

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol. 3, No. 8, May 1998

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**GUILTY
MEN OF
INDIA'S
PARTITION**

**Lohia
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The Roles of**

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Edwina,
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and**

**Lohia
himself**

MANKIND

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Vol. 3, No. 8, May 1998

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 32

Exe. Edr.

A FART, GRUNT, BELCH, HICCUP OR SNEEZE ARE ALL EARTH-SHAKING, IF WESTERN !

Encomiums are being showered upon all the proximate and remote participants in the peace parleys that were taking place last week in Belfast, N. Ireland. Clinton spoke to everyone on transatlantic phone the preceding night. Mo Mollum acted diligently as midwife. Former Senator Mitchell of the US promised billions of dollars in aid to the South, the North and the East (Eire, Ulster and Great Britain). Tony Blair let fall another cascade of stunning platitudes. Gerry Adams produced a few more enigmatic phrases.

Everyone thought that they were making History ! Every European thinks that if he farts, grunts, belches, hiccups or sneezes, he is always making History ! The Westerners cannot help

it ! Whatever they do, they are always so Great and Big !

The White, Christian Europeans have reached the ultimate in self-delusion.

What is Northern Ireland ? An area of about five-and-one-half thousand square miles with a population of around 15 lakhs, or something less than a large *taluka* town of India !

What is Ireland ? About 27,000 sq. miles and about 35 lakhs population, less than half of Bangalore city !

What is Wales, Scotland and England put together ? Less than one lakh square miles with less than six crore population. In area, less than Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and U.P. and in population less than Andhra, Bihar, Madhya

AMARTYA SEN

I met Amartya Sen in 1981 when I had been invited by the British Arts Council to visit the Lutyens exhibition in Great Britain, and whilst I was on my way to Gothenburg and Stockholm to lecture to Swedish architects.

The British Council did not pay for my travel or stay, they merely incurred some expenditure in arranging guides for me at various places.

We spent quite some time together. We had tea and biscuits or cakes. I was completely puzzled by the man. He had nothing to say of any importance on any subject. He was bland, colourless, non-forthcoming, volubly platitudinous like any other *naukershah*.

He has become head of the

extremely wealthy Trinity College, Cambridge. Even here he did not blaze any new academic trail for any Indian. I. G. Patel became head of the London School of Economics many years ago.

I tried to read everything that Amartya had written or said in the course of interviews during the last few years.

I couldn't make out why he had been preferred over hundreds of similar Bengali *boxwallahs* and *babus*.

Of course, Amartya *babu* has perfected the technique of being all things to all men.

First of all, the Bengali *babu* does not blame anyone for anything that he finds to be unsatisfactory in the present

Pradesh, Maharashtra, U.P., or West Bengal.

British imperialism cussedly divided Ireland into North Ireland and Eire in 1921 as per the venerable principle of Divide and Rule, which was vigorously carried out in Palestine, Cyprus, India, Rhodesia, Brunei-Borneo and elsewhere.

And Europeans being a wonderful people, had been fighting with each other on strictly denominational grounds for the last three decades ! They would have liked to continue the fight for several more decades, but poor U.K. could not afford the \$ 14 bln. per year that the little war was costing the Brits !

So they made up ! Ireland will remain divided but there will be North-South Joint Councils !

Who is interested in the details of this accord between two *zilla parishads* ?

Furthermore, both Ireland and United Kingdom are members of the EU, who are coming closer and closer to each other every year !

Europeans must be real fools, if they think that their silly squabbles and trivial accords are of any concern to anyone in the world, except of course, to foreign correspondents of the Indian national comprador press, who treat every European fart as a spray of perfume ! ■

economic situation of India and the world. British imperialism is not responsible for anything that is bothersome or deficient. Neither are the *naukershahs* or the Congress governments or the comprador Indian capitalist elite responsible for any specific shortcoming in the Indian scenario.

It is like the latest blackmailing photo exhibition in Delhi showing the nuclear devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There is no mention anywhere of American responsibility for the bombing of the two Japanese cities in August 1945. No one is to be blamed ! The atom bomb fell from heaven, hurled by a God named Truman !

This is the style of the anglicised *bhadralok* of Bengal. This is how

Macaulay's children behave. British imperialism acquired India reluctantly and excellently. They did a lot of good to India. In fact, they arrived in India precisely in order to do good to the country, particularly, to the Bengali *babu* ancestors of Amartya Sen !

Secondly, Amartya *babu* does not prescribe exactly how his remedial suggestions are to be carried out and by whom. He merely lays down certain

imperatives. For instance, that such and such a thing "must happen", or "ought to have been done", or "could have been tried", or some such silly non sequitor.

I heard him over the BBC World's Hard Talk TV interview. He is no doubt a shrewd fellow. I can only guess that his latest third marriage might have opened up the road for his elevation.

No doubt Amartya is trying for the

Economics Nobel. Almost every great charlatan in India and abroad is striving for the Nobel. Salman Rushdie and V.S. Naipaul are after the Literature Nobel, Amartya *babu* and Jagdishbhai Bhagwati and perhaps Sardar Manmohan Singh are after the Economics Nobel.

That is as far as the little Indian fleas can think of leaping ! ■

HYPOCRISY RAISED TO THE POWER OF INFINITY !

The Congressmen are born toadies, scyophants and charlatans. They do not know how to react honestly, truthfully and in a straightforward manner to anything !

C. Subramaniam, a completely worthless old Congressman and a member of Nehru's Cabinet in the sixties was recently awarded the Bharat Ratna as he lay dying in some Chennai hospital.

It is likely that C.S. may die very soon, in which case, it will be very difficult for us to write anything about him which is at least half-truthful.

C.S.'s reactions to the award were extraordinarily self-effacing and puerile.

First, he said he dedicated the award to the Green Revolution. What does this secondary dedication mean ? Is he going to bury the *Tamrapatra* in some HYV field ? Is he going to hand it over to the Director of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research ? Or

to the American operator Norman Borleng, who supposedly pioneered and stole Mexican dwarf wheat varieties and claimed the discovery for himself ? What exactly did C. Subramaniam intend to do ?

Secondly, C. Subramaniam proudly proclaimed that "serving the nation" gave him more pleasure. He was the minister of steel, mines and heavy engineering in the Nehru Cabinet of 1962, 1963 and 1964. Did he not serve the national interest at that time ? Was he not overjoyed for performing his national duties at that time ? Why is he so keen about his term as Agriculture Minister in Indira's Cabinet which coincided with the so-called Green Revolution ? Is C. Subramaniam ashamed of his record as Steel, Mines and Heavy Engineering Minister ?

Finally, C.S. said : "I want to share this award with the millions of farmers and thousands of scientists !" What does he mean ? Out of many crores of

Indians, who have lived through the Green Revolution years, some stupid bureaucratic jury has singled out C.S. for conferment of the Bharat Ratna award. We do not know the worth of the jury members. Apparently, they were not all of them Bharat Ratnas themselves ! Thus, the less worthy have chosen C.S. for being the most worthy. How much objective value must we attach to the opinion of this less worthy bureaucratic coterie and how does C.S. propose to share the singular honour with millions of his countrymen by any procedure other than hypocritical words ?

Congressmen, over the last 50 years, completely ruined our country economically, politically, culturally, in every possible way ! Will Congressmen persist to the end of their days in these hypocritical outpourings which mean nothing to anyone ? Should they not be apologising to our people for the terrible state in which we find ourselves ? Should they be conferring Bharat Ratnas upon each other and preening themselves in this shameless fashion ? ■

THE DANGS' DURBAR AND THE FREEZING OF FEUDAL FORMS IN TRIBAL INDIA

The *Dangs* are a fabulously wealthy district of Gujarat bordering on the northernmost part of Maharashtra known as Khandesh. (Khandesh was so called because it belonged to the Khans in the *Pendhari* feudal period.) It was formerly, in the British colonial times, administered by the Khandesh Political

Agency.

The local *Bhil* tribal chieftains leased the immensely rich forests, principally teak (*Tectona grandis*), in perpetuity to the British in return for a pittance in the form of pensions.

The British navy and mercantile fleet of the East India Company,

consumed and devastated the teak forests of the entire Konkan coastal belt in the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries (See *Gazetteers* of the Bombay Presidency edited by James M. Campbell and others, 1881-85).

It seems to me that the teak forests of the *Dangs* and *Khandesh* remained relatively unharmed because of their long distance from the sea, particularly from Bombay, which was the main ship-building centre for E.I. Company. We have noted, elsewhere on our historical study of the colonial period that ship-

building was an Indian speciality, that the Indian Ocean was the centre of world trade from times immemorial to the first-half of the 19th century A.D., that Indian teak was infinitely superior to English oak, and that the English navy was able to defeat the French during the Napoleonic wars, principally because of the superiority of Indian-built battle-ships over those built anywhere else in the world. In fact, as long as the Ottoman Turkish navy was able to meet its fleet requirements from India, it could not be challenged in the waters between the East Mediterranean and the Red and the Arabian seas.

I believe, I first visited the Dangs (Ahwa) in 1957, when we actually went out in Chhotubhai Nayak's jeep, fitted with a search light, to "see the tiger". We saw a magnificent specimen early in the morning, at two or three o'clock, when we were returning to our camp.

The Dangs are not only well-endowed in respect of flora and fauna, but the region is sociologically fascinating too. The process of feudalisation, from HFFG culture, was delayed in many parts of India till the advent of the British. Elsewhere in the study of the various phases of feudalism in India, we have shown how the process unfolded amongst the *Oraons* and the *Mundas* (See, *Sangha Feudalism, Mankind*, Oct 1995, pp. 63-91, especially Appendix III, *Oraons and Mundas*).

The same process of feudalisation being overtaken by bourgeoisification under colonial conditions, could be seen in the Dangs also.

"The Dangs consist of 16 petty states, ruled by *Bhil* chieftains, and extending from 20°22' to 21°5' N.lat., and from 73°28' to 73°52' E.long. The extreme length from north to south is 52 miles and the breadth is 28 miles. Estimated area about 1000 sq. miles : pop. (1872), 22,326; estimated gross revenue of all the chiefs, £ 1,930 or Rs. 19,300 (chiefly derived from dues on timber).

"The country is covered with dense forest, intersected in all directions by precipitous ravines and rugged mountains, the general slope being towards the west. The rainfall is heavy; and the air of the valleys, walled in all

sides by steep hill ranges, is close and hot.

"None of the mineral resources have as yet been ascertained. Of vegetable products, teak and other timber trees are by far the most important.

"The inhabitants of the Dangs belong almost entirely to the wild forest tribes. Most of them are *Bhils*, who, accompanied by herds of sheep and goats, move about from place to place, supporting themselves in great measure on game and natural products of the forests.

"After the occupation of Khandesh by the British. in 1818 At that time, Captain (afterwards Sir James) Outram came among the *Bhils*. First conciliating them with feasts and his prowess in tiger-shooting, he eventually succeeded in forming a *Bhil* corps, originally based on 9 men who had accompanied him on shooting expeditions. In 1827, this *Bhil* corps had reached 600 rank and file, who fought for the Government.

"The tribe next in importance to the

country, whose States are returned (1876) as given in the box alongside.

In the above lines we can see the entire process of bourgeoisification under imperial aegis being superimposed upon and being telescoped with the feudalisation process.

This was euphemistically called "land settlement" by the Imperial Gazetteers.

"Land settlement" meant political settlement with landed interests, mainly feudal, or in the case of relatively remote forest tracts, with tribo-feudal landed interests.

Since British imperialism, a basically capitalist power, was making this political settlement, or rather was making this politico-economic settlement, it necessarily imposed bourgeois land ownership rights upon the feudal, or tribo-feudal interests of the Dang districts. Earlier, the tribal chieftains had possessed, at best, feudal interests in the forests and forest produce of the area. That is, rights to tribute from the tribals, and rights to

	Dang states in 1876	Estimated population	Supposed revenue (Rs.)
1.	Pimpri	4,025	3,106
2.	Wadhwan	150	147
3.	Jhari Garkhardi	325	59
4.	Ketak	75	155
5.	Amala	4,805	2,885
6.	Chinchli	675	601
7.	Pimpladevi	125	120
8.	Palasbihar	215	230
9.	Auchar	375	201
10.	Derbhauti	2,005	3,649
11.	Garvi	4,668	5,125
12.	Siobara	225	422
13.	Kirti	903	512
14.	Wasurna	4,197	2,275
15.	Dhude	90	85
16.	Surgana	8,201	11,469
		31,059	31,041

(W.W. Hunter, C.I.E., LL.D., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. III, 1881, pp.32-3*)

Bhils is called *Konkani* ... The language of both these tribes is a mixture of Hindustani, Marathi and Guzerathi, in which the last predominates In the whole of the Dangs, not more than half a dozen persons can read and write." There are 16 petty chiefs in the Dang

share in the forest produce, collected by the tribals and delivered or sold to the feudal state authorities or their representatives.

In British bourgeois parlance, this recognition of tribute and forest produce-receiving rights and shares

became landed property rights, recorded in a roster.

Under comprador capitalist scenario, which has obtained in India, from 1947 to the present, these land settlement arrangements have taken the form known as Dang Darbar. On the eve of *holi*, the rajas ceremoniously roll into Ahwa, for 3 days of dance and revelry called the Dang Darbar. This is when they collect their pensions which were originally granted by the British colonial administration and which have been continued upto the present by the comprador *naukershahs* of the post-1947 regime.

There are five *rajas*, so called, in the Dangs, who draw between them Rs. 2.14 lakhs and there are nine *nayaks* and 668 *bhaubandhs* (erstwhile "landowners" and their relatives) who together draw Rs. 11.68 lakhs annually. At the same time, in the course of the Dang Darbar, the *nayaks* and *bhaubandhs* make a *nazrana* (offering) of Rs. 50 to each of the five *rajas*. Thus each *raja* receives from the *nayaks* and *bhaubandhs* $(9+668 = 677)$ Rs. 50 or Rs. $677 \times 50 = 33,850$ or thereabouts.

The five *rajas* who have survived to the present are

- (i) Bhanwar Singh - raja of Linga.
- (ii) Raja Tarpatrao Anandrao Pawar - raja of Dahar.
- (iii) Kiran Singh Pawar - raja of Gaadhvi, with the highest pension of Rs. 55,512.
- (iv) Tirmakrao Sahebrao Pawar - raja of Pimpri.
- (v) Chandrasingh Umar Singh Pawar - raja of Vaasurna.

We hope *Mankind* readers have followed the intricacies of the present feudo-bourgeois land relations that prevailed in our country. The comprador, post-1947 state in India has preserved intact the "land settlement" made by the British in the 19th century.

The so-called "land settlement" made by the British was a political settlement with feudal landed interests or with feudo-tribal landed interests.

The colonial administration recognised the claims of four or five tribo-feudal "rajas", nine tribo-feudal

"*nayaks*" and 668 tribo-feudal "*bhaubandhs*" from out of the total number of claims that they received and adjudicated upon.

This recognition of "land settlement" rights on a register or roster made the *rajas*, *nayaks* and *bhaubandhs* totally dependent on the British rulers for their pensions, land revenues, forest revenues, mining rights, transit dues, and so on. All the feudal claims were suitably monitored. The maximum possible amount was screwed out of the poor peasants and foresters. As much as possible out of this "land revenue" was applied to purchase Indian commodities. This latter purchase was called "investments". These "investments" were exported out of the country without any shame or qualms. **This Drain of Wealth immediately produced a series of Famines of Purchasing Power in India and also set in motion the gigantic process of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of India. Ultimately, the Drain of Wealth from India caused a near-genocidal killing of over 85 million Indians between 1757 and 1947.**

All this may appear to be "exaggerated and fantastic" to the common man in India, who has for the last 50 years been brainwashed by the neo-colonial masters of the world and their agents, the comprador *naukershahs*, the academics and the mediemen.

I still remember very vividly, my first visit to the Dangs in 1957 or 1958 when Chhotubhai Nayak was alive. (I learnt during my recent visit in 1994 that Chhotubhai had passed away) Chhotubhai Nayak had taken me to the hut which was the residence of some *bhaubandh* of the Dangs. The first thing that I noticed was that this great feudal personality established his "distance from the visitors" by not replying directly to any question or enquiry put to him by the visitors. His answers would always be conveyed by his spokesman, who acted as an interpreter and megaphone. This intermediary would translate all queries into the *Dangi* lingo and quite often reply without any reference to the principal party!

Secondly, I found that very often the ordinary tribal appeared to be dishevelled and sleepy, when he appeared at his hut door. Upon close inquiry, Chhotubhai told me that these *adivasis* drank a big bowl-ful of rice-water, kept overnight, as soon as they got up in the morning. I asked: "Is it alcoholic?"

Chhotubhai: "Very slightly! But once they have drunk that bowlful, they are very reluctant to move about! If they remain active, digestion will take place, hunger will be felt, and they have nothing more to eat or drink! That is why, they sleep for many many hours during the day, more or less stupefied, so that they may avoid the pangs of hunger!"

I was completely taken aback, astounded, almost stupefied myself!

I hope that after 50 years of "independence", the poor tribals in Dang are now able to move about and are in a position to at least take the risk of bearing the pangs of hunger that may follow their bodily exertions!

Today the Dangs form a district of Gujarat with an area of just 1,764 km² with a population of less than one-and-a-half lakhs (*Manorama Yearbook*, 1998). It is generally assumed that when the old Bombay Presidency was divided in 1960 between Gujarat and Maharashtra, the Dangs were handed over to Gujarat at the behest of Morarji Desai, who had been Chief Minister of the undivided Presidency and who later joined the Nehru Cabinet as Finance Minister. Actually, Morarji had very little to do with the inclusion of Dang in Gujarat. Actually the whole thing was manoeuvred through a leading Gandhian of Bombay with the help of Chhotubhai Nayak of the Swaraj Ashram, Ahwa. And their principal influential contact in Delhi was Indira, at that time, an extra-Constitutional centre of power in Delhi. That is a different story altogether.

The most lasting and searing memory of the Dangs that I retain from my first visit in 1957 is that of young men in their prime of life lying down for many hours in a day so as to slowdown the process of digestion and that of renewal of felt hunger. ■

THE BOURGEOIS UNIVERSE

We have been writing about the real rulers of India.

We believe in identifying our enemies, precisely and clearly, without mincing words.

We have tackled the problem from various directions.

• **Plutocrats or Moneybags.** We have identified the monopoly houses, called in India MRTP (Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices) houses, in our issues of May 1996, p.65; July 1996, p.17; July-Aug 1997, p.43 and April 1998, p.41.

• **Bureaucrats or Naukershahs.** We have identified 31 ranks in the year 1951 and 26 ranks at present (*MK*, May 1996, p. 64 and *MK*, July-Aug 1997, p. 42)

• **Politicians.** We have been dealing with them right through, and the latest list of those involved in the "nexus" with bureaucrats, businessmen and criminals, appears in this issue under the title *Elections 1998 : II*.

• **Criminals.** References to outright criminals have been appearing regularly in *Mankind*. This is a grey area. The police and judiciary have often acted, over the last 50 years, in deep collusion with the Congress-naukershahi combine that has been ruling us. Therefore, the whole situation has become totally confused, with genuine criminals escaping vigilance and political vendettas making "criminals" of innocent citizens ! In any case, except for some outstanding cases like Amirbhai of Jain Hawala case, Dawood Ibrahim of Dubai and Karachi, Shabir Shah and Abdul Gani Lone of Jammu and Kashmir, Kalpanath Rai, Phoolan Devi, Anandmohan Singh and Shahabuddin of India, it is difficult to be sure of the names of the culprits.

In the above galaxy, to some

extent, the foreign dimensions were not highlighted.

Of course, we had shown in the list of 59 Monopoly Houses, the 7 MNCs. At the same time, we had pointed out that in the neo-colonial setup, the operations of the MNCs constituted merely one of the four prongs of the neo-colonialist assault upon and penetration of the Indian economy. Far more destructive have been the devastations caused by the other three prongs of Devaluations, Foreign Debt Accumulations, and FFI penetration of the local stock exchanges.

Another method of influencing economic events in India has been applied through the device of Joint Ventures (JVs). Every Indian Monopoly House has signed hundreds of deals with foreign partners that involve tying up of imports and exports, royalties for use of brand names, and technical collaboration fees. In fact, through the JVs and FFIs, foreigners already own huge chunks of the Indian economy.

Apart from all the above considerations, two further points made by D. R. Pendse in *Is VDIS A Success ?* January 1998, must be noted.

1. "More than ten years ago, (i.e. in the late eighties) the Government of India had commissioned a study by the National Institute of Public Finance & Policy, New Delhi (NIPFP) on various aspects of the black money problem. One of its findings was that black money (incomes) was about 18 to 21 % of GNP. Some analysts have felt that this estimate is too low and black money could be about 50 % (if not more) of the GNP. Has the percentage gone down or gone up from whatever level it was then ? There has been no such subsequent study. To give an

benefit of doubt to the authorities, let us proceed on two assumptions : First that the NIPFP estimate is reasonable. Secondly, in view of many economic policy measures taken after 1991 (notably, lower tax rates, decontrols and deregulation, more realistic exchange rates, gold imports, higher salaries to bureaucrats etc.), the percentage has probably gone down to some extent and that black money generation currently is about 10 % of GNP, (I know, many serious thinkers will laugh at both these assumptions).

"With GNP at about Rs. 1,26,00,000 abja (or billion), the black money being generated would be Rs. 1,26,000 crores per year. Assuming that Rs. 33,000 crores of black money is disclosed under VDIS; this means that it will take the Indian economy barely three months to generate black money equivalent to the amount disclosed under VDIS.

** Tapan Dasgupta, former Secretary General of FICCI confirms Pendse's estimates and writes that the amount of 'hawala money' belonging to politicians, bureaucrats and industrialists parked abroad is over \$100 bln.

2. "The same NIPFP study had highlighted in no uncertain terms the devious role of Government expenditure as a major source of generation of black money. To quote :

"For most substantial public sector contracts, whether placed at home or abroad significant cuts and kickback to key decision makers has become the rule rather than the exception. The relative scale of this form of corruption — leakages from public expenditure — has grown substantially over the past two decades and is believed to have become an important source of unaccounted funds for political finance of elections and inter-elections political manipulations."

We invite our readers to have another look at the figure, *The Bourgeois Universe* which appears on page 10 of this issue. The bulk of the annual black money generation of 1,25,000 crores is effected by the Plutocrats, the Bureaucrats, the Politicians and Criminals, generally by Overinvoicing Imports and Underinvoicing Exports; by Hawala Transactions depositing Commissions and Brokerages in Foreign Accounts and by Floatation of NRI companies that pretend to belong to well-known NRI Business Houses.

Notice appears in this issue of *Mankind* in which details have been given of a gathering in London of the glitteratti amongst overseas Indians.

Let us be quite clear. Indians have adopted the same route that has been promoted by the Arab Oil Interests, and by African and Latin American military dictators. All these fellows make immense fortunes and actually buoy up Western economies ! They want to keep some part of their ill-gotten wealth in bank accounts, real estate, art purchases and cash—outside the reach of their native rulers. For instance, Ali Zardari and Benazir Bhutto have sunk something like \$ 1.2 bln. in Surrey and London properties. Mohammed Fayed of Egypt owns Harrods in London and Ritz in Paris. Adnan Khashoggi of Saudi Arabia owns immense properties all over the West following a trail blazed by the Aga Khan in the late 19th century. The fourth generation of Aga Khan owns huge chunks of winter sports complexes and summer holiday resorts in the Alps and the Rivas, both, French and Italian. Iranian oil

industry owns the controlling interests in Krupps, the gigantic steel and armament cartel of Germany. Similarly, Latin American militarists and druglords have an immense quantity of looted wealth sunk in North America.

The Plutocrats, as a group, may know something about the world economy. They are in any case in a position to hire experts to advise them. Generally speaking, the bureaucrats and politicians know nothing about the latest trends in world economy. Furthermore, their sphere of influence is confined to some Third World country. They would like their money to multiply fast. Therefore, they are very anxious to park their monies sloshing in their "benaami holdings abroad" in such a way that part of it flows back into the country via *hawala* transactions.

Thus, black money, generated in the Indian economy, is not kept idle. It is actually utilised as white money, hidden under layers of camouflage. Huge chunks of properties are grossly undervalued and form Current Assets of immense number of Corporations. What are being paid abroad as royalties and technical collaboration fees may be imported back into the country as Completely Knocked Down Kits and Assemblages. Gold may be held in banks abroad and Loans may be disbursed by Indian branches of the same banks or by branches of other banks or by branch offices and subsidiaries of any damn MNC ! Capital knows no frontiers, and, at a price, will penetrate any crevice !

Lakshmi Mittal, Srichand Hinduja, Swraj Paul may be bigshots, but we do

not know how much of their holdings are *benaami* and *hawala* holdings of Indians permanently living and dying in India. These "Capitalist Heroes", all possess feet of clay. The source of their wealth is rooted in India. Some bureaucrat or politician or criminal maybe chuckling to themselves when astute mediemen rank the Mittals, the Hinduja's, the Swraj Pauls, and Lakhubhai Pathaks of the world into ranks ! **Each NRI, living abroad, is often a mere mask worn by an Indian bureaucrat or politician.**

Let us note that among the Real Rulers of India, we should count about 100 MRTP Houses .59 of them were listed by us in *MK*, April 1998, and a few more, especially of the latest "LPG Period" (1991-5), will be identified in our next instalment on MRTP Houses. Say another 100 *benaami* NRI Houses whose real owners are Indian bureaucrats and politicians, making a total of say 1000 Indian Plutocrats, here and abroad. Add some 26 or 31 ranks of bureaucrats as listed by us (*MK*, July-Aug. 1997, p. 42), numbering about 1000 top bureaucrats working in Delhi and in the States. Add another 500 or 1000 politicians whom we have named and discussed in this issue (*Elections 1998 : II*); plus some of their leading cadres, State Assembly Members, etc. Finally, some 200 or so outstanding criminals.

Thus, it is a coterie of about 5000 Real Rulers of India, Plutocrats, Bureaucrats, Politicians and Criminals, all taken together, whom we nationalist and socialist revolutionaries of India **have to beat and destroy ! Maybe a tough task, but certainly not an impossible one !**

ELECTIONS 1998 : II

PERSONALITIES AND PARTIES

1. THE BOURGEOIS UNIVERSE

We had promised in our last issue, at the end of our analysis, *Elections 1998 : The Farical Story*, that, we will present a picture of the personalities that have emerged out of the turmoil, whether burnished or battered, in a separate article. We are now fulfilling that promise.

Mankind readers will also link up these remarks that are about to follow, with the series of contributions which we have been making under the title, *The Real Rulers of India*. In this series, we have presented in our last issue the latest list of the 59 Monopoly Houses which have determined the economic policies that were carried out for their benefit by the Congress-*naukershahi* combine that has ruled India through all the four periods of Jawahar's 'Socialist' Rule (1951-64); Indira's 'Garibi Hatao' Rule (1966-84); Rajiv's 'Bofors' Rule (1984-89) and Rao-Singh's 'LPG' Rule (1991-96).

The bureaucratic counterparts to the Indian plutocrats were identified in the *Warrant of Precedence* (31 to 26 ranks) which we first published at p.64 of May 1996 issue and which we reproduced, with amendments, at p. 42 of *Mankind's* July-Aug 1997 issue.

One can say that in the present contribution dealing with the politicians, we shall be exploring the third corner of the nexus that binds India's business interests with its bureaucrats and politicians.

There is a fourth corner of pure and partial criminals whose precise contours we can never know. To an extent, of course, we can name them, like Dhirendra Brahmachari, Chandraswami, Adnan Khashoggi, Sultan of Brunei and his cousins, Win Chaddha, Ottavio Quattrocchi, Hinduja Brothers, Swraj Paul, the Hawala Jains of Delhi, and so on. These are the semi-criminal, international operators, who "openly engage in clandestine activities". Behind them are even more shadowy figures of drug traffickers,

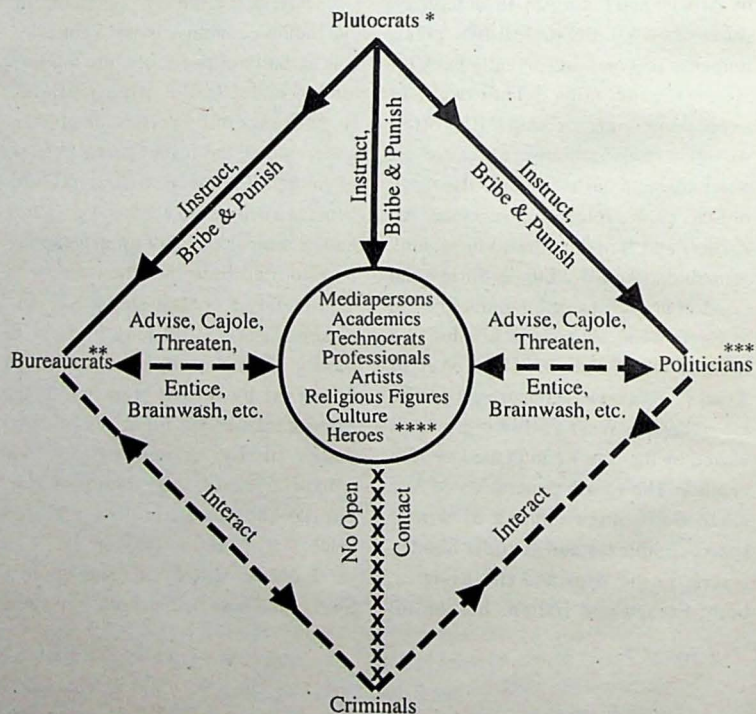
prostitution and paedophile racketeers, kidnapers and murderers, like Dawood Ibrahim of Dubai and Pakistan; Amirbhai of Hongkong and Pakistan; the BCCI bank managers of New York, Brussels and Pakistan and many many more, whom it will take decades to trace and to trace whom will be a complete waste of time.

Leaving aside this fourth corner of proclaimed but unapprehended offenders, and the first two corners of plutocrats and bureaucrats, we shall, in this article, concentrate on the third corner consisting of politicians.

We may illustrate the Total Universe as follows :

The plutocrats are at the top of this diamond or square. They are the property owners and they instruct, bribe and punish the bureaucrats who administer their state and the politicians who ostensibly run it and the central core group of Mediapersons, Academics, Technocrats, Professionals, Artists, Religious Figures and Culture Heroes. Since they own the means of production, distribution and exchange they have no need to interact with anyone, except of course, amongst themselves. The only ways that they know are those of "Instruct, Bribe and Punish." On two sides are the Bureaucrats and Politicians, who receive their orders from the Plutocrats and quietly or noisily carry them out. The criminals form the bottom corner of the diamond or the square. They interact with Bureaucrats and Politicians and in fact, very often

The Total Bourgeois Universe



- * Plutocrats include important members of MRTP Houses, their chief spokespersons running Commerce and Industry Associates, and attached experts.
- ** Bureaucrats include administrators, advisors, consultants, technocrats, and enforcers belonging to any of the four branches of the state, namely, the civil service, the police, the judiciary and the army.
- *** Politicians include principal leaders of political parties and their main cadres.
- **** Culture Heroes include Sportspersons, Popsingers, Fashion Designers, Showbiz Personalities, etc.

change places with them. In the centre are the deluded members of the middle classes, Mediapersons, Academics, Technocrats, Professionals, Artists, Religious Figures and Culture Heads, who think that they know and control the world. Actually, they know and control nothing and are themselves, mere marionettes manipulated by the Plutocrats.

2. FIVE TIERS

We may divide the current crop of post-1998 Indian politicians into five tiers.

First tier : The leaders of the two major national parties, viz, the BJP and the INC, who have over 100 members each in the 12th Lok Sabha and who form about 33 % and 25 % respectively of the house. The BJP strength is about 180 and the INC has about 140 MPs.

Second tier : The Second tier consists of six other parties with two-digit strength of over ten members, viz, CPI(M) 32, SP 20, AIADMK 18, RJD 17, SAMATA 12, AND TDP 12, making a total of 111, or 20 % of the 12th Lok Sabha.

Third tier : Further, there are 19 political formations with less than 10 MPs each Biju JD 9, CPI 9, Akali 8, Trinamool 7, JD 6, DMK 6, Shiv Sena 6, RSP 5, Bahujan SP 5, RPI 4, HLD 4, PMK 4, Lok Shakti 3, MDMK 3, TMC 3, Muslim League 2, Forward Bloc 2, Arunachal Congress 2, National Conference 2, in all 90 or 16 % of the House.

Fourth tier : Finally, we have listed in table IV, of our last issue, 17 individuals who form one-member parties. These make up about 4 % of the house.

Fifth tier : Of the State Chief Ministers especially of the 15 major states.

3. THE BJP & THE INC

First tier : The leaders of the two major parties, viz, the BJP and the INC who have over 100 members in the 12th Lok Sabha and who form about 33 % and 25 % respectively of the house.

Naturally, amongst the two, the current BJP group being in power, is the more powerful. The Congress has been out of power since the last two years and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. Today, it doesn't even enjoy the status of supporting the government of the day "from outside". Secondly, as we shall explain presently in greater detail, the Congress is led by Sonia, an Italo-Indian, who is being forced by circumstances, to sign a surrender deal with the BJP in order to safeguard a criminal legacy of over Rs. 25,000 crores for her progeny. Thus, she is being forced by her own greed to commit political harakiri and as she has assumed supreme power over the party, no one can stop her from doing so. As a consequence, the INC group of leaders are not only of secondary importance today, they are also a group that is likely to self-destruct in the immediate future.

First, let us name the most powerful members of the BJP group which is actually occupying the seats of power at the present moment.

Number one is undoubtedly, Atal Behari Vajpayee, who began his political career as a personal secretary to Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the founder of the old Jan Sangh, which regenerated itself as the BJP after the debacle of the Janata

Party in 1977-80. Vajpayee is a poetaster, like V. P. Singh is both a poetaster and a Sunday painter, like Winston Churchill was a brick-layer, a painter and a journalist-litterateur.

Those who are in power always have many prowesses. Who can challenge them, when they possess unlimited powers of patronage ?

Vajpayee has been a member of Parliament for many terms and was the External Affairs Minister under Morarji Desai. He became Prime Minister for 13 days following the 1996 polls to the 11th Lok Sabha. This time, he is likely to survive for a much longer period. Though, already his colleague Sadapathy Muthiah of AIADMK has been forced to resign following his trial for possessing "wealth beyond ostensible means" in Chennai. Another cabinet colleague, Buta Singh has followed Muthiah.

The second-most powerful man in the BJP gang is L. K. Advani, who is a Sindhi refugee and a recipient of Rs. 60 lakhs in the Jain Hawala Scam (*Mankind*, March 1996, pp. 10-13) Advani was chargesheeted by the CBI. However, the Supreme Court exonerated him on the grounds that the Jain Hawala diaries were not admissible evidence.

However, the Supreme Court did not find out,

- Whether the Jain concerns in Bhilai, M.P., Kawas Power Station, near Surat in Gujarat, and elsewhere actually benefited from the licences, permits and quotas granted to them by the government. Why would a non-lunatic make the diary entries, some of which were atleast true, since Sharad Yadav admitted to the receipt of the amount shown against his name ? Why did the Jain brothers and their managers keep the diary in code and surround it with so much secrecy ?

- Why should the accidental arrest of a Kashmiri terrorist and the revelations of the financial transactions involved in his clandestine arms purchases lead so casually to the exposures of Amirbhai's *Hawala* operations from Hongkong ? And how could the lead have led to other revelations ?

- Were the recipients of the bribes from the Jain brothers involved in either cash deposits or acquisitions of property and other assets around the time that the diaries indicated ?

- What about the "wealth beyond ostensible means" possessed by the recipients ? When did the bribe-takers acquire the properties and stocks they owned ?

- How do the income-tax and the wealth-tax returns of the bribe takers match the diary entries ?

Without looking into any of the aspects detailed above, the Supreme Court came to the strange conclusion that Advani was not guilty !

Advani had been Information and Broadcasting minister in Morarji's Cabinet.

Jaswant Singh and Pramod Mahajan have both been inducted into the Prime Minister's office as political advisers. Oath of secrecy has been administered to both of them and both have been given the rank of Cabinet Ministers in the Warrant of Precedence.

Jaswant Singh had recently managed a coup of sorts by flying to Chennai and persuading Jayalalitha to sanction the

coalition of her party and its associates with the BJP. The Congress and the UF were completely surprised by the developments and Inderjit Gupta, former Home Minister and CPI leader, was censured by the Lok Sabha for suggesting a sexual liaison between Jaswant Singh and Jayalalitha.

Pramod Mahajan is the BJP counterpart of Murli Deora of Congress. Both are Mumbai-based and are supposedly the main fund-raisers for their respective parties. The clout that money generates was evident when Pramod Mahajan and Jaswant Singh were made high-level political advisers despite the electoral defeats that the two suffered in the 1998 elections to the 12th Lok Sabha. Jaswant Singh has also been made Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in place of the ineffectual Madhu Dandavate.

Apart from this gang of Four, Vajpayee, Advani, Mahajan and Singh, the only other influential individual in the BJP setup would be the RSS chief Rajendra Singh. We need not go into the question of the exact relationship between the RSS and the BJP. In fact, it was a childish issue made much of by the old socialists at the time of the downfall of the Morarji government. Sanjay Gandhi used it as a device to break up the Janata coalition and Raj Narain thought that he was being too clever by half and he could fool Sanjay Gandhi into helping Charan Singh to obtain the PM's position.

Actually, the earthshaking matter of dual membership has completely receded into the background. Nobody bothers about it today, not the least is it a matter of concern for George Fernandes and Nitish Kumar. Let anybody be a member of any number of organisations. Our sole concern is with their ideological positions and policies!

Amongst the Congress leaders, we may mention the Supreme Commander Sonia Maino Gandhi. Like her father Stephano, Sonia believes in loyalty to the Number One. Especially as she is herself the Boss!

Whatever political pandits may say and whatever the bribed mediemen may pontificate, ultimately money and wealth, in the present capitalist order, must prevail! At a minimum level, money and wealth must find their voice! Sonia is amongst the richest of the land! Amongst her closest friends are R. Venkataraman, former President, P. Chidambaram, former Finance Minister, Abid Husain, V. Krishnamurthy, H. Y. Sharada Prasad and Kapila Vatsyayan, four of the richest and most notoriously corrupt bureaucrats of the country. Her trusts are being funded to the extent of crores of rupees by the HRD ministry, the ministry of Rural Development, and the ministry of External Affairs and no doubt, several other ministries of the government of India. (See *Mankind*, April 1998, pp. 25-7)

Sonia owns some of the most valuable real estate in the country, on Teen Murti Marg and at the junction of Rajpath and Janpath in New Delhi. Surely she is going to defend her vital interests and surely she is going to enlist support from the Indian elite to backup her demands (Rahul Bajaj, Lalit Suri, K. K. Birla, R. P. Goenka, N. K. Firodia, and MNCs like ITC and ICI are already amongst the biggest donors to her trusts.) Naturally, all of them are interested in seeing to it that Sonia maintains her highly influential

status in the country so that she can act to serve the interests of India's Monopoly Houses and the MNCs.

As we have repeatedly stated, the Bofors papers will see the light of day rather shortly. Quattrocchi has already moved the Delhi Court to avoid further exposure and possible extradition to India.

Advani and Vajpayee are realists. If for a hefty consideration they can ensure the acquiescence of Sonia in a continuance of their government, they will surely strike a deal. If Enron can do it in Maharashtra, there is no reason why Sonia Gandhi should not be able to arrive at an understanding with the BJP.

Jayalalitha's tantrums, her behaviour in Chennai as though she were the Prime Minister, appointing and removing ministers to and from Vajpayee's Council; her peremptory and idiotic demands; her desperate attempts to evade corruption charges, provide Vajpayee and Advani with the excuse to make a deal with Sonia.

The Sonia-Vajpayee deal may come through much sooner than most pseudo-pandits of the media anticipate.

Let us put it this way:

- The assets of Rs. 25,000 crores and more, held by Sonia and her trusts demand a political representation and expression.

- The current running expenses of the eight major Sonia trusts, reported in our last issue, need continuous state largesses. Sonia has to induce the BJP government to continue to sink, annually, crores of rupees as subsidies for her various programmes.

- Sonia's inner circles of corrupt politicians (R. Venkataraman, P. Chidambaram, etc.); criminal bureaucrats (Abid Hussain, V. Krishnamurthy, H. Y. Sharada Prasad, Kapila Vatsyayan, etc.); media moghuls (Suman Dubey, Amitabh Bachchan, etc.); are engaged in the task of determining every aspect of Indian policy-making, from diplomacy and public life to rural and human resources development: This inner coterie is not going to abandon its "manifest destiny." Several foreign embassies subsidise and support Sonia and her coterie in order to have their way, especially with regard to India's foreign policy. They are not going to give up their stranglehold when a few crores can be thrown here and there to ensure a firm neo-colonial grip over Indian political, economic and cultural life.

- Therefore, the Americans and the Britons along with all European interests are bound to discover new merits in the BJP programmes. Yashwant Sinha has to be dined and wined and feted by the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO. George Fernandes' "anti-foreign" proclivities have to be accommodated, at least ostensibly. Therefore, a Sonia-Vajpayee-Advani rapprochement must take place.

- It is not possible for even almighty God to restore Congress to its pristine glory. Therefore, such an effort must be given up and rationalisations must be proffered. In the name of stability, it is necessary to allow the BJP government to continue in office for some time. The entire Congress record of criminal collusion with neo-colonial powers can neither be wiped out nor can it be suppressed. The INC must temporarily disappear from the political scene. After a few

years, it can always be brought back, just as it happened in Pakistan, where Jinnah's Muslim League disappeared and now Nawaz Sharief's Muslim League is back in saddle. Such games are played by world powers and their comprador agents in developing countries everywhere in the world. There is nothing new or surprising in this New Dispensation.

• Every Indian monopoly house, whether it has given millions to the eight Sonia trusts or not, will defend the right of Priyanka and Rahul to inherit Sonia's and Rajiv's enormous legacy. Surely, no Indian or foreign capitalist is going to allow Rs. 25,000 crores and more of ill-gotten Gandhi wealth "to die inestate" ?

Surely, these tens of thousands of crores are not going to vanish in thin air ? Surely no one is going to permit such valuable properties to be nationalised, cooperatised or in some other way returned to the people ?

In short, we anticipate, without in anyway looking forward to it, a rapprochement between the BJP and the erstwhile Congress-*naukershahi* establishments.

This being the overarching context, we do not think it is worth our while to mention Sharad Pawar, Madhavrao Scindia, Digvijay Singh or J. B. Patnaik as serious political players of the immediate future. They are there, but are completely unimportant and inconsequential.

Far more important is the overall Congress-*naukershahi* combine that forms the Delhi establishment ! Ex-Presidents R. Venkataraman and S. D. Sharma, ex-PMs V. P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Deve Gowda and Inder Gujral (I have my reservations about Deve Gowda's exact status within the establishment); the India International Centre's Saturday Club; the eight Sonia trusts and their offices at 10, Janpath or Teen Murti Marg; the AICC offices at Raisina Road and elsewhere; the various clubs to which the commander-in-chiefs of the army, navy and airforce belong; the various embassies in Chanakyapuri, especially the American and British; the CBI and RAW headquarters; and so on. Let us not forget also the offices of the big national dailies and of Akashvani and Doordarshan, and the pseudo-academic centres of the Delhi and the Jawaharlal Nehru Universities.

It is this huge ESTABLISHMENT built laboriously over the last 150 years which demands a coming together of the Old and the New, of absorption of the BJP and the Sangh Parivar into the *naukershahi*-media-academic mainstream of compradorism and neo-colonialism.

Just as the Republican Party and the Conservative Party

are the essential elements of the same old establishment in USA and UK, though they may be temporarily ruled by the Democratic and Labour Parties, similarly, the Congress and the BJP have emerged as the representatives of two wings of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie. **The Congress projects the world view of the old *naukershahi* which was nurtured assiduously by the old colonial and the recent post-colonial regimes. The BJP represents the new emerging urban mercantile trading interests, the new shopkeepers of small towns and cities, and the prosperous *kulaks* of the countryside.**

As yet, the industrialists of the country have not found their true voice. Hitherto, they had accepted the leadership of the *naukershahs*, but it has landed them in a complete financial and economic mess. The urban middle-classes and the *kulak* shopkeepers of rural India are now trying out a few innovations. That is the present coalition of the BJP and its Allies. Unless the industrialists come to the fore and seize power, it will willy-milly devolve upon the socialists and nationalists of the country to simultaneously complete the bourgeois revolution and carry through the socialist overturn. **THIS IS OUR TASK WHICH LIES IN THE FUTURE !**

Let us now return to our five tier presentation.

4. THE SIX PARTIES OF THE SECOND TIER

The parties of the second group are divided into two groups of three each. The AIADMK, the Samata and the TDP, whether from inside or outside, support the BJP government, and the CPI(M), the Samajawadi Party and the RJD are at the moment in various ways, affiliated to the INC.

We shall take up the AIADMK and its allies (18 AIADMK plus 4 PMK, 3 MDMK, 1TRC and 1JP), the Samata Party and the TDP first, since they belong to the Ruling Coalition.

AIADMK and allies (27) : At the moment, the leader of this group is J. Jayalalitha, who was the mistress of former AIADMK President, M. G. Ramachandran and was, for sometime, his information minister when MGR was Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (1977-87). After MGR's death, Jayalalitha, allegedly established a lesbian relationship with Sasikala and both women went on a terrific corruption spree, which ultimately brought down her government in 1996. Jayalalitha was totally wiped out from the Parliamentary scene in 1996, and with the help of her allies she has managed a substantial comeback in 1998. Out of the 39 Tamil Nadu

NEXT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

In the normal course, the next assembly elections in the various states will be held as per the following time-table.

	State	Year
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1999
2.	Assam	2001
3.	Bihar	2000
4.	Gujarat	2003
5.	Haryana	2001
6.	Karnataka	1999
7.	Kerala	2001
8.	Madhya Pradesh	1998
9.	Maharashtra	2000
10.	Orissa	2000
11.	Punjab	2002
12.	Rajasthan	1998
13.	Tamil Nadu	2001
14.	U.P.	2001
15.	West Bengal	2001
16.	Jammu and Kashmir	2001
17.	Himachal Pradesh	2003
18.	Delhi	1998
19.	Sikkim	1999
20.	Arunachal Pradesh	2000
21.	Nagaland	2003
22.	Manipur	2000
23.	Mizoram	2003
24.	Tripura	2003
25.	Meghalaya	2003
26.	Goa	1999

seats in the Lok Sabha, the DMK secured merely 5 and the TMC just 3. (In 1996, TMC has secured 20 and DMK 17).

Jayalalitha is both desperate and a born comedienne. First, she took several days to come out in support of Vajpayee. Ultimately, Jaswant Singh had to airdash to Chennai to effect a dramatic conversion. Secondly, she is announcing from Chennai, the new composition of the Central Ministry after exclusion of her nominee Muthiah on corruption charges, as though she were the PM of the country. Thirdly she has unleashed her pet dog Subramaniam Swamy on other cabinet ministers like Ram Jethmalani.

Actually, by her tantrums and stupidity, she may have brokered and precipitated a Sonia-Vajpayee-Advani rapprochement. (This will become clear in the next few days.)

Samata Party : The Samata Party has secured two cabinet berths. George Fernandes has grabbed the Defence portfolio while Nitish Kumar has become the new Railway Minister.

Furthermore, the collapse of the Janata Dal in Bihar has created a strong possibility that sooner or later, Laloo's RJD will lose out in Bihar.

In the larger sense, we can only say that George and Nitish have lost their bearings because of a narrowing of their ideological vision. The logic of parliamentary politics of electoral alliances and coalitions has condemned both to sterile opportunism. At the end, nothing will be in their grasp except hot air and same acrid smell !

Chandrababu Naidu's TDP which wields power in Andhra Pradesh has also gained out of support to the BJP. Its nominee, G. V. K. Balayogi has become the Speaker of the new Lok Sabha. In the coming days, his position will become all the more crucial.

Within Andhra too, the TDP and BJP are moving towards a long-term electoral alliance.

CPI(M) has disgraced itself thoroughly in recent weeks. First of all, Jyoti Basu has been going round claiming that had the CPI(M) not erred grievously in 1996, he, Basu, would have been the Prime Minister of the country instead of Deve Gowda. Secondly, Surjit went out of his way to prop up a possible Congress-led coalition with full CPM participation just after the 1998 polls for the 12th Lok Sabha. In fact, it was Sonia who had to come out with the confession that the Congress did not have the numbers with or without UF support to stake any claim to form a government. Both Sitaram Yechury and Prakash Karat by backing their elders have blackened their faces. But the Stalinists are a peculiar tribe. They have never been a part of the national movement and had supported British Imperialism and the Muslim League throughout the Second World War. They supported Partition of the country which made them responsible for one of the greatest crimes against humanity of recent memory. They fought with the Razakars of Hyderabad against the Indian army and they betrayed the August 1942 freedom fighters as well as the supporters of the Indian National Army of Subhas Bose.

I do not know how the Stalinists survived ! Especially, I do not understand why they survived ! They supported Indira's Emergency, which saw the jailing of several lakhs !

They have promoted communalism and fundamentalism very actively, in Kerala.

Ultimately, I believe their existence, no doubt only marginal, is due to the prevalence of the *naukershahi* culture in our country. The old *naukershah* needed an ideological base that promoted British Imperialism as a progressive force in Indian history. And the Stalinists needed an opportunistic alliance that promoted careerism, communalism and casteism, which were all divisive forces, welcome everytime, everywhere and every which way by British Imperialism.

Beyond a point it is not possible to argue with a Stalinist. He will admit Stalin's horrible crimes in one breath and almost in the same breath maintain that Stalin was a great socialist revolutionary who achieved communism in his Siberian forced labour camps !

It is an article of faith with them that the Aryans "invaded" India. **All the significant cultigents, all the important species of domesticated plants and animals had their origin in Sub-continental India.** And yet, India was totally empty. All the ethnic and linguistic groups presently resident in Sub-continental India arrived from outside ! Nobody was here !

The Vedic society of the Saptasindhu region, centred upon Saraswati, left no material remains but had a splendid literature that stretched from c. 4500 B.C. to 700 B.C. AT THE SAME TIME, AND IN THE SAME SAPTASINDHU REGION, THERE WAS ANOTHER CIVILISATION WHICH HAD NO LITERATURE BUT HAD ONLY MATERIAL REMAINS STRETCHING FROM c. 2500 B.C. ONWARDS ! The Stalinist mind does not balk at any contradiction. Stalin can be a devil and a God at the same time ! British Imperialism can be progressive and reactionary at the same time ! Vedic *sanskriti* and Indus civilisation can coexist in the same region at the same time ! One can fight with the Razakars against the Indian army and at the same time, congratulate Britain for unifying India.

Trotsky marvelled at the extraordinary stupidity and criminal folly of the Russian Stalinists ! We have to agree with him that there are periods in history when Cultures and Civilizations bloom and also certain other periods when criminals and idiots rise to the forefront. With Trotsky, we must concur that in reactionary and counter-revolutionary ebb tides of history, the most rotten and the most diseased must necessarily rise to occupy the crest. How else will rotten history get made ?

It is obvious to me that the Stalinist parties are a passing aberration of Indian politics. They have no roots within the national mainstream and they will soon cease to be, just like the Nizam and his Razakars !

The Samajwadi Party, with 20 Lok Sabha MPs, has emerged as a significant political force in Indian politics.

"The SP", Mulayam Singh said "had made spectacular progress within a short span of five years and was the party of the future. We are the third largest party in the Parliament after the Congress and the Communists. In Uttar Pradesh we got 1.63 crore votes against the BJP's 2.02 crore." (*Times of India*, 21.4.98)

We wish Mulayam well ! At the same time, he must

realise that the poor downtrodden masses of India have made a supreme effort and have freed themselves from the iron grip of the Congress-naukers shahi combine of the last 50 years. Mulayam must not destroy the morale of the masses! As we have pointed out earlier, Anti-Congressism is the first step. It has to be followed by a critical re-appraisal of the BJP platform. All that is correct and progressive in it has to be separated from all the rubbish. Article 370 which is a patently communal provision giving special unequal status to Jammu and Kashmir, MUST GO ! There should be a Common Civil Code for the Indian people ! *Swadeshi* must be promoted and the compradorist acquiescence to the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB, IMF, and WTO MUST GO ! A New Constituent Assembly FOR THE FIRST TIME elected on the basis of Direct, Universal, Equal, Adult Franchise should be brought into existence. The Comprehensive Test

Ban Treaty should not be signed and India should proceed to demonstrate its nuclear capability. This is the only way to compel Pakistan, China and USA to forebear ! Centre-State relations must

be based on an even keel ! Secularism cannot be defined by either the comprador Congress-naukers shahi, nor can it be prescribed by USA which supports Israel, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Talibanist Afghanistan. Secularism does not mean *Sarvadharmasambhava*, but can only mean *Bhava* (No Value) to any religion. Mulayam should understand that the immediate and primary task is to stop the Drain of Wealth from India and block all further Devaluations and Free Floats of the Indian rupee. Today the value of the Indian rupee in terms of the dollar is one-twelfth of what it was in 1947. At that time we had about \$4.5 bln. as Sterling Balances in our favour. Today, we have a net foreign debt of \$100 bln. The Adverse Balance of Trade and Net Invisible Outflows is taking place today at the annual rate of Rs.24,000 to 36,000 crores. (See table alongside sourced to *Economic Survey, 1996-97, Table 6.2, Balance of Payments*)

As we have noted earlier, in the columns of *Mankind*, this Drain of Resources from India to the extent of two to three thousand crores per month is taking place within the over-arching context of South to North flows of billions of dollars.

• By restrictive trade practices, particularly in relation to movement of Labour, the Developing countries are being deprived of \$500 bln. per year, according to *Human*

Development Report, 1992, of the UNDP, p. 67.

• Debt-related net transfers have totalled \$242 bln. between 1983 and 1989, from the Poor to the Rich. (See. *UNDP Report, 1992, p. 45*)

In the context of the Drain of Wealth from India, it is not possible to envisage any industrial or technological progress. This is what Mulayam Singh and his spokesman Amar Singh must realise.

Just as Mulayam's Samajwadi Party is the party of the future, similarly, Laloo's Rashtriya Janata Dal of 17 MPs is the party of the past. In the 1996 elections to the 11th Lok Sabha, the Janata Dal had won 60 seats nationwide. Today, the parent Janata Dal is reduced to just six ! The breakaway RJD of Laloo Prasad Yadav has managed to retain only 17 seats out of the 22 it had won in 1996. As a matter of fact, had Samata formed an alliance with anti-Congress

leftist forces, in Bihar, rather than the BJP, Laloo might have lost quite a few seats.

Laloo's corrupt, authoritarian ways have no place in a people-friendly India of the future. Ram Vilas Paswan is about to join

George and Nitish. Perhaps, Sharad Yadav may also follow soon. The fall of Rabri Devi government is imminent and either Laloo mends his ways or he will disappear from Indian history.

5. THE THIRD TIER OF NINETEEN SMALL PARTIES

Again we may divide this group into two : supporters of the BJP coalition and its opponents.

The supporters are Biju Janata Dal of Naveen Patnaik (9), Akalis led by Prakash Singh Badal and S.S. Barnala (8), Trinamool Congress of Mamata Banerjee and Ajit Pánja (7), Shiv Sena of Bal Thackeray (6), Haryana Lok dal of Om Prakash Chautala (4), PMK of Ramadoss (4), Lok Shakti of Ramakrishna Hegde (3), MDMK of V. Gopalswamy (3), Arunachal Congress of Gegong Apang (2) and National Conference of Farooq Abdullah (2).

I do not think that these small parties deserve any further consideration by us, in the company of the big fellows already mentioned. We can only say that like the Akalis who are firmly in the saddle in Punjab, the BJD in Orissa, the Trinamool in West Bengal, the Lok Shakti in Karnataka are all set to capture power in their respective states.

Opposed to them and the BJP are the CPI, led by A.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA)					
		1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
		Rs. crore	Rs. crore	Rs. crore	Rs. crore
1.	Imports	50,086	51,418	68,863	78,630
2.	Exports	33,152	44,923	54,762	71,146
3.	Trade Deficit (1-2)	-16,933	-6,495	-14,101	-7,484
4.	Invisible Receipts	13,394	23,449	23,901	30,262
5.	Invisible Net Balance	-435	4,258	1,337	3,849
6.	Total Net Invisible Payments (7+8)	-13,829	-19,191	-22,564	-26,413
7.	Net Payments of Interest and Amortisation of Govt. Guaranteed Loans	-4,958	-6,346	-7,395	-8,170
8.	Invisible Payments, Remittances of Profits, Dividends, Royalties, Fees Etc.	-8,871	-12,845	-15,169	-18,243
9.	Total Outgo Per Year (3+6)	-30,762	-25,686	-36,665	-33,897

B. Bardhan (9), JD arguably led by two ex-Prime Ministers Inder Gujral and Deve Gowda (6), DMK led by Karunanidhi (6), RSP whose leader Tridib Chowdhury died recently (5), Bahujan samaj party led by the mercurial Kanshi Ram and the even more reckless Mayawati (5), RPI possibly led by Prakash Ambedkar (4), Tamil Maanila Congress led by Moopannar (3), etc.

6. FOURTH TIER OF ONE-MEMBER PARTIES

We do not think that these adventurers, listed in our last issue on p. 23, deserve any consideration. The most despicable worm amongst them, Subramaniam Swamy is almost certainly a CIA agent.

7. THE FIFTH TIER OF STATE CHIEF MINISTERS

The latest list of Chief ministers of the 15 major states of the Indian Union is given in the box alongside.

8. CONCLUSION

As we have discussed, the *naukershahi* wing of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie, hitherto represented by the INC, has now been displaced by the urban middle-class trading and the rural *kulak*-moneylender wing of the same comprador bourgeoisie represented by the BJP.

THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF THE SOCIAL OVERTURN THAT HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE 1998 POLLS TO THE 12TH LOK SABHA.

Since, by liberal bourgeois standards, it is reasonable to safeguard Priyanka and Rahul's legacy, and since the amount involved is enormous, over Rs. 25,000 crores and further since Sonia's eight trusts require continuous state support, to the tune of scores of crores of rupees annually, it is incumbent and urgent for Sonia to arrive at a

rapprochement with Vajpayee and Advani.

Jayalalitha and Subramaniam Swamy's desperate attempts to escape serious corruption and political sabotage charges against them will speed up the process of their coming together.

The rapprochement between Sonia and the BJP leadership will have enormous further consequences. The Congress Party may very well split up formally and if a

section of the INC joins the BJP coalition, some of the old allies maybe dropped by the BJP and some new ones may come to the forefront.

For the time-being, Vajpayee has formed a shield against Jayalalitha in the form of a Co-ordination Committee, formed of all the leaders of the political parties associated with him. Jayalalitha will no longer be able to deal with Vajpayee directly. She will have to proceed through this CC where her demands will be cut to size by many opponents of the AIADMK. In fact, within

the CC, the PMK and the MDMK may themselves diverge from Jayalalitha's tantrums. In any case, the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Haryana Vikas Party and the Haryana Lok Dal, the Samata Party, the Biju Janata Dal, the Shiv Sena, the TDP and the Lok Shakti alongwith more or less independent entities like Ram Jethmalani will all join together to attack Jayalalitha, who is extremely vulnerable because of her corrupt past and present.

In the long run, there is no solution to the Jayalalitha problem unless, at least 25 MPs, either from the Congress or from the RJD with a few independents join the BJP.

Till then Sonia will have to prevent a BJP collapse !

LIST OF CHIEF MINISTERS OF 15 MAJOR STATES		
STATE	CHIEF MINISTER	PARTY
1. Andhra Pradesh	Chandrababu Naidu	TDP
2. Assam	Prafulla Kumar Mahanta	AGP
3. Bihar	Rabri Devi	RJD
4. Gujarat	Keshubhai Patel	BJP
5. Haryana	Bansi Lal	HVP
6. Karnataka	J.H.Patel	JD
7. Kerala	E.K. Nayanar	LDF
8. Madhya Pradesh	Digvijay Singh	INC
9. Maharashtra	Manohar Joshi	SS
10. Orissa	J.B.Patnaik	INC
11. Punjab	P.S. Badal	SAD
12. Rajasthan	Bhairon Singh Shekhawat	BJP
13. Tamil Nadu	M.K. Karunanidhi	DMK
14. U.P.	Kalyan Singh	BJP
15. West Bengal	Jyoti Basu	CPI(M)

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Asso. Edr.

30 LAKH BOMBAY TENANTS BEING TOLD "FORGET PUGREE OF 50 YEARS AND PAY UPTO 22 TIMES MORE" !

The Bombay Rent Act of 1947 froze the rents in the metropolis at the September 1940 level. This Act expired on March 31, 1998. The landlord lobby in Mumbai saw in this an opportunity to push their case for hiking up rents. They filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court asking for defreezing of the rents. The Supreme Court issued a directive on December 23, 1997 to the state government to frame a new act and implement it by April 1, 1998 after taking into consideration the Model Rent Control Law which had been unanimously adopted by all the states and the Centre in 1992. This directive had said that the 1947 Act will cease to be effective after March 31, 1998.

The Model Law, however, is itself a Non-Model, for it was obviously and heavily biased in favour of the landlords !

The Maharashtra government which had deliberately put up a very weak defence against the landlords' writ petition, woke up to the political fallout of the Supreme Court directive when Murli Deora of the Congress wrested the South Bombay parliamentary seat from BJP's Jayawantiben Mehta in the recent Lok Sabha elections. Deora had concentrated his election campaign on a supposedly pro-tenant stance.

There are over 30 lakh tenants in Mumbai who will be directly affected by the proposed Model Rent Act which will increase rents upto 22 times and will also make it easier for landlords

to evict tenants. The proposed legislation does not treat family members and heirs as tenants-in-continuity and such tenants are likely to lose protection under the new Act.

The BJP-Shiv Sena government has in a half-hearted knee-jerk reaction got the president to give his consent to an amending act that permits increase in rents by five per cent.

Now 19 associations of tenants have come together to form an Action Committee for Protection of Tenants' Rights. The landlords are represented by the Property Owners' Association (POA).

The POA argues that the 5 per cent increase in rent in the interim bill is not consistent with the Supreme Court directive of December 23, 1997 to amend the 'unreasonable' provisions of the Bombay Rent Act regarding standard rent. The landlords are in favour of the Model Rent Act of 1992 being made applicable to the city.

On April 17, 1998, the Supreme Court rejected a batch of petitions submitted by various tenants' associations seeking a review of its December 1997 directive.

After this, the state government has approached the centre for a repeal of the model rent legislation accepted by the parliament in 1992.

Property prices in Mumbai have been artificially inflated by builders and speculators. Landlords as a class have made huge profits out of a system of transferring tenancies at a premium

locally known as *pugree*. The *pugree* payments were made in cash and the assumption was that the Bombay Rent Act of 1947 would continue to operate perpetually. The tenants' associations are demanding that the cash *pugree* payments should be legalised so that they become visible on paper and all such payment made over the last fifty years to be taken into account when allowing landlords to raise rents even by 5 % ! According to Bombay's 30 lakh middle and lower class tenants, the *Pugrees* taken by landlords over the last half century and more, have in actuality fully compensated the landlords and "many times over" at that !

The recent increase in floor space index (FSI) granted by the state government to the landlords in Mumbai and suburbs in the form of Transferable Development Rights (TDR) has also been a bonanza for the landlords and further compensated them. They have sold the extra FSI to third parties and made enormous profits.

Since the landlords as a class have realised the market value of their property many times over by the *pugree* system, the tenants' associations are demanding that tenants of old and dilapidated buildings should be allowed to form cooperative societies and to reconstruct such buildings.

After the spate of petitions and directives in the last few months, an uneasy stalemate has been achieved by the state government by postponing any new legislation by a year.

But the conflict between the landlords and the tenants is not going to disappear in a year. Let the people of Mumbai and Maharashtra learn from bitter experience that the courts in a bourgeois democracy do not dispense justice, they merely dispense bourgeois justice, where might is always right !■

SUPREME COURT NOT SATISFIED WITH THE VERDICT OF THE HANGING JUDGE OF CHENNAI

The Supreme Court, on March 26, 1997, stayed the execution of the capital punishment awarded by the designated

judge V. Navaneethan in Chennai to the 26 accused in the case of assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. A three-judge bench

of Chief Justice M. M. Punchhi, Justice K. Venkatswamy and Justice B. N. Kirpal passed the interim order, when they admitted appeals against the January 28th judgement of the Chennai court.

The Supreme Court directed that the original records in Tamil should be

translated in English within 2 months by recruiting a hundred-men task force.

Several thousand pages of witness' statements will form a part of the records of the case to be so translated. The apex court has put a deadline of two months for the completion of the translation which should be certified as accurate by a High Court judicial functionary. The Supreme Court wants the appeal hearing to start immediately after the translations are ready.

S. Nalini and 25 others were sentenced to death by the designated Chennai court for conspiring to kill Rajiv Gandhi.

In their 90-page Special Leave

Petition filed on February 24, 1998, the accused have urged that the court has made a mistake in reaching a guilty verdict. They have emphasised the following points :

- The Chennai court did not take into account the fact that there was no evidence where the belt bomb was prepared and how it was brought to India.
- Being a LTTE sympathiser did not mean that the person had a prior knowledge of the conspiracy.
- Being associated with the other accused was not sufficient to deduce

that the accused had shared a common plan of action and were aware of the main conspiracy.

- The confessional statements of some of the accused under Section 15 of TADA cannot be relied upon as evidence.

Nalini, the principal accused, has stated that except Sivarasan, Shubha and Dhanu, no one else knew of the plan to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi. Sriharan, another accused, cited as a hardcore LTTE militant, has argued that the fact that he was associated with Sivarasan is no proof of his having any prior knowledge of the conspiracy. ■

WILL INDIA SUCCEED IN CLOSING STABLE DOORS AFTER WESTERN THEFT OF LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF INDIAN TECHNOLOGICAL HORSES FROM 18TH TO 20TH CENTURIES ?

The Indian government seems to be arousing itself out of the stupor into which it had sunk for decades, while the developed world has been merrily misappropriating flora and fauna from India for private profit (*Mankind*, Nov. 1997 and April 1998), right from 1765 !

The Industry Minister, Sikander Bakht, waking up from deep comrador slumber, has said that to equip Indian individuals and companies to protect their skills and traditional knowledge, a package of legal and administrative reforms is being proposed.

In order to overcome the hurdles posed by the inefficient inherited colonial Indian patent filing system, the Indian government wants "to set up a national patent office equipped with modern technology which will enable Indians to file patents anywhere in the world with very little waste of time."

Bakht's ministry is initiating steps

to make India join the Paris Convention of 1883 as revised in 1900, 1911, 1925, 1934, 1958 and 1967. No explanation has been advanced for the reasons India had failed to do so for so many years ! This will supposedly give Indian patent-seekers access to the Patents Cooperation Treaty (PCT). Joining the PCT will mean that an Indian patent can be filed for international registration from India itself and this will also reduce the time taken for granting patents. Other possibly negative consequences of joining the PCT and signing the repeatedly revised Paris Convention have not been spelt out.

We know this much, that hitherto our Patent law conferred no Product Patents, and merely protected Process Rights ! Was this the sole reason for not signing the Paris Convention ? Were there equally other good reasons for not

being with the PCT ? Are we being hustled to sign now, so that Western domination is sanctified in the Patents field ?

The Industry Minister is also reviving the Trademarks Bill. Other ministries at the Centre are simultaneously getting separate bills ready "to protect" India's flora and fauna as well as the rights of Indian plant and animal breeders and industrial designers.

An expert group has been set up to advise the Industry Minister on Intellectual Property Rights issues. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and R. Mashelkar (head of CSIR) are members of this group. The CSIR has successfully fought and won the turmeric patent battle in American courts recently.

The patent office is also being overhauled. A National Patents office will function from Delhi with four regional offices linked with computers.

At present, there are only 35 examiners who can handle about 3000 applications a year. This creates delays and bottlenecks in the patent registration process. To overcome this, experts will be brought to the patent office on deputation. ■

JOSHI GRABS VALUABLE URBAN PLOTS FROM SCHOOL CHILDREN !

Manohar Joshi, the remote-controlled toy leader of the Shiv Sena-BJP government of the State is going through turbulent times. His mentor, Bal

Thackeray, is angry with him, the Shiv Sena-BJP combine has lost heavily in the State in the Lok Sabha elections and on the personal front he has been

accused of corruption by none other than the Shiv Sena nemesis Chhagan Bhujbal.

Bhujbal, a former leader of the Shiv Sena, has accused Joshi of a cover-up in the grabbing of school properties in his constituency, Dadar, with the aid of Shantilal Maru, the owner of Suvidha

Sari Stores. One school in question is the K. G. Khilnani School which was situated in the same building as the sari store. The property is worth 25 crores. Bhujbal has also stated that the Khilnani School is not the only one that has had to close down. In the last year at least eight schools in the Chief Minister's constituency have been shut down.

The Supreme Court had ruled on the restoration of property to owners from whom these were requisitioned by the government under the Land Requisition Act of 1948. Since many of these properties housed charitable and government institutions, the State government had asked the Supreme Court to exempt them from the derequisitioning orders. According to Bhujbal, certain schools have been deliberately omitted from the list of exemptions. Joshi is close to Shantilal Maru, the owner of the stores and a stay order on the closure of the Khilnani school will naturally be a losing business proposition for the latter, though Joshi tried to refute the allegations (*Indian Express*, 26.3.98)

The Shiv Sena-Bharatiya Janata Party government in Maharashtra is also being named in a Rs. 400 cr. land scam.

"A prime plot in Andheri West, belonging to the Maharashtra Housing and Area Development Authority (MHADA) is reportedly being

transferred to a private builder for a pittance. The plot is of 43 acres and is located in the Oshiwara-Versova area. It is a part of a 355-acre property which the State government gave MHADA in 1964 for public housing." (*Afternoon Despatch & Courier*, 25.3.98)

In 1983, a Mr. Deepchand Gardi claimed 86 acres of the MHADA property and created a dispute. Even after several court rulings, Mr. Gardi still insists on claiming the land as his. Then, since the case was endlessly dragging, the state revenue ministry, headed by Mr. Narayan Rane, decided on an out-of-court settlement between MHADA and Mr. Gardi in which the disputed plot would go to a third party, in this case the Apna Ghar Cooperative Housing Society. However, according to MHADA officials, this decision was taken against their wishes. In this case, cabinet approval was also bypassed.

Of the disputed 86-acre plot, half is now earmarked for development while the remaining half falls under the non-development zone. Under existing rules of Floor Space Index (FSI) and Transfer of Developmental Rights (TDR) for constructions in development zones. Apna Ghar would be able to build 43 lakh square feet of living space. This is estimated to be worth over Rs. 400 crore at current

market prices. The government, on the other hand, would end up building barely two lakh square feet of living space on the remaining 43 acres falling under the non-development zone. Also, the plot was transferred to Apna Ghar at prices prevalent ten years ago. Alongwith this, Apna Ghar has been exempted from the provisions of the Urban Land Ceiling Act, which prescribes that a housing cooperative cannot have more than 500 square metres land and for every additional square metre, 50 per cent of its assessed value would have to be paid to the government as premium.

As if this was not enough, another *Indian Express* story dated 29.3.98 carries the headline, *CM's Kin Named in Land Scam*. A close relative of Chief Minister Manohar Joshi was involved in the dereservation of a prime plot at Brandwane in Pune for commercial exploitation. The plot was reserved for a primary school in the city development plan of 1987, but construction work has already started on it.

Manohar Joshi is definitely neck-deep in problems. He will probably survive his term as Chief Minister since the SS-BJP government enjoys a clear majority in the Assembly, but it won't be smooth-sailing all the way. ■

SPICES PROMOTE HEALTH

There is good news for all those choosy Indians with a good appetite. Grandma's recipes are getting scientific sanction now. Culinary renunciation may not be required any longer. Preliminary studies in India reveal that spices and condiments release chemicals that keep the body in tune and can destroy nasty disease-causing microbes.

In India, spice research is at a nascent stage. Experiments are being carried out on animals at the moment. And one cannot say that what works for animals will always work for humans. But at least studies made in this direction are no doubt an encouraging step. Studies on rats and hamsters at

the Central Food Technological Research Institute (CFTRI), Mysore, have shown how curcumin and capsaicin, the active principles of turmeric and red chillies respectively, can shrink gallstones by as much as 40 per cent. CFTRI scientists also induced cancerous tumours in rats and found that turmeric, asafoetida and garlic could significantly reduce the size of the tumours. Clove is found to be one of the strongest anti-fungal agents, in another research study made. It was also noticed that spices like cinnamon, mustard and garlic also possess properties which can inhibit growth of fungi. In other animal studies made at the National Institution for Nutrition

(NIN), Hyderabad, it was found that garlic, onion, red pepper and ginger together do a great plumbing job for the arteries : they keep arterial walls clean of deposits that otherwise could narrow blood vessels and increase risks of clots.

While focussing their attention on India's traditional spices, our scientists are trying to make out what actually causes the healing. Some spices specifically, ginger, fenugreek, mustard and onion — urge the digestive system to produce more bile acid. Others — ginger, mint and piperine, the active principle of pepper — can stimulate the production of pancreatic juices. Outflow of these juices makes man feel hungry. But "The important thing to remember is that the spices that have

an impact on our health never act alone." (*India Today*, 20.4.98). It is their coordinated action that can bring good results for us.

What is needed at this stage is much stronger statistical and scientific back up. Scientists lack databases on food habits, spices and their specific impact on specific populations. As a result they cannot correlate between what ethnic groups eat and what disorders their food protects them from. Studies if made in this direction, on groups of people in different regions, their food habits and spices used in their daily diet, will be of great use not only to nutritionists and scientists but also the people in general.

Many years ago, in 1980-81, the Executive Editor of this journal, Dr. Purohit, had written to Shri A. S. Gupta, Chairman of the LIC to investigate the problem of Diet and Demography and Health in Post-Colonial India with the help of LIC's Records.

Dr. Purohit and A. S. Gupta had been colleagues in 1951-52 in the Asian Assurance Company of Govardhandas Dutia in Bombay. Of course, as a family friend, Govardhandas had felt duty-bound to fiercely exploit whomsoever

he could ensnare and Dr. Purohit was paid a magnificent salary of Rs. 100 basic plus Rs. 45 D.A. per month. Whilst, Gupta as a qualified actuary, legitimately received more than ten times as much. After receiving his doctorate in 1976, Dr. Purohit picked up the threads with Gupta and suggested to him :

- That the heights and weights of a sample of the insured be extracted from the Proposal Packets in the LIC Records, alongwith available medical data, in order to correlate with the substantial improvement that had taken place in the average expectation of life at birth from 1947 onwards. (From about 32 years to about 52 years in the early eighties)

- Sex and age of the sample could be equally easily obtained alongwith a fair estimate of the income level.

- Since each region of India, linguistic group, community and caste had distinctive dietary habits, which on the whole were very persistent, it would be possible to relate the demographic experience of the sample with dietary practices.

However, A. S. Gupta was deeply

steeped in the North Indian *naukershahi* culture of our country and therefore, took no interest in the suggestions that I had made, which were not directly related to his pay packet or perks.

Infact, not entirely discouraged, Dr. Purohit attempted to pursue the matter with the data that may be available from the Army Recruitment Board, and Bombay Municipal Education Department, which runs hundreds of municipal schools in the city.

Readers of *Mankind* may take up this matter with their acquaintances in the LIC, in the Army and in the Educational Establishments. **Perhaps, after two decades, they might now have a better chance of success.**

The use of Spices, Condiments, Garnishes and Seasonings are characteristic of Indian cuisine. There are scores of standard regional variations of these elements alongwith habitual combinations of the same with different types of cereals, millets, oilseeds, fruits and vegetables.

It is a fascinating subject and the Executive Editor hopes, before long, to publish his monograph on Indian cuisine in an issue of *Mankind*. ■

HERBAL MEDICINE OF SHAHNAZ HUSSAIN NEITHER MEDICINE NOR HERBAL !

The parting of ways between a Delhi restaurant owner, Sudhir Chona and the high-flying czarina of 'herbal' cosmetics, Shahnaz Hussain, resulted in Chona filing a police complaint against Hussain. According to Chona, Shahnaz Hussain instigated income tax officials to harass him because he asked her to vacate a part of his shop which she was using for selling her herbal "cosmetics".

This complaint led a host of investigative agencies to start sniffing into Hussain's business empire and the results of their enquiries are very damaging for Shahnaz.

Shahnaz Hussain was one of the earliest to commercially exploit the

growing interest in naturopathy and Ayurveda which emerged powerfully in the seventies. From her base in Delhi's upper middle class area, she systematically built up her business in cosmetic products which were supposed to be based on ancient ayurvedic texts. Claiming Mughal ancestry, she was also very good at targetting the rich and the famous first in India and later in many countries in Euro-America. A chain of shops selling her products mushroomed in Indian and world metropolises. Many subsidiary family concerns were floated by her. At present, her business turnover is over Rs. 25 crores according to her, but is estimated to be at least Rs. 600 crores by independent sources.

An inquiry by the Central Bureau of Investigation has managed to fix the blame on one Income Tax official for harassing Chona at Hussain's behest. The CBI has in its possession taped conversations between Chona and Hussain and between Chona and the IT officer, which are said to be very damaging to Hussain.

The next two agencies which have gone into action are the Excise Department of Delhi and the Directorate General of Anti-Evasion (DGAE). According to the investigations carried out by these agencies, since the early '90s, Hussain has evaded excise duty to the tune of Rs. 7 crores. Her firm manufactures cosmetic products which were being declared as Ayurvedic medicines. This enabled her to pay 10 per cent excise duty as against 40 per cent levied on cosmetics.

The majority of her clients are

general merchandise stores, beauty parlours and clinics and not chemists. Her products are also underinvoiced and sold to family concerns such as Shaherb Cosmetics to save tax payments.

What may prove more damaging to Hussain's business are the charges that "none of the products are manufactured in accordance with formulae prescribed in authoritative textbooks of Ayurveda." The raids carried out by the DGAE in 1996-97 in her two factories at Okhla in Delhi and NOIDA as well as her offices in Delhi, Calcutta and Mumbai have unearthed evidence that Hussain obtained licences for her products by supplying fraudulent information. She had claimed that she used herbs in her products but the searches in her factories revealed that the cosmetics contained astringents, moisturisers and essences for producing lather, which had not been declared to the drug licensing authorities and these had

nothing even remotely herbal about them.

The investigating agencies are also

keeping her foreign exchange dealings under watch. ■

SPICES FOR HEALTH

- * Red Pepper : Ventilates the skin when you sweat. Slows down clot formation by thinning blood.
- * Garlic : Clears arteries and heals skin infections. Also cleanses lead from the body.
- * Turmeric : Gets rid of free radicals which could cause cancer. Antiseptic use known for centuries.
- * Fenugreek seeds : Lowers blood sugar in diabetes. Stops diabetes-induced cataract.
- * Tamarind : Binds fluoride. Very useful in areas where fluorosis is a public-health problem.
- * Fennel (saunf) : Anti-inflammatory. Also known for its digestive properties.

Today these medicinal plants and several others have been patented by the U.S. and European countries. Fourteen patents have already been granted by the U.S. patents office on mustard, seven on castor, four on amla, three each for cassia, and kumari and two for karela, black cummin, jatropha and black-night shade for their various properties. (*Indian Express*, 2.5.98) The plants patented by other countries also include arfun, harad, jangli, guruchi, vi layeti shisham and chottagokhurur. Unless and until India chalks out a clear strategy to protect its precious bioresources, that day won't be far away when the developed countries would assume monopoly control over Indian bio-

JUDICIAL FLIP - FLAP !

Finally, Justice Jain's four-volume, 1,800 page *Final Report* was submitted to the Union Home Ministry on March 7. The contents of Justice M. C. Jain's *Final Report* on the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi were made public through a media leak. This report was tabled only when the Central Government refused to grant the Commission what would have been its 13th extension of term.

Jain Interim Report was of only 17 Volumes, and ___ pages ! Perhaps Jain has set up an unbeatable record for vacuous prose — 21 volumes of nonstop nonsense !

This is the final folly of Milap Chand Jain as we had predicted in *Mankind's* Jan-Feb 98 issue. There is a remarkable about-turn from the Commission's Interim Report. The Commission's findings on Karunanidhi and the DMK as are contained in a chapter titled 'Theories', reports that the allegations made against Karunanidhi by AIADMK chief Jayalalitha "of prior knowledge of the assassination plot have been found to

have no substance." And that there is no evidence to establish the involvement of the DMK in the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. It is the same person who had suggested earlier that the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's (DMK) tacit support for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had laid the foundation for the assassination. This sudden change of opinion cannot be said to be inexplicable taking into consideration the subsequent fall of the I. K. Gujral-led United Front Government. The Interim Report did its job well in diverting people's attention from the anticipated reception of the last bunch of Bofors papers and created chaos at the fall of the Gujral Government.

Although Jain appears to have toned down his assault on Karunanidhi, his findings on the DMK and former DMK Minister Subbulakshmi Jagadeesan are of a piece with the Interim Report. But it is not going to raise the same furor now. With the installation of a BJP-led government at the Centre, the *Final Report* is bound

to lose its significance as we have always maintained. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) charged the Congress with having taken "an irresponsible and indiscreet stand" on the Jain Commission findings which had facilitated the installation of a BJP Government in New Delhi.

Tamil Maanila Congress (TMC) chief G. K. Moopanar, confirmed his party's vindication of the DMK and came out against AIADMK leader Jayalalitha for her plea that the DMK government be dismissed by invoking the Article 356 of the Constitution. Moopanar wanted to know the grounds on which the dismissal was being sought.

Amongst the other findings of the Jain Commission Report, the hardline Dravidar Kazhagam's (D.K.) role in facilitating the assassination conspiracy is worth taking note of. The Report states that the assassination could not have been carried out without the "abettment and facilitation" provided by 11 D.K. members. D.K. members carried out this task by setting up a high-technology wireless network in Tamil Nadu, which was used by the conspirators. As many as 300 cadres of

the D.K. were moved from Tamil Nadu to Karnataka to provide shelter to the LTTE. They provided transport to Sivasaran, his associate Shubha and seven others. The link between the D.K. and the LTTE supreme is mentioned in the report. It was through Baby Subramaniam, Central Committee member of the LTTE. He had been indicted for blowing up an Air Lanka aircraft in 1978. He came to India 8 months before the assassination and was the main recruiter for the LTTE. While a majority of the D.K. supporters are undergoing trial at the behest of the SIT, those left out are indicted by the Final Report.

The Report also outlines the "international conspiracy" entered in to

by the LTTE. However, it fails to establish a CIA link for want of conclusive evidence from Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). On the basis of transcripts of satellite telephone conversations between Kumara Padmanabha or KP, the chief arms dealer of the LTTE, and LTTE chief V. Prabhakaran as provided by RAW, the Jain Commission could arrive at the conclusion that it was a premeditated assassination bid. A month before Rajiv Gandhi was killed, the LTTE received a consignment of weapons for the purpose. The Jain Commission maintained that Rajiv Gandhi was killed not by the device that was strapped on to the suicide-bomber Dhanu but by a hand grenade of a make common to

NATO weapons. Similarly traces of TNT as found by the FBI at the assassination site, needs further corroboration from forensic findings. The report therefore urges the government to look into this "omission". Apparently, Milap Chand Jain's, six years' hard labour was not enough "to look into" such essentials!

The Report is yet to be made public in the true sense of the term. However tabling of the Report before the Parliament and that too during its last budget session, will have little impact now. The damage has already been done by triggering the fall of Gujral, the elevation of Sonia, and the intended "confused reception" of the Bofors papers! ■

"DEBT WILL BE WRITTEN OFF, WHEN DEBTOR DIES!"

Khambat, in Gujarat, has been a centre for the Agate-Processing Industry since millennia! Over the last few decades, it has given birth to a killer disease called Silicosis, which has severely affected large villages like Shakarpur. Silicosis is caused by the fine, white powdery dust of agate within a cloud of which the workers breathe and live. At present more than 10,000 agate-processing workers are suffering from this incurable disease.

A typical example is provided by Ravjibhai Somabhai, who is still fighting for his life. **Workers like him are tied to this industry due to poverty, lack of alternative employment, ignorance, illiteracy and debt.** Zebrunnissa Hussain, a 35-year old woman says: "My husband is an invalid. I have three daughters and a son. Till they grow up, I have to continue doing this work." (*Outlook*, 20.4.98) Dhuruben Chauhan along with her husband and daughter is suffering from the dreaded disease, silicosis. She says, "I do not know how to count but the seth tells me that my husband now owes him Rs. 35,000. He has promised us that the loan will be written off when my husband dies." (*Ibid*, p. 26)

The preliminary processes of manual grinding and polishing

machines have been replaced by electricity-powered machines, which leave heavy layers of agate powder in the surroundings. Constant exposure to the agate-dust causes silicosis and death is certain within a decade. Attempts were made by Janpath, a Delhi NGO to introduce a group insurance for about 1,200 workers but the Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) increased its premium from Rs. 25 in 1992 to Rs. 90 in 1994. Thereafter, due to a high death rate, this LIC scheme was withdrawn!

It is, however, very difficult to arrive at the exact death count because most of the workers are not on the rolls. According to Rajanikant Parmar, a Shakarpur-based social worker, around 200 workers, both men and women, have died of Silicosis in just one year. The symptoms of Silicosis are observed in more than 40 per cent of the male workers and 37 per cent of the female workers. Dr. H. N. Saiyed, Director, National Institute of Occupational Health, reveals: "The 'Akik' workers are not covered under any health programme. There are no specialists to treat them, no diagnostic facilities. Medicines meant for TB are used to combat Silicosis, as the disease has no cure." (*Ibid*, p. 27)

Bad environment and poor economic condition have forced the agate workers to live in deadly surroundings. When they catch Silicosis, they will perforce remain where they are as no jobs exist anywhere else for them!

Another problem that is faced by the agate-workers is that they are not paid minimum wages. The traders control the entire economy. The debt process starts with a loan amount that the workers take for buying machines. In the end, the workers are paid anything between Rs. 8 and Rs. 15 per 1,000 polished pieces but, when beaded together and strung, the same are priced at Rs. 80 and above, wholesale.

All the houses and workplaces are lined with white dust and this has literally brought down the condition of the agate-workers. 'Akik' workers are unfit for any other job after contracting silicosis. They do not have the stamina for any other work. In the worst scenario, their bodies have to be literally lifted and carried to the place of work. This is how, human lives are being sacrificed for the semi-precious, valuable agate necklaces that adorn the torsos of beauty queens and middle class urban housewives! After all, what does it matter? Are sacrifices not to be made for the sake of beauty? ■

INDIAN CRICKET REFLECTS COMPRA SOCIETY !

Indian cricket has been embroiled in some controversy or another for such a long time now that it is difficult to remember the last time when the only game played was cricket, and there wasn't even a whisper of a doubt against either the cricketer, the selector or the spectator. Now some cricketers have been accused of match-fixing, while others have been dealing with personal problems which has supposedly affected their performances. A change in captainship led some people to say that the players were not playing with the same degree of loyalty under Sachin as they did under Azhar. On the other hand, the spectators have turned from peaceful to the most violent. Never before had a match been stopped due to the disruption caused by spectators. But Indian spectators managed to do even that. As for the selectors, they are a different breed altogether.

Favouritism, malfunction, jealousy, ignorance, revenge and what not. You name it, they've done it. Their behaviour more often than not seems like the script of a third-rate afternoon soap on television. Most of the selectors are not players and many a times the selection is not done on the basis of the player's capability, but on his current standing in the selector's book of favourites. Zones or regions play a major part in the selection process. The selectors play with the player's career with utter disdain and if a few heads (read careers) roll then it is of no consequence, because they know that in a country with a 900 cr. population they are sure to find players of equal calibre, if not someone better. And non-selection leads to loss of form which retrospectively confirms the selector's vagaries. Most of the time their ire is directed towards zones rather than individual players, though in the case of Venkatesh Prasad it is difficult to say whether the zone is playing a part or Prasad himself is responsible due to some prior 'misdemeanour'. For instance, he committed the crime of marrying the ex-mistress of the

Chairman and Mng. Director of Tata Titan Watch Co., which is one of the big sponsors and donors of BCCI !

Indian cricket teams in the past, as in the present, have always had a majority of players representing one zone or region rather than "more or less equitable" representation from all over the country. More often than not, this is because a particular region "suddenly throws up" better players at the same time ! For example Mumbai and Hyderabad and North Zone had the majority of players in the team in one bunch after another in the recent past. Then it was Karnataka's turn. But everytime this happens, the selectors find some reason or another to break up "the gang", while at other times the players have had to lose their position in the team in the normal course, i.e., due to a genuine loss of form.

However, it is still very difficult to make out as to why the ire of the selectors has fallen on the Karnataka players in general and Venkatesh Prasad in particular. First, Srinath was made to play relentlessly and then he had to drop out due to injury to the shoulders. However, after recovering, he was made to wait a long time before being reinstated in the team. Even now he is not assured a permanent place in the team inspite of the fact that he is arguably the best in-form bowler today.

Secondly, Kumble was kept out on the excuse that he did not turn the ball very well. This, when he went through a bad patch. When he was counted amongst the best spinners in the world, nobody mentioned that he did not turn the ball.

Then it was Rahul Dravid's turn. For no rhyme or reason he was dropped from the one-day team. He is yet to be reinstated, though the chances of such a thing happening are dim because our current one-day team seems invincible. Dravid may be a victim of the current Cola Wars also ! Apparently Tendulkar demanded 2 crores from Pepsi for a 5-year contract. This was too much for Pepsi. Dravid agreed to endorse for just 60 lakhs. Soon thereafter, we found

Sachin as captain, dropping Dravid from the team. A little later Dravid was taken back. But the latest twist is that Dravid is once again out, allegedly because of his "slow run rate" !

However, the most curious case is that of Venkatesh Prasad. Recently, on a number of occasions, he has been "rested" due to an undiagnosed and invisible problem. Prasad was adjudged the CEAT Cricketer of the Year in 1997. He was also the highest wicket-taker in Tests in 1996. Regardless, the selectors, and amongst them mainly Rungta, have rested him saying that his game is "not upto the mark". However, "according to the cricket fraternity one of the 'real reasons' for Prasad being kept out, was a perceived insult to one of the senior selectors It seems Prasad, who was leading the Board President's XI against Sri Lanka at Cuttack, ignored the diktats of Kishen Rungta, the present chairman of the selection committee ... Prasad's return was announced when Rungta was absent from the selection committee." (*Indian Express*, 4.4.98) Prasad's unpolitic marriage a little while ago may be another reason for his exclusion, as we have suggested earlier. Perhaps Rungta is a friend of the Titan chief, which would explain everything !

Now Prasad will have to take some drastic measures to enter the good books of Rungta, if he wants to be assured a permanent place in the Indian XI. That he has 58 wickets from 18 Tests, eight of those Tests being played on the flat wickets of the West Indies, and that he was 1997's Ceat International Cricketer of the Year, does not matter at all !

As *Indian Express* itself has stated in its issue of 4.4.98, "Prasad would have been a great asset in the Bangalore Test, particularly after Javagal Srinath pulled out. His ability to use the new ball effectively and then bowl his unique brand of legcutters with the old ball could have been decisive on the crumbling Bangalore wicket. Instead, a limited bowler like Harvinder Singh was persisted with. But then who is bothered about losing a Test, when a player needs to be taught a lesson !" ■

(contd. on p.30)

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Asso. Edr.

BRITISH PM WOOS ASIAN COMMUNITIES' VOTES

The British Prime Minister Tony Blair and his wife Cherie Blair were the chief guests, at a dinner party hosted in honour of Britain's 200 wealthiest Asians. The party took place in Central London on 26th March. At these festivities held to mark the release of a list of Britain's wealthiest Asians, British Prime Minister lauded their success and described them as "role models" for the 21st century. Mr. Blair said he understood that the collective wealth of the 200 top Asians totalled some 7.5 billion pounds sterling or Rs. 49,500 crores and the Indian and Pakistani community as a whole held a whopping 13.5 billion pounds or Rs. 89,100 crores as their personal wealth. He termed it as "a credit to the country as a whole, not just the Asian community." (*The Times of India*, 28.3.98)

The *Eastern Eye* newspaper, which released the list of 'British Asian Rich' on this occasion, included Lakshmi and Usha Mittal, the toppers who owned a multi-national steel company worth £ 2 billion (Rs. 13,200 crores). This was followed by the Hinduja brothers with their assets worth £ 1.2 billion (Rs. 7,920 crores). Swraj Paul came in third at £ 0.5 billion. There was also Subhash Chandra of Zee TV listed at fourth rank with £ 450 million. Others listed were Manubhai Madhvani (6th / £ 150 m) who is in sugar and beer business but is better known as a man whose family, film actress Mumtaz married into; Kirit Pathak (30th / £ 15 million) known for Pathak Pickles and his father's relations or lack of them, with our ex-PM Narasimha Rao. The millionaire list also included youngsters like Reuben Singh who started fashion designing a few years ago and who owns today a fashion accessory chain under the name Miss Attitude, worth £ 45 million (Rs. 297 crores). It also had names of 16 women, the highest ever who have created their own wealth: for instance, it included the name of Parveen Warsi, the food mogul who started her business making samosas in her humble kitchen. Today, she has amassed a fortune of £ 74.2 million dollars (Rs. 297 crores) after going into

a new enterprise of serving the ready-made meals. Her latest contract is with British Airways. **Most successful Asian businesses are in the food, retail and textile areas and have more recently gone into computers too.** The list claims that its estimates are based on the strength of stakes in quoted companies and business assets. And a great care is taken so as not to invade the privacy of the *crorepatis*.

The British Prime Minister Tony Blair was all praise for these top 200 Asians millionaires of Britain. He voiced his earnest wish for the extension of a similar success wave amongst the other Asian ethnic groups living in Britain. He promised the Asian community full backing of his government in their enterprises and assured them that firm measures would be taken to deal with crimes and discriminations practised against them. He reaffirmed Labour Party's track record in giving representation to Asian and other communities. And cited the example of Lord Swraj Paul, who was present in the audience, as a substantive proof of Blair's words.

The Blairs having set on the mission to woo Indians did everything to earn the favour of 200 wealthiest Asians for the Labour Party. Generally, in the recent past the Asians have favoured the Tories. The Blairs wanted the Asians to turn to Labour. Cherie Blair, moving around in an Indian saree and husband Tony Blair feasting on samosas and surrounded by the super rich Asians, presented an "enchanted event of the night." But this must have left a

majority of Asians with a sour taste in their mouths. They are the ones and not the super rich Asians, who have been grievously affected by social issues: such as unemployment. According to the latest government figures, unemployment rates for people of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin stood at 22 per cent, compared with the national average of about just 6 per cent. (*Indian Express*, 28.3.98, Data for Indian unemployed was not available.)

The Blairs have altered the ideological stance of the Labour Party to make it more of a middle-class political outfit, and less of a proletarian one ! Under the Blair dispensation, unemployment is a minor issue in Britain for the White community as a whole. Therefore, the higher unemployment rates amongst the Asian communities, is even more of an irrelevancy !

What socialism means to Tony Blair is a highly-guarded secret. He alone knows the precise meaning that he has discovered in socialism. ■

Information Fact Sheet GROWTH OF REAL GDP PER CAPITA IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1880 - 1990 (average annual percent change)

Selected Industrial Countries	Gold Standard 1880-1913	Interwar Period 1919-38	Post-World War II 1950-90
France	1.3	2.7	3.1
Germany	1.9	4.2	3.7
Italy	1.6	0.9	3.9
Japan	1.9	1.7	6.0
United Kingdom	1.1	1.1	2.4
United States	1.6	0.6	1.9

Selected Developing Countries	Gold Standard 1900-13	Period of World War 1913-50	Post-World War II 1950-87
Brazil	1.4	2.0	3.0
China	0.3	-0.3	4.9
India	0.5	-0.3	1.9
Indonesia	0.5	-0.2	2.6
Russia	1.6	2.3	2.4

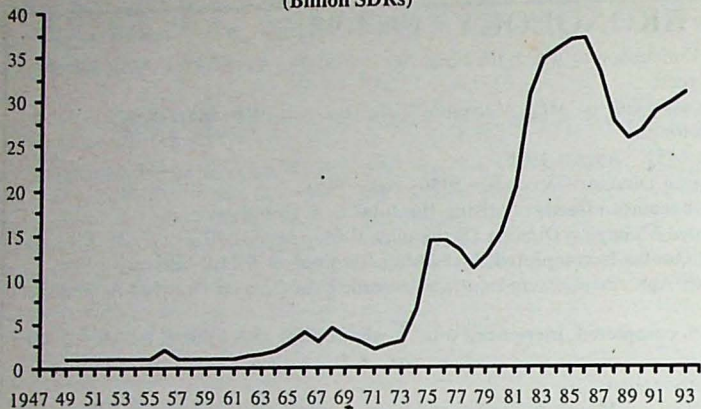
1. 1885-1913

(Source : *Finance & Development*, June 1995, p. 49)

IMF CHRONOLOGY (1944-95)

- 1944 • Bretton Woods Conference, at the conclusion of which the Final Act embodying the Articles of Agreement of the World Bank and the IMF is signed.
- 1946 • Camille Gutt becomes the first *Naumbershah* as IMF's Managing Director (June 1946- May 1951).
• **Fund's initial quotas are \$ 7.4 billion.**
- 1951 • Ivar Rooth succeeds Gutt (August 1951 - August 1956).
- 1956 • Per Jacobsson is appointed Managing Director (December 1956 - May 1963).
- 1958 • **First general increase in quotas becomes effective, raising the total to \$ 15 billion.**
- 1963 • Pierre - Paul Schweitzer is appointed Managing Director (September 1963 - August 1973).
- 1966 • **Fourth Quinquennial Review of Quotas is completed, increasing the total to \$ 21.2 billion.**
- 1969 • First Amendment of the Articles of Agreement enters into force, creating the Special Drawing Account and the Special Drawing right (SDR).
- 1970 • **Fifth General Review of Quotas is completed, increasing total to about SDR 28.9 billion, which was then equivalent to \$ 28.9 billion.**
- 1971 • Dollar convertibility into gold is suspended.
- 1972 • Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues (the Committee of Twenty) is established.
- 1973 • H. Johannes Witteveen is appointed Managing Director (September 1973 - June 1978).
- 1974 • Guidelines for the management of floating rates are established.
• First Oil Facility is established.
• Extended Fund Facility is established
• Final Report and Outline of Reform of the Committee of Twenty is transmitted to Board of Governors at Annual Meetings.
• Interim Committee of the Board of Governors on the International Monetary System (the Interim Committee) is established.
- 1975 • Second Oil Facility is established.
- 1976 • **Sixth General Review of Quotas is completed, increasing total to SDR 39 billion, which was equivalent to \$ 44 billion.**
• Four-year gold sales program is announced.
• Trust Fund is established.
- 1977 • Principles are approved for the guidance of members with respect to exchange rate policies.
• Supplementary financing facility is established.
- 1978 • Second Amendment of the Articles of Agreement comes into effect.
• Jacques de Larosiere is appointed Managing Director (July 1978- December 1986).
• **Seventh General Review of Quotas is completed, increasing the total to SDR 58.6 billion, which was equivalent to \$ 73.4 billion.**
- 1981 • SDR is reconstituted as a basket of Five Major Currencies.
• Enlarged access policy is adopted.
- 1982 • Stand-by arrangements are negotiated for Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil in response to the international debt crisis.
- 1983 • **Eighth General Review of Quotas is completed increasing the total to SDR 90 billion, which was equivalent to \$ 96 billion.**
• The GAB are revised and expanded.
- 1985 • Arrears strategy is adopted, including declaring countries in arrears to the IMF to be ineligible to use IMF resources.
- 1986 • Structural adjustment facility is established.
- 1987 • Michel Camdessus is appointed Managing Director (1987-98).
• Enhanced structural adjustment facility is established.
- 1988 • Compensatory and contingency financing facility replaces the compensatory financing facility, as the contingency window is added.
- 1990 • **Ninth General Review of Quotas is completed, increasing the total to SDR 135.2 billion, which was equivalent to \$ 183.4 billion.**
- 1992 • Membership is approved for the Russian Federation and 13 of the 14 other states of the former Soviet Union.
• Third Amendment to the Articles of Agreement is adopted.
- 1993 • Systemic transformation facility is established.
- 1994 • Fiftieth anniversary of the Bretton Woods Conference.
- 1995 • Unprecedented large stand-by arrangement is negotiated for Mexico in response to systemic crisis in emerging markets. ■

TOTAL IMF CREDIT AND LOANS OUTSTANDING
(Billion SDRs)



(Source : Finance & Development, June 1995, p. 46)

Information Fact Sheet

EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES

Value : \$ billion

YEAR	CHINA	INDIA
1985	13.5	5.2
1991	55.7	13.2
1992	67.9	14.1
1993	75.1	16.8
1994	101.3	20.6
1995	127.3	24.0

(Source : For China, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2.10.97, p. 81 and for India, *Economic Survey*, 1996-97, Government of India, S 86-7; see also *MK*, Dec. 96, p. 66 for further India-China comparisons) ■

Information Fact Sheet

SALES AND PROFITS OF TOP 20 AMERICAN COMPANIES DURING 1997

No.	Rank in 1997 (Sales)	Rank in 1997 (Profits)	Companies	1997 Sales in mln. \$	% Change from 1996	1997 Profits in mln. \$	% change from 1996
1.	1	5	General Motors	153,781	6	6,698	35
2.	2	4	Ford Motors	153,627	5	6,920	56
3.	3	1	Exxon	122,089	2	8,460	13
4.	4	15	Wal-Mart Stores	113,428	12	3,334	15
5.	5	2	General Electric	90,840	15	8,203	13
6.	6	7	IBM	78,508	3	6,093	12
7.	7	18	Mobil	65,709	-19	3,272	10
8.	8	-	Chrysler	58,622	-1	-	-
9.	9	6	Philip Morris	56,114	3	6,310	0
10.	10	9	AT&T	51,319	2	4,472	20
11.	11	-	Texaco	46,667	3	-	-
12.	12	-	Boeing	45,800	29	-	-
13.	13	-	Dupont	45,079	3	-	-
14.	14	-	Hewlett-Packard	42,895	12	-	-
15.	15	-	Sears, Roebuck	41,469	8	-	-
16.	16	-	Travelers Group	37,609	16	-	-
17.	17	13	Procter and Gamble	36,715	4	3,625	12
18.	18	20	Chevron	35,009	-7	3,256	25
19.	19	14	Citicorp	34,697	6	3,591	-5
20.	20	-	KMart	32,108	1	-	-
21.	-	3	Intel	-	-	6,945	35
22.	-	8	Merck	-	-	4,614	19
23.	-	10	Coca Cola	-	-	4,129	18
24.	-	11	Microsoft	-	-	3,895	57
25.	-	12	Chase Manhattan	-	-	3,708	51
26.	-	16	American Intl. Gr	-	-	3,332	15
27.	-	17	Jhonson & Jhonson	-	-	3,303	14
28.	-	19	Bellsouth	-	-	3,270	14
			TOTAL	1,342,085 *	-	97,430	-

* This is almost equal to India's total GNP, in PPP terms, for the year 1995, of \$ 1,300,600 mln., or 1.3 trillion, or Rs.5,200 abja. (Calculated on the basis of per capita GNP, in PPP terms, for the year 1995, of \$1,400 x Population 1995 of 929 mln. by the World Bank Report, 1997, Table 1.)

CASTRO CONFRONTS POPE : 1998

SPEECH BY DR. FIDEL
CASTRO RUZ, PRESIDENT OF
THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AT
JOHN PAUL II WELCOME
CEREMONY IN HAVANA, CUBA,
JANUARY 21, 1998.

Holy Father,

The land you have just kissed is honoured by your presence. You will not find here the peaceful and generous native people who inhabited this island when the first Europeans arrived. Most of the men were annihilated by the exploitation and the enslaved work they could not resist and the women turned into pleasure objects or domestic slaves. There were also those who died by the homicidal swords or victims of unknown diseases brought by the conquerors. Some priests have left tearing testimonies of their protests against such crimes.

In the course of centuries, over a million Africans ruthlessly uprooted from their distant lands took the place of the enslaved natives already exterminated. They made a remarkable contribution to the ethnic composition and the origins of our country's present population where the cultures, the beliefs and the blood of all participants in this dramatic history have been mixed.

It has been estimated that the conquest and colonisation of this

hemisphere resulted in the death of 70 million natives* and the enslavement of 12 million Africans. Much blood was shed and many injustices perpetrated, a large part of which still remain after centuries of struggle and sacrifices under new forms of domination and exploitation.**

Under extremely difficult conditions, Cuba was able to constitute a nation. It had to fight alone for its independence with unsurmountable heroism and, exactly 100 years ago, it suffered a real holocaust in the concentration camps where a large part of its population perished, mostly old men, women and children; a crime whose monstrosity is not diminished by the fact that it has been forgotten by humanity's conscience. As a son of Poland and a witness of Oswiecim, you can understand this better than anyone.

Today, Holy Father, genocide is attempted again when by hunger, illness and total economic suffocation some try to subdue this people that refuses to accept the dictates and the rule of the mightiest economic, political and military power in history; much more powerful than the old Rome that for centuries had the beasts devour those who refused to abdicate their faith. Like those Christians horribly slandered to justify the crimes, we who are as slandered as they were, we choose a

thousand times death rather than abdicate our convictions. The Revolution, like the Church, also has many martyrs.

Holy Father, we feel the same way you do about many important issues of today's world and we are very pleased it is so; in other matters our views are different but we are most respectful of your strong convictions about the ideas you defend.

In your long pilgrimage around the world, you have been able to see with your own eyes many injustices, inequalities and poverty; uncultivated lands and landless hungry farmers; unemployment, hunger, illnesses; lives that could be saved with little money being lost for lack of it; illiteracy, child prostitution, six-years old children working or begging for alms to survive, shanty towns where hundreds of millions live in unworthy conditions; race and sex discrimination; complete ethnic groups evicted from their lands and abandoned to their fate; xenophobia, contempt for other peoples; cultures which have been, or are currently being destroyed; underdevelopment and usurious loans, unpayable and uncollectable debts, unfair exchange, outrageous and unproductive financial speculations; an environment being ruthlessly and perhaps helplessly destroyed; an unscrupulous weapons trade with disgusting lucrative intents; wars, violence, massacres; generalized corruption, narcotics, vices and an alienating consumerism imposed on peoples as an ideal model.

Mankind has seen its population increase almost fourfold just in this century. There are billions of people suffering hunger and thirst for justice; the list of man's economic and social calamities is endless. I am aware that many of them are cause of permanent and growing concern to the Holy Father.

I have been through personal experiences which allow me to appreciate other features of his thinking. I was a student in Catholic schools until I obtained my bachelor's degree. **There, I was taught that to be a Protestant, a Jew, a Moslem, a Hinduist, a Buddhist, an animist or a participant**

* Comrade Fidel Castro has grossly underestimated the number of Amerindians genocidally massacred by the Europeans from 1492 onwards. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973 edition, Vol. 12, p.54, under INDIAN, LATIN AMERICAN, the number genocidally eliminated was between 90 and 110 million. — Exe. Edr.

** Apart from 70 million Amerindians (See correction above to 90/110 million) and 12 mln. Africans, Castro might have also mentioned over 85 million true Indians killed by Famines of Purchasing Power, Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation, Pauperisation and Drain of Wealth from India from roughly 1757 (Plassey) and 1765 (Acquisition of *Diwani* of Bengal, Buhar and Orissa by E.I. Co.) to 1947. (See, Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, pp. 87-88) — Exe. Edr.

of any other religious belief was a terrible evil deserving severe and unmitigated punishment. More than once, even in some of those schools for the wealthy and privileged — where I was one of them — I came up with the question of why there were no black children there; until this day, I have not forgotten the unconvincing answers I was given.

In later years, the Second Vatican Council convened by Pope John XXIII undertook the analysis of some of these sensitive issues. We are aware of efforts by the Holy Father to preach and practice sentiments of respect for the faithful of other important and influential religions which have expanded through the world. **Respect for believers and non-believers alike is a basic principle revolutionary Cubans try to impress upon their fellow citizens.** Such principles have been defined and consecrated by our Constitution and our laws. If there have ever been difficulties, the Revolution is not to blame.

We entertain hope that never again, in no school of whatever religion nowhere in the world, an adolescent need asking why there are no black, native, yellow or white children there.

Holy Father,

I sincerely admire your courageous statements on the events concerning Galileo and the Inquisition's known errors; on the Crusades' bloody episodes and the crimes committed during the conquest of the Americas; also, on certain scientific discoveries that today are not contested by anybody but which, in their times, were the target of so many prejudices and anathemas. That certainly required the immense authority you have come to attain within your church.

His Holiness, what can we offer you in Cuba? **People exposed to less inequalities and a lower number of helpless citizens; less children without schools, less patients without hospitals and more teachers and physicians per capita than any other country in the world visited by the Holy Father; educated people you can talk to in perfect freedom with the certainty of their talent and their high political culture, their strong convictions and absolute confidence in their ideas; people that will show all due respect and consciousness in listening to you. Another country will not be found better disposed to understand your felicitous idea — as we understand it and so similar to what we preach — that the equitable distribution of wealth and solidarity among men and peoples should be globalised.**

Welcome to Cuba!

**SPEECH BY DR. FIDEL CASTRO RUZ,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA AT
POPE JOHN PAUL II FAREWELL CEREMONY
HAVANA, CUBA, JANUARY 25, 1998.**

His Holiness,

I think we have given the world a good example; you, by visiting what some chose to call communism's last bulwark; we, by receiving the religious leader who had been imputed responsibility for the destruction of socialism in

Europe. There were those who forebode apocalyptic events; some even dreamed of them.

It was ruthlessly unfair to connect your pastoral journey with the mean hope of destroying the noble objectives, and the independence, of a small country subjected to a blockade and a truly economic war for almost 40 years. Nowadays, His Holiness, Cuba is confronting the mightiest power in history, like a new David — albeit a thousand times smaller — who with the same sling of the Biblical times strives for survival against a **gigantic Goliath of the nuclear era who tries to prevent our development and subdue our people by hunger and diseases.** If that story had not been written then, it would have to be written today. This monstrous crime can neither be ignored nor excused.

His Holiness,

Every time I hear or read slanders against my homeland and my people, fabricated by those who worship no other God than gold itself, I remember the Christians in the old Rome so atrociously defamed since, as I already expressed the day you arrived, very often in history slanders have been used to justify the worst crimes against the peoples. I remember as well the Jews exterminated by the nazis and the four million Vietnamese who perished under the napalm, the chemical weapons and the explosives. No one ever had any right to exterminate others for being Christians, Jews or communists.

Every detail of your visit and your every word were broadcast to the world by thousands of journalists. All over the country a large number of nationals and foreigners were interviewed. Our national television networks provided live coverage of every mass, homily and speech. Perhaps, never before were so many news and opinions about a small nation heard in such a short time by so many people all over the planet.

Cuba knows no fear and despises deceit; it listens with respect but believes in its ideas; it firmly defends its principles and has nothing to hide from the world.

I am moved by His Holiness' endeavours to have more justice in the world. The states will disappear and the peoples will constitute only one human family. If the globalisation of solidarity you proclaim could be extended all over the Earth and **the abundant goods man can produce with his talents and his work could be equitably distributed among all human beings living on our planet today, then a world could really be created for them where there would be no hunger and poverty, no oppression and exploitation, no humiliation and scorn, no injustices and inequalities; a world where they could live in full moral and material dignity, in real freedom; that would be a world of justice!** Your ideas on evangelisation and ecumenism would not be in contradiction with it.

For the honour of your visit, for all the affection you have shown the Cubans, for every word you have said — **even those I might disagree with** — on behalf of all the Cuban people, Holy Father, I thank you!

(We thank the Cuban Embassy in Delhi for the text of the two speeches by Castro)

DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT

ITS ROLE IN INDIA'S INDUSTRIALISATION

E. L. Wheelwright

A

I cannot see that direct foreign investment is in the long term economic interest of India for the following reasons:

1. Any country which is industrialising itself is bound to be in balance of payments difficulties for a considerable time, unless it has special kinds of exports which are in increasing world demand, such as oil.

Although in the short run, an inflow of foreign investment may help by supplying foreign exchange, in the long run the servicing of the equity will constitute a drain of foreign exchange, because all foreign investors wish to take out more than they have put in — eventually. This is the object of foreign investment. Given world conditions of general political instability, especially in Asia, this means that the foreign investor will want to have his capital returned within five years. This means a distributed profit, net of tax of about 20 per cent per annum. In fact, it is well known that American investors will not invest in foreign enterprises unless they think such a return is forthcoming.

Foreign Exchange Inflow

2. In fact, an analysis of most post-war direct investment in many countries shows that the actual inflow of foreign exchange is smaller than is sometimes thought. The usual practice is for the original equity to "snow ball" by ploughing back of undistributed profits. Technically this is also an inflow of foreign exchange, but it is also an outflow, so that the net effect on the balance of payments is nil. For many countries the ploughing back of undistributed profits consists of at least one-third and sometimes half of so-

called foreign investment. In the early years there is a greater ploughing back, but as the enterprise becomes established, the actual distribution of profits, and their remittance overseas increases, with the possibility of an increased strain on the balance of payments.

Import Saving

3. Where the investment is mainly for the home market and not for exports, it is often found that whereas remitted profits increase, export income does not increase pro-rata, especially if most exports are primary produce, that is, an increasing proportion of exports are required to service foreign debt.

It is true that foreign investment is to some considerable extent import saving, but in the early years of industrialisation, this is often illusory, for the very fact of industrialisation creates new demands for new equipment and raw materials and increasing supplies of old ones. In addition, if the general standard of living increases, or the population increases, or both, these will give rise to new import demands. Only when industrialisation has reached the stage that these demands can be met from domestic production will the strain ease on the balance of payments.

4. Even when investment is for export industries (for instance, minerals, primary produce etc.) which fluctuate in price, there is the fact that if the export price goes up, this means higher profits for the foreign investor. Thus even if the terms of trade turn in India's favour, to the extent that export industries are owned by foreign investors, this means less benefit for India than would seem to be the case.

It is true however, that this situation can be altered by an export tax which varies directly with the price of exports.

5. The position is much better when the foreign investment is in industries exporting manufactured goods, and which can, to some extent, set their own prices.

Even here, however it must be remembered that the policy of the Indian subsidiary concerning exports, will be set by its foreign parent, and export will only be encouraged if it suits that parent; for instance, there may be a recession in the parent's own country, with excess capacity in the parent company. In such a situation the parent may be able to make more profit by allocating the export order to the parent firm rather than to the Indian subsidiary.

Prospects

6. In general, it must be remembered that the Indian subsidiary will not be a free agent in seeking export markets, that these markets are allocated and controlled by the parent company. This is also important for possible future trade with Communist countries, for instance, military and strategic embargoes.

7. Similarly, in a recession in the Western world, parent companies may wish to have the maximum profits remitted to them by their overseas subsidiaries, in order to augment their own profits. This places a strain on the balance of payments, and at a time export markets are depressed, and also inhibit the further expansion of the Indian subsidiaries.

8. Foreign techniques are not always suited to Indian conditions, especially in the matter of using indigenous materials, and the necessary research to make use of them. This is especially true of every expensive labour saving equipment, which is not necessarily suitable — at this stage — to India, which has plentiful supplies of labour. Further, because these machines give a high productivity per man employed, wages higher than current Indian wages can be paid. This is not necessarily to the general benefit of the Indian wage structure, for it may cause workers in less productive industries to demand the same wages.

9. Private foreign investment, by its very nature, cannot help being "secretive", and will not wish to spread methods and techniques at the rate which India needs.

B

From the foregoing, it follows that the best interests of India would be served by attempting to obtain industrial techniques, managerial competence, marketing techniques etc. without being involved in the high costs and other disadvantages of direct foreign investment. India will have to find her own way of doing this, and the following suggestions are tentative only :

1. The most suitable method of obtaining both techniques and foreign capital equipment would seem to be **the Russian practice** of installing in a particular factory a piece of equipment and teaching Indians how to use it. This is usually in the form of long-term loan at two-and-a-half per cent or in exchange for a certain quantity of export produce. In the latter case, particular attention needs to be paid to the price which is negotiated for the export produce.

2. Having acquired such capital equipment and the ability to run it, special organisational arrangements need to be made to duplicate or triplicate it, according to the requirements of the plan. Thus each worker and manager can be used to train another one, **on the Chinese method**. In this way the future exchange cost will be limited to the cost of the equipment and necessary raw materials.

3. By a system of management contracts, it may be

possible to obtain the necessary techniques from non-Communist countries. Key personnel who have the ability to instal the required equipment could be engaged on a contract basis. Alternatively, teams of Indian scientists, technicians and engineers could be sent abroad in order to learn what is required, and adapt this to Indian conditions — **on the Japanese methods**.

4. All this will make heavy demands on foreign exchange until a sufficient stock of capital-making equipment and ability to use it is acquired. The best way of meeting these demands would be to arrange long-term loans at a fixed rate of interest, guaranteed by the Indian Government to mature at not less than ten years from the borrowing date. This would give India time to expand national income and exports to enable her to repay them. These loans should not be tied in anyway. Pressure should be applied to Western governments to achieve this, the alternative being greater reliance on the Communist countries.

5. Serious attention should be paid to the question of nationalising those foreign investments which have a high rate of profit and do not contribute anything much in the way of new techniques, such as tea plantations. The longer this is delayed, the greater will be the value of assets and compensation and the greater the remission of profits.

If for some reason it is not desired to nationalise outright some method of freezing the foreign equity at its current level is essential.

Prof. Wheelwright worked in University of Sydney, Australia and came to India in 1965 at the invitation of Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. He submitted a note to the Indian Planning Commission titled "*Role of Direct Foreign Investment in the Industrialisation of India*." This note was published in the March 6, 1965 issue of *Mainstream*.

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

(contd. from p.23)

VISHNU BHIKAJI KOLTE (1908-1998) — A PEOPLE FRIENDLY RESEARCHER

V. B. Kolte was a rare breed of researcher in contemporary India who championed the use of Marathi language to make knowledge available to the masses and thereby to make the process of education more democratic. His lifelong labour to introduce Marathi as the medium of instruction in colleges in Maharashtra was a result of his conviction that regional languages were the only medium through which the vast majority of Indians could acquire knowledge and information.

He was born in a peasant family in Vidarbha and was, therefore, more

familiar with the problems of mass education than other Brahminical urban scholars.

His monumental work simplifying Marathi spelling abolished the unpronounced and cumbersome nasal sounds. He was against the trend of expunging from the Marathi language words from Persian or other languages. He also compiled a dictionary of the Varhadi dialect prevalent in the Vidarbha region.

His research on the Mahanubhav sect was the second major achievement of his distinguished academic career.

These texts were in a coded language and V. B. Kolte put in sustained and painstaking labour to decipher the obscure manuscripts. His findings were not palatable to the upper caste Brahminical Marathi establishment. He found that the *Dnyaneshwari* was a reactionary response to the progressive stream represented by Swami Chakradhar of the Mahanubhav sect. Kolte had to face the hostility of the Marathi urban upper-caste dominated establishment as a result of his path-breaking and uncompromising position. But he regarded this conflict as an inevitable part of the process of social transformation and withstood it with stoicism and a firm faith in democratic and material values. ■

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION, 1960-1995

Vinayak Purohit

We are presenting data on Structure of Production of the annual income for 133 countries of the world.

Needless to emphasise, this is the most significant set of figures that one may garner about the state of the world economy over the last four decades. We have grouped the data under four heads :

- Low income economies from 1 to 49.
- Lower Middle income economies from 50 to 90.
- Upper middle income economies from 91 to 107
- High income economies from 108 to 133.

The overall trend in the world economy since 1960 may be summarised as follows.

- The world's population and GDP in mid-1995, was distributed as follows:

	Popu- lation mid-1995 (bln.)	%	GDP 1995 (\$bln.)	%
Low Income economies	3.2	56	1,352	4
Lower Middle Income economies	1.2	21	4,033	11
Upper Middle Income economies	0.4	7	1,982	6
High Income economies	0.9	16	27,846	79
Total	5.7	100	35,213	100

(World Bank : World Development report, 1997, Table 1, pp.214-5, and Table 12, pp. 236-7)

Structure of Production :

Share of Various Sectors in Annual GDP

		Agr.	Ind.	Serv.
Low Income	1960	52	12	35
	1976	45	19	39
	1980	34	32	32
	1995	25	38	35
Middle Income	1960	26	23	46
	1976	21	32	45
	1980	(11) ^a	(35) ^a	(52) ^a
	1995	(9) ^b	(36) ^b	(49) ^b
High Income	1960	9	41	47
	1976	6	41	52
	1980	3	37	58
	1995	2	32	66

World Bank : World Development Report, 1978, Table 3, for 110 economies (1960 and 1976) World Development Report 1997, Table 12, pp. 236-7, for 133 economies, (1980 and 1995)

a Middle Income as a whole
b Upper Middle Income only

A pattern may be clearly discerned :

- Since around 1976 the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world have been living, even at the lowest income level, in economic regimes not dependent on Agriculture. All the countries of the world are now heavily dependent on Industry and Services sectors.

- In High-Income economies for the last almost four decades, the source of annual GDP attributed to Agriculture has just ranged from 9 % in 1960 to 2 % in 1995.

- Today two-thirds of GDP in High-Income economies is generated by the Services sector. This is a very disquieting trend of explosive growth of parasitism. After all, the proletariat is concentrated almost entirely in the Agriculture and Industry sectors. The white-collar workers, completely brainwashed by free-market myths, consisting largely of clerks, professionals and the self-employed, are supposedly gestating as much as two-thirds of the world's annual GDP in 1995.

- There has been considerable growth of the Industry sector in the Low-Income and Middle-Income categories. In Low-Income economies the specific weight of Industry has more than tripled from 12 to 38 %, whilst it has grown atleast one-and-half times in the case of Middle-Income economies from 23 to 36 %. By contrast, in High-Income economies, the role of Industry has actually declined from 41 % to 32 %.

- Thus, 56 % of the world's population lives on 4% of its annual income, whilst 16 % of its people living in rich countries appropriate to themselves nearly 80 % of the world's annual income.

- And it is precisely in these rich economies that two-thirds of the annual GDP is gestated by the Services sector !

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

Sr. No.	Low-Income Economies (Col.1)	(Col.2) Pop.mlns.	PER CAPITA GDP(PPP)		Threshold of Poverty as defined by UNDP in 1997 HD Report in \$ per day (PPP) (Col.5)
			1960 (Col.3)	1994 (Col.4)	
1.	Mozambique	16.2	1,568	860	1
2.	Ethiopia	56.4	262	430	1
3.	Tanzania	29.6	272	620	1
4.	Burundi	6.3	473	700	1
5.	Malawi	9.8	423	650	1
6.	Chad	6.4	785	720	1
7.	Rwanda	6.4	538	330	1
8.	Sierra Leone	4.2	871	700	1
9.	Nepal	21.5	584	1230	1
10.	Niger	9.0	804	779	1
11.	Burkina Faso	10.4	290	800	1
12.	Madagascar	13.7	1,013	640	1
13.	Bangladesh	119.8	621	1,330	1
14.	Uganda	19.2	371	1,410	1
15.	Vietnam	73.5	1,000	1,040	1
16.	Guinea-Bissau	1.1	--	820	1
17.	Haiti	7.2	921	930	2
18.	Mali	9.8	541	520	1
19.	Nigeria	111.3	1,133	1,190	1
20.	Yemen,Rep.	15.3	--	1,600	1
21.	Cambodia	10.0	--	1,250	1
22.	Kenya	26.7	635	1,310	1
23.	Mongolia	2.5	500	2,090	4
24.	Togo	4.1	411	1,130	1
25.	Gambia,The	1.1	411	1,100	1
26.	Cen. African Rep.	3.3	806	1,160	1
27.	India	929.4	617	1,280	1
28.	Lao PDR	4.9	-	1,458	1
29.	Benin	5.5	1,075	1,630	1
30.	Nicaragua	4.4	1,756	1,800	2
31.	Ghana	17.1	1,049	2,050	1
32.	Zambia	9.0	1,172	860	2
33.	Angola	10.8	1,308	674	1
34.	Georgia	3.4	-	1,750	4
35.	Pakistan	129.9	820	2,130	1
36.	Mauritania	2.3	930	1,570	1
37.	Azerbaijan	7.5	-	1,510	4
38.	Zimbabwe	11.0	937	2,040	1
39.	Guinea	6.6	444	1,800	1
40.	Honduras	5.9	901	1,940	2
41.	Senegal	8.5	1,136	1,580	1
42.	China	1,200.2	723	2,510	1
43.	Cameroon	13.3	736	1,950	1
44.	Cote d'Ivoire	14.0	1,021	1,370	1
45.	Albania	3.3	1,000	2,200	4
46.	Congo	2.6	1,092	1,900	1
47.	Kyrgyz Rep.	4.5	-	1,730	4
48.	Sri Lanka	18.1	1,389	3,160	1
49.	Armenia	3.8	-	2,160	4

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

AGRICULTURE					INDUSTRY				MANUFACTURING				SERVICES				Sr. No.		
(Col.6, 7, 8, 9)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.10, 11, 12, 13)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.14, 15, 16, 17)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.18, 19, 20, 21)	1960		1976	1980
55	45	37	33		9	15	31	12		8	6	-	-		36	40	32	55	1.
65	50	56	57		12	15	12	10		6	10	6	3		23	35	31	33	2.
57	45	46	58		11	16	18	17		5	10	11	8		32	39	37	24	3.
-	64	62	56		-	15	13	18		-	10	7	12		-	21	25	26	4.
58	45	37	42		11	22	19	27		6	12	12	18		31	33	44	31	5.
55	52	54	44		12	14	12	22		5	10	-	16		33	34	34	35	6.
61	52	50	37		7	22	23	17		1	-	16	3		12	26	27	46	7.
-	32	33	42		-	23	21	27		-	6	5	6		-	45	47	31	8.
-	65	62	42		-	10	12	22		-	-	4	10		-	25	26	36	9.
66	47	43	39		10	24	23	18		4	-	4	-		24	29	35	44	10.
55	34	33	34		13	19	22	27		8	-	16	21		32	47	45	39	11.
37	29	30	34		10	20	16	13		4	14	-	13		53	51	54	53	12.
61	59	50	31		8	8	16	18		6	7	11	10		31	33	34	52	13.
52	55	72	50		13	8	4	14		9	7	4	6		35	37	23	36	14.
-	-	-	28		-	-	-	30		-	-	-	22		-	-	-	42	15.
-	-	44	46		-	-	20	24		-	-	-	7		-	-	36	30	16.
50	45	-	44		14	19	-	12		-	-	-	9		36	36	-	44	17.
55	38	61	46		10	17	10	17		5	11	4	6		35	45	29	37	18.
53	23	27	28		11	50	40	53		5	9	8	5		26	27	32	18	19.
-	23	-	22		-	16	-	27		-	5	-	14		-	61	-	51	20.
51	-	-	51		17	-	-	14		-	-	-	6		32	-	-	34	21.
38	30	33	29		18	23	21	17		9	12	13	11		44	47	47	54	22.
-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	23.
55	25	27	38		16	21	25	21		8	-	8	9		29	54	48	41	24.
-	-	30	28		-	-	16	15		-	-	7	7		-	-	53	58	25.
45	37	40	44		12	23	20	13		6	23	7	-		43	40	40	43	26.
50	47	38	29		20	23	26	29		14	16	18	19		30	30	36	41	27.
-	-	-	52		-	-	-	18		-	3	-	14		-	-	-	30	28.
-	39	35	34		-	20	12	12		-	10	8	7		-	41	52	53	29.
24	23	23	33		21	28	31	20		15	20	26	16		55	49	45	46	30.
41	49	58	46		19	25	12	16		10	-	8	6		40	26	30	38	31.
11	14	14	22		63	41	41	40		4	18	18	30		26	45	44	37	32.
50	29	-	12		8	27	-	59		4	3	-	3		42	44	-	28	33.
-	-	-	67		-	-	-	22		-	-	-	18		-	-	-	11	34.
46	32	30	26		16	24	25	24		12	16	16	17		38	44	46	50	35.
57	35	30	27		21	37	26	30		-	11	-	13		22	28	44	43	36.
-	-	-	27		-	-	-	32		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	41	37.
18	16	14	15		35	40	34	36		17	-	25	30		47	44	52	48	38.
-	43	-	24		-	33	-	31		-	-	-	5		-	24	-	45	39.
37	29	24	21		19	28	24	33		13	17	15	18		44	43	52	46	40.
30	28	19	20		20	24	25	18		12	-	15	12		50	48	57	62	41.
-	-	30	21		-	-	49	48		-	-	41	38		-	-	21	31	42.
48	33	29	39		10	20	23	23		-	13	9	10		42	47	48	38	43.
43	25	27	31		14	20	20	20		7	12	13	18		43	55	53	50	44.
-	-	-	56		-	-	-	21		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	23	45.
30	16	12	10		27	30	47	38		13	8	7	6		43	54	42	51	46.
-	-	-	44		-	-	-	24		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	32	47.
-	-	28	23		-	-	30	25		11	15	18	16		-	-	43	52	48.
-	-	-	44		-	-	-	35		-	-	-	-		-	-	25	20	49.

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

Sr. No.	Middle-Income Economies (Col.1) (Lower-Middle-Income)	(Col.2) Pop.mlns.	PER CAPITA GDP(PPP)		Threshold of Poverty as defined by UNDP in 1997 HD Report in \$ per day (PPP) (Col.5)
			(Col.3) 1960	(Col.4) 1994	
50.	Lesotho	2.0	346	1,730	1
51.	Egypt, Arab Rep.	57.8	557	3,720	1
52.	Bolivia	7.4	-	2,400	2
53.	Macedonia,FYR	2.1	-	-	4
54.	Moldova	4.3	-	2,370	4
55.	Uzbekistan	22.8	-	2,370	4
56.	Indonesia	193.3	490	3,600	1
57.	Philippines	68.6	1,183	2,740	1
58.	Morocco	26.6	854	3,470	1
59.	Syrian Arab Rep.	14.1	1,787	4,196	1
60.	Papua New Guinea	4.3	1,136	2,680	1
61.	Bulgaria	8.4	2,000	4,380	4
62.	Kazakstan	16.6	-	2,810	4
63.	Guatemala	10.6	1,667	3,440	2
64.	Ecuador	11.5	1,461	3,760	2
65.	Dominican Rep.	7.8	1,227	4,190	2
66.	Romania	22.7	1,000	4,090	4
67.	Jamaica	2.5	1,829	3,400	2
68.	Jordan	4.2	1,328	4,100	1
69.	Algeria	28.0	1,676	5,570	1
70.	El Salvador	5.6	1,305	2,410	2
71.	Ukraine	51.6	-	2,620	4
72.	Paraguay	4.8	1,200	3,550	2
73.	Tunisia	9.0	1,394	5,020	1
74.	Lithuania	3.7	-	3,290	4
75.	Colombia	36.8	1,874	5,330	2
76.	Namibia	1.5	-	4,320	1
77.	Belarus	10.3	-	4,320	4
78.	Russian Federation	148.2	2,500	4,610	4
79.	Latvia	2.5	-	3,220	4
80.	Peru	23.8	2,130	5,610	2
81.	Costa Rica	3.4	2,160	5,680	2
82.	Lebanon	4.0	-	2,500	1
83.	Thailand	58.2	985	6,970	1
84.	Panama	2.6	1,533	5,730	2
85.	Turkey	61.1	1,669	4,710	1
86.	Poland	38.6	2,000	5,480	4
87.	Estonia	1.5	-	4,510	4
88.	Slovak Rep.	5.4	2,000	5,620	4
89.	Botswana	1.5	474	5,210	1
90.	Venezuela	21.7	3,899	7,700	2

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

AGRICULTURE (Col.6, 7, 8, 9)				INDUSTRY (Col.10, 11, 12, 13)				MANUFACTURING (Col.14, 15, 16, 17)				SERVICES (Col.18, 19, 20, 21)				Sr. No.
1960	1976	1980	1995	1960	1976	1980	1995	1960	1976	1980	1995	1960	1976	1980	1995	
73	38	24	10	-	8	29	56	-	2	7	18	-	54	47	34	50.
30	29	18	20	24	30	37	21	20	24	12	15	46	41	45	59	51.
30	28	18	-	28	32	35	-	15	13	15	-	42	40	47	-	52.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53.
-	-	-	50	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	22	54.
-	-	-	33	-	-	-	34	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	34	55.
45	29	24	17	17	34	42	42	8	9	13	24	38	37	34	41	56.
26	29	25	22	28	34	39	32	20	25	26	23	46	37	36	46	57.
29	21	18	14	24	31	31	33	12	12	17	19	47	48	51	53	58.
25	17	20	-	21	36	23	-	16	-	-	-	54	47	56	-	59.
-	28	33	26	-	-	27	38	3	9	10	8	-	-	40	34	60.
32	18	14	13	53	64	54	34	46	-	-	-	-	-	32	53	61.
-	-	-	12	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	6	15	18	-	57	62.
-	-	-	25	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	63.
33	22	12	12	19	26	38	36	14	17	18	21	48	52	50	52	64.
27	21	20	15	23	32	28	22	17	19	15	15	50	47	52	64	65.
31	13	-	21	53	63	-	40	-	-	-	16	-	24	-	39	66.
10	8	8	9	38	40	38	38	15	19	17	18	52	52	54	53	67.
16	14	-	8	14	28	-	27	8	-	-	14	70	58	-	65	68.
21	7	10	13	24	57	54	47	10	11	9	9	55	36	36	41	69.
32	26	38	14	19	21	22	22	15	15	16	-	49	53	40	65	70.
-	-	-	18	-	-	-	42	-	-	-	37	-	-	-	41	71.
36	35	29	24	20	22	27	22	17	16	16	16	44	43	44	54	72.
24	21	14	12	18	30	31	29	8	11	12	19	58	49	55	59	73.
-	-	-	11	-	-	-	36	-	-	-	30	-	-	-	53	74.
34	27	19	14	26	30	32	32	16	19	23	18	40	43	49	54	75.
-	-	12	14	-	-	53	29	-	-	5	9	-	-	35	56	76.
-	-	-	13	-	-	-	35	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	52	77.
21	17	-	7	62	62	-	38	52	-	-	31	17	21	-	55	78.
-	-	-	9	-	-	-	31	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	60	79.
26	16	10	7	29	31	42	38	17	19	20	24	45	53	48	55	80.
29	21	18	17	19	26	27	24	12	17	19	19	52	53	55	58	81.
12	-	-	7	20	-	-	24	13	-	-	10	68	-	-	69	82.
40	30	23	11	19	25	29	40	11	20	22	29	41	45	48	49	83.
23	-	-	11	21	-	-	15	13	-	-	-	56	-	-	74	84.
41	29	26	16	21	28	22	31	13	20	14	21	38	43	51	53	85.
26	16	-	6	57	64	-	39	47	-	-	26	17	20	-	54	86.
-	-	-	8	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	64	87.
-	-	-	6	-	-	-	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	88.
-	-	13	5	-	-	44	46	-	-	4	4	-	-	43	48	89.
6	6	5	5	22	48	46	38	-	-	16	17	72	46	49	56	90.

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

Sr. No.	Middle-Income Economies (Col.1) (Upper-Middle-Income)	(Col.2) Pop.mlns	PER CAPITA GDP(PPP)		Threshold of Poverty as defined by UNDP in 1997 HD Report in \$ per day (PPP) (Col.5)
			(Col.3) 1960	(Col.4) 1994	
91.	South Africa	41.5	2,984	5,130	1
92.	Croatia	4.8	-	-	4
93.	Mexico	91.8	2,870	7,040	2
94.	Mauritius	1.1	2,113	12,720	1
95.	Gabon	1.1	1,373	3,861	1
96.	Brazil	159.2	1,404	5,400	2
97.	Trinidad & Tobago	1.3	4,754	8,670	2
98.	Czech Republic	10.3	2,000	8,900	4
99.	Malaysia	20.1	1,783	8,440	1
100.	Hungary	10.2	2,000	6,080	4
101.	Chile	14.2	3,103	8,890	2
102.	Oman	2.2	2,040	8,590	1
103.	Uruguay	3.2	4,401	7,710	2
104.	Saudi Arabia	19.0	7,612	9,480	1
105.	Argentina	34.7	3,381	8,720	2
106.	Slovenia	2.0	-	6,230	4
107.	Greece	10.5	1,889	10,930	14.4
Sr. No.	High-Income Economies (Col.1)	(Col.2) Pop.mlns.	PER CAPITA GDP(PPP)		Threshold of Poverty as defined by UNDP in 1997 HD Report in \$ per day (PPP) (Col.5)
			(Col.3) 1960	(Col.4) 1994	
108.	Korea, Rep.	44.9	690	10,330	1
109.	Portugal	9.9	1,618	11,970	14.4
110.	Spain	39.2	2,701	13,740	14.4
111.	New Zealand	3.6	7,222	15,870	14.4
112.	Ireland	3.6	3,214	19,210	14.4
113.	Israel	5.5	3,958	15,300	1
114.	Kuwait	1.7	-	24,730	1
115.	United Arab Emirates	2.5	-	20,940	1
116.	United Kingdom	58.5	6,370	17,970	14.4
117.	Australia	18.1	7,204	18,120	14.4
118.	Italy	57.2	4,375	18,450	14.4
119.	Canada	29.6	7,758	19,960	14.4
120.	Finland	5.1	4,718	16,150	14.4
121.	Hong Kong	6.2	2,323	21,560	14.4
122.	Sweden	8.8	6,483	17,130	14.4
123.	Netherlands	15.5	5,587	18,750	14.4
124.	Belgium	10.1	5,207	20,270	14.4
125.	France	58.1	5,344	19,670	14.4
126.	Singapore	3.0	2,409	21,900	14.4
127.	Austria	8.1	4,476	19,560	14.4
128.	United States	263.1	9,983	25,880	14.4
129.	Germany	81.9	6,038	19,480	14.4
130.	Denmark	5.2	5,900	19,880	14.4
131.	Norway	4.4	5,443	20,210	14.4
132.	Japan	125.2	2,701	21,140	14.4
133.	Switzerland	7.0	9,313	25,150	14.4

(Source : 1. Cols. 1&2 from *World Development Report* 1997, Table 12 : Structure of Production, pp. 236-7.

2. Population data from *Ibid*, Table 1 : Basic Indicators, pp. 214-5.

3. Cols. 3&4 from *Mankind*, Nov. 1996, pp. 58-66.

4. Col. 5 from UNDP Report 1997, pp. 53-6.

5. Cols. 6,7,10,11,18,19 from WB Report 1978, Table 3, Structure of Production.

STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT %

AGRICULTURE				INDUSTRY				MANUFACTURING				SERVICES				Sr. No.			
(Col.6, 7, 8, 9)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.10, 11, 12, 13)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.14, 15, 16, 17)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.18, 19, 20, 21)		1960	1976	1980
12	9	7	5	42	23	50	31	23	-	23	24	46	68	43	64	91.			
-	-	-	12	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	62	92.			
16	10	8	8	29	35	33	26	23	28	22	19	55	55	59	67	93.			
-	-	12	9	-	-	26	33	-	-	15	23	-	-	62	58	94.			
-	-	7	-	-	-	60	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	33	-	95.			
16	8	11	14	35	39	44	37	26	-	33	24	49	53	45	49	96.			
8	-	2	3	51	-	60	42	24	14	9	9	41	-	38	54	97.			
16	9	7	6	73	72	63	39	63	-	-	-	-	-	30	55	98.			
40	29	22	13	18	30	38	43	9	18	21	33	42	41	40	44	99.			
24	15	-	8	69	59	-	33	59	-	-	24	7	26	-	59	100.			
11	10	7	-	38	39	37	-	23	20	21	-	51	51	55	-	101.			
-	-	3	-	-	-	69	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	28	-	102.			
19	15	14	9	28	32	34	26	21	29	26	18	53	53	53	65	103.			
-	1	1	-	-	86	81	-	-	5	5	-	-	13	18	-	104.			
17	15	6	6	38	41	41	31	31	37	29	20	45	44	52	63	105.			
-	-	-	5	-	-	-	39	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	57	106.			
23	18	27	21	26	31	48	36	16	19	30	21	51	51	24	43	107.			
AGRICULTURE				INDUSTRY				MANUFACTURING				SERVICES				Sr. No.			
(Col.6, 7, 8, 9)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.10, 11, 12, 13)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.14, 15, 16, 17)	1960	1976	1980	1995	(Col.18, 19, 20, 21)		1960	1976	1980
-	-	15	7	-	-	40	43	12	25	29	27	-	-	45	50	108.			
25	18	-	-	38	43	-	-	29	36	-	-	31	42	-	-	109.			
21	9	-	3	39	39	-	-	27	30	-	-	40	52	-	-	110.			
-	-	11	-	-	-	31	-	-	22	22	-	-	-	58	-	111.			
25	16	-	-	30	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	47	-	-	112.			
11	8	-	-	32	43	-	-	23	30	-	-	57	49	-	-	113.			
-	-	0	0	-	-	75	53	-	-	6	11	-	-	25	46	114.			
-	-	1	2	-	-	77	57	-	-	4	8	-	-	22	40	115.			
4	4	2	2	48	58	43	32	32	25	27	21	48	38	54	66	116.			
14	7	5	3	41	39	36	28	26	19	19	15	45	54	58	70	117.			
15	8	6	3	38	41	39	31	31	34	28	21	47	51	55	66	118.			
6	4	5	-	34	40	40	-	23	18	22	-	60	56	55	-	119.			
20	10	12	6	40	44	49	37	24	27	35	28	40	46	39	57	120.			
4	2	1	0	34	34	32	17	25	26	24	9	62	64	67	83	121.			
7	4	4	2	38	38	37	32	27	24	25	23	55	58	59	66	122.			
8	7	3	3	45	44	32	27	34	25	18	18	47	49	64	70	123.			
7	3	2	2	41	42	34	-	30	27	24	-	52	55	64	-	124.			
9	6	4	2	48	43	34	27	30	27	24	19	43	51	62	71	125.			
4	2	1	0	18	35	38	36	12	25	29	27	78	63	61	64	126.			
11	9	4	2	49	50	40	34	38	30	28	24	40	41	56	63	127.			
4	3	3	2	38	32	34	26	29	24	22	18	58	65	64	72	128.			
6	3	-	-	54	52	-	-	40	38	-	-	40	45	-	-	129.			
14	7	6	4	39	36	33	29	30	-	22	21	47	57	61	67	130.			
9	6	4	-	36	37	36	-	25	20	15	-	55	57	60	-	131.			
15	5	4	2	45	43	42	38	33	30	29	24	40	52	54	60	132.			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	133.			

6. Cols. 8,9,12,13,16,17,20,21 from WB Report 1997, Table 12, pp. 236-7.

7. Cols. 14,15 from WB Report 1979, Table 3 Structure of Production. It is emphasised that Col. 15, in case of Manufacturing, refers to year 1977 and not 1976 as is the case with cols. 7, 11 and 19.

8. Romania 1960 — WB Report 1979, Table 3.

9. Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia (i.e. Czech Rep.) 1960 & 1978 in Col. of 1976 in WB Report, 1980, Table 3.

'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA, 1901

William Digby, C.I.E.

CHAPTER I

INDIA RULED BY PRECONCEIVED IDEAS, NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH FACTS

British Delusions regarding India. Principles of Government during Early Period of British Rule. Foreign Rule Always a Scourge—now Greater than Before.

I.—Conquest by Trade.

Britain's Industrial Supremacy due to Indian Wealth being 'Appropriated' in the Eighteenth Century. Amount of Wealth Transferred from India to the United Kingdom.

II.—Conquest by Deliberate Subjection.

Lord William Bentinck and Mr. W. Thackeray on what 'Ought to be Suppressed' in the Indian Character; Subsequent Adoption of the 'Suppression' Suggestion
Indian Lack of Ambition and other qualities—according to James Mill.
Sir Thomas Munro and Bishop Heber to the Contrary.
Thackeray and James Mill against Munro and Heber.
The Big Words of the Charter Act of 1833.
Mr. Robert Rickards on the Policy which should be Adopted towards Indians and India.
A New Era Inaugurated—in Words.

III.—Conquest by 'Pousta.'

Macaulay's Disclaimer of the 'Pousta' as a British Governing Instrument. The 'Pousta's' Effect on the British Mind. For Bread a Stone—for Daily Food

Powdered Rocks.

A Choice between Prohibition and Cheating; Cheating Adopted What We Choose to Believe concerning India is Alone Fact

Appendices:

- I. 'Durbar Charges Unjustly Made.'
- II. Early Tributes to Indian Fitness for Official Positions:
 - (a) By John Sullivan, Collector of Coimbatore.
 - (b) By W. Chaplin, Commissioner of Deccan.
 - (c) By Major—General Sir L. Smith, K.C.B.

The British world is under a delusion in regard to India. No greater delusion ever possessed a people as no delusion before it—though many disastrous delusions are writ large and graven deep on the page of history—has ever wrought so much moral, mental, and physical, ill to those who were its subjects. If the delusion should remain after the chapters of this book have been written, then—so far as the knowledge of one man is concerned, albeit that knowledge is but small—there is no value in evidence. Fact and circumstance, in such case, cease to be verities, while Preconceived Ideas and the Seeing of that which the Eye Wishes to See become Unassailable Truth.

What were the principles on which our rule in India began? There were, at first, no principles whatsoever. We were too much occupied in establishing a footing to trouble ourselves concerning the people and their interests present and future. From 1740 to nearly the end of the eighteenth century our controlling action was a scramble

for wealth. The manner in which that wealth was obtained was a secondary matter, or, indeed, of no matter. We were in India to make money, and all shadow of pretence at even making money honestly, was cast aside. Burke, in the Ninth Report from the Select Committee on the Administration of Justice in India, has told the story in full. Macaulay, in certain of his Essays, has summarised the facts in a narrative which should induce great consideration towards India by all English folk. Burke, nowadays is seldom read; Macaulay has become a classic and what he wrote is not held to have any particular connection with events of today. The classics are for culture, not for common, workaday, righteousness. We read what he writes as we read Gibbon: the events described are entertaining, but we do not recognise their relation to the happenings under our own eyes from year to year, even from day to day. Nevertheless, what was done in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay during the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century, is of supreme importance to us.

For what was done then, on the one hand, provided the capital by which Britain's industrial supremacy was established, and on the other hand laid the foundations of a system of alien rule which, in essentials, is the same to-day as it was one hundred years ago. Superficially there have been changes; fundamentally there has been no change.

The present can only be understood as the facts and circumstances of the past are clearly apprehended. Whatever of deficiency exists in our mode of administration of India in 1901, so far as the Indian people are concerned, and whatever of unusual poverty is to be found on the Indian Continent, are as they are because of the system of rule which, with every good intention but mistakenly, was then begun and was finally adopted. Those principles of

rule were threefold.

1. CONQUEST BY TRADE. Exploitation of India undisguisedly-'naked and not ashamed'-1700-1783.

2. CONQUEST BY DELIBERATE SUBJECTION. India for England first and last-1783-1833.

3. Conquest by 'POUSTA.' A show of Fair Dealing accompanied with the maintenance, rigidly and uncompromisingly, of Indian National Inferiority-

1833-1901.

To understand the India of to-day each of the above-mentioned aspects must be examined, and evidence adduced in support of the conclusions they compel. This evidence shall be as brief as may be, but the facts represented must be stated even if the reader has to suffer what, otherwise, might be deemed an over-weighting of official statement.

England did not enter into relations with India with empire in view. For a long time after the opportunity of seizing power was ours, we were not anxious to lay hold of it. In agonising tones, repeated again and again, the Committee of Merchants in London commanded their servants not to acquire additional territory. One of the greatest of the Governors-General listened—Hazael-like, with protest, and denial that we could do such things—to the prophecy of an Ambassador from

Nepal, who, early in the nineteenth century, declared British supremacy in India would not stay in its course until it reached the Indus.

Until 1774, when Warren Hastings was made the first Governor-General, little of blame, maybe, attached to the British in India, judged from the point of view of a State responsible for the good government of subordinate peoples. Till then, disguised as the position may have been by the presence of the French in Southern India and the frequent conflicts which took place with the

Country Powers, as the phrase quaintly puts it, the British were adventurers, with so much to be said in their favour as may rightly be said of adventurers, and no more. If they possessed power it was mainly by deputy. The position then occupied was like unto that of the British people towards India before the Crown—that is, the nation—became directly responsible for Indian rule.

As adventurers nearly two centuries ago the early Britons in Bengal and the sister Presidencies regarded the land and the people as fair game for plunder. Under King Edward VII, Emperor of India, and under the later Britons, as administrators, disguised with all the speciousness which Western civilisation abundantly supplies for such purposes, and glossed over with words of forceful sound but scant meaning, such as Secretaries of State delude

William Digby, C.I.E.

In many ways, William Digby was the most perceptive of the 'giants of old', to which Nehru referred in his *Eighteen Months in India*, 1938 (p.31). Dadabhai Naoroji, a Parsi trader, and Romesh Dutt, an ICS, were for too obsequious and chicken-hearted to attack British imperialism in a forthright manner. They hemmed and hawed, pervaricated, and refused to work out the tragic, yet logical, consequences of the Drain of Wealth from India, that was systematically organised by the colonial rulers, to their own advantage.

Digby was far ahead of Marx in his understanding of the real situation prevailing in India under the British jackboot.

Digby perceived very clearly,

- That the British Industrial Revolution was a result of the Indian Loot;
- That the Drain of Wealth from India caused India's Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation;
- That the Drain of Wealth caused Famines of Purchasing Power of extreme and increasing virulence as long as the British rule lasted;
- And that several crores of poor Indians were killed by the British-made famines of the 18th and 19th centuries and that the total ruin of India was the direct result of British misrule.

What is remarkable is that Digby could see through the hypocritical pretensions of James Mill, the pseudo-historian lackey of the East India Company, as well as numerous other scoundrels and rascals, who pretended to be benefactors of India, like William Thackeray, a Madras civilian who was father of the literary hack, W.M. Thackeray; like Sir John Stretchey, Lord William Bentinck, Thomas Macaulay and others.

Also remarkable is Digby's immediate grasp of the brilliant economic and politico-military analysis made by Brooks Adams (of the American Presidential family), of the global impact of British conquest of India.

Needless to add, Digby's conclusions confirm at every point those presented by *Mankind*. We cannot over-emphasise the importance of the conclusions reached by William Digby and *Mankind*. Without a true understanding of the heinously criminal role that Britain played in India, it is not possible to understand any aspect of Indian political economy, social history or culture and art.

themselves and the House of Commons with once at least in every year—the day on which the Indian idol is brought out for British worship — India is still fair game for plunder, and is plundered. Hard as the saying may sound in the ears of the ordinary Englishman, the plunder is proceeding far more outrageously to-day than at any preceding period. The thin whips of the early days of our rule have become bundles of wire thongs; the exactions of Clive and Hastings fall into insignificance by the side of the drain which, in ever-argumenting volume, is over-enriching one country at the cost of the life-blood of another. Behind the fairest product which any administration in the world's history has ever put in the window-front to challenge admiration, there lurks a degree of daily—increasing misery—not intended truly, and, therefore, its very existence denied even when it is exposed to view—which few Britons dream of, and which far fewer realise. We did not mean to cause misery, we do not desire there should be misery, and, therefore, what is exhibited as such cannot be human misery. To believe it to be so is maya, illusion. There is illusion, but it is more correctly spelt delusion.

I. CONQUEST BY TRADE (1700-1783)

"We are," say the Court of Directors, in their General Letter to Bengal, April 26, 1765, "extremely anxious for the arrival of Lord Clive, and the gentlemen who accompanied him; as they have been so lately in England, they are the best judges of the opinion of the Government and the nation entertain of the conduct of the English in Bengal for these last four years; which we are sorry to say is, in general, that they have been guilty of violating treaties, of great oppression, and a combination to enrich themselves.

"We do not here mean to enter into a discussion respecting the political conduct of our late Governor and Council; but must say that an unbounded thirst after riches seems to have possessed the whole body of our servants to a degree that they have lost all sight of justice to the Country Government and of their duty to the Committee."

Burke tells the story with more detail. He says:—

"This new system of trade, carried on through the medium of power and public revenue, very soon produced its natural effects. The loudest complaints arose among the natives, and among all the foreigners who traded in Bengal. It must have unquestionably thrown the whole mercantile system of the country into the greatest confusion. With regard to the natives, no expedient was proposed for their relief. The Presidency plainly represented to the Directors that some agreement should be made with foreign nations for providing their investments to a certain amount, or that the deficiencies then subsisting must terminate in an open rupture with France. (Ninth Report, p.47; Burke, Collected Works, Vol.iii.)

"Notwithstanding the famine in 1770, which wasted Bengal in a manner dreadful beyond all example, THE

INVESTMENT, by a variety of successive expedients, many of them of the most dangerous nature and tendency, was forcibly kept up; and even in that forced and unnatural state it gathered strength almost every year. The debts contracted in the infancy of the system were gradually reduced, and the advances to contractors and manufacturers were regularly made; so that the goods from Bengal, purchased from the territorial revenues, from the sale of European goods, and from the produce of the monopolies, for the four years which ended with 1780, when the investment from the surplus revenues were never less than a million sterling, and commonly nearer twelve hundred thousand pounds. This million is the lowest value of the goods sent to Europe for which no satisfaction is made. (*Ibid.*, pp.47-48) (The sale, to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds annually, of the export from Great Britain ought to be deducted from this million.)

"In all other countries, the revenue, following the natural course and order of things, arises out of their commerce. Here, by a mischievous inversion of that order, the whole foreign maritime trade, whether English, French, Dutch, or Danish, arises from the revenues; THESE ARE CARRIED OUT OF THE COUNTRY WITHOUT PRODUCING ANYTHING TO COMPENSATE SO HEAVY A LOSS. (*Ibid.*, p.50)

"But that the greatest of all these drains, and their effects, may be rendered more visible, your Committee have turned their consideration to the employment of those parts of the Bengal revenue which are not employed in the Company's own investments for China and for Europe. What is taken over and above the investment (when any investment can be made) from the gross revenue, either for the charge of collection or for the civil and military establishments, is in time of peace two millions at least. From the portion of that sum which goes to the support of civil government the natives are almost wholly excluded, as they are from the principal collections of revenue. With very few exceptions they are only employed as servants and agents to Europeans, or in the inferior departments of collection, when it is absolutely impossible to proceed a step without their assistance. Some time after the acquisition of the territorial revenue, the sum of £420,000 a year was paid, according to the stipulation of a treaty to the Nabob of Bengal, for the support of his government. This sum, however inconsiderable, compared to the revenues of the Province, yet, distributed through the various departments of civil administration, served in some degree to preserve the natives of the better sort, particularly those of the Mohamedan profession, from being utterly ruined. The people of that persuasion, not being so generally engaged in trade, and not having on their conquest of Bengal divested the ancient Gentu proprietors of their lands of inheritance, had for their chief, if not their sole, support the share of a moderate conqueror in all offices, civil and military. But your Committee find that this arrangement was of short duration. Without the least regard to the subsistence of this innocent people, or to the faith of the agreement on which they were brought under the British Government, this sum was reduced by a new treaty to £320,000 and soon after (upon a pretence of the present Nabob's minority, and a temporary sequestration for the discharge as his debts) to £160,000; but when he arrived at his majority, and when the debts were paid (if ever they were paid) the sequestration continued; and so far as the late advises may be understood, the allowance to the Nabob

appears still to stand at the reduced sum of £160,000.

"The other resource of the Mohomedans, and of the Gēntus of certain of the higher castes, was the army. In this army nine-tenths of which consists of natives, no native, of whatever description, holds any rank higher than that of a Subahdar Commandant, that is, of an officer below the rank of an English subaltern, who is appointed to each company of the native soldiery.

'Your Committee would here be understood to state the ordinary establishment; for the war may have made some alteration. All the honourable, all the lucrative, situations of the army, all the supplies and the contracts of whatever species that belong to it, are solely in the hands of the English; so that whatever is beyond the mere subsistence of a common soldier and some officers of a lower rank, together with the immediate expenses of the English officers at their table, is sooner or later, in one shape or another, sent out of the country.' (Ninth Report, pp. 51-53)

Governor Verelst, with great particularity, himself an observer of the events he describes, confirms all that Burke states.

Much of modern European national prosperity is based upon the plunder of nations representing ancient civilisations. Spain robbed South America; England—from Drake under Elizabeth to Blake under Cromwell—seized as many of the Lusitanian treasure ships on their way to Spain as she could, and appropriated what they carried. Later, in the development of the land and its dependencies even these additional riches were not enough; more money was needed by the country, and none was locally forthcoming. ('No foreigner was robbed, and the stock of domestic silver dwindled from year to year, until at the Revolution the Golden guinea, which from the first issue in 1662 down to the accession of William and Merry had been nominally current for twenty shillings, actually sold in the market for thirty shillings of the money in use.'—Brooks Adams, *The Law of Civilisation and Decay*, p. 249) England was vigorously asserting herself on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere. For a time an issue of bank-notes helped the situation. But coin was needed, a metallic foundation for the paper issued, and at last coin was obtained—from India. How it was obtained Macaulay has told in his *Essays on Clive and Hastings*. The historian's works are in the hands of, or are available to, every reader; I may, therefore, be pardoned if I simply call upon the memory of my reader and forbear quotation, especially as I have much, not within reach even of the ordinary student, with which I must deal.

England's industrial supremacy owes its origin to the vast hoards of Bengal and the Karnatik being made available for her use. Had this happened honourably and in the ordinary course of trade it would have been matter for satisfaction. Before Plassey was fought and won, and before the stream of treasure began to flow to England, the industries of our country were at a very low ebb. Lancashire spinning and weaving were on a par with the corresponding industry in India

so far as machinery was concerned, but the skill which made Indian cottons a marvel of manufacture was wholly wanting in any of the Western nations. As with cotton so with iron; industry in Britain was at a very low ebb, alike in mining and in manufacture.

The connection between the beginning of the drain of Indian wealth to England and the swift uprising of British industries was not casual; it was causal. Mr. Brooks Adams says:—

"In discussing the phenomena of the highly centralised society in which he lived," Mill defined capital" as the accumulated stock of human labour." (*Ibid.*, pp. 259-60) In other words, capital may be considered as stored energy; but most of this energy flows in fixed channels;— money alone is capable of being transmuted immediately into any form of activity. Therefore the influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy, but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement.

'VERY SOON AFTER PLASSEY, THE BENGAL PLUNDER BEGAN TO ARRIVE IN LONDON AND THE EFFECT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN INSTANTANEOUS, FOR ALL AUTHORITIES AGREE THAT THE "INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION," THE EVENT WHICH HAS DIVIDED THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FROM ALL ANTECEDENT TIME, BEGAN WITH THE YEAR 1760. PRIOR TO 1760, ACCORDING TO BAINES, THE MACHINERY USED FOR SPINNING COTTON IN LANCASHIRE WAS ALMOST AS SIMPLE AS IN INDIA; WHILE ABOUT 1750 THE ENGLISH IRON INDUSTRY WAS IN FULL DECLINE BECAUSE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FORESTS FOR FUEL. AT THAT TIME FOUR-FIFTHS OF THE IRON USED IN THE KINGDOM CAME FROM SWEDEN.

'Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying-shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, in 1779 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the power-loom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam-engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralising energy. But, though these machines served as outlets for the acceleration movement of the time, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion.

"Thus printing had been known for ages in China before it came to Europe; the Romans probably were acquainted with gunpowder; revolvers and breech-loading cannon existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and steam had been experimented upon long before the birth of Watt. The least part of Watt's labour lay in conceiving his idea; he consumed his life marketing it. Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together. Considering the difficulties under which Matthew Boulton, the ablest and most energetic manufacturer of his time, nearly succumbed, no one can doubt that without Boulton's

works at Birmingham the engine could not have been produced, and yet before 1760 such works could not have been organised. The factory system was the child of the "industrial revolution," and until capital had accumulated in masses capable of giving solidity to large bodies of labour, manufactures were necessarily carried on by scattered individuals, who combined a handicraft with agriculture. (*Ibid.*, ch. xi, p. 263)

'Possibly since the world began no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor. That she should have so long enjoyed a monopoly seems at first mysterious, but perhaps the condition of the Continent may suggest an explanation. Since Italy had been ruined by the loss of the Eastern trade, she had ceased to breed the economic mind; consequently no class of her population could suddenly and violently accelerate their movements. In Spain, the priest and soldier had so thoroughly exterminated the sceptic, that far from centralising during the seventeenth century as England and France had done, her empire was in full decline at the revolution of 1688. In France something similar had happened, though in a much less degree. After a struggle of a century and half, the Church so far prevailed in 1685 as to secure the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. At the revocation many Huguenots went into exile, and thus no small proportion of the economic class, who should have pressed England hardest, were driven across the Channel to add their energy to the energy of the natives. Germany lacked capital. Hemmed in by enemies, and without a sea-coast, she had been at a disadvantage in predatory warfare; accordingly she did not accumulate money, and failed to consolidate until, in 1870, she extorted a treasure from France. Thus, in 1760, Holland alone remained as a competitor, rich, maritime, and peopled by Protestants. But Holland lacked the mass possessed by the great antagonist, besides being without minerals; and accordingly, far from accelerating her progress, she proved unable to maintain her relative rate of advance.

Thus isolated, and favoured by mines of coal and iron, England not only commanded the European and American markets, at a time when production was strained to the utmost by war, but even undersold Hindu labour at Calcutta. In some imperfect way her gains may be estimated by the growth of her debt, which must represent savings. In 1756, when Clive went to India, the nation owed £74,575,000, on which it paid an interest of £2,753,000. In 1815 this debt had swelled to £ 861,000,000, with an annual interest charge of £32,645,000. In 1761 the Duke of Bridgewater finished the first of the canals which were afterwards to form an inland waterway, costing £50,000,000, or more than two-thirds of the amount of the public debt at the outbreak of the seven years' war. Meanwhile, also, steam had been introduced, factories built, turnpikes improved, and bridges erected and all this had been done through a system of credit extending throughout the land. Credit is the chosen vehicle of energy in centralised societies, and no sooner had treasure enough accumulated in London to offer it a foundation, than it shot up with marvellous rapidity.

'From 1694 to Plassey, the growth had been relatively slow. For more than sixty years after the foundation of the Bank of England, its smallest note had been for £20, a note too large to circulate freely, and which rarely travelled far from Lombard Street. Writing in 1790, Burke mentioned that when he came to England in 1750 there were not

"twelve bankers' shops" in the provinces though then, he said, they were in every market town. Thus the arrival of the Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money, but stimulated its movement; for at once, in 1759, the bank issued £10 and £15 notes, and in the country private firms poured forth a flood of paper.' (*Ibid.* pp. 263, 64)

Thus England's unbounded prosperity owes its origin to her connection with India, whilst it has, largely, been maintained—disguisedly—from the same source, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present time. 'Possibly, since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder.' (*Ibid.*, p. 263)

What was the extent of the wealth thus wrung from the East Indies? No one has been able to reckon adequately, as no one has been in a position to make a correct 'tally' of the treasure exported from India. Estimates have been made which vary from £500,000,000 to nearly £1,000,000,000. Probably between Plassey and Waterloo the last-mentioned sum was transferred from Indian hoards to English banks. In an appendix to this chapter will be founded some details of individual 'embezzlements,' as the phrase of that day expressed it. These will indicate the scale on which nearly every Briton in India enriched himself. Modern England has been made great by Indian wealth never proffered by its possessor, but always taken by the might and skill of the stronger. The difference between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries is simply that the amount received now is immensely larger, is obtained 'according to law'; British money is seen to be invested, British goods are purchased—and payment must be made for whatever one buys. Further, 'services are rendered': these must be paid for.

'Could you not find the service in India itself, from among the Indian people?'

'We have never really tried, and do not intend to try.'

Apparently, everything is straightforward. But India has never said she wants these things. Indeed, her opinion on the matter, even though she pays, is the last consideration to be regarded, and no one troubles to regard it.

Here and here has India helped us,
What have we for India done?

Later pages will show how much of good has come to India from the British connection; likewise, how much of evil. But, once for all, with the result writ so large and writ so indelibly before our eyes, let us cast away the now out-of-date morality which taught that ill-gotten wealth cannot bring blessing or prosperity with it. Considering what England, owing to her appropriation of Indian moneys, counted for most amongst the nations

of the world during the whole of the nineteenth century, there can no longer be any doubt that 'out of evil good cometh,' nor, perhaps, of the sequel, 'Do ill that good may come.' With some of the money thus obtained **ENGLAND STRUCK DOWN THE ANCIENT INDUSTRIES OF INDIA**, and, during a whole century, has done naught that is worthy to constitute India a land of varied industries.

These be hard and cruel words for an Englishman to write. Written, however, they must be so as to help to an understanding of the wrong which has thus been done to India—and, in a deeper sense, to England. With understanding *may* come a redeeming of the wrong;—*may*, more likely, *may not*.

England's conquest by trade being complete, India lying at the feet of her conqueror, the time had come for a further step. How was this new (yet ancient) country, its brow wrinkled with the learning of the ages, its people steeped in spirituality, its morals equal, if not superior, to those of the West, to be ruled? Were its peoples to become British citizens or British helots? There was not much delay in coming to a conclusion. Peoples who had allowed themselves so easily to be robbed, who, in the astute intellect of a Nuncomar could be outwitted by the subtler mind of a Hastings—what was there for such a people but subjection?

II. CONQUEST BY DELIBERATE SUBJECTION:

India—not for India first, and then for England, but
India—for England, first and last.

1783-1833.

With the advent of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General of India in 1786, were exhibited the first real glimmerings of a conscience as to the principles on which the newly-acquired territories were to be ruled. Philip Francis, it is true, had revealed some facts but he was unpopular, and therefore his views were ignored. It was open to us to associate the people of India with us in the administration of Indian affairs. Recognising how much they knew and how little we knew of the complexities of rule in their own land, such a course seemed the commonest of common sense. Time has proved that the adoption of such a course would have been the noblest, as it would have been the most profitable, line of policy which could have been adopted. Through some strange psychological change in the mind of the inhabitants of India, or by the working out of some spiritual force, the time had arrived when a foreigner's domination became acceptable, nay, more, seemed as if it were desired in fact if not in words. [Mr. Meredith Townsend (Archibald Constable, *Asia and Europe*), in his chapter, 'Will England Retain India?' calls it a lack of power 'of accumulating thought.' He claims that the French ethnologist, the Count

de Gobineau, has explained and justified this view in detail. The subject merits separate treatment, but I may say here the phrase does not seem to me to adequately describe, or even approximately, that 'something' which, in this age, has made ten thousand Indians quietly accept the domination of one Englishman.]. Strange to relate, this was as true of the martial races as of the peaceful peoples. Hindu and Muslim, Bengali, Madrassi, Maratha, Sikh—they all for a time resisted the foreign domination, they fought fiercely, but having been beaten, they all accepted defeat, and contentedly acquiesced in the rule of the alien overlord. **History records in its annals no greater marvel of one race overmastering another in all matters alike of mind and body.** The leaders of British thought in those distant days may be partly forgiven in that they did not discern the possibilities of the future. 'Put the people of India in a position of equality with us?' they asked; 'that would never do. If we let them cooperate with us, if we give them the same facilities to acquire knowledge and experience as we possess, as they gain such knowledge and experience they will use it to get rid of us.'

So it has not been. Never has there been a national revolt in India against British rule. Never, I think, will there be. There was, in 1857, a mutiny of mercenaries. Never has there been an uprising of the people. Nor, had another course been adopted than that which unhappily was taken with the soldiers, and had not our 'bad faith' with the Feudatory States been so manifest, would there have been even a revolt of the troops. England, when she obtained supremacy in India, had a golden opportunity to enrich India whilst bringing prosperity to herself. She threw it away. Deliberately, she threw it away. There were not wanting, even then, wise men in plenty to show the truer way. Nevertheless, the wrong course was taken. Not colleagues, but subordinates; not, in their own land, rulers and chiefs, with reasonable ambition satisfied and a scope for natural and national energies provided—not these things for Indians. For them, of every caste and creed, the doom was fixed; they at home, among their fellows, were to become 'hevers of wood and drawers of water,' with such employment in governmental service as would not be worth the acceptance of any Englishman, however poor. The decision was fateful alike for India and for England. It was consciously taken. It has been accepted by the under dog in the struggle; it has only been varied infinitesimally by the dog on top, accordingly as to whether he found himself in a good humour or not.

Nowhere, perhaps, has the policy of keeping the Indians under found such plain-spoken and emphatic demonstration as in an official document written by a favoured Madras civilian, Mr. William Thackeray. At the time when Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras—August, 1803, to September, 1807—Mr. Thackeray was a member of the Board of Revenue in that Presidency: that Board is a survival, an atrophied

survival, to the present day. The great fight as to whether peasant farmers, with the Government revenue periodically fixed, should be settled on the land, or whether landed proprietors and the permanent settlement, such as Lord Cornwallis had established in Bengal, should be adopted, was the subject of consideration. The Governor was a strong advocate for the peasant farmer; the Revenue Board member was even stronger on the same side. In the course of many inquiries, and in the voluminous discussions carried on in the favourite Indian form of elaborate Minutes, each enough to fill a 200-page octavo volume, the foundation principles of Indian subordination and British supremacy were laid down most absolutely. Never, perhaps, has the arrogance and cruelty of alien rulers towards their subjects been more nakedly and cynically announced. That which was essential for English greatness in its home land, and for every other people in their respective home lands, was to be withheld, deliberately withheld, from the Indian people in their own country. Without circumlocution and with a cynicism which belies the profession expressed at the same time that the happiness of the people was the sole object of the new conquerors, the subjection of many scores of millions of people for at least a century and may be for ever—(this world is to the strong and not to the amiable, to the brutal and not to the saintly)—was unconcernedly set forth in clear terms. (Mr. Thackeray, although knowing the principle of land taxation depended wholly upon produce being actually forthcoming, did not hesitate to put the following cynical—and in practice cruelly harsh—dictum on record:— 'It may be said the revenue will not be secure under a ryotwar settlement; however, *if the ryots are put on such a footing that their lands are saleable, and that they ought to pay whether they cultivate or no, the revenue will be secure.*') The paragraphs in Mr. Thackeray's report which are the very negation of the charters in which nearly every civilised people find their rights enshrined, the paragraphs which have rendered futile Acts of Parliament subsequently passed, and even have made of none effect the Queen-Empress's Proclamation of 1858, deserve quotation in full. The argument is too interesting to be summarised, has been too fruitful in its baneful consequences not to be recalled and enshrined in twentieth-century literature, *verbatim eliteratim*.

After arguing in vigorous terms against a landlord settlement— 'one fat rajah supposes fifty-two ryots' (peasant farmers)[Later in these pages it will be seen what one Secretary of State, one Councillor, one Civilian or Military Pensioner, presupposes in the way of ryots' revenues.] —Mr. Thackeray remarks:—

"This quality of condition, in respect to wealth in land; this general distribution of the soil among a yeomanry, therefore, if it be not most adapted to agricultural improvement, is best adapted to attain improvement, in the state of poverty, manners, and institutions, which prevail in India; and it will be found still more adapted to the situation of the country, governed by a few strangers, where pride, high ideas, and ambitious

thoughts must be stifled. It is very proper that in England, a good share of the produce of earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the state, or, in other words, that great part of the rent should go to an opulent nobility and gentry, who are to serve their country in Parliament, in army and navy, in the departments of science and liberal professions. The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it;—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest. The nature of things, the past experience of all governments, renders it unnecessary to enlarge on this subject. We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen. If we wanted rank, restless, and ambitious spirits, there are enough of them in Malabar to supply the whole peninsula; but these people are at least an encumbrance, if nothing worse; they can never do good, and, at all events, consume a good deal without rendering any equivalent service to the public. We must, therefore, avoid the creation of more; though we submit to the necessity of supporting those who now are.

'Considered politically, therefore, the general distribution of land, among a number of small proprietors, who cannot easily combine against Government, is an object of importance. The power and patronage, and receipt of the sircar rent, will always render zemindars formidable, but more or less so, according to the military strength and reputation of the Government. It is difficult to foresee what may happen in the course of a few years; and it is our interest to retain in our own hands as much power an influence as is consistent with the preservation of the rights of the people. By retaining the administration of the revenues in our own hands, we maintain our communication and immediate connection with the people at large. We keep in our own hands the means of obtaining information, the knowledge on which alone the resources of the country can be drawn out; the policy administered with effect; and perhaps the body of the proprietors secured in their possessions.

'Our first object is to govern India; and then to govern it will; and in these province it would seem that both these objects, a strong government and the security of private rights, would be attained by such a settlement as I have proposed.'(pp.990-91, Appdx., Fifth Report, Sel. Com. E.I. Co., 1812.)

"It is very proper that, in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the State."

And, in India? Are not Indians human beings? It may be, in the opinion of some, a contemptible few, that they are human beings; according to Mr. Thackeray if they are human beings they are of quite another order than ourselves, ranking distinctly below that order of human beings of which British folk are members.

'...;but, in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives.'

'OUGHT TO BE SUPPRESSED.'

'We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen.'

Clearly, an Indian hath not eyes, hath not hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions, is not fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as hath and as is an Englishman. If we prick Indians they do not bleed—at least, they do not bleed as do Europeans; their suffering from famine, fever, and pestilence is not like the suffering of others : they are occupants of a 'human cattle farm,' placed in that position after careful thought and consideration, and—kept there.

Mr. Thackeray was without excuse. Lord William Bentinck, who of set purpose selected Mr. Thackeray as his mouthpiece, they holding ideas in common, is even more without excuse. 'Tis not as if they considered the people of India were incapable of reaching great intellectual heights, of developing and exhibiting noble character. In this same report Mr. Thackeray says:— 'It would be impertinent to show that the people of hot countries have been conquerors, sages, and statesmen.' (Further observations in the same paper show that Mr. Thackeray could discern good characteristics in the Indian people. He wrote:— 'The general distribution of land among a great number of small proprietors will also contribute to the general happiness of the people. I say happiness, because it is our duty to consider the happiness of the mild, industrious, race, which Providence has placed under the British Government, before revenue or any other objects. The domestic happiness, independence, and pleasure of a country life, which the distribution of landed property alone can confer on the multitude, makes this far superior to any system. It may be considered an Utopia by some; however, I think that Government can, and ought, to extend this happy system to the provinces. The people of this country are peculiarly adapted to thrive as small proprietors. All their customs, opinions, and virtues are suited to this sort of life, and adapted to make them succeed in it. No people are fonder of a house, ground, and place of their own, of their families, of fame among their equals, of their hereditary occupations, and of the profession of agriculture, than the Hindus. Had they a field for the display of the industry which these feelings would excite, this great country would have a different appearance. The ryots are laborious, and, in some respects, parsimonious, inherit their skill and attachment to husbandry. We sometimes, especially those among us who know least of them, affect a contempt for the natives; they are indeed objects of pity, if our contempt for their character suggests ideas of arbitrary government: but, considered as husbandmen, who have understood and carried to perfection that primeval business of man (the cultivation of the earth) for thousands of years, they are very respectable. A few centuries ago the peasantry of England, and even now, the peasantry in many parts of Europe, are considered as inferior beings by their proud masters the great landholders the Zemindars, who urged their idleness; ignorance, and brutality, as a reason for keeping them in vassalage. Some great philosophers have affected to attribute to them indolence, not to be excited by any inducement; want of mental and bodily strength, which

fitted them only for slavery to the people of hot climes.'-P.991. Appdx. Fifth Rept. Sel. Com. E. I. Co., 1812.) If it be impertinent to remark upon so self-evident a fact, what word is adequate with which to describe the carefully arranged shutting of the door leading to advancement upon an admittedly capable people? Once it was closed it was securely locked and barred. A small postern gate has been constructed through which a few Indians have been permitted to pass to certain positions of honour and emolument. But the great door is still closed—an impassable barrier. 'No Indians need apply.'

What Mr. Thackeray urged, nearly every Viceroy, every Governor, every Lieutenant-Governor, every Chief-commissioner, aided by their respective subordinates, has consolidated into concrete facts. In so doing they have brought India to its present condition—so far as its native inhabitants are concerned—of national, mental, and social, degradation. An Act of Parliament with sonorous words as to equal treatment, words of Magna Charta strength, are so much waste paper in the presence of the gospel which Thackeray preached in 1807, and which James Mill, unashamedly, reiterated in 1831. It almost passes credence that one with the intellectual and political advantages possessed by James Mill should, apparently after due consideration, have urged the keeping of the Indian people in a condition of subjection, and even to argue that they would be the better for such subjection. He did this, however and did it, too, with an effrontery which, in these days of smooth phrases and periphrastic disguises, appears brutal. The majority of Anglo-Indians and Britons, who take any interest in India, still think as James Mill thought and spoke. The difference is that Mill was frank; the others are disingenuous. He said exactly what he meant; they are past masters in the use of language which deceives. On the 25th of August, 1831, this happened before a House of Commons Committee (The Houses of Parliament seventy years ago were not so much afraid of work in the months of August and September as they now appear to be. This important inquiry into Indian affairs was carried on through those months.) -James Mill, of the India House, under examination:-

'4193. Would not a considerable advantage accrue to the natives of India by the introduction of a system whereby natives and not Europeans might be largely employed in the collection of revenue ? —The great advantage I should contemplate would be the cheapness. If the payments of the ryots were accurately defined, and there were an administration of justice sufficiently perfect to afford redress to the ryot for every grievance, you might then employ, without danger, the greatest rogues in the world in collecting the revenue.

'4194. Would not the people of India derive very considerable benefit from the natives being employed in the collection of revenue, where Europeans are at present employed?—An opinion is very generally entertained, but which I confess I do not participate, that it would be good for the natives of India to be more largely employed in the business of government than they are now. It appears to me that the great concern of the people of India is, that the business of

government should be well and cheaply performed, but that it is of little or no consequence to them who were the people who perform it. The idea generally entertained is that you would elevate the people of India by giving them a greater share in their own government; but I think that to encourage any people in a train of believing that the grand source of elevation is in being an employee of Government is anything but desirable. The right thing, in my opinion, is to teach people to look for their elevation to their own resources, their industry, and economy. Let the means of accumulation be afforded to our Indian subjects; let them grow rich as cultivators, merchants, manufacturers, and not accustom themselves to look for wealth and dignity to successful intriguing for places under Government; the benefit from which, whatever it may be, can never extend beyond a very insignificant portion of the whole population.

4195. Do you not conceive that the exclusion of the natives from the higher branches of the revenue employment is looked upon by them, and is, in point of fact, a stigma upon them?—I do not believe that they look upon it in that light.'

4196. Do you know any country in which it would not be so considered?—I should point to India as a country in which it is not so considered.'

4197. Supposing, for example, Englishmen alone were employed in their higher branches of employment in Ireland, do you not conceive that the Irish would consider it a stigma upon them?—I consider that the feeling of degradation, from being governed by foreigners, is a feeling altogether European. I believe it has little or no existence in any part of Asia.

4198. Do you not think that by the greater employment of the natives of India in the higher branches of employment the character of the natives would be ameliorated?—I should think that such employment would have little effect in that way. The thing of importance in order to elevate the character of any people is to protect them. Elevation is the natural state of a man who has nothing to fear, and the best riches are the effects of a man's own industry: effects which never fail when the protection is good.

4199. Have you ever been in India?—I have not.

4200. And you can only speak from what you have read and heard?—Yes.

4201. Are you aware that petitions have been sent home by the natives of India, most numerous and respectably signed, complaining in the strongest terms of their exclusion from the civil, judicial, and financial, departments of government?—I am perfectly aware of such petitions having been sent home, but I am far from supposing that these petitions speak the general language of the country.

4202. What reason have you to think so?—I can only speak generally, because my reason is an inference from all I know, from all I have heard, and from all I have read, about the people.

4203. Is the correspondence you have read native correspondence?—Not native correspondence.

4204. Do you allude to the correspondence of the Company's servants in India exclusively?—Not exclusively.

4205. You have not seen anything stated by the natives themselves upon that subject?—Not anything written by themselves upon that subject.

4206. Are the petitions that have been referred to from the Presidencies or from the provinces?—From the Presidencies, I believe, exclusively.

4207. Do you conceive that it is possible for any person to form an adequate judgment of the character of a people without being personally acquainted with them?—If the question refers to myself, I am far from pretending to a perfect knowledge of the character of the Indian people.'

It remains to the credit of the British race that, even during the days of darkness in India when such views were promulgated, men of light and leading protested against the iniquitousness as well as the folly and short-sightedness of such a mode of ruling India. Two witnesses may suffice—a Madras civilian (at the time Mr. Thackeray wrote what, for the credit of the British name had better never have been written, and which every one has striven to ignore so far as the words themselves are concerned), afterwards, Governor of the Presidency, Sir Thomas Munro; and the second Protestant Bishop of India, Reginald Heber. Several citations from the former's writings are necessary: what he wrote early in the last century is in this century fulfilled prophecy. I have taken much; I have left untouched ten times as much, equally good. All of ill that he predicted has come to pass, while the burning injustice of it all thrills one now as it must have thrilled the noble-minded writer twice forty years ago.

'When we have determined the principles, the next question is, by what agency it is to be managed? There can be no doubt that it ought, as far as practicable, to be native. Juster views have of late years been taken of this subject, and the employments of the natives on higher salaries and in more important offices have been authorised. There is true economy in this course, for by it they will have better servants and their affairs will be better conducted. It is strange to observe how many men of very respectable talents have seriously recommended the abolition of native and the substitution of European agency to the greatest possible extent. I am persuaded that every advance made in such a plan would not only render the character of the people worse and worse, but our Government more and more inefficient. The preservation of our dominion in this country requires that all the higher offices, civil and military, should be filled with Europeans; but all offices that can be left in the hands of natives without danger to our power might with advantage be left to them. We are arrogant enough to suppose that we can with our limited numbers do the work of a nation. Had we ten times more, we should only do it so much worse. We already occupy every office of importance. Were we to descend to those which are more humble and now filled by natives, we should lower our character and not perform the duties so well. The natives possess, in as high a degree at least as Europeans, all those qualifications which are requisite for the discharge of the inferior duties in which they are employed. They are in general better accountants, more patient and laborious, more intimately acquainted with the state of the country and the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and are altogether more efficient men of business.

'Unless we suppose that they are inferior to us in natural talent, which there is no reason to believe, it is much more likely that they will be duly qualified for their employments than Europeans for theirs, because the field of selection is so much greater in the one than in the other. We have a whole nation from which to make our choice of natives, but in order

to make a choice of Europeans we have only the small body of covenanted servants.

If it be admitted that the natives often act wrong, it is no reason for not employing them; we shall be oftener wrong ourselves. What we do wrong is not noticed, or but seldom or slightly; what they do wrong meets with no indulgence! We can dismiss them and take better men in their place; we must keep the European because we have no other, or perhaps none better, and because he must be kept at an expense to the public and be employed some way or other, whatever his capacity may be, unless he has been guilty of some gross offence. But it is said that all these advantages in favour of the employment of the natives are counterbalanced by their corruption, and that the only remedy is more Europeans with European integrity. The remedy would certainly be a very expensive one, and would as certainly fail of success were weak enough to try it. We have had instances of corruption among European, notwithstanding their liberal allowances; but were the numbers of Europeans to be considerably augmented, and their allowances, as a necessary consequence, somewhat reduced, it would be contrary to all experience to believe that this corruption would not greatly increase, more particularly as Government could not possibly exercise any efficient control over the misconduct of so many Europeans functionaries in different provinces, where there is no public to restrain it. If we are to have corruption, it is better that it should be among the natives than among ourselves, because the natives will throw the blame of the evil upon their countrymen; they will still retain their high opinion of our superior integrity; and our character, which is one of strongest supports of our power, will be maintained. No nation ever existed in which corruption was not practised to a certain extent by the subordinate officers of the Government: we cannot expect that India is in this point to form an exception. But though we cannot eradicate corruption, we may so far restrain it as to prevent it from causing any serious injury to the public interest. We must for this purpose adopt the same means as are usually found most efficacious in other countries; we must treat the natives with courtesy, we must place confidence in them, we must render official situations respectable, and raise them in some degree beyond temptation, by making their official allowances adequate to the support of their station in society.

'With what grace we talk to our paternal Government, if we exclude these from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, no man but a European shall be entrusted with so much authority as to order the punishment of a single stroke of a rattan? Such an interdiction is to pass a sentence of degradation on a whole people, for which no benefit can ever compensate. There is no instance in the world of so humiliating a sentence having ever been passed upon any nation. The weak and mistaken humanity which is the motive of it can never be viewed by the natives as any just excuse for the disgrace inflicted on them by being pronounced to be unworthy of trust in deciding on the petty offences of their countrymen. We profess to seek their improvement, but propose means the most adverse to success. The advocates of improvement do not seem to have perceived the great springs on which it depends; but they propose to place no confidence in the natives, to give them no authority, and to exclude them

from office as much as possible; but they are ardent in their zeal for enlightening them by the general diffusion of knowledge.

No conceit more wild and absurd than this was ever engendered in the darkest ages; for what is in every age and every country the great stimulus to the pursuit of knowledge, but the prospect of fame, or wealth, or power? or what is even the use of great attainments if they are not to be devoted to their noblest purpose—the service of the community, by employing those who possess them, according to their respective qualifications, in the various degrees of the public administration of the country? How can we expect that the Hindoos will be eager in the pursuit of science unless they have the same inducements as in other countries? If superior acquirements do not open the road to distinction, it is idle to suppose that the Hindoo would lose his time in seeking them; and even if he did so, his proficiency, under the doctrine of exclusion from office, would serve no other purpose than to show him more clearly the fallen state of himself and his countrymen. He would not study what he knew could be of no ultimate benefit to himself; he would learn only those things which were in demand, and which were likely to be useful to him, namely, writing and accounts. There might be some exceptions, but they would be few; some few natives living at the principal settlements, and passing much of their time among Europeans, might either from a real love of literature, from vanity, or some other cause, study their books, and if they made some progress, it would be greatly exaggerated, and would be hailed as the dawn of the great day of light and science about to be spread all over India. But there always has been, and always it will be, a few such men among the natives, without making any change in the body of the people. Our books alone will do little or nothing; dry simple literature will never improve the character of a nation. To produce this effect, it must open the road to wealth and honour and public employment. Without the prospect of such reward, no attainments in science will ever raise the character of a people.

This is true of every nation as well as of India; it is true of our own. Let Britain be subjected by a foreign power to-morrow; let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest, race.

Even if we could suppose that it were practicable, without the aid of a single native, to conduct the whole affairs of the country, both in the higher and in all the subordinate offices, by means of Europeans, it ought not to be done, because it would be both politically and morally wrong. The great number of public offices in which the natives are employed is one of the strongest causes of their attachment to our Government. In proportion as we exclude them from those, we lose our hold upon them; and were the exclusion entire, we should have their hatred in place of their attachment; their feeling would be communicated to the whole population, and to the native troops, and would excite a spirit of discontent too powerful for us to subdue or resist. But were it possible that they could submit silently and without opposition, the case would be worse; they would sink in character, they would lose with the hope of public office and distinction all laudable ambition, would degenerate into an indolent and abject race, incapable of any higher pursuit than the mere gratification of

their appetites. It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such a debasement of a whole people. This is, to be sure supposing an extreme case, because nobody has ever proposed to exclude the natives from the numerous petty offices, but only from the more important offices now filled by them. But the principle is the same, the difference is only in degree; for in proportion as we exclude them from the higher offices and a share in the management of public affairs, we lessen their interest in the concerns of the community, and degrade their character.

It was from a conviction of the policy of extending native agency that the establishment of the revenue board cutcherry was recommended in 1822. The right of the people to be taxed only by their own consent, has always, in every free country, been esteemed amongst the most important of the privileges; it is that which has most exercised the minds of men, and which has oftentimes been asserted by the defenders of liberty. Even in countries in which there is no freedom, taxation is the most important function of government, because it is that which most universally affects the comfort and happiness of the people, and that which has oftentimes excited them to resistance; and hence both its utility and its danger have, under the most despotic governments, taught the necessity of employing in its administration the ablest men of the country.

'In this point, at least, we ought to be guided by the example of these governments, and employ intelligent and experienced natives at the head of the revenue to assist the revenue board. If in other departments we have experienced natives to assist the European officers, shall we not have them in this, whose duties are the most difficult and most important? We cannot exclude them from it without injury to ourselves as well as to them; we cannot conduct the department efficiently without them. But even if we could, policy requires that we should let them have a share in the business of taxing their own country.'

The above wise and weighty observations, a parallel to which is not to be found in present-day Anglo-Indian writings, are, as I have said, but a few sentences out of a hundred pages of equally luminous, high-minded, and statesmanlike utterances. Exigencies of space, however, forbid further citations.

Rightly is Sir Thomas Munro's fame maintained in Madras by one of Chantrey's finest equestrian statues. Had his spirit been permitted to pervade the purlieus of Indian administration as Chantrey's representation of the man dominates 'the Island' in the Chinnapatnam of olden days, such a work as this of mine would have been unnecessary—would never have been written. So wise and perspicuous were his teachings that it is difficult for one who knows what he counselled to pass that statue without raising his hat as to a living personage. As for Bishop Heber, writing to the Right Honourable Charles Williams Wynn, in England, in a letter dated Karnatik, March, 1826, he says:—

'But there is one point which, the more I have seen of India, since I left Bengal for the first time, has more and more impressed itself on my mind. Neither native nor European agriculturist, I think, can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half the gross produce of the soil is demanded by

Government, and this, which is nearly the average rate wherever there is not a permanent settlement, is sadly too much to leave an adequate provision for the peasant, even with the usual frugal habits of Indians, and the very inartificial and cheap manner in which they cultivate the land. Still more is it an effectual bar to everything like improvement; it keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury; and when the crop fails, in even a slight degree, it involves a necessity on the part of Government of enormous outlays, in the way of remission and distribution, which, after all, do not prevent men, women, and children dying in the streets in droves, and the roads being strewn with carcasses. In Bengal, where, independent of its exuberant fertility, there is a permanent assessment, famine is unknown. In Hindustan, on the other hand, I found a general feeling among the King's officers, and I myself was led, from some circumstances, to agree with them, that the peasantry in the Company's provinces are, on the whole, worse off, poorer, and more dispirited, than the subjects of the native Princes; and here, in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no native Prince demands the rent which we do; and making every allowance for the superior regularity of our system, etc., I met with very few public men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are overtaxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment. The Collectors do not like to make this avowal officially. Indeed, now and then, a very able Collector succeeds in lowering the rate to the people, while by diligence, he increases it to the State. But, in general, all gloomy pictures are avoided by them as reflecting on themselves, and drawing on them censure from the secretaries at Madras or Calcutta; while these, in their turn, plead the earnestness with which the Directors at home press for more money.

'I am convinced that it is only necessary to draw less money from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country, to open some door to Indian industry in Europe, and to admit the natives of India to some greater share in the magistracy of their own people, to make this Empire as durable as it would be happy. But as things now go on, though I do not detract any part of the praise which I have, on other occasions, bestowed on the general conduct of the Company's servants; their modesty, their diligence, and integrity, I do not think the present Empire can be durable.

'I have sometimes wished that its immediate management were transferred to the Crown. But what I saw in Ceylon makes me think this a doubtful remedy, unless the Government, and, above all, the people of England were convinced that no country can bear to pay so large a revenue to foreigners, as to those who spend their wealth within their own borders; and that most of the causes which once made these countries wealthy have ceased to exist in proportion as the industry and ingenuity of England have rivalled and excelled them. Even Bengal is taxed highly, not indeed directly on its land, but in salt and other duties. But Bengal is naturally of such exuberant fertility, that whoever has seen it alone will form a too flattering estimate of these vast countries.' (*Bishop Heber's Memoirs and Correspondence, by his Widow*, vol. ii. pp. 413-14)

Why have I disinterred from ancient volumes the foregoing unwise and supremely wise observations? Because the conflict represented by such protagonists—

THACKERAY and JAMES MILL *against*
MUNRO and HEBER

is proceeding now as it proceeded in the second and third decennial periods of the nineteenth century. The wrong step was then taken. The mischief is that not a single high official connected with India at the beginning of the twentieth century considers any forward step is required. They all think of Indian Administration as the Great Duke thought of the British Constitution prior to 1832. It was from heaven. It is sacro-sanct. It may be that in the fortuitous (or other) concurrence of circumstances which we call national development, there is still room for the right step to be taken in India. It is to help in that being done, if haply it may be done, that the quoted passages, in such fulness, have been placed before the reader.

That sentiment in our national character which is proclaimed *ore rotundo* as 'British justice,' revolted at the condition of things Thackerayan. In the inquiry which preceded the renewal of the Charter in 1833 many questions were asked concerning the capacity of the Indian subjects of the King and the development of India's resources from within and through her own people. The evidence of Mr. Robert Rickards, who served for many years in Madras and Bombay, is wise far beyond the average of the evidence that has, from time to time, been given before British Committees on Indian subjects. Probably it is due more to what Mr. Rickards said than to anything else that the Act of Parliament of 1833, by which the Charter was renewed, contained so emphatic a declaration in favour of the employment of Indians in their own land, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed, as is to be found in the clause which runs:

'That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of these, be disqualified from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.'

Used in the sense intended by their framers those words are among the most noble and most worthy ever legislatively recorded by a conquering Power. Had they been acted upon, the condition of the great country for which we are responsible and the welfare of the vast multitude of its inhabitants, for which we do not have to account, as there is now no one to call us to account, would have been far better than can now be recorded. (This remark is true in the human sense as well as in the Divine sense in which it is used in the text. I myself heard Lord George Hamilton, during the early evening of August 16, 1901, taunt the friends of India in the House of Commons with the observation that in 1877 and 1878, when he was Under-Secretary of State for India, he had much more to do in the House than he had had since, in 1895, he became Secretary of State. If Indians want to know one reason why a back-wave has overthrown liberties they once possessed, they may see it in this observation. Such activity in the House

of Commons as marked the years 1889, 1890, and 1891, when Charles Bradlaugh was 'Member for India' would have prevented the falling back which all educated Indians mourn, while it would have ensured a great advance.)

Mr. Rickards was asked whether India did not require capital to bring forth her resources. 'She certainly does,' he replied. 'But the best and the fittest capital for this purpose would, in my opinion, be one of native growth. And such a capital would certainly be created among the natives themselves if our institutions did not obstruct it, by curbing the energies and confirming as they now do, the poverty of the great mass of the inhabitants.' (East India Company's Affairs, 1831. Reports from Committees, vol. v. Q.2795.)

It was pressed upon the witness that India would derive great advantages from men of talent and science and art proceeding to settle in India. 'Yes, undoubtedly,' replied Mr. Rickards. 'But the presence of such men,' he went on to say, 'is not enough. A people in a state of confirmed and degraded poverty cannot, I apprehend, be roused to energetic habits by the mere stimulus of foreign example. On this account I think that our first attention should, as well in common justice as in policy, be directed to the improvement of the state and condition of the natives of that country.' (*Ibid.* Qns. 2796, 2797.)

In a fashion known so well in the last days of the nineteenth century, the question was asked: 'Have not many branches of commerce and manufacture been commenced and carried on by British capital and British settlers, and is not this enough?' No doubt, it was answered, there has been much of what you mention—indigo cultivation, for example, 'but'—and here I ask the reader's most careful attention, for in the sentence which follows is indicated, as though with the pen of Inspiration, the course which England would have adopted had she, in her intercourse with India, been really solicitous first of the interests of the Indian people:—

'But I still maintain that any improvement which may have arisen in consequence of the introduction of British capital and British enterprise into India, is *nothing in comparison with what would be the case if the natives of India were sufficiently encouraged, and proper attention paid to their cultivation and improvement.*'

In this sentence, for the advice it contains has been wholly ignored, lies the greatest condemnation imaginable of present Indian poverty and present Indian suffering. The path to prosperity was the path of honour and chivalry: it was clearly indicated; it was, in 1833, it is, in 1901, wilfully ignored. The Secretary of State will not acknowledge the existence of such a contingency. Not India, but England, is the first consideration always held in view in connection with Indian matters. Viscount Cross, when Secretary of State for India, furnished evidence thereof, without being aware that he was doing a gross wrong to the Indian people in the course he took. Each of his successors has taken special care to

make their predecessor's sentiments their own. Whatever else concerning India may have been overlooked, that which was calculated to make English influence more and more dominant has never been forgotten.

I have linked the two preceding questions, asked in 1831, with the views held and announced at the present time. Two other questions asked at the inquiry seventy years ago—2807 and 2808—may similarly be specially regarded as indicating that there is no real difference in the manner in which India is viewed now and at that distant period. It was a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, still living and engaged in strenuous work in London, who, a few years ago, remarked, in response to a suggestion that closer co-operation in the higher spheres of rule between Europeans and Indians would give the latter an opportunity of teaching us many things we did not know :-

'The Indians teach us! Absurd! Why, they know nothing we have not taught them! The natives teach us!'

In exactly the same spirit Mr. Rickards, in 1831, was asked:-

'Can you name any one improvement which has been made by the natives in your time that cannot fairly be traced to the example, or influence, of Europeans?'

The answer was as emphatic as it was lucid and undeniable:-

'I have already observed,' he said, 'that the improvements introduced by Europeans are limited in comparison with what might be the case if the natives of India were sufficiently encouraged; but in their present state of extreme poverty and almost slavery, it is not reasonable to expect that any great improvements can flow from them. One of the greatest improvements, however, of which the mind of man is susceptible, has been made by natives from their own exclusive exertions. Their acquirement of knowledge, and particularly of the English language and English literature, of which there are many examples in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay at the present moment, is quite astonishing. It may even be questioned whether so great a progress in the attainment of knowledge has ever been made under like circumstances in any of the countries of Europe.'

'Is not that,' it was asked, 'limited to those who have had particular intercourse with Europeans?'

Mr. Rickards, with observations which might with conspicuous benefit be reprinted and placed in a prominent position in every room of the India Office, and in all official rooms in India, particularly in the working rooms of the Viceroy, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and of Members of Council, Commissioners, and Residents at Feudatory Courts, replied as follows:-

'The examples to which I allude are among natives that have kept up an uninterrupted intercourse, certainly with Europeans, from residing at the different presidencies of India: but the exertions of those with whom I am acquainted have been altogether independent of European assistance; the natives to whom I allude being perfectly self-taught. I would beg leave here to add that if it be meant to imply, as some of the most distinguished literary authorities in this country have

asserted, that the natives of India are incapable of improvement, I must protest against the doctrine, as being, in my humble opinion, an unjust and libellous judgement passed on the whole community. We have at this moment an illustrious example in this country of what native Indians can attain by their own unaided exertions. (The great religious reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, doubtless, is here referred to. About this time he visited England, and wrote several valuable Memoranda for the Parliamentary Committee.) Let it also be recollected that in many branches of art their skill is absolutely unrivalled. Several of their fabrics, such as muslins, shawls, embroidered silks, handkerchiefs, etc. together with pieces of workmanship in gold, silver, and ivory, have never yet been equalled by British artists. Their architecture, though peculiar, is of a superior order, and in the construction of great public buildings they have exerted powers of moving and elevating large masses which are unknown to European architects. Agriculture also made its first progress, and attained considerable perfection in the East which in this respect set the example to Europe. In these, and many other arts connected with the comforts and conveniences of life, the natives of India have made great progress in some, and attained perfection in others, without being in the smallest degree indebted to the European patterns or example. I do not mean to say that their progress or advancement has been a hundredth part so great or so rapid as that of Europeans in the arts of life generally, but I do not think it fair to compare their present backward state with the advancement made by Europeans, considering the very different circumstances in which both are respectively placed.... Many persons, I apprehend, who now contend for the freest introduction of Europeans into India, to operate as a stimulus to native improvement, seem to forget the vast difference of character existing in the two parties; that consequently, to over run India with Europeans before a better system of protection shall have been provided, would be to mingle a race of overbearing conquerors with submissive slaves, and that oppression and injustice would be the inevitable result. Until the natives of India are raised (and I am sure they can be so raised with great advantage) to participate largely and actively in the government of themselves, I feel persuaded that India never will be justly or securely ruled under any European sovereignty.'

The reader must suffer some further citations in the text (and not be referred to a footnote or to an appendix) from Mr. Rickards' evidence. I wish to draw special attention to his remarks because, in every particular, they are applicable to the conditions of India to-day. Perchance where they failed to convince in the nineteenth century they may persuade in the twentieth century. Even now they contain such statesman like wisdom as to constitute them 'a counsel of perfection' quite within the realisable possibilities of the time—if the spirit to do justice to India were commensurate with the 'talk' on the same topic. I quote questions 2815 to 2820 (Question 2824 relates to a work in two volumes written by Mr. Rickards) and from 2825 to 2829; and also 2840-2842.

'2815. Are you aware that the natives of Bengal, in Oude, at present imitating European indigo settlers, prepare

a considerable portion of that article now exported?—The natives of Oude have got lately into a better mode of preparing indigo for this market. This may be occasioned partly, no doubt, by the influence and example of Europeans, but in a great measure also, as I conceive, by the unsaleable state of the article in this country, from the badness of its quality, and which rendered it indispensably necessary that some improvement should take place before it could be brought into general consumption and use by manufacturers.

'2816. Did the natives ever manufacture any indigo for export twenty-five or thirty years ago, or was it not entirely begun by Europeans?— Certainly not begun entirely by Europeans; for indigo as a colour was known and used in the East from earliest times, and therefore manufactured as well as exported by natives alone. The great extension of the manufacture of indigo in Bengal of late years is no doubt to be ascribed British enterprise and capital, but of the present produce of the Bengal provinces (exclusive of what is produced in Oude) at least about 20,000 chests are actually grown and manufactured by natives alone, and consigned by them to other natives in Calcutta. Some of the specimens manufactured by natives are to the full as fine as the most beautiful products of European factories; but this is not generally the case; a few of the native merchants only export this article direct to Europe, from not having correspondents in this country to whom to send it; the greater part, therefore, passes always through the hands of Europeans, as the exporting merchants.

'2817. Are the inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay living under the protection of the King's Courts, and in daily intercourse with Europeans, equal or superior in education and intelligence to the mass of British native subjects living in the provinces under the exclusive Government of the East India Company?—They are, generally speaking, a better educated race than the inhabitants of the interior, but this I ascribe to their living in much more comfortable circumstances than the inhabitants of the interior, and coming more habitually into contact with European refinement. Although the poverty of the interior habitually consigns its inhabitants to a state of confirmed degradation, in which improvement, either of their circumstances or moral habits, seems equally hopeless, there are still to be found in every part of India numerous individuals whose natural talents and capacity are fully equal to the inhabitants of the Presidencies.

'2818. Had the commerce of Calcutta and Bombay been left as formerly, exclusively to the East India Company and the natives, what in your opinion would at this day have been the condition of the natives of those places?—They would have remained, I conceive, as stationary, or perhaps declining, as all countries invariably do which are subject to arbitrary governments and monopolies.

'2819. Then the present improved state you attribute principally to the opening of the trade with that country? — I do.

'2820. Have such of the natives of Bombay as came under your observation any repugnance to commercial pursuits, or any indisposition to engage in external and internal trade, other than what may arise from the want of their having sufficient means?— Certainly no repugnance; they are on the contrary like all the natives of India I am acquainted with, very much given to commercial and industrial pursuits, and exceedingly well qualified to succeed in them.'

'2825. Are you not able to point out a few of those taxes which principally restrict and affect the commerce of

the country to which the allusion principally was?—Where the revenue is collected as it is in India, on the principle of the Government being entitled to one-half of the gross produce of the soil, and vast numbers of officers, whose acts it is impossible to control, are also employed in the realisation of this revenue, it is a moral impossibility for any people whatever to live, or prosper, so as to admit of a very extensive commercial intercourse being carried on with them.

'2826. Are those observation which you have made the result of your own personal experience, or do you state them as acquired from others?—The result of my own personal experience in the provinces in which I have served in India, coupled with information as regards the other districts of India, taken from a very valuable collection of papers printed by the Court of Directors in four folio volumes and other official and authentic sources.

'2827. Is the revenue levied on fruit trees, betel, pepper, sugarcane, indigo, and other similar productions a fixed and moderate land tax, or in the nature of an excise in those parts of the territories of Bombay and Madras with which you are acquainted?—It is anything but a moderate tax; for, as I have shown in the above-mentioned work, it is in all cases exorbitant; and strange to say, in some instances even exceeds the gross produce of the lands or plantations on which it is levied.

'2828. Do you consider it practicable, under such a system as you have stated, to manufacture those articles for foreign exportation, and competition with other countries?—It may be done in lands not subject to the afore-mentioned exorbitant tax. It may also be the case in Bengal, where the permanent settlement has been enforced for many years, and where its original ruinous pressure is no longer so severely felt; but it would be quite impossible in lands, for example, subject to the ryotwar tax, or from lands where from 45 percent to 50 percent of the gross produce is actually levied as revenue.

'2829. You have stated that the tax is equal in some cases to the produce of the land; has land then saleable value in any part of India where the taxes take away the whole of this produce?—I am personally acquainted with instances where the revenue assessed upon certain lands has actually exceeded the gross produce. I have also known other lands in India where a revenue has been assessed as being specifically derivable from rice lands, plantations of fruit trees, pepper, vines, and other articles, and each portion particularly described; but on comparing the assessment with the lands in question those very lands have been found to have been nothing but jungle within the memory of man. Land, however, has a saleable value in those parts of India where our revenue systems admit of some rent being derived from the land by the land-holder or proprietor; but when the whole rent is absorbed by the Government tax or revenue, as under ryotwar or Aumaunce management, the land is of course, destitute of saleable value.'

'2840. Under such a system of judicature, police, and taxation as you have described, what prospect do you think there is of the inhabitants of British India becoming either a wealthy, a prosperous, or a commercial, people, and of their conducting a trade with this country commensurate with their numbers, and the extent and fertility of the country they occupy?—None whatever; the people of India are sufficiently commercial to answer the highest expectations that can be

formed, or desired, in respect to trade between the two countries; but our local institutions, including the revenue system, must be greatly altered or modified before the natives, can become wealthy or prosperous; if the condition of the natives, their habits, their wants, their rights and their interests were properly attended to, all the rest would follow as a matter of course.

'2841. Does the answer you have now given apply to the Bombay, Madras, and Bengal Presidencies, where the nature of settlement varies?—To all.

'2842. Would you make any exception with regard to those parts of India where the permanent settlement has been established?—As regards the judicial system I think no difference exists; it appears to me to have been a failure everywhere, and to be ill-suited to the habits and wants of the natives of India; the revenue system has gradually grown into improvement in Bengal, owing in a great measure to the effect produced by the opening of trade, in occasioning increased demand for the production of lands on which an unalterable tax has been fixed; in this way I conceive that the opening of trade to India has greatly conduced to give additional value to the lands of Bengal, and to enable those who now possess estates in that quarter to obtain a rent for them, and sometimes a high rent, where in the first instance there was none at all, or scarcely a sufficiency for a scanty subsistence.'

From the foregoing and from the evidence generally some good results followed. The tone of the debates in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons was eminently reasonable, while the Act that was passed inaugurated a new era—IN WORDS.

Apparently, if one might judge from the anticipations expressed, a really new era had dawned, New Heavens and a New Earth in which alone *Righteousness* should prevail were to mark the future of Indian and English relations. Perhaps, if steam communications and the application of steam power to manufactures had not then begun to change the face of the whole world industrially, the halcyon time indicated in the Act of 1833 might have come to distressed (and, therefore, oppressed) India. Unhappily for India, once more a market was wanted, and, under the mistaken idea that the great Eastern Empire of Britain would provide more customers, and more profitable customers, by the people being kept in subjection and poor, compelled to take such exports as we chose to consider they needed, instead of enabling them to grow rich, and, themselves, of their own volition to buy of us, we entered upon the third stage of Conquest—a stage which continues to this day. It is a stage out of which thousands of millions of pounds have been made for and by England, Where that policy has secured thousands of millions sterling against the will of the people, the other policy would, probably, have brought us tens of thousands of millions from buyers who purchased out of their superfluity, and not, as now, who buy from us simply that which will only half cover their bodies against the cold o' nights at the expense of food which those bodies need for ordinary health.

III. CONQUEST BY 'POUSTA':

A Show of Fair Dealing accompanied with the Continuance of Indian National Inferiority—
1833 to—?

Amid the glow of self-satisfaction which came to every British heart from the freeing of negro slaves, and with the anticipations which were then widely prevalent concerning the improvement of the human race by political enfranchisement and general reform, the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833. Something of that glow irradiates the pages of this work on which certain passages from speeches then made are printed. The climax is reached by Thomas Babington Macaulay, then Member for Leeds, who was in himself—as Law Minister in India, as Member of Parliament afterwards—to show that much of what he said was of the tongue merely and not of the heart. Contemplating the Government of India of that day, he remarked, truly enough. 'I see a Government anxiously bent on the public good. Even in its errors I recognise a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge. I see toleration strictly maintained; yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power. I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste, of Europe, beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expanding itself to noble and just views of the ends of government and of the social duties of man.'

This was not all. He proceeded, with vivid illustration and in eloquent phrases, to indicate what India should gain from England. He said:-

'There is, however, one part of the Bill on which, after what has recently passed elsewhere, I feel myself irresistibly impelled to say a few words. I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause, which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office. At the risk of being called by that nickname which is regarded as the most opprobrious of all nicknames by men of selfish hearts and contracted minds, at the risk of being called a philosopher, I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause... It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill-governed and subject to us; that they were ruled by their own kings, but wearing our broadcloth and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salaams to English collectors and English magistrates, by were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures. To trade with civilised men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages. That would, indeed, be a dotting wisdom which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a useless and costly dependency, which would keep a hundred millions of men from being our customers in order that they

might continue to be our slaves. ('Doting wisdom' prevailed then, prevails now, nearly seventy years later. Exactly what Macaulay then denounced is what is true of our administration to-day. Proof of this is given in Chapter VIII.)

It was, as Bernier tells us, the practice of the miserable tyrants whom he found in India, when they dreaded the capacity and spirit of some distinguished subject, and yet could not venture to murder him, to administer to him a daily dose of the pousa, a preparation of opium, the effect of which was in a few months to destroy all the bodily and mental powers of the wretch who was drugged with it, and to turn him into a helpless idiot. The detestable artifice, more horrible than assassination itself, was worthy of those who employed it. It is no model for the English nation. We shall never consent to administer the pousa to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is power worth if it is founded on vice, on ignorance, on misery; if we can hold it only by violating the most sacred duties which, as governors, we owe to the governed, and which, as a people blessed with far more than ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light, we owe to a race debased by three thousand years of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilised to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilisation.

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us: and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

"The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown our system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in England's history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature, and our laws. (Macaulay, *Speeches*, p. 78.)

And yet, seventy years later, we have advanced but a few short and mincing steps on the road so wisely

and so daringly depicted. India's peoples are now much poorer than they were then. In one district in 1900, 85 per cent. of the land revenue was directly paid to the Government officials by moneylenders, the cultivators being wholly without means to fulfil their obligations, while the leading medical journal in the World, through its correspondent in Bombay, estimates that nineteen millions of British Indian subjects have, during the last decennium of the nineteenth century, died of starvation, and one million from plague. (*The Lancet*, June, 1901. The estimate alluded to above will be found recorded in its appropriate Famine place, and thus appears twice in this work, for which I make no apology:—

'Once printing may not suffice,

Though printing be not in vain;

And the mem'ry failing once or twice,

May learn, if we print again.)

So far have we fallen from the noble and generous position of seventy years ago, when Macaulay, amid all men's applause, unfolded so glowing a scheme of administration and upliftment, that such a statement as the one quoted above arouses no interest of any kind amongst the members of so humane a profession as the *Lancet* represents. Even the editor of the journal himself did not consider his correspondent's remarks called for any comments from him. The doctors, in common with nearly all other Englishmen, seem to think that may be suffered by Indians, the twentieth part of which in this country would cause a revolution, with these now quiescent and thoroughly satisfied professional gentlemen amongst the leaders of the revolt. These many millions of deaths in India have become a commonplace in English current thought of so slight a character that two millions of Indian people may, on an average, die year by year in India for ten years on end, and when this fact is stated in a great medical journal, no single word of surprise or sorrow shall be expressed concerning so portentous a statement! While suffering almost beyond matching elsewhere in the world is going on, Lord George Hamilton, as Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, in the present writer's hearing, and Lord Curzon of Kedleston, as Viceroy and Governor-General of the Empire, take the spirit of the words of Macaulay as applicable to themselves. They are, they say, a Government anxiously bent on the public good of India. They are sensible, in their own bosoms, of 'a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to their charge.' Nevertheless, what was an impossible antithesis eighteen centuries ago, and was used by the Saviour of Mankind because of its impossibility in practice, is not merely possible, it is actual fact to-day:

Of Lord George Hamilton and of Lord Curzon, the Indian people ask for bread and receive a stone; they beg for an egg and are given a scorpion. (Actually, a stone. In the *Times of India* a British colonel, who had been engaged in famine relief service, tells of people within his cognisance who ground certain rocks to powder to mix with the scanty portion of food they were able to obtain. This

substance caused grave internal injury and frequently death, which was a pity, of course, but there was nutritious food in the country— if only the people had had the means to obtain it, if only the perennial needs of the India Office were not so great. The means which would have given them food was needed to swell the £860,000,000 of pensions, interest, etc., which the India House and the India Office have expended in England since 1835.)

Yet, while this is distinctly the fact, each of these estimable nobleman will feel as if, in my stating the above fact, which remains a fact whether I tell it or whether I do not, a gross libel were uttered concerning him. As against facts, undeniable and patent facts, intentions may be Heavenly, but they should not avail as a plea in mitigation of responsibility for the consequences of what this man or that man does or leaves undone. Nor do they in the captain of a ship, be that ship a billyboy or a first-class battleship, nor in an engine-driver. But the plea is all-sufficient when the captain or driver is called an Administrator and the people affected are dark-skinned. That the dark-skinned people are British subjects makes no difference.

How has all this come about? Why is it that to-day we regard with complacency horrors which, a generation ago, moved us to our inmost depths? Why do British hearts no longer beat responsively to, or appreciate, such noble and humane sentiments regarding India as those to which Macaulay gave expression? Why is it that now there are no Munros and Elphinstones among the Governor sent to India from England, few Rickards's or John Sullivans among Indian civilians, no Sir Lionel Smith among military men? Among thousands of civilian and military officials, in office and retired, who may be named in the same breath with these? There were none on the last Public Committee on Indian Affairs—that which inquired into Expenditure in India—save Sir William Wedderburn, and the only help he had from English sources came from Mr. W.S. Caine. It was a Native of India on the Commission, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Natives of India among the witnesses, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Dinshaw E. Wacha, G.V. Gokhale, G. Subramania Aiyar, who chiefly voiced the sentiments of Rickards and of Sullivan.

Why is it?

Because, shorn of the fatal consequences which accompanied the 'pousta' of which Bernier tells, the British 'pousta' has affected our moral and mental powers as well as those of the Indian people more immediately subject to it, but at the same time has left us active in all other respects. Only our sympathy, self-respect, and righteousness have been numbed; our baser qualities have been quickened into greater activity.

The need for markets for our products, combined with the fear, unacknowledged and carefully concealed but always with us, that if the Indians are permitted to occupy seats in the Executive Councils-Viceregal, Presidency, and Provincial, and in the Secretary of State's Council—it will not be possible, logically, for us to prevent a large measure of self-government being soon after accorded to India;—these things account for our utter indifference and neglect. Therefore it is that we make brave promises and break them; this is why we pretend to clear the way for Indians of capacity to rise high in the service of their country, and then 'cheat' them out of the offices we declared should be theirs—if they proved themselves to be capable of occupying them. We have become so accustomed to regarding India as a milch-cow, though we never shock the facts or our sensibilities by using such an inelegant and indelicate expression, that anything which in the slightest degree appears to interfere with the continuance of this state of things seems to us to be contrary to what Divine Providence has designed on our behalf, the British nation, as every one knows, being God's own, incapable of wrong-doing. India is our wash-pot, and over the islands of the sea have we cast our shoe.

'WHATEVER IS, IS BEST.'

So I heard it stated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India. Therefore, of course, it must be so. And there is an end to all argument and to all patience with such misguided persons as those who, with irrefragible testimony in their hands, which they produce, would urge the contrary. What we choose to believe concerning India is alone that which is true. If there be evidence to the contrary, so much the worse for the evidence. We *know* we are doing well in India for the evidence. We *know* we are doing well in India for India, and that knowledge suffices us. Any other opinion is condemnable, if not criminal. (Lord Lytton, in a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State, said: 'No sooner was the Act (1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it... We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course... are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act and reducing it to a dead letter. ... I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.'))

(Appendices to Chap. I will appear in the next issue.)

TROTSKY AND ROY

Asrumukul Sengupta

M N Roy first met Trotsky in the year 1920; the Second World Congress of the Communist International was drawing to a close and from the front Trotsky wired to the Second World Congress of Comintern inviting a delegation to the Front. Roy was a member of that delegation. The army was in a wretched condition having no guns worth mentioning, uniforms were in tatters. There were no drill sergeants to instruct the soldiers to keep their brass buttons glittering and boots cleaned. Yet, the army of revolution had indomitable faith in the triumph of the revolution. Roy's impression of Trotsky during that critical period, is self-revealing : "Confidence was the powerful weapon in the possession of that strange army. And it was Trotsky who was making superhuman efforts to keep Army equipped with that weapon. He looked like a man walking in his dream. He was making history."

A ceremonial march of troops was held for the reception of the international delegates. That was the first time Roy heard Trotsky deliver a speech, in Russian of course, Roy understood little because he did not know Russian then. But he was spell-bound. For more than an hour Trotsky spoke whilst preparing the theses for the Third World Congress on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern.

At the Third World Congress of the Communist International, while delineating the world economic situation Trotsky spoke in German nearly for three hours, thereafter he declaimed the identical speech word for word in French and Russian. According to Roy, Trotsky was the greatest orator not only of the twentieth century but was second to none of all ages.

Those were the early years when, the Communist International, i.e. Third

International represented the revolutionary expectations of socialists around the world. Leon Trotsky, Principal organiser and Lenin's close collaborator, had drawn up a summary of the most important statements of this international organisation. In this book "Five Years of the Communist International"; Trotsky said, "Comrades, the revolution flows along three channels. The first great channel of revolutionary development is dying Europe. Europe's social equilibrium, and above all that of England has always been based on the preponderant position of Great Britain and of Europe throughout the world. This preponderance is forever gone. Fluctuations may take place. But preponderance of Europe is a thing of the past and so is the preponderance of the European bourgeoisie, and that of the European proletariat as well. This is the first great channel of the revolution.

"The second is the feverish development of America. We have here a great and feverish upswing, created by conditions which can never be stabilised, nor repeated, i.e. a great upsurge which must inevitably be followed by a great crisis and a great depression. These ups and downs, these unprecedented ups and downs of a great nation, of a great society, are a mighty revolutionary factor, and the possibility is not at all excluded that the revolutionary development of the United States may proceed at a genuinely American tempo today."

"The third channel--the colonies. During the War, when the European Countries were cut off from the world market, colonies developed quite energetically in the capitalist direction. This was of no especially great economic significance for the world market. The Indian, Chinese and Japanese Capitalisms do not play in it a

decisive or prominent role. But for the revolutionary development of Japan, China and India, the development of capitalism, its already attained level of development does play a decisive role. In India, a backward proletariat exists. But how great a role the proletariat can play in such a country with its semi-feudal agrarian relations--this you can gather from all of Russia's modern history. The proletariat will play there a role which will be absolutely incommensurate to the stage of capitalist development and even to the numerical strength of the workers; for the peasantry of India or China has no other possibility, no other centre of concentration than the young proletariat capable of struggle. And so, the colonial struggle is the Third important channel of the revolutionary movement."

After the death of Lenin, a struggle for leadership surfaced and eventually Stalin triumphed leading to the expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International. It was at the historic session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, towards the end of 1927, when Trotsky was ousted, Roy wrote. "It was an all-night gruelling session, and winter nights in Moscow are very long. Though now finally convinced that Trotsky's point of view was wrong, yet I was disgusted with the mechanical method of the representatives, of one party member after another going to the platform to denounce Trotsky in a vituperative language. He was sitting there, still fighting like a lion interrupting every speech with sharp repartees which non-plussed most of the speakers. Evidently, he was in a minority of one. I wanted to make a gesture of protest against pigmies tilting toy lances at the lion at bay. Trotsky was wrong. But the giant should not be humiliated by marionettes. Finally I decided to speak, in order to let the doomed man have the last chance to vindicate his position, if it could be at all vindicated. I was the last to speak before the vote was taken. The dawn was breaking. All were tired out and sleepy. Trotsky looked fierce, but desperate. The issue was the possibility of building socialism in one country. Trotsky

maintained it could not be done, and quoted lengthily from Marx and Lenin in support of his point of view. His thesis was that, so long as the World remained capitalist, the Soviet economy was bound to degenerate into Capitalism; and he accused Stalin's policy as heading towards that degeneration. My speech was only a question put to Trotsky. Agreed that it is not possible to build socialism in the Soviet Union in the midst of a Capitalist World; then there are two alternatives—either we should go on doing what ever is possible by way of advancing towards the ultimate goal of Socialism, pending the success of revolution in other countries; or we should lay down power in the Soviet Union and go back to emigration to wait for the time when there will be a revolution simultaneously throughout the World. I asked whether Trotsky would choose the latter alternative. He shouted "No". The historic vote was cast against him—unanimously. The Revolution went over the head of one of its most brilliant products".

The historic session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1927 in the Book titled "The Prophet Unarmed-Trotsky : 1921-1924" by Isaac Deutscher vividly describes the event. "The Foreign Communists who sat in judgement over one of the founding fathers of their International and denied him all the merits of a revolutionary, were almost to a man pathetic failures as revolutionaries, instigators of abortive risings, almost professional losers of revolution or heads of insignificant sects all basking in the glory of that October in which the accused man had played so outstanding a part. Among them were Marcel Cachin, who had during the First War, while Trotsky was being expelled from France as the author of the Zimmerwald Manifesto, gone as an agent of the French government to Italy to back Mussolini's pre-war campaign; Thaelmann, who was to lead German Communism in its capitulation to Hitler in 1933 and then perish in Hitler's concentration camp; and Roy, who had just returned from China where he had done his best to induce the Chinese party to lick the dust before Chiang Kaishek, 'You are accusing me'; he told the Executive, 'of a breach of discipline,....' The supposed leaders of international Communism did not even have the dignity to try and save appearances : in their sycophancy they had forgotten to expel Chiang Kai-shek and Wangchingwei from their executive, and the Kuomintang was still affiliated to the International but they sat in judgement over those who were of the flesh and the blood of the Russian Revolution.' "

From the time of expulsion of Trotsky from the Communist International, an estrangement had taken place between him and Roy because of their contradictory stance in

respect of attainment of socialism in the world. And this is patently evident from what Trotsky had said about M N Roy in an article titled "Who is Leading the Comintern Today" in 1928 included in his book *The Challenge of the Left Opposition* : "The Indian movement is represented in the International by Roy. It is doubtful if greater harm could be done to the Indian Proletariat than was done by Zinoviev, Stalin and Bukharin through the medium of Roy. In India, as in China, the work has been and is oriented almost totally towards bourgeois nationalism. In the whole period since Lenin, Roy has conducted propaganda in favour of a "People's Party" which, as he himself has said should be "neither in name nor in essence" the party of the proletarian vanguard. This is an adaptation of Kuomintangism, of Stalinism, and of La Folletteism to the conditions of the national movement in India. Politically this means; through the medium of Roy, that the leadership of the International is holding the stirrup for the future Indian Chiang Kaisheks. **As for Roy's conceptions, they are a hodgepodge of Social Revolutionary ideas and liberalism flavoured with the sauce of the struggle against imperialism** while the "Communists" organise "Workers' and Peasants' Parties," the Indian nationalists are seizing hold of the trade unions. In India the catastrophe is being prepared just as methodically as it was in China. Roy has taken the Chinese example as a model, and he appears at the Chinese Congress as a teacher. It is not necessary to say that this national democrat, poisoned by an adulterated "Marxism"; is an implacable foe of "Trotskyism" just like his spiritual brother Tan Ping."

In *Fragments of a Prison Diary*. Roy had made a reference to Sneevliet, who was a delegate to the Second World Congress of the Communist International. Sneevliet eventually left the Comintern and became an important lieutenant of Trotsky. During Sneevliet's visit to Trotsky, Roy profoundly sympathised with Trotsky, which Roy had mentioned to Ellen, "Lion has spoken sympathetically of me and has lambasted Comintern for having meted out harsh treatment to me" (Roy used to call Léon Trotsky "Lion" in their days of camaraderie in the Comintern). In this connection, it is interesting to note what Trotsky said of Roy in the year 1932 in his book *The Struggle against Fascism in Germany* (p.226) :

"Roy has just been sentenced to many years imprisonment by MacDonald's government. The papers of the Comintern do not feel themselves obligated even to protest against this: one may ally oneself intimately with Chiang Kai-shek, but one absolutely cannot but defend Roy against the imperialist butchers".
(*Frontier* 31.1.98.)

IN A TRAIN

Jawaharlal Nehru

Friends often ask me : When do you read ? My life seems pretty full of various activities, some useful perhaps, others of a doubtful utility. It is not easy to make friends with books and live in their charmed world when the horrid business of politics consumes our youth and eats up our days and nights which, under a better dispensation, would be given to happier pursuits. Yet even in this dreary round I try to find a little time at night to read some book that is far removed from politics. I do not succeed always. But most of my reading takes place in railway trains as I journey to and fro across this vast land.

A third class or an intermediate class compartment is not an ideal place to read in or do any work. But the invariable friendliness of my fellow-travellers and the courtesy of railway officials make a difference and I am afraid I cannot pretend to experiencing all the discomforts of such travelling. Others insist on my having more than my fair share of space, and many acts of courtesy give a pleasant human touch to the journey. Not that I love discomfort or seek it. Nor do I indulge in travelling third class because there is any virtue in it or principle involved. The main consideration is one of rupees, annas and pies. The difference in third class and second class fares is so great that only dire necessity induces me to indulge in the luxury of second class travel.

In the old days, a dozen years ago, I used to write a great deal while travelling, chiefly letters dealing with Congress work. Repeated experience of various railway lines made me judge them from the point of view of facility of writing on them. I think I gave first place to the East Indian Railway; the North Western was fair; but the G.I.P. Railway was definitely bad and shook one thoroughly. Why this was so I do not know, nor do I know why fares should differ so greatly between the different railway companies, all under State control. Here again the

G.I.P. Railway stands out as one of the most expensive and it will not even issue ordinary return tickets.

I have given up the habit of writing much in a train. Perhaps my body is less flexible now and cannot adjust itself so well as it used to to the shaking and jolting of a moving train. But I carry a box full of books with me on my journeys, taking always far more than I can possibly read. It is a comforting feeling to have books around one even though one may not read.

This journey was going to be a long one, to far Karachi, almost it seemed to me after my air journeys, half way to Europe. So my box was well filled with a variety of books. I started off, as was my wont, in an intermediate class compartment. But at Lahore, the next day, fearful and terrifying accounts of the heat and dust on the way weakened my resolve and I **promoted myself to the luxuries of second class travel.** Thus travelling in style and moderate comfort I went across the Sind desert. It was as well that I did so for even in our closely shuttered compartment clouds of fine dust streamed in through all manner of crevices and covered us layer upon layer, and made the air heavy to breathe. I thought of the third class and shuddered. I can stand heat and much else but dust I find much more difficult to tolerate.

Among the books I read on the long journey was about a remarkable and unusual man, **Edward Wilson**, lover of birds and animals and **comrade unto death of Scott** in the Antarctic regions. The book had a double appeal for me for it had come to me from yet another remarkable man. It was a **gift from A. G. Fraser, for long principal of the Achimota College in West Africa**, that noble and unique monument of African education which he had built up with labour and sympathy and affection.

The sandy, inhospitable desert of Sind passed by as the train sped along, and I read of the Antarctic regions and

of man's gallant fight against the elements, of human courage that conquered mighty nature itself, of endurance almost beyond belief. And of high endeavour and loyalty to comrades and forgetfulness of self and good humour in the face of every conceivable misfortune. And why ? Not for any advantage to the persons concerned, not even obviously for the public good or the marked benefit of science. Why then ? Simply because of the daring that is in man, the spirit that will not submit but always seeks to mount higher and higher, the call that comes from the stars. Most of us are deaf to that call but it is well that a few hear it and ennoble our present generation. To them life is a continual challenge, a long adventure, a testing of their worth :

"I count life just a stuff

To try the soul's strength on ... "

Such a one was Edward Wilson and it is well that after having reached the Southern Pole, he and his companions lay down for their final rest in those vast Antarctic regions where the long day follows the long night and silence reigns. There they lie surrounded by immeasurable expanses of snow and ice, and over them the hand of man has put up a fighting inspiration :

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

The Poles have been conquered, the deserts surveyed, the high mountains have yielded to man, though Everest still remains proud and unvanquished. But man is persistent and Everest will have to bow to him, for his puny body has a Mind that recognises no bounds and a spirit that knows no defeat. And then, what remains ? The earth becomes smaller and smaller and romance and knightly adventure seem to go out of it. We are even told that a flight to the Pole may be a common occurrence before long. And the mountains have funiculars running up their sides and luxury hotels at the top where jazz bands break the stillness of the night and mock the eternal silence of the snows, and dull middle-aged people play bridge and talk scandal, and bored and blasé young people and old seek pleasure feverishly and seek it in vain.

And yet, adventure is always there

for the adventurous, and the wide world still beckons to those who have courage and spirit, and the stars hurl their challenge across the skies. Need one go to the poles or the deserts or the mountains for adventure when the adventure of life is there for all who care? What a mess we have made of this life of ours and of human society, and with plenty and joy and a free development of the human spirit open to us, we yet starve in misery and have our spirits crushed in a slavery worse than that of old. Let us do our bit to change this so

that human beings may become worthy of their great inheritance and make their lives full of beauty and joy and the things of the spirit. The adventure of life beckons and it is the greatest adventure of all.

The desert is covered with darkness but the train rushes on to its appointed goal. So also perhaps humanity is stumbling along though the night is dark and the goal hidden from us. Soon the day will come and instead of the desert there will be the blue-green sea to greet us.

July 17, 1936

SALARIES OF PUBLIC SERVANTS

Jawaharlal Nehru

The advent of Congress ministries has made the question of reducing salaries of public servants a live issue. We see, on the one hand, Congress ministers taking only a fraction of the salaries of their predecessors and, on the other hand, most other public servants in high offices drawing enormous salaries. Even professors and vice-chancellors and other academic folk measure their love of learning and service to the community by the exorbitant salaries they get. In the Punjab we have seen the remarkable spectacle of the new legislators increasing their daily allowance to a record figure. The two pictures are striking enough and yet perhaps few persons appreciate the real difference. This difference is big enough in degree but it is bigger still in kind.

The Karachi resolution on fundamental rights laid down that : "Expenditure and salaries of civil departments shall be largely reduced. No servant of the State, other than specially employed experts and the like shall be paid above a certain figure, which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 a month."

It will be noted, that Rs. 500 is more or less the maximum salary. This does not necessarily mean that ministers or other high officers should invariably get the maximum. The principles underlying the Congress resolution are two : (1) salaries should be in keeping with the poverty of the country and they should therefore be as low as is compatible with efficiency; (2) salaries should not be a measure of dignity or importance of the office an individual holds but should be based on his needs.

The first of these principles is generally recognised but the second, I am afraid, is not yet sufficiently appreciated. Sensitive people feel that there is a certain indecency in drawing large salaries out of a poverty-stricken people, as in drawing large dividends out of the labour of ill-paid workers. The real fault and indecency lies in a system which permits and encourages this kind of thing. We have got so used to thinking in terms of measuring our importance and our progress in life in terms of income that it is difficult to

think of other terms. And yet this is a false and pernicious standard and where money values prevail too much, men decay. But even in our money age we all know that the social and cultural value of a poor scientist or writer is often far greater than that of a rich businessman or a high official drawing a big salary. A taluqadar or big zamindar has a large income but it is a little difficult to find where his social value comes in; some people doubt if he has the slightest social value.

We must, therefore, get rid of this idea of measuring people by their incomes and salaries. Probably this standard of measurement, if inverted, would be a safer guide for us. The question involves big issues and a refashioning of our social order. As a socialist I would confidently point to the socialist solution of this as of other difficulties. But for the moment we are concerned with the salaries of public servants only.

The Congress wants, in so far as it can, to apply this principle to public salaries. That is to say it wants to reduce them to reasonable limits, more in keeping with Indian conditions, so as to lessen the tremendous gap between the official and the man in the field, and to give back, as much as possible, of the revenue of the country to the masses in the form of social and other services. It wants to end the practice of paying progressively more to the higher officials. The office they hold should not determine the salary but the needs of the individual who holds it. An ideal system would require more or less the same payment for all services and all offices. But under present conditions this is not possible and variations must creep in. Still there is no obvious reason why a minister should be paid more than his secretary, simply because of his office. To some extent this may be occasionally necessary as the minister might have to shoulder additional responsibilities. But the principle we wish to adhere to is that a minister has no business to be paid more than his secretary simply because of his office. This would apply to other offices also. This does not mean that other salaries should also approximate to the maximum fixed, but rather that all salaries should be on a lower scale, the maximum being touched only when obviously necessary.

But there are patent difficulties in the way in suddenly upsetting the present system from top to bottom. Apart from the evil inheritance from the British Government, the social system, the habits of people and many other things come in the way. And we have to face suddenly so many complex

problems which demand immediate consideration. We can therefore only set certain examples before the public to begin with, but this question has a basic importance and must be dealt with fully before long. For the present we have provisionally fixed ministerial and other salaries roughly in accordance with the Karachi resolution. This is the maximum allowed, but this maximum need not be drawn as a matter of course.

The question of allowance is intimately connected with salaries. **Certain offices necessitate some appurtenances for the sake of efficiency and rapidity of work. But allowances must not become additions to the salaries, else the whole purpose of having low salaries will be defeated.**

While on the one side we want to reduce salaries of the higher officers, we want also to provide for a living wage

for all and to raise the standard of living of the masses. How far that is possible under the present system is another matter. The ideal we aim at is not to perpetuate poverty but to abolish it, and to raise the general standard as high as possible, so that everyone may participate in the culture of the age. For this, great political and social changes will be necessary. Meanwhile we shall at least try to reduce the gap between the favoured few and the unfavoured millions.

As soon as opportunity offers itself we shall consider the question of salaries and allowances, in consultation with the Congress ministers, so that we might give effect to the real spirit of the Karachi resolution, and put an end to the notion that the worth of a man or his work is measured by the salary he gets.

July 24, 1937

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

POSTSCRIPT

Vinayak Purohit

There is a remarkable candour and simplicity about Jawahar's mind in 1936. He admits that he travelled third-class, not out of any principle, but, "the main consideration is one of rupees, annas and pies."

So straightened in means was Jawahar in those days, the late 20s and early 30s, that he had thought of accepting a monthly stipend from the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, as recorded in his autobiography. He could then write, in 1936, "**the difference in third class and second class fares is so great that only dire necessity induces me to indulge in the luxury of second class travel.**" (Jawaharlal Nehru, *Eighteen Months in India*, 1936-37, p. 2)

At that time, Motilal had to persuade his son not to demean himself by accepting any emolument as professional political worker. (In those early days, we were all rather starry-eyed and idealistic. I remember that even as late as 1948, I did not accept any stipend from the Socialist Party or the Bombay Press Employee's Union. I continued to be a burden on my mother and this strained relationships within the family).

Motilal assured Jawahar that by Chamber Practice alone, without appearing in courts, he would be able to earn many times the five-six hundred that the UPCC may be able to pay Jawahar (My father died in 1938, and therefore, I was in no position to give any assurance to my mother).

Today, the Nehru Dynasty, with D capital, would deny

any suggestion that they were so hard-up and hand-to-mouth after Motilal's death in 1931. Later on, the family which had lived in the red-light district of Allahabad city, would create a mythology of their past riches. Not only that ! From intermediate class travel on the Indian railways, Jawahar jumped to chartered flights within and outside India. His daughter and grandsons took further strides in the direction of luxurious criminality and waste of public money. For Rajiv, it was caviar and champagne all the way, as reported openly by the servile Indian press.

Look at Jawahar's simplicity of those days. On a journey to Karachi, he travelled intermediate upto Lahore. "But at Lahore, the next day, fearful and terrifying accounts of the heat and dust on the way weakened my resolve and I promoted myself to the luxuries of second class travel. Thus travelling in style and moderate comfort I went across the Sind desert ... I thought of the third class and shuddered." (*Ibid.*, pp. 2-3)

We need not go into the second article that flowed from Jawahar's pen, written in 1937.

We may merely reiterate the words of the Karachi Congress resolution : "No servant of the state ... shall be paid ... above Rs. 500 a month."

Such were the ideals of those days !

A maximum of Rs. 500 per month was demanded in 1936-37 by no less a person than Jawahar, India's P.M. from 1946 to 1964 !

GUILTY MEN OF INDIA'S PARTITION : 2

Rammanohar Lohia

I have read Maulana Azad's book in discontinuous stretches but in its entirety. I do not have it with me at this moment of reviewing it, which can be an advantage in relation to the large scale, but a disadvantage in matters of detail.

A most lasting impression, which the book has left on me, concerns the behaviour of groups and peoples. Groups and interests are easily led into running after doubtful or less fruitful ends. Maulana Azad has nowhere talked of this directly. He may not have been aware of it, when he was dictating the book. But there is no doubt that Maulana Azad was a good Muslim and Mr. Jinnah not quite such a good Muslim and yet the Muslims of India chose to follow the man who did not serve their interests so well. Even at that time, there was another Muslim who was greater than both of them, but he was a Muslim alone by birth and faith and not in politics. (In all probability, this is a reference by Lohia to Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan —Exe. Edr.) Maulana Azad has talked of him rather meanly, and that is not surprising.

In calling Maulana Azad a better Muslim than Mr. Jinnah, I am not at all concerned with their religiosity, the degree to which they understood the tenets of Islam or practised them in their lives. I am only concerned with the extent to which they served the Muslims of India. Both of them strove, outwardly very outspokenly, and also perhaps with inward passion, to realise Muslim interests as distinct from the interests of the Indian people as a whole. The Maulana was a better servant of Muslim interests than was Mr. Jinnah but the Muslims rejected his service.

This hit me in the eye, when I re-read Maulana Azad's statement on the

last but one British proposal and which is reproduced in this book. The British had then proposed a constitution, which would grant maximum autonomy to the provinces. In fact, the Central Government of India would have been left alone with defence, foreign policy and communications and such other powers as the province may have chosen to grant it, but nothing else. The provinces would have further been grouped together under different categories such as the north east or the north west. **Mr. Azad claims co-parenthood of this proposal with the British viceroy of that time.** The proposal was ultimately rejected.

Mr. Azad's statement on it is a model of clarity both of thought and expression. He asserts that a scheme of partition of India would damage Muslim interests. It would give nothing much of substance to Muslims in provinces where they were in majority in addition to what they would get under a constitution of maximum provincial autonomy. It would, however, take away much from the Muslims of the larger part of India, where they would be left without effective voice. Subsequent events have proved him to be true. The partition of India has hurt Muslims just as much as it hurt Hindus, if not more. Maulana Azad's statement is, however, a little too logical, a little too smooth, which is perhaps a characteristic of men otherwise talented who are not big enough to mould events.

This proposal of maximum provincial autonomy would assuredly have safeguarded Muslims interests to an amazing degree. It would perhaps not have satisfied their vanity or their craving for greatness, two impulses so difficult to disentangle from each other. It may also have led to much friction

between Hindus and Muslims and a state of frustration among either, though not necessarily so large as to be impossible to overcome. In his statement, Mr. Azad is not aware either of the frailty of man or of the reality of the situation. He is remarkably rational in his desire to safeguard Muslim interests. The Muslims of India would have done well by their own interests to follow this rational leader of theirs. Therein lies the tragedy of man.

Man is ever after insubstantial greatness which eludes him. He is continually beset with false fears of his own creation. Between these two millstones of imaginary fears and vain greatness, he is ground into a tragedy often not even on the grand scale. The partition of India was a mean tragedy, although its proportions were terrific and soured more lives than many other great tragedies.

If the Muslim group of India was unable to recognise its self-interest, what of the Hindu group or the Indian people as a whole? There is no doubt that rationality was equally lacking among the Hindus and therefore among the people as a whole. It is lacking to this day among very large numbers. A common fallacy is afloat that if Muslim interests are safeguarded by a scheme, it must then in the nature of things hurt Hindu or other interests. Groups within a people are often a prey to this fallacy. They believe axiomatically that the interests of one group are inimical to those of another. That may, of course, be true of some cases, but wholly untrue or partially true of others. What exactly was a Hindu or a Muslim interest, before the country was partitioned, and what is it to this day?

On a closer investigation of Hindu or Muslim interest as it was then or as it is now, one may select certain examples from the field of parliamentary, governmental and trade interests as also those of the general economy or collectivity. Undoubtedly, there cannot be two presidents of a single republic nor two parliament members of a single constituency. Attempts at a solution of this conflict have indeed been made in some

countries of the world. Their constitution guarantees the post of the president to one group and that of the prime minister to another. But such a solution would hurt one or the other group and would also cause heartburn in the event of one authority becoming more effective than the other. One may safely assert that Mr. Azad's proposal would have hurt this limited and parliamentary Hindu interest, at least in the early stages.

The situation with regard to another limited interest in the field of government service would have been somewhat similar. As there are only a limited number of government jobs to go round in a country that is exceedingly poor, particularly of the higher reaches of government service, the participation of Muslims in state service of India as a whole would have been considerably larger than their numbers would have warranted. This would have hurt a limited interest of the Hindus pertaining to government service.

In relation to industry and trade, the situation would have been reversed. Hindu predominance both of ownership and working personnel would have continued. Efforts at increased Muslim participation in the industry and trade would undoubtedly have been made and these would have led to much friction and frustration. On the whole and only, comparatively speaking, an undivided India would have hurt a limited Muslim interest in the sphere of industry and trade.

As soon as we leave this limited sphere of interest and inspect the unlimited spaces of general interest such as policies relating to price, artisans, or agriculturists, the situation is entirely different. In any country, the price of essential commodities must be the same for all groups, except, of course, small groups of leaders and high government servants, who are price-favoured in a controlled economy. On the overwhelming mass of the population, the effect of price policy is equal. It is almost certain that an undivided India would have followed a price policy more favourable to the consumer. The people as a whole and consumers as a whole are synonymous terms. Nothing hurts the people as much as when consumers are orphaned which is the case in partitioned India and appears also to be so in Pakistan in spite of its military dictatorship. Hindus and Muslims have both suffered terribly by the hurt of consumers' price; their interests would have been jointly and better served in an undivided India.

In a similar manner, policies relating to cottage crafts and artisans and agriculturists would have benefited or hurt Hindus and Muslims equally. An unprejudiced scheme of education would similarly inform the mind and elevate the soul of Hindu and Muslim alike. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that Hindu and Muslim interests coincided before the partition as they do now in relation to the overwhelming mass of population and to the unlimited spaces of general economy or collectivity, while they are at variance in respect of the limited fields of parliamentary or administrative participation. Precisely this limited field of parliamentary and administrative participation has loomed so large before men that it has blinded their vision or at least distorted it

beyond safety.

The partition of India is a result of this blinded or distorted vision. **Maulana Azad's book contains at least one lie on each page and it is also wholly unreliable in respect of historical interpretations**, but it has done a distinct service in reopening public debate on the issue of partition of India. **Was there a guilt attaching to partition and, if so, who were the guilty men?** Would repentance of an earlier guilt bring redemption or benefit in the years to come? If partition was not inevitable in the past, need it be permanent for the future? In any event, could men and women on both sides of the frontier rise to better levels of living on a fresh examination of the past?

Mr. Azad has adopted the style of stories for children in dealing with events leading to partition. Every thing seems to happen with a suddenness and there is some extraordinary impulse behind each occurrence. The partition of India is thus made to appear as a fruit of Lord Mountbatten's mind. He persuades Sardar Patel to take a bite. That is his first success. Jointly with Sardar Patel and Her Ladyship, Lord Mountbatten achieves his second success by persuading Mr. Nehru to accept the scheme of partition. **His third and ultimate success comes when Mahatma Gandhi is eventually persuaded.** The Maulana has not cared to disclose the charms of the secret potions with which Gandhiji's conversion took place. **He was the only one to stay opposed to the partition right upto the end. The whole story is an uninteresting lie.**

A preliminary road bloc must be set aside. An impression has been allowed to grow in the land as though Lady Mountbatten exercised some malign influence on Mr. Nehru. The whispering galleries of history may infact turn this lie into truth. Maulana Azad is the first to attempt for history what contemporary gossip has been doing for years. However much such revelations may be of immediate benefit to Mr. Nehru, for they exonerate him from direct guilt and make him appear as a victim of charms and guiles, they do damage to his reputation in the long run and leave untouched the deeper currents of political processes.

Let history should attach to Lady Mountbatten the importance that contemporary gossip does, it would be wise to recall an almost similar role that was ascribed to Madame Chiang Kai Sheik. The Madame from China had infact roused Lord Linlithgow, the British Viceroy of that time, to the mild wail that she was interested too much in her boyfriend's eyelashes to care for him. There had been earlier period when Mr. Nehru had befriended more plebeian and more revolutionary women, the Ellen Wilkinsons of India and Britain. I am perfectly certain that if Mrs. Khrushchev were available and if she were pleasant and sociable, Mr. Nehru would run after her in the same way as he has run after these other women. Let there be no misunderstanding. He would do so only when affairs of the Indian State warranted it, naturally, according to his estimate of them. It would, therefore, be unwise to ascribe a political meaning to these friendships.

Mr. Nehru has used Lady Mountbatten for his

political purposes. It may be well to supplement this estimate of the situation with its counterpart. Lady Mountbatten and her Lord have similarly used Mr. Nehru for their political purposes. A certain amount of tenderness naturally creeps into all such relationships of mutual advantage. Whether there has ever been anything more than tenderness is a fit subject alone for researchists of a distant future, who are at a loss for a subject and who pick up minor topics of history and romance for their investigation. The people of India would do well to acquire the maturity not to waste their time nor to vulgarise their taste over such contemporary gossip. I am in fact inclined to comment on Mr. Nehru's lack of chivalry. He does not seem to respect his friendships beyond their political value.

I can well understand that events of State should have drifted him away from Madame Chiang Kai Sheik, but his behaviour in the United States when he was there and she was lying ill in a hospital, was atrocious. He should have met her. If he is tender in his relationships, that tenderness lasts only as long as there is a political value. Incidentally, Maulana Azad's book contains hundreds of inaccuracies of detail. As far as I recollect, the present Prime Minister of India was standing on his head on the lawns of the Kutub for the benefit of the Chinese foreign minister and his party, when the Chiangs were away in Agra seeing the Taj Mahal.

Maulana Azad has definitely erred in describing Lord Mountbatten's role as a maker of policies. Lord Mountbatten was indeed an accomplished executor of policies that were made for him by his superiors. It is exceedingly childish and puerile to suggest, as the Maulana does, that Lord Mountbatten evolved the scheme of partition off his own hat, after the scheme of maximum provincial autonomy evolved by another man, who happened to be his predecessor, Lord Wavell, had run into trouble. Such a reading of history ascribes to viceroys the role that prime ministers and kings do not possess.

Maulana Azad, like most other Indian writers on contemporary events, makes a mistake of seeing a Napoleon in every corner. He rouses the suspicion that he had thought of himself and of Lord Wavell as the unsuccessful Napoleons, and of Lord Mountbatten as the Napoleon of the successful period. There is always this danger in the writing of memoirs and autobiographies. Minor actors impelled by petty motives tend to cast themselves into great roles. Lord Mountbatten's was indeed a major role, though not a great one, in so far as he executed the policies, that this government gave him, remarkably well.

Government and armies do not work on single policies in any situation. They have always a string of alternative policies to meet in a situation. There may at times be as many as a dozen alternative political plans to resolve a political situation or a dozen alternative military plans from which one may be chosen for the actual assault. There are several strings to any bow of a foreign office, army or government. The string of partition of India must have been there in the Indian Office of Britain for a very long

time. On my knowledge of the doings of the British government as of any other experienced government, I have safely deduced that it was there well before Mr. Jinnah started talking of it around 1940.

Such plans do not indeed possess a constant value. They are kept away in appropriate cabinets of the government, and, although they may not be immediately or ever used, they are prepared with great devotion and to the minutest detail. I suspect that the scheme of partition was beginning to be decisive in early 1946 even when Lord Wavell was attempting to put through the scheme of maximum provincial autonomy. 1942, the INA, the Naval Mutiny, street demonstrations by the people and, perhaps the continuing existence of Mahatma Gandhi had convinced the British that they had to go.

It was natural for the British to prepare and execute plans as would give them maximum benefit out of an India from where they had departed, no matter how much these hurt her. The scheme of partition hurt India as few other things have done. It was the last and the most shameful act of the British imperialism on Indian soil. As time passes, the tinsel glory of voluntary grant of independence will fade before the unrelieved infamy of partition. Historians will wonder and explore how the leadership of a freedom movement had become so vile as to turn into accomplices of such an imperialist infamy. While talking of plans and proposals made by governments and executed by their agents or consuls, it is as well to think of the nonchalance with which political movements in India in the current century have prepared their resolutions and plans. They pass a resolution, sit back, watch reactions, and expect events to flow out of their resolves, as some kind of a chain of sympathetic reactions, without their having to do anything much by way either of execution or preparation. Without being actively aware of it, Mr. Azad has brought this valuable fact out in relation to the Quit India movement of 1942. He has presumably erred in thinking by analogy in believing that the British government prepared its plans on the pattern of the Congress party. Why India's politics have suffered from lack of active preparation and organisation before the occurrence of an event may well be due to the overwhelming importance attached to the word and the spirit, which would cancel the preparatory act and the body. I may revert to this aspect of the Indian situation when examining Maulana Azad's analysis of Mahatma Gandhi and the war years.

Why did Sardar Patel become an accomplice in the British crime? I can imagine the answer only by examining the conduct of his colleague, Mr. Nehru, the more influential person and also because I am better aware of the facts of this case. Before I enter into such an examination, I would like to describe the meeting of the Congress working committee which accepted the scheme of partition. Two of us socialists, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan and I, were specially invited to this meeting. Barring us two, Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, none spoke a single word in opposition to the partition.

Maulana Azad sat in a chair throughout the two days of this meeting in a corner of a very small room which packed us all, puffed away at his endless cigarettes, and spoke not a word. He may have been pained. But it is silly of him to try to make out as though he was the only one opposed to partition. Not only did he keep unbrokenly silent at this meeting, he also continued in office as a minister of partitioned India for an entire decade and more. I may concede, and even understand, that he was unhappy at the partition and tried to oppose it in his own way at informal or tete-a-tete meetings. But this was an opposition that did not object to serve his conscience which was greatly wise or equally elastic. It might be interesting to explore Maulana Azad's conscience, for I sometimes suspect that wisdom and elasticity go together.

Acharya Kripalani was a pathetic figure at this meeting. He was president of the Congress party at that time. He sat drowsily and reclined at this meeting. At some points in the debate, Mahatma Gandhi referred to the exhausted Congress president and I shook his arm in deep annoyance. He volunteered the information that he was suffering from a bad headache. His opposition to partition must have been sincere, for it was also personal. But the disease of old age and exhaustion had come over this fighting organisation of freedom in its moment of great distress.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan spoke a bare two sentences. He expressed his sorrow over the fact that his colleagues had accepted the scheme of partition. As a small mercy, he wanted them to find out if the proposed plebiscite in the north-west frontier could include the alternative of independence alongside of the two other choices of accession to India or Pakistan. He spoke not a word more at any stage; he must have been so pained.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan spoke some brief but definitive remarks against partition in a single stretch and was silent for the rest of the meeting. What made him do that? Was he disgusted at the way the Working Committee was going about the business of partitioning the country? Or, did he consider it prudent to keep quiet in the face of a leadership so stubbornly united for acceptance of the partition? His character is probably a mixture of healthful responses at some stage and prudence for most of the time, a very irritating mixture, no doubt, which has often made me very angry with him.

My own opposition to partition was persistent and vocal. In any event, my opposition could not have moved mountains. It could only have been on record as the healthful opposition of a freedom fighter without much influence. What is of significance is Mahatma Gandhi's intervention at this meeting.

I should like especially to bring out two points that Gandhiji made at this meeting. He turned to Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel in mild complaint that they had not informed him of the scheme of partition before committing themselves to it. Before Gandhiji could make out this point fully, Mr. Nehru intervened with some passion to say that he had kept him fully informed. On Mahatma

Gandhi's repeating that he did not know the scheme of partition, Mr. Nehru slightly altered his earlier observation. He said that Noakhali was so far away and that, while he may not have described the details of the scheme, he had broadly written of partition to Gandhiji.

I will accept Mahatma Gandhi's version of the case, and not Mr. Nehru's, and who will not? One does not have to dismiss Mr. Nehru as a liar. All that is at issue here is whether Mahatma Gandhi knew of the scheme of partition before Mr. Nehru or Sardar Patel had committed themselves to it. It would not do for Mr. Nehru to publish vague letters which he had written to Mahatma Gandhi doling out hypothetical and insubstantial information. That was definitely a hole-and-corner aspect of this business. Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel had obviously between themselves decided that it would be best not to scare Gandhiji away before the deed was definitely resolved upon.

Keeping turned towards Messrs. Nehru and Patel, Gandhiji made his second point. He wanted the Congress party to honour the commitments made by its leaders. He would therefore ask the Congress to accept the principle of partition. After accepting the principle, the Congress should make a declaration concerning its execution. It should ask the British government and the Viceroy to step aside, once the Congress and the Muslim League had signified their acceptance of partition. The partitioning of the country should be carried out jointly by the Congress Party and the Muslim League without the intervention of a third party. This was, I thought so at that time and still do, a grand tactical stroke. Much has been said about the saint having simultaneously been a tactician, but this fine and cunning proposal has, to my knowledge, not so far been put on record.

Dr. Khan Saheb, the elder brother of the Frontier Gandhi, was the first and the only one to shout the proposal down as utterly impracticable. There was no need for anyone else to oppose the proposal. It was not considered. I remonstrated with Dr. Khan that the beauty of the proposal lay precisely in its impracticality and that India would not lose if Mr. Jinnah and the Congress representatives failed to agree on how to partition the country without British assistance. Who listened to such remonstrances? The proposal was in itself cunning, but, in view of the determination of the Congress leadership to buy freedom at the price of unity, it made no practical meaning. It would have made meaning if Gandhiji had backed his proposal up with the prospect of action.

I sometimes wonder why Dr. Khan who stood to lose by the partition, should have wanted to show its impracticality. Most men are simple minded. They react by habit. They do not by themselves see a proposition in all its implications, its beginning and its sequel, and tend to consider it as though with habit. Mr. Jinnah was impossible to agree with, so went the reaction of most Congressmen, particularly, Muslim Congressmen. Dr. Khan was only speaking up this habitual reaction. He did not realise that the impossible Mr. Jinnah could, under Gandhiji's proposal,

save India precisely because of his impossibility.

Messrs. Nehru and Patel were offensively aggressive to Gandhiji at this meeting. I had a few sharp exchanges with both of them, some of which I relate. What appeared to be astonishing then, as now, though I can today understand it somewhat better, was the exceedingly rough behaviour of those two chosen disciples towards their master. There was something psychopathic about it. They seemed to have set their heart on something and, whenever they scented that Gandhiji was preparing to obstruct them, they barked violently.

Evidence concerning some strange doings is now accumulating. Maulana Azad adds his testimony, such as it is, to the proposition. I have long maintained that Mr. Nehru was a potential collaborationist during some months of 1942. There are indeed no collaborationists on the winning side; there are only allies and freedom fighters. The allies and the British won the war. The word collaborationist is applied to such Frenchmen and East Europeans who collaborated with the Axis. But the essential point is that of collaboration with an occupying power.

Mr. Nehru was prepared to collaborate with such an occupying power. Mr. Azad has stated that Mr. Nehru wanted to go into an enlarged executive council of the Viceroy without any definite British statements that this council would act like a cabinet during the war and that India would be free after the achievement of peace. **SO HUNGRY WAS MR. NEHRU EITHER FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY, A HIGHLY SELFISH AIM,** or for the defeat of fascism, a highly impersonal aim, two aims which appear to be so dissimilar on the surface. Could there, perhaps, be a bond of commonality between the two aims?

It has recently been suggested to me that the mad reactions of Mr. Nehru during some months of 1942, when he publicly declared his intention and capacity to raise millions of guerillas in order to fight Japan, were at least partly motivated by his jealousy of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Bose was going over to the Axis. He could at least claim that he was raising a national army for India, while Mr. Nehru's antics amounted to the service of the British crown. Nobody would now deny that an undercurrent of jealousy had always marred the relationship between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bose. During these early and terrible months of 1942, Mr. Nehru most often had dreaded the prospect of being overrun not only by Japan but also by his old rival. Behind this neurotic espousal of the cause of the Allies against the Axis, even when India lay prostrate under the Allied heel, may have lain such private reasons. I would however not ascribe any primary importance to these reasons. They may have added fuel to the fire, but they did not start it.

Mr. Nehru has been an anti-fascist of long standing and one may recall how he had refused to meet Signor Mussolini in the twenties and that he has ever been a friend of the British Left. It might be worthwhile to examine the sources of his extraordinary friendship with the British Left and the

anti-fascists, but I do not intend to do so here. Jealousy of Mr. Bose may have been a strong contributory factor, but no primary importance need be attached to it.

I had always been foolish enough to prefer Mr. Nehru to Mr. Bose, and a strong additional reason for this folly may well have been Mahatma Gandhi, but I could not repress my strong dislike of Mr. Nehru's attitudes during early 1942. In my presidential speech at the Almora district political conference, I had called Mr. Nehru a 'quick-change artist' and had warned him, if he did not mend his ways, that the people, and particularly the youth, would listen to just one man when they were then listening to two. I had continually remonstrated with Mr. Nehru, publicly, as well as privately — and I could be pretty sharp on certain occasions in my younger days — about HIS NEUROTIC PRO-BRITISH AND PRO-ALLIES ATTITUDES.

My speech of the 'quick-change artist' was front-paged in some Allahabad newspapers precisely on the day that the All-India Congress Committee began its meetings in the city. I was later told that some female friends of Mr. Nehru had halloed him with that sobriquet for some time after. On my return from Almora, I felt somewhat awkward at having to call on Mr. Nehru, but my relationship with him was such that I had to. Eventually I did so in the afternoon. He was not in his room.

As I was preparing to go away, not without relief, Maulana Azad, who was just then stepping out of his room, called me from behind and told me how pleased he was with my speech. I did not understand the cause of Maulana's pleasure, but I succeeded in repressing my desire to say something caustic. **Mr. Azad and Mr. Nehru had teamed up marvellously in order to circumvent Gandhiji and the people's desire for freedom.** The Maulana's book has now made this episode clear to me. There was a slight difference between the two attitudes of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Azad.

Mr. Azad was a little bit more concerned about the freedom of India and the immediate powers of the India government than was Mr. Nehru. Mr. Azad has said in his book that he did not wish to accept the British proposal unless declarations of the India government acting as though it were a cabinet and ultimate independence were made. Mr. Nehru was for a straight acceptance of the British proposal, although a British correspondent in India had at that time called it the handiwork of an enemy of Britain. **Mr. Nehru had indeed fallen very low during those months.** Mr. Azad caught me by the arm and almost forcibly led me into the room where Mr. Nehru and his relations were having tea. **It was one of the coldest teas that I ever had in Mr. Nehru's house,** though I must admit that he warmed up somewhat at the end. That was precisely his strong point at that time. **He was extraordinarily flexible. Or, perhaps, it was so because I WAS STILL HIS DISCIPLE,** however heretical. **This extraordinary flexibility of Mr. Nehru saved him from hurtling downhill to sure degradation and ruin,** which would have been his fate if he had persisted in his early 1942 attitudes.

(To be contd.)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from Ramesh Karkal and Reply

D-106 Manish Park
R. J. Road,
Andheri (E)
Mumbai 400 093

8.4.98

My dear Vinayak,

I am sending herewith some material on the Chinese Communist Party. Some of it may be useful. Please give it a glance, as and when you are free.

Fraternally yours,
Ramesh

2.5.98

My Dear Karkal,

Some of the material sent by you, about the Chinese Communist Party and its current Politburo members, appears here, and some other information has been put together as Information Fact-sheets and appears in our *Chalo Duniya Dekhen* section.

Keep in touch and send the material that you think might be useful to *Mankind*. However, send it as soon as you have come across the information.

With Fraternal Regards,
Vinayak

CCP Congresses : 8th (1956) to 15th (1997)

Every Chinese Communist Party Congress since 1956 has tried to set policy directions for the years to follow. But it has been noticed that the course set by one conclave was rarely sustained until the next. A look at the events surrounding the last eight congresses.

1956 :8TH CONGRESS

This is the first full conclave since the 1949 Communist takeover. Mao's power is challenged : Collective leadership is endorsed, Mao Thought not even mentioned; a Five-Year Plan emphasises economic development. Mao strikes at his critics with an anti-rightist campaign, and at a special party session in 1958 proclaims "uninterrupted revolution". He also declares that the economy must produce "more, better, faster, cheaper," foreshadowing the delusional Great Leap Forward.

1969 :9TH CONGRESS

This Congress starts eight years late. The Great Leap Forward has failed, and more than 20 million have starved to death, but in 1966 a weakened Mao hits at his critics by launching the Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping is one of its victims. At the Congress, Lin Biao is designated Mao's successor. A new constitution enshrines Mao Thought and class struggle.

1973 :10TH CONGRESS

With Lin Biao dead in an air crash following a failed coup attempt, the struggle for the post-Mao succession begins. Deng is restored to the Central Committee. Mao's wife Jiang Qing attacks Premier Zhou Enlai under cover of a "Criticise Lin and Confucius" campaign. Zhou dies in 1976. Deng is purged again and replaced by Hua Guofeng. Mao dies. Jiang Qing is arrested.

1977 :11TH CONGRESS

A rehabilitated Deng shares the rostrum with Hua, who touts a continuing proletarian revolution and sets out a belligerent foreign policy. A

year later, Deng ousts Hua, arguing that the need for economic growth calls for a more flexible reading of Marxism.

1982 :12TH CONGRESS

This conclave elects a Standing Committee split between economic reformers (Deng, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang) and their opponents (Ye Jianying, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun).The "Four Modernisations" and "Open Door" policies are aimed at quadrupling GNP by 2000. The party recruits

THE NEW POLITBURO ELECTED AT THE 15TH CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Members of the Standing Committee

Jiang Zemin	Hu Jintao
Li Peng	Wei Jianxing
Zhu Rongji	Li Lanqing
Li Ruihuan	

Other Members

Ding Guangen
Tian Jiyun
* Li Chanchun
Li Tieying
Wu Bangguo
* Wu Guanzheng
* Gen. Chi Haotian
* Gen. Zhang Wannian
* Luo Gan
Jiang Chunyun
* Jia Qinglin
Quian Qichen
Huang Ju
* Wen Jiaobao
Xie Fei

* New members of the Politburo.

intellectuals and weeds out radicals. Student unrest flares in 1986 as the economy overheats. Zhao supplants Hu as Deng's chosen successor.

1987 :13TH CONGRESS

Zhao calls for separation of party and government. As a fig leaf for market economics, he says China's Socialism is still at an unavoidable primary stage. The Tiananmen Massacre of 1989 sinks Zhao and elevates Jiang Zemin. Political reform stalls. The party campaigns to restore ideological control.

1992 :14TH CONGRESS

Deng's southern tour, six months before the Congress, unleashes furious growth. The meeting proclaims Deng's line of "Reform and Opening for a Hundred Years", but political reform is off the agenda. Deng disbands the Central Advisory Commission, an old-guard stronghold. Inflation soars. A year later, Beijing launches an austerity plan.

1997 :15TH CONGRESS

President Jiang Zemin consolidates his power by sidelining his political foes like Qiao Shi and Gen. Lin Huaqing, promoting his own supporters and leaving the People's Liberation Army out of Politics on the eve of 15th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The 15th Congress is billed as the most open ever. The delegate sessions were open to the press, but the delegates from different provinces were not allowed to interact. Nobody broached a sensitive topic as corruption when only two days earlier, former Beijing party boss Chen Xitong had been expelled from the party on charges of corruption.

China is to move ahead with the Capitalist style reform of its state enterprises. But if the economy falters, China rulers will have to find a new source of legitimacy. The economic reforms are already unleashing tensions between opposite economic and social interests.

More details regarding the 10-day 15th Congress of the Communist Party of China in September 1997 have just become available to *Mankind*. This was the first Congress held after the passing away of paramount leader Deng Xiaoping, who had masterminded China's Second Revolution from 1978.

In Chinese political tradition, the leaders identified by a Party Congress hold important government positions concurrently, thus ensuring party control as well as implementation of the Congress line in government policy. The CPC has also attempted to create a tradition of inducting some younger cadres into the top echelons of leadership as successors to the seniors when they retire. The new Standing Committee of the Politburo, presented

to the delegates on the last day of the Congress by President Jiang Zemin, still consists of just seven men. However, some new faces had been brought forward as ordinary PB members.

Here are thumbnail sketches of some of the most important members of the politburo, new and old :

Members of the Standing Committee of the PB

1. Jiang Zemin, 71, General Secretary of the Communist Party, Chairman of the Central Military Commission and State President

Jiang is now far stronger than at any point since his ascension to power following the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989. Once upon a time, he was managing a Shanghai soap factory. He studied for a year at the Moscow Stalin Automobile Plant in 1955 and returned to a series of technocratic jobs : director of power at First Auto Works; a steady ascension through the Ministry of Machine-Building Industry; and Minister of Electronics Industry. Jiang rose to mayor and party chief of Shanghai in 1985, and helped quell unrest there in 1989 with minimal bloodshed. Deng Xiaoping suddenly installed Jiang, a relative unknown, in the top post after the 1989 unrest had rent the party. Jiang has steadily moved supporters to Beijing from his power base in Shanghai. He now appears to rule China unchallenged by any other individual.

2. Li Peng, 69, Premier till March 1998

Li signed the martial law order in 1989 and has been linked with the Tiananmen Massacre ever since. He remains No. 2 man on the Politburo Standing Committee. After relinquishing the office of Premier in March this year he became the Chairman of the National People's Congress. NPC staffers were however not happy over this change as Li had resisted the NPC's efforts to limit the influence of industrial ministries. Li is a scion of the Communist Party. Zhou Enlai was his adopted father. Li studied engineering in Moscow, graduating in 1954. For three decades he worked his way up the electrical-power

bureaucracy, joining the Politburo in 1985. Li has always been cool to economic reforms although he longer resists it. He seems happiest poring over blueprints of large engineering projects – the Three Gorges dam owes much to his patronage.

3. Zhu Rongji, 69, PM from March 1998

Zhu Rongji, China's third ranking leader has taken over Li Peng's post as premier this March. He is reputed to have masterminded China's economic reforms and has exceeded expectations since launching the austerity drive in 1993 that brought the economy to its soft-landing. Foreign businessmen and diplomats like him for his no-nonsense approach. Provincial governors fear him for the same reason. (He has fired several.) Zhu is the only senior leader to have suffered in the 1957 anti-rightist movement. After a career in industrial ministries, he served as a mayor of Shanghai while Jiang Zemin was party secretary, although the two are considered neither allies nor enemies.

4. Hu Jintao, 55

He is the youngest of the powerful seven. Hu remains the least known despite holding important portfolios. He oversaw drafting of the 15th Party Congress documents and chaired the Congress Presidium. He is Vice Chairman of the important Central Committee Party School. Hu is considered a protege of reformist party chief Hu Yaobang, whose death in 1989 incited the Tiananmen uprising. Both men rose through the Communist Youth League. The elder Hu sent him to Guizhou province as party secretary, and then to Tibet. His pro-economic-reform approach in both places won praise from party leaders. Yet Hu Jintao has not exhibited his mentor's interest in political reforms.

5. Li Ruihuan, 63

Li is considered Beijing's closet reformer. As mayor of Tianjin in 1989, he protected some intellectuals who faced persecution after the Tiananmen uprising. Perhaps that explains why he is so marginal a figure. Li is the Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. This

is a powerless consultative body and doesn't seem to champion any specific policy. Among Standing Committee members, Li's upbringing was humblest. The son of peasants, he became a carpenter and was named a national model worker. He eventually graduated with an engineering degree and became party secretary of a timber mill. He made his name overseeing construction of Mao Zedong's mausoleum in Tiananmen Square. Li joined the Standing Committee in 1989.

6. Wei Jianxing, 66

Wei seems to be the compromise that allowed Qiao Shi to exit from the Standing Committee. Wei took over for Qiao at the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection — the party's internal watchdog — in 1992. Three years later, he concurrently served as Beijing's temporary party chief, replacing Chen Xitong, whose ouster he accomplished. Although close to Qiao, he is still regarded as loyal to Jiang Zemin.

7. Li Lanqing, 65

The most surprising appointee to the Standing Committee, Li is generally regarded as pro-reform and adept at international relations. Although he was briefly considered for the premiership, he lacks the political clout needed for the job. He often handles public-relations assignments, and was the friendly face on China's failed 1993 bid to host the 2000 Olympics. He has also loudly upbraided visiting foreign ministers for voting in the United Nations censuring China's human-rights record.

Between 1956 and 1960, Li and Jiang had overlapping tenures as leading cadres at the First Auto Works

in industrial Liaoning province. But it is unclear whether their common experience helped them forge a lasting alliance. Li will likely abide by Jiang's wishes, and is not considered a player in factional struggles. His brief has been foreign investment, and he served as foreign trade minister in the early 1990s. He has also overseen education, a job in which he has not distinguished himself.

Other Ordinary Members of the Politburo

8. Luo Gan, 62, Secretary-General of the State Council

Luo Gan is considered a hardliner with links to Li Peng. When he gained his current post in 1993, many hoped he would represent a more technocratic breed of reformers. He has instead insisted on preserving State Council powers. Most recently, he blocked a draft law that would have allowed "non-governmental organisations" to shed their government sponsors. His promotion looks like a sop to Li Peng.

9. Li Changchun, 53

Li's efforts at state enterprise reform in Henan province, where he is party secretary, are well regarded. Henan began an experiment in electing factory managers two years ago, and Li stamped his approval early. Photographs of him inspecting revamped factories hang in general managers' offices. A native of Liaoning province, he moved from governor of Liaoning to Henan party chief's post in 1992. He is not known as a factional player in Beijing.

10. Jia Qinglin, 57, Beijing Party Secretary

Jia has followed Jiang through

Beijing's industrial bureaucracy. His position as a technician at the Ministry of Machine Building Industry overlapped with Jiang's for seven years. In the late 1970s and early 1980s he led the national machinery export-import company at the same time that Jiang was on the party committee in charge of foreign trade. Jia became party chief of Fujian province three years ago, and became Beijing's mayor in February. The capital's bureaucracy had ground to a halt after party chief Chen Xitong's removal two years ago on corruption charges, and the subsequent suicide of one vice-mayor and the arrest of two others.

11. Gen. Chi Haotian, 68, and

12. Gen. Zhang Wannian, 69 Vice-Chairmen of the Central Military Commission

These two People's Liberation Army representatives on the Politburo come from entirely different backgrounds. Chi is a professional political commissar who is comfortable in playing the role of emissary with foreigners. He is considered Jiang's favourite. Zhang is a career soldier more versed in military power than diplomacy. He is the favourite of outgoing Standing Committee member Gen. Liu Huaqing. That Chi and Zhang were promoted together indicates a compromise. It is notable that the Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army was Gen. Fu Quanyou, who visited India last month. He was not a member of the Politburo. Further, two other Generals Chi and Zhang, were only ordinary members of the PB, but not of its all-powerful Standing Committee.

**The Last Two Native
Schools of Indian
Painting of Late 19th and
Early 20th Centuries**



◀ **Three Kalighat Pat Paintings** ▶



**Two Paintings of
Patna School** ▶

