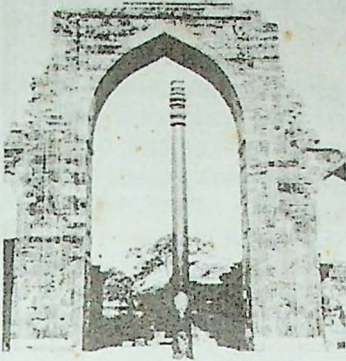


MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

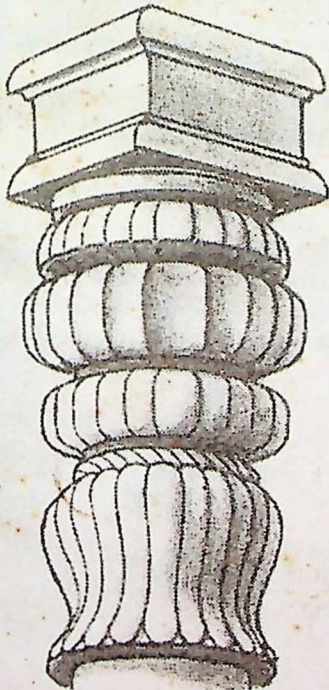
Vol. 3, No. 6, March 1998

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Steel Pillar, Delhi
(415 A.D.)



3. Part of Finial of the Pillar. Original Garuda figure on top of pedestal shown here, removed and lost.



2. The Rust-free Steel Pillar of Delhi (415 A.D.).
Height 24 feet.
Diameter 16 inches.
Weight 6 tons.

THREE
STALINIST STOOGES,
GUJRAL, BHANDARI,
SURJEET,
TAKE THREE
CROOKED
SIMPLETONS,
MULAYAM, MAYAWATI,
ARJUN SINGH
FOR A RIDE

MARX AND HIS TIMES

NEHRU ADVOCATES
WORKING OF
"SLAVE CONSTITUTION
OF 1935-7"

SWIFT'S
MODEST PROPOSAL

KOHINOOR THEFT

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

BIRTH OF EUROPEAN
NATIONS

TIBETAN TRAGEDY

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Rammanohar Lohia

Vol. 3, No. 6, March 1998

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THREE STALINIST STOOGES, GUJRAL, BHANDARI, SURJEET, TAKE THREE CROOKED SIMPLETONS, MULAYAM, MAYAWATI, ARJUN SINGH, FOR A RIDE

Events in U.P. have taken a fantastic turn. Within less than four months, UP Governor Bhandari's intervention in the democratic functioning of the state had to be overturned, and for the second time, Kalyan Singh's BJP ministry had to be reinstated in full power.

The wonder does not cease with these developments. Inder Gujral, the PM, a Stalinist cad of 1940s vintage; and, Harkishen Singh Surjeet, a promoter of India's Partition of 1947, have succeeded in stalling any action against Romesh Bhandari V.K. Krishna Menon's personal secretary for six years, and a miserable careerist *naukershah* of the 1950s vintage ! This Stalinist triumvirate, hopes to continue in power even after the 12th General Elections via an unprincipled repeat coalition of the Congress and the United Front.

About Inder Gujral, we had written immediately after his elevation to the PM's *gaddi*.

"A Police informer, an Emergency supporter, and Pro-American is our New P.M.

"It is true that Inder Kumar Gujral,

the Great, participated in the 1942 Quit India Movement. Only, he participated on the British Imperialist side as a Police Informer, who betrayed the freedom fighters and caused their

CORRUPTION CANNOT BE CONSTITUTIONALLY CURBED !

We have repeatedly written that our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-9, confers no powers upon our MPs. All the powers are with the bureaucrats, who can do as they will.

For instance, it is not possible to ensure a clean administration under our constitution. No party can promise to wipe out corruption and fulfil this promise.

- There is no Right of Information. On the contrary there is the Official Secrets Act of Colonial times, as also Oath of Secrecy taken by every Minister and High Official.

- There is no Accountability. No project or undertaking need be implemented in scheduled time or within prescribed cost limits.

- The bureaucrat's personal and family bank accounts are not open to the people, so that one can acquire officially any amount of income or wealth, beyond his/her ostensible means.

- There is no Chapter in the Constitution that comprehensively bans Corruption, ensures Transparency, enforces Responsibility and Accountability.

- Permission to prosecute Ministers, Secretaries and other high officials, in executive departments and public undertakings, has to be taken from the same corrupt officers, who are themselves under investigation.

- Committees of Parliament are not empowered to prosecute for perjury, those witnesses who appear before them and lie !

That the present Dominion Status Constitution, 1946-49, promotes corruption is evidenced by two recent happenings.

- The President has suggested in a note that Sheila Kaul, Satish Sharma and B. Shankaranand, who were each fined a million of rupees, for finagling of public funds, "should not be prosecuted as there was no evidence against them." That is, nobody had a video of the money changing hands !

- The Supreme Court has held that the Jain Diaries do not provide sufficient evidence of wrong-doing and therefore L.K. Advani, V.C. Shukla are exonerated from the Hawala Scam.

In fact, our Secrecy Laws, Defamation Laws, Confidentiality Laws and many other quasi-judicial administration rules and procedures ensure Total Corruption. It can never be wiped out as long as the Constitution remains !

capture and imprisonment !

"In 1942, Inder was twenty-three. He was young ! He was enthusiastic ! Pakistan had just been demanded by the Muslim League at its Annual Session in

1941 ! The CPI had just discovered that the Imperialist War of 1939-41 had been transformed into a People's War of 1941-5, as the Hitler-Stalin Pact, also called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, came to an end on 22 June, 1941 with Hitler's invasion of Russia !

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

"The claim made by Gujral, the Great Cad, through the official PIB that he went to jail in the course of the 1942 Movement, is a blatant lie, and is a shabby attempt to rewrite history.

"I am sending by registered post a copy of this issue of *Mankind* to Mulayam

Singh Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav, Janeshwar Misra and Laloo Prasad Yadav. I am requesting them to tell Gujral that 'enough is enough' ! They must join together and insist that Gujral and his PIB make no bogus claims that the Great Cad went to jail in 1942 !

"Gujral, the cad, acted as a disciplined member of a political party. Caddishness and swinishness were demanded of him by the party which decided that in spite of Churchill's Hitlerite crimes that were going on in India, the party should support Churchill against Hitler, just because Churchill by historical accident had become temporarily allied to Stalin.

"Heil Inder ! Heil Inder jal !

"Heil Hitler of the Hitler-Stalin Pact !

"Heil Partition !

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

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

"Heil Laloo ! Let him receive more fodder !

"Heil Compra Coalitions!" (*Mankind*, June 97, pp. 3-4)

As we had then discovered, and as confirmed by brother Satish Gujral, Inder was openly a Stalinist member of the unified CPI, and joined the Congress Party along with crypto-communist V.K. Krishna Menon, Mohan Kumaramangalam and such other moles, after returning from London in 1949-50, under the guidance of Harry Politt and Rajni Palme Dutt of the CPGB.

Inder got his chance when he joined Indira's Kitchen Cabinet in 1966 and vigorously supported the imposition of Internal Emergency in 1975. He was the Information and Broadcasting Minister during the first few months of the Emergency, a post which had been held by Indira herself in Shastri's Cabinet. This post was to be made particularly heinous by Inder's successor V. C. Shukla, when the latter became I & B Minister. Gujral first shifted to the PWD ministry and then became Indira's envoy to Moscow. Morarji continued to deal through Gujral after coming to power in 1977. It was another example of Gujral's peculiar proclivity "of being all things to all men"!

Let us now follow the career of the second Stalinist stooge, Romesh Bhandari. INFA's *Who's Who, 1995-96* records as follows on p. 43.

"Romesh Bhandari; b. 29 March 28, at Lahore (Pakistan); s. of Amar Nath and Padma, m. Kumudesh, two children; Ed : MA Cambridge; joined Ind. Foreign Service, 50, Vice Consul in New York, 52-55, Private Sec. to Min. without portfolio, V. K. Krishna Menon, GOI, 56-57, to Defence Min. V. K. Krishna Menon, 57-61, Dep. Sec. Min. of External Affairs, 61-63, Divl. Mgr. Minerals and Metals Trading Corp., 63-65, Dir, Min. of External Affairs, 65-68, Min. Ind. Embassy in Moscow, 69-71, Ambassador to Thailand and Permanent Representative to ESCAP, 71-74, Ambassador to Iraq, 74-76; Addl Sec, Min of External Affairs, 77-79, Sec. 79; Foreign Sec., Feb 85 - March 86; Chmn, Foreign Affairs Dept. AICC, 86; LG Delhi, 88-89; Governor of Tripura, Aug. 93-May 94; Governor, Goa, June 95; Governor, UP from 1996.

Bhandari's name was in such bad odour after Krishna Menon's removal by Jawaharlal Nehru, that he was shunted off as Divl. Mgr. Minerals and Metals Trading Corp. in 1963-65.

Bhandari returned to his service base, the Foreign Ministry in 1966 where he continued till 1986. Thereafter, he rejoined the Congress like all typical

careerist *naukershahs*.

Elsewhere, in *Mankind*, we have analysed this peculiar Indian phenomenon of *naukershah*-Stalinist combine. Those *naukershahs* who were closely associated with building their careers under imperialist rule and the years immediately thereafter, say, 1945 to 1955, chose to portray themselves as Progressivists on the following overlapping grounds.

- British rule was progressive, though imperialist.

- Imperialist War had suddenly become People's War because of the entry of Soviet Union on the side of British, American, French, Dutch and Portuguese imperialisms.

- Partition of India, as demanded by the Muslim League, was beneficial to the people of India.

- India's Non-alignment, tilted in favour of Russia, would open up a "non-revolutionary, non-capitalist, path of development" for India.

All these were absolute lies and complete falsehoods.

There was no non-revolutionary path for India's development. Russia was a State capitalist country and could not have helped India in the long run. Russian support would be only temporary and opportunistic as long as its Cold War with USA lasted. India's foreign policy aims could only be of promoting India's independent economic growth. Without real economic strength, it was not possible for India to pursue any independent foreign policy or a policy of Non-Alignment.

This wretched careerist worm, Romesh Bhandari, combined the worst features of our irresponsible bureaucratic setup.

"Ever since he came as Governor in March 1996, Bhandari has been known as a Mulayam man. But his latest war with Kalyan Singh hotted up last month when the BJP Government enacted a law curtailing his power in the appointment of Vice-Chancellors to State universities.

"A man with a taste for the good things of life, Bhandari spent Rs. 2 crore refurbishing the Raj Bhavans in Lucknow and Nainital.

"He got a jacuzzi installed in his bathroom, antique French furniture dating back to the time of Louis XIII for his drawing room, in Lucknow Raj Bhavan, and even had a helipad constructed in its backyard. He got a Buick, kept in Raj Bhavan's junkyard repaired at a cost of Rs. 1.25 crores.

"He did not mind if the Centre considered it as lavish expenditure and refused to pay the entire amount." (*The Indian Express*, 23.2.98)

Let us now take Surjeet.

One does not like to attack an old man like him. However, he deserves neither pity nor politeness.

No leader of the Nazi Party is entitled to claim that he was unaware of Hitler's crimes! Similarly, no leader of the United Communist Stalinist Party of India can plead that he did not participate in British imperialist crimes against the Indian people, especially those committed during the Second World War.

Surjeet chose to support the Partition of 1947. He thus became a close associate of all the murderers, kidnapers and rapists of 1947!

We must never forget that the Partition of 1947 resulted in the killing of 6 lakh innocents, in so-called "communal riots" organised by the British police in 1945-7 and in the creation of 18 million refugees, the largest single event of this nature known to world history!

How can Surjeet escape the judgement of history!

Further, Surjeet chose to support Nizam's Razakars and to resist the Indian army's efforts to unify Hyderabad with India!

Surjeet had the temerity to call Subhas Bose, a traitor!

Surjeet supported Indira's Emergency and defended her right to jail thousands!

In fact, Surjeet is in the habit of betraying those closest to him first! The Partition of 1947 affected Punjabis and Sikhs most! But Surjeet stuck loyally to the CPI-line of helping British Imperialism and the Muslim League to realise Pakistan!

Some leaders of the CPI and the CPI-M have recently and retrospectively admitted their "errors" of the past:

- of supporting Partition!
- of promoting the War Effort in 1941-5 and betraying the Freedom Fighters of 1942-5, who were supposedly sabotaging this War Effort!
- of agitating against the Pro-INA demonstrations of end 1945 at the time of the Trial of the INA officers!
- of collaborating with Nizam's Razakars in 1947-8 and of resisting the Indian army's drive to integrate Hyderabad with India!
- of actively supporting Indira's Emergency in 1975-7!
- of daring to call Subhas Bose "a

traitor", when in reality, Surjeet and his fellow-Stalinists were the supreme traitors to Indian Nationalism !

But there has been no official resolution passed by either the CPI or the CPI-M, explaining and apologising for any of the above crimes !

Surjeet has never explained why the party line promoted all these "errors" !

During Indira's Emergency, when thousands languished in jail, Surjeet happily collaborated with another cad, Inder Gujral, both in Delhi and Moscow !

These are the three character sketches of the primary villains responsible for UP's woes.

Now it is generally known and has been extensively reported in the papers, especially by *The Indian Express*, that private exit polls taken after the first date of polling in UP i.e. 16th February, by a spectrum of political leaders and contestants, spelt out a massive swing in favour of the BJP. Mulayam Singh, Mayawati and Arjun Singh (the last mentioned informed by Satish Sharma, N. D. Tiwari and other Congressmen) were all aware of this and therefore planned a coup against Kalyan Singh in order to create an impact on the second day of polling on 22nd February.

Bhandari acted, without rhyme or reason, in a most dastardly manner and had Jagdambika Pal sworn in as the new Chief Minister on the 21st. Ultimately he lost and both, the Allahabad High Court and the Supreme Court saw to it that Kalyan Singh was restored.

This, however, did not prevent the crooked simpletons leading the Samajwadi Party, the BSP, and the INC, from making certain gains :

- Mulayam managed to intimidate all those forces that were ranged behind D.P. Yadav, now of the BJP, and of securing his own election from Sambhal.

- Mayawati got certain files removed or tampered with, which exposed her infamous role in several scams, Ambedkar Park Scam, Land Grab Scam, etc.

- On the whole, of the 33 seats, at stake on the 22nd, it is surmised that the Stalinist-SP-BSP combine managed to swing about five seats in its favour.

Surjeet has come out with strange statements that the BJP cannot be beaten by traditional tactics, that criminality against the BJP is not a crime, and so on. The man has obviously lost his balance and his prestige has been reduced to zero, by the Allahabad High

Court and the Delhi Supreme Court. But we can be sure that he will not change. The hyena cannot change its stripes ! Let us emphasise that hyenas are stinking animals which feed upon carrion !

As for Bhandari, the sharpest commentary has been made by George Fernandes, President of the Samata Party.

"Fernandes described Uttar Pradesh governor Romesh Bhandari as a criminal who had tried to 'fix' BJP leaders Atal Behari Vajpayee and L.K. Advani with the help of forged documents stating that a sizeable amount of money had been transferred to their accounts in Geneva." (*Times of India*, 25.2.98)

India has really come to a sorry state. Despicable Stalinists' and *naukershahs* are destroying the last shreds of decency and morality in political life.

Let us hope that their influence in politics ends soon and that the Indian people will march ahead on the path of democratic politics by realising their demands for a New Constituent Assembly elected for the first time on the basis of a Direct, Equal, Universal, Adult Franchise ! ■

NEHRU'S TRYST WITH DESTINY

A little phrase by a mediocre mind has gained a lot of prestige over the last 50 years. I think our miserable media-persons, who are masters of the jargon and the cliché, are largely responsible for the lowering of our national sensitivity and taste.

On August 14, 1947, Jawahar Nehru got up in the so-called Constituent Assembly, which was not a Constituent Assembly at all, and spoke, or rather he must have mumbled and made incoherent "aan... aan ..." sounds, for that was his normal oratorical style, and spoke the following words in what Jawahar considered to be flighted style.

"Whilst the world sleeps, India will keep its tryst with history and awake to glory..." or some such silly words !

But why should the world be sleeping at twelve, Indian Standard Time, which is 5 hours ahead of the Greenwich Mean Time ?

Originally, of course, when India was the centre of the civilised world, the zero meridian had passed through Ujjaini.

But never mind the historic

degradation implied by the Indian Standard Time, which was once called the Imperial Standard Time. Whichever is taken as the zero meridian, only those can be considered to be sleeping at twelve, who are living in the time zone four hours prior to twelve, say eight; and five-six hours after twelve. In the rest of the world, the people are wide awake and going about their daily chores or generally grinding out ill-paid labour, whilst, those living within 60 degrees longitude, to the West of India and some 75 degrees longitude, East of India, could be supposed to be slumbering.

Did Jawahar think about time zones ? Did he not understand the simple logic of the 24 hours cycle, that is the result of the earth's rotation on its own axis, so that a 15 degrees turn represented one hour's lapse of time ?

Actually, what was Jawahar thinking of ? He wanted to write something very flighted, very catchy, very clever and memorable, very profound, and therefore, picked up any stray thought that was slowly making its way across the area

known as his mind and he poured forth this trite expression : "Whilst the world sleeps, India awakes to this and that !"

I remember a poem of Ravi Thakur, which I had analysed in my humble Ph.D. thesis many years ago. In this poem, Ravibabu had written that a King had torn off a necklace from his neck and flung it in the path of an on-rushing chariot of his beloved (or possibly, another King), and all the pearls/jewels had been crushed and powdered into dust by the rim of the two chariot wheels running over them ! The parabolic arc of the flight of the pearls/jewels had been described and the poet noted that after the tremendously wobbling chariot wheels had passed over them, not a trace of them was left behind on the Grand Trunk Road !

Now, just visualise the scene ! How can a necklace be violently torn from its normal position and thrown in the path of a rushing vehicle and how could the beads or baubles be reduced to dust, as though in a grinding mill ?

There is something wrong with the vision of our compradors ! They are not thinking concretely ! They are not reasoning !

Is it the use of English language that

is preventing the application of common sense and brain power? But Tagore's poem was in Bengali, therefore, it can't be entirely the helplessness induced by the use of a foreign language!

There is something more fundamentally wrong inside the head of characters like Jawaharlal and Ravibabu!

I think that these comprador characters are constantly striving for originality and profundity. But such

achievements are not possible for them, given the colonial context and their ruling-class stance. **How can a comprador be original and profound?** If they could be such, then the solution to the Indian cultural predicament would lie along the ideological lines suggested by them. But we know that, no real solution lies along the path pointed out by them. They are in a blind alley, and therefore, they must themselves become blind and

unreasonable and stupid!

I always laugh when I hear some great journalist or academician or intellectual quoting Jawahar's grand gesture: "Whilst the world sleeps, India's tryst with destiny is being fulfilled!"

But my chuckle is nowadays turning into a stifled sob! How could we have such an unthinking, stupid set of leaders? Why have we fallen so low? ■

GABRIEL GARCIA MARQUEZ : NEWS OF A KIDNAPPING, 1997

I am really sorry for the peoples of Latin America. Their intellectual leaders, at least those who are strutting about as Nobel laureates like Marquez, Paz, Neruda, and their admirers, and obviously I am not speaking about fine intellectuals like Fidel Castro and Che' Guevara. It is obvious to me that the Nobel laureates and such other establishment figures have lost all sense of integrity and vision. They no longer speak for their countrymen, they do not identify with the peoples of Latin America, they are not concerned with the ups and downs in the future of the Latin American masses.

I don't know how they live! Marquez, Paz, Neruda and such writers and diplomats, what are they thinking of? For whom are they speaking? Why are they writing? Whose thoughts and feelings, and hopes and sorrows, and aspirations and disappointments, whose feelings are they trying to represent?

I was horrified to read *News of a Kidnapping*.

Let us look at the blurb.

"This astonishing book by the Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez chronicles the 1990 kidnapping of ten Colombian men and women — all journalists but one — by the Medellin drug boss Pablo Escobar. The carefully orchestrated abductions were Escobar's attempt to extort from the government an assurance that he, and other narcotics traffickers, would not be extradited to the United States if they were to surrender.

"From the highest corridors of government to the domain of the ruthless drug cartels, we watch the unfolding of a bizarre drama replete with fascinating characters.

"All this takes place in a country where presidential candidates and cabinet officers are routinely assassinated, where police go into the

Medellin slums to murder boys they think maybe working for Escobar; but where brave and honest citizens are trying desperately to make democracy survive.

"An international best-seller, *News of a Kidnapping* combines journalistic tenacity with the breathtaking language and perception that distinguish the writings of Gabriel Garcia Marquez. It draws us into a world that, like some phantasmagorical setting in a great Garcia Marquez novel, we can scarcely believe exists - but that continually shocks us with its cold, hard reality" (Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *News of a Kidnapping*, 1997, jacket blurb)

I am utterly horrified! All the above quoted purple prose for the most despicable sycophancy. Why are the extraditables not to be punished by local national laws, which can be made even stricter than the American laws?

Why is the burden of policing these drug lords, who are after all paid agents of the American mafia gangs, to be thrown on the politicians, bureaucrats, policemen and army generals of little Latin American states? Why is the outflow of funds not being stopped at the US border? Why is the physical inflow of drugs not being halted at the US border?

Above all, who are the Americans, to dictate to Peru, Colombia, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, what they should do? How they should act? The methods they should adopt to deal with the drug lords of their own countries?

Does Marquez recognise any such thing as the sovereignty and sovereign will of the governments of the Latin American countries?

Of course, *Mankind* is against international traffic in narcotics, but why is America the model? And why is the policing of drug-traffic financed by US interests to be the sole responsibility of the Third World? Let Americans give

billions of dollars as grants for policing, let them assume the moral and legal responsibility for the failure of the American law-enforcement agencies to check the outflow of money and the inflow of narcotics on American frontiers! Let the Americans kill or maim or injure Colombians, Peruvians and Panamians found within their own police jurisdiction.

Apart from not paying for the billions of dollars that it is costing the poor governments of Latin America to apprehend American-financed drug lords, the wretched US government is not even paying its normal UN dues!

The whole business is being turned upside down. Marquez, and his ilk are completely wrongheaded! The least one can say is that they are stupid scoundrels. Let the Americans take care of their own young people! Let them create a society in which not so many are seeking such crazed outlets for their psychic needs! Why is it the responsibility of Peru or Colombia or India to prevent narcotics from reaching the American youth?

At least, let the Americans pour out hundreds of billions of dollars to meet their own law-and-order problems.

Marquez assumes that though he is living in Mexico City and Bogota, he is entitled to consider America as the ideal, the model and the epitome of all that is legally correct and proper! This is simply nonsense.

Let us consider some of the passages within the text:

"The main reason for the war was the drug trafficker's fear of extradition to the United States, where they could be tried for crimes committed there and receive extraordinarily harsh sentences, like the one given Carlos Lehden, a Colombian drug dealer who had been extradited to the United States in 1987 and sentenced to life imprisonment plus 130 years. This was possible because a treaty signed during the presidency of Julio César Turbay allowed the extradition of Colombian nationals for the first time. After the murder of Lara Bonilla, President

Belisario Betancur applied its provisions with a series of summary extraditions. The traffickers - terrified by a long, worldwide reach of the United States — realised that the safest place for them was Colombia, and they went underground, fugitives inside their own country. The great irony was that their only alternative was to place themselves under the protection of the state to save their own skins. And so they attempted — by persuasion and by force — to obtain that protection by engaging in indiscriminate, merciless terrorism, and at the same time, by offering to surrender to the authorities and bring home and invest their capital in Colombia, on the sole condition that they not be extradited. There was an authentic shadow power with a brand name the Extraditables — and a slogan typical of Escobar : “We prefer a grave in Colombia to a cell in the United States.” (Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *News of a Kidnapping*, 1997, p. 22)

But the last statement by Escobar was pure lying bravado, as Marquez himself notices in the very next paragraph :

“Through his lawyers, Escobar

demanded that non-extradition be made unconditional, that confession and indictment not be obligatory, that the prison be invulnerable to attack, and that their families and followers be guaranteed protection. Holding terrorism in one hand and negotiation in the other, he began abducting journalists in order to twist the government's arm and achieve his demands. In two months, eight had been kidnapped. (Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *News of a Kidnapping*, 1997, p. 23)

Thus Escobar was not seeking the grave in Colombia at all ! What he wanted was freedom to bring home and invest his capital in Colombia, carry on his nefarious business and obtain full protection for his family and followers.

I do not know whether G. G. Marquez is a particularly stupid fellow. Apparently not ! But then why is he supporting the lying and self-dramatising statements of Escobar ?

Marquez is very frequently identified with the literary device of Magic Realism. Actually, Magic Realism turns out to be a damp squib. Not merely in the hands of Salman Rushdie, but even in the hands

of Magic Realism's master source, G. G. Marquez ! We see the same age-old bourgeois realism and naturalism masquerading under different appellations.

The fellows have nothing new to say, whether they call it Magic Realism or Neo-Realism or anything else. It is the same rotten brew of symbolising non-representative phenomena and characters; of elevating the insignificant into the trend-setter; of verbal diarrhoea; of promotion of ambiguity and obscurantism to disguise reactionary advocacies; of distracting attention from the vital to the trivial; and, generally of bolstering the rule of the neo-colonial powers over the peoples of the third world.

At one time I had thought that G. G. Marquez was better than Salman Rushdie. After reading *News of Kidnapping*, I am being compelled to revise my opinion. Marquez is as bad, as rotten, as flippant, as reactionary, and as irrelevant as Rushdie ! ■

DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AT UN

All over the world, a debate is going on about the need to reform the United Nations, which, as we all know, has totally failed to bring peace to the world.

One of the main reasons for its failure has been the total US domination over its deliberations and activities. Even during the Cold War (1945-85) when Russia sought to defy the might of US imperialism, the Russian economic strength was too insignificant to mount a sustained challenge to the US. Ultimately, the state capitalist, Stalinist bureaucratic leadership had to surrender to private free market capitalism and led by Gorbachev and Yeltsin, first the Stalinist East European Empire was lost (1985-91), and then the USSR itself was splintered into its 15 constituent republics (1989-91).

Another factor which helped USA to dominate the UN was the intimate co-operation that it received from two other veto-holding Security Council members, the United Kingdom and France.

The fifth veto-holding Security Council member, viz China, was denied its seat till 1971 and USA persisted in retaining Taiwan in the Security Council, however absurd this claim had been in reality, since the 1949 expulsion of Chiang's armies from mainland China.

In our opinion, if the UN is to be even a liberal bourgeois democratic

organisation, it has to have 10 permanent members, whether with or without veto, as these countries are the only ones that have over 100 million population. We list them below.

10 COUNTRIES WITH OVER 100 MILLION POPULATION	
1. Bangladesh	117.9
2. Brazil	159.1
3. China	1,190.9
4. India	913.6
5. Indonesia	190.4
6. Japan	125.0
7. Nigeria	108.0
8. Pakistan	126.3
9. Russia	148.3
10. USA	260.6
3,340.1 = 59.61% of World	

The total population of these 10 countries makes up about 60% of the world total.

In future, as soon as the country's population crosses the 100 million line, it should be made a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

If the undemocratic and authoritarian principle of the veto is retained in the World Body, then these 10 countries should possess the veto.

We may now proceed to list the 13

countries which possess populations ranging from 50 to 100 millions.

13 COUNTRIES WITH OVER 50 MILLION POPULATION	
1. Egypt	56.8
2. Ethiopia	54.9
3. France	57.9
4. Germany	81.5
5. Iran	62.5
6. Italy	57.1
7. Mexico	88.5
8. Philippines	67.0
9. Thailand	58.0
10. Turkey	60.8
11. Ukraine	51.9
12. UK	58.4
13. Vietnam	72.0
827.3 = 14.75%	

These 13 countries possess a total population that is about 15% of the world. We believe that these 13 should be elected by rotation to the Security Council every year, 5 at a time. Since they are only 13, each will serve in the SC more or less once in 3 years.

Britain and France will thus be demoted from their present unnatural high status, to a more modest position in keeping with their current, realistic, lowly economic and political roles.

We may next consider a third group of nations, whose populations range from 10 to 50 millions.

They represent about 1/5 th of the world's population.

We believe that they should also be elected 5 at a time, by strict rotation, each serving a term of one year. Since they are 51, each country will serve the Security Council once every 10 years.

Thus all the 74 countries with populations of over 10 million, together representing between 90 and 95 per cent of humanity, would make up 20 members out of a total strength of 25 of the Security Council.

Apart from the 74 listed in the 3 tables given alongside, there are 136 other countries and territories in the world which may be called mini-states or fragmented national and ethnic entities.

These 136 should elect 5 members each year by strict rotation to the Security Council. Thus, each of the 136 political entities would serve as member of the all-powerful

Security Council in turn, once in about 27 years. Thus, the overall picture would be as follows:

● 10 countries will be permanent members, each with a population of over 100 million, together representing nearly two-thirds of

humanity.

● There will be 5 seats in the Security Council reserved for 13 nations, whose populations are between 50 to 100 millions. Thus, each country will get its turn once in 3 years or less.

● The remaining 5 seats on the Security Council will be reserved for the remaining 136, or thereabouts, mini-states who will thus get a chance to be on the Security Council once in about 25 years.

We believe that the above reorganisation represents an essentially just and fair, democratic and universal arrangement.

All the members of the United Nations, and quite a few which have as yet not qualified for membership, will have an opportunity to serve in the Security Council, which is the all-powerful executive body of the UN.

Everyone will serve on the Security Council with a frequency that is proportionate to its demographic strength.

The process of election to the Security Council should be modified to accommodate the aspirations of all the peoples of the world in whichever national segment they may be located by accident of birth.

Of course, this is not a liberal bourgeois international polity.

The chances of the acceptance of our equitable democratic scheme are well nigh zero.

Nevertheless, *Mankind* is putting forward these suggestions with a view to raising a debate on the issue. ■

51 COUNTRIES WITH OVER 10 MILLION POPULATION			
1. Afghanistan	22.8	27. Madagascar	13.1
2. Algeria	27.4	28. Malaysia	19.7
3. Angola	10.4	29. Morocco	26.4
4. Argentina	34.2	30. Mozambique	15.5
5. Australia	17.8	31. Myanmar	45.6
6. Belarus	10.4	32. Nepal	20.9
7. Belgium	10.4	33. Netherlands	15.4
8. Burkina Faso	10.1	34. Peru	23.2
9. Cambodia	10.0	35. Poland	38.5
10. Cameroon	13.0	36. Romania	22.7
11. Canada	29.2	37. S. Arabia	17.8
12. Chile	14.0	38. S. Africa	40.5
13. Columbia	36.3	39. Spain	39.1
14. Cote d'Ivoire	13.8	40. S. Lanka	17.9
15. Cuba	11.0	41. Sudan	27.4
16. Czech. Rep.	10.3	42. Syria	13.8
17. Equador	11.2	43. Taiwan	21.3
18. Ghana	16.6	44. Tanzania	28.8
19. Greece	10.4	45. Uganda	18.6
20. Guatemala	10.3	46. Uzbekistan	22.4
21. Hungary	10.3	47. Venezuela	21.2
22. Iraq	20.4	48. Yemen	14.8
23. Kazakstan	16.8	49. Yugoslav Fed.	10.5
24. Kenya	26.0	50. Zaire	42.5
25. N. Korea	23.4	51. Zimbabwe	10.8
26. S. Korea	44.5		
			1,059.4 = 18.90%

● The third group of 51 countries with populations ranging from 10 to 50 millions will be expected to serve in the Security Council once in 10 years, as 5 seats will be reserved for them in strict alphabetical rotation.

HISTORIC RETROGRADE STEP BY NEHRU

One of the forgotten instances of our National Liberation Struggle is worth recollecting.

The wretched ICS scum had sabotaged the national consensus on Hindi/Hindustani in 1946-49 as described in our last issue. In our post-script to Nehru's treacherous statement on the national language policy, we had written that the ICS gang had "intrigued, sabotaged, temporised" and finally,

succeeded in wearing down the opposition to English.

Actually, a gigantic step backward was taken at Osmania University in Hyderabad after the state's merger with the Indian Union in 1948.

The medium of instruction at the University level in Hyderabad had been Urdu, i.e., the slightly Persianised form of Hindi! Hundreds of books had been translated into Urdu-Hindi and scores of

them were being used as regular textbooks in classes. Thousands of scientific and technical terms had been trans-literated and a full and complete vocabulary existed readymade.

After merger with India, actually a most retrograde step was taken, and English-medium instruction substituted for Urdu-Hindi teaching!

Osmania was one of the foremost Universities of those days.

Nehru has many crimes to his credit. This was one of the foremost and one of the most heinous ones that he perpetrated! ■

THE STORY OF TWO FRATERNAL CADS : SATISH AND INDER GUJRAL

We had predicted in our bio-sketch of Inder Gujral, who became P.M. (*Mankind*, June 1997, pp. 3-4) that the fattest commissions will flow to brother Satish very soon after Inder's occupation of the PM's *gaddi*.

Our prophecy was fulfilled very fast ! As soon as Mayawati, the cad of cad, had become chief minister of U.P. through rotation with BJP, a promise that she broke as soon as she stepped down, she decided to curry favour with the cad in power in Delhi, by giving the PM's brother, Satish, the job of designing and landscaping her megalomaniacal Ambedkar Park in Lucknow.

The Comptroller and Auditor-General raised objections to the 5 per cent contract signed with Satish in June 1997. He considered the payments made to Satish as exorbitant, stating that, "only 2 per cent of the total cost of the project should have been paid" (*Indian Express*, 15.11.97).

Satish has already received Rs. 1.5 crores since the Lucknow Development Authority estimated the total project cost at 30 crores.

But Satish is a stickler for propriety. He is claiming 2 crores since his firm, Design Plus, estimates the cost at Rs. 40 crores.

Since the whole project has been scuttled or abandoned as soon as Mayawati was thrown out of office, it is going to be very difficult to work out the actual proportion of work done.

It is obvious that Satish will go on whining and wheedling, and trying to make the most of his deafness and his fraternal connections with Delhi's top bureaucrats.

I have known Satish from the late 50s. I wrote a note about him, in a series on Indian artists in Patwant Singh's journal, *Design* in the old days.

Even in those days I had wondered about this handicapped character, who had been trained by the would-be murderer David Siquieros in Mexico. If I remember right, David had actually served a prison term for attempted murder of Leon Trotsky (There is no death penalty for murder in Mexico, much less for attempted murder).

But I don't hold Siquieros responsible for all the petty crimes committed by Satish. It is fascinating that

Satish should write with such insight about the commercial peccadilloes of M.F. Husain in his just published autobiography, *A Brush with Life* :

"Husain impressed us with his modesty, which bordered on naivete. He was also a man of few words. Only a very perceptive mind could detect that behind the facade of unassuming reticence was an extremely calculating mind. If he felt it would serve his purpose, he would as happily go to a cocktail party as he would to a funeral. He meticulously measured every step before taking it.

"It took me a long time to understand this part of Husain's character.

"Husain always had an eye on the art market and was willing to sell his talent for the highest bidder. I admired his commercial acumen but felt that the extent to which he compromised his gift and conceded to popular demand was unacceptable. It has to be admitted that there was no such thing as an art market till Husain created it. His mass-produced pictures of stallions were instant successes with the horse-racing fraternity, the richest and most elite section of Indian society. No one could deny that some of the hundreds of pictures he did of wild mustangs rearing or in full gallop had enormous animation, but the quantity in which he churned them out not only made his motives suspect, they blocked his evolution as a genuine artist.

"It is to Husain's credit that he found out why Indian society had become indifferent to art. He exploited his discovery to the fullest. If they wanted gods and goddesses, he would give them the entire Hindu pantheon - for a price. Husain embarked on his Hindu pilgrimage in the early sixties when he was asked to paint episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* on the walls of a restaurant run by a hotelier in Hyderabad.

"The restaurant became the focal point for Hyderabad's art patrons, whose devotion to the holy scriptures was as intense as their appetite for spicy food. Husain knew he had struck gold. Like his horses, his *Ganapatis* poured out in profusion, and for a time seemed likely to overtake the elephant population of the subcontinent.

"Once in a television interview

Prithi Nandy asked me what I thought of Husain. I replied candidly, 'A remarkable talent entrapped in lust for publicity and money.'

One could say exactly the same thing about Satish Gujral, "A remarkable talent entrapped in lust for publicity and money." (*Outlook*, 1.12.97, p. 88)

Husain might have used horses and Hindu gods and goddesses, whilst the burning flame of commercialisation took a slightly different form in the case of Satish. First, he went for table-lamps and floor-lamps, which he subcontracted to humble carpenters. (I myself bought one table lamp from him long ago). Then he went for ceramic tiles and installed a furnace in some place in Noida, violating some local rules and got into trouble over the violation. I can't recollect the exact details. Still later, with the help of the Stalinists, Ottavio Paz and Krishna Menon, and with the blessings of the Dynasty, Satish made further headway in his own line of business. At the same time, he promoted Inder's career, which ultimately benefited his own commercial aims.

In a sense, I am not singling out Satish for commercialisation. Every artist in this bourgeois world of free private enterprise is compelled to do so.

The difference between them in this respect, is merely one of degree. And, difference in the thickness of the veneer of hypocrisy that the artists wear.

Husain's way was to mumble at long intervals. Satish's style was of the witty deaf *tukbandiwala*.

It is claimed on behalf of Satish that his design for the Belgian ambassador's residence in New Delhi has been chosen as one of the 1000 best works of the century by the Union of International Architects. By bourgeois standards, I suppose, the distinction of being one out of 1000 may be high honour.

I would only urge Satish to try to become something nearer to one out of 100, if not one out of 10 in the world !

Secondly, what is the Belgian ambassador's residence ? What is Belgium ? A Franco-German hotch-potch, born in 1832, without any national character, renowned for only two distinctions, namely the atrocities committed upon the peoples of Congo-Zaire, and for the large scale diamond smuggling trade carried on from the country !

Let Satish quietly and silently earn his bread and butter, and cheese and

cake by designing little *avant-garde* affairs for His Royal Highness, the Belgian ambassador. But he should have the cultural consciousness not to boast about and tom-tom such mercenary exercises !

Even with the best of intentions, what can Satish express through a design for a luxury mansion of the Belgian ambassador in Delhi ? For the ambassador of a country that has no past, living in a country, which in the current neo-colonial context has no future ! It is all precious jetsetter's cocktail party nonsense. Who will even remember such

rubbish, a few decades hence ?

Let Satish learn that Husain is a commercialised worm, but that he himself should not compete with such worms in the pursuit of filthy lucre !

I have a high opinion of Satish's native intellect. Unfortunately, he has degraded his art to the needs of the market-place, instead of placing it in the service of the Indian people, who are striving might and main to realise a just egalitarian social order. He must always think of the millions who stand deprived, dejected, divided, demeaned and

disheartened ! Has Satish spent one ounce of his energy or talent to raise their morale, to help them fight their daily battles for survival and freedom ?

What is the use of an art that perpetuates the status quo and only helps the oppressors to pass the time more pleasantly, with more witty dialogues in parties in which Inder can be introduced to Indira and Jawahar, and in which the problems of poverty can be discussed by former and current Stalinist academicians attached to the JNU ? ■

THE PAPARAZZI ARE PICKING UP IDEAS

Mankind has pioneered in the study of anomalies pertaining to constituency size in the general elections to the Lok Sabha.

I have repeatedly written about this.

● I had originally written in the old *Mankind*, when Lohia was its editor, in 1962-63 (I don't have the files of the old *Mankind* with me, and therefore, cannot give the precise issue number.)

● I once again drew attention to the fantastic anomalies of constituency size, **within the same state**, and within the country as a whole, in the revived *Mankind* issues of April (pp. 60-63), May (pp. 60-62) and July (pp. 47-48) 1996.

We are very happy that our ideas have been picked up by the paparazzi of the national comprador press (meaning, the English dailies), who have at long last discovered that all is not well with our shamocracy. We had already shown in our April, May and July 1996 contributions to the revived *Mankind*, that within Bombay city itself, the ratio of the lowest to the highest, between just six metropolitan city constituencies, was of the order of 1:3, so that a voter in South Bombay had three times the weightage of a voter in North Bombay.

At that time, we didn't have the data for 1996 electorate size, constituency-wise, with us, and we had requested the Election Commission to supply the data. They have not done so, and we still don't have the complete 1996 data on constituency size. But, going by the 1991 figures published in *India Decides Elections 1952-95*, by David Butler, Ashok Lahiri and Prannoy Roy, 3rd revised edition, 1995, and by the data for 200 constituencies, which we were able to

compile without help from the EC, we tabulated that the ratio of the lowest electorate size to the highest, in the 15 major states of India, ranged from 1:1.1 to 1:2.32 (see p.4, July 1996 issue)

The Election Commission has never explained why within each of the 15 major states of the Indian Union, such a huge differential prevailed. Some constituencies in Assam were 3 times as large as some others in 1991, just as between the six parliamentary seats allocated to Bombay city, a similar differential of 3 times, obtained for the 1996 elections. (And for the 200 LS constituencies of 1996, as reported by us in the July issue of *Mankind*.)

As for the differentials prevailing **between** states, a kind of stupid and spacious explanation has been offered that, it became necessary to amend the Constitution in 1976, in order to continue with the delimitation arrangements made after the 1971 census. By this amendment it was decided to continue with the *status quo ante* for the 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1996 and 1998 polls, for the sixth to the twelfth Lok Sabha polls. The next delimitation will take place after the year 2001, so that those states that successfully implemented their family planning targets do not lose out to those states that failed to do so.

The entire argument is most idiotic, and begs the following questions :

● What about the anomalies between and within the states that prevailed for the 1972 polls to the 5th Lok Sabha ?

● Sooner or later, all the states are bound to implement the family planning programme. Therefore, it does

not matter whether, some states lose out to the others for a particular poll.

● The disparities in constituency sizes within each state is fantastic. It is at least 3 times in Bombay city alone (1996 elections). It is about 2.5 times for the 200 All-India constituencies of 1996 elections which we analysed in July 1996.

As a matter of fact, the situation is so scandalous that any Public Interest Litigation, if taken to the Supreme Court, is bound to succeed and the entire election process can be invalidated.

However, we are not of the liberal bourgeois type, and therefore, we have no time to pursue such Public Interest Litigation in the courts of our country. Let the Election Commissioner and the Chief Justice of India, to whom we had sent our earlier analyses take up the matter, *suo moto*, and do the needful.

As we said, we are glad that the paparazzi of the English dailies have picked up our ideas. *The Times of India* of 16.1.98 has published a story titled, *Disparities in Constituency size resented*. This has been followed on 21.1.98 by another story titled, *Oversized constituencies pose challenges during elections*.

The first story repeats criticism that we had made nearly two years ago, that the value of a vote in South Bombay is three times the value of an individual's vote in North Bombay.

The *Times* story writer in the 21.1.98 issue has borrowed without acknowledgement the distinction that we had made between "15 major states" and the rest of the country.

Anyway, we don't want any credit for our ideas. We are glad to note that they are spreading in ever wider circles, and that the journalist riff-raff are picking up our subversive ideas. ■

G. L. NANDA (1898-1998)

Gulzarilal Nanda was a tragi-comic figure. He was twice acting Prime Minister in the sixties, after Nehru's death, from 27th May to 9th June 1964; and after Shastri's death, from 11th to 24th January, 1966. He actually thought that he contested against Indira for the leadership of the Congress Parliamentary Party in 1966. I don't remember whether he actually did contest, or just quietly retired, after making a few noises. Anyway, Kamaraj manoeuvred to exclude Morarji and perfer the "goongi gudra", Indira, who immediately preceded to prove that she was not quite as much of a "dumb doll" (*Gungi gudra* was Lohia's phrase) that the Syndicate preferred. Kamaraj, Nijalingappa, S. K. Patil and Atulya Ghosh, who formed the Syndicate, were themselves sidelined in 1969, when Indira chose the time to split the Congress. Indira made a pseudo-left turn, nationalised the banks, abolished the Privy Purses, coined the slogan "*Garibi Hatao*", and declared a "conscience vote" in favour of V.V. Giri, who was G. L. Nanda's associate in the INTUC.

Whatever delusions of grandeur G.L. Nanda suffered from in 1966, he was on the whole, a simple fellow, perhaps even a simpleton. From 1966, Nanda became involved with the Bharat Sadhu Samaj. The Samaj, apart from financial finagling of government grants, also staged a demonstration in Delhi in November 1966. The demonstration turned into a riot, and as usual, seven people were killed in the police firing that ensued. Nanda resigned his ministry the

next day.

Nanda had been in continuous power, at the centre, as deputy chairman, Planning Commission, or Cabinet minister and Home Minister, from 1947 to this fateful day in November 1966. He never held power again.

Nanda was awarded the Bharat Ratna only last year.

He also continued to receive his daily basket of vegetables from the Birla House in Delhi during his stay in Delhi.

Nanda is also remembered for his comical intervention in the debate between Lohia and Nehru, that took place in the Lok Sabha in 1963.

I do not have the Parliamentary papers with me, nor Lohia's sources, but, as I recollect, Lohia said, relying on official data published by the Government of India, that the average income per day of an Indian was about 35 annas or less than 20 paise. Nehru maintained that it was about 15 annas or 95 paise per day. Gulzarilal intervened and suggested a "compromise" of 105 annas or 65 paise to the two opponents!

Nanda had the notion that economic data was also amenable to compromises, on the basis of the Gujarati businessman's simple formula: "split the difference!" If Lohia says 35 annas, and Jawahar maintains 15 annas, let us split the difference of 12 annas and add 6 annas to the Lohia figure and deduct about the same from Nehru's claim!

As we have said, Gulzarilal Nanda was a simpleton!

In any case, Nehru was spending

upon himself at the rate of atleast Rs 25,000 per day. Even if Nehru's claim of the average Indian income per day being 15 annas were to be accepted as true, he was spending upon himself 25,000 times more, than the average Indian! *Mankind* readers are requested to await our next instalment of selections from Nehru's *Eighteen Months in India*, where he advocates cuts in salaries of *naukershahs* of those days, and suggests, that exceptionally, travel may be undertaken by those who love simplicity in habits, by the then Intermediate Class of our railways! Not by Plane! Not by First Class! And not even by Second Class! Just Intermediate Class, and that too, as an exception!

Of course, as soon as Jawahar came to power, everything changed! The charlatan showed his true colours! Then, ordinary plane travel was not enough! Chartered and Special Flights became the norm for Jawahar, Indira, and her sons and grandsons. It was now the **Dynasty of the great Royal House of the Canal Attendant and his Progeny!**

Poor Gulzarilal lived the last two decades and more of his life in Ahmedabad, where he had founded the Majoor Mahajan with M.K. Gandhi, in the early 20s, and had apparently, lived on his freedom fighter's pension of Rs. 500 per month, perhaps supplemented by "daily vegetable baskets" from either the local Birla House or from the Ahmedabad Textile Mill owners who had been the principal beneficiaries of Gulzarilal Nanda's activities of a lifetime! ■

UKERIDGES IN INDIA

The rich live in a world of their own. A standard golf course needs a minimum of a 110 to 120 acres, according to Dilip Dandekar, President of the Bombay Presidency Golf Club. Within this area, 18 holes can be tightly fitted, but "200 acres would be more acceptable" (One acre is 4840 square yards).

In some cases, space constraints have forced upon golf players, the option of optigolf, "a simulated

indoor golf course. The player tees off onto a screen. When the ball hits the

screen, the picture changes instantly, depending upon the length and power of the shot, which is electronically registered. Even the sounds of rustling leaves and splash of water accompanies the shot. There are two different systems to choose from. Landbase, a subsidiary of ITC has installed a system at the Maurya Sheraton hotel in Delhi, and the Tolly Club in Calcutta also has one. The "course fees" per

THE COST OF PLAYING GOLF

	Cost	Life Expectancy
1. Golf sets :	Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 1.2 lakh	6 to 10 years
2. Golf balls:	Rs. 50 to Rs. 100	Depends on how often you lose the ball (At least 1 ball per game)
3. Spiked shoes :	Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 2,000 (Indian) Rs. 3,500 to Rs. 7,000 (Foreign)	1 year
4. Caddie charges :	Rs. 80 to 120/hour	—
5. T - shirt :	\$ 35 to \$ 80 (Designer brands like Ping, Greg Norman, Callaway)	—
6. Gloves :	Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 15,000	2 to 7 years
7. Straw hats :	Rs. 1,750 to Rs. 2,500 (Designer)	3 to 5 months.
8. Club fees :	Averagely Rs. 5,000	1 year

player, per occasion is not known. But at US \$ 85,000 there are few buyers of systems." (*Times of India*, 13.12.97)

But apart from the simulated system, there are the ordinary golf courses of about 150 acres each. There are some 150 golf courses in the country, roughly 100 come under the Armed Forces, and the rest are private. The fees that are charged by the United Service Clubs of the army are nominal. The cost of playing golf in private clubs is estimated in a box alongside.

According to a report, 60 per cent of Indian golfers, estimated at 50,000 are either proprietors or partners or belong to the top management of firms, with a monthly income of over Rs. 50,000. The remaining 40 per cent belong to the Defence Services.

The elitist complexion of the game

IS NIRAD A COELACANTH OR A MERE GINKGO?

There are some creatures, who are to be found upon this earth, who can only be described as "living fossils". Two are very well-known. The coelacanth and the ginkgo.

• COELACANTH

"The coelacanth, lobe-finned bony fish of the order *crossopterygii*.

"The name refers to the hollow fin spines (Greek *koilos*, "hollow"; *akantha*, "spine").

"It was long supposed that coelacanths became extinct about 60,000,000 years ago, but in 1938 a living member (*Latimeria chalumnae*) was netted near the southern coast of Africa. Rewards were offered for more specimens, and in 1952 a second was obtained from near the Comoro Islands. Several others have been caught in that area. It was later discovered that these fishes were well known to the islanders, who considered their flesh edible when dried and salted; the rough scales were used as an abrasive.

"Modern coelacanths, larger than most of the fossil forms, are powerful predators with heavy, mucilaginous bodies and limblike fins that they may use to crawl about on the bottom in their search for prey." (*Ency. Brit., Micro*, 1983 ed. Vol. II, p.1038)

• GINKGO

"The ginkgo is also called Maidenhair Tree (*Ginkgo biloba*), the only living representative of the order Ginkgoales.

"The ginkgo, native to China, is

has led to a special emphasis on racial, gender and class discriminations. For instance, caddies, (not withstanding Tiger Woods) are not allowed into the golf club unless "accompanied by a member."

Kiran Kanwar, a golf pro and an instructor at the Willingdon Club at Bombay, explains that, "the game is a male-dominated bastion since in the first place a woman can't be a member of a club unless she is someone's wife or daughter." (Source : *Times of India*, 13.10.98)

In British colonial times, most Indians were not allowed in the top golf clubs of the country.

The cost of playing golf has already been shown in a box. The very fact that there are only 30,000 "non-Defence Services" members of golf clubs in a population of 97 crores, identifies the

exclusive class character of the pastime.

Naturally, a strict dress and etiquette code is enforced !

Local tournaments yield prize money of Rs 25,000 to 8 Lakhs. Worldwide, professional golfers are amongst the richest sportpersons. In the World — prize money in tournaments abroad can go upto several crores of rupees.

It will be recalled by *Mankind* readers that P. G. Wodehouse began his series of spoofs of English upper-class society with Ukeridge, a golf club member. Gradually, he shifted his focus to the countryside of Lord Elmsworth and Earl Ickenham and to Bertie Wooster of the Drones Club, and such others. But it all began with Ukeridge, the golf fiend. ■

AIR, where Nirad served as talks officer in colonial times, called him a lick-spittle of the British, Nirad naturally flew into a rage. (Khushwant Singh in *Times of India*, 23.11.97), but when Keskar asked Nirad to explain the dedication he had voluntarily written in his *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, 1934, he couldn't. Naturally, Keskar sacked him.

Nirad's writings remind me of the confessions now being made to the Truth Commission in South Africa. Police officials, generals, ministers, of the apartheidist regime are appearing, one after another before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and are confessing to the most horrible crimes and tortures. When one such criminal swine came on my T.V. screen to face the question, "What sort of a man was he to commit such atrocities on innocent, unarmed Blacks?", this man was forced to reply, "I often asked myself this question : Was I a man or a beast ? I consulted psychiatrists. I am horrified at the sight of my own deeds !"

Nirad is now 100 years old. He has very little time left. That the man is a toady and a childish sycophant of imperialism is obvious to all those who have ever known him. They all make excuses for him, because the Britishers picked him up, installed him in Oxford, and honoured him. Such a person can never have the moral courage to face the Truth Commission of History, and confess to his lifelong crime of toadyism.

It is not worth our while to waste more time and space upon Niradbabu. He should be eternally grateful, that a friend of Lohia has found him worthy of even a passing notice ! ■

OMKARNATH THAKUR (1897-1967) DEFINES INDIA'S NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

As we have repeatedly stated in the columns of *Mankind*, Indians have had a great historic gift of patternising, generalising and universalising.

- Our greatest gift to the world has been Numbers. We gave to the world the basic signs of mensuration. We invented the fundamental signs of zero to nine, and the methodology of the decimal shift of position. This was our achievement of the Vedic period. We shall be publishing, in the near future, our monograph on this subject. If space permits, in the next issue itself.

- Along with the signs for numerals, we Indians also invented the script, or linguistic signs. It is the script of Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, or the so-called Indus Culture, now correctly designated as Saraswati Culture. S.R. Rao has proved beyond doubt that the Saraswati script underlay Aramaic, which was the starting point for both, semitic and Indo-Aryan languages. It is S.R. Rao's methodology that is significant. In his efforts to decipher the Saraswati script, Rao struck paydirt when he accepted the sound values of signs in use, in the Middle East and read back the common signs into the Saraswati script.

"And here Dr. Rao struck gold. He found that many of the basic letters of the Indus script bore resemblance to the letters of the two West Indian alphabets. (South Arabic and Old Aramaic)

"The decipherment of the Indus script by Dr. Rao is of great significance for Indian culture in another way: it proves that the South Arabic and old Aramaic alphabets of West Asia, as well as the Indian Brahmi, are all derived from the Indus script. Between themselves, these three alphabets are the ancestors of every single alphabet and script in use in the world today with the sole exception of the Chinese script (and the Japanese Katakana and Hiragana syllabaries which borrow their shapes at least from the simplest Chinese letters). This means that India's contributions to the world include not only the zero-based decimal system, without which modern scientific progress would have been impossible, but also the Alphabet, without which, also, progress

would have been very greatly hampered. Indeed... the acceptance of the decipherment by Dr. David Diringer, Founder Director, Alphabet Museum, Tel Aviv and Cambridge, mentioned above, is of decisive significance." (Shrikant G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory. A Reappraisal*, 1993, pp. 62-63)

- As with numbers and alphabetical signs, India is the origin of all linguistic studies. Yaksha's *Nirukta*, and Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. lie at the root of the entire world's linguistic studies (grammar, prosody, etymology, parts and figures of speech, semantics, etc.) In fact, as a study of grammatical structure, Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* could not be equalled by the West till the 20th century.

- The entire story literature of the world originates in India, with the *Jataka kathas* (7th century B.C.), Gunadhya's *Brihadkatha* (5th century A.D.), Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagar* (10th century A.D.), *Panchatantra*, *Hitopadesha*, *Vetal Pachisi*, *Shukakatha*, *Singhasan Battisi*, etc.

- Thus we have numbers, alphabets, grammar & literature, originating in India.

We have reason to believe that the 5th great abstraction, that of Music, also originates in India. The Indian *Grama-Jati-Murchhana-Ragas* system is at the bottom of Greek Modes, Persian Maqams, and Arabic and Turkish Makams.

The musical contribution of India to world music has been little noticed.

Here, we will merely notice that those who borrow numerical and alphabetical signs and linguistic and literary forms, are not going to be very tardy in borrowing musical forms from the same source.

Omkar Nath Thakur was court musician to the Afghan King and regularly visited Kabul to regale the Afghan King. From the thirties to the fifties, musical conferences in India used to feature Afghan classical singers. The Rabab, from which Indian Sarod is derived, is a common concert instrument in North-West India.

Earlier, in some other connection, I have written in *Mankind*, that I found a

friend in Kabul, when one fine morning the Afghan radio suddenly came on with Roshanara Begum performing a marvellous *Jaunpuri*.

Afghanistan definitely belonged to the Indian Classical Music system. The Persian Maqam is beyond Khurasan, the old name for Western Afghanistan. Herat and Kandahar are our musical limits, just as they are the political frontiers of Historic India. The remains of Saraswati culture, Mauryan Rock edicts and Moghul *firmans* of Subedar Mansingh stretched upto the Hindu Kush, the Amu Darya (Oxus) and the provinces of Ghor, Gazni, Seistan (Sakastan), Herat and Kandahar in Afghanistan. The Pathans, who speak Pakhtu and Pashtu, form perhaps the preponderant element of the population of Afghanistan (the remaining ethnic minorities in Afghanistan are the Tadjiks, the Uzbeks, the Hazaras, the Kirghiz and the Mongols). *Pashtu*, and *Pakhtu* are derived from Sanskrit.

I think music is a very important element of a National Culture. You cannot cross the musical boundary of a national complex, without feeling that you are now in a foreign land. Our music extends up to the Afghan frontiers in the north-west and up to Manipur in the north-east, also, into Elam in Sri Lanka.

I don't know much about Maldivian music but the language *Diwehi* is affiliated to Sinhalese and both are derived from Sanskrit-Pali.

I do not claim to know Baluch music, but logically and linguistically, the area must belong to the Indo-Persian musical borderlands.

Anyway, I am very happy to recollect the score of Omkar Nath recitals, which I heard in the fifties and sixties.

One particular concert at Cowasji Jehangir Hall in Bombay when he sang a marvellous *Darbari Kanada* will remain forever etched in my memory. I have never heard a *Darbari* of that superb mellifluous quality from anyone else, at any time since. Omkar Nath's *Darbari* brought on horripilation on my skin and tears in my eyes.

Aha! what a throbbing, pulsating, swinging, reverberating, *Dhaivat* and *Gandhar*!

My humble tribute to Omkar Nath especially for defining India's North-West frontier! ■

GOLD SMUGGLING PROMOTED BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM !

AN INFAMOUS RECORD 1834 - 1989

The London Bullion Market Association, which fixes gold prices with very fine details, twice every day, issues a list of approved refineries. These refineries handle much of the gold that is annually produced in the world. That is why the central market place for gold is neither the producing centres, nor the consuming countries, but the imperialist control points, where gold is refined to the purity and standards laid down by the LBMA, and these alone qualify for "good delivery" in transactions.

Thus the LBMA standards form a self-perpetuating system. The London Association prescribes the standard for "good delivery" and therefore, gold produced the world over, must move through the London market in order to attract the stamp of "good delivery".

D. R. Pendse writes in December 1997 : "A top executive of the LBMA, whom I happened to know from earlier years, was recently in Delhi to participate in an international gold conference. He explained the LBMA functioning, only to leave me wondering, **why much of it could not have been developed in India itself.**"

Exactly ! Continuance of LBMA dominance in "free" India is a Colonial-Comprador legacy and anomaly !

As we have suggested in our writings on the Pastoralist Mode of Production in Indian History, the lure of gold in India is millenia old. Our Vedic Pastoralist culture needed a store of value and a medium of exchange, which was compact, easily transportable and

conveniently divisible. Hence gold and silver, though not mined in the country to any significant degree, were imported from all over the world.

The imports were facilitated because of the perpetual favourable balance of trade, that India enjoyed from times immemorial till the beginning of the 19th century A. D.

As Francois Bernier noted in his famous *Travels in the Moghul Empire, 1636-38* : "that gold and silver, after

of the winds, at those celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the Indian vessels, whether they belong to the Indians themselves, or to the *Dutch*, or *English*, or *Portuguese*... bring back to *Hindustan* from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals." (pp. 202-203)

We must emphasise that export of bullion from India was prohibited upto the end of the 18th century, whilst imports of precious metals were always freely permitted. An Indian ship returning from the Red Sea usually brought in gold and silver worth 200,000 pounds sterling. "From England alone, India imported in fifty years from 1708 to 1757, 22 million pounds worth of bullion." (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India. 1600-1757*, p. 208)

Nobody knows how much gold has been sunk into India. The official guess is that the total stock of gold in India is about 9,500 tonnes. Some commentators think it is close to 30,000 tonnes.

The import of 407 tonnes in 1996, or about 17 per cent of the world's annual production was made at a cost of approximately US \$ 6 billion (We spend about US \$ 7 billion on the import of crude oil & petroleum products, gold imports are a close second).

The World Gold Council, the LBMA and other International bodies, in close co-operation with British Imperialism, systematically milked the insatiable demand for gold in the Indian market, from the time the

British established their supremacy in the Indian sub-continent, which may be placed between 1818 : Indian defeat in the Third Maratha War; and 1860 : defeat of the so-called Indian Mutiny. From that time, say 1835, to 1947, Indians were made to pay a higher than International market price for gold imported and / or smuggled into India by British shipping lines, which controlled both overseas and coastal shipping, with the connivance of British Indian customs and police officials.

D.R. Pendse in his recent publications : *This World of Gold* and

WORLD GOLD PRODUCTION
(in 000 ounces)

	1965	1967	1969	1970	1996
South Africa	33,521	33,520	34,314	35,289	17,325
U.S.S.R.*	5,518	6,253	6,857	7,131	
Canada	3,956	3,250	2,792	2,566	5,740
U.S.	1,871	1,738	1,901	1,913	11,515
Ghana	828	837	775	772	
Australia	963	879	767	677	10,115
Philippines	478	539	627	661	
Rhodesia	597	549	527*	549*	
Japan	291	278	270	281	
Columbia	350	283	240	221	
Mexico	237	181	198	198	
Brazil	170	189	194	198	
Zaire (Congo)	99	169	193	194	
Korea, North*	176	176	176	176	
Nicaragua	217	195	132	126	
Peru	115	105	144	114	
India	144	112	120	114	70
Fiji	120	122	100	114	
Total **	49,651	49,375	51,046	51,956	82,110***

* Estimate ;

** Includes other minor producers ;

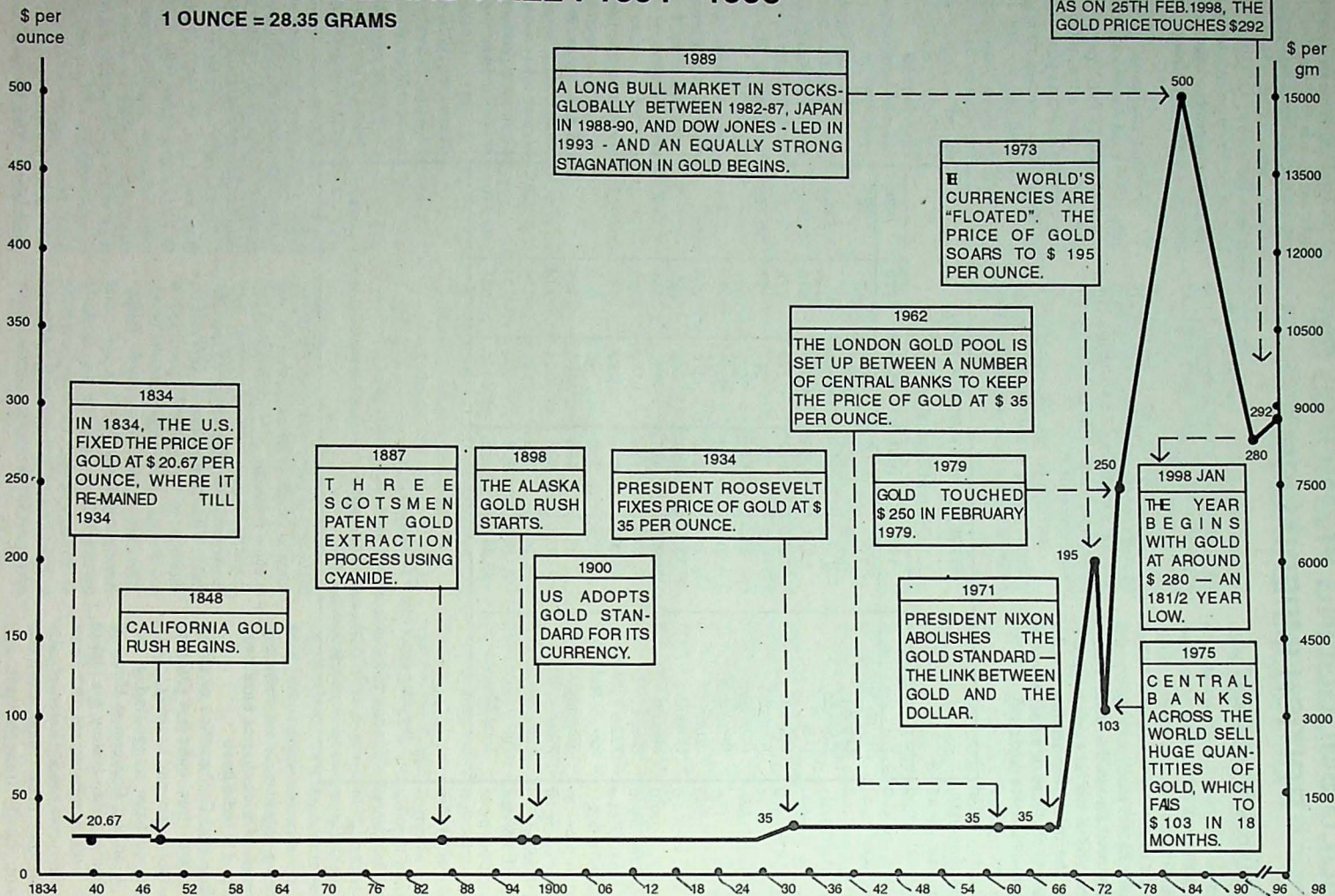
*** equal to 2,346 tonnes (1 tonne = 35,000 ounces)

(Encyclopedia Britannica — 1983, Vol. 8, p. 234; D.R. Pendse, *This World of Gold, and Gold Policy and The Mafia Grip*, December 1997)

circulating in every quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in *Hindustan*. Of the quantity drawn from *America*, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way, through various channels, to Turkey... and a part passes into *Persia*... and the productions of the *Indies* are equally necessary to *Turkey*, *Yemen*, and *Persia*. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to... *Hindustan* by the vessels that arrive every year, in the *mausem*, or the season

GOLD : RISE AND FALL : 1834 - 1998

1 OUNCE = 28.35 GRAMS



Gold Policy & the Mafia Grip, December 1997, has shown that he is fully aware of the connections between the gold import / smuggling business and the grip of criminal gangs upon Indian society. **What Pendse lacks, is the moral courage to pinpoint British imperialist criminality in establishing this smuggling business, from Persian Gulf ports, Singapore and Hongkong to India.**

Simultaneously, British Imperialist strategy was to deny all avenues of industrial, financial and commercial development to the Indian Economy. Therefore, the Indian middle classes had no avenues of profitable investments open to them. They could not invest in industries or banks or in significant ventures in mineral extraction, or transport (the British Managing Agency Houses had monopolised railways, plantations, mining and engineering). The only avenues open to Indian Capital were investments in land, money-lending, small-scale internal transport, and finally gold. Thus British imperialist economic policies promoted the pent up demand, that was met by smuggling of precious metals!

That is how gold prices remained substantially above, as much as 40 per cent, of the international price level throughout the period of British colonial occupation of India. The super-profits from gold trade were shared by London Bullion Merchants, British Shipping Companies and British Indian customs and police officials.

After the so-called independence of 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru chose to continue the entire colonial economic structure. Gold continued to be smuggled into India and the comprador criminal folly reached a climax under Nehru in 1962! Morarji Desai as Finance Minister was allowed to make almost every Indian citizen a law-breaker and a criminal. The Gold Control Order of 1962 carried out by the PM-FM duo of Jawahar and Morarji, made it illegal to hold gold in any form, except in ornaments of not more than 14 carat quality. The entire legitimate

gold business was dubbed illegal.

"Most of those concerned — the people, the jewellers, or the goldsmiths continued to do what they did in the pre-gold control days; but what they did became illegal; most importantly, **smuggling of gold into India became an extremely lucrative business.**" (Pendse, *op. cit.*, p. 9)

Naturally, the *naukersshahi* regime established under our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, enriched

government had been over-thrown in 1979. Finally, under Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh, further liberalisation of gold imports by NRIs was carried out after middle of 1991. The latest measure by Chidambaram to permit imports of gold by 8 or 9 nationalised banks has further undermined the international smuggling racket and today, the price of gold per ounce is just \$ 280, an 18 1/2 year low!

It is absolutely necessary that the Indian internal price for gold should become the same as the international price, plus the legitimate shipping and insurance costs.

This means that one of the surest and steadiest sources of income for the smuggling gangsters and the corrupt officials attached to them, will be lost.

This has a probable further consequence. The gangs, which, hitherto were able to feed their members with the rake off from gold smuggling, will now turn to other lucrative trades: protection money from film stars and producers; narcotics trade; arms smuggling; booth-capturing in elections; and other nefarious activities. We are actually witnessing this switch to an alternative business, as gold prices within India match international levels.

Actually, world gold prices should have started declining long ago. Since the "Smuggling differential" arranged by imperialism was likely to be overturned at any time by the pseudo-independent government of India. The British shipping tycoons and the imperialist Mafias based in Singapore-Hong Kong and in the Gulf States had it all their way from 1860 onwards. British imperialism had caused the Drain of Wealth from India and also, had blocked the way to productive investments by the Indian middle classes, who were forced to convert their savings into gold purchases. The final ironic twist was that these forced "Savings-in-Gold" were effected at higher international gold prices i.e., at Indian prices, which comprised of International Market Price plus Smugglers' Differential.

However, neo-colonialism

WORLD GOLD MARKET		(Tonnes)
	1997	1996
TOTAL WORLD	2,935	2,692
TOTAL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	2,129	1,894
TOTAL INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES	806	798
(OF WHICH JAPAN	130	169)
TOTAL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	2,129	1,894
INDIA	737	508
S.E. ASIA	335	
S. KOREA	114	
INDONESIA	93	
VIETNAM	45	41
THAILAND	31	
MALAYSIA	30	
SINGAPORE	22	
EAST ASIA	407	
CHINA	214	
TAIWAN	142	
HONG KONG	51	
S. ARABIA	199	
GULF STATES	142	
UAE	72	53
KUWAIT	35	
OMAN	18	
BAHRAIN	11	
QATAR	7	
TURKEY	202	153
LATIN AMERICA	107	
BRAZIL	58	
MEXICO	49	

itself enormously. Smuggling of gold into India from Dubai and Singapore became almost a legitimate regular business. World prices were lofted to the sky. From \$ 35 per ounce in 1962 the prices soared to \$ 500 per ounce in 1989!

The stern moralist Morarji Desai had been bamboozled by the bureaucrats into making illegal the entire gold business. This foolishness was corrected in 1989 by the Janata Dal government of V. P. Singh, who had M.R.Dandvate as his Finance Minister. In all probability, Dandvate's contribution was near zero. Nevertheless, he reaped some credit for the scrapping of the Gold Order, the scrapping was even approved by old Morarji, who had sobered down after his

succeeded in pushing up Indian demand and consequently, the International market price to unprecedented levels. The Indian bureaucracy was persuaded by their imperial masters to pass the Gold Control Order in 1962, which made all trade in gold and even possession of over 14-carat gold illegal.

It is like prohibiting the consumption of liquor and furthermore, even the possession of a certain quality of intoxicating alcohol liquid ! Such "Prohibition Policy" as imposed by Gold Control Order of 1962 by Jawahar Nehru and Morarji Desai had never been attempted or even contemplated anywhere else in the world.

Ultimately, neo-colonial control of our Gold Market and Gold Policy collapsed because of its own excesses. The Mafia in India, which was ultimately related to the international Mafia based on Singapore, Hong Kong and Persian Gulf states, and which was in turn chained to the World Gold Council that was a Den of Thieves, went too far. Criminalisation of politics and corruption of the bureaucracy became obstacles to capitalist growth of the Indian economy, even under the aegis of WB, IMF and WTO !

Finally, V.P. Singh and Madhu Dandavate began dismantling the Gold Control regime from 1989. This signalled

a collapse of the World gold market from around \$500 per ounce in the 1980s to the present price of \$280 / 290 per ounce in February 1998. The NRIs have been allowed to bring gold of any quality they like as baggage and some 8 or 9 nationalised banks have been allowed to import gold at the international price.

Unfortunately, economic growth within the country is still blocked by neo-colonial and comprador forces. Therefore, the pent-up demand for gold remains and Mafia control over our capitalist, politician, bureaucrat nexus is still operative ! ■

CRIMINALISATION OF POLITICS

Criminalisation of politics has become a hotly debated issue.

A powerless Parliament, and a Criminal Bureaucracy that is totally irre-

ponsible and is absolutely unaccountable, necessarily create conditions in which politics will be criminalised.

Our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, confers no powers upon politicians to check a corrupt administration.

Amongst recent investigations of the Criminal-Politician-Bureaucrat nexus, the one reported by *Outlook*, in its issue of 23.2.98, claims to be fairly comprehensive. We reproduce the findings which were arrived at by a panel consisting of retired Supreme Court Justice, Kuldip Singh, retired Home Secretary, Godbole; ex-Governor and ex-Central Minister Subramaniam and Swami Agnivesh. The panel formulated six categories for identifying candidates unfit to contest elections :

• **CATEGORY 1 :** Persons convicted

of offences involving moral turpitude and those listed in the Representation of People Act by a criminal court, regardless of whether an appeal is pending with a

Advisory Board.

• **CATEGORY 6 :** Persons who have a long crime history and as such are considered anti-social and unfit to contest the elections.

The overwhelming majority of cases

studied fell into category 6, consisting of the worst criminals and history-sheeters. Many of these criminals also came under the lesser categories of 2, 3, 4 and 5. Therefore we shall list, first of all, all those parliamentary candidates who fell under following categories :

CATEGORY 6

CRIMINAL CANDIDATES : 1998

TOTAL - 71	PARTYWISE	STATEWISE
CATEGORY 6* - 31	Bharatiya Janata Party - 17	Uttar Pradesh - 29
CATEGORY 5* - 1	Samajwadi Party - 12	Bihar - 22
CATEGORY 4* - 2	Congress - 9	Madhya Pradesh - 7
CATEGORY 3* - 13	Rashtriya Janata Dal - 6	Karnataka - 4
CATEGORY 2* - 24	Bahujan Samaj Party - 5	Tamil Nadu - 2
CATEGORY 1* - 0	Independents - 4	Haryana - 2
	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (Soren) - 3	Maharashtra - 1
	Samata Party - 2	Gujarat - 1
	Bihar Jan Congress - 2	Himachal Pradesh - 1
	Shiv Sena - 2	Rajasthan - 1
	AIADMK - 2	Assam - 1
	Janata Dal - 1	
	Jantantrik BSP - 1	
	CPI (ML) - 1	
	JMM (M) - 1	
	Karnataka Vikas Party - 1	
	Haryana Lok Dal (Rashtriya) - 1	
	Himachal Vikas Congress - 1	

*Overlapping categories not counted.

higher court.

• **CATEGORY 2 :** Persons who have been chargesheeted by a judicial court in a criminal case.

• **CATEGORY 3 :** Persons against whom there are prima-facie findings by an investigating agency on the basis of which a charge-sheet has been filed in a court by the said agency.

• **CATEGORY 4 :** Persons who are absconding from law, although they may not have been chargesheeted.

• **CATEGORY 5 :** Persons who are in jail, under preventive laws, on economic or criminal grounds, after approval by the

1. Brijay Singh Soy / Singhbhum / Congress / Bihar / (also falls under category 2 and 3)

2. Mohammad Shahabuddin / Siwan / RJD / Bihar (also falls under category 2 and 3)

3. Taslimuddin / Kishanganj / RJD / Bihar

4. Dilip Yadav / Purnea / RJD / Bihar

(also falls under category 3)

5. Kall Pandey / Gopalganj / Bihar Jan Congress / Bihar (also falls under category 2 and 3)

6. Devendranath Dubey / Motihari / Samajwadi Party / Bihar

(murdered on 24.2.98; also fell under category 3 and 4)

7. Rajesh Ranjan Alias Pappu Yadav / Purnea / Samajwadi Party / Bihar (also falls under category 3)

8. Prabhu Nath Singh / Maharajanj / Samata Party / Bihar (also falls under category 2 and 3)

9. Shakuni Chowdhry / Khagaria / Samata Party / Bihar (also falls under category 3)

10. Anand Mohan / Sheohar / RJD / Bihar (also falls under category 2 and 3)
 11. Avnish Kumar Singh / Sitamarhi / BJP / Bihar (also falls under category 3)
 12. Anant Kumar Hegde / Canara / BJP / Karnataka (also falls under category 3)
 13. Brij Bhushan Sharan Singh / Gonda/ BJP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 2 and 3)
 14. Bhanu Pratap Verma / Jaiaun / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 15. Ganga Charan Rajput / Harijpur / BJP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 16. Phoolan Devi / Mirzspur / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 2 and 3)
 17. Mitrasen Yadav / Faizabad / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh
 18. Surendra Pal Verma / Banda / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh
 19. Ramakant Yadav / Azamgarh / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 20. Rizwan Zaheer / Balrampur / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 21. Raj Narain Budholia alias Rajju Maharaj / Hamirpur / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh.
 22. Shiv Kumar Beria / Ghatampur / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh
 23. Islam Saber / Bareilly / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh
 24. Ram Prasad Chowdhry / Khalilabad / BSP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 25. Ram Sajwan / Banda / BSP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 26. Dhruv Ram Chaudhary / Hamirpur / BJP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 27. D. P. Yadav / Sambhal / Jantantrik BSP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 2 and 3)
 28. Prakash Narayan Tikaria / Banda / Shiv Sena Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 29. Ramesh Khangor / Jhansi / Independent / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 30. Dr. Alok Chandsuria / Jabalpur / Congress /

Madhya Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
 31. Bhalya Raja alias Ashok Vir Vikram Singh / Damoh / Samajwadi Party / Madhya Pradesh (also falls under category 2 and 3)
CATEGORY 5
 32. Hari Prasad alias Ghamadi Singh Kharwar / Roberts ganj / BSP / Uttar Pradesh (also falls under category 3)
CATEGORY 4
 33. Ravindra Kushwaha alias Santraj Singh / Gopalganj / CPI (ML) / Bihar
 34. Ram Lakhani Singh / Ballia / BJP rebel / Bihar (also falls under category 3)
CATEGORY 3
 35. Churni Lal Rajvanshi / Araria / Independent / Bihar
 36. Krishna Mardi / Singhbhum / JMM (M) Bihar (also falls under category 2)
 37. Mangal Singh Bobonga / Singhbhum / JMM (Soren) Bihar
 38. Ashok Singh / Rae Bareilly / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 39. Gendalal Kannuja / Kheri / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 40. Ashok Yadav / Mainpuri / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 41. Chamman Lal / Jhansi / Independent / Uttar Pradesh
 42. Raghavendra Singh / Jhansi / Independent / Uttar Pradesh.
 43. Mani Kumar Subba / Tezpur / Congress / Assam
 44. V. Sathiamoorthy / Ramanathapuram / AIADMK / Tamil Nadu
 45. Sedapathi R. Muthiah / Periakulam / AIADMK / Tamil Nadu
 46. Prahlad Singh Patel / Seoni / BJP / Madhya Pradesh
 47. Devendra Singh Raghuvanshi / Guna / Congress / Madhya Pradesh.
CATEGORY 2
 48. Laloo Prasad Yadav / Madhepura / RJD / Bihar
 49. Chandradeo Prasad Verma / Arrah / RJD / Bihar

50. Sharad Yadav / Madhepura / Janata Dal / Bihar
 51. Ram Lakhani Singh Yadav / Arrah / Bihar Jan Congress / Bihar
 52. Shibu Soren / Dumka / JMM (Soren) / Bihar
 53. Swraj Mandal / Godda / JMM (Soren) / Bihar
 54. C. K. Jaffer Sharief / Bangalore (North) / Congress / Karnataka
 55. Veerappa Moily / Chikmagalur / Congress / Karnataka
 56. S. Bangarappa / Shimoga / Karnataka Vikas Party / Karnataka
 57. Murlidhar Joshi / Allahabad / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 58. Vinay Katiyar / Faizabad / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 59. Swami Sachidanand Sakshi alias Swami Sakshije Maharaj / Farukhabad / BJP / Uttar Pradesh
 60. Abhay Pratap Singh / Pratapgarh / Samajwadi Party / Uttar Pradesh
 61. Arif Mohammed Khan / Bharach / BSP / Uttar Pradesh
 62. Satish Sharma / Amethi / Congress / Uttar Pradesh
CATEGORY 2
 63. Balram Jakhar / Bikaner / Congress / Rajasthan
 64. Bhajan Lal / Karnal / Congress / Haryana
 65. Devi Lal / Rohtak / Haryana Lok Dal (Rashtriya) Haryana
 66. Sukh Ram / Mandi / Himachal Vikas Congress / Himachal Pradesh
 67. Madhukar Sarpotdar / Bombay Northwest / Shiv Sena Maharashtra
 68. Vijayaraje Scindia / Guna / BJP / Madhya Pradesh
 69. Uma Bharati / Khajuraho / BJP / Madhya Pradesh
 70. Kailash Joshi / Rajgarh / BJP / Madhya Pradesh
 71. L. K. Advani / Gandhinagar / BJP / Gujarat
CATEGORY 1
 NIL

MANKIND'S ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

As soon as Congress had withdrawn its support from the the Gujral Government in November 1997, we had pinpointed the imminence of final disclosures in the Bofors Scam, as the principal reason for the Congress withdrawal of support. We had written as follows :

"The Jain Interim Report just got released at a time when Sonia found it convenient to create a little administrative chaos and confusion to coincide with the receipt of the last bunch of Bofors papers. (See, Chitra Subramanian's *India may get remaining secret Bofors papers soon*, in *Indian Express*, Hyderabad, 26.12.97 See also, her further despatch, *Bofors returns to haunt Congress*, *Indian Express*, 4.1.98)" (*Mankind*, Jan-Feb 98, p.4)

Recently our analysis has been confirmed from three important sources.

Inder Gujral has identified the Bofors scam and its final unravelling through receipt of the second installment of papers from Switzerland, as the reason for Congress withdrawal of support from his government. But why didn't Gujral come out with this explanation at the relevant time ? Why was a formal

discussion in the Lok Sabha through a No-Confidence Motion avoided by him and the UF government ? Were the depraved leaders of the UF, especially the cads Inder Gujral and Harkishan Surjeet, negotiating till the end with the INC to save the government at any cost ? Were they going to drop the DMK at the last minute, in order to seek a last -second Congress *volte-face* ?

Everyone knew that Milap Chand Jain's Interim Report was a mere excuse. In all these weeks of hectic electioneering, the Jain Report has been completely sidelined, even in its rallies in Tamil Nadu ! Old Moopnar's TMC continues his alliance with the culprits in Rajiv's assassination, viz, the DMK ! Both remain part of the UF !

That is why we maintain that Bofors was the real cause of Gujral's downfall. And we further find that saliva was also drooling from the mouths of the power-hungry duo of Gujral and Surjeet, so that they remained silent, and Gujral resigned without even making a proper statement in Parliament !

The second confirmation comes from George Fernandes :

"Fernandes alleged that the Congress withdrew support to the Gujral government because things were becoming too hot for them on the Bofors issue." (*Times of India*, 25.2.98)

The third confirmation comes from Atal Bihari Vajpayee : "The Gujral government fell because it was getting hot on the Bofors trail." (*Indian Express*, 26.2.98)

Why this sudden near unanimity about the reason for Gujral government's downfall ? Is it related to last week's visit by a police team to London, and thence to the Channel Islands, in search of the latest entries in the bank accounts of Bofors' beneficiaries ?

It is almost certain that Vajpayee will be our next Prime Minister. Is the *naukershahi*, which has always been pro-Congress, making a last-ditch effort to deprive the imminent, future BJP government, which will assume power around the middle of March, 1998, is it a last-ditch effort by the bureaucracy to prevent the BJP from claiming kudos for unravelling the Bofors tangle ? Are the Bofors villains going to be named in the next ten days ? ■

CLINTON'S SEXCAPADES REVEAL NOT MERELY A SICK MIND, BUT ALSO ONE THAT IS UTTERLY SELF- INDULGENT AND SADISTIC !

It would not have escaped the notice of the more perceptive *Mankind* readers, that Bill Clinton's self-admitted sexual trysts with Gennifer Flowers and Monica Lewinsky, and his low key denial in respect of Paula Jones, are all creating a pattern of a diseased mind. Instead of carrying on with his job as a responsible leader of a very powerful country, the man has been disgustingly self-indulgent, narcissistic and irresponsible.

But the media have been squeamish about drawing attention to a peculiar dimension of the affair.

Whilst jokes are being made about Oral Gate; and the identity of the Deep

Throat being known in the case of Clinton Gate unlike in Water Gate; and the abrasions and bruises being suffered by Monica who was compelled to be on her knees all the time; and so on, the real point is being missed.

Normally, in a heterosexual encounter, the sexual partners endeavour to coincide their orgasmic climaxes. They may not always succeed, but they try ! In the case of Clinton, he is not even thinking of any foreplay that would help to arouse his partner, or even ensure an equal pleasure for her nearabouts his own orgasm. Obviously. Bill Clinton cannot expect Gennifer or Paula or Monica to

attain orgasm by having just oral sex, without any help from him.

Actually, fellatio is merely one of the techniques of lovemaking. Considerate and broadminded males practice cunnilingus too !

The pattern shows that Clinton is thinking only of his own pleasure. It also reveals a kind of sadistic mind which merely uses the woman as an instrument for providing the man with an excuse for an ejaculatory discharge.

Clinton would be well-advised to read Vatsyayan and learn to become a little more considerate towards the sexual needs of his mistresses.

Bill Clinton is not merely a Dirty Old Man or as Monica used to call him "a creep," but also a Male Chauvinist Pig, with strong sadistic tendencies. The man has the psyche of a rapist. He is not thinking of the pleasure or pain that he may be causing to his sexual partners ! ■

THE VIRASAT CONCERTS IN PUNE

SPIC MACAY (Society for Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture Amongst Youth), Pune Chapter, organised an interesting series of concerts, grouped under the title, *Virasat*, recently from the 11th to the 13th of February, 1998.

On the first day, the Rajasthani Group of seven artists (Karim, Kutal, Gazi, Loni, Ghevar, Shakhar and Khete Khan) belonging to the *Langa* and *Manganiyar* communities, were featured. They sang and played on the *Alguza*, *Murli*, *Kamancha* and *Dholak*, the relatively simpler and more popular *ragas* like *Sorath*, *Malhar*, *Bhairavi*, *Desh*, *Kalyan*, *Khamaj*, and a few folk airs (Wedding Song for Royalty, Ghodalia, Amrai, Mast Kalandar, etc.)

It would be a misnomer to call this group recital "folk music". It was really a Light Classical performance by a bunch of traditional artistes, who probably had as their chief patrons, the lower rungs of feudal chieftains, *Jagirdars* and *Kulaks*. There were certain notable affiliations with the music of the rural folk, There was good humour, native vigour and attempts to treat the musical themes without solemnity and arrogance. The seven Khans demonstrated that they could render complicated *taans* and rhythm patterns.

But their limitations were very obvious. The number of *taan* variations and *gamaks* which they could handle

were extremely limited. They could not sustain interest over a great length of time. All the items performed by them, were of short duration.

I liked their performance, which I have heard several times previously in Delhi and Rajasthan.

However, let us be clear that, of the four market segments, which are served by all art of all periods, that is,

- Primitive Tribal
- Rural Folk
- Urban Popular and
- Elite Classical,

these humble professionals also serve the Elite Classical market, albeit, of the lesser feudal gentry.

They are like the *Thikanas* of miniature painting, centred upon smaller, provincial, palaces - towns - forts like Kota, Bundi, Kishengarh, Patiala, Kangra, etc.

They are not like the *Pat* paintings of Eastern India or *Kavad* and *Pabuji-no-Pad* of Rajasthan, or *Chitrakathi* of Maharashtra, which all belong to the category of Rural Folk.

They are unlike the *Yakshagana* rural troupes of Karnataka.

The Rajasthani Khans belong to the Elitist Classical stream, only they are of the Lesser Classical type.

I didn't stay, because of my age and health, for Shiv Kumar Sharma's *santoor* recital, which was scheduled as the second-half of the first day's programme. I have heard Shiv Kumar scores of times,

from the days when he appeared at the beginning of the day's *baithak* in Brij Narayan's Sursingar Sansad's concerts in the mid 50s, which I had begun to cover for *The Times of India*, Bombay.

Apart from having heard Shiv Kumar much too often, the point is that the *Santoor* is not really suited to Indian Classical Music. The *Santoor* is like the *jal-tarag* or the piano. Shiv Kumar is a virtuoso performer, and therefore, by speed he can almost create an illusion of *meend*. However, it is not exactly the same thing ! There is no true slide from one note to another. You can tune the instrument to semi-tones and even smaller intervals, but, the true glide or glissando is missing, and can never be reproduced.

The Second day's programme featured Yamunabai Waikar (*Lavani*, *Bharud*, *Gavlan*, etc.), in the first half of the evening. I sympathise with her troupe. They have to earn a living and are abjectly dependent upon their ageing "star", who claims to be 83 years old, whilst still trying to perform as a coy, flirtatious young woman in her 20s ! This is *ab initio*, an impossible task !

I walked away with the feeling that her sons and the *dholkiwala* should have by now projected a younger "traditionalist". After all, all our Classical *gharanas* are old, and yet the newcomers carry on the old traditions ! They have begun to mix *gharanas* and the age-old, hoary traditions are getting intermingled in a very enchanting innovative manner.

As far as Yamunabai is concerned, her style could be preserved in audio cassettes, though I am afraid, it is now too late even for that ! From the brief introduction and commentary that he provided, the son seems to be a man of intelligence and good taste. He should experiment and re-present the *Lavani* genre through younger artistes who are more mellifluous and are more fetching and expressive as dancers.

I again missed out on Vishwa Mohan Bhatt's *Mohan Veena* performance of the second half of the evening.

I have never heard the *Mohan Veena*, but in general, I don't think that inventing new instruments enriches our music. I like the old instruments, *veena*, *surbahar*, *been*, *sarod*, *sitar*, *arang*, *tabla*, *mridangam*, *pakhawaj*, *shehnai*, *bansuri*, and so on. If there is good music in the heart, all these old instruments will serve. I don't mind so much the *violin*, the mandolin, the clarinet and the guitar, which are after all, old instruments somewhere else in the world. I am tempted to make an exception in case of the saxophone, which I think, is very expressive and is capable of the *meend* (the glide). But the *Mohan Veena*? Is it really necessary?

On the third day, in the first-half, Tijanbai performed her *Pandvani*.

It was authentic folk from the

countryside. I liked Tijanbai's red *sari* with black border, and her walk and turns and broad captivating gestures. She could create a scene in front of our eyes, of *Draupadi Cheerharan* and *Karna Vadha*, with just a line or a lift.

However, I felt that it was too big a crowd for her. The village square is a smaller place than the Fergusson College grounds.

The most delightful part of the evening was provided by the one-man chorus. Oh what a voice ! It was incredulous, questioning, assenting, approving, doubting, eulogising, everything in turn ! It was not a cultivated, civilised voice ! It was an authentic, rural, almost tribal echo, which reverberated in a highly cultured and supremely sophisticated manner.

This was the first time that I heard Tijanbai and full marks to her and her one-man chorus !

On the third day, I decided to take in the second half of the programme. But I was forced away by the mess that the sound system made.

Rajan and Sajan Mishra picked up a very fine *raga* in *Tilak Kamod*, but the *tanpuras* and the *tabla* were too loud, the harmonium too inaudible, and Rajan and Sajan Mishra's voices too raucous (Perhaps, Rajan and Sajan were forced to cry themselves hoarse, in order to rise above the noisy level of the *tanpuras* and

the *tabla*).

The entire organisation of *Virasat* was very carefully done and was excellent in every respect. But I would advise SPIC MACAY to carry out a few experiments with the mixing and mingling of the sound ensemble.

First of all, the sound screen created by the *tanpuras* should be such that, whilst they must remain constantly heard, the wonderful strains of the *tanpuras* should become unnoticeable and almost inaudible after five or ten minutes ! Secondly, the *harmonium*, the *tabla*, the *sarangi* or the violin should all be at an equal level, and subordinate to the sound level of the main artist, who may be either a singer or an instrumentalist.

Thus, there should be three sound levels.

The propagation by wattage power is something that only the audio expert in acoustics can precisely adjust, depending upon the area to be covered, the background provided by trees and buildings, the distance from the loudspeakers to the last seat, the topography, the general noise level and so on.

It a question of trying out and experimentation !

Bravo SPIC MACAY and its team, Sharangdhar Sathe, Shirish Koulgud and Mukta Tuljapurkar ! ■

sensitive, a more intelligent and a more civilised person. Doesn't Mohan Agashe have any sense of shame ? or conscience ? Does he not think that he has failed in the task that he took upon himself just a few months ago ? His own students are demanding his removal. Is that not enough ? Why should he insist on being their guide and perceptor ? Which genuine teacher will impose himself on such reluctant students ? Can anyone learn anything from such a principal ? Is he a man or a monster mouse ?

If Agashe was a good actor or a talented psychiatrist, he would have resigned long ago. Obviously, he has no confidence in his abilities as an actor or a medical practitioner, and therefore, he prefers to tyrannise a few young boys and girls by forcibly teaching them about Nine Conceptualisations and Zero Semesters and such other mumbo-jumbo.

Agashe is a bovine bum with no sense of self-respect. Does he think that Compulsory Education actually means forcibly teaching young men and women in the Psychiatric Ward of a Hospital or a Jail ? ■ (contd. on next page bottom)

IS AGASHE A MAN

OR A MONSTER MOUSE ?

My humble intervention in the FTII fracas was not appreciated by the Director, Mohan Agashe. He complained to *The Indian Express* correspondent, without naming me, that the students were being misguided by "someone who was going round the campus claiming to be a strike expert."

For a long time, I knew that Mohan was a humourless bovine character, who was scratching the earth with his hooves, constantly retreating two steps backward in order to prepare for the eventual leap forward !

The man has no sense of humour ! When I spoke about my being considered a "strike expert" by people who are much older than me, I had said that "in those days I used to wear a half-pant and a *khadi topi* !" Doesn't he get the joke ?

Anyway, what does Mohan mean by "zero-semester ?" All that it can mean is that the FTII should partially close its doors to freshmen for a period of time ! In short, the state should abdicate its

functions of spreading professional training for whatever length of time that Agashe's "zero" encompasses.

Agashe received clear oral instructions from Jaipal Reddy, but the Governing Council, led by policeman Ravi Gupta and Mohan himself, chose to ignore these instructions ! Jaipal Reddy was himself unwilling or unable to put down these directives in writing.

This is how our *naukershahi* flourishes ! It ignores ministerial advice whenever it chooses ! It procrastinates and prevaricates at every turn !

What is to be done with such characters ?

In the meantime, three youngsters, Mrunal Desai, Sibashish Roy, Satyajit Pande, fell ill as a consequence of the hunger strike, and had to be hospitalised ! Three more, Shitrus Joseph, Sanjay Kurien, Gissy Michael, have taken their place.

The students are demanding the replacement of Mohan Agashe by a more

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Asso. Edr.

GANDHIAN SIMPLICITY REAFFIRMED !

In the September 1997 issue of *Mankind*, we had reported how ex-president Shankar Dayal Sharma demanded and got Rs. 40 lakh to furnish his new house after retirement, when he held Rashtrapati Bhavan to ransom by refusing to vacate it till his demands were met.

Now, Krishna Kant, the new Vice-President, has decided to make full use of the fact that "there's no stipulated upper limit for the expenditure on renovating Rashtrapati Bhavan, the prime minister's house and the vice-president's house", though he has not done anything as drastic as Sharma. Krishna Kant has merely applied "satyagraha" for his personal benefit !

As part of the renovation process, a total of Rs. 1.6 crore have been spent on 6, Maulana Azad Road, the official residence of the Vice-President. Almost everything from flooring to the smallest electrical fitting has been changed after Kant moved in. The entire flooring was replaced by expensive gold-flecked black granite and Italian marble. The marble and granite cost Rs. 250 and Rs. 300 per square foot respectively.

The list of other changes includes:

- Ornate antique furniture for the living room and the three bedrooms. Some of the pieces cost up to Rs. 5 lakh.
- Panelling of the walls in the best quality wood which cost Rs. 100 per

square foot.

- An order of silk curtains and brocade tapestry of the reception hall, living room and the bedrooms. Silk curtains cost Rs. 600 per metre and the silk and brocade for the upholstery cost between Rs. 600 and Rs. 800 per metre.

- New electrical fittings, including a chandelier costing Rs. 60,000.

- A change in sanitary ware. Some of the designer gold-plated faucets cost as much as Rs. 15,000 per piece.

- Finally, a new cabin for visitors and car park were also constructed.

The figures given by the Ministry of Urban Development to the Lok Sabha on November 25, 1997 for the expenditure incurred on maintenance and repair of the Vice-President's house was Rs. 22.14 lakh. However, the catchline was in the inconspicuous line that followed : "The accounts not yet finalised."

We wonder what happened to the "Gandhian principles of self-confessed Gandhian" ! ■

(OPENING STATEMENT contd. from previous page)

THE POLITICS OF MASS MOVEMENTS

Nitish Kumar, the leader of the Samata Party in Bihar was interviewed by TVI on 21 st January 1998.

I found the interview far more interesting than I could have imagined. I had not known much about Nitish Kumar, except that he was a *Kurmi* who had his own caste conflicts with Laloo Yadav. But he made a much better impression than I had been led to believe.

He was very forthright in his reply to the question of exactly what led to the parting of ways between him and Laloo Yadav.

Nitish gave three reasons.

- The Mandal Commission had demanded reservations for OBCs in addition to the current SC/ST reservation. But actually, in Bihar, the *Dalit* struggle had proceeded much further and had forced the Bihar government to accept the Mungeri Lal Report which had differentiated between upper and lower layers amongst the OBCs and its recommendations of special reservations, for the poorer sections of the OBCs had actually been conceded by the Bihar government.

Laloo wanted to go back on this policy of special reservations for the more backward OBCs. Laloo wanted to implement the generalised Mandal recommendations in Bihar, thus, moving

a step backward and retreating to favour the *Yadavs*, who in Bihar, are like the *Marathas* in Maharashtra. They are the most advanced of the OBCs and may be actually forming the so-called "creamy layer" amongst the poor and the downtrodden.

- The second point that Nitish Kumar made was that, whereas Karpuri Thakur, former chief minister of Bihar, had removed English from the schools, Laloo was planning to bring back English from the primary school stage itself.

- Thirdly, Laloo had interpreted the Janata Dal victory in the 1991 elections as a personal triumph and had begun to live in luxury, throw his weight about, favour family members, and generally neglect the ordinary party worker.

I was forcefully reminded by this interview of Nitish Kumar with what happened between Jawaharlal Nehru and Rammanohar Lohia in the late 40s and early 50s. Lohia had exactly the same differences with Nehru. Nehru had turned away from the real hardships suffered by the lower castes in India. During Jawahar's lifetime, he never considered the plight of the OBCs, who needed reservations just as much as the SCs and STs did. The problem of the more backward OBCs, which was cleared by

the Mungeri Lal Committee in Bihar did not arise in Nehru's time, but certainly the need for reservations in favour of OBCs was known at the time. A problem upon which Jawahar bestowed "benign neglect" !

Secondly, on the question of language, Nehru had behaved most treacherously, as we have proved in our last issue of Jan-Feb 1998, pp. 55-61.

Thirdly, Nehru had behaved in the same manner as Laloo Yadav. He had occupied the 82-room mansion of the former commander-in-chief of British India and had begun to spend upon himself at the rate of over Rs. 25,000 per day.

However, the biggest difference between Lohia and Nitish Kumar lies, not in the matter of the strategy of *Vishesh Avsar* (special opportunity) for the most exploited; or language of empowerment; or corruption. It lay in the fact that Lohia wanted to build up a grassroots socialist movement in the country, and not just an electoral alliance leading to politics of coalitions, which is all that Nitish Kumar visualises. Fundamentally that is why Nitish Kumar remains a former bureaucrat, whilst Lohia remained, to the end, a revolutionary socialist and nationalist, who believed in the politics of ideological and principled mass movements. ■

INDIAN DIAMONDS SPARKLE IN HISTORY !

If we look back and trace the history of the 'diamonds of India', we find that most of them have reached some other country as a result of robbery and loot. **All the diamonds known to world history have been of Indian origin.** One of the most famous diamonds, *Kohinoor*, still occupies a pride of place in the British Crown!

Now let us consider the diamonds that disappeared from the Srirangam Temple in Tamil Nadu. Let's move to

Moscow, we'll find them there.

One of Russia's largest and most credible weekly newspaper, *Moskovski Novosti*, has disclosed that **two of the prime exhibits** at Russian Diamond Fund Exhibition in the Kremlin were **originally from India.**

The diamond bearing the name of *Orlov*, actually belonged to the temple of Srirangam. It was the eye of a deity, which was taken out by a ruthless French soldier. The diamond, later on, was

passed to Persian King Nadir Shah and after his assassination, to an Armenian trader from Persia. Subsequently, it was purchased by Gregory Orlov, a favourite of Russian tsarina Catherine the Great.

The other diamond, by the name of *Shah*, was possessed by the Moghul Emperor Shahjahan and later, ended up with the same bandit Nadir Shah. In the year 1828, Persian Prince Khosrau Mirza brought *Shah* to St. Petersburg and handed it to Russian tsar Nicholas - I, as a compensation for the murder of Russian envoy and poet Alexander Griboyedev of the Russian mission at Tabriz by Persian fanatics. ■

3278 ACRES SWALLOWED BY KARNATAKA M.P.

On the occasion of the celebration of its third anniversary, on Dec, 1997, Karnataka Janata Dal (JD) President and MP, B. L. Shankar, found himself in the midst of a controversy. He was charged with encroaching on 3,278 acres of land in Chikmagalur. The District Conservator

of forests of Chikmagalur, A. M. Annaiah, who had filed the charges against Shankar, has been transferred and this had made the situation even worse for the MP.

The issue came up when a recent circular was distributed among all the

DCFs, to supply adequate information about encroachments on forest lands in their districts. Annaiah investigated the matter and confirmed that between August 1 and November 30, 1997, there were 416 cases of encroachment, which included that of Shankar's. Annaiah was transferred to Dharwad but he moved the Central Administrative Tribunal, which then stayed his transfer order. ■

INDISCRIMINATE USE OF ANTIBIOTICS PROMOTES RETURN OF EPIDEMICS !

Hitherto everybody was under an illusion that the perpetrators of infectious diseases like TB, malaria, typhoid, pneumonia, gonorrhoea had been successfully subdued. New strains of germs however falsified this belief when TB's death toll reached new heights for the year 1995. A cocktail of drugs-refampicin, isoniazid, pyrazinamide and ethambutol is relegated into superannuation by the latest *avatar* of mycobacterium tuberculosis. Multi-drug resistant (MDR) strain as it is known in medical parlance has taken over a field where one's own immune system can be the only hope. This is the case not just of a new T.B. virus. But the other drug defying homuncilli-pneumococci, staphylococci, enterococci are spreading with such a rapidity that they are giving doctors, medical researchers, pharmaceutical firms and patients nightmares.

Today most of the agents of the life threatening diseases are celebrating their victory over antibiotics. Most of the first

generation antibiotics, like penicillin, streptomycin, chloroquine, chloromycetin, cephalosporin are no longer proving effective for curing the disease. Why are they fast losing their edge over the microbes ?

Two factors can be said to be responsible for this state of affairs. One, the adaptive genius of the microbes. Bacteria are always "changing clothes" in their fight against antibiotics. The antibiotics act on the bacteria and kill the defenceless ones, but leave behind those which can resist it. These obstinate bacteria then multiply and can produce colonies of bacteria armed with the inherent resistance capacity against the antibiotics. Drug resistant genes developed by one bacterium can also be transferred in another one through conjugation. Viruses often act as couriers of drug resistance. When they infect bacteria, they may sometimes incorporate the drug-resistant genes of the bacteria. When they attack another bacteria, this gene may get transferred to the new

bacteria producing drug resistant strain in turn.

But why do bacteria acquire resistance ? That is because we have made it easy for them with our reckless use of antibiotics. Human hubris is the other reason that enables bacteria to escape their enemies. Most doctors, in their desire to make a fast buck, tend to overprescribe antibiotics without ensuring that they can be an effective vanguard against the disease. Most of the time antibiotics are prescribed for all kinds of viral infections without paying heed to the fact that antibiotics kill bacteria, not viruses. It makes matters worse when a patient turns to a chemist for medicinal advice. Because chemists donning themselves in the role of a doctor always make available antibiotics across the counter. Without completing the course of antibiotic regimen, it is harmful to stop their use when one starts feeling better. There is not only a danger of relapse but failing to finish the antibiotic regimen, may also cause the resistant bacteria to survive and reproduce. Most of the time our crowded hospitals, homes and cities and their unhygienic environs are the breeding grounds for the strains of germs of deadly infections. ■

Pre-election Opinion Surveys at a Glance

Sl no.	Pre-election survey by	Dates of Survey	Sample Features		Voting intention percentage by front			Seats forecast			Key issues	Prime Ministerial preference (in percentage)				
			No. of LS Constituencies (LCSs) & States	No. of registered voters surveyed	BJP front	Cong(I) front	U.F.	BJP front	Cong.(I) front	U.F.		A.B.Vajpayee	Sonia Gandhi	I.K. Gujral	Jyoti Basu	
1	ORG-MARG for <i>India Today</i>	Dec. 11-17, 1997	70 LCSs in 16 States	17,434	29.9	29.8	21.7	234-249	150-165	120-135	1. Rising price 2. Lack of jobs 3. Stable government	27	17	6	2	
2	C-VOTER for <i>The Pioneer</i>	Last week of Dec. 1997 plus backup poll on Jan 2-3, 1998	48 LCSs in 17 States	20,421 plus backup of 4,120	36	24	21	260-270	130-140	115-125	73% agreed that stability & corruption were the main issues	48	24	14	Not given separately	
3	A.C. Nielsen for <i>Outlook</i>	Jan. 4-10, 1998	41 LCSs in 10 States	7,576	30.5	28.5	23.0	238	149	123	1. Curbing price rise 2. Justice for the poor 3. Law & Order	44	25	5	4	
4	Development & Research Services (DRS) for <i>The Times of India</i>	Jan. 21-26, 1998	30 LCSs in 14 States	5,454	35.5	27.5	18.7	254	150	81	—	42	23	7	Not given separately	
5	Centre for Media Studies (CMS) for <i>Frontline</i>	Jan. 27-30, 1998	61 LCSs in 16 States	8,900	34.8	31.6	19.7	225-235	145-155	120-130	1. Stability 2. Good Governance 3. Corruption	41	30	8	10	
6	AC Nielsen for <i>Outlook</i> (Final round)	Jan. 24 - Feb. 1, 1998	89 LCSs in 16 States	16,312	29.7	29.5	22.8	231	172	118	1. Curbing price rise 2. Justice for the poor 3. Law and order	42	30	7	4	
7	DRS for <i>The Times of India</i> (Final round)	Jan 29 - Feb. 8, 1998	96 LCSs in 15 States	20,384	33.6	27.0	20.6	249	155	102	—	44	23	9	Not given separately	
8	Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) for <i>India Today</i>	Feb. 4-8, 1998	114 LCSs in 21 States	8,938	31.3	32.2	20.6	214	164	127	1. Basic needs 2. Corruption 3. Stability	21.5	13.6	3.4	3.1	
9	OVERALL RANGE							214-270	130-172	81-135	1st Exit Poll 28.2.98	208	171	140	21	= 540
10	MEDIAN							242	151	107	2nd Exit Poll 28.2.98	252	140	118	30	= 540
11	MANKIND'S ESTIMATE (as in Jan/Feb 98 issue p.22)							228	163	139						

REMARKS ON THE SURVEYS

- 10 per cent voters undecided
- C-Voter for *The Pioneer*: 23 % were "undecided".
- A.C. Nielsen for *Outlook*: Percentage of undecided has not been given.

- DRS for *The Times of India*: a) 14 per cent of respondents were "undecided." b) Margin of error put at 3 per cent.
- A.C. Nielsen for *Outlook* (Final round): Percentage of undecided has not been given.

- CMS for *Frontline*: Margin of error put at 3 per cent.
- DRS for *The Times of India* (Final round): a) 6 per cent of sample voters undecided. b) Margin of error put at 1 per cent.
- CSDS for *India Today*: More than 40 per cent of intended sample not reached.

CONGRESS VOTE REAL MANDATE AS % OF TURNOUT

PRIME MINISTER	1951-2		1957		1962		1967		1971		1977		1980		1984		1989		1991		1996	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
ACTUAL TURNOUT	45.7%		47.7%		55.4%																	
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ¹ (1947-1964) REAL CONGRESS MANDATE	45.0%	364	47.8%	371	44.7%	361																
ACTUAL TURNOUT							61.3%		55.3%		60.5%		57.0%									
INDIRA GANDHI ² (1966-1984) REAL CONGRESS MANDATE							40.8%	283	43.7%	352	34.5%	154	42.7%	353								
ACTUAL TURNOUT															64.1%		62.0%		56.7%			
RAJIV GANDHI ³ (1984-1991) REAL CONGRESS MANDATE															48.1%	415	39.5%	197	36.5%	232		
ACTUAL TURNOUT																						
NARASIMHA RAO ⁴ (1991-1996) REAL CONGRESS MANDATE																						57.9%
																						29.0%
																						140
																						16.8% ⁶

- J. Nehru died, 1964.
L. B. Shastri, P.M., 1964-66
- Indira lost elections in 1977,
Morarji Desai, P.M., 1977-79,
Charan Singh, P.M., 1979-80,
- Rajiv lost elections in 1989,
V. P. Singh, P.M., 1989-90
Chandrashekhar, P.M., 1990-91,
- Narasimha Rao lost elections in 1996.
A. B. Vajpayee, P.M., 1996,
H. D. Deve Gowda, P.M., 1996-1997,
I. K. Gujral, P.M., 1997-98,

- 30.8% is the Highest Real Congress Mandate in the 46 years, 1951-96, that we have enjoyed as a shamocracy. **Average Congress Real Mandate for the 11 general elections, 1951-1996, was merely 23.2%! This means that the Indian National Congress ruled over India for 43 out of the last 50 years since the bogus Independence of 1947, with less than one vote out of four, in our "Greatest Shamocracy of the World"!**
- This is the lowest Congress vote to date. The Minority Government of Narasimha Rao ruled for 5 years from 1991 to 1996 on the basis of 21%

real mandate, which dropped to 16% in 1996. PVN Rao refused to resign as the leader of the Congress Party in Parliament despite this. Finally, he was forced out in 1997, and he has been denied a Congress ticket in the 1998 polls.

(Source : Turnout and Congress Vote figures of 1952-91, from *India Decides*, 1952-95, p.9; and of 1996, from *General Elections 1996, Reference Hand Book*, vol.1, PIB, 1998, p. 84.

(See box on Stalinist Vote in India infra)

RUPEE DOWNFALL HALVES BENEFITS FROM CHEAPER OIL IMPORTS

With a sharp fall in the international oil prices, India's crude oil and products import bill has come down sharply by about \$ 2 billions (about Rs. 8000 crores) in the last quarter of the current fiscal.

In Indian *Naukershahi* circle, this has actually caused an "Embarrassment of Riches!"

Oil prices have come down to between \$ 14 and \$ 15 per barrel in January 1998, from \$19 to \$20 per barrel in the early part of the year.

[STOP PRESS : They have now fallen to \$ 10/11 ! (22.2.98)]

It is expected that India's oil import bill this year will be just around \$ 7 to \$ 7.5, billion (Rs. 28,000 crores), as against \$ 10 billion (about Rs. 40,000 crores) in the last fiscal.

There has been no significant change in our requirements for crude and petroleum products. India's total

requirement of oil is expected to touch 84 million tonnes with about 62 million tonnes coming through domestic sources and 22 million tonnes through imports. (A marginal increase in our crude production has also caused a slight fall in the imports.)

IOC requires about \$ 700 million monthly but with a fall in oil prices, IOC would now be able to arrange supplies with only \$ 500 to \$ 500 million every month for the last quarter of 1997-98 fiscal! This means that IOC will have to cough up about \$ 1.75 billion to meet the import bill.

The depreciation of the rupee, from about Rs. 35 to nearly Rs.40 per dollar, or a fall of about 15%, removes half the benefit of lower oil prices, which have gone down by about 33%. We would have doubled our gains on the oil import bill, had our currency retained

its depressed level of even Rs. 35 to the dollar!

The consumption of diesel in India is recorded as 40 to 45 per cent of our total requirements. Diesel oil composes a large share of our imports. It is however, very important for IOC to be careful while planning and meeting its foreign exchange requirements. It is lining up for about \$ 600 million through the FCNR (b) route, tapping the NRI's dollar deposits with State Bank of India, Bank of Baroda, Indian Overseas Bank and Bank of India. Apart from that, negotiations with a number of foreign banks for about \$ 400 million for 180-day period are also on the cards. There are also offers from the banks for \$ 600 to \$ 800 million, for a three year period, at rates only slightly above Libor.

IOC's plans to raise foreign currency loans for import would not be affected by the threats to downgrade India's Investment Ratings by the Moody Investor Services. Most of the foreign banks apparently have confidence in India's capacity to redeem payments. ■

WHY SHOULD ONION PRICES BRING TEARS TO OUR EYES?

A steep fall in the production of onion is seen not only in Maharashtra, but in the entire onion-growing belt of the country. The situation has worsened because adverse climate has destroyed the Kharif onion crop. The shortfall in the production is estimated to be 16 per cent in the rest of the country, while in Maharashtra the situation is worse (down by 22%)

In the year 1996-97, the area under Kharif onions in the country was 67,500 hectares which came down to 59,000 hectares in 1997-98, due to delayed monsoon in the major onion-growing pockets. In Maharashtra the acreage was reduced from 68,000 hectares to 59,000 hectares. Further, bad weather in October, November and first half of December also damaged the crop

severely. Diseases like *purple blotch* and *stemphylium blight*, affected the crop, blasting the leaves and resulting in poor bulb development.

The production of kharif onions fell from 12.5 lakh tonnes in 1996-97 to 9.7 lakh tonnes in Maharashtra in 1997-98, and from 29 lakh tonnes to 25 lakh tonnes in the rest of the country. As a result, wholesale prices shot up from Rs. 150 per quintal in June 1997 to Rs. 751 per quintal in December. Not only that, but retail prices have risen to Rs. 25-30 per kilo in

AREA AND PRODUCTION OF ONION

STATES	AREA (,000 hectares)			PRODUCTION (lakh tonnes)		
	1996-97	1997-98	DOWN	1996-97	1997-98	DOWN
ANDHRA PRADESH	12.00	11.00	8.3%	2.20	1.84	16.4%
BIHAR	17.98	14.00	22.1%	1.63	1.06	35.0%
GUJARAT	24.00	24.25	+ 1.0%	5.58	5.07	9.1%
HARYANA	5.80	4.80	17.2%	0.75	0.45	40.0%
KARNATAKA	38.00	34.00	10.5%	3.20	2.79	12.8%
MADHYA PRADESH	18.00	16.20	10.0%	2.36	2.07	12.3%
MAHARASHTRA	67.50	59.00	12.6%	12.45	9.68	22.2%
ORISSA	47.00	43.00	8.5%	3:28	3.09	5.8%
RAJASTHAN	18.00	20.64	14.7%	2.20	2.00	9.1%
TAMIL NADU	19.50	18.00	77%	1.70	1.46	14.1%
UTTAR PRADESH	41.00	36.00	12.2%	5.13	4.49	12.5%
OTHERS	17.00	14.00	17.7%	0.74	0.60	18.9%
ALL INDIA	327.78	294.89	10.0%	41.22	34.60	16.1%

major cities !

Maharashtra tops in onion production (over 12 lakh tonnes annually), and plays a crucial role as onions are harvested thrice in a year. In other parts of the country, except Orissa and Gujarat, the crop is grown only in the kharif and the rabi seasons.

The rabi crop ensures supply till the kharif variety is harvested in October. The lean season is between September to February, when the rabi crops is exhausted and the kharif crop has yet to arrive. At this time, the prices go up and continue rising till the late kharif crop is harvested in January-February. [STOP PRESS : New crop has arrived and the prices have started plummeting to Rs. 800/1000 per quintal from the end of February (22.2.98)

Apart from the national demand, about 10% of the onion crop is exported, mainly to the Gulf, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Singapore. This season, the exports too, were affected. They touched an all time low of 2,000 tonnes

in December 1997, as against 23,000 tonnes in December 1996.

There have also been demands to ban onion exports to control domestic prices.

Another problem that has cropped up for the onion growers is that of storage. It is estimated that about 30 to 40 per cent of the crop is destroyed during storage and handling. Onions cannot be refrigerated and it requires dry and airy

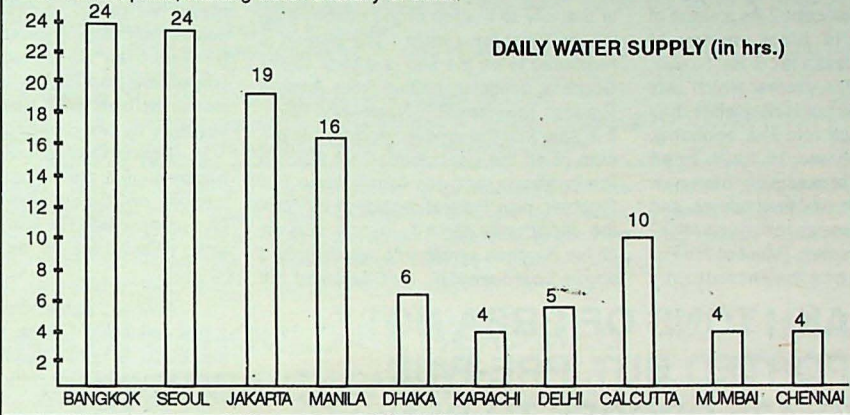
The National Horticultural Research and Development Foundation (NHRDF) has created a new onion pocket, in Firozpur-Zirkha (about 4,000 hectares) and Nandrapur Bas (about 500 hectares) in Gurgaon district of Haryana as well as in Khairathal (about 2,000 hectares) in Alwar district of Rajasthan this kharif season.

However, the main problem is that of middle-man's commission !

Everywhere the *bicholia* gobbles up the lion's share of the market price ! Farmers are forced to sell at rock bottom prices and consumers are mulcted to the maximum ! A fall of mere 16% in the production could not have resulted into a 400 per cent increase in the retail market over the last three months. However, the spread between the wholesale and retail price is enormous in all the Third World

COMPRADOR INDIA LAGS BEHIND EVEN ASEAN !

20 per cent of Indians have access no to safe drinking water. Water is perennially in short supply. While developed nations enjoy a 24 - hour supply, Indian cities lag behind even their Asian counterparts, making water a luxury of sorts.



storage sites which only big farmers can afford.

An irradiation plant for onions at Nashik is on the cards, but experts feel that irradiating onions would not be feasible because it would cost 50 paise to Re 1 per kilo.

countries. The foreigners take away the major share of the loot and this is how the compradors compensate themselves, at the expense of the poor and the middle class consumers. ■

THOSE WHO DRINK TO EXCESS SHOULD CHOOSE ONLY POOR AND HELPLESS VICTIMS !

In a major judgement, the District and Sessions court of Chandigarh ordered former Punjab Police Chief K. P. S. Gill to pay Rs. 2 lakh as compensation to Rupan Deol Bajaj, a woman IAS officer, for outraging her modesty. This is how a 10 years long drawn out court battle has come to an end.

The incident took place at an official party held on July 18, 1988 at the residence of the then Financial Commissioner S. L. Kapur in Chandigarh. Ms. Rupan Deol Bajaj moved the court of law when K. P. S. Gill refused to offer an

apology for his immodest behaviour in the aforesaid party. He was alleged to have slapped her posterior in an intoxicated state. Ms. Rupan Bajaj filed the FIR (First Information Report) within 11 days after the offence. Although the high court quashed the FIR, the Supreme Court, later in a reversed decision, convicted the former Punjab Police Chief for committing a "gross error" in his official capacity.

Following this judgement the Chief Judicial Magistrate's court in its ruling of Sep. 6, 1996, sentenced Mr. Gill to three years imprisonment and asked him to pay

a fine of Rs. 700. Dismissing the appeal of Mr. Gill, the Sessions Court upheld his conviction. But reduced the sentence awarded, by ordering Mr. Gill to pay the aforesaid Rs. 2 lakhs compensation to Ms. Rupan Bajaj and Rs. 50,000 as legal expenses in lieu of the three months' imprisonment.

It is difficult to adjudge this decision as a victory for Ms. Bajaj. As the judge Amar Dutt said himself, "there would be no manner in which the humiliation suffered by her can be compensated." The trauma that Ms. Rupan Bajaj faced over a period of 10 years during which the litigation dragged on is unrestorable. Taking this into account, the sessions judge ordered K. P. S. Gill to undergo probation of three years under the supervision of the Chief Probation Officer,

New Delhi and also banned him from taking intoxicants in a public place. That is what Liberalisation means in practice !

Gill is the President of Indian Hockey Association and is an Advisor to the Governor of Assam. He accepted the Court's verdict and deposited the said amount. Of course, this is not going to

save him from shame and humiliation.

Ms. Rupan Bajaj has declared she would not accept the compensation, as she was not fighting the case for any monetary benefit. For her it was a matter of honour !

K.P.S. Gill got into hot waters, entirely because he chose as his victim, a high ranking I.A.S. officer married to

another I.A.S. *naukershad*, who were both able to afford the cost of the prolonged litigation ! Gill should have chosen a poor working woman, perhaps even of the Bedia caste ! (See another story in this section). Then everything would have been hunky-dory for the inebriated former police chief of Punjab ! ■

HYDERABADI CONGRESS CRIMINAL OBTAINS A REPRIEVE !

VDIS 1997 yielded Rs. 10,050 crore as tax on a declared income of Rs. 33,000 crores. Yes, the amnesty scheme was a success, but was it ethical ? Was it fair to the other taxpayers who regularly paid their taxes at 40 per cent ? As a result of the declaration of black money of Rs. 33,000 crores and a tax of Rs. 10,050, a sum of Rs. 22,950 crores, which was earlier black money but is now white, has been injected back into the economy. Thus, those who would have been criminals liable for prosecution, have now exorcised their guilt and their crimes, and are back in business as honest-to-goodness businessmen. (Most of the Rs. 33,000 crores has been naturally

declared by industrialists and big businessmen.)

A case in point is the Rs. 700 crore declared by a mysterious Hyderabad, who singlehandedly took VDIS collections in that city to the top of the countrywide list, at least for a while ! The person is rumoured to be the son of a very senior Congress politician hailing from Andhra Pradesh, (perhaps P. V. Narasimha Rao), it is said that the amount declared is the sum of all the unaccounted for moolah the politician and his family have put together, over several decades ! He took the opportunity given to him to convert all his ill-gotten wealth into 'all-white and above board wealth', and declared his

assets in early August. Among the assets declared were huge amounts of hoarded cash, dozens of bank accounts both in India and abroad, numerous real estate properties and jewellery.

The mysterious declarer and his father are involved in several scams and are being investigated. If they are now chargesheeted by the authorities they will plead not guilty, in reality, they have confessed to their involvement and crime through their whopping declarations. **Under the conditions of VDIS, those declarations will not be open to scrutiny by the prosecutors.**

Thus a tax of around Rs. 200 crores has been paid, the guilt exorcised, crimes forgiven, and the culprit is free to go about his business with Rs. 500 crores in white, to do what he wishes, as he wishes ! ■

2 LAKH TONS OF UREA NOT IMPORTED BUT, PRE-PAID, FOR RS. 133 CRORES TO BENEFIT EX-PM RAO'S KIN !

The urea-scam was a well conceived conspiracy hatched by former prime minister P. V. Narasimha Rao's nephew Sanjeeva Rao, former Union Chemicals and Fertilizers Minister Ram Lakhan Singh Yadav's son Prakash Chandra Yadav, and a Hyderabad-based businessman Sambasiva Rao, to defraud the National Fertilizer Limited (NFL) of \$ 38 million. According to the chargesheet filed by the CBI in the court, the other players in the Rs 133 crore scam were - NFL executives C.K. Rama-krishnan and D. S. Kanwar, Karsan officials Tunkay Alankus and Cihan Karanchi, Brazilian businessman A. E. Pinto and Mallesham Goud.

The investigation shows that the prime accused, B. Sanjeeva Rao, nephew of then Prime-Minister Narasimha Rao, and Sambasiva Rao, the Indian agent of Turkish firm Karsan Ltd, had brokered a contract between NFL and Karsan for the supply of two-lakh tonnes of urea in mid

1995.

The conspiracy began soon after the NFL was made a co-canalising agency for the import of urea on behalf of the Department of Fertilizers in October, 1994. The chargesheet says "Investigation has disclosed that during February 1995, a meeting was held at Hyderabad by Sanjeeva Rao, Sambasiva Rao and Mallesham Goud to get contracts from government agencies on behalf of foreign suppliers for import of urea and also to get unreasonable commissions for themselves."

Around mid - 1995, Sanjeeva Rao along with Sambasiva Rao was introduced to NFL Managing Director C. K. Ramakrishnan. Soon after the meeting, the NFL gave orders to Sambasiva Rao for import of urea on behalf of three international trading companies, Amartek International of USA, Intertrade of Denmark and Bulsigma of Bulgaria. None of the deals were finalised.

After the earlier deals fell through, Sambasiva Rao got in touch with his associate, Brazilian businessman, A. E. Pinto and summoned him to Delhi in July, 1995. He was asked to bring along a contract offer from Karsan for the supply of 200,000 tonne of urea at the rate of \$ 190 per tonne, that is equivalent to Rs 133 crore. This contract was "unauthorisedly" signed on July 27, 1995 by D. S. Kanwar (Executive Director of NFL), and A. E. Pinto on behalf of the NFL with Tunkay Alankus, of Karsan without even informing the NFL board. This was in complete violation of the rules and procedures which earlier stated that no contract could be signed on the basis of a "single offer". The deal was, however, scrapped because the NFL's bankers (SBI, South Extension, New Delhi) refused to issue a letter of confirmation to Karsan.

The NFL official, Ramakrishnan, was made the Chairman-cum-Managing Director, though his name was absent from the panel. Ramakrishnan's first assignment in the NFL was to clear the dubious deal with Karsan and the files relating to NFL were never held up.

Karsan then made another offer to the NFL through Sambasiva and Pinto and demanded 100 per cent cash prepayment from the company and promised

to furnish a legal insurance policy covering risks for non-performance and non-delivery of urea. Instead an insurance policy for cargo-on-board was provided. **But as there was no cargo ever placed on board, the policy was infructuous!** The second offer from Karsan was approved by Kanwar and Ramakrishnan on October 31, 1995, and the deal signed on November 11, 1995.

CBI investigations later stated that Karsan had falsely claimed it was a manufacturer of urea because this was one of the conditions of the contract. The investigation also revealed that a bank in Geneva (Banque Indo Suez, Suisse), where the \$ 38 million

was sent by the NFL in favour of Karsan, returned the amount saying that it was not certain about the "genuineness" of the deal. The bank refused to release NFL funds to Karsan and returned them to SBI

Overseas Branch in New Delhi on November 24, 1995.

In a fax to Kanwar, Karsan claimed that the Swiss bank was asking for unreasonable commission and so they had asked it to return the money to the SBI. The fax also asked Kanwar to send

distributed it to the various accused in the scam. (see box)

CBI has been able to trace only about \$ 7 million of the amount, till date. This money was found in Alankus's Pictet Bank account. On freezing it in 1996, another \$ 6 million has been traced in

Karsan accounts in Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan.

The CBI has brought the two Karsan officials to India for trial, presently lodged in Tihar Jail. Another prime accused, A. E. Pinto is also in jail in London after he was nabbed by the Scotland Yard in the first half of December, 1997. Though CBI has unravelled much of the mystery, still, the

master mind behind the whole affair hasn't been identified till today. Is it our old friend P.V. Narasimha Rao? ■

THE BREAK-UP OF KICKBACKS ACCORDING TO CBI CHARGESHEET

- \$ 28.10 million to Alankus's personal account with Pictet Bank in Geneva.
- \$ 1.10 to Cihan Karanci's account with the same bank.
- \$ 4 million to Edible Foodstuff Trading in Dubai to be sent to Sambasiva Rao in Hyderabad through hawala.
- The Karsan agent paid Sanjeeva Rao total of Rs. 1.02 crore as well as Rs. 60 lakh to Malleshram Goud.
- Sambasiva Rao was directly paid \$ 0.2 million (Rs 70 lakh).
- About \$ 3.54 million (Rs. 12.4 crore) was doled out as the share of three foreigners, involved in the scam.
- Prakash Yadav is reported to have received Rs. 69 lakh as his share of the booty.
- \$ 2 million was paid to Malyn Holdings Ltd. USA
- \$ 342,00 was paid to P. Pap aghikas in Greece. (for arranging insurance cover)
- \$ A. E. Pinto was paid about \$ 1.2 million in London.

the \$ 38 million to their account with the Pictet Bank in Geneva, and by Nov. 29, 1995, the amount was sent to the new Karsan account. On receiving the money in his account, Alankus immediately

JAYALALITHA SHOULD BE RENAMED JAYA-BHRASTACHAR !

The Madras High Court, on December, 15, quashed the Tamil Nadu Government Order (G.O) of 13 March 1992, renouncing the Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation's (TIDCO) shares in the joint sector Southern Petrochemical Industries Corporation. The renouncement was made in favour of M. A. Chidambaram and A. C. Muthiah, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of SPIC, when Jayalalitha was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

The Court considered this action on Jayalalitha's part as "an act of privatisation of SPIC." For by doing so, the state-owned TIDCO lost its control over SPIC. Justice Venkatachalam dismissed the defence plea that a financial crisis had forced it to disinvest the holding in SPIC bonds. He maintained that there had been no valid reason for the AIADMK Government to have renounced the rights entitlements. A Government that can set apart Rs. 38 crore for constructing a sports stadium, can not say that it has no funds to spare for a profit-making concern.

Delivering his order on December

15, in a 227 page judgement, Justice Venkatachalam directed Jayalalitha, Chidambaram and Muthiah to pay Rs. 28.29 crores to the Tamil Nadu Government (jointly and severally) within six months for the losses suffered because of this 'renunciation package'. The Court ordered the CBI to investigate the transaction and submit its final report to the special court trying other cases against Jayalalitha.

The judgement was delivered on a writ petition filed by Janata Party President Subramanian Swamy in July 1996. He had alleged that the state government might have lost Rs. 100 crore since it had not renounced its entitlement at the market value. (Since then, Swamy has become an electoral ally of Jayalalitha for the 1998 Madurai Lok Sabha polls !)

A Joint sector company SPIC had 26 per cent of its shares held by TIDCO and 25 per cent by Chidambaram and his associates. SPIC, when in order to raise its resources, began thinking of expanding its equity base of 340 shares by 50 per cent through a rights issue in

the form of zero-interest fully convertible bonds (ZCBS) of Rs. 625 each, it consulted TIDCO in this matter. TIDCO was entitled to 2,03,320 ZCBs (including the provision for over-subscription). At Rs. 625 per ZCB, it would have had to pay Rs. 12,70,75,000 for the acquisition. The Government however directed TIDCO to renounce its right to the ZCBs in SPIC at 100 per cent of the bond value and with the condition that the Government's present representation on the board of SPIC should continue even after the reduction in TIDCO's percentage in equity holding. On the basis of these specifications, TIDCO received only \$ 12.37 crores. The amount that the Government should have received, based on the then prevailing market price of Rs. 2,000 per ZCB was Rs. 40.66 crores. The Government therefore had to incur a loss of Rs. 28.29 crores. Declaring these transactions null and void, the court ruled that the Government would repay the sum it received for the shares/ rights and get back the benefits the buyer had accrued from the deal. The stock of TIDCO in SPIC will be maintained at its original level of 26 per cent. The court also directed the government to reinstate Chief Secretary M. M. Rajendran as SPIC

chairman in place of Chidambaram.

The then Chief Minister Jayalalitha, was the person who had discarded the then Chief Secretary M. M. Rajendran's note of advice against such renouncement. It was during her term in the office that Chidambaram was

reinstated as Chairman of SPIC. The court found it surprising that neither a cabinet sub-committee nor financial and technical experts, were taken into confidence before directing the TIDCO to disinvest its stake in SPIC.

In the words of her political

opponent, M. Karunanidhi, the current CM of Tamil Nadu. "Jayalalitha has got a fitting reply to her claims that she has not committed any crimes and that her political opponents were foisting false cases upon her!" ■

A COLLEGE ENTIRELY ON PAPER !!

NO BUILDING ! NO LABS ! NO CLASSROOMS ! NO NOTHING !

A college in Karnataka exists only on paper. It has neither a principal nor any infrastructure. The building stands without even a name-plate but there is one thing that the Hazirat Khwajakuthubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki (HKBK) does have : plenty of students !

The Union Civil Aviation Minister and Janata Dal leader, C. M. Ibrahim, who is also the Chairperson of the Karnataka State Muslim Federation (KSMF), that runs the HKBK, says that he let his house address be used (for the KSMF) only in "good faith".

It all began in September 1996, when KSMF sought permission to open an engineering college. The college building, which was checked by a Local Inspection Committee (LIC) of Bangalore University, is incomplete till today. Again, a second LIC from the Directorate of Technical Education (DTE) visited and inspected the site in January 1997. Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister, M. C. Nanaih who had initially approved the college in May 1997, also reconfirmed his approval.

It was not only the state DTE that granted the requisite clearances to HKBK

but the LIC reports were also quite favourable, which enabled the state

BADAL'S HELICOPTER SCAM

	TOTAL TIME LOGGED (in hrs)	LOGGED BY BADAL (in hrs)
FEBRUARY'97	20:45	7:55
MARCH	22:00	20:30
APRIL	29:15	25:05
MAY	16:20	13:30
JUNE	30:10	14:35
JULY	24:35	15:55
AUGUST	28:00	16:25
SEPTEMBER	34:30	29:40
OCTOBER	33:50	21:25
NOVEMBER	48:05	42:00
DECEMBER	28:55	28:55
TOTAL	316:25	235:55

government to issue an essentiality certificate : a request to the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) that the state needed the college. The AICTE- headed by T. Rame Gowda, a former Karnataka University Vice-Chancellor, who was personally appointed by the then Prime Minister Deve Gowda, sent its own inspection team in June 1997. The team asked the management to deposit the mandatory

Rs. 50 lakh in a nationalised bank, along with another lump sum of Rs. 50,000 as inspection fees. This was done by the HKBK management !

HKBK is one of those 17 colleges, which have been approved by the state government over the past two years, and have been enjoying the benefits of their political connections. Ibrahim is quite confident that HKBK will be granted minority status.

Considering the present situation, the fate of the students who are "admitted" to HKBK, is extremely dubious, to say the least ! The students were allotted seats in this college after they cleared Karnataka Government-run Common Entrance Test and paid Rs. 7,590 each as admission fee. Now, the question is : where will they go from here ? Harish Nagaraj, one of those 180 young hopeful students, says, "I hope that my one year does not go waste. Even the last date for B.Sc exam at my previous college is over. If this HKBK business does not work out then I am doomed."

Where are the classrooms and labs in which the students are supposed to receive instruction ? Who is going to impart high level of technological training to them ? Or will Ibrahim just issue Competence Degrees and Diplomas to them ? ■

HUMBLE HEROES ARE THE REAL HEROES

The year 1997 stands out as a dark chapter in the lives of Delhiites. As this is the city which remained witness to two of the worst disasters of the year. On June 13 evening, 57 people were killed in a fire inferno at Uphaar Cinema, which had for years flouted all fire safety rules ! In another incident on a November morning, a bus carrying school children fell off the bridge into the waters of the Yamuna, claiming lives of some 30 innocent children.

This country's safety record is abysmal. Compensation and appointment of inquiry committees can bring very little consolation, when the safety standards are completely disregarded by our civic and traffic authorities.

The only hope against such ominous record of disasters, is our simple countrymen who have carried us through such extraordinary calamities. Lt. Rajesh Pattu, an army soldier, saved the lives of atleast 10 people by entering time and

again the raging inferno of Uphaar Theatre. Ten humble and ordinary fishermen, living on the banks of Yamuna, went to the aid of the school-children and rescued quite a few of them from the sinking bus. Their unflinching courage in moments of crisis made them the real heroes of our country.

Rakesh, Rajinder, Radha Mohan, Mangla, Lekh Raj, Abdul Sattar, Sheikh Suhel Ahmed, Ganesh, Rajesh and Sunder are the names of these heroes !

Mankind celebrates the achievements of the humble heroes, who hail from our ranks of the common (contd. on page 46)

IMPERIAL LOOT OF KOH-i-NOOR

A. K. Biswas

The ecstasy of Nadir Shah at the first sight of the extraordinary brilliance and blinding dazzle of the jewel, it is said, burst into exclamation, "*Koh-i-Noor*". In his mother tongue it means "a mountain of light!". It wasn't the name of the stone. But the world came to recognize the diamond as *Koh-i-Noor*. This is now a part of the history and heritage of India and England. But how did that spectacular gem find place in the British Crown? It has a chequered career. The truth lies buried deep into the debris of history.

In the golden jubilee year of India's independence, the *Koh-i-Noor* has set off a delicious controversy, as a prelude to the visit of the British Queen Victoria II to India. A Press Trust of India despatch, dateline London, August 17, 1997 says that "according to recent reports, the jewel was obtained through *trickery* by the British forces from the last Sikh ruler Maharaja Duleep Singh."¹ A (Bengali) daily insists editorially that in the fourteenth century the precious diamond belonged to the Malwa kings from whom it passed to the Mughal rulers of Delhi. When Nadir Shah sacked and plundered Delhi in 1739 he carried away the *Koh-i-Noor* which was later recovered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.² A faithful account of how the jewel of such prominence and importance passed to the British Crown appears still wanting. "*Trickery*" that divested the Maharaja Duleep Singh of the diamond again is not clear. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and was succeeded by his reputed son Kharak Singh who was murdered in 1840 whereupon Sheer Singh became the king. He too was murdered in late 1843. Nao Nihal Singh was accidentally killed in 1840, a day after the murder of his brother Kharak. Sheer Singh was succeeded by his brother, boy Duleep Singh, another reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit. Duleep's mother, Rani Jindan became the Regent.³ Another report from London says that Viceroy John Lawrence "brought the jewel to Britain" and it "was a free gift from the Indian people to Queen Victoria."⁴

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a great

warrior and diplomat; his reputation also rests on his sharp intellect and extraordinary ability to judge human nature with unflinching accuracy. He had established a powerful Sikh kingdom. An ally of the East India Company,⁵ the Maharaja received from the Company a gift of English cart-horses, "Alas" which were larger than any breed known to the Punjab. But, unfortunately, "they died of overfeeding"⁶ which suggests that he was very pleased with the noble animals. Else the horses would have died of sheer neglect and starvation.

Still the question remains "How did the priceless diamond change hands from Indian to British? Who ultimately gave it to the English to become the finest jewel of the English Crown?" The above account makes us no wiser nor does it throw light on the dark corners of history. The enigma persists.

It is a strange historical truth that the celebrated *Koh-i-Noor* which adorned the crowns of many Muslim Emperors of Delhi finally passed off to the British sovereign from Puri temple. Sir W. W. Hunter, the Director-General of Statistics, Government of India, reveals in his *Statistical Account of Bengal* (ed. 1877) that "Ranjit Singh bequeathed the celebrated *Koh-i-Noor* which now forms one of the Crown jewels of England, to Jagannath."⁷

A contemporary Indian historian challenges the above statement on a different count. He holds that "Maharaja Ranjit Singh had bequeathed, by will, the famous *Koh-i-Noor* to the Juggurnauth temple at Puri. This reverence for the Puri temple was contrary to the monotheistic religion of the Sikhs."⁸ The urge for the Sikh king who donated to the non-Sikh shrine the diamond of so great a value and charm is attributed to the Dogra influence on the community. The Dogras, he says, "boasted of Rajput lineage" and the Sikhs had adopted certain Hindu practices and rituals.⁹

Should we concur in the above view, it underlines our failure to see the stature of the man who shaped the destiny of the

Sikh nation at a very crucial period of their history. Monotheism did not make Ranjit a bigoted ruler; he was, on the contrary, one of the finest flowers of secular ideals India has ever witnessed. In evaluating the character of the Sikh Maharaja, we may note how, in his reign, "The principle of religious tolerance was observed and the avenue to honour and confidence was open to all. The Fakir Aziz-ud-din was one of Ranjit's most trusted confidential advisers; Brahmans and Dogras with other Hindus and Europeans were high in his confidence." The same British historian adds that "he balanced individuals and communities against each other with uncanny skill. Muslims, Dogras, Brahmans, and Europeans were used to set off his Sikhs, and his new army, composed of all these, was devoted personally to himself."¹⁰ The result was that "He walked secure in a court of ambitious and ruthless men and no one dared to touch him even when he lay helpless and speechless with paralysis. He dominated his contemporaries by intellect as well as by craft."¹¹ The gift of the jewel to Puri temple by him may be a master stroke of his craft, sagacity, and secular gesture rolled in one.

In the given circumstances, it would be unwise to question the objective for which he gifted the *Koh-i-Noor* to Jagannath. There is perhaps embarrassment in certain quarters to admit that the valued possession of India went to the British Crown through the holy shrine of Jagannath. A nexus between the two incompatible or incongruous entities — Lord Jagannath on the one end and the British sovereign on the other — defies all logic and comprehension. Many would view it with suspicion and derision. But truth is stranger than fiction.

Let us examine the nexus between the two mutually exclusive dignitaries — divine Hindu god and the profane followers of Christ of a Trading Company. Their existence, at best, was like a round peg in square hole. It may sound a little strange that they nevertheless shared a very intimate relation 200 years ago. Politics alone does not bring strange bedfellows. Somewhere there was a meeting ground of the two.

In 1803, Orissa was conquered by Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Commander, the Northern Division led the British Army. The victory speaks for Wellesley's sagacity in diplomacy tempered with a policy of appeasement which secured the fall of Puri along with

the temple of Lord Jagannath. The Governor-General's instructions issued on August 3, 1803 to the Commanding Officer, inter alia, reads :

"On your arrival at Jagannath, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahman and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance."¹²

On the question of religious sentiment of the pilgrims, the supreme authority enjoins : "The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jagannath will require your particular attention, you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness."¹³

The behaviour of victorious soldiers is usually marked by, loot, plunder, arson, desecration of sacred place, rape and outrage of women of vanquished land. To frustrate their indiscipline and unruly behaviour, the Viceroy says :

"You will understand that no part of the property, treasure or valuable articles of any kind, contained in the pagoda of Jagannath, or in the religious office, or possessed by any of the priests and Brahmins, or persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered prize to the army. All such property must be considered as consecrated to religious use, by the customs or prejudices of the Hindus. No account is to be taken of any such property nor is any person be allowed to enter the pagoda or sacred buildings without the express desire of Brahmins."¹⁴

This must have enchanted all sections of Hindus and accorded the temple and its priests a special status. Further Wellesley's diplomatic foresight lies in his blindness to the rapacious exactions of the priests. They were appeased and own over his next move.

"The Brahmins are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on the pilgrims, it will not, therefore, be advisable at the present moment, to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which the pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmins, who necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our object to reconcile. You will, therefore, signify to the Brahmins that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the pagoda."¹⁵

These instructions were widely publicised before hand for taking into confidence the priests and public. The result is evident in the fabulous dividends it yielded. A delegation of high priests of Lord Jagannath waited upon the Commanding Officer of the invading forces at his camp off Puri and handed over the management of the temple. Swami Dharma Teertha discloses in his book, *History of Hindu Imperialism*, (ed. 1941) that "the oracle of the Puri Jagannath temple proclaimed that it was the desire of the deity (Lord Jagannath) that the temple too should be controlled by the Company, and the latter undertook to maintain the temple buildings, pay the Brahmins and do everything for the service of the deity as was customary."¹⁶ *East India Gazetteer* (ed. 1828) of Walter Hamilton recorded that "possession was accordingly taken of the town and the temple on 18th September 1803 : the sacred will of the idol having first ascertained through the medium of the officiating priest."¹⁷ According to Hunter, "a deputation of Brahmins accordingly came into the camp, and placed the temple under his

(Commanding Officer's) protection without a blow being struck."¹⁸

A new phase of joint management combining the spiritualism of East and materialism of West began there and then. It was a noble experiment no doubt. Several regulations — Regulation XIII of 1805, IV of 1806, IV of 1809, and XI of 1810 — were enacted for taxing the pilgrims. However Act X of 1840 abolished the pilgrim tax. The rate of taxes ranged between Rs. 2 and 10. It is a different story, not relevant to the issue under discussion, that during 1806 and 1831 the collection of tax grossed to Rs. 2,437,570; the charges to Rs. 1,154,440. The net receipts were Rs. 1,287,790 which went to fill the coffers of the Company. The average tax collected amounted to Rs. 116,074 per annum; charges Rs. 54,973 and profit Rs. 61,101. Charges included cost of ceremonies, rituals and salaries of the temple staff (priests included).¹⁹ Finally, however, the Company dissociated themselves from the affairs of the Temple of Puri, Gaya, Allahabad by the Act of 1840. Nevertheless huge endowments were made to the temple for maintenance and ceremonies in a traditional manner. A little known fact is that the British followed the footprints of devout Mahratta who, in turn, pursued the Muslim policy in matter of taxation of Hindu pilgrims. Karl Marx severely reprimanded the East India Company for taxing the pilgrims in his despatch to the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1853.²⁰

The relation between the two, by no stretch of imagination, was ever bitter, hostile or unfriendly. Rather it was smooth and cordial, based on mutual understanding, cooperation and benefit. It was only expected in the given circumstances that the high priests of the temple, in a friendly gesture, gifted the *Koh-i-Noor* to the British Crown whose local representatives were so considerate and caring.

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(Source : *Frontier*, 13.12.97)

NOTE ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL IMPASSE

Jawaharlal Nehru, Narendra Dev, K.T. Shah

On April 1st, 1937 Part III of the Act of 1935 was put into operation, and Provincial Autonomy as envisaged in the new Constitution was inaugurated. The parties or groups controlling a majority in the Provincial Assemblies were then entitled to shoulder the responsibilities of government, in terms of the Act, in all the provinces. In six provinces the Congress Assembly Parties were in a clear majority over all the other parties; in some provinces they were the largest single party. The six provinces where they were in a clear majority (Madras, U.P., Behar, Bombay, C.P. and Orissa) comprised two-thirds of British India's population. The Congress was thus in a position to undertake, if it so chose, the formation of ministries in these six provinces. In most of the remaining provinces it could have done so by forming an alliance or coalition with another group.

The question of office acceptance and formation of ministries had agitated the Congress for the past two years and a final decision had been repeatedly postponed. After the general elections had brought striking success to the Congress and the inauguration of the new Constitution was imminent, the decision could no longer be delayed. The All India Congress Committee therefore met for this purpose in Delhi in the third week of March 1937 and finally decided to permit acceptance of office in the provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the legislature, but they made this subject to a condition. Ministries were only to be formed by the Congressmen if the leader of the Congress Party in the provincial legislature was satisfied, and was in a position to declare publicly, that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference, or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to their constitutional activities. The All India Convention, consisting of the Congress

members of the various Provincial Assemblies and members of the All India Congress Committee, accepted this decision of the All India Congress Committee.

In accordance with this direction the leaders of Congress Parties who were invited by Governors to form ministries asked for the necessary assurances, and these not having been given, the leaders expressed their inability to undertake formation of ministries.

The majority party having refused office, a deadlock ensued in these six provinces, and the Governors appointed ad-interim ministers who had no backing in the legislatures. The legislatures themselves were not summoned as this would have inevitably led to the dismissal of the ad-interim ministries and a sharpening of the impasse.

During the three months that followed many statements were issued on behalf of the Congress as well as the British Government defending and justifying the position taken up by each. The controversy was often carried on in legal and constitutional terms but, in essence, the conflict went deeper and represented the antagonism between British Imperialism and the desire of the Indian people to be free. By asking for assurances from Governors not to use their special powers of interference, the Congress wanted to develop a convention that the ministers' advice would prevail even as regards these special powers. It wanted a free hand in the provincial government within the limits of the Act.

The Governor's executive powers and functions, according to the Act, are of three kinds :

- (i) those to be exercised in the Governor's sole discretion;
- (ii) those in which he is to exercise his individual judgement; and
- (iii) those in which he must act upon the advice of his ministers.

The assurances demanded by the

Congress referred to the first two classes. In the first of these the Governor need not even refer to his ministers, if he so chooses, and can take decisions entirely on his own responsibility. In the second class fall certain obligations imposed upon the Governor in which he must exercise his individual judgement, but, before he does so, he is to consult his ministers. Should the advice of the ministers not be acceptable to him, he can disregard it. The list of matters in which the Governor is entitled to exercise his own judgement is formidable and imposing, and it was appreciation of this fact that led the Congress to ask for assurances to avoid obstruction and continual deadlocks in the government of the province.

It was stated on behalf of the British Government that such assurances could not be given without doing violence to the Act. The Congress leaders stated that, while they were entirely opposed to the Act as a whole, they did not contemplate amendments to the Act by demanding assurances. Such assurances could be given even within the terms of the Act. Where discretion was given to the Governor he could certainly exercise it in favour of the advice of the ministers, and he could give an assurance to this effect. The Governor was nowhere prohibited by the Act from exercising his discretion in accordance with his ministers' advice.

As the controversy took a legal turn, as to whether the assurances demanded could or could not be given under the Act, Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress, proposed that the matter be referred to an impartial tribunal for decision. This offer was not accepted by the British Government. Nor was recourse had to Section 310 of the Act, which was framed especially to meet possible difficulties during the transitional period.

As the controversy proceeded there was a slight toning down by interpretations of the original demand for assurances on behalf of the Congress. The British Government also changed their ground by slow degrees and finally took up the position that, though a definite assurance in terms of the Congress resolution could not be given, the essence of Provincial Autonomy, as envisaged in the new Constitution, was the cooperation of the Governor with his ministers.

The position of the ad-interim ministers was becoming more and more difficult. They were highly unpopular and

they had no sanction behind them except the will of the Governor. As they could not face the legislature, the legislature was not summoned in spite of repeated demands from the elected members. Provincial Autonomy seemed to be reduced to a farce. It was obvious that these conditions could not last much longer as the legislatures had to be summoned within six months and the budget had to be passed. It was this deepening crisis which led to the largest advance on part of the British Government, but this advance was accompanied by a broad hint from the Viceroy that if the Congress majorities persisted in their refusal to accept office, the Constitution would have to be suspended under section 93 of the Act in those provinces where the Congress commanded a majority.

It was to consider this situation that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress met and on July 7th, 1937 it decided to permit acceptance of cabinet responsibilities. It declared that while the declarations on behalf of the British Government exhibit a desire to make an approach to the Congress demand, they fall short of the assurances asked for in terms of the A.I.C.C. resolution. It stated further that it was unable to subscribe to the doctrine of partnership propounded in the aforesaid declaration, and that the proper description of

the existing relationship between the British Government and the people of India is that of exploiter and exploited, and hence they have a different outlook upon almost everything of vital importance. Nevertheless the Committee felt that the situation created as a result of the circumstances and events that had occurred since the Congress demand was put forward, warranted the belief that it will not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers. The Committee therefore resolved that Congressmen be permitted to accept office where they may be invited thereto. But it added that it wished to make it clear that office was to be accepted and utilised for the purpose of working in accordance with the lines laid down in the Congress election manifesto and to further in every way the Congress policy of combating the new Act on the one hand, and of prosecuting the constructive programme on the other.

Within a few days of this resolution of the Working Committee, the leaders of the Congress Parties in the six provinces were invited to form cabinets, and they accepted the invitation. The constitutional deadlock thus ended. Congress cabinets have now been formed in Madras, United Provinces, Bombay, Behar, Central Provinces, and Orissa.

July 1937.

This is a joint note of Narendra Dev, K. T. Shah and Jawaharlal Nehru for the series issued by the National Publications Society. However, the note has been included in Jawahar's collection, *Eighteen Months in India, 1936-37*, from which we have been reprinting our selections.

To those who may not be acquainted with the details of our National Liberation Struggle, we may add :

Narendra Dev (1889-1956), joined the Swadeshi, Boycott and Anti-Partition Working Movement led by Lal, Bal, Pal in 1905-11; founder member of the Congress Socialist Party, 1934 ; joined Congress Working Committee, 1936; elected UP Legislative Assembly, 1936; jailed for participation in Quit India Movement (1942-45); re-elected to UP Legislative Assembly, 1946; CSP secedes from the Congress, 1948; Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, 1947; Vice-Chancellor of Benares University, 1951-53; PSP member of Rajya Sabha, 1952-54.

Incidentally, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India of Trotskyists, to which the present Executive Editor belonged, merged with the Socialist Party, as the latter emerged out of the Congress in 1948.

K.T. Shah was Professor of Economics in the School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay University, from 1928; served as secretary of the Planning Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress, first under Chairmanship of Subhas Bose, and after Bose's forced resignation, under Jawaharlal Nehru. About two dozen sectoral volumes dealing with the Indian economy were published. Shah was the author of Vol. II, *Annexure to the Congress Select Committee Report on the Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India*, 1931; stood as United Opposition candidate against Rajendra Prasad, INC's nominee, in 1952 Presidential Elections, and obtained 92,827 votes against Prasad's 507,400.

THE DECISION TO ACCEPT OFFICE

Jawaharlal Nehru

Soon after the conclusion of the Working Committee meeting, I was asked by over-eager pressmen for my opinion on the Working Committee resolution on office acceptance. I told them that I could not say anything about it as members of the Working Committee do not discuss its resolutions. And then I added lightly that for a member of the Working Committee a resolution of the Committee must be right. For him, so long as he continued to be such a member, the Working Committee, like the king, could do no wrong.

I feel however that I cannot dispose off this question in this light vein and that I should try to explain the significance of the

resolution to my comrades of the Congress. For two or three years now the subject of office acceptance had roused fierce controversy in the country and individuals and groups have debated it and clung stoutly to their respective views. Those views remain much the same, but what lay behind these views? Few, I suppose, objected to office acceptance on principle, and even those who thought in terms of revolutionary changes did not consider that acceptance of office was inevitably and invariably a wrong step. They, and many with them, feared that acceptance involved a grave risk of our getting involved in petty reformist activities and forgetting for a while the main issue. They feared that the initiative would pass from the masses and our activities would be largely confined to the stuffy and limited sphere of the Council Chamber. It was this risk that induced the Congress, the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee to emphasise repeatedly that more important work lay outside the legislatures, in contact with the masses. If we remember that and our objective of independence and work to that end, the risk lessens and we may even utilise the council chamber to this very end.

I have no doubt that the Working Committee resolution passed at Wardha reflects the opinion of the majority of the Congress today. This opinion is in favour of acceptance of office.

but it is even more strongly and unanimously in favour of the basic Congress policy of fighting the new Constitution and ending it. Acceptance of office may be a phase in our freedom struggle, but to end the Constitution and have a Constituent Assembly is our main objective today as it was yesterday. Acceptance of office does not mean by an iota acceptance of the slave Constitution. It means a fight against the coming of the Federation by all means in our power, inside and outside the legislature.

All this the Working Committee resolution has emphasised and it has made clear again that we are not going to be partners and cooperators in the imperialist firm. The gulf between the British Empire and us cannot be bridged, our viewpoints and objectives are utterly different. Thus it is not to work the Constitution in the normal way that we go to the Assemblies or accept office. It is to try to prevent the Federation from materialising, and thereby to stultify the Constitution, and prepare the ground for the Constituent Assembly and independence. It is further to strengthen the masses and wherever possible, in the narrow sphere of the Constitution to give some relief to them. Let this be borne in mind of every Congressman.

The last three months and more have shown that the Congress was not eager for office and the spoils thereof. Office was ours even without our asking for it, if only we could reconcile ourselves to the prospect. We looked upon this question always from the point of view of strengthening the people for the struggle of independence. We hesitated and tried to clear the way for our work and weighed the advantages and disadvantages. There can be no doubt that these three months have made the Congress position clearer and stronger, and if we accept office we do so for the longer purpose in view and we leave it when the purpose can be better served otherwise.

The Working Committee resolution was inevitable under the circumstances and I trust that it will be loyally followed by all Congressmen. But to be loyal to the spirit underlying it, we must carry on our work outside the legislatures with even greater energy. We must not lose our sense of perspective. Real strength even for our work in the legislatures, and much more so for the struggles ahead, comes from outside. This is the significance of this resolution as of previous ones.

We have taken a new step involving new responsibilities and some risks. But if we are true to our objectives and ever vigilant, we shall overcome those risks and gain strength and power from this step also. **Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.**

July 10, 1937

II

The resolution of the Working Committee giving permission to accept office and the consequent formation of the Congress ministries in six provinces has created a new situation. Many Congressmen view this with a measure of apprehension, many others expect great things out of this change. But these reactions are natural. We have swerved off to some extent from the path we have followed for so long and a feeling of hesitation in treading over strange ground is inevitable. Some fear unknown pitfalls, others look forward to an easy march. But all of us, who have deemed it a privilege to serve our country and our people through the Congress, have loyally accepted the Working Committee decision, and in accordance with the traditions of our great organisation, kept faith with each other.

If tried Congressmen feel hesitant on new ground, what of

the masses? What do they think of this new orientation of our policy, what do they expect from the Congress now? Do any of them imagine that our struggle for freedom has ended because Congressmen occupy high offices? Do they think foolishly that *Swarajis* is at hand? They must be puzzled to see some of their old comrades who were in prison with them but yesterday, sitting in the seats of the mighty in those imposing structures which have been the citadels of British Imperialism. Red-liveried *chaprasis* hover about them and the enervating perfume of power surrounds them. What has happened to these comrades of ours, they must wonder, what strange sea-change has transformed the convict of yesterday into the minister of today? Is it that they have forgotten and deserted us, poor starving folk, we who looked to them so hopefully for our relief from misery? Or are they going to lead us to a land overflowing with milk and honey, the happy land of our dreams, so different from our present lot?

Both these pictures would be wrong. We have not left them and we are their comrades as of old. Though some of us may sit on chairs of state, the same *khadi* covers our bodies, the same thoughts fill our minds, the same goal calls to us insistently and drives us to action. But we are yet far from the goal and the power to mould our country's destiny is not ours yet. There is no *Swaraj* or Congress *raj*, though Congressmen may be ministers. And yet we have a new opportunity for serving and strengthening the masses and perhaps easing their many burdens a little. But even that service will depend on the attitude of the masses, on their organised strength and on their intelligent appreciation of what is happening.

It is incumbent upon us therefore to go to the masses and explain to them what happened. The Working Committee resolution must be read out to them and all its implications fully explained. They must understand that while there is this great apparent change on the surface, the old conflict between imperialism and nationalism continues, and in this conflict strength comes to us from them and not from high office. And those of our comrades who are in office today, and who deserve every help and sympathy from us in the arduous and responsible work they have undertaken, will only work effectively if the masses are vigilant and press forward the Congress demands.

I suggest therefore that meetings for this purpose be held all over India, in town and village, on a particular day, Sunday August 1st, when the Working Committee resolution should be read out and explained, and while offering comradely greeting to the Congress ministers, we should pledge ourselves anew to independence and the removal of the poverty of our people. On that day also the Flag salutation ceremony should be solemnly performed everywhere. August 1st is a special and significant day for us, a day long dedicated to India's freedom. On that day seventeen years ago the great Lokmanya passed away, and on that very day India launched the non-cooperation movement and began wielding that weapon which has strengthened and vitalised our people so greatly. It is fitting therefore that this day be suitably celebrated and we should remember the past and we should look to the future with the same determination which has held us for so long.

A change has come over our provincial governments, and though this change does not vitally affect the relation of Britain to India, it is right that it should affect all our own countrymen whether they are in Government service or not. It is time that every Indian came out on India's side and cooperated with the Congress in the high tasks that it has undertaken. I trust that as an earnest of this sympathy and goodwill every Indian, who

stands for India's freedom, will wear *khadi* the livery of our freedom, and will display and honour the National Flag. I trust also that the Police force, which has so long been hostile to our people, will think in terms of India now and not of alien masters, and will seek the cooperation and goodwill of the masses. The Congress ministers, if they mean anything at all mean that

interests of these masses will be dominant.

August 1st should be observed not only in provinces where there are Congress ministries but in other provinces also. In these other provinces the resolution to be passed will be suitably altered.

July 20, 1937.

(Source : *Eighteen Months in India, 1936-37*)

POST SCRIPT

Vinayak Purohit

Once again, Jawahar proves to the hilt that he was a born cad ! Jawahar was the perfect charlatan !

The Congress called the 1935 Constitution "a **slave Constitution**." When it came to the crunch, in formulating the Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, Jawahar and his Congress Party accepted some 95 clauses of the 1935 Constitution !

Ambedkar, who has been called the father of our present rotten Constitution, went two steps further, and termed the 1935 slave Constitution as the perfect form for the exercise of the democratic rights of the Indian people ! Ambedkar, of course, was a British toady and a worthless *naukersshah* !

But look at Jawahar !

He goes on talking about opposition to the Constitution of 1935, and at the same time, in practice, advocates the acceptance of office under the same constitution !

And, comically, Jawahar writes that, the Congress " did not contemplate amendments to the Act by demanding assurances", that the Governor will not exercise his discretionary powers.

Jawahar's mouth was salivating with the prospect of climbing into seats of power. So impatient he was that, he was making all sorts of concessions in order to work the " Slave Constitution" of 1935.

How can such people even negotiate properly in the interest of the Indian people in 1945-47, when the final negotiations for Transfer of Power took place.

We emphasise, there was no Independence realised in 1947! It was a mere Transfer of Power under a Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 which is our present Constitution, which is a rehash of the 1935 Constitution.

Once again, we bring to the fore, the accusations made time and again against Rammanohar Lohia that he was bitterly and personally opposed to Nehru.

Let these accusers explain Nehru's writings on language (see our last issue), on acceptance of office and so on. (More selections from Nehru's writings and commitments will appear in future issues of *Mankind*) Let them explain why Nehru shifted his position so often. Why did Jawahar abandon all his ideas, speeches and writings as soon as he came to power ?

There are quite a few whom I know, like old professor M. L. Dantwala; like Niranjana Mehta of the Rotary Club of Matunga-Dadar; like Anand Gokani, my doctor and Mohandas Gandhi's great-grandson; and so on, who find that my writings "are bitter."

They rape us, they beat us black and blue, they insult and humiliate us, they break all promises made, to the poor and to the hungry, AND WE ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO EVEN PROTEST BITTERLY ?

THIS IS A COUNTRY WHERE CHARLATANS FLOURISH,
BECAUSE WE ARE ALL COWARDS !

Eighteen Months in India 1936-1937

BEING FURTHER ESSAYS AND WRITINGS

By

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KARL MARX AND HIS TIMES

Vinayak Purohit

Karl Marx (1818-83) and his Times (19th century) pose several intriguing problems for the historian as well as the biographer.

This was a century of imperialist horror, of unprecedented criminality and violence arising out of the process of primitive accumulation, genocidal terror, shameful slave-trading and senseless wars in pursuit of territorial acquisitions, the like of which the world had never known! European aggression upon the world began with the Crusades (11th & 12th centuries) and climaxed with the fall of Granada, the last Islamic Kingdom in the Iberian peninsula in 1492; with Genoese pirate Christopher Columbus' predatory and thieving first voyage to the Caribbean also in 1492; and, Vasco da Gama's bandit expedition to Kochi in 1498. As we have written in our last issue, *Capitalism Means Unending Primitive Accumulation*, the entire historical record of capitalism on our planet is one of infamy, loot, murder and arson, right from the Crusades and Communes of the 12th century to the World Wars and Limited Wars of the 20th century.

We may recapitulate the capitalist atrocities of the last five centuries, in particular:

16th century — Genocidal massacres of Amerindians to the tune of about 110 millions!

17th century — Slave-raiding in Africa and slave-trading across the Atlantic, added several millions to the Amerindian massacres.

18th century — The regime of near genocidal Indian famines commences from 1765 which carry away over 85 million real Indians. Penal Settlements of European criminals in the United States and Canada; in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand inflict further genocidal horrors upon the peoples of the Third World.

19th century — All the above horrors continue unabated and a scramble for Africa and Asia ends in the complete carving out of the entire world, between imperialist powers of the West. Narcotics traffic to China leads to the Opium Wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60. Indentured labour exports, supplant slave-trading to promote European investments in the developing world.

20th century — All the above horrors continue. Now narcotics traffic shifts from China and the Far East to

principally, Latin America and Central and South Asia. American and European criminals impose the burden of policing, and checking the criminal activities of their own nationals, upon the law enforcement agencies of the Third World. Enormous concentration camps are developed by the British in South Africa, by the Germans in the heartland of Europe and by the Russians in Siberia. Furthermore, weapons of mass destruction devastate the world, attaining a zenith at Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6th and 8th August 1945, when two atom bombs instantly killed 1,20,000 and genetically maimed generations of Japanese whose militarist leaders had themselves visited countless horrors upon the peoples of China, Korea, Philippines and other Southeast Asian nations from 1895 onwards.

I do not know how mankind can even bear a consideration of the entire holistic picture of capitalist barbaric culture of the last few centuries!

Let us return to our theme of a recital of the major events of Marx's century that necessarily formed his mind, his thoughts and his writings.

We shall summarise the major International and Indian events of Marx's days under a few convenient heads.

(See Table on next page)

MARX'S REACTIONS TO WORLD AND INDIAN EVENTS.

1. The Supreme Event of the 19th Century: The First Industrial Revolution, 1765-1860.

1765-1860: Great Britain completes the First Industrial Revolution.

1765: Acquisition of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Northern Sircars.

1765-1947: Drain of Wealth from India through "Investments", Home Charges, Interest on Railway Guarantees, and Debts held in London, Transfer of Cost of Imperialist Wars to India, etc.

1765-1914: Destruction of Indian Industries and Trade. Till 1832, custom duties on Indian manufactures, for imports into England, ranged averagely from 70% to 400%.

1757-1875: Completion of Conquest of

India by British Imperialism. 1770-1947: Famines of Purchasing Power devastate India, carrying away over 85 million Indians to death from starvation and related epidemics.

Marx's Reactions:

Marx failed to grasp the link between Indian loot and the Industrial Revolution in England as well as that between the loot and the twin Regimes of Famines of Purchasing Power, and that of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation, and Pauperisation.

Brooks Adams, of the American Presidential family, understood the link very well, and wrote that nothing in world history has exceeded the impact of the arrival of Bengal treasure in England (*Law of Civilisation and Decay*, 1895).

Marx should have asked himself the questions: why did the Industrial Revolution commence in the middle of the 18th century? Why in England? Why did "Primitive accumulation" reach a point that triggered the Industrial Revolution in England, just around 1757, Battle of Plassey, and 1765, Acquisition of *Diwani*?

Marx failed to notice the significance of Indian loot in general, and of the surplus arising out of Indian revenues that started flowing out after 1765 in particular. Up to that time, the E.I. Company was forced to bring in gold and silver to pay for purchases of Indian goods. "From England alone India imported in 50 years from 1708 to 1757 twenty-two million pounds worth of bullion" (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England & India: 1600-1757*, p. 208.) After 1765, the balance, after meeting administrative expenses from Indian revenues (mainly land revenues), became available to the E.I. Company as "Investments", which were utilised to buy Indian textiles, foodgrains, oilseeds, spices, cotton and jute, and hundreds of other commodities, needed by the British market. Thus, imports from India were paid for by Indian money. The Drain of Wealth from India had commenced, which grew into a torrent and continued ceaselessly till 1947.

Details of the Drain of Wealth will be found in R.C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vols. I and II, 1901; Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and "Un-British" Rule in India*, 1901; William Digby, "Prosperous" *British India*, CIE, 1901; and Congress Select Committee, *Financial Obligation Between Great Britain and India*, 1931 (2 Vols).

MARX (1818-83) AND HIS TIMES : The Nineteenth Century

MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CHAINS OF EVENTS

1. 1765-1860. First Industrial Revolution completed by Gr. Britain with resources provided by Indian Loot.
2. 1813-1855-1919. Tremendous Expansions of Russian and Chinese Empires, which effect trijunction with India, in Central Asia.
3. 1815-1914. The "Eastern Question" involves West European encroachments on the Ottoman Empire.
4. 1868. Meiji Restoration in Japan.
5. The Scramble for Asia.
6. National Liberation Movements in Latin America led by Bolivar, Juarez, O'Higgins, etc.
7. Spasmodic formation of Lilliputian European "ethnic communities" into pseudo-nations.
8. The Irish Question confronts England, especially after the Potato Famine of 1845-6.
9. The rise of the working class movements leads to the formation of the First International and the Paris Commune of 1871, and to the 1905 Revolution in Russia.

MAJOR INDIAN CHAINS OF EVENTS

1. 1757/1765 to 1860. Battle of Plassey and Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa signal the beginning of Drain of Wealth from India, that stokes the First Industrial Revolution in Britain. The Drain of Wealth in turn results in Famines of Purchasing Power in India and the Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of the country.
2. 1757-1947. Imperialist subjugation of India results in power vacuum in Central Asia, which had been dependent on trade via the Indian Ocean. Conquest of India carried out between 1757 and to 1876.
3. 1818-1860. The defeat of Marathas in the 3rd Maratha War of 1818, results in the establishment of British supremacy on the Subcontinent, which is further confirmed by the defeat of the "Indian Mutiny" of 1857-1860.
4. The 1857-60 Mutiny is not led by the rising Indian bourgeoisie, but by remnants of the declining Indian feudalists.
5. The Portuguese were ousted from India by the Dutch, who were expelled by the French, who in turn were eliminated by the British.
6. Various tribal revolts in India led by Millennial Heroes. The Deccan Riots led by disorganised bands of dispossessed peasants. Finally, bourgeois leadership arrived in 1905-11, when Lal-Bal-Pal lead the *Swadeshi*, Boycott and Anti-Bengal Partition Movement.
7. Marx as a European of limited horizons, unable to understand the formation of historic nations and cultures.
8. The unending regime of Famines of Purchasing Power devastate India and killed of 8.5 crores of human beings. The same Regimes of Famines expose the imperialist strategy of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation in India.
9. In India, deindustrialisation drive of imperialism slows down the process of working class mobilisation. Finally in 1906, working classes of Bombay enter the arena with a six-day General Strike to protest the 6- year jail sentence awarded to Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

From William Digby's work, we quote as follows :

"In estimating the loss to India in the nineteenth century a start must be made with Mr. Montgomery Martin's figures :-

Loss to India, prior to 1834-35 compound interest, at twelve per cent.....

£ 723,000,000.

The average annual loss, taking the trade tables alone, has been shown above to be about £ 7,500,000. If that sum for the whole period be taken, and a charge of five per cent compound interest be made (though the money and produce were worth vastly more than five per cent to the Indian banker, merchant, cultivator, artisan, and to all others in India who would have been in a position to employ capital to good account, were worth at least three times five, but I have taken only five) the result is

£ 4,187,922,732
Total £ 4,910,922,732"

"The figures indicating the drain of capital from India to England, given on page 225, must be amended.

Loss to India, as already shown.....
Add, for remittances to England on official account, not shown in the trade returns, nearly £ 2,000,000 per annum, since (and including) 1834-5, at five per cent per annum compound interest...
Borrowings in England (net remaining after conversions, repayments, etc...)

£ 4,910, 922,732

£ 1,044,980,684

£ 124,268,605

Total
£ 6,080,172,021

The foregoing figures, enormously large as they are, do not represent anything like the real state of things." (*Ibid*, pp. 224-225, 230)

"Once one has got to six thousand millions sterling, the doubling or trebling of that sum tells nothing to the average British citizen." (*Ibid*, p.231)

The Drain of Wealth from India had multiple consequences.

● It resulted in the de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India. Millions of craftsmen were thrown out of employment, and had to return to their villages to eke out a miserable living as tenant farmers, share-croppers and landless labourers. They had no capacity to buy the wherewithal for a living. They died like flies in front of grainshops full of foodgrains, oilseeds, and other essentials. (Foodgrains oilseeds, spices, beverages, etc., remained the principal items of Indian exports throughout the famine centuries of 1765 to 1947).

Marx termed British Imperialism to have acted as a progressive force in Indian history, albeit, "unconsciously." This was an outright imperialist lie, which Marx had accepted "unconsciously"! British role in Indian history was totally reactionary, racialist, imperialist, Christian-communal, that of a bandit, looter and thief, and there was nothing even remotely progressive, about British role in Indian history.

Marx failed to face the question : Why did the Industrial Revolution occur in England, precisely at the same time as Indian men, money and materials were being utilised to cause the Drain of Wealth from India ? Why did it take place coincidentally, with the de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India ? Why was it simultaneous with the famines of Purchasing Power that carried away over 85 million Indians. (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, pp. 87-88).

Marx was a poor observer of the Indian scene.

First of all, he did not grasp the connection between the British Industrial Revolution and the Indian Loot, and the Drain of Wealth from India.

Secondly, Marx did not understand the connection between Indian Loot and Drain of Wealth from India, and, on the one hand, the regime of De-industrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation imposed upon India by British Imperialism, and on the other hand, the Famines of Purchasing Power that ravaged India from 1765 to 1947, increasing in geographical sweep as the British Empire spread over greater and greater areas of the country, carrying away over 85 million Indian lives in a near-genocidal devastation.

Marx did not study the voluminous reports of the Four Famine Commissions, that were constituted from 1867 to 1901. Marx was probably not even aware of their deliberations, of the evidence laid before them and of the conclusions reached by them. In all probability the E.I.Co. officials in touch with Marx, never told him about the endless famines that ravaged India from the time of British conquest (1765) to the end of its Direct Rule (1947).

Marx preferred to accept some garbled facts about India, fed to him by factotums of the E.I. Company, and based his conclusions upon such tainted data.

That is why, Marx wrote all sorts of rubbish about India not possessing any history, about private property being absent from India, and so on. Actually, India had a history of at least five times the span of English or European history, and private property existed from the time of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, that is from 4th century B.C., when English men and women were slinking around in forests in a semi-naked condition !

2. a) Expansion of Russian Empire

Before 1462 : Russia confined to Muscovy and surrounding territories.

1463-1689 : Russian frontiers reach the Arctic Sea in the North, the Caspian Sea in the South and the

Pacific Ocean in the East.

1690-1812 : Finland, the Baltic Republics, Belarus, Ukraine and major parts of Caucasian Republics annexed.

1856-1914 : The Khanates of Bukhara, Tashkent, Samarkand and Kokand fall to Russia. Trijunction with China and India affected on the Afghan-Sinkiang borders. Further East, Chinese-Russian frontiers marched along Mongolia-Manchuria-Korea limits.

b) Expansion of Chinese Empire

The four regions together, listed below, made up 1.89 mln. sq. miles, against the 18 traditional provinces of China which total 1.80 mln. sq. miles.

Manchuria : The Manchus, as Ch'ing Dynasty, established their rule over China (1644-1911). Occupied by Japanese since 1932. Finally merged into China after 1949.

Mongolia : Chinese Annexation 1918-21. Outer Mongolia becomes Mongolian People's Republic, 1921. Inner Mongolia became Chinese from 1924.

Sinkiang : Gradually assimilated to China under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1884). Constituted as Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region by Communist China in 1955.

Tibet : Annexed by Altan Khan, Mongol ruler in 1578. Early 18th century saw Chinese rule established, and in 1911 Tibet declared independence with British aid, as Ch'ing Dynasty overthrown in China. Tibet reconquered by China in 1959.

Marx's Reactions :

Marx did not know, much less understand, the main currents of world history. His interests and knowledge of non-European history were very poor. Even within Europe, his area of information and interest was largely confined to North-West Europe, to England, France, Germany, and Netherlands. He did not know Scandinavian history, East European history, Russian history, Balkan history, Ottoman history, or history of the Mediterranean lands.

Obviously, world trade had centred upon the Indian Ocean till 1820 A.D. As Peter the Great said in early 18th century, "whoever controls the trade of India and of the Indian Ocean, dominates the world". The five Central Asian Republics of the former U.S.S.R. (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyztan), had depended heavily upon the ports of Western India (Cambay, or Khambat, Broach or Barygaza and Surat), for trade with the world. It was easier for their caravans to approach the West Indian ports, via Kabul, Punjab and Rajasthan, than to take the roundabout long overland hazardous routes through the Persian deserts and the deserts of Dzungaria, Tarim Basin, Takla Makan and Iran, via the arid lands along the North Caspian coast.

The collapse of India, inevitably led to an overturn of the Central Asian *Khanates*, and this in turn invited Russian and Chinese expansions along India's North-West frontiers.

All these momentous events passed over Marx's head.

Great Britain was able to carve out a new country called Afghanistan from North-West India as a buffer state between her Indian possessions and the explosively expanding frontiers of the Russian Empire. A similar attempt by Britain to create a buffer zone of Tibet to the Northeast of India, behind the 5-mile high Himalayan wall, very nearly succeeded. However, Tibetan Autonomy and Suzerainty could not be clearly crystallised, before

China asserted its authority over Tibet, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, thus demarcating its immensely long frontiers with Russia and Outer Mongolia, stretching from the Pamirs to the Pacific Ocean.

3. The "Eastern Question" ?

The "Eastern Question", or the collapse of the Ottoman Empire was brought about by the Iberian conquest of Latin America, and the rise of Genoa and Venice in the Mediterranean trade. The Ottoman Empire had extended to the entire North African coast (Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia and Egypt), and included the Eastern Mediterranean littoral of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, as well as to the entire Balkan archipelagos and peninsulas abutting on the Mediterranean. It was the aim of the Western European powers to nibble at the remains of the collapsing Ottoman empire, and at the same time, block the expansion of Russian power at the expense of the Ottomans.

Thus, France took over the Ottoman possessions in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Corsica; whilst Italy occupied Sardinia, Sicily, Albania and Libya. At the same time Britain detached Egypt from Turkey, created independent Greece and occupied Malta, Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes. At the end of First World War, France took over Syria and Lebanon; and Britain, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq; as Mandates. Special truce treaties were signed with the Persian Gulf States, at that time known as Trucial States. Yemen and Oman also fell to the British.

In the Crimean War 1854-56, France and England actually joined hands with Turkey, in order to defeat the Russians.

Marx's Reactions :

After the Congress of Vienna (1815), a new disposition of the territories of European Powers had come into being.

The possessions of the Ottoman Empires in the Balkans, in North Africa and in the Middle East lay outside the new European configuration.

The Western European Powers wanted to play a double game of destroying the Ottoman Empire, but at the same time, preventing the Russians from gaining at the expense of the Ottomans, especially in the Balkans. Russia was somehow to be prevented from access to the Mediterranean, which was still the European end of Indian trade.

Marx, unfortunately, did not, or did not wish to, understand this double game. He joined hands with the conservative, reactionary policies of Lord Palmerston, and became a part of the anti-Russian jingoistic campaign of the British Tories. Palmerston was the butcher of the nationalists of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-60. Thus Marx's anti-Russian

campaign merged into his anti-Indian stance.

In the final analysis, Russia won the Crimean War, and firmly established itself on the entire northern coast of the Black Sea, from the Ukrainian borders with European Thrace, to the Caucasian republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan that lay to the north of Persia / Iran. Of course, the West European powers succeeded in blocking direct Russian access to the Adriatic and Eastern Mediterranean seas, by creating the Balkan states of Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Albania and the six Republics of Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia).

[See further notes in *Birth of Nations* published elsewhere in this issue].

4. The Meiji Restoration

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 in Japan initiated the process of independent bourgeoisification; and offered to both China and India, living example of the Third Alternative Independent path of Self-Development.

Marx's Reactions :

Marx knew nothing about the developments in Japan and could never grasp the significance of the Third Independent Path available to Great Asiatic Powers like India, China and Iran.

India did not throw up a sufficiently powerful merchant - banker - craftsmen combination to take over from the feudalists of India, when British capitalists began the occupation of India as a local territorial power in 1765. However, there are two notable features of the Indian political economy of the 18th century.

One : Industrialisation under robust, wealthy and powerful Indian feudalism was

far in advance of bourgeois developments in England or Europe till the middle of nineteenth century.

Two : Individual merchant bankers like Virji Vohra of Surat or Jagatseth Omichand of Eastern India, or the two daughters of Aurangzeb, Roshan Ara and Jahan Ara, who participated vigorously in commercial ventures to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; were much bigger than individual English merchants who had joined together to form the E.I. Company and other trading companies based upon Britain. The difference was that the English and European merchant bankers had a history of mercantile bourgeois development from the 12th to the 18th centuries. This could not be the case in India where feudalism had been too powerful and well-entrenched. Furthermore, the European merchant bankers were backed politically and militarily by their small, Absolute Monarchy regimes, whilst in India, neither the Delhi Sultanate, nor the Vijayanagar Empire, nor the Bahamani Kingdoms had supported any independent bourgeois development within their respective

REGIME OF HYPOCRITICAL HEARTLESSNESS

Indians refused to live under British imperialist rule. The expectation of life at birth in 1921 reached the nadir of about 20 years.

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

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

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

die!

vast territorial extents. In fact, rather than allow native, anti-feudal merchant-banker-guildmaster combinations to grow, they preferred to permit foreigners to settle in small colonies and outposts, along India's immense coastline, a situation which actually assisted in the European bourgeois penetration of India, first by the Portuguese, to be followed by the Dutch, Danish, French and English E.I. Companies.

In short, rich and powerful Indian feudalism did not permit the growth of native capitalist interests which would begin to challenge the Indian feudal order. They, instead, allowed foreigners to trade with India through their own, "factories and settlements."

India was unconquerable feudally, only capitalist subversion could have caused a socio-economic overturn in India. Also, India could not have been conquered or enslaved by any European capitalist power with purely foreign resources. It had to be infiltrated, entrapped and bamboozled into allowing itself to be conquered with native Indian men, materials and money.

This is exactly what British Imperialism accomplished between 1765 and 1860. That is why we have the three stage scenario of European capitalist conquest of Indian feudalism.

Stage I (1598-1765) — Infiltration and penetration of India by various European mercantile bourgeois interests led by Portuguese and the Dutch.

Stage II (1765 - 1860) — Chance elimination of Portuguese interests by Spanish occupation of Portugal (1580-1640); and coincidental French elimination of the Dutch, the Danish, the Swedish and other European commercial interests, left England with the historic opportunity to conquer India with Indian resources. This Indian loot or primitive accumulation enabled England to accomplish the First Industrial Revolution (1765-1860).

Stage III (1860-1947-1998) — Drain of Wealth from India to Great Britain till 1947, and to OECD powers upto today, enables the world bourgeoisie to overcome many internal dissensions and cyclical crises.

Marx did not understand the nature of the forces determining world history.

Marx had no understanding of the independent bourgeois development accomplished by Japan since the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

Marx preferred to think along traditional racist and imperialist lines. He assumed that the whole of Asia was fit to be conquered by Europeans. In particular, **he thought that India was eminently suited for conquest by England or Russia or Turkey; and he personally preferred conquest of India by England.**

This was of course, pure rubbish and racist, imperialist obfuscation.

Not knowing the true reasons underlying India's conquest by Great Britain, Marx committed further blunders by going into a series of false reasons and silly calumnies.

- Marx thought that India had no history prior to the British conquest. This is just silly!

- That in India there was no private property. A thief who is robbing somebody of property is probably entitled to think that the robbed property did not belong to any particular individual! But for a brigand to think that there was no private property at all in India was a truly comical level of sophistry reached by Marx to justify his pro-British politics!

- That villages in India, which were often bigger than most European towns, were "self-sufficient". "A domestic union

of agriculture and industry obtained in Indian villages which prevented their historic economic evolution." From where Marx got this comical notion is difficult to imagine. We have repudiated this notion in our earlier critique of Marx (*The Fallacy of the Asiatic Mode of Production, Mankind*, December 1995.) As we have proved therein, it is impossible to extract an enormous surplus out of a village and at the same time, preserve its alleged "self-sufficiency!" The removal of the surplus itself causes spurt in the circulation of commodities that shatters the so-called "self-sufficiency." The luxuries of the Imperial Court forbid self-sufficiency. The irrigation and other public works executed by the Imperial Treasury do not permit self-sufficiency. The vast military and civil administrative machinery paid for by the imperial treasury precludes even the slightest suggestion of "village self-sufficiency".

All the nonsense that Marx was compelled to write about "village self-sufficiency", "domestic union of agriculture and industry", "absence of private property", "lack of history in India", and so on, was entirely due to Marx's profound ignorance of the true forces shaping world history; his lack of interest in the structure and dynamics of feudalism; and his racist and religious bias in favour of European cultural accomplishments.

5. The Scramble for Asia.

Whilst, much has been made of the Scramble for Africa by European writers, the far more important Scramble for Asia, which yielded much greater quantum of loot has gone relatively unnoticed.

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

"Anglo-French Wars in the Carnatic : 1744-61; Plassey : 1757; Acquisition of *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and N.Sicars : 1765. First Mysore War : 1767-69; Rohilla War : 1773-74; First Maratha War : 1775-82; Conquest of Gujarat : 1778-89; Second Mysore War : 1780-84; Third Mysore War : 1790-92; Campaign in Ceylon : 1795-97; Subjugation of the Nizam : 1798; Fourth Mysore War : 1799; Second Campaign in Ceylon : 1803; Second Maratha War : 1803-05; Nepal War : 1814-16; Pindari War : 1817; Third Campaign in Ceylon : 1815-18; Third Maratha War : 1817-19; Conquest of Singapore : 1819; First Burma War : 1824-26; Bharatpur : 1827; Coorg Conquest : 1834; Sind War : 1843; First Sikh War : 1845, Second Sikh War : 1848-49; First Afghan War : 1838-42; Second Burma War : 1852; Second Afghan War : 1878-81; Third Burma War : 1885; Third Afghan War : 1919-21; Tibetan Expedition : 1903-04; Persian War : 1856-57; Annexation of Baluchistan and Makran : 1894; and Campaigns in Manipur, Tirah, Chitral etc : 1891-97."

Simultaneously, the French established control over Indo-China. They conquered Cambodia in 1863, Vietnam in 1883 and Laos in the early 1900s.

The Dutch established their rule over Indonesia between the 17th century and 1909.

The Portuguese conquest of Malacca took place in 1511. The Spanish conquered and ruled the Philippines from 1521 to 1571 and USA established control over it in 1898.

Opium Wars, to force drugs upon the Chinese people, were fought in 1839-42 and 1856-60.

Marx's Reactions :

We are sorry to note that Marx's sensitivity did not extend to non-European peoples of the world, who formed the overwhelming majority of its population.

All over India and Asia, innumerable, big and small, national liberation movements broke out. The Taiping Rebellion in China : 1850-64; The Indian Mutiny : 1857-60; The Young Turk Movement of 1908-11; The 1905 Revolution in Russia, which followed the Russo-Japanese War of 1904; Korean resistance to Japanese occupation; The Sarekat Islam Movement in Indonesia, and many other movements broke out all over South, Southeast and East Asia.

Marx was unaware of most of these nationalist protests and where he became aware of them, **as in the case of the Indian Mutiny, he actually sided with the imperialists.**

We may recollect that the rebels, who were caught by the British, were often tried summarily and **"blown from cannon mouths !"** Marx expressed no sympathy for them !

Marx was surely aware of the deindustrialisation carried out by British imperialists in India. He wrote about "the bones of the Indian weavers bleaching the plains of Bengal and Bihar." But somehow, Marx managed to find something progressive in British suppression of Indian protests !

Marx's Euro-centric vision blocked his intellectual development. **Marx could not believe that there were cultures and civilisations, far greater and enormously older than European ethnic configurations !** He never believed that there was anything greater and older than Greece and Rome ! Iran, India and China fell outside his sphere of knowledge. Even of Egypt, and the *Hittites, Mitanni, Kassaites, Hurrians* and *Scythians*; of *Yueh Chi*, the Chinese, the Mongols, the Turks, the Manchu-Tungus, Marx knew nothing.

Out of pure ignorance, he went on theorising about "the self-sufficient Indian village", which existed only in his imagination. The *desideratum* of private property in India, the mythical domestic union of agriculture and industry, and such other pure fancies and fantasies, crowded his prejudiced mind !

6. National Liberation Movements

One of the most important consequences of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain had been the unleashing of national liberation movements all over Latin America. Simon Bolivar in Greater Colombia, Bernado O'Higgins in Chile, Benito Juarez in Mexico and Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina, and their associates, led the freedom movements.

Marx's Reactions :

Marx did not notice the world historic importance of the end of colonial rule in Spanish Latin America.

Even the strange phenomena of the Spanish occupation of Portugal from 1580-1640; and the emigration of Pedro I, of the Portuguese Royal House, to his erstwhile colony of Brazil did not excite Marx's curiosity ! He was particularly blind to the non-European concerns of humanity !

The misadventure by Maximilian, who was made an Emperor of Mexico in 1863 by Napoleon III of France, went largely unnoticed by Marx. Incidentally, Marx did not arouse himself, in spite of protests by Victor Hugo and Garibaldi in favour of Maximilian ! (Maximilian was executed by Juarez in June 1867.)

Marx did not realise that the national liberation movements were to become dominant forces in world affairs in the 19th and 20th centuries.

It is difficult to make out what exactly Marx thought. Why should he have accepted as "natural and inevitable" the European conquest of the world, is inexplicable. He never placed himself out of his limited European horizon. Marx never thought from the point of view of the Rest of the World, and that is how

he missed the historic importance of the development of National Liberation Movements in Latin America, Asia and Africa in the 19th century.

Marx did have an inkling of the ominous happenings, through his analysis of "The Irish Question", where he changed his position four times ! But the Irish Question was a mere miniature form of the much larger National Question that was engulfing the entire world. (see further below).

From his exile in Britain, Marx had developed a narrowness of vision, like the blinkers worn by the animals going round a primitive oil mill. He, a German, became in praxis, a Britisher. For him Ireland loomed large ! But what is miserable little Ireland, which even today has a population of 3.4 million, less than the population of Bangalore City !

Actually, Bolivar, Juarez and company had inaugurated a new era in world politics ! Capitalist Exploitation had given rise to National Oppression, and the non-European world was protesting at its subjugation and terrorisation by European imperialist powers !

It was almost like Gandhi becoming completely imbued with the British imperialist spirit and psyche, whilst he was in South Africa (1893-1914) ! Gandhi supported the British against the Blacks, generally, as well as particularly during the Zulu Wars; against the Boers; and Gandhi also joined the British during the First World War. Gandhi actually recruited Indian jawans during the First World War, for which he received the Kaiser-e-Hind medal ! (He returned the medal later, but that could not make the Indian soldiers "unrecruited !")

That is how Marx became a "naturalised" Britisher ! **He welcomed the blowing from cannon mouths of Indian Mutineers and considered such imperialist atrocities as "objectively progressive !"**

That is why, we have repeatedly asserted that Marx was a child of his times, and his times were of imperialist, European, White, Christian domination of the world !

7. 1829-78 : Spasmodic Formation of Lilliputian European Nations.

Greece became free from Ottoman shackles in 1829, and Romania in 1878. Three other little nations were born, Belgium in 1832, Italy in 1860-1 and Germany in 1871. (See *India's Place in the Sun : Birth of European Nations* in this issue).

Marx's Reactions :

Of the 23 European nations, with more than 1 mln. population, i.e. those alone that are sufficiently large to be noticed by students of world history, five were formed in the 19th century and a further seven or eight as recently as in the 20th (Bulgaria : 1908; Albania : 1912; Finland : 1919; Austria : 1919; Poland : 1919; Hungary : 1919; Ireland : 1921; U.K. : 1921) It is difficult to say exactly when U.K. was formed. With today's frontiers, it came into being in 1921 when tiny Ireland was divided into two, and mini-tiny N. Ireland was considered to be united with U.K. being granted a separate Parliament sitting in Belfast. Scotland became part of Great Britain in 1707, and Wales was united with England in 1536. Both Scotland and Wales are to have "National Assemblies" of their own by the year 2000, as determined by a recent referendum.

Marx was unfortunately situated. **The great and mighty nations of the world were and are all located in Asia.** A unity of geography, history, language, religion and culture take a very long time to mature; and Europe has been far too weak, poverty-stricken and divided, to boast of the formation of any true nationality. European "nations" are mere "notions", and are really

"ethnic communities." Just as the U.K. dissolves into a vague notion on closer scrutiny, similarly, what is Belgium or Holland or Portugal or Austria or Switzerland or any of the Scandinavian and Balkan countries? These are merely nebulous notions instilled into segments of groups of White Christian Europeans by gangs of capitalist marauders, who selectively want to make the poor fellows fight each other in wars instigated by certain monopoly commercial, industrial and financial houses. In return, these mafia gangs of businessmen, confer certain privileges of social security and welfare measures upon selected bunches of individuals, whom they define as "national interests." **The only privilege that the groups of workers and peasants of Europe have is the privilege of dying for their country in some bloody stupid war that profits some armament manufacturers and their associates!**

Thus, Marx was very unfortunately located. The continent on which he was born lacked historic continuities and the populations living in Europe were too scanty, too poor, too miserably endowed in the matter of natural resources and too slow to develop the appurtenances of national cultures. For instance, in Germany, till the treaty of Westphalia, 1648, there flourished 900 sovereign principalities!

Yes, it was a good area for capitalism to break through but it is not an area in which great national cultures or traditions can be gestated! The *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* records that between 1000 A.D. and the Renaissance, some 450 major famines devastated Europe! What kind of culture can such barbarians living on the edge of existence throw up?

It is too ridiculous for words! "European Nations" is a formulation whose basic terms are self-contradictory. Of course now that the EU, NATO, OECD and G-7 are flourishing and looting the Third World, Europe will very soon expand to gobble up the Stalinist Eastern European empire and parts of U.S.S.R. itself. It is very likely that the continuing neo-colonial loot which is proceeding at the rate of over \$50 billion annually, extracted from the Developing Countries, which are simultaneously being deprived of \$500 billion annually, by restrictive trade practices by the neo-colonialist rich countries; under these two parameters it is likely that a composite European nationality may emerge in the next century or so.

However, just as Marx did not grasp the significance of 1765 in Indian, Asian and British history, similarly, he failed to understand the mechanism of national development in world history.

India as a nation **disintegrated** under the onslaught of European capitalist imperialism of the 17th to 20th centuries.

First: Afghanistan was carved out of N.W. India.

Next: Nepal, Bhutan, Arakan and Eelam were separated.

Third: Some 500 and odd Indian native states were formed, comprising about 40% of the Residual Indian area and a quarter of its population. This was the territory that was actually conquered by the British and **which territory was retrospectively defined as "India."**

Fourth: Vast tracts of forest land inhabited mainly by *adivasis* (so-called tribals) were arbitrarily placed into a separate category of "Non-Regulated Districts."

Finally, every insignificant caste grouping, apart from hundreds of tribes, was placed on par, and more than 3000 personal laws were enforced by the newly-designed bourgeois legal system of "British India" (Indian Civil Procedure Act, Indian Criminal Procedure Act and Indian Penal Code were enacted 1857-60).

Marx did not understand the true nature of the socio-economic and politico-cultural transformation of India wrought by British Imperialism in the 18th and 19th centuries.

8. The Irish Question :

The Irish Potato Famine of 1845-46 took a terrible toll, in Ireland and led to large-scale migration to the United States. Those that remained in Ireland began to agitate for a separation from England.

Marx's Reactions :

Following the liberation of Spain's Latin American colonies in the second and third decades of the 19th century, and following the Italian and German unifications in 1861 and 1871, ethnic movements arose in Ireland, Scandinavia and the Balkans, within Europe. It is a misnomer to call them national movements as they concerned minuscule populations and groupings and get-togethers without any serious historical backgrounds.

As we have constantly maintained, there are no historic nations in Europe. All the great nations and traditions, which may be said to have given rise to National Cultures and National Civilisations, were all Asiatic in origin — Indian, Chinese, Iranian, Indonesian, Thai, Korean, Japanese, Cambodian, Arabian and Turkic.

Belgium and Switzerland are not and can never be nations, India and China always were and are!

Marx became aware of the Irish Question for personal and political reasons.

Engels' two mistresses were Irish sisters, originally employed in his textile factory in Manchester.

Secondly, Irish workers formed a very significant section of the working class in England.

Marx changed his position about Ireland at least four to five times.

- In 1867, he had written to Engels :

"Previously I thought Ireland's separation from Britain impossible. Now I think it inevitable, although after separation may come *federation*."

- "On November 29, 1869, he wrote to Kugelmann :

"I have become more and more convinced... that (the English working class) can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policy of the ruling classes, until it not only makes common cause with the Irish but actually takes the initiative in dissolving the Union established in 1801 and replacing it by a free federal relationship... (In Ireland, it) will be indefinitely easier than here, because in *Ireland it is not merely a simple economic question but at the same time a national question!*"

- He wrote to Engels on December 10, 1869 :

"It is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland. And this is my fullest conviction and for reasons **which in part I can not tell the English workers themselves...** The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland.

"After occupying myself with the Irish Question for so many years, I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement all over the world) cannot be delivered in *England but only in Ireland.*" (Mankind, December '95, p. 61)

From Permanent Union to Voluntary Federation, to Inevitable Separation, to Immediate Separation in the

Interests of the English Working Class, Marx travelled the entire gamut of positions on the Irish Question.

Had Marx lived long enough, he might have begun to understand the National Question, especially the National Movements as they unfolded in the historic nations of Asia, from the end of the 19th century.

9. The Rise of the Working Class Movement in Britain, and in Euro-America

The Rise of the Working Class Movement in Britain, and in Euro-America in general, maybe dated from the 19th century. Marx and Engels wrote their famous *Communist Manifesto* in 1848. The Chartist Movements (1837-48) combined Working Class demand with parliamentary reforms.

"From its beginnings in 1864, the First International was driven by conflicting schools of socialist thought — Marxism, Proudhonism (after Pierre Joseph Proudhon, who advocated only the reform of capitalism), Blanquism (after Auguste Blanqui, who advocated radical methods and a sweeping revolution), and Mikhail Bakunin's version of Anarchism, which dominated the International's Italian, Spanish, and French-Swiss federations. Over the clash between Marx's centralised Socialism and Bakunin's Anarchism, the First International split at its Hague Congress in 1872. In order to prevent the Bakuninists from gaining control of the association, the General Council, prompted by Marx, moved its headquarters to New York, where it lingered until it was formally disbanded at the Philadelphia Conference in July 1876.

"Although so accused, it did not truly play a role in the wave of strikes that swept France, Belgium, and Switzerland, in 1868 and above all in the rising of the Paris Commune in March 1871." (*Ency. Brit.*, Micro, 1983 ed., vol V p. 383)

Marx's Reactions :

Marx had become a total sectarian.

In exile, isolated, and poor, he had quarrelled with everyone — with Proudhon, Blanqui, Bakunin, Lasalle, Hyndman, and many more. In fact, the anarchists had captured the First International and had held several annual sessions.

After the fiasco of non-effective participation in the Paris Commune of 1871, and after his loss of contact with the leaders of the Chartist Movement and his alienation from the founders of the British Labour Party, Marx had virtually retired from the

Working Class Movement during the last decade of his life.

All over Europe, a labour aristocracy had arisen, which had been bribed into social reformism by the triumphant imperialists of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The centres of revolution had moved far to the East. To St. Petersburg and Moscow (the revolutions of 1905 and 1917); to China (1911, overthrow of the Ch'ing Dynasty); to Ankara and Teheran (Young Turk and Young Iran Movements of 1907-9); and finally, to Bombay, India.

Young Lenin, living in exile in Switzerland, greeted the arrival of the Indian Working Class, who had come out on a six-day General Strike in 1906, to protest at the sentence of six years' jail passed on Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one day for each year of the sentence.

The six-day General Strike of 1906, became a part of the National Movement of Boycott, *Swadeshi* and Anti-Partition of 1905-11, which was led by the trio of Lal, Bal and Pal.

CONCLUSION

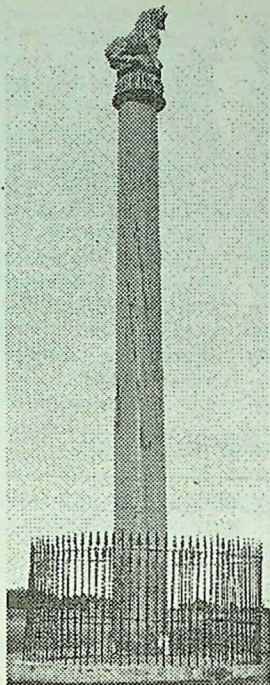
In exile, from 1848, Karl Marx had been deprived far too long, of the oxygen of the mass movement. He had become a sectarian.

Deprived of all recognition, isolated, in exile, in poor health, and eking out a bare living, Marx fell victim to the pseudo-scientificism of his age. Social Darwinism was in the air and Malthus, Bentham, the two Mills and other associates of the East India Company, were propagating precious rubbish about Indian economic history.

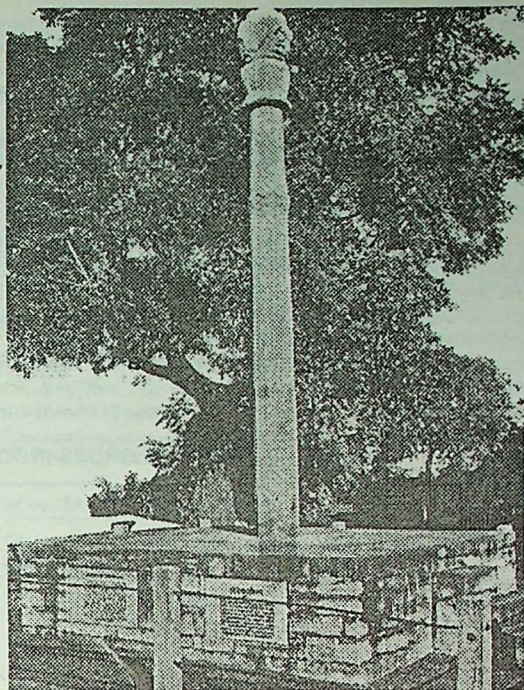
Marx never grasped the significance of 1765. From whence began the Drain of Wealth from India, this Drain gestated two further chains of events. One, the de-industrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of the country, and two, the Famines of Purchasing Power that carried off over 85 million Indians between 1765 and 1947.

Marx neither understood the process of Imperialist Primitive Accumulation, nor its dialectical counterpart, the Nationalist Movements against Foreign Domination, Oppression, and Exploitation.

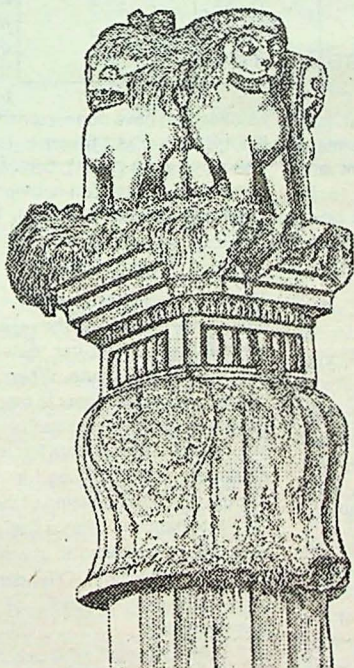
Marx was a child of the 19th century. Pioneer in some ways, he was largely a victim of White, Racialist, Christian, Imperialist, Pseudo-Scientific propaganda unleashed by the ruling capitalist classes of his century.



A. Lauriya, Inscribed Ashoka Pillar, Nandangarh, 3rd century B.C.

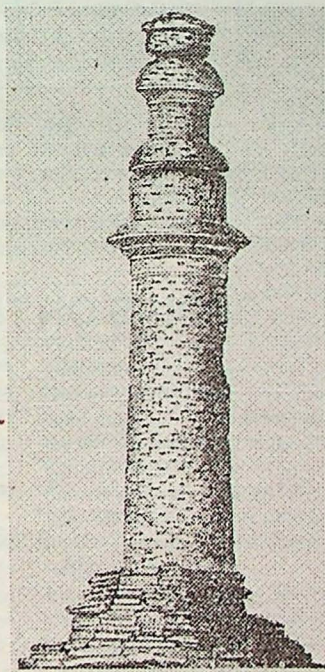


C. The Heliodoros Pillar, Besnagar, late 2nd century B.C.



B. Capital of Lion Pillar, Karle, 1st century B.C.

**THE
EVOLUTION
OF THE
LAT**
(The Story to be
continued in *Mankind's*
next issue)



D. Minar Chakri, Kabul, earlier than 3rd or 4th century A.D.

(contd. from page 30)
 people. It is remarkable that despite 50 years of comprador misrule by the Congress-Naukershahi combine, the

ordinary folk in India are still able to demonstrate their resilience and good sense. Our people, at a moment of crisis, do emerge with credit, in possession of a

stout heart and a robust moral fibre. This is demonstrated time and again, as in the case of the Uphaar Cinema fire and the School Bus mishap. ■

ADVERTISING "INDUSTRY" CAUGHT IN SLOWDOWN !

The Indian advertising agencies have been witnessing a declining growth rate for the second consecutive year. According to A & M's eighth advertising agency report, in 1994-45, the growth rate was 49.5 percent as against 1995-96, when it came down to 30.4 percent and there was a sharp further decline in the year 1996-97, showing a growth rate of 22.4 per cent only.

Out of the 125 agencies participating in the survey, 28 agencies registered negative growth in 1996-97. The tremendous slowdown in the advertising industry has also led to huge retrenchments.

The report shows that 16 of the top 50 agencies have slashed staff in the past year. Mudra cut back 96 employees from the preceding year's 575, to 479. Others to cut staff strengths are Imageheads and Decunha by 65 employees each and Percept and Sista and Saatchi with 52 sackings each.

Hindustan Thompson Associates (HTA) has maintained its tight grip on the

number one slot growing by 29.4 per cent to a gross income of Rs. 116.68 crores and capitalised billings (CB) of Rs. 778.31 crores. Hansa Vision, an R. K. BBDO subsidiary, has more than doubled its business with an amazing 138.9 per cent jump. This year it clocks in at number 14 from its number 31 last year.

RANKING BY GROSS INCOME FOR 1996-97 (RS. CRORES)

	GROSS INCOME	GROWTH OVER LAST YEAR (%)
HINDUSTAN THOMPSON ASSOCIATES LTD.	1,16.689	29.4
MUDRA COMMUNICATIONS LTD.	56.618	21.0
OGILVY & MATHER LTD.	46.866	19.0
FCB-ULKA ADVERTISING LTD.	43.540	26.1
R. K. SWAMY/BBDO ADV. PVT. LTD.	27.474	11.9
CONTRACT ADVERTISING (I) LTD.	27.012	18.7
REDIFFUSION-DY & R PVT. LTD.	25.714	42.6
McCANN-ERICKSON (I) PVT. LTD.	20.752	53.8
CHAITRA LEO BURNETT PVT. LTD.	17.850	16.4
ENTERPRISE NEXUS COMMUNICATIONS PVT. LTD.	19.626	24.2

Madison is another agency, that has made great headway in a disappointing year. It has grown by 52.5 per cent and has moved up from number 24 to 16. In the top ten, the fastest growth has been registered by McCann Erickson (53.8 per

cent) at number eight, followed by Rediffusion Dentsu Young and Rubican (42.6 per cent) at number 7. It is for the first time in five years that managements can dictate terms to employees and insist on productivity at international standards. Usually, the top agencies have the highest CB per employee but there is definitely a clear correlation with the age of the agency. The younger the agency the higher the output.

In spite of the fact that major

agencies have become truly large, Indian advertising continues to offer scope to start up with international tie-ups.

There are few examples of those that were born in the

nineties and have done exceedingly well, like, LB & W ranks 11 (born in 1992), Triton was number 13 (1991), SSC & B Lintas number 20 (1994) Zen number 21 (1991) and Equus number 33 (1995). ■

BEDIAS ON THE MEND !

India is moving ahead on the path of modernity and development towards the 21st Century. But there are many tribal communities in India which have not yet seen the light of socio-economic development. This is the most depressing picture that India presents even after half a century of her independence.

Many of such nomadic tribes like Banjaras, Nats, Sansis, and Kanjars are found in different parts of North India. They eke out their living by falling back on the outrageous customs and traditions. One such nomadic tribe is the Bedias.

It is one of the tribes found in large parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar

Pradesh. During the days of the Princely States the Bedias earned their living from the practice of the arts of folk music, dance, acrobatics, jugglery and fortune-telling. The British conquest, which saw the decline of the princely states; also deprived this tribe of its livelihood. It was then that the tribe found a place in a list of 'criminal tribes' of British Raj. With the male members of the family getting killed or imprisoned very often, women of the Bedia community became the bread-earners. They resorted to prostitution as a new means of livelihood. Since then, a Bedia girl, on reaching puberty, is introduced to a client who pays a huge sum to her in order to enjoy sex with her.

Thereafter, she becomes his concubine, until he tires of her, or she rejects him for his inability to meet her material needs and finds a substitute. When the other Indian parents are eager to marry off their daughter by finding a suitable match for her, here are the parents forbidding their daughters from marrying ! In matters of dispute and transgression of this custom, the caste panchayat has a final say. Bedia boys are not allowed to marry a girl of their own community. Offenders have to face various kinds of severe punishments !

The first rebel, who set off to lift the community out of the throes of evil and backwardness was Ram Sanahi. A Bedia himself, he rose to the challenges of the times in his long mission of abolishing this

evil custom of "forced" prostitution. His thirty years' long efforts in this direction have begun to yield results only recently.

It was by a combination of strange circumstances that Ram Sanehi found himself in *Neel ki Galli*, the biggest red light area of Meerut. He was witness to everything going on in his surroundings as an eight year old boy. His own cousin, a hapless woman, was doing the same business of satisfying sexual urges of her customers under the dictates of her mother. It was Ram Sanehi who took upon himself the responsibility of liberating his cousin. While fellow *Bedias* were in a morass, it was Ram Sanehi who

excommunication. But he was not a person to pay heed to such warnings. Once the Samajik Swastha Sangh received a letter in 1971 from a *Bedia* girl who was forcibly returned to her parents for marrying a lad of the same community. The caste panchayat also made her husband's family pay her father Rs. 5,000 as compensation for the income he had lost because of her absence from home. Ram Sanehi with the help of police went to her rescue and sent her to a women's home in Gwalior. And a little later she was reunited with her husband.

In some cases, Ram Sanehi had to face opposition from the girls themselves

discouraged, Ram Sanehi continued his work for the rehabilitation of the community.

It was a major triumph for Ram Sanehi when the Madhya Pradesh High Court directed the state government to pinpoint the redlight areas of the state and notify them under the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act (SITA), 1956. It also directed police officers to draw up a proper programme for the rehabilitation of the prostitutes. Now with the government behind him, Ram Sanehi moved ahead and established his Abhudaya Ashram. He drew up a plan of

Jabali Yajna, a four part scheme to rehabilitate the *Bedias*. In the first, children of 6-12 age group were to be provided primary education. In the second, girls in the 12-25 age group were to be either weaned away from prostitution or prevented from entering it. In the third, they were to be trained in alternative occupations. The fourth part was to implement health care measures and create health awareness.

THE GENDER BIAS IS VERY DEEP-ROOTED IN INDIA !

WOMEN IN TOP DECISION-MAKING COMMITTEES

PARTY	COMMITTEE WOMEN	NO. OF MEMBERS	TOTAL OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE
CPI (M)	Politburo	0	15	0
	Central Committee	5	70	7
CPI	Secretariat	0	9	0
	National Executive	3	31	10
	National Council	6-7*	125	5
JD	Political Affairs Committee	0	15	0
	Parliamentary Board	0**	15	0
	National Executive	11	75	15
UF	Steering Committee	0	15-17***	0
BJP	Parliamentary Board	1	9	11
	Election Committee	2	17	12
CONGRESS	Working Committee	2	19	11

* The seventh is a candidate member who participates in discussions but does not vote.

** The state president of the JD Women's wing attends and offers suggestions but does not vote.

*** Total number of members vary due to numbers of invitees.

telephone the organisation and they would arrange for police raids on the brothels. Sometimes prostitutes themselves would help him by passing on the information. Later on he moved out to Madhya Pradesh and concentrated his work in the three districts of Morena, Gwalior and Bhind. He was successful in gaining legitimacy to his reformation work, when his persuasion led the Samajik Swastha Sangh to open a branch at Gwalior in 1959.

The biggest hurdle in the path of his reformist work was the caste panchayat itself. It repeatedly warned him of

in his "rescue" efforts. In 1973, 15 girls caught in a police raid started kicking and slapping him and also threw their footwear at him whenever they saw him. This was because they hated their "forced sojourns" in women's homes, which were not meeting their material needs, whilst depriving them and their dependants of their "earning capacity."

Rehabilitation of *Bedia* caste was proving difficult. As even after making the government grant them a few *bighas* of land for their settlement, it was found that many families preferred to return to their former occupation. Never getting

There is a long way ahead for Ram Sanehi. To this date, the first part of the scheme has been realised. The school which was opened in Nov. 1992 with 100 boys and girls, is now imparting knowledge to 223 students. The school having classes up to 8th std. follows the State syllabus. The school gives training to its students in karate and instills in them the much-needed confidence to face the outside world.

Bravo Ram Sanehi ! We hope that day is not far off when you will find your dreams come true ! ■

HILL STATIONS BEING RAVAGED !

The Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG) filed a petition in the early 1997, against the largescale environmental degradation and tree-felling in Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani. The BEAG had asked for an order staying all further constructions in 1,080 cases enlisted by a high power committee.

The petition was admitted on January 23, 1997, immediately after which, a high-power committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Pune Divisional Commissioner, Arun Bhatia. The Committee presented its report on November 17, 1997, confirming

all 1,080 violations and illegal constructions.

The Bombay High Court, on January 14, 1998, ordered the State Government, Mahabaleshwar, Panchgani Municipal Councils and Maharashtra Pollution Control Board to take immediate action in 1,080 illegal structures and transfer of land. The Court also ordered the Satara Collector to take action against the defaulters and report on February 2, 1998.

The BEAG Honorary Secretary filed a fresh affidavit complaining about 50 violations, saying that the continuous

process of illegal constructions and tree-felling is still going on. Even after the court's order to check the illegal structures, the hotel owners have not paid any attention, as seen in a few cases - two illegal buildings of Hotel Brightlands have been regularised; In another case, inspite of the confirmation given by the Committee report about the illegal construction of Surya Inn, the authorities have given the no-objection certificate to the hotel.

The Court has given an order on January 14, 1998, declaring that all the hotel owners should file their affidavits by January 28, 1998 explaining their illegal activities in the hill-station area. ■

INSURANCE SECTOR TARGETTED BY GLOBAL THIEVES

U. S. Commerce Secretary William Daley came to India in Decemebre 1997. He was accompanied by a group of American businessmen. He met I.K.Gujral, the Indian Prime Minister, P.Chidambaram, Finance Minister, Ram Vilas Paswan, Railway Minister, and Jayanthi Natarajan, Minister of State for Civil Aviation. He also met the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry, Kerala and W. Bengal.

Other subjects which were discussed by Daley and his group with Indian politicians and officials included the deregulation of the insurance sector to open it to foreign companies; the Insurance Regulatory Authority Bill to be passed by the next Parliament; approvals for telecom and power projects and the Prasar Bharati Bill.

Chidambaram also assured the Americans that the counter-guarantee for the 100 MW Cogentrix thermal power project in Karnataka would be approved. Cogentrix, along with Enron and other power projects, has been under attack in India for giving undue concessions to foreign private capital in the electrical power generation sector.

At the December 12, 1997 meeting at the WTO headquarters in Geneva, India agreed to permit 12 new foreign bank branches in the country every year as against 8 permitted earlier. This will add to the volume of business for foreign banks in India. **In March 1995, 27 foreign banks were operating in India. Today, their number is 42 with 183 branches.** Twenty six other foreign banks are trying to gain entry into India through their representative offices. These include

Bank of New York, Union Bank of California, Dai Ichi, Kangyo Bank of Japan and BHF Bank of Germany.

Earlier, India could decide which country it would like to give greater market access. By the December 1997 accord, all nations will have equal treatment in getting market access.

As a result of these concessions, the global banks stand to gain. Technically, India can open branches in developed countries. But given the economic strength of the Indian banking sector vis-a-vis the developed markets, India is not in a position to open branches abroad, at the rate at which foreigners can do in India!

The developed countries are going to subject India to strong pressures to open its financial services to foreign capital. They want insurance sector to be opened to foreign companies, removal of all restrictions on the number of foreign bank branches insurance in the equity holding of all non-banking financial services upto 51 per cent; and no limit on the overall market share and foreign banks operating in India

Opening up banks and financial institutions in the present Indian political and economic system will mean financial chaos and insecurity as the number of scams and scandals of the recent period demonstrate. The opposition to such moves is likely to grow. The BJP and the CPM are already making ritual noises about "the UF Government exposing India to the mercy of international financial markets."

But there is a strong domestic lobby which is supporting foreign pressures to

open up financial services. This lobby argues that to attract foreign capital in infrastructure development, India needs a complete liberalisation of the financial sector. The Gujral Government had tried to bring a bill to open up the insurance sector to foreign companies in early 1997, but was forced to drop it under political pressure from other parties.

The Indian nationalised insurance companies have a very large spread; have financed a wide range of infrastructure projects at the municipal level, and are very profitable on the whole.

As against this, three large insurance companies in the U.S.A. have been singled out by a Sub-Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1990 for special criticism. This Committee found that **the U.S. insurance industry "encompassed scandalous mismanagement and rascality by certain persons entrusted with operating insurance companies... along with an appalling lack of regulatory controls to detect, prevent and punish such activities."** This committee pointed out that the business of insurance was particularly suited to abuse by mismanagement and fraud; and the driving force appeared to be quick profits in the short-run with no concern for the long-term well-being of the company, its policy-holders, its employees or the public at large.

The managers involved in the three insurance companies criticised by this Sub-Committee are today active in the management of the insurance companies with global reach and are active among the companies which are seeking entry into the markets of developing countries, including India. ■

YOU CANNOT LIFT YOURSELF BY TUGGING YOUR BOOTSTRAPS

A month before his retirement, on Dec. 1997-98, Chief Justice J. S. Verma headed a three-judge bench of the Supreme Court which delivered a judgement seeking to make the two central investigating agencies - Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) and Enforcement Directorate (ED) independent of "political" interference.

The bulk of this judgement is based on the recommendations of the Independent Review Committee (IRC) set up by the Central Government in September 1997. The central recommendation of the IRC was that the CBI should operate under the supervision of the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC), which has been a peripheral body up to now.

The selection of the CVC chief is to be done by a three-member committee consisting of the prime minister, the home minister and the leader of the opposition.

The CVC chief shall prepare a shortlist for final selection of the CBI director, with the home and personnel secretaries working under him. The final selection shall be done by the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet.

The Supreme Court order strikes down the Central Government's Single Directive of 1969 which requires the CBI to take prior permission of the Union government before inquiring into allegations against government and public sector employees including officers of the nationalised banks.

Seven IAS officers including former finance secretary Gopi Arora and former defence secretary S. K. Bhatnagar were able to evade investigation in the Bofors case under the protection of the Single Directive of 1969. Not only did they manage comfortable retirement with foreign posting as in the case of Gopi Arora; but

they also blocked the investigation leading to the politicians who were involved in the Bofors kickbacks. **The United Front government added the officials of the nationalised banks to those protected by the Single Directive in order to bail out some Tamil Maanila Congress leaders in the Indian Bank scandal. There are 39 officers who enjoy immunity under the Single Directive.** The striking down of the Single Directive will also facilitate the investigation in the Bihar animal husbandry scam where a number of IAS officers are involved.

The tenures of the CBI and the ED chiefs have been fixed at two years by the Supreme Court order. Their premature transfer is possible only for extraordinary reasons and subject to the approval of the committee headed by the CVC chief.

The Supreme Court has also attempted to safeguard wilfully incompetent investigation by envisaging the creation of a prosecution agency consisting of a panel of competent lawyers of experience and impeccable reputation. If a prosecution by the CBI results in the discharge or acquittal of the accused, a lawyer on this panel will be asked to prepare a report fixing responsibility for possible dereliction of duty by the investigating officer.

The central defect in CBI's investigation of cases of political corruption has been delays in following leads which has led to the disappearance of important evidence. The CBI did not take any action when cash was said to have been paid to the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) leaders for their opposition to the no-confidence vote against the minority Narasimha Rao government in July 1993. If the JMM leaders had not deposited the money they received in banks, the case against them would have been scuttled. **The industrial houses**

which were found in the course of investigation to have paid the money to the Congress(I) to bribe the J M M leaders were allowed to go scot-free by the CBI. The investigation of the case against former central minister **Sukh Ram** when Rs. 3 crore were seized from his residences in the course of a raid by the CBI is another instance of CBI's sluggish investigation. **In this case, the CBI made no effort to inquire into the funding of the Congress (I).**

The Supreme Court's judgement on the functioning of the CBI is useful in so far as it focuses attention on the linkages between the criminals, the capitalists, the politicians and the bureaucrats.

But there will be many limitations to the effectiveness of the Supreme Court order. The order states that the "Government shall remain answerable for the CBI's functioning as a non-partisan agency." This power has been regularly used by the government to defend its interference in CBI investigations.

The Cabinet Committee on Appointments which is to make the final selection of the CBI director is closely connected with the ruling establishment and in many cases top bureaucrats are facing charges.

Even the Central Vigilance Commission is made a statutory body, it will not be effective in monitoring the integrity of people in public life.

The judiciary, the bureaucracy, the police and the army are the four wings of the *naukershahi*. How is *naukershahi* going to correct itself by setting up vigilance commissions, selection boards for heads of investigative agencies, and so on. **Ultimately, it amounts to bureaucrats appointing other bureaucrats who appoint still more bureaucrats, and somehow, somewhere integrity, incorruptibility, accountability are supposed to creep in.** How is this possible when the entire system is thoroughly termite-infested by money? ■

VISHWANATHAN ANAND IS A CROREPATI!

Mohammad Azharuddin, Sachin Tendulkar, Saurav Ganguly, Rahul Dravid, Ajay Jadeja and Vishwanathan Anand have a lot in common. All are sportspersons. Right. However Vishwanathan Anand is still very different from the rest and not because he plays chess and the others cricket, but because

he is the richest of the whole lot. **Not even one of the cricketers, and not all put together, earned as much as Anand did in 1997.**

By qualifying to meet Karpov in the FIDE finals, Anand took home \$ 768,000 (Rs. 3 crore), which, incidentally, was more than the \$ 500,000 (2 crore) that he

earned for the PCA matchup with Kasparov in 1995. Last year he netted roughly \$ 300,000 (Rs. 2 crore) in prize money by winning seven tournaments. Apart from that, he charges an appearance fee of \$ 25,000 (Rs. 10 lakh) whereby he netted total earnings of \$ 1.5 million (Rs. 6 crore) last year.

A chess writer says that in a career spanning nine-years Anand's earnings must be about Rs. 25 crores. None of the cricketers' can compare with him in

earnings, and to think that all this money came from prizes or fees etc. rather than from commercial endorsements that play a large part in not only our cricketers' wealth but also their cricketing fortunes.

However, what also helps Anand in keeping his image clean is the fact that he probably eats and lives frugally (no

parties, and a diet of ('*lthair sadam, avial, kootu*'), has only 2 commercial endorsements. (Ramco, a cement company, and Central Drug Research Institute's Memory Plus) Both incidentally do not advertise and promote their product from roof tops as is the case with Pepsi and Coca-Cola (for cricketers), and

is above all an NRI, which excuses him from most of our tax hassles, and also keeps him away from the public glare.

As yet however, chess has remained relatively clean from the horrors of match-fixing, crass commercialisation and overcrowding. Hopefully, it will remain so in the future too. ■

ANDHRA COTTON FARMERS' TRAVAILS

The low yields of cotton have made the repayment of loans difficult due to which a large number of farmers in Andhra Pradesh have ended their lives. According to an official figure, around 54 farmers committed suicide in different districts- Warangal, Karimnagar, Mehboobnagar, Medak and Guntur.

This is not the first time that crop failure has led to suicides in the State. In 1987-88, 37 cases were reported in coastal Guntur and Prakasam districts facing similar conditions. But this season has been the cruelest especially for the cotton farmers. Drought was followed by unexpected rains in October-November 1997, and then, an attack by pests destroyed much of the cotton grown and yields fell by more than 50 per cent.

If this was saddest time for the poor farmers, it was the happiest for the pesticide dealers, commission agents and the money lenders, who are equally responsible for the crop failure and the human tragedy that ensued. They create a vicious circle from which the farmers cannot escape in their lifetime.

It happened this way : They forced the farmers to harvest with their spurious seeds and pesticides. As the farmers increased the area of cultivation for cotton, the dealers provided them with pesticides and seeds and the money lenders were always there to provide them with cash.

However, the low-grade pesticides proved ineffective for the pests and so, the dealers got a golden chance to sell 200,000 litres of Methomyl, a highly toxic chemical. In Warangal district alone pesticide purchase are about Rs. 200 crores, the highest in Andhra Pradesh after Guntur's !

On December 28, 1997, 27 year old

Badavat Mangia of Nandanayak, Warangal district, ate a handful of pesticide, when he realised that he couldn't pay back the money he had taken from the private money lenders. The district administrators refused to pay Rs. 1 lakh compensation. Mangia's death was painted as an accident by the Geeskonda Mandal Revenue Officer (MRO), who changed the report and claimed that Mangia had inhaled poisonous pesticide gas and collapsed in the farm and had not committed suicide.

Papamma along with her husband Shyamala Mallaiah had cultivated cotton on three acres of land in Nandaram village. Of the three acres, two had been taken on lease and now, she has to work on others' fields to clear of Rs. 80,000 left behind by her husband, who killed himself on December 21, 1997.

Nellutla Ravi, a 25 year old resident of Kamaram village, killed himself consuming mono-crocofos on December 16, 1997, leaving behind unpaid loans amounting to Rs. 95,000.

Unable to pay back a loan of Rs. 50,000 a cotton farmer, Chaparathi Veeraswami committed suicide after consuming a lethal dose of pesticide on December 25, 1997.

The State Government has announced a compensation package and a committee has also been set up to study the situation and submit the report by March 15, 1998, but what difference will it make to the affected families ?

In the year 1988, during N.T. Rama Rao's rule, when the State had witnessed a series of suicides, even then, the government had appointed a committee-headed by the then RBI deputy governor P.D. Ojha to tackle the problem but, the

report was never completed !

District Collector, Shalini Mishra admits that they had no control over companies and dealers thus, leaving the farmers to fend for themselves. But the truth is that the administration is helpless because the dealers and moneylenders grease the wheels of politics, not only in this district but in the entire state.

Only about 20 per cent of the farmers are being given financial assistance by the nationalised banks, and others are left to borrow from the private moneylenders at high rates of interest. The bankers are ready to reschedule the loans only for five years at a slightly lesser lending rate.

As P.Chengal Reddy, Director of the P.Thimma Reddy Farm Foundation, says, "the small farmers must be helped to organise themselves as independent crop associations and an apex body of agriculture formed to take up their cause. But with little initiative from the government and hardly any support in terms of information, inputs or credit, they largely fend for themselves." The crop insurance which is being discussed since the mid-'80s is yet to be introduced in the state. The State Government is sitting on the new agricultural policy since 1995. The Geeskonda Mandal Sarpanch, Hema Nayak says : "The Government's promise appears to have turned out to be an empty one. Successive governments have cheated us and Naidu's Telugu Desam is no exception."

A senior district official admits : "The worst is yet to come. It will come in March when the poor farmer will have no other crop to fall back on. By that time stocks from earlier harvest will also dry up." With elections over, politicians and government officials will have even lesser time for the poor farmers. ■

HAZARDS OF BOTTLED WATER

Earlier, drinking mineral water was considered to be the prerogative of the foreigners. Then somewhere down the line, middle class Indians started realising that the bottled water wasn't some fashion

statement, but was actually a safeguard against health problems. All and sundry were now buying drinking water, while travelling, during meetings and so on. Now around 100 companies sell an

estimated 424 million litres of bottled water valued at around Rs. 200 crore in the country annually. But how pure and safe are these bottled waters ?

"To find out, the Ahmedabad-based Consumer Education and Research Society (CERS), an independent non-profit institution with a sophisticated

product testing laboratory, recently carried out a detailed study on 13 major brands of bottled water available in the country. The national brands — Bisleri (separate samples were taken from their units in Bangalore, Ghaziabad, Calcutta and Baroda) and Bailley (Mumbai and Surat) were selected on the basis of their dominant position in the overall market. Bisil (Mehsam), Golden Eagle (Chennai), Aquaspa (Mumbai), Saiganga (Ahmednagar), Nirantar (Thane), Trupthi (Chennai) and Yes (Nadiad) were included because of their regional popularity."

The CERS set certain standards for itself, to check the purity and potability of the bottled waters.

- The first test was done by scrutinising the water for visible foreign particles, shaken and checked again for residual matter. The Prevention of Food Adulteration (PFA) Act of 1954, has a rule for mineral water stating that it must be free from dirt, foreign matter or any other ingredient injurious to health," and has to be packed in clean sterile containers. Since the PFA does not have any drinking water, the CERS used the yardstick for mineral water.

- All water found in natural sources contains minerals such as magnesium, calcium, sodium and other salts, which when mixed correctly, add taste and have nutritional value. In the US, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) rules stipulate that to qualify as mineral water, it has to contain a minimum of 250 mg per litre (mg/l) of such Total Dissolved Solids (TDS), as these are classified. In India, the PFA Act and the Bureau of Indian Standards (BIS) only mention the maximum as 1,500 mg/l and do not specify a minimum. The CERS carried out the tests according to both, the US and the Indian norms.

- The CERS study further checked for germs since contaminated water is the biggest health threat. The study checked for micro-organisms found in water, such as salmonella, E-coli, faecal streptococci, viral cholera and various types of gastro-enteritis. Both the PFA Act and BIS state that the water must be completely free of these bacteria.

- The PFA and the BIS have laid down standards for all metals that should

or should not be present in the water, and also the amount in which they should be present. Metals like iron, zinc, chromium, manganese and copper are needed by the body only in small amounts. However, lead, mercury, arsenic, aluminium, and barium should not be present at all. The latter can all be fatal. Lead poisoning could lead to kidney failure, arsenic can be carcinogenic, mercury can cause neurological complications and birth deformities, while excess aluminium can lead to dementia.

After the CERS carried out the study, the results obtained have forced us to question our blind use of the bottled water. The test results were that :

- Of the eight brands of bottled drinking water considered for testing, five brands, Bisleri (Calcutta, Bangalore and Ghaziabad), Trupthi (Chennai), Bisil (Mehsana), contained visible floating particles, in violation of quality standards.

- Aluminium, too much of which can cause serious brain disorders, was found to be above maximum limit in one brand : Bailley (Surat).

- The test also revealed that the same brands like Bisleri and Bailley, bottled in different parts of the country, show much disparity in their composition and quality. Thus, the question whether they should be sold under a single brand name or not is arguable.

- There are no statutory standards only for mineral water. Even then, it has relaxed limits, compared to international rules, for items like lead.

- Only three brands, Golden Eagle, Trupthi and Yes, can be classified as "mineral water" if international standards are applied.

- All brands pass the test for substances such as nitrates, cyanides, sulphates, lead, mercury and organo-pesticides, that if present in excessive quantities, can cause serious health problems.

- Of the 13 brands of bottled water tested, only three brands confirmed to all the specifications. Saiganga (Ahmednagar) was rated the best, followed by Bisleri (Baroda) and Bailley (Mumbai)

Though none of the bottled waters tested were very harmful in their content, they weren't as pure and safe as they claim to be. A lot of changes must be incorporated if the bottled water industry is to confirm to international standards. A specific industrial licensing policy for the bottled water sector has to be adopted. Also, anyone who wants to set up a plant cannot do so without establishing the source of the water and the technology used to purify it. As of now, the BIS does not

lay any guideline or practice for processing water.

Until and unless these rules are brought into practice, Indians will go on consuming the bottled water, ignorant of the health hazards of the product, and at times resigned to the fact that what he is drinking may not be the last word in purity, but at least it won't carry with it some fatal and life-threatening disease. ■

STALINIST VOTE IN INDIA : 1951-96 ¹						
ELECTION	UNITED CPI		CPI(M)		CPI	
	VOTE	SEATS	VOTE	SEATS	VOTE	SEATS
1951-52	3.3%	16				
1957	8.9%	27				
1962	9.9%	29				
	TOTAL STALINISTS		VOTE	SEATS	VOTE	SEATS
1967	9.4%	42	4.4%	19	5.0%	23
1971	9.8%	48	5.1%	25	4.7%	23
1977	7.1%	29	4.3%	22	2.8%	7
1980	8.7%	47	6.1%	36	2.6%	11
1984	8.4%	28	5.7%	22	2.7%	6
1989	9.2%	45	6.6%	33	2.6%	12
1991	8.7%	49	6.2%	35	2.5%	14
1996	8.1%	44	6.1%	32	2.0%	12

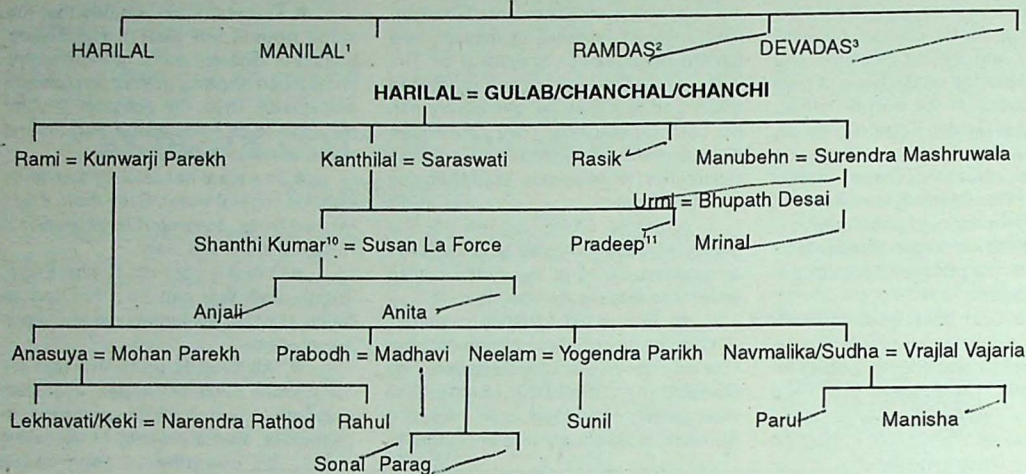
¹ In addition, from 1951-52 to 1971, Socialist (PSP, SP, SSP) vote totalled an average of 8.4% for the first five elections. Thereafter, because of merger with the Janata Party and its successor Janata Dal, it is impossible to estimate the total Socialist vote, which may be taken as 10%. Thus the overall Leftist vote in the country may be taken as 20%.

Of the five mineral water brands tested, three, Aquaspa (Mumbai), Golden Eagle (Chennai), and Nirantar (Thane), were also found to contain foreign particles.

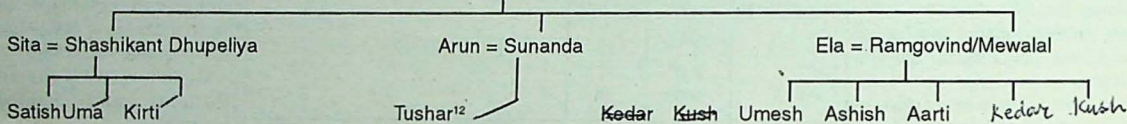
- Although three of the manufacturers, Golden Eagle, Nirantar and Trupthi, made specific claims of being "germ-free" or "100% bacteria free", the tests showed that the claims made were false. However, the bacteria in all cases were found to be non-pathogenic (not disease-causing).

THE REAL GANDHIS !

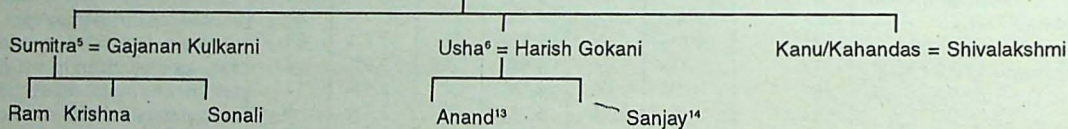
MOHANDAS = KASTURBA



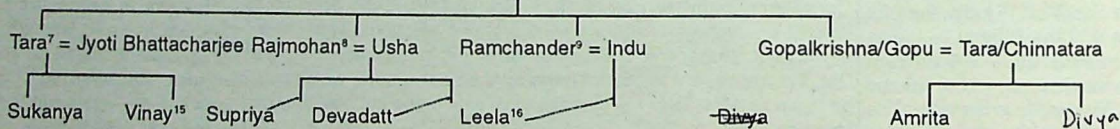
MANILAL = SUSHEELA



RAMDAS = NIMUBEHN/NIRMALA⁴



DEVADAS = LAKSHMI



Note :

1. He was an NRI, ran Gandhi's newspaper *Indian Opinion* with his wife Sushila and looked after Tolstoy farm and other South African interests.

2. He spent his entire life in social work.

3. He was the editor of *The Hindustan Times*. He married Lakshmi, daughter of C. Rajagopalachari.

4. She still lives in the Sevagram ashram established by her father-in-law in 1936, travels third class and cares for the sick and dying.

5. She is the member of the Madhya

Pradesh civil service, India's representative at UN and a recent candidate for the office of President of India.

6. She has pursued her work in child welfare and ashram activity all her life.

7. She is the member of the Khadi commission, composer of spiritual poetry and an artist.

8 and 9. They are philosopher - academics.

10. He is an NRI, practising as a Cardiac Surgeon in Kansas, US.

11. He is an NRI, working as a

marketing executive in telecom company in US.

12. He is the Samajwadi Party candidate for Mumbai north-west.

13. He is a top practising doctor and head of the department of Diabetics in the Bombay hospital.

14. He is managing the family textile business.

15. He is an NRI.

16. She is the lecturer on post-colonial theory at the University of Melbourne. ■

TIBETAN TRAGEDY

Vinayak Purohit

Let us consider Tibet in a holistic manner. I have written about Tibet earlier in the columns of *Mankind*, but somehow the rush of events did not give me the time to go into all the ramifications of the Tibetan situation.

POWER VACUUM IN CENTRAL ASIA IN MID-18TH CENTURY

As a point of historic fact, Tibetan autonomy verging on independence was doomed from the moment that the East India Company obtained in 1765, the *dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, whereby British imperialism found a way of conquering India with Indian men and money. Britain as a little offshore island of Europe did not possess the necessary resources to conquer India on its own. She did not have sufficient resources even to trade with India. At the end of the 17th century, its principal trading outfit at Surat had incurred such enormous debts that the two Childs, John and Joshua, had attempted a revolt, and repudiation of local debts, against the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb then chastised them so severely that the English had dared not lift their heads again for half-a-century. It was after the battles of Plassey and Buxar in 1757 and 1764, and after the acquisition of the *dewani* in 1765, that the British, under Clive, began to emulate the Frenchman Dupleix's strategy in the Deccan, of conquests, in the imperial interest, of India by Indians, with Indian resources.

From that moment in 1765, Tibet was doomed. As soon as Indian power collapsed, a vacuum was created in Central Asia, and China and Russia took advantage of this situation to extend their empires to swallow up all the independent *Khanates* of Siberia, Khiva, Kokand, etc. to reach a common border, extending from Wakhan in Afghanistan through Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria to Korea.

There was no power in existence anywhere in the region to stop them. So long as India was the supreme power in the world, it was able to include Afghanistan, Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and parts of Tibet and Myanmar

within its sphere of influence.

Once Britain eliminated India as a power centre in South Central Asia, it was impossible for Tibet to preserve its separate identity.

TIBETAN HISTORY, ECONOMY, GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURE

Vajrayana Buddhism reached Tibet from Bengal and Nepal around the 6th century A.D. At that time, Tibet was a conglomerate ruled by loose tribal confederacies. It gradually evolved into a centralised Buddhist theocratic kingdom over the next few centuries.

The Mongols conquered the country in 1247 and appointed Sa-skya Lama as their Viceroy in Tibet.

The collapse of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 "brought down Sa-skya after 80 years of power. Indeed, already in 1358 a dynamic rival, Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan of Phag-mo-gru, who was dedicated to the elimination of Mongol influence and the restoration of the Tibetan ethos, had displaced the Sa-skya hierarchy as effective master of Tibet. Consequently, when the native Chinese Ming dynasty evicted the Mongols, Tibet had regained its actual independence. For over 100 years the Phag-mo-gru-pa line continued to govern in its own right.

"Some of the Ming emperors courted Tibetan lamas, but external support was no longer a factor in Tibetan politics. The changes of regime that occurred in 1481 and 1565 were purely internal matters. Indeed, the Chinese often seemed unaware of where real power in Tibet actually lay.

"A proliferation of scholars, preachers, mystics, hermits, and eccentrics, as well as monastic administrators and warriors, accompanied the revival of Buddhism. Literary activity was intense. Sanskrit works were translated with the help of visiting Indian pandits; the earliest codifiers, classifiers, biographers, and historians appeared. In an outburst of monastic building, the characteristic Tibetan style acquired greater extent, mass, and dignity. Chinese workmen were imported for decorative work, such as tiled roofs and gilded ornaments.

Temple walls were covered with live frescoes; huge carved and painted wooden pillars were hung with silk and painted banners (*thang-ka*). Chapels abounded with images, great and small, of gold, gilded copper, or painted and gilded clay; some were decorated with stucco scenes in high relief; in others the remains of deceased lamas were enshrined in silver and gilded stupas. Under Nepalese influence, images were cast and ritual vessels and musical instruments made in a style blending exuberant power and sophisticated craftsmanship; wood-carvers produced beautiful shrines and book-covers, and from India came palm-leaf books, ancient images and bell-metal stupas of all sizes.

"Many monks visited China, and the emperors lavished offerings of jewels, gold seals, jade, porcelain, and brocades on high lamas and their monasteries. Chinese inspiration, as well as Indian and Nepalese, shows in the style of painting and in decorative motifs, but specifically Mongolian influences, apart from administrative organization, seem confined to details of dress and ornament.

"Although the earlier Bon faith continued in places, Buddhism, with its impressive externals and patronage, now became the popular religion. Some of the new prosperity may have filtered down to the common people; at least there is no hint of popular discontent.

"**The Dge-lugs-pa (Yellow Hat) order** : For 70 peaceful years Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (died 1364) and his two successors ruled a domain wider than that of the Sa-skya-pa. Thereafter, although the Phag-mo-gru Gong-ma (as the ruler was called) remained nominally supreme, violent dissension erupted again, and in 1481 power was seized by the lay princes of Rin-spungs, ministers of the Gong-ma and patrons of the increasingly influential *Kar-ma-pa* sect. Already a new political factor had appeared in the Dge-lugs-pa sect. Its founder was a saintly scholar, Blo-bzang-grags-pa (died 1419), known, from his birth place near Koko Nor, as Tsong-kha-pa. After studying with leading teachers of the day, he formulated his own doctrine, emphasizing the moral and philosophical ideas of Atisa rather than the magic and mysticism of Sa-skya-pa though he did not discard the latter entirely. In 1409 he founded his own monastery at Dgal-Idan, devoted to the restoration of strict monastic discipline.

"Although many monks lived truly religious lives, prosperity and political involvement inevitably undermined monastic behaviour, and Tsong-kha-pa's disciplinary reform appealed to people weary of rivalry and strife between wealthy monasteries. Tsong-kha-pa probably did not imagine that his disciples would form a new sect and join in that rivalry, but, after his death, devoted and ambitious followers built around his teaching and prestige what became the Dge-lugs-pa, or Yellow Hat order which was gradually drawn into the political arena." (*Ency Brit*, 1983, Vol. 18, p. 380)

The present Dalai Lama is the 14th. The first Dalai Lama was, Dge-'Dun-Griub-Pa (1391-1475). But his temporal power was limited to central Tibet. It was extended to the whole of Tibet by the great Mongol leader Altan Khan in early 15th century.

From that time we can say that Tibet was virtually independent till 1959, when the Chinese invaded the country and occupied it. The 14th Dalai Lama chose exile in India.

We must remember that China had no access to Tibet from its northern and north-eastern sides abutting on the Sinkiang desert tracts.

Tibet was also isolated from China: all along the thickly forested frontiers of Szechwan and Yunnan in the east. (This is the inhospitable mountainous region, from which originate the Salween, the Mekong, the Yangtse Kiang, and the Yellow rivers, the four largest rivers of South-East Asia and China). After the 1911 Republican Revolution in China which overthrew the Ch'ing Manchu dynasty (1644-1911), Tibet had received plentiful British aid which had made the forefathers of the 14th Dalai Lama virtually independent. Chinese officials from Peking used to travel to Lhasa via Calcutta.

There were times when the Lamaist version of Vajrayana Buddhism had become so powerful that it was Tibet which ruled Sinkiang, Mongolia and large parts of north China. Therefore, let us consider each item of the national ethos.

Geographically, Tibet had been so completely isolated from China that Chinese functionaries used to travel to Lhasa via Calcutta till after 1959 when the Aksai-Chin road was built across the Ladakh region of India. As a matter of fact, the building of this road led to the Indo-Chinese war of 1962.

Climatologically, Tibet is affiliated to the Himalayan region of India. The Indus, the Brahmaputra (called Tsang-po in Tibet) and the Sutelj Valleys are the densely forested river valleys of the southern fringe of Tibet that borders India. These valleys support the bulk of the Tibetan population and the climate is absolutely identical with that of Indian frontier areas like Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh.

The flora and fauna of Tibet has strong Indian affinities. Herds of yak, a variety of ox, Kashmir and other goats, wild asses, Himalayan bears and pandas form strong linkages with India. Similarly, an immense variety of bamboos and a number of strains of barley relate the flora to that of India.

The Tibetan script is derived from Pali, which itself descended from the Indian Brahmi Script. The Tibetan script is completely different from the Chinese pictographic-ideographic notation.

Tibetan literature is completely derived from Indian. As a matter of fact, hundreds of Sanskrit and Pali classics are extant only in Tibetan translations.

The religion of Tibet is derived from Vajrayana. This was the third "vehicle," (apart from Hinayana and Mahayana) of Buddhism, that evolved in the 5th/6th century from the *tantras* of East India. The form of Buddhism that became popular in China was the quite divergent Mahayana sort.

The economy of Tibet was linked to that of India and had almost nothing to do with that of China.

Thus Tibetan history and culture have been closely related to that of India. They have never been Chinese.

All in all, the only conclusion that a fair-minded and objective historian can reach is that Tibet deserved to be independent, rather than a subordinate province of China.

CONCLUSION

Several things are absolutely clear. It was a theocracy which ruled Tibet till 1959. The extinguishment of theocratic feudalism in Tibet by Stalinist-Maoist China was certainly a welcome forward move for the Tibetan masses.

• The question is : whether the extinguishment of Tibetan national freedom simultaneously with the above-mentioned liberation from theocratic feudalism, was a sufficiently negative feature that cancels out the former's advantages.

• The third aspect is that the Stalinist-Maoist overturn in Tibet is irreversible. There is no power on earth which can wage a war against Market Socialist China and wrest control of Tibet from its hands. India cannot do it, as it learnt in 1962. UK cannot do it, as it was forced to retreat from the Sub-continent in 1947. Britain left behind a weakened and trifurcated India. Afghanistan cannot do it, especially under Islamic Taliban rule, since Tibet is a Buddhist region and there are almost no *huis* (as Muslims are known in China and Tibet) to whom Taliban could have addressed a subversive appeal. USA cannot do it, though the CIA tried its utmost with the help of the 14th Dalai Lama's brother. Even Chiang's China, by then reduced to Taiwan, stood for the retention of Chinese hegemony over Tibet. So who is going to throw the Chinese out of Tibet?

• The above three considerations inevitably lead to a fourth. The Tibetan people will have to join hands with the Chinese masses of the mainland in order to overthrow the State Capitalist and Market Socialist leadership of China, which is extracting an enormous tribute from the poor masses of both Tibet and mainland China in order to sustain the extraordinary privileges, including extreme corruption of a privileged bureaucratic stratum. Thus, the struggle for Tibetan independence merges with and dissolves into the general struggle of the Chinese masses against their Market Socialist bureaucratic leaders.

• The 14th Dalai Lama has himself withdrawn the demand for Tibetan independence. He is looking for an adjustment and rapprochement with the Chinese leadership of Jiang Zemin and Li peng. A shoddy compromise between the Tibetan refugees, led by the 14th Dalai Lama, and the current rulers of China is quite conceivable. After all, the Dalai Lama is interested mainly in a permission to collect a sort of religious *tithe* or tribute from the 4 million Tibetans, who he claims, are to be found in present day Tibet. And of course, some of the real estate owned by his sect, as monasteries, will also have to be restored to him. The Market Socialist leaders of China have naturally appropriated all the properties of the Dge-lugs-pa or Yellow Hat Order which had ruled the Tibetan region for centuries as successive Dalai Lamas. How much power each Dalai Lama enjoyed as Viceroy of Yuan (1279-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Ch'ing dynasties (1644-1911) depended upon the circumstances prevailing from time to time.

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

BIRTH OF EUROPEAN NATIONS

Vinayak Purohit

Excluding the dozen mini-states and sub-nations of Europe, with populations of less than one million (See list at the end of this article) and excluding the European republics of the former U.S.S.R., former Czechoslovakia and former Yugoslavia (see lists at the end), which were all born in 1991-93, we may consider the dates of formation of the following European Nation States.

Table : Nations of Europe of over 1 Mln. Pop. provides data on the dates of birth or formation, areas, populations and national GDP-PPPs as proportions of World GDP-PPP. It will be seen that countries of Europe, except Russia, are insignificant entities in terms of Area and Population. Furthermore, only six of them are of any significance even economically, possessing over 1% of the World GDP-PPP : Spain, Russia, France, Italy, Germany and U.K. If their economic strength is pooled, as is being attempted through EU, NATO, OECD and other agencies, and if Russia is added as a member-in-waiting, their combined economic strength will aggregate 18.06 % of the world GDP-PPP.

Two of the six, Spain and Russia, were formed about 450 (+/- 50) years ago. Granada, the last Islamic kingdom in Iberia, collapsed in 1492 and in the same year Christopher Columbus, a Genoese pirate, reached the Caribbean Islands, opening the route for Spanish imperial loot of Latin America to reach Europe. This colonial loot cemented its own process of nation-formation.

Russia's Ivan IV, the Terrible, for the first time claimed to be the Tsar

of All Russia in about 1547. He had restricted the remnants of the Golden Horde to Central Asia by then, all on behalf of his local base of Muscovy, had

conquered large parts of European Russia. Once again, it was via the Imperial loot route, that Russia had found its own national identity. France had parted from England at the end of the Hundred Years' War (1335-1453), but was still entangled on her eastern borders with Burgundy, the Habsburg possessions to the South and the North (Spain and Netherlands) and with the Teutons / Germans and Slavs further to the East (Prussia and Austria-Hungary). The Holy Roman Empire, which was neither Holy, nor Roman, and not in the least an Empire, was a little Central European kingdom in possession of most of the levels now considered as German. It flourished from 962 to 1806. It is difficult to say exactly when the French began to think of themselves as something distinct

and as rivals to Spain, Netherlands, Prussia and Italy, as the possession of the Bourbons overlapped with all the Continental configurations named. We must wait till the end of the 18th century and the arrival of Napoleon, for France to invade Netherlands, Spain, Prussia and Italy (and lands beyond like Austria-Hungary, Poland and Russia), and for once again the pattern of imperial loot as catalytic agent for crystallisation of the European type of predatory ethnic-religious nationality.

Italy was the cockpit for incessant warfare between the Habsburgs (of Spain-Netherlands and Austria-Hungary), the Vandals, the Lombards, the Huns, the Goths, the Normans and others, from the end of Byzantine rule in the West (brought about by Charlemagne, a Franco-German king of West-Central Europe, from c. 800 A.D.) to the endless marches and countermarches of the Guelf (Papal) and the Ghibelline (Imperial) factions, and of the condottiers hired by the various communes of N. Italy (Ravenna, Venice, Genoa, Milan, Padua, Sienna, Pisa, Bologna, Florence, etc.), and finally to the warfare between the Papal States and the Sardinia-Piedmont forces led

NATIONS OF EUROPE OF OVER 1 MLN. POP.					
No.	Name of Country	Date of Birth (A.D.)	Area 000km ²	Population (Mid-94) mlns.	National GDP as percent of World GDP, both in PPP, 1994
1.	Portugal	1383?	92.00	9.9	0.38
2.	Turkey	1453	779.00	60.8	0.92
3.	Spain	1492	505.00	39.1	1.72
4.	Russia	1547	17075.00	148.3	1.90
5.	Netherlands	1648	37.00	15.4	0.92
6.	Denmark	1660?	43.00	5.2	0.33
7.	Norway	1660?	324.00	4.3	0.28
8.	Sweden	1611/97?	450.00	8.8	0.48
9.	France	1789?	552.00	57.9	3.64
10.	Switzerland	1815	41.00	7.0	0.56
11.	Greece	1829	132.00	10.4	0.36
12.	Belgium	1832	31.00	10.1	0.65
13.	Italy	1860	301.00	57.1	3.37
14.	Germany	1871	357.00	81.5	5.08
15.	Romania	1878	238.00	22.7	0.30
16.	Bulgaria	1908	111.00	8.4	0.12
17.	Albania	1912	29.00	3.2	0.02
18.	Finland	1919	338.00	5.1	0.26
19.	Austria	1919	84.00	8.0	0.50
20.	Poland	1919	313.00	38.5	0.67
21.	Hungary	1919	93.00	10.3	0.20
22.	Ireland	1921	70.00	3.6	0.16
23.	U.K.	1536,1707,1921*	245.00	58.4	3.35
Compare					
24.	India	c.6000/ 4500 B.C.	3288.00	913.6	3.74
25.	China	c.3000 B.C.	9561.00	1190.9	9.56
26.	Japan	c.600 A.D.	378.00	125.0	8.45
27.	U.S.A.	1781 A.D.	9373.00	260.6	21.56

[Source : *Ency. Brit.*, 1983 edition (for date of birth); *Mankind*, Vol.2, No.2, Nov. 1996, pp.58-65, (for Area, Population, GDP). *United with Wales 1536; with Scotland 1707; with N. Ireland 1921.]

by Cavour, that culminated in the Unification of 1860-61.

Germany, as we call it today, lying between the Rhine, the Oder, The Baltic Sea, and the Bavarian Alps, was impossible to define, ethnically, linguistically, Christian-denominationally or in any other way. The Celts, the Belgars, the Franks, the Normans, the Prussians, the Slavs, the Huns, the Ostrogoths, and the Visigoths, the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, and many more tribes, clans, and fragments of both, occupied the lands, now called Germany, for many centuries from 4th to the 10th. Till the 11th they did not consider themselves to be Germans or Teutons or anything distinctively else. Then came the strange mixed up interlude of the so-called Holy Roman Empire (962-1806). Finally, Prussia (made up mainly of Germanised Slavs) took the lead under Otto Van Bismarck (1815-1898) to form a Customs Union (Zollverein) and a Unified Kingdom under Kaiser William II (1859-1941). It was the Franco German war of 1870-71, that precipitated once again the predatory European national entity called Germany.

The United Kingdom is still a country without a stable name. It was confused with France till 1453. Till 1707, Scotland was a separate kingdom, and till 1921 N. Ireland had not been torn apart from Ireland and joined to England, Wales and Scotland to form the United Kingdom (Scotland and Wales have once again begun to part ways from 1997, and both will have local parliaments by 1999, with well developed powers within a Federation, yet to be named N.Ireland, where a civil war has been raging for the last two decades, and is costing British exchequer some 14 billion per year, is also slowly moving towards a reunification with the rest of Ireland (called Eire).

None of these European countries or territories can be called Historic Nations or Cultures or Civilisations in the Asiatic sense at all. All six of them, Spain, Russia, France, Italy, Germany and U.K., are less than 500 years old, most date from only the late 18th and 19th centuries. They have very small areas (except Russia) and minuscule populations (again excepting the Russian Empire, which was a grand colonial affair, where the colonies were geographically contiguous with the "mother country" and which colonies were as mercilessly oppressed and exploited as the so-called overseas empires of Spain, France, Italy, Germany and UK).

They were all colonies and possessions of other nations and cultures for most of their respective histories (Spain was an Islamic Arab-Berber possession from the 7th to the 15th

centuries; Russia was a part of the Mongol Empire from the 13th to the 15th centuries, and of many colonisers before that; France, Italy and Germany were confused areas through which scores of tribes milled about chaotically. The U.K. was occupied by Rome from 1st B.C. to 15th A.D.; by Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Danes from 5th to 11th A.D.; by Normans from 11th to 15th A.D.; and aspired to some sort of fragmented nationhood only from 15th, 18th and 20th centuries).

We cannot consider European countries to be historic national, cultures or civilisations at all. Even the wildest European fantasy cannot equate Germany, France, Britain-England or Russia with any great nation of Asia (India, Iran, Turkey, China, Japan, Korea, Thailand, Burma-Myanmar, Indonesia or Cambodia).

That is because Asiatic feudalisms were rich and powerful. It was the exact opposite in Europe. European feudalisms were weak, petty and divided. That is why the international feudal chain broke at its weakest links in Europe, which had historically enjoyed the privilege of backwardness.

That is why, capitalism first succeeded in Europe, beginning with the Italian Communes of the Mediterranean shores in the 11th and 12th centuries, through the Hanseatic League of 13th to 16th centuries, to the E.I. Cos of Netherlands, England, France, Denmark, Ostend, Courland, etc. of the 17th to 19th centuries. The "Primitive Accumulation" carried out by these imperialist agencies, enabled the little European powers to successfully launch the First Industrial Revolution of N. W. Europe in 1765-1860.

The List of European Mini and Sub-States :

Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Gibraltar, Faeroe Islands, Isle of Man, Channel Islands, Cyprus, Iceland, Luxembourg and Malta.

The List of European Fragments of the Former USSR :

Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is a moot point whether the last two should be placed in Asia or Europe.

The Old Czechoslovak Federation stands split into the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

The Former Yugoslav Federation is now divided into five : Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Macedonia FYR, and residual Serbia-Montenegro.

ADDA AT NUKKAD

TWO COMMUNICATIONS FROM VOICE OF THE VANGUARD

[[Organ of the Central committee,
Communist Party of India — (Marxist-
Leninist)(People's War), July-Oct 1997.]

1. FIGHT THE NEW COAL POLICY

The Indian government has recently announced a New Coal Policy allowing private companies into the production and distribution of coal. Since the nationalisation of coal mines in 1973, private firms were not allowed in coal production except in industries which mined coal for their internal use. Coal pricing was controlled by the government.

Under the New Coal Policy, private Indian companies can participate in coal production and distribution. Foreign companies can enter this sector as a subsidiary of an Indian company, or through a joint venture. Coal prices will be determined by the market and will be revised every six months. Two independent bodies will be constituted one to regulate exploration and distribution of coal; the second to settle disputes in distribution between consumers and producers.

The Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act of 1973 and the Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act, 1957 will be amended to incorporate the new policy changes.

In November 1996, the World Bank put forward two proposals for the Indian Coal Sector. The first was a \$500 million (Rs. 1,775 crores) IBRD loan for modernisation of 25 open-cast mines in Eastern India and the second was a \$63 million (Rs. 225 crores) IDA credit for "the mitigation of environmental and social impact."

The IBRD loan of \$500 million was subject to three conditions: (i) liberalisation of coal imports and reduction of coal duty from 85% to 30%; (ii) retrenchment of 2 lakh out of Coal India Ltd's 6,76,000 workers who the World Bank regarded as surplus; and (iii) opening the Coal Sector to private capital. The privatisation of the Coal Sector is a part of the overall New Economic Policy that the World Bank, IMF and WTO are trying to force on India.

Even when private capital was ostensibly not allowed in the coal industry, both Coal India Ltd. (CIL) and the

Singareni Collieries Corporation Ltd. (SCCL) have been regularly doing the purchase of small machinery, equipment and spare parts and their repairs through private contractors at a higher cost. Even minor day-to-day jobs which can be done much cheaper by the company were being given to private parties.

Now, even major jobs — drilling and supply of machinery, removal of overburden — are being done by contractors. In some mines, coal excavation is done by them, as also transportation of coal.

Crores of rupees in foreign exchange is paid to the multinationals to import machinery and as royalty for so-called technical assistance. Most of these machines can be manufactured in India. Some of them are not suited to India's geological conditions.

In the era of Indo-Soviet cooperation, many electric machines were bought from Russia which could have been manufactured by BHEL. Some of this Russian machinery was not useful in the harder coal seams of Singareni. But these purchases were made at inflated costs so that top bureaucrats and politicians could receive kickbacks.

Under the New Coal Policy, the MNCs can reap huge profits by exploiting the cheap Indian labour. There will be a rise in the price of coal which will result in a rise in prices of most items of consumption. The initial investment made by the Indian government in coal exploration out of the taxpayers' money will benefit the MNCs.

The New Coal Policy will also subvert the needs of the international private capital ignoring national priorities. The cost of excavating the deeper seams of coal in mines is higher. Private companies which are interested in quick profits are likely to abandon the deep seams resulting in loss of large deposits of coal.

Coal mining is one of the most hazardous industries. Accidents are quite common due to the negligence of mine managements in public sector units. Under private management, such accidents are likely to increase.

The organised strength and relentless struggles of coal miners, particularly those of SCCL, has managed to protect their wages. But in private

companies, their strength and bargaining power is likely to be eroded.

Even in public sector units, coal workers are increasingly facing worsening work conditions — delayed and unimplemented wage agreements, longer hours of work, attacks from managements when they demand minimum rights. This will worsen under private management.

The trade unions which have become revisionist and oriented to fighting small economic demands cannot protect the coal workers' interests.

The present trend of mechanisation in the coal industry will lead to massive unemployment which will further depress wage rates. Mechanisation will also result in flight of capital to the imperialist countries.

K.S. Chary argued in 1976 in favour of nationalisation of coal industry saying that neglect of safety regulations by private capitalists caused a high incidence of mishaps and it was in the "national interest for the government to take over the mines." The same K.S. Chary is today arguing that private capital is necessary to meet the increased demand for coal.

In fact, in the 1970s, government had to make large capital investments to build a wide infrastructure for coal mining. The government subsidised huge losses to provide cheap coal to big business.

It was never the intention of the Indian government to make CIL and SCCL financially viable. All the decisions of the government have only helped the big business, whether it was the pricing of coal or the purchase of imported machinery. The Indian bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers have benefitted at the cost of the mining industry. Extensive corruption in the purchase of machinery and sale of coal had added to the losses of the coal industry. The collusion of the senior officials of the CIL and SCCL who have amassed huge wealth is a drain on the profits of the coal mining sector.

It is entirely possible to make the public sector units financially viable; meet the increasing demand for coal by arresting corruption and to prevent the exploitation of our mineral wealth and manpower resources by foreign multinationals. But the comprador Indian ruling class cannot achieve this. The working class organised under the leadership of a revolutionary party will have to shoulder this responsibility.

The New Coal Policy is a part of the overall New Economic Policy which the World Bank, IMF and WTO are seeking

to force upon India with the active collaboration of the Indian ruling classes. All the political parties, once they are in power, implement the New Economic Policy with vigour. The regional parties are also competing with one another to attract MNCs to their states. The trade unions affiliated to these parties also support these policies.

But the working classes who are losing their jobs as a result of these policies are facing increased work-load and also an enhanced level of exploitation, are expressing their anger in various ways.

The immediate task before the coal miners is to oppose the New Coal Policy and all forms of privatisation. In the long run, the urgent need is to build a common platform of all public sector workers who face similar problems due to privatisation. The support of other sections of Indian society adversely affected by the New Economic Policy must also be mobilised to oppose the anti-people and anti-national policies of the Indian government and to kick out the multinationals.

2. TWO RETROGRADE JUDGEMENTS

On July 28, 1997, the Kerala High Court banned the use of bandhs as a form of protest. The court has rejected the contention that political parties had the fundamental right to call for bandhs. For 50 years, bandhs have been recognised as legitimate means of protest. It took the judiciary half a century to discover that they are "illegal" and "unconstitutional."

The Kerala High Court has directed the state government to "do all that is necessary to give effect to the judicial ruling." It has also issued guidelines for demonstrations and processions so as to avoid "misery to the public and obstruction to traffic."

The court ruling pompously declares that "no one has a right to exercise his freedom in violation of the legitimate rights of others." If this is true, what about the big business's 'economic freedom' to deprive millions of the right to a living wage? Why are *dalits* denied the basic civic rights? How can the top bureaucrats live in sprawling bungalows when lakhs of people sleep on pavements? Also, why does the judiciary remain silent when crores of unorganised workers are not paid the 'minimum wage' as per laws already enacted.

The "legitimate rights" of a majority of Indian are being infringed day in and

day out. All "legitimate rights" are class-based. You either support the "rights" of the ruling classes or those of the oppressed classes.

The sudden awakening of the Kerala judiciary to the legitimacy of bandhs is part of the increased fascist attacks on the working masses by the ruling classes.

On August 5, 1997, a week after the Kerala High Court judgement, the Tamil Nadu High Court, passed a retrograde order laying down stringent conditions while granting permission to a *dalit* rally, making "freedom of assembly" a joke.

The special conditions imposed were: "The participants should not be allowed to occupy the whole breadth of the road; they should not carry lengthy banners; must allow pedestrians to cross the procession once every 10 minutes as regulated by the police; there should be a gap after every 500 persons; they should go only on foot; not in vehicles; should not carry bags; sticks or bottles; they should not enter any shop, hotel, residence or public place en route." If any of these conditions were infringed, the police could arrest and try the person in a court of law.

To implement this judgement, in addition to the Madras city police, district police from Tamil Nadu and eight companies of armed police from Andhra and Karnataka were brought in. One company of Rapid Action Force was also called. In addition, the CRPF was kept on full alert.

If the state is going to adopt such fascist methods against peaceful forms of protest, there will be no alternative for the suffering masses but to organise themselves in militant, extra-parliamentary struggles to meet their legitimate demands. More organisations will be pushed underground and retaliate through armed actions.

These two judgements should serve as eye-openers to those who still nurse the illusion that we have a democracy functioning in India.

Letter from Chanda Asani and reply

8/9 Arvindnagar,
Kalina, Mumbai,
400 029

My dear Dr. Purohit,

I was unable to get in touch with you on the phone despite continuous trying.

I have received the July/Aug. issue. Hats off to you for all the cover diagrams and graphs and the explanation related to them. Even though I am tempted to

read the main articles as suggested in the issue at the end of 'Conclusion' on p. 6, I will refrain till I have written to you.

Thank you very much on the suggestions on 'women' in your May '97 issue. I must admit sir, that I was thinking of studying the subject in the background of time frame of History (Indian) made by you. But I realised that it would be a gigantic effort for me and I would not be able to do it with my limited knowledge and various drawbacks.

The work at Udwada is going well. The women trainees are now being absorbed for the work of the Centre which they have named MAHITI.

There have been a few dropouts but at the same time they are starting afresh on home front. The Centre will get new trainees and now that women have some idea of the work, they are more willing to join. I am trying to learn the other aspects of work, especially production of artistic files, at Udwada. At CRD, SNDT Juhu, orders are taken for these and the various other products like bags, block printed sarees, cushion covers are kept for sale. At MAHITI Centre the number of programmes collected are more than 450; 277 video shows, 4 slide shows, 48 posters, 39 flash cards, 35 puppets (made by the trainees during the training), 27 play scripts and 23 supplementary printed material. Except for 48 video shows on science popularisation for schools and on AIDS and 160 video shows in Hindi on mostly Superstitions, Legal Rights and Law and entertainment. All the other programmes are in Gujarati. For the Posters and Flash cards translation was done then composed and stuck to various media. The effort taken by everyone at Avehi was creditable. But the trainees at Udwada have impressed one and all by their sincerity at learning, cooperation and motivation. They were assisted by around 25 Training programmes, during the past year, on using audio visual equipment and aids, facilitation with the help of AV material, communication, self awareness, comprehensive health education, library maintenance, non formal education, womens issues, health and work perspective, by a good set of Resource Persons. I wish I could write to you about each one of them as I too have gained a lot, probably most, in the process.

I agree with all the criticism you have levied on English writing especially literary but I can't help acknowledging one of the rare pieces I have read in recent times was in *Mankind* May '97 issue. Dr Rammanohar Lohia's, *Dilli* is a

masterpiece and ought to be included in post graduate studies of English literature.

I constantly remind Ashwin of your advice regarding studying History of Religion. When he comes here I will give him the *Mankind* issues, relating to this, to read.

That's all for now. Regards to you both.

Sincerely yours
Chanda.

Dear Chanda, 19.12.97

I am very happy that you liked the statistical diagrams and graphs of the July-Aug. issue.

We have grown out of the habit of seriously studying factual data. I am happy that you are making the effort.

The most important figure on the back cover of the Septmeber issue is the one relating to the cost of global markets for Developing countries. Before globalisation of capital movements, the restrictive immigration laws of the OECD countries should have been eliminated. Developing Countries are losing \$250 bln. per year on account of restrictions on movement of labour. Another \$120 bln. per year are being lost on account of higher interest rates being charged to the poor nations. Finally, \$130 bln. annually are being lost because of other discriminatory practices.

The November issue, back cover has several more significant diagrams and figures, three of which (Net flow of resources from South to North; People in Poverty in Developing Countries; and, People in Poverty in Industrial Countries) have been repeated in the December issue at p. 47.

Please always remember that there is no solution to feminist problems if the continuous Drain of Wealth from the Poor countries to the Rich persist, and that too at the level of 50 \$ bln. and more per year as in 1988 and 1989. (*Human Development Report 1991* by UNDP, p. 22)

Dear Chanda, history is the key to understanding any phenomenon. Just try this out tonight. Please walk to your balcony or preferably get out of your building and move away from the glow that Bombay citylights cast on the sky and just look at the millions of stars twinkling in the night sky. These stars are all at various distances from you who are standing on this little speck which is a part of the solar system, which is a part of our Milky Way galaxy, which is a part of our Local Group of some 18 galaxies, which Group is itself

but an insignificant part of the millions, billions and trillions of galaxies and nebulae scattered in this Universe as you stand under this brilliantly lit night sky. Do you realise that this ray of light is reaching you from a place from where it started its journey just a few minutes ago, or perhaps a few years ago or even a few centuries ago? Do you feel History as you stand there and gaze at various sections of the sky?

Remember the Buddhist triad : We come into being, we sustain our existence for a while, and we cease to be.

Family Planning among Muslims in Malegaon

Malika Mistry

Historically Muslims have shown higher population growth than many other religious groups, for example, Hindus. During the last several decades, the proportion of Muslims in India's population has been increasing while that of Hindus declining. Demographers explain that higher population growth is due to their higher fertility. The Muslim fertility is higher because of lower family planning acceptance among them. Also lower levels of education, income, modernisation and status of women explain their higher fertility.

Among Muslims, because they form the largest minority in India, it is important to know the factors and mechanisms that determine their high fertility and low family planning acceptance. With this objective in mind, a sample survey was conducted in Malegaon city, a Muslim majority area, characterised by high fertility and low family planning acceptance in Maharashtra. Most of the Muslims in Malegaon are weavers living at subsistence level. In 1991 it had 3.4 lakh population of which Muslims formed 73 per cent. Also a number of Muslim religious schools exist in this city.

The sample was fairly large with 800 Muslim households from which 961 married women in the reproductive age group of 15-49 were interviewed during the period October 1994 to March 1995. Also 60 Muslim community leaders were interviewed to know their perceptions of population and related issues.

The important findings of the study are as follows : The age distribution of Malegaon Muslims is typical of high fertility population with 48 per cent of the population below 15 years of age. For three-fourths of the households, the average monthly income is Rs. 2,000. The per capita monthly income for the survey

population is only Rs 200. About half of the households live in one room and one-third live in two rooms. The housing conditions and the ownership institution to empower Muslim women, has failed to do so in practice. However Malegaon Muslims lack son-preference. In terms of index of modernisation and status of woman, thirty per cent of the respondents fell in the category of high, 44 per cent in medium and 26 per cent in the low category of the index.

With modernisation religiosity may decline. It is found that no such relationship exists among Malegaon Muslims.

Of 914 currently married women, 32 per cent were found to be users of contraception. Among the users, 25 per cent were current users and 7 per cent were past users. It is satisfying to note that even though the overall use is low, the use of spacing methods is higher than the use of sterilisation. This is very much in keeping with the reproductive health approach the government is now introducing which propagates a balanced method mix.

Many Muslims in their ignorance still believe that Islam does not allow the use of contraception. So the women were asked whether the *Quran* and *Hadees* contain a command on family planning. Of those who read *Quran* and *Hadees*, 64 per cent said that there is no command against family planning in the *Quran* and *Hadees*. 34 per cent answered "don't know" while only 2 per cent affirmed. This information should be useful to the planners and administrators of family planning programme among Muslims.

Further an attempt was made to find whether extent of religiosity among Muslim women has an effect in their contraceptive use. It is found that the percentage of women who had used a method of family planning increases with the intensity of religiosity. Thus it underscores that Islam does not disallow use of family planning methods.

With modernisation and improvements in status of women, contraceptive practice is expected to increase. This relationship is found to be true about Malegaon Muslims too.

The fertility of Malegaon Muslims is very high. The total fertility rate is 4.4 children. The average number of children born for all women as well as currently married women age 40-49 is 6.6. The gap of 2.2 children between the above two measures suggests that the fertility has declined among Malegaon Muslims

during the recent decades. Thus the Malegaon Muslims are in the mid-transition stage where fertility continues to be high but has started falling.

The relationship between fertility and religiosity was examined. It is found that fertility is lower among women with high religiosity than among women with medium religiosity. Even after age standardisation, the relationship holds true. Also it is found that with increasing level of modernisation and status of woman, the fertility reduces. After age standardisation, even though fertility differentials narrow down, the direction remains the same.

Muslim leaders in Malegaon are generally in favour of small family norm and family planning for Muslims. Further most of the leaders perceive Muslims to be backward in different aspects of modernisation and more religious than other communities. They want to improve the status of Muslim woman by giving her more education, jobs outside home, better role in decision-making and better implementation of property rights.

The role of religion seems to be ambivalent as *Qur'an* and *Hadees* can be used to oppose or support family planning. Some leaders have suggested to use the *Qur'an* and *Hadees* to promote family planning while others have misquoted from above sources to oppose family planning.

The leaders have suggested some sound measures to increase the contraceptive practice among Muslims. These are providing a sense of security, eliminating communal riots, removal of poverty and illiteracy, presenting population as a national and environmental problem, and involving Muslim leaders and officials in propagation of the message. Also, the quality of family planning services should be improved by incorporating the personal touch. Some women leaders proposed that the programme should be reoriented to maximise the participation of men in family planning.

The above findings among Malegaon Muslims can be safely generalised for Muslims in India and the following policy measures can be framed : General socio-economic developmental programmes to uplift the Muslim community should be undertaken urgently. A strong information, education and communication campaign is to be mounted for Muslims because they do not follow the two child family norm which the government propagates. Since the Muslims prefer spacing methods to sterilisation, the family planning authorities may lay more emphasis on making spacing methods available to them. The quality of family planning services in Muslim majority areas need to be improved. As there is substantial

scope for furthering the contraceptive practice among Muslims, they should be provided with proper contraceptive information and education. An important finding of the present study is that religiosity neither promotes fertility nor hinders family contraceptive use. As such it is suggested that religion should be given a back seat while propagating family planning among Muslims. There is an urgent need for modernising Muslims in India. Also status of Muslim women needs to be improved by providing her with education and employment opportunities. The services of the community leaders among the Muslims need to be utilised by the family planning programme administrators to propagate small family norm and contraceptive use among Muslims.

Thus the present study dispels the misconception that fertility is high and family planning acceptance is low among Muslims because they are a highly religious community. It asserts that factors such as modernisation and status of woman are important contributory factors, as in any other community, for reducing the fertility and increasing family planning acceptance.

(Abstract of Ph.D. thesis, Pune University, 1997)

(The Archana Guha case in *Adda at Nukkad* in Jan-Feb. 1998 is from *Frontier*, 6.12.97)

MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE : 8

Introductory Remarks on Swift's *Modest Proposal*

Vinayak Purohit

Jonathan Swift was an impossible fellow. He wrote brilliant satires, but his life, as an Anglican priest in Ireland, and as a Tory pamphleteer in England, was itself a living satire. How such a perceptive man, so acutely perceptive about Ireland's plight, who could write that the tender flesh of newborn human babies should be served first at the tables of English Lords, "since they had devoured the parents, and had the first right to the children", how such a man could be a Tory and serve so obsequiously the same Lords whom he bitterly attacked is a mystery that only the English mind can resolve.

It is true that people are not consistent. It is also true that very often their words and their actions diverge. But this kind of chasm, deep and wide, that lay between Swift's beliefs and deeds, is truly remarkable!

What a moving picture he presents of Ireland's poverty! But in every respect, in every facet of his life, Swift was with Ireland's British Anglicans, Tory oppressors and exploiters.

Is it surprising, therefore, that almost all his works, a considerable output as listed in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p. 953, were published anonymously and that "he suffered the decay of his faculties to such a degree in his last years that many considered him insane." (*Ibid*)?

I have personally a very fond memory of Jonathan Swift and his *Modest Proposal*. As was my habit in college, I never attended classes, and had an understanding with almost all my professors, who knew that I was to be found throughout the day (except for the breaks when I would be in the Coffee House), reading in the University library.

They were quite content to meet me informally on a few occasions during each term and mark me present for the necessary minimal number of days.

The first year annual exam could have caused my detention. I had not read a single textbook prescribed for the class. There were three questions for a total of 50 marks, 19 were needed to pass. There was only one question which I could attempt. I saw the name Jonathan Swift in the question paper and irrespective of the context in which it had been framed, I wrote out a long essay on Swift, his *Modest Proposal*, his other voluminous writings, and concluded with the words, as far as I can remember: "Jonathan Swift anticipated Karl Marx in many ways"! My teacher was Miss Dastur, who later became Mrs. Wood, and also the Principal of the Elphinstone College. She read out my answer, as a Model, to the class. She probably had a sense of humour apart from a generous heart. She gave me 16 marks, the full quota possible, plus 1 for general knowledge, plus 1 for my orthography (I can hardly read my own handwriting), plus, 1 out of the blue from nowhere, to credit me with the passing 19!

I merely record this, to indicate my deep and long-standing love for Swift.

But he was an impossible fellow! He lived a life of an utter lie for 78 years! Remarkable! Remarkable and strange!

A MODEST PROPOSAL

for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland,
from Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country;
and for Making Them Beneficial to the Public (1729)

JONATHAN SWIFT (1667-1745)

It is a melancholy object to those, who walk through this great town, or travel in the country; when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin doors crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants; who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work; or leave their dear native country, to fight for the Pretender in Spain,

or sell themselves to the Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is in the present deplorable state of the kingdom, a very great additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound and useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars: it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents, in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years, upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of other projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true a

child, just dropped from its dam, may be supported by her milk, for a solar year with little other nourishment; at most not above the value of two shillings; which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging; and, it is exactly at one year old, that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as, instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives; they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the clothing, of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard children; alas! too frequent among us; sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt, more to avoid the expense than the shame; which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in Ireland being usually reckoned one million and a half; of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couples, (whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couples, who are able to maintain their own children; although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under the present distresses of the kingdom; but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand, for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident, or disease, within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents, annually born: the question therefore is, how this number shall be reared, and provided for? Which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible, by all the methods hitherto proposed: for we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houses, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing until they arrive at six years old; except where they are of towardsly parts; although, I confess, they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time, they can, however, be properly looked upon only as probationers; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old, is no saleable commodity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at most, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or the kingdom; the charge of nutriment and rags, having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts; which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London; that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food; whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and, I make no doubt, that it will equally serve in a fricasse, or ragout.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children, already computed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to sheep, black cattle, or swine; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages; therefore, one male will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand, may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons

of quality and fortune, through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish; and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh twelve pounds; and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, increases to twenty eight pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords; who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year; but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after: for we are told by a grave author, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season: therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual; because the number of Popish infants, is, at least, three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of Papists among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, laborers, and four fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings per annum, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the carcass of a good fat child; which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he has only some particular friend, or his own family, to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight shillings net profit, and be fit for work until she produces another child.

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcass; the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin; shambles may be appointed for this purpose, in the most convenient parts of it; and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting pigs.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer; he conceived, that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; so great a number of both sexes in every county being now ready to starve, for want of work and service: and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But with due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments. For as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our school boys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable; and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides it is not improbable, that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice

(although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, has always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But in order to justify my friend; he confessed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the island of Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and in conversation told my friend, that in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death the executioner sold the carcass to persons of quality, as a prime dainty; and that in his time, the body of a plump girl of fifteen who was crucified for an attempt to poison the emperor, was sold to his Imperial Majesty's Prime Minister of State, and other great Mandarins of the Court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without a single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at the play-house, and assemblies in foreign fineries, which they never will pay for; the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts what course may be taken, to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter; because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth, and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the younger labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country, and themselves, are in a fair way of being soon delivered from the evil to come.

I have too long digressed; and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal which I have made, are obvious, and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run; being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies; and who stay home on purpose, with a design to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender: hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home, and pay tithes against their conscience, to an idolatrous Episcopal Curate.

Secondly, the poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which, by law, may be made liable to distress, and help pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, whereas the maintenance of an hundred thousand children, from two years old, and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a piece per annum, the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds per annum; besides the profit of a new dish, introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste; and the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, the constant breeders, besides the gain of eight shilling sterling per annum, by the sale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, this food would likewise bring great custom to taverns,

where the vintners will certainly be so purdent, as to procure the best recipes for dressing it to perfection; and consequently, have their houses frequented by all the fine gentlemen, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a skillful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, this would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would increase the care and tenderness of mothers toward their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life, to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit, instead of expense. We should soon see an honest emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fattest child to the market. Men would become as fond of their wives, during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, or sows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them, (as it is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barrell'd beef: the propagation of swines flesh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon; so much wanted, among us by the great destruction of pigs, too frequent at our tables, and are no way comparable in taste, or magnificence, to a well-grown fat yearling child; which roasted whole, will make a considerable figure at a Lord Mayor's feast, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit; being studious of brevity.

Supposing that one thousand families in this city, would be constant customers for infants flesh: besides others who might have it at merry meetings, particularly weddings and christenings: I compute that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcasses; and the rest of the kingdom where probably they will be what cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal; unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own; and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be upon earth. Therefore, let no man talk to me of other expedients: of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither clothes, nor household furniture except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, wherein we differ even from Laplanders, and the inhabitants of Topinamboo: of quitting our animosities, and factions; nor act any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: of teaching landlords to have, at least, one degree of mercy towards their tenants. Lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shop-keepers; who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness; nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the

like expedients; till he has, at least, a glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But, as to myself; having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts; and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it has something solid and real, of no expense, and little trouble, full in our own power; and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging England: for, this kind of commodity will not bear exportation; and flesh being of too tender a consistence, to admit a long continuance in salt; although, perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion, as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced, in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better; I desire the author, or authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two points. First, as things now stand, how they will be able as find food and raiment, for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs? And secondly, there being a round million of creatures in human figure, throughout this kingdom; whose whole subsistence, put into a

common stock, would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling; adding those, who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians, who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold as to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not, at this day, think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe; and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through; by the oppression of landlords; the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade; the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes, to cover them from the inclemencies of weather; and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, of greater miseries upon their breed for ever.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest, in endeavoring to promote this necessary work: having no other motive than the public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich. I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing.

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probably makes the beholding eye happy, and accentuates the beauty of the wearer. But that "Aryan colour" has nothing to do with the colour of the skin. Nevertheless, the conjunction of worldwide domination with the specificity of India's caste situation has given to fair skin its formidable prestige and made it a thing of beauty in itself almost without other accompaniments.

While it makes no sense to prefer between the dark and the fair, some subjective impressions may be noted. **All women are beautiful.** Some are more so than others. Among the more beautiful ones of fair skin are such as ooze frankness and innocence and pleasing beauty like the clear rippling brook, or better still the transparent depths of rivers in the hills seen in the light of the moon.

Beauty and sexuality are allies. Darker women have in fact attracted the sexuality of the dominant male, but only in night clubs or on the sly. India's system of castes erects further hurdles. Not only are the ways of life and speech and conduct different, but the modes dictate a segregation, at least outward, between the sexes of the higher and the lower castes. The dark skinned women of the lower castes, when genuinely in love, would perhaps neither relish nor be able to practise the ruses of the higher castes. **There is however no love without sexuality and no beauty without love.** The woman who loves and is loved radiates the beauty of the starlit sky, whether she is dark or fair. The darker women have in the recent past been denied much love, at least by those who speak or sing of beauty. Hurdles erected among India's castes or between the dark and the fair in all the world may take time to remove. The greatest hurdle is built upon a sheer error, which attributes beauty to fair skin.

The tyranny of colour is among the great oppressions of the world. All women are oppressed and mankind is the poorer for lack of adequate expression to their talents or gifts. Coloured women, who are more numerous, suffer greater oppression. They are reared on a diet of anxiety and inferiority. Even as a little child, the dark girl, who may be sister to a fairer girl in the same family, has to accustom herself to

neglect and treatment reserved for citizens of the second grade. Female child suffers lack of opportunities for growth in comparison to the male child, and on top of that, the dark girl experiences an additional portion of shame, at least the burdens of an inferior position. The coloured male is also not wholly free of such burdens.

Soaps and creams and lotions and the latest in injections, as might change the skin to lighter hue, are very much in demand by the coloured youth, both male and female. In land where a minority of whites and a mass of coloured people live together, as in South America, and where the white dominates, the accepted tyranny of colour can be seen in its most accentuated forms. All the world suffers this tyranny of skin's colour, a tyranny made worse because the slaves inflict it upon themselves.

Most tyrannies are built upon error and so is this largest and widest tyranny, that of colour. How coloured humanity has come to willing and eager acceptance of standards of beauty laid down by those of fair skin is probably a greater marvel than any. **The key to the marvel is the same as in the case of the tyranny of the rich over the poor, the high caste over the low caste, the foreign-tongued over the native-tongued, the select over the mass.** Between dark and fair as between rich and poor lie myriad gradations. The dark can be the black of coal or the yellow of pearl with many intermediate wheats and browns and ochres and chocolates, so that the fair who dominate aesthetic judgments are able to win substantial followers in the dark-skinned camp. The distance between dark and fair as between rich and poor is covered by innumerable intermediate points, so that the restoration of a valid aesthetic judgment has become as difficult as that of a proper economic or moral standard. When would the beautiful women of dark skin assert their supremacy or at least their rights of equality? An aesthetic revolution in the evaluation of beauty and its relation to the colour of the skin will blow the air of freedom and inner peace over all the world almost as much as any political or economic revolutions.

—1960, *March* (Source: *Interval During Politics*, 1965)

BEAUTY AND SKIN COLOUR

Rammanohar Lohia

The colour of the skin is no criterion of beauty or any other type of superiority. And yet the fair of colour and the beautiful are words of similar meaning not alone in White lands of Europe but more so in the sultrier climes of Asia or the Americas. On merit, this distortion of aesthetics is inexplicable.

The dark of colour have not always been treated with neglect, at least not in India. To Sanskrit literature, the dark one, *Shyama*, is the beautiful one. If she was young and beautiful, and the young and the beautiful often tend to be synonymous, she was called *Shyama*. The perplexed cloud asks as to how he would recognise the damsel to whom the message was to be delivered and Kalidas describes the *Shyama* of slender waist and of step languorous with the weight of hips, of a lower lip red and full, of eyes that belong to an astonished deer and similar treasure. The male incarnations of god-head, Ram and Krishna, were dark of colour.

The greatest woman of Indian myth was dark. Draupadi also called Krishna has suffered much neglect, probably because current male vanity cannot reconcile itself to her five husbands and a platonic affair or two in addition. Savitri and Seeta, the chaste and also the fair of colour, represent India's womanhood, not entirely without reason, but unreason ensues when other representatives are excluded. Krishna, the dark female, and Krishna the dark male, are however the two peerless flowers of India's myth-making with the utmost beauty and fragrance. Draupadi is perhaps the one woman of myth in the world, who was wiser and wittier than all the men of her time. Is wisdom and wit always associated with dark skin?

Are not then the fair of skin beautiful? To say that they are not would again be untrue. In fact, one of the finest poems within Indian tradition on woman's beauty describes the visible forehead surrounded by the darkness of the hair, as the incomplete moon of the 8th day (*astami*). Such a forehead must necessarily be fair and this exceedingly

delicate poem also belongs to Sanskrit literature. Ancient India had probably succeeded in separating beauty from colour of complexion and was ready to discover the beautiful, wherever it was located. It had, presumably at least during certain periods, been able to rid itself of prejudices in favour of the dark or of the fair in appraisals of beauty. Succeeding generations have squandered this great maturity of ancient Indian aesthetic judgement.

It would appear that the measurements of chest, waist and hip are among the deciding qualities of beauty contests. A Japanese Miss Universe recently succeeded in gate-crashing after what must have been nearly half a century of beauty contests. Japanese woman must, of course, have been beautiful even before, and it is not as though they are more beautiful today than before. The change is not in them but in the eyes of the beauty judges of California. **The turn of the dark skins of Africa and Asia may yet come.**

The eyes of the beholder decides for they see what the mind has taught them to. Assam is the fabled land of feminine magic and also of feminine charm. Visiting strangers extol the beauty of its females. Assam is indeed a land of female beauty, but they could hardly know it who confuse beauty with fair skin. The tea garden woman, or at least some of them predominantly of Chattisgarhi and Oriya extraction, arrest the eye with the shape of their bodies and the lustre of their visages. These labouring women are of course, dark-skinned.

I am talking from the angle of the male about female beauty. There is no implication that I hold woman to be a thing of beauty and no more. If that were my perspective, I would never have been able to discern Draupadi's beauty; of which her unexcelled wisdom seems to be a source; or that of Assam's tea garden women, in whom **labour, independence and good looks would be difficult to disentangle**. If I were a female, I would probably have looked at the question of male beauty from a similar angle. In the

first place, the male has not suffered the same amount of depreciation because of the colour of the skin, and, secondly, the female has so far been busy evaluating her own beauty as much as his. Should beauty ever become a mark of man to the extent that it is today of woman, the proposition about the colour of the skin would hold just as well, if not more.

Meenakshi, the fish-eyed, has her abode in Madura, now the chief city of the river Vygeyi, which at one time nurtured the great Pandyan kingdom. This great goddess who presides all by herself over what must be one of the largest temples of the world, is not the only fish-eyed one. All women of the Vygeyi share in her beauty. To judge between the fish-eyed and the deer-eyed would be at all times difficult. Particularly, the observers from Europe speak just a little bit more to the senses, while those of the Vygeyi speak that bit more to the soul. The fish-eyes seem to possess a little extra of the quality of sympathy and mercy. These Vygeyi women of the fish-eyes are dark-skinned, as are most women of Tamil Nadu, India's true south.

This distortion of aesthetic judgment must be ascribed to political influences. **The fair-skinned peoples of Europe have dominated the world for over two centuries.** For the most part, they conquered and ruled, but, in any event, they have possessed power and prosperity, which the coloured peoples have not. **If the Negroes of Africa had ruled the world in the manner of the whites of Europe, accepted standards of woman's beauty would undoubtedly have been different.** Poets and essayists would have spoken of the soft satin of the Negro skin and its ennobling feel and sight; their aesthetic construction of the beautiful lip or elegant nose would have tended to be on the side of fullness. **Politics influence aesthetics; power also looks beautiful, particularly unequalled power.**

The worldwide conjunction of fair skin with overwhelming power has received great reinforcement from a specific Indian situation. **Those fair of skin, or at least less dark, have generally belonged to the higher castes. The Hindustani word for caste is 'Varna', which means colour.** The 'Rigveda' has named white as the Aryan colour. Against the background of bright colours of nature and sky in India, the fully white raiment

(Continued on p. 64)



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Rammanohar Lohia

b. 23. 3. 1910 - d. 12. 10. 1967

1932 Studied in Berlin University. Thesis on *Salt Taxation in India*.

Oct. 1934 Bombay - Establishment of the Socialist Party. Lohia on its national executive.

edited *Congress Socialist* from Calcutta.

1936 Secretary of the Foreign Affairs-Committee of the Indian National Congress.

1938 Resigned as Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Aug. 1942- Led underground struggle against the British,

May 1944 - Congress Radio broadcasts, published pamphlets.

June 1946 & Arrested in Goa, twice for

Sept. 1946 challenging Portuguese Rule. Tortured and brought to the border and expelled to "India".

May 1949 Arrested for supporting the Nepali agitation against the Ranas.

1949 President of Hind Kisan Panchayat, Patna.

1956 President of the newly formed Socialist Party at Hyderabad. Editor of *Mankind* - Led from 1956 to death, innumerable struggles against Indian dalals of Anglo-American imperialism.

1963 Elected to Lok Sabha. Made his famous maiden speech, spread over 3 1/2 hours, bringing out data on the abysmal level of income of the average Indian. His attack on Jawahar for spending 25,000 times more on himself rattled and unnerved the Prime Minister.

1964 Arrested in USA for breaking the Colour Bar.

1967 Died prematurely on 12. 10. 67 as a result of hospital negligence at former Willingdon Hospital, now renamed Dr. R. M. Lohia Hospital, New Delhi.

Bibliography :

Wheel of History, 1955

Guilty Men of India's Partition, 1960

Rs. 25,000/- a Day, 1963

The Caste System, 1964

Interval During Politics, 1965

EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR FRONT AND BACK COVERS

Front Cover

1,2,3.

The Rust-free Steel Pillar of Delhi, is an artistic and technological marvel of the 5th century A.D. It has stood in the open, rust-free, for about 16 centuries. Europe was not in a position to make an equivalent till the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

"The Rust-free Steel Pillar at Delhi is unique. Manufactured to the order of King Kumaragupta about A.D. 415, it was originally erected on a site in Bihar, being removed to its present position in the Kutub Mosque at Delhi in medieval times. Its total height, including the capital, is 23 feet 8 inches and 16 inches in diameter. The height of the pillar above ground is 22 feet. It is composed of pure malleable steel, the entire weight exceeding six tons. The high technical skill required to forge such an object which, until recently, would have taxed the resources even of the largest foundries of Europe is a remarkable tribute to the genius and manipulative dexterity of the Indian iron-worker." (Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture. Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, 1971, p. 50)

"The inscription contains the posthumous eulogy of a king of the name of Chandra, who is said to have conquered the Vanga Country (i.e., Bengal), and, after having crossed the seven tributaries of the River Indus, to have vanquished the Vahlikas. In his memory, the 'standard of Lord Vishnu' was set up on the mountain called Vishnupada, 'the footprint of Vishnu.'

"As the Gupta characters of the inscription belong to the Eastern variety, it is most likely that the pillar was brought to Delhi from Bihar, the ancient country of Magadha, which formed the nucleus of the Gupta empire. The King Chandra mentioned in the inscription is probably the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta Vikramaditya, who reigned about 400 A.D. The name of Anang Pal also is inscribed on the shaft with the date *Samvat* 1109 = 1052 A.D. According to tradition, it was Anang Pal, the founder of the Tomar dynasty, who erected the pillar." (John Murray, *A Handbook For Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, 1929, p.317)

Back Cover

Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur is another marvel of Indian art and technology. The dome of the Gol Gumbaz covers the larger floor area under a single dome in the world. It is larger than St. Peter's or the Pantheon, Rome, or St. Paul's, London.

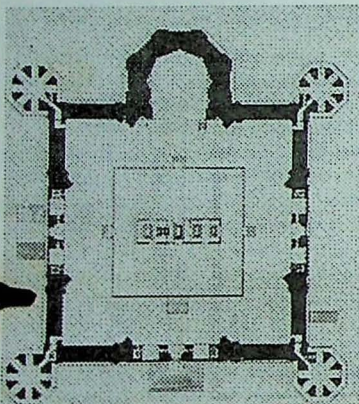
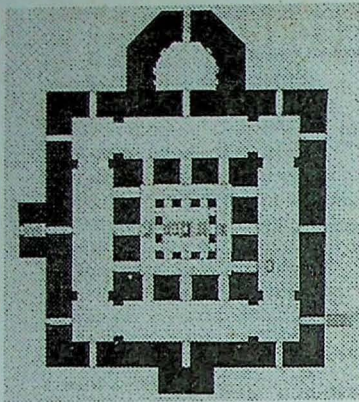
The Gol Gumbaz is the mausoleum of Mohammad Adil Shah (1626-56).

"It is built on a platform 600 ft. square and 2 ft. high. In front is a great gateway, 94 ft. by 88 ft., with a *Nakkhar Khana* (music gallery), now a museum of Bijapur antiquities. The tomb is a square building, with sides measuring 196 ft. (exterior), and at each corner is a tower, seven storeys high. In the centre is the great dome, 124 ft. in diameter.

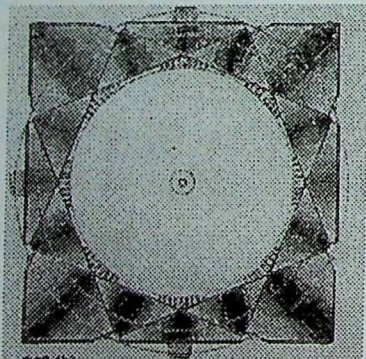
"The great hall, 135 ft. square, over which the dome is raised, is the largest domed space in the world. The internal area of the tomb is 18,225 sq. ft., while that of the Pantheon at Rome is only 15,833." (*Murray's Guide*, p. 574)

In our opinion, the Gol Gumbaz is a much greater architectural achievement than the Taj Mahal of Agra. Both were built about the same time, the Taj about 1630 and the Gol Gumbaz in about 1660. A comparison of the two monuments demonstrates that the Gol Gumbaz is a vigorous, powerful expression of a typical Indian blend of Islamic / Rajput style, commonly called the Indo-Saracenic or Pathan style. The Taj by contrast is a prettified, over-decorative, over-ornate, feminine, Persianised, over-sweetened, largely imported style.

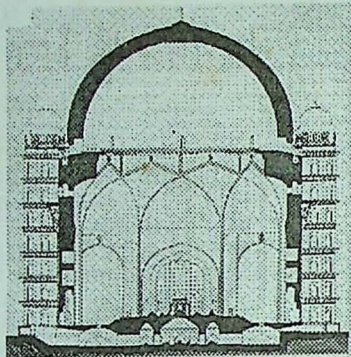
In our series, *Twenty-Five Turning Points in World History*, we have been presenting many art historical masterpieces to be found abroad. We remind our readers that from about 6000 B.C. to the 19th century A.D. World Civilisation was centred upon India. All the so-called geographical discoveries made by European Bandits in the "Age of Discoveries", were made in the course of a search for a Passage to India. For every achievement elsewhere in the World, India had a score of equal or greater significance.



1 & 2. Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur, 1659 A.D.
Plan 1: 1000, Crypt and Cenotaph levels.



3. Vault Diagram.

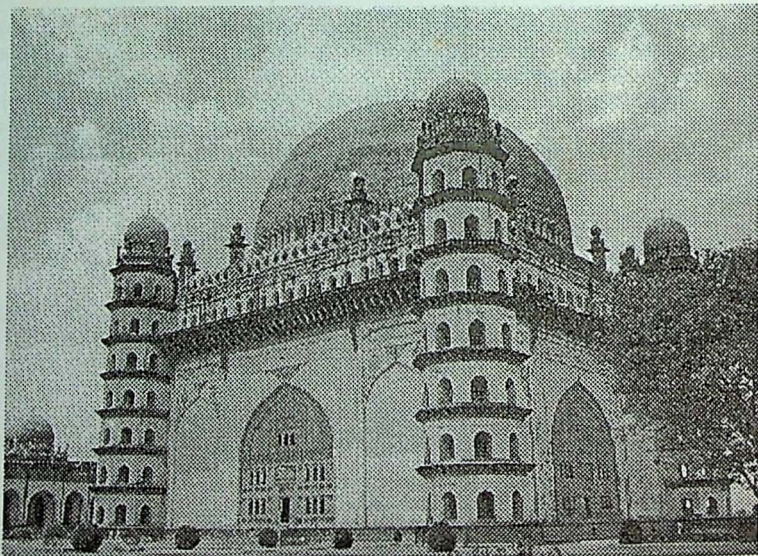


4. West - East Section.



5. Main Tomb Chamber.

Gol Gumbaz, Bijapur, 1659 A.D.



6. View from South - East.

(Explanatory Notes on p. 67)