare say there is always some reputable tradesman's wife or other going up."

Except to the attack on Nanny's cousin, Sir Thomas no longer made any objection, and a more respectable, though less economical rendezvous being accordingly substituted, every thing was considered as settled, and the pleasures of so benevolent a scheme were already enjoyed. The division of gratifying sensations ought not, in strict justice, to have been equal; for Sir Thomas was fully resolved to be the real and consistent patron of the selected child, and Mrs. Norris had not the least intention of being at any expense whatever in her maintenance. As far as walking, talking, and contriving reached, she was thoroughly benevolent, and nobody knew better how to dictate liberality to others: but her love of money was equal to her love of directing, and she knew quite as well how to save her own as to spend that of her friends. Having married on a narrower income than she had been used to look forward to, she had, from the first, fancied a very strict line of economy necessary; and what was begun as a matter of prudence, soon grew into a matter of choice, as an object of that needful solicitude which there were no children to supply. Had there been a family to provide for, Mrs. Norris might never have saved her money; but having no care of that kind, there was nothing to impede her frugality, or lessen the comfort of making a yearly addition to an income which they had never lived up to. Under this infatuating principle, counteracted by no real affection for her sister, it was impossible for her to aim at more than the credit of projecting and arranging so expensive a charity; though perhaps she might so little know herself, as to walk home to the parsonage after this conversation, in the happy belief of being the most liberal minded sister and aunt in the world.

When the subject was brought forward again, her view were more fully explained; and, in reply to Lady Bertram's calm inquiry of "Where shall the child come to first, sister, to you or to us?" Sir Thomas heard, with some surprise, that it would be totally out of Mrs. Norris's power to take any share in the personal charge of her. He had been considering her as a particularly welcome addition at the parsonage, as a desirable companion to an aunt who had no children of her own; but he found himself wholly mistaken. Mrs. Norris was sorry to say, that the little girl's staying with them, at least as things then were, was quite out of the question. Poor Mr. Norris's indifferent state of health made it an impossibility: he could no more bear the noise of a child than he could fly; if indeed he should ever

get well of his gouty complaints, it would be a different matter: she should then be glad to take her turn, and think nothing of the inconvenience; but just now, poor Mr. Norris took up every moment of her time, and the very mention of such a thing she was sure would distract him.

"Then she had better come to us?" said Lady Bertram with the utmost composure. After a short pause, Sir Thomas added with dignity, "Yes, let her home be in this house. We will endeavour to do our duty by her, and she will at least have the advantage of companions of her own age, and of a regular instructress."

"Very true," cried Mrs. Norris, "which are both very important considerations: and it will be just the same to Miss Lee, whether she has three girls to teach, or only two—there can be no difference. I only wish I could be more useful; but you, see I do all in my power. I am not one of those that spare their own trouble; and Nanny shall fetch her, however it may put me to inconvenience to have my chief counsellor away for three days. I suppose, sister, you will put the child in the little white attic, near the old nurseries. It will be much the best place for her, so near Miss Lee, and not far from the girls, and close by the housemaids, who could either of them help to dress her you know, and take care of her clothes, for I suppose you would not think it fair to expect Ellis to wait on her as well as the others. Indeed, I do not see that you could possibly place her any where else."

Lady Bertram made no opposition.

"I hope she will prove a well-disposed girl," continued Mrs. Norris, "and be sensible of her uncommon good fortune in having such friends."

"Should her disposition be really bad," said Sir Thomas, "we must not, for our own children's sake, continue her in the family; but there is no reason to expect so great an evil. We shall probably see much to wish altered in her, must prepare ourselves for gross ignorance, some meanness of opinions, and very distressing vulgarity of manner; but these are not incurable faults—nor, I trust, can they be dangerous for her associates. Had my daughter been younger than herself, I should have

considered the introduction of such a companion, as a matter of very serious moment; but as it is, I hope there can be nothing to fear for them, and everything to hope for her, from the association."

"That is exactly what I think," cried Mrs. Norris, "and what I was saying to my husband this morning. It will be an education for the child said I, only being with her cousins; if Miss Lee taught her nothing, she would learn to be good and clever from them."

"I hope she will not tease my poor pug," said Lady Bertram; "I have but just got Julia to leave it alone."

"There will be some difficulty in our way, Mrs. Norris," observed Sir Thomas, "as to the distinction proper to be made between the girls as they grow up; how to preserve in the minds of my daughters the consciousness of what they are, without making them think too lowly of their cousin; and how, without depressing her spirits too far, to make her remember that she is not a Miss Bertram. I should wish to see them very good friends, and would, on no account, authorise in my girls the smallest degree of arrogance towards their relation; but still they cannot be equals. Their rank, fortune, rights, and expectations, will always be different. It is a point of great delicacy, and you must assist us in our endeavours to choose exactly the right line of conduct."

Mrs. Norris was quite at his service; and though she perfectly agreed with him as to its being a most difficult thing, encouraged him to hope that between them it would be easily managed.

It will be readily believed that Mrs. Norris did not write to her sister in vain. Mrs. Price seemed rather surprised that a girl should be fixed on, when she had so many fine boys, but accepted the offer most thankfully, assuring them of her daughter's being a very well-disposed, good-humoured girl, and trusting they would never have cause to throw her off. She spoke of her farther as somewhat delicate and puny, but was sanguine in the hope of her being materially better for change of air. Poor woman! She probably thought change of air might agree with many of her children.

## PERSUASION (1818)

JANE AUSTEN

**SIR WALTER ELLIOT**, of Kellynch Hall, in Somersetshire, was a man who, for his own amusement, never took up any book but the *Baronetage*; there he found occupation for an idle hour, and consolation in a distressed one; there his faculties were roused into admiration and respect, by contemplating the limited remnant of the earliest patents; there any unwelcome sensations, arising from domestic affairs, changed naturally into pity and contempt. As he turned over the almost endless creations of the last century—and there, if every other leaf were powerless, he could read his own history with an interest which never failed—this was the page at which the favourite volume always opened:

**"ELLIOT OF KELLYNCH HALL.**

"Walter Elliot, born March 1, 1760, married, July 15, 1784, Elizabeth, daughter of James Stevenson, Esq. of South Park,

in the county of Gloucester; by which lady (who died 1800) he has issue Elizabeth, born June 1, 1785; Anne, born August 9, 1787; a still-born son, Nov. 6, 1789; Mary, born Nov. 20, 1791."

Precisely such had the paragraph originally stood from the printer's hands; but Sir Walter had improved it by adding, for the information of himself and his family, these words, after the date of Mary's birth—"married, Dec. 16, 1810, Charles, son and heir of Charles Musgrove, Esq. of Uppercross, in the county of Somerset"—and by inserting most accurately the day of the month on which he had lost his wife.

Then followed the history and rise of the ancient and respectable family, in the usual terms: how it had been first settled in Cheshire; how mentioned in Dugdale—serving the office of high sheriff, representing a borough in three successive parliaments, exertions of loyalty, and dignity of baronet, in the

first year of Charles II., with all the Marys and Elizabeths they had married; forming altogether two handsome duodecimo pages, and concluding with the arms and motto: "Principal seat, Kellynch Hall, in the county of Somerset," and Sir Walter's handwriting again in this finale:

"Heir presumptive, William Walter Elliot, Esq., great grandson of the second Sir Walter."

Vanity was the beginning and the end of Sir Walter Elliot's character; vanity of person and of situation. He had been remarkably handsome in his youth; and, at fifty-four, was still a very fine man. Few women could think more of their personal appearance than he did; nor could the valet of any new-made lord be more delighted with the place he held in society. He considered the blessing of beauty as inferior only to the blessing of a baronetcy; and Sir Walter Elliot, who united these gifts, was the constant object of his warmest respect and devotion.

His good looks and his rank had one fair claim on his attachment; since to them he must have owed a wife of very superior character to any thing deserved by his own. Lady Elliot had been an excellent woman, sensible and amiable; whose judgement and conduct, if they might be pardoned the youthful infatuation which made her Lady Elliot, had never required indulgence afterwards.—She had humoured, or softened, or concealed his failings, and promoted his real respectability for seventeen years; and though not the very happiest being in the world herself, had found enough in her duties, her friends, and her children to attach her to life, and make it no matter of indifference to her when she was called on to quit them.—Three girls, the two eldest sixteen and fourteen, was an awful legacy for a mother to bequeath; an awful charge rather, to confide to the authority and guidance of a conceited, silly father. She had, however one very intimate friend, a sensible, deserving woman, who had been brought, by strong attachment to herself, to settle close by her, in the village of Kellynch; and on her kindness and advice, Lady Elliot mainly relied for the best help and maintenance of the good principles and instruction which she had been anxiously giving her daughters.

This friend, and Sir Walter, did not marry, whatever might have been anticipated on that head by their acquaintance.—Thirteen years had passed away since lady Elliot's death, and they were still near neighbours and intimate friends; and one remained a widower, the other a widow.

That lady Russell, of steady age and character, and extremely well provided for, should have no thought of a second marriage, needs no apology to the public, which is rather apt to be unreasonably discontented when a woman *does* marry again, than when she *does not*; but Sir Walter's continuing in singleness requires explanation.—Be it known, then, that Sir Walter, like a good father (having met with one or two private disappointments in very unreasonable applications), prided himself on remaining single for his dear daughter's sake. For one daughter, his eldest, he would really have given up anything, which he had not been very much tempted to do. Elizabeth had succeeded, at sixteen, to all that was possible, of her mother's rights and consequence; and being very handsome, and very like himself, her influence had always been great, and they had gone on together most happily. His two other children were of very inferior value. Mary had acquired a little artificial importance, by becoming Mrs. Charles Musgrove; but Anne, with an elegance of mind and sweetness of character, which must have placed her high with any people of real understanding, was nobody

with either father or sister: her word had no weight; her convenience was always to give way—she was only Anne.

To Lady Russell, indeed, she was a most dear and highly valued god-daughter, favourite and friend. Lady Russell loved them all; but it was only in Anne that she could fancy the mother to revive again.

A few years before, Anne Elliot had been a very pretty girl, but her bloom had vanished early; and as even in its height, her father had found little to admire in her (so totally different were her delicate features and mild dark eyes from his own), there could be nothing in them, now that she was faded and thin, to excite his esteem. He had never indulged much hope, he had now none, of ever her name in any other page of his favourite work. All equality of alliance must rest with Elizabeth: for Mary had merely connected herself with an old country family of respectability and large fortune, and had therefore *given* all the honour, and received none; Elizabeth would, one day or other, marry suitably.

It sometimes happens that a woman is handsomer at twenty-nine than she was ten years before; and, generally speaking, if there has been neither ill health nor anxiety, it is a time of life at which scarcely any charm is lost. It was so with Elizabeth; still the same handsome Miss Elliot that she had begun to be thirteen years ago; and Sir Walter might be excused, therefore, in forgetting her age, or, at least, be deemed only half a fool, for thinking himself and Elizabeth as blooming as ever, amidst the wreck of the good looks of everybody else; for he could plainly see how old all the rest of his family and acquaintance were growing. Anne haggard, Mary coarse, every face in the neighbourhood worsting; and the rapid increase of the crow's foot about Lady Russell's temples had long been a distress to him.

Elizabeth did not quite equal her father in personal contentment. Thirteen years had seen her mistress of Kellynch Hall, presiding and directing with a self-possession and decision which could never have given the idea of her being younger than she was. For thirteen years had she been doing the honours, and laying down the domestic law at home, and leading the way to the chaise and four, and walking immediately after Lady Russell out of all the drawings-rooms and dining-rooms in the country. Thirteen winters' revolving frosts had seen her opening every ball of credit which a scanty neighbourhood afforded; and thirteen springs shown their blossoms, as she travelled up to London with her father, for a few weeks annual enjoyment of the great world. She had the remembrance of all this; she had the consciousness of being nine-and-twenty, to give some regrets and some apprehensions. She was fully satisfied of being still quite as handsome as ever; but she felt her approach to the years of danger, and would have rejoiced to be certain of being properly solicited by baronet blood within the next twelvemonth or two. Then might she again take up the book of books with as much enjoyment as in her early youth; but now she liked it not. Always to be presented with the date of her own birth, and see no marriage follow but that of a youngest sister, made the book an evil; and more than once, when her father had left it open on the table near her, had she closed it, with averted eyes, and pushed it away.

She had a disappointment, moreover, which that book, and especially the history of her own family, must ever present the remembrance of. The heir presumptive, the very William Walter Elliot, Esq. whose rights had been generously supported by

her father, had disappointed her.

She had, while a very young girl, as soon as she had known him to be, in the event of her having no brother, the future baronet, meant to marry him; and her father had always meant that she should. He had not been known to them as a boy, but soon after Lady Elliot's death Sir Walter had sought the acquaintance, and though his overtures had not been met with any warmth, he had persevered in seeking it, making allowance for the modest drawing back of youth; and in one of their spring excursions to London, when Elizabeth was in her first bloom, Mr. Elliot had been forced into the introduction.

He was at that time a very young man, just engaged in the study of the law; and Elizabeth found him extremely agreeable, and every plan in his favour was confirmed. He was invited to Kellynch Hall; he was talked of and expected all the rest of the year; but he never came. The following spring he was seen again in town, found equally agreeable, again encouraged, invited and expected, and again he did not come; and the next tidings were that he was married. Instead of pushing his fortune in the line marked out for the heir of the house of Elliot, he had purchased independence by uniting himself to a rich woman of inferior birth. Sir Walter had resented it. As the head of the house, he felt that he ought to have been consulted, especially after taking the young man so publicly by the hand: "For they must have been seen together," he observed, "once at Tattersal's and twice in the lobby of the House of Commons." His disapprobation was expressed, but apparently very little regarded. Mr. Elliot had attempted no apology, and shown himself as unsolicitous of being longer noticed by the family as Sir Walter considered him unworthy of it; all acquaintance between them had ceased.

This very awkward history of Mr. Elliot, was still, after an interval of several years, felt with anger by Elizabeth, who had liked the man for himself, and still more for being her father's heir, and whose strong family pride could see only in *him* a proper match for Sir Walter Elliot's eldest daughter. There was not a baronet from A to Z, whom her feelings could have so willingly acknowledged as an equal. Yet so miserably had he conducted himself that though she was at this present time (the summer of 1814) wearing black ribbons for his wife, she could not admit him to be worth thinking of again. The disgrace of his first marriage might, perhaps, as there was no reason to suppose it perpetuated by offspring, have been got over, had he not done worse; but he had, as by the accustomed intervention of kind friends they had been informed, spoken most disrespectfully of them all, most slightly and contemptuously of the very blood he belonged to, and honours which were hereafter to be his own. This could not be pardoned.

Such were Elizabeth Elliot's sentiments and sensations; such the cares to alloy, the agitations to vary, the sameness, and the elegance, the prosperity and the nothingness, of her scene of

life—such the feelings to give interest to a long, uneventful residence in one country circle, to fill the vacancies which there were no habits of utility abroad, no talents or accomplishments for home, to occupy.

But now, another occupation and solicitude of mind was beginning to be added to these. Her father was growing distressed for money. She knew, that when he now took up the Baronetage, it was to drive the heavy bills of his tradespeople, and the unwelcome hints of Mr. Shepherd, his agent, from his thoughts. The Kellynch property was good, but not equal to Sir Walter's apprehension of the state required in its possessor. While Lady Elliot lived, there had been method, moderation, and economy, which had just kept him within his income; but with her had died all such right-mindedness, and from that period he had been constantly exceeding it. It had not been possible for him to spend less; he had done nothing but what Sir Walter Elliot was imperiously called on to do; but blameless as he was, he was not only growing dreadfully in debt, but was hearing of it so often that it became vain to attempt concealing it longer, even partially, from his daughter. He had given her some hints of it the last spring in town; he had gone so far even as to say, "Can we retrench? does it occur to you that there is any one article in which we can retrench?"—and Elizabeth, to do her justice, had, in the first ardour of female alarm, set seriously to think what could be done, and had finally proposed these two branches of economy: to cut off some unnecessary charities, and to refrain from new-furnishing the drawing-room; to which expedients she afterwards added the happy thought of their taking no present down to Anne, as had been the usual yearly custom. But these measures, however good in themselves, were insufficient for the real extent of the evil, the whole of which Sir Walter found himself obliged to confess to her soon afterwards. Elizabeth had nothing to propose of deeper efficacy. She felt herself ill-used and unfortunate, as did her father; and they were neither of them able to devise any means of lessening their expenses without compromising their dignity, or relinquishing their comforts in a way not to be borne.

There was only a small part of his estate that Sir Walter could dispose of; but had every acre been alienable, it would have made no difference. He had condescended to mortgage as far as he had the power, but he would never condescend to sell. No; he would never disgrace his name so far. The Kellynch estate should be transmitted whole and entire, as he had received it.

Their two confidential friends, Mr. Shepherd, who lived in the neighbouring market town, and Lady Russell, were called on to advise them; and both father and daughter seemed to expect that something should be struck out by one or the other to remove their embarrassments and reduce their expenditure, without involving the loss of any indulgence of taste or pride.



# ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from

S.N. Nagarajan & Reply

20/5 East Cross Road,  
Gandhi Nagar,  
Vellore - 6. (Tamilnadu)  
Ph. : (0416) 43779 (Res.)

My dear Comrade,

I do not know whether you may remember me or not. However I can, I believe, remind you that I had the pleasure of meeting you at Bangalore - a few years back when you attended the conference organised by the Indian Academy of Social Sciences.

I had the chance of seeing the magazine *Mankind* which is edited by you. Will you kindly send it to me?

I shall send you shortly my article "The Unpopular Approach - the Eastern Marxist Approach" to invite your comments.

In the meanwhile I would like to inform you that I am organising a two days' conference at Bangalore on Neo-Colonialism and the way to meet its challenge. I would very much like that you also participate in it. Let me know of your availability.

Awaiting your reply.

Yours fraternally,  
Nagarajan

Reply 20.9.97

Dear Nagarajan

Of course I remember you. You will receive *Mankind*.

I look forward to receiving your article. About your Two Days' Conference in Bangalore, which is the month? Let me know as quickly as possible since we have to bring out a monthly journal and have to pre-plan everything.

With fraternal regards.

Your Sincerely  
Vinayak Purohit

Letter from Shiv Kumar Sharma

And Reply

District Courts, Sagadhri  
Distt. Yamuna Nagar,  
(Haryana) - 135 703.  
28.9.97

Dear Shri Purohit,

When in the year 1996, I to my surprise came by your magazine in a Book Shop at Chandigarh; I felt delighted because of my association with this magazine since the year of its start. I

managed to get its copies from Chandigarh regularly through a relative of mine, but after September this book became non-available at the said Book-Stall. Without the issues of Oct. Nov. and December, my annual remains incomplete. I hope you will take adequate steps to ensure the delivery of these three issues' by V.P.P. to me at the given address.

With regards,

Yours sincerely  
Shiv Kumar Sharma  
Reply

11.9.97

Dear Shri Shiv Kumar Sharma,

We are sending by VP three issues of *Mankind*, October, November and December, 1995 as per your letter.

We have resumed the supplies of *Mankind* to EBS News Agency, Chandigarh from where you were getting your copies.

If you want us to send any other issue of *Mankind* to you, please let us know.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely  
Sharayu Mhatre  
Asso. Editor

**KOMBUCHA - AN ELIXIR OF YOUTH.**

In the May 1997 issue of *Mankind*, we had published a piece on "Karagasuk Tea".

The Kambucha tea seems to us to be the same fungus grown and imbibed in the same manner with tea leaves.

This is a baby mushroom, doing rounds in New Delhi for six months now. This baby mushroom - or more precisely, kombucha fungus, if properly concocted in a positive environment, can turn out to be an elixir of youth.

It looks like a mouldy chapati and is placed in a glass jar where it is steeped in tea water and sugar, to help fermentation. It is supposed to have some miraculously healing characteristics. "And believers are convinced that half a cup of its tea in the morning will prevent cancer, reverse ageing, relieve constipation, cure bronchitis, asthma, insomnia and cough, reduce hypertension, bring high blood sugar levels down, cleanse the gall bladder, eliminate aches and pains of various kinds, fix allergies and make hair grow more luxuriant, skin glow, eyes

sparkle and add zing to your sex life." It has its weaknesses too. As per the report in the Australian Adverse Drug Reactions Bulletin, the prolonged use of kombucha could cause liver damage.

(Source : *India Today*, Sept. 14, 1997)

**CORRUPTION, GOVERNANCE  
AND THE POLITY**

**A Report**

**Dr. Malika B. Mistry**

On 14th and 15th of June, 97 a seminar was organised by the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies at the ILS Law College in Pune on the theme 'Corruption, Governance and the Polity' in which different experts from diverse fields participated.

This seminar defined corruption as taking illegal consideration doing what one is not legally supposed to do, or for not doing what one is bound to do. The focus was on corruption that takes place in the exercise of power by the public functionaries. It also focussed on the measures to prevent corruption, rather than on the punishment of the corrupt, and the systematic reforms that are necessary to minimise opportunities for misuse of power.

Today, liberalised economy has created plenty of opportunities to indulge in corruption. The phenomenon of criminalisation of politics has further added to corruption. Unless the institutional set up changes and accountability is introduced at various levels, corruption cannot be reduced.

In recent times systematic white collar crime has surfaced of looting the economic institutions. This has manifested in the form of various scams. This loot is significant as it may account for 10 to 20% of the total annual budget of India. These economic offenders go scot free because the system has not evolved a *modus operandi* to punish such people and secondly the investigation goes on for years together. Further the legal experts use their knowledge to defend rather than to punish the guilty.

In the session on the electoral process Justice Suresh said that today muscle power, money and communal factor play a very important role in winning elections. Peoples' candidates though able and with values, cannot win because they lack money. He cited a few examples of people's candidates losing elections in Bombay due to lack of resources. He elaborated on the legal technicalities which make it extremely difficult to prove corrupt practices adopted by political

parties in winning elections. Sometimes the judges too give perverted judgements. An example is that of Supreme Court judgement upholding Manohar Joshi's election.

The third session dealt with how political corruption and corporate governance are inter-linked.

During the discussion it was pointed out that the Indian companies are at least accountable to Indian government whereas multi-nationals will have no accountability to India or Indian people. This would increase the corruption in the corporate sector. A related question is how can one avoid Harshad Mehta type of scams? It was pointed out that in India auditors go scot free whereas in the West, auditors were penalised whenever such scams take place.

The corruption in bureaucracy and police force was discussed in the fourth session.

Today common people have no faith in the police. Even an ordinary police constable wields tremendous power and can make the life of a common man miserable.

During the discussion, it was suggested that the government should do away with all titles, and the secrecy maintained in taking economic decisions should be got rid of. In addition, the system of redressals through appeals in the administrative departments should be really introduced and corrupt officials should be prosecuted in the shortest possible time.

The pros and cons of corruption in the judicial process itself and the need to reform the legal system were addressed in the sixth and the seventh sessions.

Today people are looking to courts for justice and deliverance in the form of public interest litigation. Judicial activism is playing an active role in the areas of human rights, gender justice and environment. Also it's a fact that there is a great amount of corruption in the judiciary. To reduce corruption within the judiciary the process of appointing judges should become transparent and the Judicial Service Commission may be given the powers to punish corrupt judges. The law of contempt of court should be rarely used and as the last resort.

During the discussion it was pointed out that to a common man it seems that the whole judicial system is used to delay

justice and courts and lawyers have become instruments of torture. The Right to Information bill which is long pending needs to be introduced in the Parliament at the earliest.

#### COMMUNICATION ABOUT THE ENRON VIRODHI SANGHARSHA SAMITI Dr. Suhas Kolhekar

The struggle of the Enron Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti (EVSS) is being supported by the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM) led by Medha Patkar of Narmada Bachao Andolan and Thomas Kotchery of the National Fish Workers' Forum. On April 28th, 1996, a joint meeting of the EVSS and NAPM was organised at Katalwadi to demand that the government must stop work at Enron site and engage in a public debate with the local people to discuss the various objections raised by them to the Enron project.

From Jan. 12, 1997, non-violent satyagraha was organised in the area and street plays and meetings were held to mobilise further support.

On Jan. 30th, 1997, the Samiti launched a satyagraha with the local and NAPM activists participating. The authorities made every attempt to sabotage this agitation issuing exterrnent order to all the main activists.

The collusion between the Maharashtra government and the Enron management once again became evident when the District Officer and the Chief of Police used the Enron company's helicopter to make an aerial survey of the areas where the meetings were in progress. Every attempt was made to break up the anti-Enron meetings by arresting local activists and refusing entry into Ratnagiri district to supporters who were coming from outside.

In spite of these repressive measures, 10,000 protesters participated in the processions and meetings. They were lathicharged and tear-gassed.

But due to the pressure of the agitators, Enron was forced to stop work. Contractors supplying material to Enron also joined the satyagraha. The Aregao gram panchayat suspended water supply to the Enron project site for two weeks from 7th Feb. 1997. The state government restarted the water supply under police protection. The police were also used to escort contractors and workers to the

Enron project site.

Between April 28th and 12th May 1997, activists of Samajwadi Janaparishad, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Lokshakti Abhiyan and Bargi Bandh-visthapit Sangharsha Samiti from Bihar, U.P., Kerala, Gujarat, M.P. and Maharashtra joined the local agitators in offering dharnas at the Enron gate.

Between 15th and 26th May 1997, the police let loose repressive measures on the protestors — lathicharging and arresting them. Women and children were specially targeted. But these police atrocities failed to intimidate the people.

A *Konkan Vikas Sangharsha Yatra* (A series of programmes to highlight the people's demand for conservation of their environment.) began on 29th May, 1997, at Mahad. The participants in this *yatra* were subjected to police atrocities like tearing off the clothes of young women and brutal assault upon the protestors. This was followed by arresting them. On 30th May 1997, another batch of *yatra* activists reached Bombay and started their pre-planned *dharna* near Mantralaya. Prime Minister Gujral met Medha Patkar as per prior appointment along with the local leaders of the agitation. When they met him in Bombay, an enquiry into the Enron project as well as into the assault on the *yatra* activists was promised.

The drama continued till open debate on the issues involved in the development of Konkan including Enron was agreed upon, to take place at Guhagar between government representatives and agitators.

But the BJP Deputy Chief Minister, Gopinath Munde, postponed the dates for this open debate twice and later on did a complete about turn, and refused to turn up. He probably found it difficult to face the people of the area after the atrocities the state government had committed in Veldoor. The NAPM and local activists held a large meeting at Guhagar to mobilise public opinion against the obstructive takeover of the Konkan coast by the representatives of the multinationals and Indian big business. It is ironic that on the one hand, India, the "greatest democracy of the world", is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its so-called independence, and on the other, the villagers of Konkan have to fight for their elementary right to life and livelihood.

### The Sarnath School (contd. from p.3)

tribhanga pose, characteristic of Indian dance, as it developed later in *Nataraja* figures of South India. In the Sarnath figure, there is a mere suggestion to the worshipper that the Buddha image was actually moving or walking towards the suppliant, its hand raised in the gesture of reassurance (*Abhaya mudra*). As at Mathura, the Sarnath images are composed according to a system of proportion; of some such ratio as seven, or nine *thalams* (the distance from brow to chin). The ratio varied according to the hieratic stature of the deity to be represented.

V This is one of the great masterpieces of Gupta sculpture and, indeed, of Indian Art of all periods. This high-relief statue of Buddha preaching the First Sermon, discovered in the ruins of Sarnath, is as usual of chunar sandstone with traces of red pigment on the robe. The Buddha is represented seated in *yoga* posture, his hand in the wheel-turning a *dharmachakra mudra*. Below, on the plinth may be recognised the figures of *sakyamuni's* earliest followers listening to him in the Deer Park. Between the two groups of kneeling monks is the symbol of preaching, the Wheel, and, to give the setting, two badly damaged statues of recumbent deer. The backslab, representing a throne, is carved with hybrid monsters or *yalis* and *makaras*. The seated Buddha is presumably carved according to a system of five *thalams* to the total height of the figure and the image is composed in a triangle with the head as apex and the legs as the base. The relief shows the development of the *mahayana* point of view. One of the most beautiful features of this figure is the carving of the halo, which consists of a wide band of deeply cut foliage forms framed in a pearl border with flower-bearing *apsaras* on either side.

VI The figures, in this masterpiece of narrative sculpture, are themselves miniature replicas of monumental statues. In the individual scenes, the story is related in a very clear shorthand manner with the inclusion of only those figures necessary to the action. For instance, all the events relating to Buddha's Nativity, (*Maya* under the *Sal* tree, the First Bath, etc.) are included within the same panel.

## NOTES ON FIGURES ON BACK COVER

1-2. These transfers from South to North are related to the external debt burden carried by the developing countries. Between 1983 and 1989 they have averaged \$ 34.43bln. per year. In 1988 alone there was a net transfer of \$52 bln. from the poor to the rich.

"The developing countries' share of world trade excluding oil exporting countries, fell from 15.2% in 1968 to 12.9% in 1988. Protectionism has been estimated to cost developing countries \$100 bln. a year in lost revenues for agricultural products, and \$50 bln. for textiles.

"The global distribution of income still has the power to shock. 77 percent of the world's people earn 15 percent of its income (fig. 2)

"Expressed in GNP per capita, the average income in the North (\$12,510) is eighteen times the average in the South (\$710)"

(Source : *UNDP Report*, 1991, p.23)

3 & 5 The number of poor are likely to diminish marginally in Asia by the year 2000. But, according to the predictions of the UNDP, there will be a spectacular rise in the number of poor in Sub-Saharan Africa by the year 2025 if the trend line between 1990 and 2000 is continued. (Further details on p.26 of *UNDP Report*, 1991).

Of the 20 crores of poor in the industrial countries, half are in Eastern Europe and the USSR, where there has been a spectacular collapse in human living standards after 1987. Of the other half, almost 1/3rd are in the USA, i.e. about 3 crores of the poor in the West live in USA.

4. The *UNDP Report* of 1991 suggests the use of four ratios to analyse public spending on human development.

- The public expenditure ratio is the percentage of National Income that basically goes into public expenditure.

- The social allocation ratio is the percentage of public expenditure earmarked for social services.

- The social priority ratio is the percentage of social expenditure devoted to social priority concerns.

- Human expenditure ratio is the percentage of national income devoted to human priority concerns. This fourth ratio is the product of the earlier three ratios.

Needless to add, India falls in the lowest category where the expenditure devoted to priority areas of social concern as percentage of national income are below two percent.

Zimbabwe and Pakistan provide the perfect contrast. In Zimbabwe, over 50 percent is the government's share of the GNP. Of this again, almost half is devoted to social services and half of this again is allocated to social priority areas. The result is that the expenditure on high priority social concerns in Zimbabwe is 1/8th of national GNP.

In Pakistan, on the other hand, 25 percent represents government share of GNP. Of this, only about one-fifth is devoted to social services, and, of this again, just about 14 percent is devoted to high priority areas. Thus, the ultimate ratio of human priority areas to GNP comes down to less than 1 percent (exactly 0.8 percent).

Indians should not gloat over the pain of the people of Pakistan. Our public expenditure is 37 percent of GNP to start with. Of this, one-fifth is devoted to social services, and, of this latter ratio, only one-third goes for high priority areas. The upshot is that of the total GNP, just 2.5 percent represents the percentage of national GNP devoted to high priority social services. In short, the poor in Zimbabwe are better off than the poor in India by five times, and, than the poor in Pakistan by 15 times!

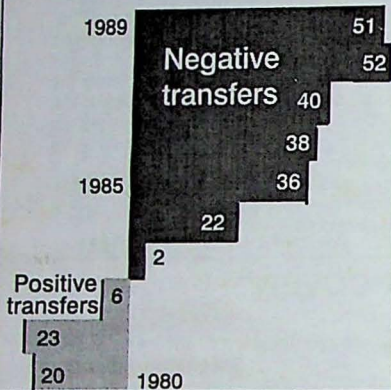
(Source : *UNDP Report*, 1991, p.41)

6. The Military-Industrial-Complex has been very active in promoting capitalist devastation of the world. As we have noted several times in the columns of *Mankind*, scores of Limited Wars have been unleashed upon the developing countries by the armament manufacturers of the West.

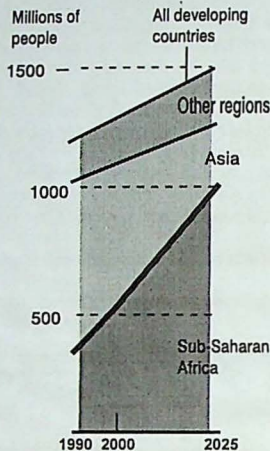
In the 25 years, 1960 to 1985, a tremendous spurt in armament manufacture has taken place, as illustrated by our figure. If the 1960 proportion of GNP devoted to military spending is taken as one, Libya is now spending proportionately ten times more; Israel, seven times more; Sri Lanka nearly six times more; and so on; whilst China had halved its military expenditure by 1985.

### 1 Net Flow of resources from South to North

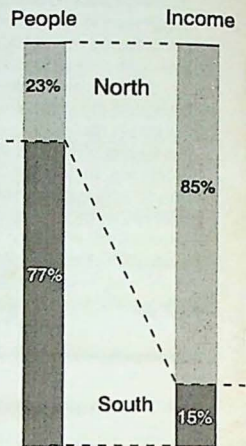
US \$ Billions



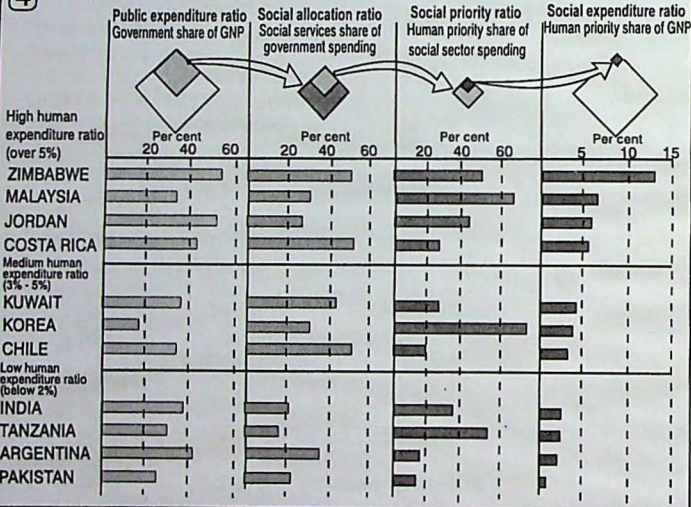
### 2 People in Poverty in Developing Countries



### 3 People and income

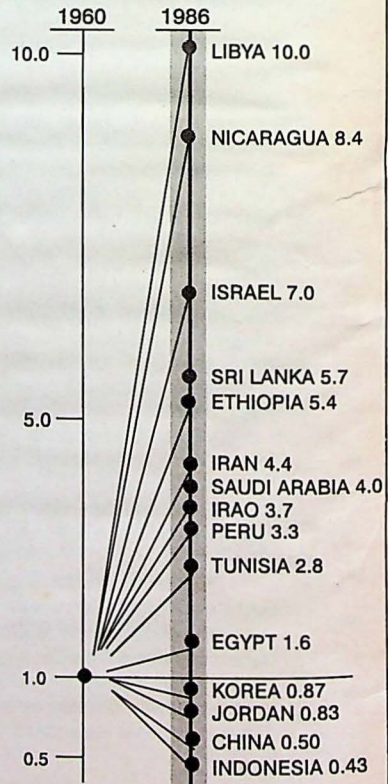


### 4 Social priority spending



### 6 Military's changing claim on GNP

1960 SHARE = 1.0



### 5 People in poverty in industrial countries

Total - 200 million people



All figures from Human Development Report, by UNDP, 1991, pp.22, 23, 26, 40 & 82.