

# MAN K I N D

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol. 3, No. 9/June-July 1998

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Indonesia —  
Partial Overturn  
INDIAN MINORITIES

## OBITUARY OF GEORGE FERNANDES: AN IDEOLOGICAL GHATASHRADDHA

## QUINTUPLE TEST :

LET INDIAN PEOPLE

MOVE FORWARD

DUNIYA JHUKTI HAI

JHUKANEWALA CHAHIYE

PAKISTANI RESPONSE

DEMANDS NATIONAL FRONT ?

BUDGET 1998-99

LIHAF by I. Chugtai

J.NEHRU, THE QUINTESSENTIAL CHARLATAN

WESTERN CULTURE

GUILTY MEN

REDEFINED

BY LOHIA



# MANKIND

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Vol. 3, No. 9/June-July 1998

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Due to shortage of space, the next instalment of William Digby's '*Prosperous*' *British India*, 1901, has been scheduled for the August issue.



# AN OPENING STATEMENT : 33/34

Exe. Edr.

## GEORGE FERNANDES, WORLD POWER POLITICS AND CHARLATANISM.

A few weeks ago, George Fernandes, Defence Minister, was on a visit to the North-East States. From there he declared that China had built a helipad in Arunachal Pradesh, had cartographically claimed the whole of Arunachal Pradesh as Chinese territory and had built up missile launching sites and airbases in Tibet, aimed at Indian targets.

Peking vehemently denied aggressive intentions towards India but it did not say that no helipad had been built in Arunachal Pradesh. Neither did it claim that missile launching sites and airbases had not been built up in Tibet.

On 3rd May 1998, Fernandes declared that China represented "a greater potential threat" to India, than Pakistan and had set up a powerful electronic surveillance station at Cocos Islands, 40 miles north of Andamans in the Bay of Bengal. China had leased the islands from the government of Myanmar. For the second time in less than a month, China reacted angrily to Fernandes' remarks. This time China went so far as to term Fernandes' remarks as "ridiculous."

Thereafter, Fernandes has visibly softened his stand, and is now talking of continuing to build friendly relations with China. It is like a man tied to a chair in an Interrogation Room, proclaiming his friendliness towards his captors !

Once again we seem to have been caught in the old comprador game of bluster and retreat. In 1962, Jawaharlal Nehru had declared in Colombo that he had instructed the Indian army to throw out the Chinese PLA from the advance posts that the Chinese had occupied south of the MacMohan Line. The disastrous defeat of 1962 at Bomdi La had followed

with a large-scale pull back by the Indian army.

We do not seem to have grown out of the comprador pattern of talking big and acting small !

**We are the Second most populous nation upon the earth !**

**We are the oldest civilisation existing upon the earth !** Our history dates back to at least 4500 B.C. and beyond, to the RigVeda, Chinese history is about 1500 years younger.

We must learn to behave with dignity, supreme self-confidence and ironical contempt towards upstarts and bogus claimants to superiority.

After all, Buddhism travelled from India to China, whilst Confucianism and Taoism never reached India ! Numbers, spices, most oilseeds, diamonds, lapis lazuli, chicken, cotton, wheat, rice, zebu cattle, Bactrian camel, wild goats & sheep, and sugar all reached China from India !

(Possibly tea and silk also, but the Westerners have created confusion about their Indian centres of origin. Anyway, there is no dispute, from any quarter about Indian origin of all the other cultigens and universal technologies mentioned here.)

The Indian Ocean was the centre of world trade till early 19th century and *gold and silver from every part of the world, including from China, flowed into India.*

We agree with George that it is necessary to be vigilant about China.

**INDIA IS A GREAT POWER AND THEREFORE, IT MUST BE VIGILANT ABOUT ALL THE OTHER POTENTIAL AND CURRENT WORLD POWER CENTRES, INCLUDING CHINA, EUROPE (WITH OVERLAPPING CIRCLES OF G-8, OECD, NATO**

AND EU), USA, RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

If you are a great power, you are forced to behave like a great power in PURE NATIONAL INTEREST ! YOU CANNOT ABDICATE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY. A S COMPRADOR INDIA HAS DONE !

George must not be misled by those army bureaucrats and their ilk, who had ill-advised Jawaharlal Nehru in the '60s.

'USA is playing its own games with the European powers. On the one hand, it insists on a special relationship with bankrupt and weak United Kingdom. On the other hand, it has developed NAFTA with special relationship to Canada, Mexico and Chile. At the same time, it has dominated the 35-nation Organisation of American States. Furthermore, USA, as a member of NATO, is pursuing its own brand of Ostpolitik. The Baltic countries, the Central European states, the Balkans, the former members of the USSR and Russia itself, form overlapping spheres of special concern of the USA.

Similarly, the 15 countries of the European Union, Russia, Japan and China have their own aims in promoting national self-interest and in keeping their opponents divided.

We have known George for the last 30 or 40 years. Even his best friend will not accuse him of possessing a scintillating intellect. He has written no books, he can hardly write an article or two. That's about his limit.

He can make a speech that is occasionally appealing. He can hold forth in several languages, English, Hindi, Marathi, Kannada and possibly Tulu. But most of the time, the speeches are rather didactic and boring. Possibly, his speech-making style is derived from his seminary-student days when he was learning to become a priest, when P. D'mello had weaned him to dock-workers' struggles and a little later, Rammanohar Lohia dragged George to socialism.

I had known D'mello personally, and he was a truly "gentle giant." I have known very few charismatic figures like D'mello.

Lohia disciplined George, which of course, George rather resented.



However, let us understand clearly that **George has made his peace with capitalism.** He became the Communications and then Industries Minister in Morarji Desai's Janata government of 1977-79 ; and was later, Railway Minister in V. P. Singh's Janata Dal government, in 1989-90.

In those early days, I used to joke with George about Socialist Party's good fortune, in that he was rather unlike the other great seminarian, Joseph Djughashvili of Georgia, who became Stalin and massacred millions of Russians inside and outside his Siberian Concentration Camps !

After D'mello's premature death at an early age, and Lohia's untimely passing away in 1967, there was no one to discipline George. I do not know whether Raj Narain and Madhu Limaye ever tried to put the brakes upon George. Anyway, they failed miserably.

**George possesses a very disarming smile. He is also very honest and hardworking, but without an ideological orientation, all these qualities are pretty useless.**

In a world that is extremely complex, and one in which USA, EU, Russia, Japan and China are pursuing complicated aims that keep everyone else at loggerheads, it is not possible to advocate a simple plan of action that George could, and should pursue.

However, we suggest a set of policies that should be, **SIMULTANEOUSLY** acted upon :

- A separate autonomous province, east of the Indus, and stretching from the Sind-Punjab border to the Arabian Sea, should be formed. It should be called Mohajiristan and declared as a Free Trade Zone, open to investments by Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and to non-residents living abroad from all three countries. Duty-free imports from Mohajiristan should be allowed by all three, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

- India should immediately develop close economic ties with all the five Central Asian republics of the former USSR (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan). These relations of intimacy should help India to counter both Pakistani and Chinese moves in the vast Central Asian Region.

- India and Iran should co-

operate in ousting Taliban from 85 per cent of Afghanistan that is occupied by its forces. **Taliban has not formed a fundamentalist government in Afghanistan. Taliban runs a Drug Mafia regime in Afghanistan which uses Islamic Fundamentalism as a mask for its criminal activities.**

- It is not becoming to the dignity and reputation of India as a Great Nation, to have the ethnic Tamil population of North, East and Central Ceylon treated so contemptuously by the Sinhalese Buddhist government of Sri Lanka. Eelam should realise its rightful autonomy within Sri Lanka, as guaranteed by SAARC.

- **The Ten Degree Canal** should be immediately built across the Isthmus of Kra, belonging to Thailand. Countries lying to the west of the Ten Degree Canal, principally the seven SAARC nations, should hold 50 per cent stake in the Canal Authority and the Northern Tier of the ASEAN group, should hold the other half of the controlling interest in the Canal, viz. Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Philippines, which are all Buddhist nations save the last-mentioned which is Christian. The Southern Tier of ASEAN consists of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Brunei, all Islamic, except Singapore, which has a majority Chinese Buddhist population.

**Thus, the Canal will be built by a consortium of mainly SAARC and ASEAN nations, with additional help, if needed, from Persian Gulf States and Japan.**

- India should immediately proceed either directly, or through its public sector undertakings in the petroleum and natural gas sector, to **obtain on long lease an island base in the East China Sea.** There are hundreds of such islands belonging to South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Philippines and Vietnam in that part of the Western Pacific Ocean lying near the rim of the Asiatic mainland. This island should be converted into an offshore Oil Exploration Centre; a Marine and Oceanography Research Station, and a Communications and Refuelling point for our Navy, Airforce and Merchant Marine in the Far East.

If China can have a naval base in the Bay of Bengal, 40 miles from our frontier, we could also have a base 40

miles off China's coast. **Both are equally friendly gestures by entirely friendly allies.**

- India should make no demands upon any outside power, particularly upon a great power like China, **without establishing a position of equal strength or a position of *quid pro quo*.** India should never whine, beg or grovel !

Prior to the lease of an island, say in the Quemoy and Matsu or Paracel archipelagoes, we should ask China why it has established a base at Cocos Islands and why it has not approached India directly, for any information that China needs.

- India should refuse to become a conduit for transmission of messages and threats by super powers amongst themselves. For instance, if USA wants to warn China, for any reason, George should not become the transmission link, whether willingly or unwillingly. News have already appeared in the Indian papers that many CIA-tainted American sources are quite happy with George's stance on China (See, **George is right on China : US experts in Times of India, 10.5.98**) George is already being assiduously wooed by Americans.

"Defence Minister George Fernandes has been invited by US Secretary of Defence, William S. Cohen to visit the US. The official announcement made on Friday gave no indication if and when Mr. Fernandes will go" (*Times of India, 9.5.98*)

As George knows very well, *Mankind* has nothing to do with the criticism of his conduct that is being made by the Stalinist pseudo-Leftists of India like I. K. Gujral and the CPM stalwarts. We deeply despise such Stalinist cads and masters of treachery and intrigue. **Obviously, George and Nitish are far more decent human beings than the Stalinist scum represented by Harkishen Surjeet, Somnath Chatterji, Inderjit Gupta, Jyoti Basu, Chaturanan Mishra and A.B. Bardhan.** We must never forget that these Stalinists promoted the Partition of India in 1947 at British behest. As a result, six lakh innocents were massacred and 1.7 crore Indians became refugees.

**THE CRIME OF PARTITION PROMOTED BY STALINIST-COM-**



## MUNISTS IS UNFORGETTABLE AND UNFORGIVABLE.

At the same time, in his enthusiasm for the capitalist cause, new convert George should not become an anti-national tool in the hands of the neo-colonial Western powers.

We agree with George that the only real defence that India possesses is that of the patriotic zeal animating its people. No power on earth can occupy any significant part of India for any length of time. The British were kicked out in 1947. However, the kick was not powerful enough and Euro-America has reconquered India with the help, especially since mid-1991, of the WB, IMF and WTO. The Structural Adjustment Programme, formulated by this terrible *trimurti* is called, euphemistically, a programme of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation by India.

India is being bled white by the neo-colonial vultures. It is being drained of resources to the extent of Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 crores per month for the last several years (See detailed figures given for four years 1990-91 to 1993-94, in *Mankind*, May 1998, p. 15). As is well known this blood-letting is going on in the world context of Drain of Resources from the Poor countries to the Rich of, \$ 50 bln. and more per year. (MK, Nov. 97, Back Cover)

Under these over-arching national and international conditions, it is not possible to conceive of any real industrial or

## technological progress by India in the immediate future.

Therefore, George must remain on the defensive as our Minister of Defence.

I do not consider it to be a great personal betrayal, by George, of his socialist commitments. His commitments were never very serious. He was a seminary student who became a trade-union activist and who took a momentary advantage of internal squabbles within the Congress party, to defeat "Syndicate" leader S. K. Patil in 1967. This propelled him into the national arena, from where he was eliminated twice, in 1971 and 1984. But he has been MP from 1967-71, 1977-79, 1979-84, and 1989 onwards)

However, he is the sort of charlatan who is likely to become the Prime Minister of the country in the not too distant future. He is about 67 and has already been Communications, Industries, Railways and Defence Minister for short stints. In our *naukershahi* culture, these stints amount to vast administrative experience. As a Christian, Europe may find him quite acceptable. USA is already keen on welcoming him. Rajesh Shah, son of Viren Shah, has become head of a principal organisation of Indian Big Business. In short, George is persona grata with all the neo-colonial powers as well as the Indian Monopoly Houses (Rajesh Shah belongs to the Bajaj Group, whose fortunes have been outlined in our article, *India's 59 Monopoly*

*Houses*, in *Mankind*, April 1998, pp. 41-46) George has already taken quite a few steps down the slippery slope of careerism and opportunism. There is no turning back for him now. There will be further downward slides and betrayals of socialist ideals. Of course, at the end of it George may end up as a Big Man. That is his choice and option.

*I have no hopes of George ever returning to the Socialist ideopolitical path.* As I have said above, **GEORGE HAS MADE HIS PEACE WITH CAPITALISM.** He has accepted the Agenda for Governance of the BJP-led coalition which includes acceptance of the tutelage of the neo-colonial trimurti of-WB, IMF and WTO. A little *Swadeshi* of the most dubious and uncertain quality, is not going to make much of a difference!

We regret the passing away of an old comrade. It is perhaps not nice to write an obituary of a living person. However, at times it becomes necessary to carry out the symbolic ritual of ideological *ghatashraddha*. **GEORGE IS DEAD FOR REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS AND SOCIALISTS OF INDIA.**

As far as *Mankind* is concerned, we have decided to follow Ravi Thakur's famous lines,

*Ekla Chalo Re,*

*Jodi Tor Daak Shune Keyo Na Aashe Tobe Ekla Chalo Re.*

(Let us march alone,

If our call falls upon deaf ears,  
Yet, let us march alone!) ■

## ADVANI PLAYS GAMES OF CONSTITUTIONAL DISTRACTION.

The Constitution stands as a solid rock against all progress in the country.

Everybody agrees that vital changes are necessary for the nation to move ahead, but, on the whole, the ruling classes, have benefited from the Dominion Status Constitutional Framework of 1946-49, that was provided by the sham Constituent Assembly of those days, which had nothing to do with the aspirations of the people of India, and which was A FRAUD, A JOKE, A TRAVESTY AND A FARCE.

The greatest defect with our present Constitution is that it was formulated by unrepresentative, indirectly selected representatives of communally elected special property interests, who represented 9 to 14 per cent of the adult electorate. It came into being whilst British imperialism still ruled India and functioned as per the master directives of the India Independence Act, 1947, passed by the British Houses of Parliament.

It is obvious to the meaneast intelligence that after 50 years of Non-Development, Stagnation and Sliding

Back, we must at long last have a NEW CONSTITUTION FORMULATED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF DIRECT, EQUAL, UNIVERSAL, ADULT FRANCHISE.

There can be no two opinions on this matter, amongst any set of genuine democrats.

Not wishing to upset the comprador bourgeois and *naukershahi* applecart, L. K. Advani, Home Minister, wants to summon an Expert Committee to consider changes in the Constitution,

(a) to consider a Presidential form of government;

(b) to re-define Centre-State Relations;



and  
(c) to improve the electoral process by addition of some provisions for Proportional Representation or Party List Procedure.

This is downright silly and diversionary !

Apart from the Fundamental Defect pointed out above, of the present Constitution being formulated by a self-appointed coterie belonging to the Indian National Congress, the other serious defects of the present Dominion Status Constitution that have come to light over the last 50 years of a terror rule by the Congress-naukers shahi combine are,  
(A) There is no Right to Work, to Employment and Social Security for Indian citizens.

(B) There is no Right to Information. On the contrary, the Official Secrets Act and the Oaths of Secrecy taken by all Ministers and top bureaucrats

prevent the people from knowing about, and nipping in the bud, all corrupt deeds and intrigues. Furthermore, Permission to Prosecute has to be taken from the Offenders.

(C) There is no Accountability and Responsibility. All projects, initiated by the State are always subject to indefinite cost and time overruns.

(D) Anyone handling public money cannot acquire any wealth or assets or income beyond his "obstensible means." This straight-forward simple prohibition is not enjoined by the present Constitution.

(E) Democratic liberties are not guaranteed. Preventive Detention Act, TADA, and innumerable other repressive laws remain on the Statute Book.

(F) Free and compulsory education, banishment of English, Constitutional provision for promotion of national Industries, Trade and Commerce, and

Agriculture, and planning for an increasing egalitarian order are not enjoined by the Constitution.

The 1946-49 Constitution has already been amended 78 times as at the end of 1995.

We strongly suggest that the effort to amend it 780 times more be given up right now.

**Who are the experts whom Advani wants to summon ? How and why are they to be considered experts ?**

The Constitution affects everyone in the country. It is not the privileged few who alone should be consulted. A NEW CONSTITUTION FORMULATED BY A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY DIRECT, EQUAL UNIVERSAL ADULT FRANCHISE IS AN URGENT NATIONAL DEMAND ! ■

## PARTIAL OVERTURN IN INDONESIA

After 32 years of criminal dictatorial rule, President Suharto was forced to resign as President of Indonesia on 21.5.98. His Vice-president, B. J. Habibie, has taken over and announced a Reform Cabinet which retains seven of Suharto's appointees, including General Wiranto, Chief of the Army as Defence Minister. However, Suharto's daughter, Tutut, and Suharto's golfing partner and Trade Minister, Mohammad "Bob" Hassan were dropped.

Elections have been promised within one year and a review of cases against thousands of political prisoners has commenced. "Trade unionist Machtar Pakpahan and Sri Bintang Pamungkas, a former MP jailed for defaming ousted leader Suharto, were released from the Cipinang prison in east Jakarta after a presidential decree was issued granting them amnesty." (*Indian Express*, 27.5.98)

In 1965-66, General Suharto had overthrown the then President Sukarno as a CIA agent, and massacred seven lakh alleged communists, as admitted by Western media themselves (*The Hutchinson Encyclopaedia*, 1998 edition, p. 539).

The West was on the warpath and in the same year 1965, Patrice Lumumba had been murdered and another CIA agent, Mobutu Sese Seko

had taken over as President of the then Republic of Congo (Renamed Zaire in 1971 and original name, Congo, restored in 1997)

As we had reported in *Mankind*, November 1997, p.17, Mobutu had robbed Congo of \$ 6 to \$ 10 bln. and stashed away this loot in Swiss accounts, French real estate, and Belgian castles. Laurent Kabila, the new President of Congo-Zaire is at present busy tracing the loot.

Suharto went one better as Indonesia is a more populous and richer nation. (Its present population exceeds 20 crores) CNN reported on 26.5.98, that during his 32 years in power, Suharto robbed Indonesia to the extent of \$ 16 bln. and helped his family members in an additional loot of \$ 14 bln. His cronies, like Bob Hasan and Liem Sioe Liong and others went on a thieving spree that fetched them billions more than the \$ 30 bln. accumulated by Suharto and his family. (See, *Mankind* same issue, same page for more details) We must remember that the mid-1960s were the years of rampant imperialist aggression by the US and its satellites.

US-backed Pakistan had attacked India in 1965 and US stooge, Israel, had unleashed the Six-Day War against its neighbours in 1967. In 1968, the Czechoslovak Spring had

come to an end with Soviet military occupation of Dubcek's Prague.

It is extremely gratifying that two great CIA agents, Mobutu and Suharto have been ousted in successive years, 1997 and 1998.

Mobutu died very soon after Laurent Kabila kicked him out of Congo-Zaire.

Suharto has not yet fled from Indonesia. Furthermore, the billions looted by him, his family and his cronies have as yet not been identified and reclaimed by the nation. Demands for the return of the money have already been raised by student leaders in Jakarta.

It appears to be a transitional period in Indonesia. The old regime has ended but the new has yet not emerged.

As we have noted earlier in *Mankind* Indonesian freedom fighters had joined us, old-timers, in the streets of Bombay at the end of 1945 in the Anti-INA Officers' Trial demonstrations. Our Biju Patnaik ferried Indonesian nationalist leaders of those days. (Shariat, Sukarno, etc.) Subhas Bose had inspired freedom fighters all over Southeast Asia, from Ho Chi Minh to Aung San. (See, *Mankind*, November 97, pp. 29-45 for biographical sketches of Subhas Bose, Ho Chi Minh, Leon Trotsky, Mao Tse Tung, Patrice Lumumba, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.) ■



# THE QUINTUPLE TEST : 1 LET THE INDIAN PEOPLE MOVE FORWARD !

Exe.Edr.

*Mankind* warmly congratulates Atal Behari Vajpayee and his BJP-led government, for the Quintuple Test, carried out on 11th and 13th May 1998 of a Fusion or Hydrogen bomb with a 43-53-ton yield; a fission bomb with Medium-Yield of 12 tons; and three other Nuclear devices with low-yields of 0.5, 0.3 and 0.2 kilo tons. (*Indian Express*, 30.5.98). The Five Tests were all conducted underground in the Pokhran range in Jaisalmer District of Rajasthan near the Indo-Pak border, on Buddha Purnima day on 11.5.98 and on 13.5.98 after a gap of 48 hours.

As we have maintained all along, we must prove to Pakistan, China and USA (which has been using Diego Garcia island in the Indian Ocean for its Gulf War Operations) and the rest of the world, **that we possess credible tested nuclear capability** in order to deter any foolhardy preemptive atomic strike against us. This is the only way to preserve peace in the real world, which is menaced by the five Great Powers (USA, UK, France, Russia and China) and their satellites, (Israel, Pakistan and South Africa).

India was compelled to exercise its nuclear option because a country of its size, resources and history cannot allow any power on earth to treat it as a secondary entity, unequal in any respect.

Vajpayee has taken the first necessary step to establish national dignity and self-respect in the politico-military sphere. **This national assertion must be underpinned, as quickly as possible, by economic self-reliance.** As the official *Economic*

*Survey*, 1997-98, establishes so clearly, in the last few years, 1990-91 to 1996-97, the neo-colonialist West has been haemorrhaging, blood-letting and draining India of resources to the extent of Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 88,000 crores per year. In last seven years we have lost Rs. 3.54 lakh crores. **Under such circumstances, no serious industrial or technological progress can be envisaged for India.** We call upon Vajpayee to immediately stop this outflow which is on account of both Visible Trade Deficit and Invisible Remittances.

The two Stalinist-Communist parties have revealed their true dastardly natures. They have proved themselves to be faithful to their tradition of being anti-people at every step. They supported British imperialism in World War II; they promoted Partition; they betrayed freedom fighters of 1942; they sided with Nizam's Razakars to oppose Indian occupation of Hyderabad state; they supported Indira's Internal Emergency; they have stood for handing over Kashmir to Pakistan; they have accepted the American definition of secularism that considers Israel, Saudi Arabia, apartheidist South Africa, and the Islamic state of Pakistan as completely secular. **The Stalinist-Communist parties of India have always stood outside the national mainstream and have been amongst the principal conduits for transmission of Western neo-colonial influences.** They have responded with sullen silence to the Quintuple Test at Pokhran and have invited the Indian people to condemn them. Let us oblige

them and allow them to commit political suicide. They had an inglorious past and no one will mourn their demise.

Having asserted our Sovereignty and Equality, Vajpayee's government should not now give in to threats or blandishments. It must not listen to Western cajoling that India is a Great Power and now that it has proved its nuclear capability, it should sign the CTBT, the NPT or any such Unequal Treaty. India must maintain its nuclear arsenal credibility and frequently test her weaponry as and when necessary with underground explosions of both fission and fusion varieties, and must openly threaten any would-be aggressor from Tibet, Pakistan and Diego Garcia with dire and immediate consequences.

We also urge Vajpayee to consider the following foreign policy initiatives :

- (1) Creation of Mohajiristan FTZ, east of the Indus and west of Rajasthan.
- (2) Establishment of Eelam, not merely for the sake of the Tamil people, but as a necessary assertion of Indian dignity and self-respect.
- (3) Military alliance with Iran to drive out the drug Mafia called Taliban from Afghanistan.
- (4) Establishment of cordial relations with the five former Central Asian republics of the USSR.
- (5) Immediate construction of the Ten Degree Canal through the Isthmus of Kra.
- (6) Immediate leasing of an island base in the East China Sea, about 40 miles from the Chinese mainland. This would be a multi-purpose base for Communications, Marine Research and Commercial and Non-Commercial Refuelling and Supply.

All these foreign policy initiatives should be carried through by a complete revamping of all Indian embassies abroad. All bureaucrats, careerists and *naukershahs* must be removed from the top three or four positions in each of our Foreign Missions. The first three positions must go to a reputable politician, or an economist or an eminent Culture Figure. (scientist, artist, litterateur,



etc.). **India must cease to depend upon advice from bureaucrats, who are a relic surviving from our colonial past. We must build a new national ethos, free from sycophancy, obsequiousness, corrupt intrigue, secretiveness and bootlicking which are the five characteristics of our *naukershahis*.**

The Indian people have a long march ahead of them. After winning the war in Kashmir in 1948, Jawaharlal Nehru turned victory into defeat by accepting UN, or US, intervention and a rigged plebiscite provision.

After winning the second Indo-Pakistani war of 1965, Shastri once again turned victory into defeat at Tashkent.

After successfully detaching Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971, for the third time Indira turned victory into defeat at Simla by releasing 96,000 POWs and returning all India-occupied territories in the West, without enforcing Pakistani withdrawal from J&K.

Let not Vajpayee once again succumb to Western blandishments and cajolements. Let us occupy our rightful seat as a permanent member of the Security Council. Let us establish useful semi-permanent leased bases in Guyana or some Caribbean island; in Fiji and in or around Mauritius and Maldives, as early as possible. Let us add to this, at an early date, the lease of an island in the East Pacific off the China coast.

If our demand for equality of status between sovereign nations falls on deaf ears, and the USA dares to impose sanctions against us, we should cut off all trade relations with USA. Let us single out the USA for Special Treatment ! Let the USA learn to live without Indian tea, jute, spices, prawns, garments, leather goods, and such other Indian specialities for a year or two. Especially, let us push the Americans out of the Indian market and let us ban American capital from every sector in India !

**THE AMERICANS WILL COME TO THEIR SENSES VERY FAST !**

We are 97 crores. We can build dams, roads, canals,

powerlines, transport facilities and other infrastructural necessities, without complicated machinery.

America needs us much more than we need her.

In any case, **living labour is the only element that increases in value as it is expended.** Machinery is merely dead capital. It can at best transfer its value to the new output. It cannot enhance the value of the product !

Let us dare America to do its worst, very politely but quite firmly !

**AMERICANS WILL COME TO THEIR SENSES VERY SOON !**

Let not Vajpayee enact the fourth historic fiasco after 1948 (Kashmir), 1965 (Tashkent), and 1972 (Simla). The nation has already responded with ecstatic enthusiasm to the Quintuple Test at Pokhran. Let us build the Ten Degree Canal, the Mohajiristan FTZ, the autonomous Eclam and the East Pacific Island Base.

**LET THE INDIAN PEOPLE MOVE FORWARD !**

The enthusiastic response of the Indian people to the Quintuple Test at Pokhran has already compelled the Congress Party and the Janata Dal to hypocritically proclaim their support. What prevented the Congress from testing fission and fusion devices between 1974 and 1996, when it was almost continuously in power ? What prevented the Opposition Parties between 1977 and 1979, 1989 and 1991 and particularly the UF government from 1996 to 1998, to carry forward a demonstration of India's nuclear capability and an assertion of Indian sovereignty and equality ?

What blocked the Indian peoples' path was the pervasive neo-colonial, comprador and *naukershahi* culture of the country. **We cannot move forward without Western approval ! We have lost all capability for independent thinking and self-volitional action !**

Let the floodgates of popular initiative now open up !

**LET THE INDIAN PEOPLE MARCH FORWARD !** ■

*Duniya jhukti hai, jhukanewala chahiye.* (The world bows, what is needed is the will to make it bow)

Next in order comes our equally strong approbation of our intelligence and security agencies, who managed to keep our five nuclear tests a complete secret from the wretched American CIA and from its Chinese counterpart. China is monitoring happenings in India from both, the Cocos Islands, 40 miles north of our frontier in the Bay of Bengal and from the Chinese missile and surveillance bases located in Tibet. Whatever may have been the ruses adopted by our Defence Ministry, whether of diversion of attention to Chandipur in Orissa or some other trick, what matters is that the tactic worked. It has always been our opinion that the Euro-American semi-Neanderthals, who put on many arrogant airs, are heavy-handed, clumsy oafs. For the lighter touch and the subtler finesse, the Oriental mind, particularly the Indian, is always to be preferred.

After the two congratulatory laudations, let us now

## THE QUINTUPLE TEST : 2

# DUNIYA JHUKTI HAI, JHUKANEWALA CHAHIYE !

After the Triple Test at Alpha Range in the Pokhran Hills, Rajasthan, on Monday, 11th May 1998, despite neo-colonial criticism, the Vajpayee government went ahead and tested two more nuclear devices of less than one or two kilo-tons yield on Wednesday, 13th of May, 1998.

More than the scientists and engineers, we congratulate the Vajpayee government for its political resolve. Let nothing distract us from our warm appreciation of the political will of the BJP government.



think of the retaliatory measures that we can take. Only comprador cowards think so much about the retaliatory measures that the world is contemplating against India. Those of us, who are brave and stout-hearted, will not bother about such trivialities. **We will think only of what we can do to forestall, thwart and frustrate those who are endangering our national security.**

Let us first of all, put little Clinton in his place. We must strongly protest against the kind of language he has used against India demanding that India sign the CTBT, "immediately and without conditions." Who is this specialist in oral sex to address us in this tone of the upstart pipsqueak? Let Hillary and numerous hilarious interns of the White House pander to Bill's egoistical, onanistic demands. We must ask Bill Clinton to immediately apologise to the people of India.

*Mankind* very seriously and earnestly requests the government of India to recall its ambassador from Washington till Clinton has abjectly apologised for his offensive tone. At the same time, *Mankind* demands the Vajpayee government, democratically elected by the people of India, to expel the American ambassador till such time as a full, unconditional apology is received by our President from the government of Bill Clinton.

**WORLD CONTEXT :** Let us now examine the sea-change that has come over the world scene since Truman hurled two atomic bombs without any warning upon the innocent citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, on 6th and 8th of August, 1945.

This is what the American pundit, Paul Kennedy has written in 1988: "Stimulated by the vast surge in war expenditures, the country's **GNP measured in constant 1939 dollars rose from \$ 88.6 billion (1939) to \$ 135 billion (1945), and much higher (\$ 220 billion) in current dollars.**

"During the war the size of the productive plant within the country grew by nearly 50 per cent and the physical output of goods by more than 50 per cent. Indeed, in the years 1940 to 1944, industrial expansion in the United States rose at a faster pace — over 15 per cent a year — than at any period before or since. Although the greater part of this growth was caused by war production (which soared from 2 per cent of total output in 1939 to 40 per cent in 1943), non-war goods also increased, so that the civilian sector of the economy was not encroached upon as in the other combatant nations. Its standard of living was higher than any other country's, but so was its per capita productivity. **Among the Great Powers, the United States was the only country which became richer — in fact, much richer — rather than poorer because of the war. At its conclusion, Washington possessed gold reserves of \$ 20 billion, almost two-thirds of the World's total of \$ 33 billion. Again, ..... more than half the total manufacturing production of the world took place within the USA, which, in fact, turned out a third of the world production of goods of all types. This also made it by far the greatest exporter of goods at the war's end, and even a few years later it supplied one-third of the world's**

exports. Because of the massive expansion of its shipbuilding facilities, it now owned half of the world supply of shipping. Economically, the world was its oyster." (Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988, pp. 460-1)

The position is best summed up by the following two tables :

	1960	1970	1980
Less-developed countries	11.1	12.3	14.8
Japan	4.5	7.7	9.0
China	3.1	3.4	4.5
European Economic Community	26.0	24.7	22.5
United States	25.9	23.0	21.5
Other developed countries	10.1	10.3	9.7
USSR	12.5	12.4	11.4
Other Communist countries	6.8	6.2	6.1

(Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, 1988 p. 563)

	Population (millions)	GNP per Capita (dollars)	GNP (billions of dollars)
United States	228	11,360	2,590
USSR	265	4,550	1,205
Japan	117	9,890	1,157
EEC (12 states) of which	317	-	2,907
West Germany	61	13,590	838
France	54	11,730	633
UK	56	7,920	443
Italy	57	6,480	369
West and East Germany together	78	-	950
China	980	290 or 450	284 or 441

(Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, 1988, p. 563)

**THE GREATEST SINGLE DEVELOPMENT IN WORLD POLITICS, IN THE SECOND-HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY, HAS BEEN THE RELATIVE DECLINE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

This overwhelming fact we have been analysing relentlessly in the columns of *Mankind* from various angles.

We draw the reader's attention to the following major contributions that we have made in the last two-and-a-half years.

- *India's Place in the Sun* : 4/5, *Mankind*, Jan/Feb 1996, pp. 43-57, including in particular, section 5, *The Emerging Challenge of the Pacific Rim*.

- *An Opening Statement* : 11/12, *Tri-Polar World in 21st Century*, *Mankind*, Aug/Sept. 1996, pp. 3-5.

- *Mankind's Credo* : 1997, *Tri-Polar World in 21st*



Century. *Mankind*, October 1997, pp. 11-12.

• *India, NAM, Cold War, Soviet Collapse, Emergence of Tri-Polar World, Tiger Economies and Related Matters*, *Mankind*, October 1997, pp. 32-37.

• *India's Place in the Sun : Emergence of Tri-Polar World of 21st Century*, *Mankind*, November 1996, pp. 56-67.

The latest table that we have published in *Mankind*, to go with Paul Kennedy's two tables given above is the following :

Table 3 SUMMARY OF WORLD TRENDS			
Power Bloc	% of World GDP in PPP Terms in 1960	% of World GDP in PPP Terms in 1994	Rise or Fall % points
NAFTA	32.14	26.42	-5.72
UNIFIED EUROPE	36.37	26.40	-8.97
PRA / ARP (Pacific Rim of Asia or Asiatic Rim of Pacific)	14.59	26.19	+11.60
REST OF WORLD (Excluding India)	12.84	16.25	+3.41
INDIA	4.06	3.74	-0.32
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>

(Source : *Mankind*, October 1997, p. 12)

THE OTHER OVERWHELMING FACT OF WORLD POLITICS OF THE LAST DECADE HAS BEEN THE DRAMATIC ECONOMIC COLLAPSE OF THE USSR AND OF THE STATE CAPITALIST BLOC AFTER 1987. (This has been illustrated fully in Table 3, *Mankind*, November 1996, p. 67)

In a table below we shall attempt to carry forward the factual summary of world trends, given above for 1960 and 1994, to estimates for the years 2005 and 2020.

Table 4 WORLD TRENDS % Share of World GDP in PPP Terms : 21st CENTURY				
	ACTUALS %		ESTIMATES %	
	1960	1994	2005	2020
N. America (USA & Canada)	30	23	18	10-15
Europe (EU+Old USSR & its satellites)	36	27	23	18-20
Asia (India shown separately)	18	32	40	45-50
Rest of World including L. America, Caribbean, Africa and Oceania	13	15	15	15
India	4	4	5	6

It is emphasised that Asia which is the most dynamic

part of the world, comprises of seven sub-centres : 1. China, including : H-K, Taiwan, S. Korea; 2. Japan; 3. ASEAN (Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Singapore, Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos); 4. SAARC, India shown separately, (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Afghanistan). 5. OPEC (Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Persian Gulf States.); 6. The 5 Central Asiatic Republics of the former USSR (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tadzhikistan and Kyrgyzstan) and 7. Minor extensions of Europe into Asia, viz. Turkey, Israel and the three Caucasian Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Whether we include the Arab-Berber-Islamic states of North Africa (Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Sudan) into the OPEC group of Asia or not, will make very little difference in the total world context.

Considering the above world trends of powerful thrust forward by Asia; and slow decline of Europe; as well as rapid decline of USA; we must utilise this opportunity offered by the neo-colonialist West to divide Europe from N. America and to hit hard at USA.

It will be seen from our Table 4, that the early part of the 21st century is going to be dominated by the following trends.

**North America** : There has been a dramatic collapse in the economic muscle of USA and Canada. As suggested by Paul Kennedy, in the long quotation given above, these two countries were far away from the theatres of the Second World War, both in Europe and in the Far East. Thus they added to their net wealth in the course of the War, and in 1945-50, would have generated as much as 50 per cent of the world's productive capacity. Even in 1960, by which time Europe and Japan had recovered, and China and India as well as many other Asiatic nations had realised their independence, even so in 1960, USA and Canada engrossed 30 per cent of the World GDP. By 1994, this proportion had come down to just 23 and it seems to us that our projection of 10 to 15 per cent for them by the year 2020 is likely to prove most reasonable. That means that the clout that Truman once enjoyed in world affairs has departed forever from all American Presidents that succeeded him. Even Kennedy (1960-63) enjoyed an economic clout that was substantially greater than that of Clinton (1992-2000). If present advances by the rest of the world continue, the American eagle will have its wings clipped very substantially and the US specific weight in world politics will be only one-fifth or at best, one-fourth, of the glory that it enjoyed at the end of the WW II.

**Europe** : By 1960, Europe had recovered to a great extent, its former strength, especially Germany, France and Italy. England had declined dramatically and had become a lion shorn of its mane, especially after the loss of her Indian Empire in 1947. But Europe's recovery was sharply interrupted after 1987 because of the Soviet collapse. Russia and her satellites have contributed at least to a loss of 5 percentage points in the comparative world scale. The



Russian decline will be compensated to some extent by a revival in the three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and a very rapid growth in Poland, East Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Hungary. But the ruin of the Yugoslav Republic (outside Slovenia) and further economic difficulties in the Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Armenia and the Slovak Republic, will compel Europe to post just about a quarter of the world's GDP by 2005 and only about a fifth of the world total by 2020.

**Asia :** There has been a dramatic upturn in Japan's economy from the 70s, which has been emulated and overtaken by China's explosive growth in the 1990s. South Korea and the ASEAN countries have become the Tiger Economies of Asia and despite the setback in 1998, the resilience and vastness of the Asian markets will in all probability result in a staggering 50 per cent share for Asia being posted by the year 2020.

**Rest of the World :** We have assumed a steady share of around 15 per cent for the Rest of the World in an expanding world economy which grew from \$ 6.5 trillion in 1960 (PPP terms) to \$ 31.3 trillion in 1994 (PPP terms). If we assume that the world economy will be over \$ 50 trillion by 2020, even to maintain its share at 15 per cent the economies of the rest of the world will have to expand in absolute terms by \$ 3 trillion.

**India :** Unfortunately, India has been reconquered by the neo-colonial powers after mid-1991. Therefore Indian economic progress will never match that of China, S. Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand or Malaysia. That is why we have assumed a very low rate of relative advance from 4 per cent actual in 1994 to 5 per cent by 2005 and just 6 per cent by 2020.

THAT IS WHY WE IN INDIA SHOULD ALIGN OUR POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR WITH THAT OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC TRENDS. CLINTON MUST APOLOGISE FOR HIS ARROGANT MISBEHAVIOUR WHICH NO LONGER CORRESPONDS TO THE REAL ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THE US AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES.

**Pakistan :** India should raise no objection to any nuclear testing by Pakistan. After all, the Balance of Terror on the sub-continent will put brakes on Indian hawks too and nuclear stalemate between India and Pakistan will definitely promote peace.

However, the Command Performance being staged in Pakistan, of the "US vigorously persuading Pakistan not to carry out the tests," indicates to me that probably Pakistan lacks the resources and the technology to race with India.

Naturally, we cannot go so far as to supply Pakistan with the wherewithal with which it may be enabled to join in the nuclear field on equal terms.

At the most, we will enjoy superiority in relation to Pakistan for a decade or so. I see no harm in that !

**China :** The Chinese have reacted in the dastardly manner of a pretentious super-power to India's acquisition of nuclear capability. China should never forget that from 1949 to 1971, for 23 long years, China was not even a

member of the UN, much less of its veto-wielding Security Council. China has carried out 45 tests upto July 1995.

I advise China to keep its mouth shut till we have reached nine times the figure of the present five !

To such uncouth and barbaric state capitalist mavericks and fiends, we should show supreme disdain. Let them do what they like and can. **Our country has always been the giver to China throughout history.** When we have learnt to live with the upstart behaviour of Europeans and Americans, Chinese vulgarity should come as no surprise.

We should refuse to discuss any subject with China, except (1) Vacation of aggression from Aksai-Chin and any other occupied area along the vast Indo-Tibet border ; (2) Promotion of trade and tourism; and (3) Co-ordination of policies that seek to combat neo-colonialism.

**The UN :** Let us dispense with all hypocritical verbiage and recognise UN for what it is. It's a Euro-American tool for power-play. The UN has never stood for or achieved world peace. In fact, there have been 530 Limited Wars in the world, whilst the UN looked on.

The most horrible confession has just been recently made by Kofi Annan, the new Secretary-General. *A propos* the Rwandan genocidal massacres of 1994, Kofi Annan, who was in charge of Rwandan affairs at that time, has just confessed that he was personally responsible for UN's failure to weed out the Rwandan killers from UN refugee camps. Actually, Kofi Annan should join the Rwandan Vice-President who has achieved the unprecedented feat of actually confessing to genocide before the Arusha Human Rights Tribunal which is seized of the matter.

I am absolutely staggered by this confession of genocidal activities by a Black African of the Hutu tribe. **I don't think that there is a parallel in world history of this self-condemnation.** I don't think that there is a parallel even to the lesser confession of aiding and abetting genocide by a Secretary-General of the UN. For the first time, I have become aware of the reasons why the Americans preferred Kofi Annan's elevation after Boutros-Boutros Ghali's departure. Anyway, such is the UN, to which body the USA owes \$ 1.7 bln.

In fact, if the UN has chosen to condemn India, so blatantly and crudely, why should we not think of voluntarily withdrawing from the UN ? What has the UN ever done for India ? About Kashmir, it has repeatedly acted against Indian interests.

In fact, why should India strive so hard to become a permanent member of its Security Council ?

Verily, India should very strongly urge the UN to make Maldives or Bahamas or Vanuata, a permanent veto-wielding member of the Security Council. There are scores of such mini-states and island territories strewn all over the world's oceans who will make excellent permanent veto-wielding members of the UN Security Council, like Western Samoa, Puerto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands, Bermuda, Montserrat, Tualu, Tonga, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and so on. After all, these great nations will look after the world at least as well as the five great powers have done over the last 53 years. The 530 Limited Wars which



have occurred in these 53 years could not have been exceeded under their supervision and guidance !

*Mankind* seriously suggests to Atal Behari Vajpayee, who is also our External Affairs Minister, a withdrawal of India's name from the list of aspirants to the Security Council until the UN has placed on record an unambiguous withdrawal of its recent condemnation of Indian nuclear tests.

At least, let us demand an end to UN hypocrisy which has freely allowed America to carry out no less than 1,000 tests, some of them overground, in the last 53 years !

**Signatory Status, Evolutionary Process and Reciprocity :** On behalf of the PMO, the little factotum, Brajesh Mishra has already urged three paramount considerations.

- We are being asked to sign the CTBT in what capacity ? As Nuclear Power or Non-Nuclear Power ? We have exploded six nuclear devices so far. Will USA, EU and UN inform us as to how many tests we should carry out in order to qualify as Nuclear Power ?

- The evolutionary path from concept to commitment on a possible CTBT treaty would need long and arduous discussions which must necessarily be spread over several years. Will it be alright if we began discussions now, so as to complete them by, say, 2025 ?

- Since Reciprocity is a pre-condition, how is this to be granted to India ? Bill Clinton of course, does not believe that India has equal rights with USA in any matter at all ! But surely, there are other more sensible members of the UN who are at least prepared to concede verbally the principle of equality of nations ? Is it not conceivable that a nation of 97 crores is entitled to equality of status with third-rate powers like the UK ? Are Germany, Japan and Italy, who fought the Allies in the Second World War, to be placed on a higher level than India ?

Why not shift the UN headquarters into the External Affairs wing of the American government at Washington ? Why not let the 185 members of the UN approach the American State department in utter supplication, in absolute alphabetical order and make their submissions ? The American President can then exercise better control and in each case he will make a notation that so many supported the American position, and that these many opposed whilst a few abstained. He should record the voting figures as per his whims and fancies. There is no need for anyone to actually vote for or against or even to abstain. The American President will take care of such details.

After all, Libya, Iraq and Iran have not ceased to be, just because America calls them "rogue countries".

Yesterday, South Africa, Israel and Indonesia had chosen to remain out of the UN. They didn't die ! I think that the present provides a wonderful opportunity for India to drastically economise on our UN expenditure. We could conveniently withdraw till the UN comes to the conclusion that 97 crores out of the world total of 525 crores or thereabouts, should not go unrepresented !

### **Long Live Resistance to Neo-Colonialism :**

There are certain other possibilities that have opened up for us.

We should first of all, get rid of the bureaucratic incubus, that has landed our country in such a mess. Henceforth, the IAS examinations should be only for filling the posts upto the level of the Section Officers, and at best, Assistant Secretaries. All higher posts of Deputy, Joint, Additional and Full Secretaries should be reserved for politicians, social workers, economists, educationists, industrialists, academics, freedom fighters, culture figures and the like.

Let us have Short Period Commissions, not only in the Army but in the Civil Service as well. I am told that is the normal procedure in Canada, Norway and elsewhere.

**We must not trust any career man, who prospers, whilst the people he supposedly represents, are living in dire straits. Only he is entitled to prosper, who contributes to making the country prosperous.**

This is the simple principle that we should observe very strictly and methodically.

Secondly, we should cut out all the cant ceaselessly pouring from all the foreigners. **They should never tell us what is in our best interests.** Let them judge their own interests and pursue them. We will take care of our interests.

What is best for India can never be known to Americans or Europeans or Russians or Chinese. We shall pursue all inquiries which are in our interests and we shall do our best according to our lights.

Thirdly, let us get rid of Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola, Mac Donald's, Pizza Hut, and above all Enron at this opportune time. It is the Americans who have taken the initiative to try to hurt us ! Surely we are entitled to defend ourselves and repel these attacks by whatever means that may be available to us.

**LET US JUST SEND AS MANY AMERICAN COMPANIES AS POSSIBLE, PACKING !**

**LET US COMPLETELY STOP THE TRADE DEFICIT AND THE INVISIBLE OUTFLOWS !**

**LET US REDUCE OUR IMPORTS AND DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN AGENCIES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AND BECOME TRULY SELF-RELIANT AND SWADESHI- ORIENTED !**

**HISTORY CREATES OPPORTUNITIES ONLY ONCE IN A WHILE ! LET US SEIZE THIS CHANCE WITH BOTH HANDS AND MAKE THE MOST OF IT !**

**LONG LIVE INDIA !**

**LONG LIVE RESISTANCE TO NEO-COLONIALISM !**

**FORWARD TO A NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST INDIA OF OUR DREAMS ! ■**



# THE QUINTUPLE TEST : 3 DOES PAKISTANI RESPONSE DEMAND A NATIONAL COALITION ?

Unfortunately, *Mankind* is only a monthly. My personal resources along with present subscriber support does not permit me to bring out even a four-page daily as I would have wished. Therefore, I am following up the two stories on the Indian Quintuple Test with a third one as the news of the Pakistani response is flashed.

Seventeen days after the Quintuple Indian Test on 11-13.5.98, on 28.5.98 Pakistan claimed to have carried out two tests in the range of 5 to 10 kilo tons according to US intelligence sources (*Indian Express*, 30.5.98.) Originally, the Chief of Pakistan's Nuclear Programme, A. Q. Khan, had claimed that only two tests had been carried out. Later, the Foreign Minister, Gohar Ayub Khan spoke of three devices being tested. Still later, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief announced that "Pakistan had conducted five successful nuclear explosions."

Seismic data collected by Indian and US scientists indicated only one, or at best, two underground explosions. Perhaps, five explosions had been simultaneously activated. Anyway, they were all based on an old-fashioned Chinese design of uranium fission type, of, as aforesaid, five to ten kilo tons.

*Mankind* welcomes the Pakistani test, as that would stop Indian hawks from overreaching themselves.

It took India about thirty days to organise the Tests, from the date on which the original go-ahead signal was given, to the Buddha Purnima day, which fell on 11.5.98. It took Pakistan only 17 days after the Indian tests to come up with some kind of a riposte. (Nawaz Sharief was obviously being a little childish in claiming for Pakistan, exactly five tests against India's five. Why should Pakistan's scientists require exactly five tests ?)

Anyway, as per the proverb, *Miyan Gira, magar tangdi upar*, that is, "the Muslim, even when down and out in a wrestling match, always claims that even if his two shoulders have touched the mat, his leg is still up in the air." On that theory, Sharief is planning one more primitive burst !

First of all, India and Pakistan should join hands to demand a totally new NPT and CTBT.

As we have stated earlier, either Pakistan had preplanned the tests or with Chinese help, it was able to carry out the tests in half the time that it took India to do the same ! Anyway, let us bury the American ostriches in the sands, who have claimed that only those are nuclear powers who have gone nuclear before 1968. Such imperialist idiots deserve no notice. Already, in actual practice, Russian

Federation, Belarus, Ukraine, Kazakstan, China, India, Pakistan, France, England and USA are nations possessing nuclear capability. North Korea, Iran, Israel and South Africa may be on the verge of a breakthrough.

It is high time that a true programme of phased destruction of all nuclear weapons was agreed to and implemented by the world bourgeois economy.

After all, capitalism itself cannot and will not survive a nuclear holocaust. The world bourgeoisie in its collective wisdom must come to the conclusion that it is better to give up the weapon of nuclear blackmail, hitherto being employed by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, rather than give up life itself !

But perhaps, prudent conduct and capitalism cannot march together ! The two terms are fundamentally self-contradictory.

We, in *Mankind*, are fundamentally optimistic. We do not believe that capitalism will finally succeed in destroying humanity via a nuclear nightmare. We, definitely believe that humanity will draw back from the verge and destroy capitalism, rather than self-destruct. Now let us note the special leverages that Pakistan possesses, as mentioned by K. Subramaniam of the Indian Institute of Strategic Studies.

• With the help of the Taliban-occupied part of Afghanistan, Pakistan could flood the US market with heroin and other narcotics which are being grown on a large-scale within Taliban-held Afghan territory.

AS WE HAVE SHOWN EARLIER, TALIBAN IS NOT A FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAMIC ORGANISATION. TALIBAN IS A NARCOTICS MAFIA SET-UP WHICH USES ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AS A CLOAK TO HIDE ITS REAL STANCE AND FUNCTION.

That is why we had suggested as one of our major foreign policy initiatives that Iran and India should combine to eliminate Taliban, and Pakistan dominance from Afghanistan.

Pakistan has been longtime friend of USA and if it can blackmail US with a narcotics floodtide into muting its opposition to the Pakistani nuclear tests, then India should seek allies in the rest of the world, in order to thwart the combined US-Pakistani war machine.

• Secondly K. Subramaniam claimed that Pakistan could blackmail USA with the threat of Pakistani aid to Iran to achieve nuclear weaponisation capability. We do not believe that the second leverage exists.

Let us cut out the comprador claptrap and the Stalinist cant about secularism being supreme in India and Pakistan being congenitally communalist.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, PAKISTAN HAS NEVER BEEN TRULY AND PURELY COMMUNAL. IT HAS MERELY UTILISED A COMMUNALIST CAMOUFLAGE TO BEFRIEND, FIRST, THE UK, WHICH WAS THE RULING POWER ON THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT TILL 1947 (TILL THE 1950s IN PAKISTAN AFTER WITHDRAWAL FROM INDIA); AND THE USA WHICH HAS BECOME THE SUPREME NEO-COLONIAL POWER SINCE THE 1950s !

COMMUNALISM IS A MASK WORN BY PAKISTANI COMPRADORS.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, WHAT WAS AND IS THE ISLAMIC TIE BETWEEN BANGLADESH AND PAKISTAN ?



WHAT WAS AND IS THE ISLAMIC BONDING BETWEEN THE BALOCHIS, THE NWFP PATHANS, THE SINDHIS, THE PUNJABIS AND THE MOHAJIRS, WHO LEFT INDIA ?

The only glue that ties the various ethnic entities in Pakistan is the cement of neo-colonialism on the obverse and of communal compradorism on the reverse.

PAKISTAN WOULD NEVER HAVE COME INTO EXISTENCE BUT FOR BRITISH COLONIAL PATRONAGE !

PAKISTAN WOULD NEVER HAVE SURVIVED, BUT FOR AMERICAN NEO-COLONIAL PATRONAGE !

COMMUNALISM IS A MERE CONVENIENCE !

A MERE MASK AND CAMOUFLAGE ! THE REALITY IS OF COMPRADORISM !

In Pakistan, this compradorism takes the form of Islamic communalism and fundamentalism. In India, it takes the form of appeasement of Pakistan sensitivities and proclivities. It is a stupid Stalinist lie to suggest that by appeasing Pakistan we will achieve peace on our borders.

The Arabs misled, by the Anglo-American bourgeoisie, have been appeasing Israeli racialism and Jewish fundamentalism for the last 50 years. In this half-century, they have lost the whole of Palestine, part of Lebanon and part of Syria. For 14 years from 1967 to 1981, Israel had occupied a part of Egypt also.

Where do the Arabs stand with Netanyahu ? What has happened to the Oslo Peace Process ?

What happened in Zaire-Congo, and Rwanda-Burundi ? Till Laurent Kabila drove out Mobutu Sese Seko, genocide was being perpetrated in Rwanda and in eastern Zaire ! Kofi Annan, the present UN Secretary-General, who was at that time, in charge of UN refugee camps in eastern Zaire had admitted UN complicity in the genocidal massacres carried by Hutu "militants" in UN refugee camps !

The genocide of Tutsis in Central Africa would have continued to this day, had Laurent Kabila not arrived on the scene ! Between 1994 and 1997, it has been estimated that some four to five million Tutsis had been massacred !

Do we have to adduce more evidence ? Look at what the Serbians have achieved in Bosnia, Croatia and in Kosovo province of Serbia itself. How many more mass graves must NATO supervisors uncover before Indians and Pakistanis will become aware and accept that USA is our enemy number one ?

That is why we disagree with George when he says that China is our potential enemy number one !

**MANKIND BELIEVES, ON THE CONTRARY, THAT AMERICA IS OUR KINETIC AND ACTUAL ENEMY NUMBER ONE ! CHINA IS IN REALITY, OUR POTENTIAL FRIEND NUMBER ONE.**

HOWEVER, THE PRESENT CHINESE LEADERSHIP OF JIANG ZEMIN, ZHU RHONGJI, LI PENG, AND OTHERS IS A STATE CAPITALIST GANG WHICH IS LEADING CHINA ALONG "MARKET SOCIALIST" LINES INTO A BASIC COMPROMISE WITH RESURGENT CAPITALISM ORGANISED AS G-8 (USA, CANADA, JAPAN, RUSSIA, UK, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY).

CHINA IS PLAYING THE AMERICAN GAME AND IS PROPPING UP AMERICA'S SATELLITE PAKISTAN !

We, Indian nationalist and socialist revolutionaries must not be deflected by the criminal antics of the state capitalist gang that is ruling China. We must look beyond the present Chinese leadership.

It is in the long-term interests of the Indian and Chinese masses to jointly combat the neo-colonialism of the G-8 powers ! But we have two obstacles in our path. The first is the Indian comprador leadership which is readying for all sorts of compromises and adjustments.

As we had predicted in the May issue of *Mankind*, a Sonia-Vajpayee deal is in the offing ! "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." (*Mankind*, May 1998, p. 11)

"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." (*Ibid*, p.13) Look at the front page headline of *Indian Express* today (30.5.98) *Atal Explores National Govt., Meets Sonia !*

"The May-11 and 13 nuclear tests and the retaliatory Pakistani explosions seem to be catalysing new political equations in the country. Prime Minister\*Atal Behari Vajpayee is learnt to be exploring the possibility of forming a national government which would help meet the challenges of the new situation and impart stability to his otherwise fragile government.

"Vajpayee took the initiative to take Sonia Gandhi into confidence again today about the latest developments and the Congress President called on the Prime Minister at his Race Course Residence for a one-to-one meeting. Like her last meeting with the Prime Minister, Congress leaders did not know what transpired during the interaction between the two."

All the time that we wrote the lines quoted earlier, regarding the impending Vajpayee-Advani-Sonia rapprochement, we did not know that India was going to carry out the Quintuple Test of 11/13.5.98 and that Pakistan was going to follow 17 days later with its riposte and that a cry was going to go up from Sonia, Sharad Pawar and others that National Unity was the need of the hour to combat Pakistan-China offensive !

The more the Trinamool Congress boycotts the Budget Session of the Parliament for the Centre's inaction during the West Bengal Panchayat elections, which the Left Front



## WHY ARE WE CREDITING THE SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS WITH MIRACLES AND DESIGNATING 11th MAY 1998 AS TECHNOLOGY DAY ?

Why are all the wretched and bankrupt political set-ups insisting that all the credit for the Quintuple Nuclear Tests should go to our scientists and engineers ?

DID WE BLAME THEM FOR THE LAST 24 YEARS FOR NOT CARRYING OUT THE TESTS ? It would have been extremely silly if we had attributed the blame for a quarter century of slumber upon their shoulders. When we did not blame them for inactivity from 1974 to 1998, how can we praise them now ?

TO TEST OR NOT TO TEST is a political decision. It was good that the BJP took the courageous decision. It is true that the Congress governments of Indira Gandhi after 1974, Rajiv Gandhi, V. P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao, Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral were all cowardly ensembles and did not carry out the tests which were urgently needed for national security. If USA, UK, France, USSR and China need the tests for self-defence, and as deterrents, SO DOES INDIA ! India does not need the pity and forbearance of the Five Great Powers to preserve its integrity and sovereignty. INDIA HAS THE NATIONAL WILL AND STRENGTH TO DEFEND ITSELF ! NO PART OF INDIA CAN BE OCCUPIED BY ANY OTHER COUNTRY FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME !

China already has the Fission and Fusion Bombs. Let Pakistan test its own weaponry. Let India be deterred by China and Pakistan, severally and jointly, from using the nuclear devices. What India needs and insists upon is that Pakistan, China and USA (which has bases in the Indian Ocean) be deterred from using their nuclear arsenal against India.

We do not care how many other countries may or may not possess nuclear weapons. Since we are sure that we shall not begin the use of the Bomb against anyone, we do not care about the number of countries who might or might not possess nuclear weaponry.

TO ALL, OUR REPLY IS THE SAME. DO NOT DARE USE YOUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST US. DO NOT EVEN DREAM OF THREATENING US WITH THEM ! BE WARNED ! WE SHALL DESTROY YOU IF YOU EVER THINK OF DESTROYING US ! WE ARE CAPABLE OF GUARDING OUR FREEDOM WITH OUR OWN RESOURCES. WE ARE NOT DEPENDENT ON ANYONE. WE ARE A SOVEREIGN AND FREE PEOPLE NUMBERING 97 CRORES !

All these statements and postures are political gestures ! They are to be made by political parties, and not by scientists and engineers.

We are very glad that the BJP has made the simple reiteration of national resolve.

After all, scientists and engineers and technologists are all parts of the Indian nation. They use their talents and abilities to serve national aims and goals. They should be grateful that they are given the opportunity and chance to serve the Indian nation.

We, old freedom fighters, never boast about what we did for the nation ! WE ARE A GREAT NATION, WE ARE BHARAT MATA'S PROUD CHILDREN ! WE ARE ETERNALLY GRATEFUL TO HISTORY FOR HAVING GIVEN US THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE CHANCE TO SERVE OUR MOTHERLAND.

IF WE ARE LUCKY ENOUGH, WE OLD-TIMERS MAY EVEN GET A SECOND CHANCE AND JOIN IN THE SECOND BATTLE OF INDEPENDENCE, WHICH IS LOOMING LARGE UPON THE HORIZON. WE ARE ANXIOUS TO PROVE OUR METTLE ONCE AGAIN AND TO DEFEAT THE NEO-COLONIAL FORCES WHICH ARE ENSLAVING US AND WHICH ARE EXPERTLY LED BY THE USA AND ITS SURROGATES, THE G-8 GROUP OF POWERS, THE EU-NATO, AND OECD, AND THE WB, IMF AND WTO ! WE ARE, IN FACT, PANTING AND STRAINING AT THE LEASH TO TAKE ON IN OPEN COMBAT, THE EVIL FORCES NAMED ABOVE AND TRULY LIBERATE THE INDIAN MASSES FROM THE THRALLDOM THAT HOLDS THEM !

LONG LIVE THE INDIAN NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION !

LONG LIVE INDIAN SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE ! ■

has won hands down; the more Jayalalitha and the AIADMK fulminate over the Power Ordinance and Dismissal of the Karunanidhi Government; the more the members of the Biju Janata Dal walk out of Parliament and speak against the neglect of Orissa in the rail budget; the sooner will the Vajpayee-Sonia deal be sealed.

Vajpayee has already acted IN NATIONAL INTERESTS !

As soon as the BJP-Congress alliance comes through as NATIONAL NECESSITY, the BJP (180 MPs) and the

Congress (140 MPs) will come together and everything will fall in place.

• Sonia's real estate and other assets of over Rs. 25,000 crores will be safe and will be peacefully inherited by Priyanka and Rahul. Bofors, like Enron, will go into the limbo !

All small *chirkoot* parties will be shown their place. The most important portfolios will be shared between the BJP and the INC. It is more than likely that Sharad Pawar may replace George Fernandes and that P.



## WHY IS POLITICAL ADVANTAGE NOT TO BE TAKEN OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ?

A cacophony of voices has broken out on all sides, clamouring that the BJP should not take political advantage of its rightful decision to carry out the Quintuple Nuclear Tests. So much so that the miserable BJP leaders are being forced to join the chorus and sheepishly promise that they will not make political use of the Quintuple Tests of May 1998.

What is wrong with our people ? Why have they allowed themselves to be emasculated by the wretched colonial type *naukershahi* culture of our country today ?

Why should not full political advantage be taken of political promises made and fulfilled from the election manifesto of the BJP and from the Agenda for Governance formulated by the BJP-led coalition that is in power ?

What is this *naukershahi* mentality which has infected all of us ? Why are we fighting shy in a supposedly democratic society of carrying out election pledges ?

It was a part of the Congress culture of the last 50 years, which culture was a euphemism for colonial *naukershahi* culture, which consisted of only claims and promises that were never to be fulfilled. Claims and promises were made by umpteen Congress Manifestos and Resolutions which were to be carried out by the *naukershahs* to the extent and in the manner that the *naukershahs* saw fit. There was a complete hiatus between word and action. The word was given at election time by the Congress and the action or inaction or wrong action were all to be taken by the bureaucracy which was not bound by any electoral claims or promises.

Thus, we have come to live in a society in which political action merely means press statements and intrigues and manoeuvres against rival gangs of bureaucrats and ministers. All public agitations and demonstrations have become ritualised. The police acts or does not act as per pre-determined intrigues by rival gangs of bureaucrats and public figures who have various levels of associations with mafia dons.

*Mankind* has been urging again and again, that we must have a New Constitution framed for the first time by Direct, Universal, Adult, Equal Vote. It is not possible to overthrow the present *Naukershahi* Rule without a New Constitution. In the meantime we must destroy the power of the bureaucracy in every field.

The Prasar Bharati Bill which provides for direct rule of parliamentarians over a department of the GOI must be made into a model. All the departments of GOI must come under direct control of committees of Parliament. Political parties must make definite electoral pledges. These electoral pledges must be regularly fulfilled and full credit or discredit must flow to those who are making and unmaking electoral promises !

We want the BJP to get full credit for the testing of five Nuclear devices on 11th and 13th May 1998.

Let the Congress and its allies and the United Front and its constituents explain to the Indian people the reasons for their failure to carry out the testing of nuclear weapons for the last 24 years ! As a matter of fact, Jawahar, Lal Bahadur, Indira in her early years, had they been a little more vigilant about national dignity and sovereignty, we would have carried out a Pokhran test long before 1974. However, after 1974, there has been no excuse whatsoever for Indian passivity and stupidity except neo-colonial pressurised brainwashing.

Those who want to fight BJP, should come out with other bold programmes and pledges and promises on national and public welfare ! Let there be a keen competition amongst political parties for promises and fulfilment of public welfare !

LET THE BJP BASK IN SO-CALLED NUCLEAR GLORY FOR A FEW DAYS. LET THEM WIN A FEW BY-ELECTIONS AND STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS. LET THEM WIN THE NEXT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS TO THE 13th LOK SABHA, IF THIS WERE TO BE THE SOLE ELECTORAL ISSUE. HOWEVER, THERE ARE MANY OTHER MATTERS OF VITAL CONCERN TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

LET THE INDIAN PEOPLE MARCH FORWARD, CREATING, CONFRONTING AND OVERCOMING MANY NEW CHALLENGES ! LET POLITICAL PARTIES ENGAGE IN THIS CREATIVE TASK OF MEETING MASS ASPIRATIONS AND DEMANDS !

Chidambaram may replace Yashwant Sinha.

Jaswant Singh and Pramod Mahajan may continue as privileged advisers to the PM.

Advani may retain his Home portfolio.

But several other changes, important ones, may result from the reshuffle.

We need not work out such minute details.

However, the obstacles to India-China united front against the neo-colonialists are not merely on the Indian comprador side.

On the Chinese side, the State-capitalist-Stalinist-

Maoist dictatorial bureaucratic elite forms the other obstacle.

We have analysed the nature of the Chinese leadership in great detail in our last issue (See, *Adda at Nukkad*, May 1998, pp. 65-7)

Thus, we have entered very exciting times.

A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY MAY TAKEOVER IN DELHI.

OF COURSE, THE OSTENSIBLE REASONS WILL BE MOST LAUDABLE.

CONGRESS WILL EAT, IN DOUBLE QUICK TIME,



ITS SECULAR RHETORIC FOR THE SAKE OF COMBATING NATIONAL PERIL !

TDP AND SIMILAR CENTRIST FORMATIONS MAY LINE UP BEHIND SPEAKER BALAYOGI AND CONTINUE WITH THEIR UNPRINCIPLED POLITICS OF "IS-SUE-BASED SUPPORT."

GEORGE AND NITISH KUMAR WILL PERFORM A FEW MORE SOMERSAULTS TO REMAIN IN POWER WITHIN THE GRAND COALITION.

THE LEFT PARTIES, LED BY THE BANKRUPT STALINISTS, WILL REMAIN NOWHERE.

*Postscript :*  
The above report of the *Indian Express* has been promptly denied and the following item has appeared in the *Indian Express* of 31.5.98 :

"Reacting to a report in *The Indian Express* on Saturday that Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee was exploring the idea of a national government and had a meeting with Sonia Gandhi, sources in the PMO today said that this suggestion didn't come up at the meeting in any form whatsoever. They also denied the speculation that Vajpayee was exploring the idea of a national government."

The above repudiation only means that this was a "premature leak." Vajpayee and Sonia met and confabulated for a length of time. They are not prepared to reveal what they discussed. **Perhaps, they discussed only the weather.**

It is much more likely that they discussed the possibility of a National Alliance. *Mankind* stands by its analysis that a Vajpayee-Sonia deal is in the offing.

Sonia has no option but to come to power herself, or deal with those in power, in order to peacefully arrange for Priyanka and Rahul to inherit the ill-gotten wealth of Rajiv and herself which today exceeds Rs. 25,000 crores.

Vajpayee would prefer to deal with the Congress as a subordinate party in a national coalition so that his government runs smoothly for the full term of five years.

Instead of frittering away the benefits flowing out of the patriotic fervour that the Pokhran Tests have aroused, in chasing such will 'o' the wisps as national government

of the grand BJP-INC alliance, it would be far more useful for George to utilise the present opportunity to introduce CONSCRIPTION. This will visibly demonstrate to the people that the sacrifices demanded of them are going to be, in some measure, equally shared by the rich and the powerful.

## WHY ARE WE DEDICATING SO OFTEN, SO MUCH, TO THE NATION ?

We are a strange specimen of a colonial *naukershahi* mindset and culture.

Hundreds of public facilities, railway stations, airports, ports, bridges, *sulabh shauchalayas* and so on, are being constantly "dedicated to the nation." But we are Indians. How can we dedicate to ourselves all these hundreds and thousands of edifices ? It is alright for an English scoundrel, who was lording it over colonial India, to say that he was "dedicating something to the Indian nation ?" HE STOOD APART. WHAT HE STOLE FROM INDIA HE DID NOT ALWAYS GO BACK AND OPENLY "DEDICATE TO THE ENGLISH NATION." HOWEVER, WHILST HE WAS IN INDIA, HE COULD PRETEND TO MAKE SOME TOKEN GESTURES AND CLAIM THAT HE DEDICATED TO THE INDIAN NATION WHATEVER INADVERTENTLY GOT BUILT HERE.

But we are Indians. We are not a race or a people apart. How can we continuously "dedicate to ourselves" all those things which are being "donated to the nation." ?

WHAT IS THE SENSE BEHIND SUCH EXPRESSIONS AS "DEDICATED TO THE NATION," AS THOUGH WE ARE ALIENS ?

It is the IMFL story again. India made foreign liquor. We build a road or a toilet, sometimes the one is indistinguishable from the other, and "dedicate it to the nation," as though we were non-Indians.

As Jawahar used to say, " I do not belong to the West or to the East. I belong to nothing and stand nowhere." Jawahar could have added, "I am whisky, brandy, rum, gin and beer ! I am Indian-Made Foreign Thing. I am dedicating to myself, all those works and achievements which I have made myself WITH A COMPLETELY ALIENATED OUTLOOK !" ■

It was Lohia's demand for a long time that the present mercenary army of hired killers should be abolished in favour of a conscript force. Let the number, whatever the figure, be recruited from all the citizens of India of a particular age group with certain minimum physical attributes. This is the only way to break down the iron curtain

between the people and the army which the ruling classes find it convenient to maintain.

Secondly, let a Reserve Corps be built up on the same conscriptive principles. George could combine this Reserve Corps with the Lohiaite concept of the Land Army. Thus the people of India would help in building India via the Land Army which would be but another name for the Conscripted Reserve Corps.

The latest threat by the Samata party MP Prabhunath Singh that unless the Rabri Devi government of Bihar is dismissed within a fortnight, the Samata Party would withdraw its ministers, George and Nitish, from the Vajpayee government indicate that the Vajpayee-Sonia deal is very close at hand. It is obvious that Sharad Pawar, as the Lok Sabha leader of a 140-member party would demand a return to his previously held Defence portfolio. Manmohan Singh would easily displace Yashwant Sinha, both being utterly useless ex-bureaucrats. Several other Congress nominees could be accommodated in the reshuffled pack of tarot cards.

The fact that Vajpayee has not yet expanded or reconstituted his 2 1/2-month old ministry also indicates a possible Vajpayee-Sonia deal.

I have no ill-will towards George, but it seems to me that his comeuppance may not be far off ! ■



# BUDGET 1998-99

The timid little exercise in financial management and accounting that are known as Central Budgets in India, are generally treated in apocalyptic terms by the Indian media, as though economic history was being written or rewritten. This is simply not true. We may not consider them to be exactly non-events, but neither are they of cataclysmic importance. They are just ordinary, humdrum happenings occurring with boring regularity, every year.

The minute details are utterly unimportant. Some taxes are levied, some details are altered, some reliefs

are granted to particular groups of interests, some burdens are lifted and so on. What does it matter? The people are hardly interested, except when interested parties whip up some momentary campaigns and transitory agitations just in order to put down the Finance Minister or malign his government.

Generally the *naukershahi* is extremely pro-Congress, and therefore, as soon as a non-Congress government is formed, the bureaucracy begins to misinterpret directives and create a hullabaloo over nothing. Consider Yashwant Sinha's little blunder with

regard to the one rupee levy on petrol. The petroleum ministry officials chose to interpret the directive in a particularly slanted manner and in effect hiked up petrol prices at delivery points by four rupees and more per litre. After a lot of shouting over the next two days, Yashwant Sinha finally had his way and the new levy was scaled down to about one-and-a-quarter rupees, which is where it stays for the time being. In the meantime of course, the dealers have raked in quite a few crores, which is not going to be refunded to anyone!

Yashwant Sinha claimed that there were bureaucratic precedents for non-return during the earlier regimes of both Congress and United Front. This historical reference, perfectly true, led to an uproar and walk-out by the Congress and some UF constituents.

It is all a boring charade.

The gargantuan Indian bureaucracy has always been a law unto itself. Let us look at some earlier budgets, as well as to the latest few given in the table alongside.

The budget estimates and actuals have varied from +26.40% to -6.55%, an overall span of nearly 33 per cent! There is no logic and no pattern. Anything can happen anyhow!

In the notorious Bihar Fodder Scam case, the grants to the Animal Husbandry department were excuses for excessive billings to the tune of hundreds of crores of rupees each year.

In the case of the Central Budget, perhaps, things may not be so bad! Here it may be merely placing so many conditionalities upon realisations that THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF ALLOWING MAXIMUM SCOPE FOR BUREAUCRATIC INTERFERENCE AND CORRUPTION MAY BE OPERATIVE.

Look at Table 1 once again. The variations between B.Es and Actuals are from a few crores to a few thousand crores.

Between 1951 and 1963, the BEs were exaggerated, whilst from 1988 to 1994 the BEs were most often underestimated.

Now let us turn from bureaucratic manipulations and mismanagement of our national funds to their specific weights in the economy.

Between 1980-81 and 1996-97,

TABLE 1

REVENUE ESTIMATES AND ACTUALS (Rs. in Crores)				
	YEAR	BUDGET ESTIMATE	ACTUALS	% OF VARIATION UPON BUDGET ESTIMATES
FIRST 12 YEARS	1951-52	449.42	568.22	+26.40
	1952-53	455.82	492.09	+7.80
	1953-54	493.74	473.27	-4.10
	1954-55	511.46	512.65	+0.02
	1955-56	541.34	562.35	+3.90
Total First Plan	1951-52 to 1955-56	2451.78	2608.58	+6.40
	1956-57	584.72	651.12	+11.40
	1957-58	783.44	806.04	+2.90
	1958-59	856.49	846.95	-1.10
	1959-60	872.32	965.59	+10.70
	1960-61	987.27	1075.74	+9.00
	Total Second Plan	1956-57 to 1960-61	4083.24	4345.44
1961-62		1101.65	1234.46	+12.05
1962-63		1479.51	1684.44	+13.70
LAST 6 YEARS		1988-89	86,036.00	85,714.00
	1989-90	103,623.00	103,115.00	-0.49
	1990-91	117,855.00	110,607.00	-6.55
	1991-92	132,412.00	133,834.00	+1.07
	1992-93	150,289.00	153,195.00	+1.90
	1993-94	178,958.00	169,832.00	-5.37

[Source: (i) *Union Budgets, A Factual Study of Finances of Government of India, 1950-51 to 1964-65*, p.8, for figures for the years 1951 to 1963.

(ii) *Successive Economic Surveys* for figures from 1988 to 1994.]



total tax revenue has varied from 9.4 per cent of GDP to 10.6 per cent (upto 12.6 percent in 1989-90) and generally remained above 11 per cent in the quinquennial 1985-86 to 1989-90.

The regressive nature of the last seven budgets is revealed by the bulk of the tax revenue being realised from indirect taxes. The Indian comprador bourgeoisie pays only 3 per cent of GDP as gross tax revenue whilst the poor people of India pay more than double that amount, 7.4 per cent of GDP as excise and custom duties.

Total expenditure has varied from 10 to 20 per cent of the GDP (19.70 per cent to be exact), of which, Interest Payments have absorbed about 5 per cent and Defence, about 2.5 per cent.

Almost all the remainder of Expenditure has been swallowed up by our Bureaucracy. The Fiscal Deficit has come down from 8.30 % in 1991 to 5 % in 1995-96.

In short, the annual budgetary exercise is connected with about 10 per cent of our GDP as income and about 16 per cent as expenditure. Of the latter, about half is absorbed by Interest Payments and Defence. Therefore, what great economic history is being written by each successive comprador Finance Minister ?

On the whole, each Finance Minister doles out heavier and heavier doses of rhetoric and hypocrisy. A few speculators make a killing if their forays coincide with market rises or plunges. For the poor, the exercise is just a big yawn !

TABLE 2

YEAR	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AT FACTOR COST (Rs. Crore) At Current Prices	INDEX OF 2
1.	2.	3.
1950-51	8,938	100.0
1951-52	9,445	105.4
1952-53	9,324	103.6
1953-54	10,161	113.1
1954-55	9,534	105.2
1955-56	9,707	106.8
1956-57	11,583	128.0
1957-58	11,839	130.4
1958-59	13,231	145.3
1959-60	13,877	152.0
1960-61	15,182	166.1
1961-62	15,999	174.3
1962-63	17,104	186.0
1963-64	19,559	212.9
1964-65	22,836	249.3
1965-66	23,899	259.5
1966-67	27,159	294.1
1967-68	31,929	346.9
1968-69	33,688	365.2
1969-70	37,057	401.5
1970-71	39,424	425.7
1971-72	41,957	451.6
1972-73	46,171	495.8
1973-74	56,629	610.7
1974-75	66,748	714.8
1975-76	70,946	753.7
1976-77	76,303	810.9
1977-78	87,118	930.1
1978-79	93,724	994.8
1979-80	102,595	1076.8

Source : *Economic Survey, 1996-97 Table 1, p. S-3.*

See Table 3 for continuation of GDP figures and Index

The roll-back measures adopted by Yashwant Sinha after the furore in the Parliament over the hike in petrol and urea prices has bureaucratic precedents. His predecessors, Manmohan Singh and P. Chidambaram had also made many changes in their budget proposals after they were announced. Below, we have enumerated the proposals and roll-backs made by Manmohan Singh, P.Chidambaram and Yashwant Sinha.

**MANMOHAN SINGH (1991-96) :**

- Proposal :** Increase in the price of urea by 40 per cent in the 1991-92 budget to reduce subsidy.  
**Change :** Political opposition forced a cut in the price hike to 30 % within three weeks.
- Proposal :** Government to contribute Rs.100 crore to the Rajiv Gandhi foundation over five years.  
**Change :** The official grant had to be rescinded since Sonia's trust was a private one. ( See our earlier, *Sonia exposes : A Pair of Witches Exposed in MK*, Nov.96, pp.3-4; and *The Richest Landholder in India is Sonia Maino Gandhi*, *MK*, April 98, pp.25-7)
- Proposal :** Tax deduction at source on interest accruing on term deposits with banks in the 1991-92 budget.  
**Change :** Taxpayers and members of Parliament opposed the move. Directive was withdrawn in the 1992-93 budget.
- Proposal :** New expenditure tax on air-conditioned restaurants in the 1991-92 budget.  
**Change :** Levy withdrawn a year later following public protest.



TABLE 3

CERTAIN VITAL RATIOS OF NATIONAL GDP										
YEAR	GNP AT FACTOR COST (Rs. Crore) At Current Prices	INDEX OF GNP (1950-51=100)	GROSS TAX REVENUE as % of GNP			TOTAL EXPENDITURE as % of GNP			EMOLUMENTS OF PUBLIC SECTOR* EMPLOYEES as % of GNP	FISCAL DEFICIT as % of GNP
			TOTAL	DIRECT	INDIRECT	TOTAL	INTEREST PAYMENTS	DEFENCE		
1980-81	1,22,772	1,290.9	9.4	-	-	10.0	2.0	2.6	2.13	-
1981-82	1,43,256	1,502.2	9.8	-	-	9.9	2.0	2.6	2.18	-
1982-83	1,58,761	1,654.7	10.2	-	-	10.9	2.2	2.7	2.29	-
1983-84	1,85,779	1,942.5	9.9	-	-	11.1	2.3	2.7	2.40	-
1984-85	2,07,109	2,157.9	10.6	-	-	12.1	2.6	2.8	2.47	-
1985-86	2,32,370	2,404.2	11.1	-	-	11.3	2.9	2.9	2.39	-
1986-87	2,58,225	2,663.9	11.7	-	-	14.3	3.1	3.4	2.46	-
1987-88	2,92,232	3,019.5	11.5	-	-	14.3	3.4	3.0	2.46	-
1988-89	3,48,210	3,607.3	11.4	-	-	14.2	3.6	2.8	2.49	-
1989-90	4,02,931	4,167.1	12.6	-	-	14.2	4.0	2.4	2.41	-
1990-91	4,70,269	4,875.1	10.8	2.1	8.7	19.7	4.0	2.9	2.32	8.3
1991-92	5,42,691	5,593.8	10.9	2.5	8.5	18.1	4.3	2.7	2.26	5.9
1992-93	6,18,969	6,368.4	10.6	2.6	8.0	17.4	4.4	2.5	2.25	5.7
1993-94	7,19,548	7,441.1	9.4	2.5	6.8	17.5	4.5	2.7	2.07	7.4
1994-95	8,43,294	8,731.7	9.7	2.8	6.9	16.9	4.6	2.4	2.01	6.1
1995-96	9,67,763	10,002.0	10.0	3.0	7.1	16.7	4.7	2.4	2.24	5.8RE
1996-97	--	--	10.6	3.1	7.4	16.3	4.8	2.2	--	5.0BE

\* See Table 2 for GNP at Current Prices and for Index, for years preceding 1980-81.

- Sources: (i) *Economic Survey*, 1996-97, Table 1, p. S.3 for GDP at Factor Cost Index.  
(ii) *Economic Survey*, 1989-90, Table 6.2, p. 77 for Tax Revenue, Total Expenditure and Fiscal Deficit figures.  
(iii) *Economic Survey*, 1996-97, Table 1.6, p.10 for Tax Revenue, Total Expenditure and Fiscal Deficit figures.  
(iv) *Economic Survey*, 1997-98, Table 3.4, p. S-54. RE = Revised Estimate, BE = Budget Estimate

\* We do not know, who and how many Public Sector Employees are covered by their Emoluments figure given in Table 3.4, upon which our calculations of percent of GNP are based. The number of Public Sector Employees shown in Table 3.4 does not tally with any category of employees in the Public Sector enumerated in Table 3.1. However, Table 3.4 covers some 20.51 lakh employees in the Public Sector whose average emoluments per capita totalled Rs. 21, 716 crores.

#### P.CHIDAMBARAM (1996-98) :

- Proposal :** Non-voting shares by firms up to 25 % of the issued capital.  
**Change :** This raised a furore and in December 1996 the relevant amendment to Companies Act was drawn.
- Proposal :** Minimum Alternate Tax (MAT) on zero tax paying companies.  
**Change :** Scheme was amended a year later in the 1997-98 budget. Export profits were exempted and firms could claim credit for MAT paid which could be carried forward for the next five assessment years. In the year in which tax was actually payable, this credit could be adjusted.
- Proposal :** In 1997-98 levied a service tax on transportation of goods by road.  
**Change :** The tax was withdrawn when transporters went on strike.

#### YASHWANT SINHA (1998- ) :

- Proposal :** Hike in excise duty on petrol from 20 to 35 percent which was passed on to the consumers.  
**Change :** Government announced roll-back of prices to the pre-budget level except for the Re. one increase on account of petrol cess for the development of highways. Therefore, excise duty on petrol was slashed from 35 % to 32 %, a reduction of 3%.
- Proposal :** Hike in urea prices by Re.1 per Kg, which would increase the price of urea for the farmer to Rs. 8,260 per tonne.  
**Change :** Hike in urea prices cut by 50% to 50 paise per Kg, instead of Rs. 1 per Kg announced earlier. The cut would still mean that the farmer would have to pay Rs. 4,130 per tonne of urea as compared to the previous sale price of Rs. 3,630 per tonne.
- Proposal :** 8% excise duty on various branded items, including sweetmeats and namkeen.  
**Change :** The duty put on hold till the decision on the finance bill is taken.
- Proposal :** A levy of 2% withholding tax on external commercial borrowings & exemption given to capital goods imports designed for exports.  
**Change :** The levy was withdrawn.



# WAH KYA KAHEN !

Asso. Edr.

## LEANING OVER BACKWARDS TO SUSTAIN NEO-COLONIALISM !

India has gone too far to accommodate the neo-colonialist powers of the West. The *naukershahi*-Congress rulers of comprador India have gone absolutely overboard in carrying out the Structural Adjustment

Programme of the IMF, WB and WTO. In fact, servile bureaucracy inherited from British colonial days can be said to have gone berserk in adjusting to the neo-colonial dictates of the West. ■

Customs duty rate currently applicable on many of the 5,000-odd items are below India's committed rate to the WTO.

	Current Tariff*	WTO Rates
Organic Chemicals	15-45	77.5
PTA/DMT <sup>1</sup>	30	118.0
Sugar <sup>**2</sup>	0	150.0
Misc. Chemical Products	35	77.5
Paper & Paper board <sup>3</sup>	25	92.5
Machinery & Mech. parts <sup>4</sup>	25	51.0
Inorganic Chem.	35	77.5
Hot-rolled Steel coils <sup>5</sup>	30	70.0
Computers	25	60.0

\* Basic customs duty + special customs duty of 5%

\*\* Tariff from March 9, 1994

### Note :

- Policy : Duty at 25% since 1996.  
Impact : Dumping. The Anti-dumping Authority has recommended imposition of final duties, but it is still to be implemented.
- Policy : Duty down to 0% from March '94. No changes so far.  
Impact : Despite a stock of IOMT, imports continue to depress margins for manufacturers. Payments to farmers are getting delayed.
- Policy : Duty reduced from 65% earlier to 20% in 1996.  
Impact : Affected investment sentiments. Imports depressed prices. ITC Bhadrachalam expects losses this year.
- Policy: Imports at zero duty for infrastructure and refinery sectors.  
Impact : Domestic players have lost out on orders. BHEL has lost Rs. 700-Rs. 800 cr. worth of business in the past one year.
- Policy : Tariff reduced from 30% last year to 25% now.  
Impact : Made India more attractive for dumping. Put pressure on local selling prices, affected manufacturers' profitability.

## INFORMATION FACT SHEET VARIABLE COST OF LIVING

What Rs. 1000 is worth in the metros and minimetros

1.	Mumbai	1,000.0
2.	Delhi	1,226.3
3.	Pune	2,135.6
4.	Coimbatore	2,441.9
5.	Kochi	2,616.8

(Source : Outlook, 11.5.98)

## INFORMATION FACT SHEET PROVISIONS OF ANTI-DOWRY LAW

### Section 498A of IPC

- : Empowers a woman to get her husband and his relatives arrested for cruel behaviour.
- : Offences are non-bailable. Bail can be granted by a magistrate only after the offender has been booked.

### Dowry Prohibition Act

- : If a woman dies mysteriously within seven years of marriage, the husband or his relatives can be arrested after investigation.
- : Husband and his relatives can be jailed for upto three years if they drive a woman to suicide. ■



## THE VICIOUS NEO-COLONIAL CIRCLE OF FDI

It will be noticed that the Neo-colonialist West invests about three-quarters of its total FDI in the Top Ten from amongst the Developing Countries. In other words, the FDI is always made IN CONCERT so that it is lumped together and concentrated upon a few recipients. The FDI from Western countries is thus used to reinforce each others' pursuits, so that the recipient countries are unitedly brought to their knees.

Secondly, the West has its bunch of favourites : Mexico, China, Malaysia, Argentina, Indonesia and Brazil have been targeted in all three years 1991, 1994 and 1997.

There are second favourites also : Venezuela was sixth in 1991 and tenth in 1997. Poland was ninth in 1994 and fifth in 1997. Chile, tenth in 1994 and eighth in 1997.

Thirdly, amongst the least favoured of the most favoured, may be

mentioned : Thailand, fifth in 1991; Hungary eighth in the same year and Turkey tenth; Peru fourth in 1994 and Nigeria eighth in the same year; and finally India ninth in 1997.

China has been the greatest beneficiary of Western largesse,

Argentina and Indonesia nearly \$ 10 billion.

Needless to add, all these countries have been completely ruined by the FDI from the OECD Countries.

We may hierarchically place the FDI in perspective. Obviously, the cheapest for the recipients are the Government-to-Government grants carrying 0% interest. Next are, Loans at concessional interest rates of one or two per cent, with a holiday period

to start with. In the next tier fall Government loans at market rates varying from 6 to 15%. In the fourth and the costliest category, we may place FDI or private capital transfers, which are almost never done at less than 20 per cent yield to the donor country. In short, FDI investments double themselves every three-and-a-half years, without any further augmentation, provided remittances out, or withdrawals, are prudently staggered.

Thus, all the 6 countries that were in the Top Ten in all

3 years; the 3 that were in the Top Ten for 2 out of 3 years; and the six that featured in only 1 out of the 3 years, making 15 developing countries in all, have been sucked into the Debt Trap. All of them have to borrow more and more in order to repay their old debts (Large scale rescheduling of debts has already occurred in L. America and S. E. Asia in last two years)

All except China, which has not allowed the exchange value of its currency to be determined by the debt-givers ! Thus, it continues to draw at the highest rate from world finance capital, but insists on national control over FDI, and on joint ventures into which most of the FDI is directed, and on other national safe-guards.

**FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT FLOWS TO THE TOP TEN  
RECIPIENT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (in \$ billion)**

RANK	COUNTRY	1991	COUNTRY	1994	COUNTRY	1997
1.	MEXICO	4.7	CHINA	33.8	CHINA	37.0
2.	CHINA	4.3	MEXICO	11.0	BRAZIL	15.8
3.	MALAYSIA	4.0	MALAYSIA	4.3	MEXICO	8.1
4.	ARGENTINA	2.4	PERU	3.1	INDONESIA	5.8
5.	THAILAND	2.0	BRAZIL	3.1	POLAND	4.5
6.	VENEZUELA	1.9	ARGENTINA	3.1	MALAYSIA	4.1
7.	INDONESIA	1.5	INDONESIA	2.1	ARGENTINA	3.8
8.	HUNGARY	1.5	NIGERIA	1.9	CHILE	3.5
9.	BRAZIL	1.1	POLAND	1.9	INDIA	3.1
10.	TURKEY	0.8	CHILE	1.8	VENEZUELA	2.9
	FDI TO TOP TEN COUNTRIES	24.2		66.1		89.0
	TOTAL FDI OF INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES	32.61		86.85		123.09
	SHARE OF THE TOP TEN (%)	74.2		76.1		72.3

receiving as much as \$ 74 billion. In the second place is Mexico, which has received nearly \$ 24 billion to be followed by Brazil about \$ 20 billion; Malaysia about \$ 12 billion and

### UNPREDICTABLE FLUCTUATIONS IN THE SHAPE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT FLOWS, POST REFORM, IN \$ MILLION.

	1993	%	1994	%	1995	%	1996	%
A. Direct Investment	341	79	586	14	1,314	27	2,133	49
RBI Automatic Route	42	10	89	2	171	3	169	4
SIA/FIPB Route	238	55	280	7	701	14	1,249	29
NRIs	61	14	217	5	442	9	715	16
B. Portfolio Investment	92	21	3,649	86	3,581	73	2,214	51
C. Total (A+B)	433	100	4,235	100	4,895	100	4,347	100



For instance, India's total foreign debt has reached the wonderful figure of \$ 92 billion, where interest and amortisation charges are presently hovering around \$ 4 bln. per annum! (*Economic Survey*, 1996-97, p. S-72). As we have already shown in *MK*, Nov. 1995, p. 98, India has already paid off nearly \$ 77 bln., upto 1995, in Debt Servicing. It is presently

repaying to the tune of \$ 4 billion per year. In addition, it is losing enormous amounts annually in outward remittances of profits, royalties, technical fees, etc. on the cumulative FDI of the neo-colonial powers.

Overall, for the developing countries, the neo-colonialists have piled up trade deficits, devaluations of national currencies, excessive

interest rates and adverse terms of trade in such a vicious manner that the poor are losing to the rich over \$ 50 billion per year, apart from \$ 500 billion that the poor are forced to give up annually on account of numerous other blockages imposed by the West. (See Back Covers of *MK*, Sept 97, July/Aug 97, and Nov 97) ■

## IN MEMORY OF P. RAJAN WARRIER

Those were the emergency years. A National Emergency (1975-77), which has come to pass as the darkest chapter in current Indian history. It was a time when the police force of the entire country had become a mighty empire in itself. Men in uniform were seen using their extraordinary powers without any restraint. They were moving about with search warrants in their hands; apprehending innocent people on any pretext.

This is a tale of an old man who takes on the might of the entire state and its police machinery single-handedly; in his struggle to live down the shocking memory of horrid cruelty committed on his hapless son. It was March 1, 1976. A police van screeched to a halt at dawn, in front of Kozhikhode regional engineering hostel of Kerala. An engineering student P. Rajan was taken away under the suspicion that he was a Naxal activist.

Was he really a Naxal activist? After he was taken into custody the boy was never to be seen again. The only son of his parents, P. Rajan had to stand the cruelty of the police raj on that fateful day. When his father Prof. Eachera Warriar, was informed about the incident on the same day by the college principal, father did not

know what was in store for him. He remained under an illusion that his son's zeal for penning down revolutionary poems might have been responsible for his arrest. He would be let free after an initial enquiry. His parents did not suspect any more than that. But when the father set out in search of his son, the boy could not be traced. The police kept studied silence. Those were the days when the police did not entertain any complaints, least of all against themselves. Father therefore decided to approach the persons in authority. He wrote to the President, to the members of Kerala Assembly. He met the Chief Minister K. Karunakaran and Congressman A. K. Antony. But to no avail.

The very day the emergency was lifted, Prof. Warriar approached the Kerala high court with a *habeas corpus* writ. In desperate efforts to catch hold of at least the dead body of his son. The police averred that they had never arrested Rajan. Karunakaran who had returned to power a month ago reiterated the negation in the Assembly. But the Principal of Kozhikhode College of Engineering confirmed P. Rajan's arrest. A co-student Joseph Chali's evidence, went against the establishment. When he claimed to

have seen Rajan being tortured to death in the Kakayam police camp. Despite the intensive searches made for months, the body of P. Rajan could not be found.

The government was cornered by the new evidence of Rajan's arrest. Karunakaran had to resign. And the police officials involved in this matter were sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Though they were later to go scot free on an appeal. The Court awarded Rs. six lakh by way of compensation to the Warriar family. The father did not want the money but his endless battle had been pursued for his only son. He set apart the entire sum to build a Critical Ward in the general hospital of Kochi. Even there, the aggrieved family was not to get solace of any sort. Since the then Kochi collector, known to be a Karunakaran supporter, tried his best to block the progress of this project. The struggle had to be continued.

The Critical Ward of general hospital, Kochi — built in memory of P. Rajan stands testimony to the fierce battle, which the father had to fight for his lost son in a 'democratic' country like India.

Has the government learnt anything from Rajan's martyrdom? How many more Rajans must die before the people of India can be sure of finding justice? ■

## FINALLY PROPERTY ENDS UP IN COURTS !

M. G. Ramachandran died in December 1987, leaving a will, that remained unexecuted for a decade. As MGR had no legal heir, the MGR Memorial Charitable Trust was set up to manage all the property with the

executor as the sole trustee. Due to the inability of MGR's trusted counsel, to carry out his duty efficiently, Janaki Ramachandran's brother, Narayanan's son-in-law, M. Rajendran, was made the executor of the will.

According to the will, MGR left a major portion of his property to a Home for Speech and Hearing Impaired Children. The Studios were willed to AIADMK, provided 80 per cent of the party remained intact. In case of the split, it would go to the Home.



As the party split, the Home became the main beneficiary. Other beneficiaries included Janaki Ramachandran and, after her, Nirmala (wife of MGR's adopted son, Ravindran and Rajendran's sister); Radha Gopalkrishnan (MGR's adopted daughter); Narayanan's daughters — Geetha Madhumohan; Sudha Vijaykumar and Janaki Sivaraman. Janaki Ramachandran died in July 1996 and problems cropped up between Rajendran, the executor of the will, and the five other beneficiaries.

Two cases were filed against Rajendran, in the Munsif's Court. The main issues were :

- The demarcation of the estate as MGR had not drawn the map to scale.
- The centre of the dispute is, about the shares of that portion of Estate that is not mentioned in the will, which includes Servant's quarters, the cattle shed, the generator room and the kitchen.
- Vijaykumar, Sudha's husband and Janaki's brother's son-in-law, along with other beneficiaries, claims

ownership of some structures in the estate, which Rajendran has refused to part with.

• Vijaykumar has also accused Rajendran of not executing the will in its original shape and delaying the probate of the will for four years when it should have been executed within six months as per MGR's will.

• Rajendran is being accused of taking donations from individuals and institutions when MGR wanted the

Home to run from his property alone.

• The dispute reached its height, when the speech and hearing impaired children were not allowed to go through the main gate for over an hour.

Due to the varied reasons of the dispute, the administration of the school is badly affected and now, both the parties want the Court to adjudicate. ■

PROPERTY WORTH OVER Rs. 50 CRORE IS ADMINISTERED BY THE MGR TRUST			
SR. NO.	PROPERTY	AREA	VALUE (in Rs. crore)
1.	Ramavaram Estate (MGR's House and adjoining fields)	6.5 acres	10.0
2.	Sathya Gardens in Saligramam	7.5 acres	4.5
3.	Sathya Studios in Raja Annamalaipuram	5.0 acres	36.0
4.	MGR Memorial	2.5 grounds	1.0
5.	MGR Market at Alandur (5 buildings)	3.0 grounds	0.1

(Source : India Today, 27.4.98)

## JAYALALITHA'S SHENANIGANS

*Mankind* has regularly been reporting Jayalalitha's shenanigans, be it the case of a lawyer being beaten up by her goons (*MK*, Jan-Feb '98, p.

30), or the TIDCO disinvestment case (*MK*, March '98, pp. 29-30), or the cases registered against her and their status in the special court (*MK*, April

'98, p.32).

The following table gives detailed information on the cases filed against her.

### CASES AGAINST JAYALALITHA

**COLOUR TV CASE :** Allegedly received Rs. 8.53 crore as kickbacks in 1995 from several TV manufacturing companies for purchase of 45,302 colour TV sets for village community centres. Case in special court.

**TANSI LAND CASE :** Allegedly misused her official position to acquire government land in 1992 for Jaya Publications, of which she was a partner, causing a loss of Rs. 3.51 crore to the state. Court has refused to discharge her from the case.

**PLEASANT STAY HOTEL CASE :** Misused authority to grant exemption from Hill Area Development rules to the hotel in Kodaikanal in 1994. Charge-sheet filed in Sept '97 and trial on cards.

**MEENA ADVERTISERS CASE :** Waived Rs. 2 crore rights' fee due to the government from Meena Advertising Agency, sole agents for the 1995 SAF Games. Investigation still on.

**COAL IMPORT CASE :** Caused loss of Rs. 6.5 crore to the state in a 1993 deal for import of 20 lakh tonnes of coal for the state electricity board. Investigation continues.

**DISPROPORTIONATE WEALTH :** Allegedly acquired over 100 properties besides jewellery and other assets worth over Rs. 66 crore. Case before special court.

**GRANITE QUARRY LEASE CASE :** Allegedly took Rs. 39 crore for granting quarry licenses to private parties. Investigation going on.

**TIDCO DISINVESTMENT CASE :** Allegedly gave favours to local industrialists, causing a loss of Rs. 28.29 crore to the exchequer.

**OTHER CASES :** CBI is probing a \$ 300,000 "gift" she received from an unknown source in '92. Besides, she allegedly did not disclose income of Rs. 1.04 crores in '93-'94. Charge-sheeted in January.

(Source : India Today, 4.5.98)



Until now Jayalalitha has made at least 70 attempts to stall the judicial process against her and her cohorts. Of the eight cases filed against her, the special court has so far framed charges in three — the Pleasant Stay Hotel case, the disproportionate wealth case and the colour TV scam case.

In the colour TV case the judge has ruled that the oral and documentary evidence gathered during the investigation and produced in court, is sufficient to frame charges against the accused in respect of an offence alleged. The charges have thus been framed under the IPC section 120-B (criminal conspiracy) read with Sec 13(2) and 13(1)(d) and (c) of the Prevention of Corruption Act and also under IPC sec 109 (abetment) and 409 (criminal breach of trust).

However, Jayalalitha and her

cohorts have got a brief respite as the special court judges could not proceed with the trial against them. A stay granted by the Chennai High Court which has reserved orders on a batch of writ petitions filed by Jayalalitha and others, challenging the constitutional validity of the appointment of special judges. To prove the invalidity of the judges, she hopes to get Chief Justice of the high court, M. S. Liberhan transferred. Liberhan supposedly cannot declare the appointment of the special court as contra-constitutional because he was the one who had cleared their appointment in the first place.

Jayalalitha had also hoped to play a political trump card by pressurising the BJP government, but the BJP is riding on a popularity wave after the

5 N-tests and the other political parties know that trying to topple the Central government at this moment will affect them adversely, so nobody is interested in what Jayalalitha has to offer.

For now then, Jayalalitha's only hope lies in the transfer of Justice Liberhan because if he is not transferred then her conviction is bound to happen before the end of the year.

Recently, another AIADMK minister of the Vajpayee cabinet has resigned. R. K. Kumar, the Minister of State for Revenue, Banking, Insurance, has cited his diabetic condition for the resignation, though the real reason behind his resignation may remain a mystery. R. K. Kumar is the third AIADMK minister to resign in the last two months. ■

## SECURITIES SCAM — SIX YEARS HAVE GONE BY TO YIELD NOTHING !

Every magazine, every month or every week reports the discovery of one or more scams. Sometimes certain scams catch the public eye and are much-talked about but with unerring consistency, none of the scam-accused are punished and the money involved is almost never recovered. The scams only help in bringing down some government and the opposition party garners some political mileage.

The Bofors scam is one that people remember and every non-Congress government or party promises to solve the case and reveal the names of the recipients of the kickbacks. (That everybody knows who's involved is a different matter altogether).

However, the point is that Bofors is only a 64-crore scandal, whereas, the Securities Scam, which everybody seems to have forgotten and nobody is interested in solving, involved a much larger amount. The amount involved could be anywhere from Rs. 5,000 crores to Rs. 80,000 crores.

The scam was the result of "Harshad Mehta's phenomenal bull run, propped by the hundreds of crores

of rupees that he helped himself to from the State Bank of India and others." (*Times of India*, 27.4.98). So

INFORMATION FACT SHEET				
YEAR	DEFENCE EXPENDITURE			
	(In Billion Rs.)		(as % of GDP)	
	INDIA	PAKISTAN	INDIA	PAKISTAN
1991-92	163.47	76.96	2.65	7.14
1992-93	175.82	89.10	2.49	7.42
1993-94	215.00	91.10	2.65	6.45
1994-95	232.45	101.85	2.44	6.09
1995-96	268.56	115.25	2.44	5.91
1996-97	294.98*	127.44	2.33	5.64
1997-98	320.00**	134.02	2.20	5.13

\* Revised Estimate  
\*\* Budget Estimate

(Source : *Outlook*, 4.5.98)

when the whole nation was "going gaga over Manmohan Singh's handling of the economy, news of the scam burst on April 23, 1992." (*Indian Express*, 25.4.98). However, Manmohan Singh in true Congress *naukershabi* fashion "dismissed the scam as a 'system failure.'" (*Ibid*).

The Reserve Bank then set up the Janakiraman Committee while the Narasimha Rao government set up the

Joint Parliamentary Committee to probe the scam which finally ended with the statute to form a special court, set up to try the scam offences speedily and to appoint a custodian to take charge of seized assets, but till today neither the banks nor the financial institutions have recovered a single paltry rupee. The special court has disposed of precisely one case. It involved one lakh rupees and all the accused were acquitted.

We have mentioned earlier that the amount involved in the Securities Scam was anywhere between Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 80,000 crores. The sum under litigation is however Rs. 2,662 crore after netting off duplication and eliminating the huge amounts written off by some banks, many of whom like Standard Chartered Bank

withdrew their cases. Over half the litigation relates to Harshad Mehta and the rest to Hiten Dalal and all the other accused. Cases involving Harshad Mehta amount to Rs. 1,445 crores, of which the amount involving ANZ Grindlays, State Bank of India and National Housing Bank (NHB) is Rs. 1,271 crores and that involving State Bank of Saurashtra adds Rs. 174 crores. The amount involving Hiten



INFORMATION FACT SHEET		
SMALLER TOWNS HAVE FEWER RICH !		
INDIAN SOCIAL PROFILE		
A study Conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER)		
THE POOR		
Annual Household Income = Rs. 22,500 (1994-95 prices)		
		Percentage of Households
1.	Metros & other towns with population above 2 mln.	16.6
2.	Towns with population of 1-2 mln.	26.8
3.	Towns with population of 500,000-1mln.	28.8
THE MIDDLE CLASS		
Annual Household Income =Rs. 22,500 - 70,000		
		Percentage of Households
1.	Metros & other towns with population above 2 mln.	56.4
2.	Towns with population of 1-2 mln.	56.2
3.	Towns with population of 500,000-1mln.	55.4
THE UPPER MIDDLE AND THE RICH		
Annual Household Income = Above Rs. 70,000		
		Percentage of Households
1.	Metros & other towns with population above 2 mln.	27.1
2.	Towns with population of 1-2 mln.	17.1
3.	Towns with population of 500,000-1mln.	15.8

Dalal is Rs. 1,316 crores (Standard Chartered Rs. 839 crore, Canfina Rs. 375 crore, Canara Bank Rs. 102

One bank, Standard Chartered, had claimed that it lost over Rs. 800 crore. At that time the Reserve Bank

had liquidated Bank of Karad Ltd. and Metropolitan Co-operative Bank Ltd., while the Bank of England had shut down Mount Bank (owned by an NRI), on the assumption that these banks had a hefty chunk of the scam change.

Now, Standard Chartered has withdrawn all the cases filed against these banks. The CBI has not questioned the top brass of Stanchart and "now it has been established that Stanchart's allegations against the above-mentioned banks had no foundation and it had knowingly and illegally entered into an agreement with broker Hiten Dalal, allowing him to run its treasury for a 15 per cent assured return. Stockbroker Bhupen Dalal has even filed a case charging that Stanchart had lost nowhere near the Rs. 850 crore claimed by it, but that the money had in fact gone back to the bank." (*Times of India*, 27.4.98)

The custodian appointed under the Act, to sell and encash shares attached during 1992 has not done anything in this regard, whereas he could have recovered a major chunk of the money from the blue chip scrips.

Meanwhile, after six years, the key players in the securities scam are now unavailable. In case of the CBI, they have been transferred; the foreign banks have removed most of their top officials, sending them off with hefty and unquestioned termination packages; only the junior officials are being made scapegoats of the scam. Several of those involved have even passed away. These include former chairman of the SBI, M. N. Goiporia, its deputy managing director K. L. Khemani who handled treasury operations, its chief vigilance officer R. N. Kamat, as also the mysterious death of former National Housing bank chairman M. J. Pherwani and former Bank of Karad chairman C. R. Kanade. Even the CBI's chief investigator DIG S. G. Ghade, passed away in an accident while the former UCO bank chairman is seriously ill.

Finally, despite all the cases against him, Harshad Mehta has re-emerged as a big time market operator while many innocent victims of the CBI roundup have had their careers destroyed with little chance of obtaining justice in clearing their names. ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET					
A. CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION AND IMPORTS (in Mln. Tonnes)					
	1985-86	1990-91	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97
Production	30.17	33.02	32.24	35.17	32.90
Consumption	42.91	51.77	56.53	58.74	62.82
Imports	15.15	20.70	27.35	27.34	33.91
B. IMPORT BILL (in Rs. Crores)					
	1985-86	1990-91	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97
Crude	3,687	6,118	10,316	11,517	18,538
POL	1,274	4,660	7,522	12,578	15,634
Total Import bill for petroleum	4,961	10,778	17,838	24,095	34,172

(Source : Outlook, 6.4.98)



## ANDHER NAGARI LUCKNOW MEIN KUSUM RANI !

In less than a year after coming to power in U.P., the BJP government is in disarray. The ruling party has in-house problems in the country's most influential state which has sent 58 BJP MPs to the Lok Sabha only a couple of months ago. The centre of attack has been the Chief Minister, Kalyan Singh. Who has seen the senior party leaders moving around with well-documented dossiers against the Chief Minister of their own party ? But in the same BJP where discipline and unity have been the buzz words, the party legislators are going public on the state of affairs within the organisation. Kalyan Singh has been accused of keeping party members in

the dark on day-to-day functioning; neglecting the actual work of governance; promoting intra-caste feuds within the party and showering extraordinary favours on corporator Kusum Rai at the expense of the party.

Kusum Rai has come to be referred to by journalists as the "most powerful woman in Lucknow." Since out of over 200 plus wards in Lucknow city, her corporation ward Rajajipuram alone sprang into importance unduly, when a largesse to the tune of Rs. 8 crore was bestowed upon this ward by the Chief Minister Kalyan Singh for its development work. Kusum Rai accompanies the Chief Minister on

official trips. Her meddling in large scale transfers and postings has caused deep concern in the BJP state unit. Recently five BJP legislators put in a memorandum against an executive engineer, whom the concerned minister sacked only to reinstate at the call of Kusum Rai. Has the Chief Minister gone overboard in projecting this lady ? Or is this just another stick being used by disgruntled party legislators to get at him ? Immediately after Kalyan Singh took over as the Chief Minister, Kusum Rai's husband, was appointed as OSD in the Information department and she was allotted a staff car. There are long queues seen outside her house of officials and legislators seeking favours. One therefore wonders if this can be regarded as "character assassination of the highest order" as the Chief Minister prefers to call it ! ■

## CHHABRIA'S DOWNFALL

### I. CHHABRIA'S DOWNFALL

- **Dunlop's** net profits today is one third of what it was in 1989, and its units in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu are shut down.
- **Shaw Wallace** has posted only Rs. 34 lakh net profit in 1997 whereas it was Rs. 9.39 crore in 1989.
- **Shaw Wallace's** sales have dropped by 8 per cent in the past one year.
- **Mather & Platt's** profit now is one-thirty sixth of what it was nine years ago.
- **Gordon Woodroffe's** sales have plummeted 40 per cent in a decade under Chhabria.
- **Hindustan Dorr-Oliver's** net profit has been reduced to a quarter after Chhabria' takeover.

### II. CHHABRIA CHARGE-SHEET

- **FERA** : Siphoning off Rs. 70 crore under the garb of investments in six Guwahati-based letter-box companies, to be squirrelled away to the credit of M. R. Chhabria abroad. P. L. Narsimhan, former Director, Finance, was arrested and summons have been issued to Chhabria.
- **Income Tax** : Taxmen believe that over Rs. 130 crore has been siphoned from the company. Funds parked in tax shelters were encashed through brokers. Between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 per case for liquor were paid in cheques for sales promotion and taken back as cash.
- **Department of Company Affairs** : In an inspection, Dunlop was found to have left doubtful debts, acquired shares without proper approval, and delayed depositing provident fund dues and transferring unpaid dividend.
- **Directorate of Revenue Intelligence** : Orson Electronics and Chhabria charged with under-invoicing imports.
- **Central Bureau of Investigation** : Charges against Chhabria for criminal conspiracy and fraud. Also, facing charges under the Prevention of Corruption Act in the Rs. 20.8 crore Bank of Maharashtra cheating case.
- **Hong Kong Court** : A petition against Chhabria challenges his stated claim of ownership of 37.8 per cent of SWC shares that gives him control over the liquor conglomerate.

(Source : India Today, 18.5.98)



# WESTERN CULTURE REDEFINES ITSELF

Vinayak Purohit

## I

The Westerners, meaning thereby basically, White, Christian Europeans, partly of the cannibalistic Neanderthalic stock, are very strange fellows. It is obvious that they are of a very low intellectual level, since they assume that everyone else in the world is blind, ignorant, foolish and gullible. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, which has accumulated as a floodtide since 1492 the Westerners think no end of themselves. They really believe that they provide the paradigm, the ideal, the acme, the model, the last word, in civilised behaviour.

They must be absolute idiots ! Let us look at the entire, total, holistic picture ! Let us divide their activities into two broad categories :

### THE MOST HEINOUS, BARBARIC CRIMES PERPETRATED BY EUROPEANS AGAINST THE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, HAVE BEEN:

- The Genocidal massacre of 70 million Amerindians, as estimated by Fidel Castro in his welcome address to Pope Paul II, or 90 to 110 millions as estimated by *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973 edition.

- The killing of over 85 million real Indians by British imperialism between 1765 and 1947 in Famines of Purchasing Power that mirrored the regime of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation, and Drain of Wealth that was imposed upon India, as estimated by both, William Digby in *'Prosperous' British India*, 1901, and Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1943.

- The toll of 20 million lives taken by European slave-traders, operating in the Triangular Trade across the Atlantic from the 16th to the 19th centuries, as estimated recently by the same Fidel Castro in the speech cited.

- Many millions of indentured labourers were killed off in the last 150 years. They belonged principally to India and China. After the hypocritical Abolition of Slavery in the latter half of the 19th century these "indentured labourers" were inducted into the colonial economies of the Caribbean countries (Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, Guyana, the Banana Republics of Central America); Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, etc.); and Asia (Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, etc.).

- The countless lives, no doubt lost, due to the forced narcotics drugs traffic imposed upon China and publicised as Opium Wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60. Let us particularly note that the Maoris were being hunted down till 1910 in New Zealand, that Dayaks and other tribals were being murdered in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea till the Second World War, that Zulus, Rwandans and other tribals were being butchered by European imperialists in Africa and Afghanistan till the 1920s and 30s.

- In all, atleast 250 million non-Europeans have been devoured by White Christian Europeans over the last five centuries of capitalist conquest and imperialist occupation.

### WHERE IS THE SMALLEST EVIDENCE OF NON-BARBARIC BEHAVIOUR BY WHITE CHRISTIAN EUROPEANS FROM 1492 ONWARDS ?

The White Europeans need to be re-educated. But no rehabilitation programme can begin without the admission of guilt by the criminals. There is no evidence of any such process of rethinking being undertaken by the Europeans ! They are, on the contrary, proclaiming everyday, at every opportunity, from every nook and corner of the world, that they are the

most civilised, the most cultured, the greatest people on earth.

The Bible may provide for Confession by Sinners, but the West does not believe in confessing to its horrible crimes. The rich countries of the North are still dominant over the South and are extracting tribute from the latter at the rate of \$ 50 bln. per year in the 80s and the 90s.

The European White Christians, being of Neanderthalic stock possess cannibalistic proclivities. They have devoured millions of Europeans in the course of the last few centuries as well.

- The first Concentration Camps of the modern era were instituted by British imperialism against the Dutch Boer population of South Africa at the end of the last century. These concentration camps were developed on an enormous scale by Hitler and Stalin in the 30s and 40s of this century. Six million Jews, and an untold number of gypsies, and millions more from the conquered peoples of Europe, perished in Hitler's concentration camps. The number killed off by Stalin in his Gulag Archipelago or Forced Labour Camps in Siberia, exceeded six million.

- Aerial strafing and bombing of civilian populations was also pioneered by British imperialism in Afghanistan and Somalia in the 1910s and 20s. This practice also was intensively cultivated by all combatants during the Second World War. It is impossible to estimate the total civilian casualties due to air-raids from 1939 to 1945. At Hiroshima and Nagasaki alone, in August 1945, several lakhs of human beings were converted into nuclear dust.

- Apart from the toll taken by concentration camps and aerial bombing, the number of casualties on land and sea in the course of just the two World Wars of 1914-19 and 1939-45, may be estimated at several millions.

- The White Christian Europeans are still at it in 1998. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the Kosovo district of Serbia and elsewhere in the Balkans, ethnic cleansing is proceeding apace and mass graves are being regularly unearthed.

We do not know exactly how many Europeans have been killed by other Europeans in European battlefields over the last three or four centuries. Of



course, it is a very good thing, since the Europeans are thinning their own ranks and therefore, have become less of a menace to the non-European peoples of the world !

However, since I am a non-European and do not belong to the Neanderthalic stock, I do not like this gory spectacle of internecine warfare being carried on by Europeans even amongst themselves. **Of course, if I was assured that the Europeans would dispose off each other, to the last man, woman and child, my objections to their current ways and dispositions may not be very emphatic.** Because if they really eliminated themselves, quite successfully, I may not mind too much, but the danger is that the Europeans may not all die at the end of their internal quarrels. Many may survive and continue to menace the rest of the world ! This is the real difficulty ! Therefore, we of the non-European world, belonging to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America must evolve strategies that would render the Europeans, toothless, clawless and impotent.

**I would personally advocate large-scale sterilisation and systematic euthanasia or mercy-killing for them.**

However, just at this moment of time, we may not have sufficient means to enforce the above programme of sterilisation and euthanasia, therefore we must bide our time and leave "the final solution" to a later date. In the meantime, let us harp on the horrible European record of human rights violations since 1492 when Columbus reached the Caribbean islands.

## II

In the above paragraphs we have clarified the salient features of the overall situation. We should now like to follow up with "kindling the fire" in individual cases. Let us take a few typical small-scale and individual examples.

● For quite some time now, the White Christian Europeans, particularly in their new-found territory of USA have been busy producing **monster school children**. Just two months ago, in Jonesboro, Arkansas, two schoolboys, aged 13 and 11, positioned themselves strategically and sounded a false fire alarm. As their classmates and teachers poured out, they took aim and fired, killing four girls and one school teacher instantly, and injuring several more. The older boy of 13 had been jilted by a little girl, who was amongst the four killed on the spot. Since the two culprits are being treated with kidgloves as juvenile delinquents, all the details are not being released to the media. Therefore, the identity of the girl who made the fatal mistake of turning down the advances of the 13-year old monster, is being kept under wraps. Anyway, both boys will undergo a prolonged trial and will be out on parole, to be sure, within 2-3 years.

● In a parallel case, in an Oregon School, a 15-year old boy, who was expelled just the previous day for bringing a gun into the school, entered the school cafeteria and killed one school fellow whilst injuring a few scores more. It was later found that before leaving home, the boy had killed both his parents. Perhaps, even this juvenile will be out on parole within the next two-three years.

● There are several other notable cases of monster school children running riot in the classrooms of American schools. Two schoolgirls and a boy were convicted recently for running a prostitution and drugs ring in a New Jersey school.

● About paying "their debt to society" and coming out

on parole, bail or being released after serving their term in prison, the best joke was perpetrated by the highly cultured and civilised *London Times*. They contracted to pay £ 70,000 (or @ Rs. 66 equal to £ 1, over Rs. 46 lakhs) to Mary Bell, a convicted child murderess, who had coolly killed four-year-old Martin Brown and three-year-old Brian Howe in 1968 when Mary Bell was 11 years old. Mary Bell had never expressed the slightest remorse for her deed and in fact went on record to state that she thoroughly enjoyed doing the dirty upon helpless little things. Mary Bell emerged out of prison, having served her term, in 1980 and the *London Times* management claims that Mary wants "her side of the story to be told." The parents of the little boys killed, were not amused by the claims made by the *Times* and demanded action against the journal ! What are the bourgeois courts of justice going to do ? Mary Bell has already made a down payment on a luxury home that she is acquiring from her *Times*' earnings !

● Perhaps the *Times* or some other venerable paper of the Establishment will offer similar sums to the two British nurses, Deborah Parry and Lucille McLauchlan, who have just been pardoned by the Saudi King at the intervention of Tony Blair, the British PM. Deborah Parry had stabbed her Australian colleague, Yvonne Gilford 13 times, and Lucille McLauchlan has aided her. Apparently, it was a torrid lesbian affair that had turned sour. The two nurses had been arrested in 1996 and had been sentenced to death, and to eight years imprisonment and 500 lashes, respectively. The lashes were never administered.

Now nurse Deborah Parry is free to enter into more lesbian relationships in London. Let us hope that they will not all result in murders of the paramours.

The behaviour of the Australian brother of Yvonne Gilford was characteristically "penal colony Australia." Under the '*diya*' option available to him in Saudi Arabia, the brother had opted for a financial settlement of \$ 1.2 mln for not demanding the death penalty for Deborah Parry. He has not yet received this amount from the lawyers of nurse Deborah Parry, but the brother hopes to receive the sum very soon after the *London Times* or its equivalent has paid the English nurse enough to publish "her side of the story."

The British press, Tony Blair, the Saudi King, the Saudi law of *diya*, the Australian brother, all of them have come out very creditably and very honourably from the entire affair. **WE CONGRATULATE THEM VERY WARMLY !**

In fact, it's a moot point as to who comes out with greater credit ! Are the nurses to be congratulated for having a lesbian affair, for stabbing 13 times, for subsequently successfully mounting a sympathy wave campaign and for having access to Tony Blair and for making the whole wonderful deal ? The nurses' solicitors and lawyers who acted as middlemen in every aspect of the murky affair ? The Saudi King for being so large-hearted ? The *diya* law of Saudi Arabia which allowed the Australian convict brother to compound murder for money payment ?

I think that every aspect of this affair deserves detailed study. Every management institute in the country, especially those at Bangalore and Ahmedabad, Delhi and Calcutta, not forgetting Hyderabad, should formulate thick Case



Studies on the subject and in fact, a dozen decent Ph.D. dissertations should be written on the subject.

● Whilst on the present topic, we may as well include the complicated Gucci affair. It seems that the Guccis are not only famous in Italy as a fashion house, but also as mafia operators. The boss Gucci divorced his wife some years ago, whereafter, the woman began consulting a medium and a witch. In the meanwhile, Gucci had also reduced the alimony amount to \$ 90,000 per year (i.e. Rs. 38 lakhs) which was resented by the ex-wife. The resentment was carried to the extent of murdering the ex-spouse! This creature, in order to seal her ties with the divorced lady, actually hired hitman to kill boss Gucci. This has been admitted by the medium and the case is now before the court. What kind of judgement can be expected? Will the court find "capitalist greed" guilty? Will the practitioners of witchcraft be found guilty? Will the availability and deeds of hitmen attract opprobrium?

● The Justice and Law ministers of Belgium have been forced to resign and the entire police and judiciary departments have been reorganised, following the three-and-a-half hour escape last week from jail custody of the murdering paedophile Trudeu. This true representative of European culture had kidnapped six young girls and the bodies of four had been dug out of the compounds of houses owned by Trudeu in Brussels. It was with remarkable ease that this champion of human rights and intellectual property rights had walked out of his prison. He was a little lazy and therefore fell once again in police clutches after a three-and-a-half hour chase.

● Three US youngsters aged between 16 and 17 years in Haines City, Florida, wearing ski masks, went on a one-hour shooting rampage killing a woman in a car and wounding seven others, including five relatives who were gunned down during a family reunion. (*Times of India*, 3.5.98)

● In a separate incident earlier, a 14-year-old student Andrew Jerome Wurst opened fire on a school dance in rural Pennsylvania, USA, killing a teacher and wounding two other teens. The teenager opened fire in a dance hall where some 250 students had gathered for the middle-schools' graduation dinner and dance. (*Times of India*, 27.4.98)

● Acquiring a gun in USA, especially in the American south is very easy and parents believe that, "teaching boys the art of shooting is a process that strongly binds parents and children and forms their character."

Texas is called gun country in the US. Statistics show that more than 160,000 people in the state of 18 million inhabitants have a special licence that allows them to carry a concealed weapon in public.

"In 1995, there were 21,600 cases of murder or deliberate manslaughter in the United States. Of this, the number of killings in which guns were used hovers between 15,000 and 16,000 per year. Studies show that there were 8.2 violent crimes per 100,000 in the US and the highest regional rate was in Washington, with 65 murders per 100,000 inhabitants." (*Times of India*, 2.5.98)

● "Hundreds of demonstrators placed 5,285 pairs of empty shoes at the entrance of the Smith & Wesson gun company during a silent protest against gun deaths in the

United States. The shoes represented the number of children and teenagers killed by gunfire in a year. Separate protests were also held in front of other gun factories (*Times of India*, 14.5.98)

● In Jerusalem, Israel, two insurance companies were ordered to pay \$ 85,000 to a man paralysed in a car accident, so that he can obtain the services of prostitutes, since he is unable to have a normal sexual relation due to the accident (*Times of India*, 25.4.98)

● All of us know that science fiction author Arthur C. Clarke had admitted to indulging in paedophilic activities in a newspaper interview to British journalists, though later he has retracted. Obviously, Clarke was under the influence of liquor when he had met some British journalists.

● In another instance, Nobel prize winning scientist Daniel Gajdusek, was released from prison after serving a year in jail for sexually abusing a teenage boy he brought home from a research trip to Micronesia. The 74-year old scientist had pleaded guilty in February 1997 to two counts of child abuse. (*Times of India*, 29.4.98)

● Victor Cousin, a French philosopher of the early 19th century, had coined a phrase, *l'art pour l'art* or art for arts' sake. "The phrase expresses the belief held by many writers and artists, especially those associated with Aestheticism, that art needs no justification, that it need serve no political, didactic, or other end." (Merriam Webster's *Encyclopaedia of Literature*, 1995, p. 74)

Two artists in London, Anthony-Noel Kelly, 42, and Neil Lindsay, 25, took the phrase to heart and claimed that they were demystifying death with the casts of human anatomy, when they were arrested and sentenced to prison for stealing body parts from the Royal College of Surgeons.

"Police raided Kelly's studio in south London and found casts of a head and various feet, and moulds of horses' legs and other animal parts ...found human remains in plastic bags and slices of an upper arm in a plastic box at the home of a female friend of Kelly.

"Further remains including a human head and torso were dug up from a field next to Romden castle, the family estate in Kent, southeast of London." (*Times of India*, 5.4.98)

● An estimated 40,000 prescriptions per day are being written by doctors in the US for the new impotence pill, Viagra. The \$ 10-a-pill, Viagra is set to gross more than \$ 5 billion a year for Pfizer the manufacturers, in the United States alone.

"The first oral pill to treat impotence, ...Viagra does not directly cause erections, but affects the response to sexual stimulation ... The demand is so heavy that urologists are now establishing separate Viagra hours." (*Indian Express*, 23.4.98)

● "A Canadian artist had sex with a customer while she painted a picture for him and while others watched ... Angela Marshall, who lives in Los Angeles, said she planned to admit buyers to the gallery, one at a time, and paint a picture while they were there having sex.

"A small picture would cost 25 pounds or 42 dollars (approx. Rs. 1,680) and require oral sex, a medium-sized picture with full sex at 50 pounds (Rs. 3,350), and for a large painting, at 75 pounds (Rs. 5,025), 'anything kinky.' Other customers could pay to watch through a door." (*Indian*



Express, 19.4.98)

● An Indian, one Bipin Shah, settled in the US is hunting for his estranged second wife and two children and has offered a \$ 2 mln. bounty. Shah had married Ellen Dever in 1985, after a brief office romance, divorcing his first wife of 19 years in the process. Shah had migrated to the States in 1958 at 19 in awe of "white culture" with \$ 100 and a scholarship, and had worked his way to a \$ 60,000-a-year salary as executive vice-president at the Philadelphia National Bank.

In 1993, Ellen and Shah got an amicable divorce under the terms of which she got a \$ 600,000 house, some \$ 140,000 in support and alimony each year, plus all expense for his daughters. In return he got visitation rights.

However, in 1996, Shah sold his company Gensar, for \$ 200 mln. and consequently demands from Ellen for more money started. She demanded, "\$ 43,000 because the girls would like a swimming pool for themselves and their friends ... \$ 9,289 for a vacation, \$ 5,239 for a new chest of drawers for Sarah, \$ 6,379 for new wall paper in the girl's bathroom and \$ 1,224 for a new TV stand for Genevieve." (*Indian Express*, 5.5.98)

Their relationship grew from bad to worse and Shah claims that Ellen "confessed to an affair and then asked him to go back to India and ride camels." (*Ibid*) Why camels, and not horses, or asses, or elephants, one wonders!

Last year, when Shah filed for full custody of his children, Ellen sold the house, pocketed \$ 90,000 in cash, wired \$ 420,000 into a Swiss bank account, fled with the girls and completely disappeared.

● Another fallout of the Clinton-sex scandal is that the First Couple is no longer in the millionaires' group. "In 1997, the couple had adjusted gross income of \$ 569,511, mostly a product of Mr. Clinton's \$ 200,000 annual salary and \$ 281,898 in royalty income from Ms. Clinton's 1996 book *It takes a Village* about child-rearing, according to their income tax returns."

"In 1996, their gross income was \$ 1,065,101, of which \$ 742,852 was by way of royalties from Ms. Clinton's book.

"The Clinton's have a huge personal financial burden ... their legal bills from various controversies were listed at \$ 3.2 million in mid-February and continue to rise because of the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal." (*Times of India*, 15.4.98)

● Paul McCartney, the ex-Beatle, is one of the richest people in Britain and he tops the music millionaires' list with a net worth of £ 500 mln.

The Spice Girls have become Britain's top pop earners with 54.3 million pounds last year.

Annie Lennox is the only woman musician to make it to the music millionaires' list. She shares the 41st spot with, among others, Oasis brothers Liam and Noel Gallagher, who are each worth 25 million pounds. (*Times of India*, 20.4.98)

● The UN is facing a financial crunch, due to defaults by many countries. One of the major defaulters is the US, which owes \$ 1.7 bln. to the UN. If it does not pay up atleast a part of this due it could lose its vote in the General Assembly. The total debt owed by all member states was \$ 2.4 bln. at the end of 1997.

Under Article 19 of the UN charter, any member state

that has a debt equalling two years of dues may no longer vote.

Of the \$ 1.7 bln., the US owes \$ 1 bln. for peace keeping operations, \$ 670 mln. for the UN budget and \$ 29 mln. to the International Court. (*Times of India*, 12.4.98)

The US especially believes in International Law & Order and Justice!

● Another misbehaviour, though on a much smaller scale, was carried out by Peter Graf, Steffi Graf's father. He was recently freed from prison. "He served just over half a jail term of three years and nine months because it was unlikely he would commit further crimes.

"Peter Graf was convicted in January 1997 of evading \$ 6.7 million tax on his daughter's earnings. By that time he had already spent 472 days on remand, a period deducted from the jail term." (*Indian Express*, 30.4.98)

● The illegal export of AIDS-infected blood was stopped by the Austrian government. The AIDS infected blood was meant to be sold to hospitals in India and China.

"The Austrian authorities were unable to come to a definite conclusion that the tainted blood products have not reached the two Asian countries."

Instead of an apology and efforts to make amends for the horrendous crime, all that the Austrian health minister Walter Fabian had to say to the Austrian media was that, "with high probability it (HIV-infected blood) is not gone into export. But as far as the Austrian market was concerned, health minister Hore Hostach has assured that the defective blood has not come to the domestic market." (*Times of India*, 20.4.98)

● All the major powers of the world want India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), so that only the "favoured five" can possess a nuclear arsenal. On the other hand, "the US nuclear weapons programme costs \$ 35.1 bln. annually — to maintain nuclear weapons and to clean up its human and environmental after-effects.

"Stephen I. Schwartz, director of the research effort undertaken by Brookings Institution said, official figures do not show the true cost, because the cost is allocated under different heads, thanks to the secrecy surrounding the programme.

"The total cost of the nuclear weapons since the inception of the programme in 1940, ... has been \$ four trillion or \$ 4,000 billion, with the 1996 dollar as a base, according to a Brookings book *Atomic Audit* ... the continuing environmental clean up is expected to cost hundreds of billions of dollars." (*Times of India*, 24.4.98)

\$ 4 trillion is Rs. 16,000 abja!

● Germany's People Union (DVU), a right-wing extremist party, has secured the biggest ever victory in Germany's history in a key state election.

The party is backed by a millionaire publisher from Munich. The main thrust of the party's propaganda is against foreigners. The extreme rightists targeted their attack on Germany's nine million foreigners for "stealing" jobs at the cost of the local population. (*Times of India*, 29.4.98; *Indian Express*, 30.4.98)

● Sir Crispin Tickell, an environmentalist from England with a host of other qualifications, dropped the following gems of wisdom in an interview to the *Times of India*:



"There is no such thing as a developing country. The categories of 'developing' and 'developed' are very artificial. ... the gaps (between the Western World and most other citizens of the world) will remain because of what I call, the Five Horsemen of the Apocalypse — human population increase, land degradation and accumulation of wastes, pollution of oceans and rivers, depleting biodiversity and climate change."

"I identify three pressure points — first, the increasing number of refugees; second, diseases like TB; and third, food security. **But I also say that there is no thing as food security; there will always be shortages.** (*Times of India*, 4.4.98)

● After years of apartheid, South Africa calls itself free and has a black President to show for it, but the crimes and discriminations against blacks continue. The Nazis had to face trial at Nuremberg, but the Afrikaners have gone scot-free and have only the Truth and Reconciliation Committee to contend with.

\* A fortnight ago, a 11-year old child was brutally murdered by a white farmer.

\* 35 million blacks protested against the slow reforms in the country.

\* Blacks hold only 8 per cent of the nation's top jobs.

\* In 1996, the number of black students at universities in Pretoria was 4,788 as against 19,425 whites. The number of black teachers in Cape Town was 141, as against 1,395 whites.

\* The average income of the whites is \$ 17,060, that of blacks is \$ 3,005.

\* "The blacks were disappointed that only 30,000 whites emigrated between 1994 and 1996. They would like more to leave." (*Indian Express*, 2.5.98)

● A lawsuit was filed against shoemaker, NIKE, for mistreating Asian workers. "The class action suit filed alleged that the world's leading maker of athletic shoes has lied about abusive and dangerous workplace conditions affecting its 450,000 workers in Asia. Nike has 22,000 US employees, but uses overseas contractors for much of its productions ..... Vietnamese, Chinese and Indonesian employees are forced to kneel before supervisors and are routinely struck with shoe soles for disciplinary reasons ..... Nike workers are exposed to toxins and carcinogens, forced to work overtime, and paid substandard wages." (*Indian Express*, 23.4.98)

● In Britain, colour is often a factor in crimes committed against non-white people.

"Black and Asian people in Britain get no justice for crimes committed against them because of the colour of their skins, or get convicted for crimes they did not commit because of the colour of their skin, or get longer sentences than White people for identical crimes.

"A number of studies conducted over the past eight years have found that Black people in Britain are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police without a cause ..... the studies also found that ethnic minority members convicted of crimes are liable to get much longer sentences than White people for an equivalent crime ..... Often no concessions are made for first-time offenders ..... also a larger number of Black people have died in police custody

or while being 'restrained' by the police.

"One case that focuses attention on how British justice fails its ethnic minorities is that of black teenager Stephen Lawrence, whose murderers have not been caught and convicted. Lawrence, a high school student with ambitions of becoming an architect, was stabbed to death as he waited for a bus in south London in 1993. Five years after his death his killers are still free. What is even more amazing is that five named and identified White youths are widely accepted as having committed the murder, they have never been convicted.

"Police officers investigating Stephen's murder : (1) Failed to treat it as a 'racist attack' despite the fact that a friend who was with Lawrence witnessed the attack, and said that they had been attacked by five White youths. (2) They concentrated their enquiry on trying to establish that Lawrence was involved with gangs or had links with crime : in short working with the stereotype that young Black men are prone to criminal activity. (3) Although the names of the five youths were making the rounds of the local community, and members of the public approached the police with information, they failed to question them or search them as would be normal when police are looking for suspects ..... The five White men, have been caught on surveillance cameras discussing ways of killing Blacks and demonstrating the right way with kitchen knives.

"What underlines the unbelievable lack of will on part of the British criminal justice establishment to repair the damage is the speed with which they got a conviction in the case of one high-profile murder of a White youth, Richard Everitt, by a group of Bangladeshis ... On the night of Everitt's death, police charged into the local Asian Centre and picked up anyone they could find, including Badrul Miah. They questioned upwards of 300 Asians ... Miah was convicted for 'taking part' in Everitt's murder, but not of dealing the fatal blows. The judge effectively said that Miah was being made an example of : this is what happens to you when you attack a White boy.

"The following men were also attacked because of the colour of their skins. Their killers and attackers walk free :

Michael Menson : A 29-year-old musician was burnt to death by four White youth.

Ali Ibrahim : A 21-year-old Sudanese student was stabbed through the ear in Brighton by a White man.

Manish Patel : A 16-year-old, kicked and beaten to death by two White youths.

Quddas Ali : He was 17 when he was beaten by eight White men. He survived but was left permanently brain dead.

Mukhtar Ahmed : Survived an attack by a gang of White youth. He has been left permanently disfigured." (*Indian Express*, 7.4.98)

● Three mass graves have been discovered in northern Chile that are thought to contain the bodies of 150 opponents of the former military dictatorship ... the bodies may be those of persons once held at a concentration camp near Pizaquga.

A separate media report claims that "disappeared opponents of the former regime are being held on the premises of the Colonia Dignidad sect. An expert on religious sects who is advising the interior ministry,



Humberto Lagos, said that there was evidence that people who have been missing since 1978 were working on the compound of the German sect." (*Times of India*, 7.5.98)

● South African Parliament has received a grant of \$ 50,000 from Britain to re-write the country's history distorted by White colonial and apartheid rule. (*Times of India*, 9.5.98)

Why are they not paying a similar or bigger amount to India, to rewrite Indian history textbooks ?

● A classic example of White Christian, European proclivity for barbarism is provided by the career of Kurt Waldheim (1918 - ). This Austrian fascist collaborated with Hitler's occupation of Austria from 1938. From 1939 to 1945, this swine carried out anti-semitic and anti-guerilla activities in Yugoslavia. For this he was rewarded the Secretary- Generalship of the UN from 1972 to 1980. Not content, this careerist scoundrel wormed his way into the Presidency of Austria in 1986 and was adorning this office till 1992.

● Israeli researchers discovered, just a little while ago, evidence of extensive collaboration by Swiss banks with the Nazi loot of Jewish gold dentures, bank accounts, art works and properties during World War II. Initially, the Swiss denied any hand in Hitler's crimes but have now been forced to setup a fund of \$ 6 bln. to compensate the victims and their heirs, more than 50 years after the end of WW II.

● Hollywood film magnate, Spielberg was induced by neo-Nazi lobbies in Germany and USA to cinematise and glamourise one Nazi General, Schindler, who apparently saved a few thousand Jews in Denmark, no doubt, in return of hard cash. Schindler's fellow Generals in the Wehrmacht and SS were gassing to death several million Jews in the Holocaust. Hypocrisy is an essential ingredient of free-market capitalism !

## CONCLUSION

Let us now sum up.

We may leave aside the massacres practised upon each other by European Whites, mainly Christian communities. After a hundred years, we may come to the conclusion that this was an unconscious boon conferred by Europeans upon the non-European peoples of the world. We may like to see their total elimination by less gory means, but we can have no fundamental objection to the Europeans killing off each other to the last man.

We may also leave aside all minor incidents of their criminal behaviour.

Let us focus upon their self-admitted major crimes.

- Genocidal massacre of 70 to 110 mln. Amerindians;
- Near genocidal elimination of real Indians by Drain of Wealth, Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation, to the extent of over 85 millions;
- Elimination by slave trade of 20 mln. Africans;
- Destruction of many millions of lives by imports and exports of indentured colonial labourers;
- Forced narcotic traffic upon China, which caused the

● Right now, major sporting events are being organised by the advertising "industry" all around the world. The World Cup of football in France, the Triangular Independence cup of cricket in Sri Lanka, the Wimbledon Tennis Championships in London. It is a gigantic European, White, Christian, in the main, exercise in brainwashing, brain-deadening and mind-numbing, in particular, English and German hooligans are daily being arrested in and deported from France. One French constable is in deep coma after being hit on the head with an iron bar by a fun-loving football fan !

● As we have noted earlier, the intellectual leaders of Latin America, including Nobel Laureates, G.G. Marquez, Pablo Neruda, Octavio Paz, Asturias, Mistral, et al., have been corrupted thoroughly by the concept of globalisation, that they are left with no nationalist or humanist sympathies for their people. Whilst drugs are allowed to freely enter United States, billions of dollars are allowed to be paid to Colombian, Peruvian and Ecuadorian druglords by the American mafia and entire burden of policing the traffic is being thrown on the resource-strapped Third World government. Naturally the resources, are never enough and the American criminal gangs are carrying on merrily, overthrowing and setting-up stooge governments in Latin America.

● Louise Woodward, an *au pair* girl, hailing from the old slaving ports and textile centres of Britain, and serving a part-Indian household in a particularly racist region of America, was convicted of manslaughter of the second-degree for shaking a little baby to death. She has now been freed and allowed to go home by the Massachusetts Supreme Court in response to a terrific racist campaign, unleashed by the White community of her home-town. ■

deaths of several million Chinese.

- The killing of Maoris, Zulus, Dayaks and many other tribal societies of the world between the 16th and the 20th centuries.

Therefore, whenever a Westerner claims to be civilised, we must respond with a loud, sardonic peal of laughter and raise the following questions : SINCE EXACTLY WHICH DECADE OF WHICH CENTURY IS THE OVERALL BEHAVIOUR OF EUROPEAN WHITE CHRISTIANS TO BE CONSIDERED NON-BARBARIC AND UN-HEINOUS ?

TAKING A HOLISTIC VIEW OF THE LAST FOUR CENTURIES WE MUST CONCLUDE THAT THE WESTERNERS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY THE MOST HYPOCRITICAL CRIMINALS THAT THE WORLD HAS KNOWN IN THE ENTIRE SPAN OF 10,000 YEARS OF HUMAN SOCIAL HISTORY.

We may emphasise that the Westerners have expressed no remorse for their deeds, no confession of guilt and rendering of profuse apologies has ever been attempted by the White Christians of Europe. ■



# FEUDALISM

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## International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences

David L. Sills (Editor), Vol.5, The Macmillan Co. & the Free Press, 1968.

Feudalism conventionally denotes the type of society and the political system originating (sic!) in western and central Europe and dominant there during the greater part of the Middle Ages. However, the term is also applied to other societies and systems of government with similar characteristics, in antiquity and in modern times; in the Marxist usage it refers to a type of society and economy characterised by serfdom, generally succeeding the economic systems based on slavery and preceding capitalism.

The word from the Germanic *fehu-od* (from which is derived the English and French *fief*) — that is, “property in cattle” and, later, “tenure” or “property in land” — stresses the importance, in the system of land tenure and the rights and privileges attached to it. Since the seventeenth century, the complex of tenurial and personal relationships and economic, social and political dependencies that centered on the fief have increasingly been regarded as a scaffold of social stratification and political organisation. This view, often reflecting actual political and social problems in eighteenth-century England and France, created the notion of a period dominated by “feudal laws” (Montesquieu) that were comprehensive enough to denote a regime and to dominate and rule a society. The later meaning of the word, although basically rooted in eighteenth-century usage, came to denote, through abuse of language, such social realities as the political predominance of a landholding aristocracy and the exploitation of the small and weak by the powerful. It also came to denote any political

system in which the power of the state was weakened or paralysed by the privileges of the few and made inefficient by the fractioning of political power, or by the opposition of powerful political or economic aristocratic factions.

Historical scholarship since the nineteenth century has brought to light more and more of the variety of economic, social, and political forms to be found in feudal societies at any one time, as well as the changes inevitable in any social and political framework lasting over five hundred years. Nevertheless, some major features do recur, and a certain rhythm of evolution seems to have been common to rather large areas as they reacted to similar economic, social, and political changes. Hence, it is possible to speak about feudal institutions without implying that all aspects of economic, social, and political life predominant in the greater part of the European Middle Ages were always present. Such institutions can also be found in other societies; sometimes they evolve from similar conditions, but often they are isolated phenomena in different frameworks or without the interrelations deemed essential in the European system. (In these cases the term “feudal tendencies” might be a better description.)

Despite the great variety of definitions of feudalism, some minimal common characteristics of a fully developed feudal system would be accepted by most scholars. These include: (1) lord-vassal relationships; (2) a personalised government that is most effective on the local level and has relatively little separation of political functions; (3)

a system of landholding consisting of the granting of fiefs in return for service and assurance of future services; (4) the existence of private armies and a code of honour in which military obligations are stressed; and (5) seigniorial and manorial rights of the lord over the peasant (see Coulborn 1956; Hall 1962).

In the social sector an important element of feudalism is the bearing of arms as a class-defining profession. Here feudalism is distinguished by a relative closing of the social status system in which (for groups dependent primarily on the land) the distribution of goods and services is closely integrated with the hierarchy of social statuses. Within the economic sector feudal government and society appear uniformly to rest upon a landed, or locally self-sufficient, economic base as distinguished from a pastoral, commercial or industrial one. The merchant community, although it may play a significant role in the economy, is essentially outside the feudal nexus. The appearance of certain technological features of government and economy, notably centralised communications and means of large-scale political organisation, serve to undermine the feudal institutions (Hall 1962)

Whatever the variations within the economic, social, or political sphere, perhaps the most important problem in the analysis of feudal societies or systems is the extent to which in any given place we can find these feudal characteristics developing or coexisting in all major institutional spheres. The classical age of feudalism is (outside India, China and Persia — Exe.Edr.) usually dated from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries and located in northern France. Other societies in different historical periods, whether European or non-European, are compared to this northern French society to determine the extent to which feudal institutions and tendencies developed within them.

### Feudalism in Western Europe

The specific features of feudalism were the outcome of the encounter of two types of society, the Romanised (or Slave) and the



**Germanic (or Pastoral).** Their fusion into a new society, the Romano-Germanic, was accompanied by a merging and reshaping of their respective institutions. Neither the German nor the Roman traditions were homogeneous, and throughout central and western Europe they differed according to the strength of the local (often pre-Roman, Celtic) institutions and the effectiveness of Romanisation, on the one hand, and the distance of the new Germanic societies from their earlier, preinvasion habitats, on the other.

At the time of their encounter, both societies were in a state of transition. The late Roman or Romanised West was passing through the profound crisis of a disintegrating empire, a weakening of central power, and a dislocation of the bureaucratic state machinery; the economic breakdown was seen in the diminishing importance of cities as centres of administration and of specialised economic activities, in the process of devaluation, and in the slowing down of the money economy. State and society were groping for new norms of existence. Public authority was delegated to the great landowners, who already exercised some authority over their immediate dependents; economic life was shifting from city to countryside and was concentrated on the larger estates, which tried to achieve autarchy in supplying their needs; insecurity was creating private warrior bands; freed slaves were being absorbed into the peasantry, who lost their status as free men to become the dependent semi-servile "colonate." The Germanic tribes (*Sippen*), through migration and settlement, had loosened or lost their tribal ties. There remained the cohesion of families and of the newer and weaker village communities, which in time came to represent territorial units rather than strong kinship relations. The transition from tribal to state organisation continued in the fifth and sixth centuries, but the lack of a competent administration combined with an extremely low level of literacy and restricted money circulation helped to weaken the traditional units: nowhere was a state structure able to take over and to fulfil its public duties.

The early medieval state, like that of Frankish Merovingians (end of the fifth to beginning of the eighth century), presents, consequently, a juxtaposition of divergent elements of a state and society (hardly ever integrated into a coherent whole). From this point of view, the features associated with feudalism are the direct outcome of a society striving for patterns of organisation and cohesion in a period of declining state power and the disruption of traditional kinship security groups.

The most striking feature of the developing system is the new stratification of society. Roman social hierarchy was far more polarised than that of the Germanic tribes. The latter, although not egalitarian, as some nineteenth-century historians claimed, was basically a society of free men with a charismatic and hereditary chieftainship. The new administrative and military needs had already singled out the royal Merovingian entourage of warriors and officials and had sanctioned their standing by a higher *Wergeld*. At the beginning of the eighth century, however, the permanent need for professional, highly trained military men (mounted warriors) brought about a radical change

in the society. The former peasant-warrior lost his military value. Private bands of warriors, a phenomenon that had its antecedents as much in the imperial bodyguard and in the private armies of the Roman senatorial class as in the ancient Germanic followers (*Gefolgschaft*) of the chieftain, sprang up around the king and local magnates.

**Vassalage.** The nexus between the chieftain and his free followers was taken over by the institution of *vassalage* (although the word itself points to a more humble origin, as "vassal" derives from the Celtic *gwias*, meaning "youngster" or "servant"). Beginning in the early Carolingian period (eighth century), the new institution was integrated into the framework of state and society until it became official, recognised and sanctioned in public law and put to the service of the state. With the tremendous expansion of the empire of Charles the Great and for two centuries thereafter, vassalage as a type of social cohesion became the normal way of assuring not only military service but also public authority. Although the ancient oath of fealty of subjects to the ruler remained, it was felt that it did not sufficiently assure either loyalty or political allegiance. Consequently, an oath of vassalage, more binding and directly linked with the ruler, was demanded from appointed officials. The heads of military and administrative circumscription — dukes, marquis, and counts — became vassals of the king. This new type of relation, which abandoned the charismatic character of the earlier period, was based mainly on the notions of fealty and absolute loyalty, strengthened by the religious element inherent in the oath itself, and it bound the contracting parties in a contractual relation.

The principles of vassalic relations, first applied at the highest state level, spread rapidly to the lower rungs of the social ladder. Magnates and royal officials assured their own standing and the performance of the services of their office by contracting vassals, and the same process continued downward to the simple warrior and local administrative officer. Thus, a pyramidal structure of bonds and dependencies arose, a scaffold of state structure and the state machinery, the apex of which, ideally was the king.

**Economic and social relations.** The economic premises of the new social order were rooted in early medieval economy and grew out of the same social changes that made vassalic relations possible. The weakening of the *Sippe* not only created insecurity but also changed the economic bases of existence. The village community, far weaker than the *Sippe* organisation, could not offer adequate security, and social cohesion took the new form of individuals seeking the protection of the powerful man in their vicinity, drawing both on the patron-client pattern of the Roman tradition and on the Germanic notion of *Grundherr*, the rich and the strong proprietor, whose influence transcended the boundaries of his property and his direct dependents. Such proprietors included ecclesiastical institutions as well as secular lords. The peasants — and often whole villages — commended themselves into the protection of the powerful, relinquishing their property and receiving it back as "precarium" (from *preco*, "to beg for"), a possession (later, hereditary tenure) burdened by certain economic



obligations. Conversely, they received the protection of the establishment or the lay lord. This protection against outside (fiscal, administrative, military, or juridical) pressures not only made the peasants economically dependent but also initiated the process through which he lost his standing as free man and citizen. His dealings with state authority were henceforth channelled through his overlord. In this sense, the king, who combined competences of state sovereignty (often theoretical in the ninth and tenth centuries) and vassallic suzerainty, lost his subjects, whom he could reach only through the mediation of their overlords.

The material basis of the vassallic contract was the fief. This was usually an agricultural territory (but there existed also money fiefs) granted by the lord to the vassal at the "homage" (from *homo*, "man") ceremony when the vassal swore to serve the lord as his "man." At the highest level of the feudal echelon the fief was usually a seignior — that is, an economic and political entity invested with public powers of administration, taxation, and jurisdiction. A seignior might comprise anything from a single village to a large complex of villages. It was the degree of public authority and the degree of immunity from the interference of an overlord which differentiated it from a simple fief and fixed its place in the hierarchy of fiefs in the kingdom. The seignior comprised, as a rule, a large territory where the exercise of public rights was shared in different degrees, by the lord and the men who became his vassals ("subvassals" of the overlord) through **enfeoffment and homage**. Public power became an object of inheritance, since it accompanied the inheritance of the fiefs and seigniories.

At the bottom of the feudal ladder was the simple knight who owed to the overlord his own service and was supported by a fief just large enough to assure him a living in keeping with the standards of his class. Such a fief could coincide with a village or part of it, and its economic organisation was usually described as a manorial economy. The lord of the manor also had noneconomic rights over the tenants on his manor, the most characteristic being the rights of jurisdiction deriving from land tenure.

The movement of commendation, common to all strata of society, brought about a complete transformation of its social stratification and cohesion and finally, of the concepts of the state and its authority. Thousands of links of dependence ran from the apex to the lowest echelons of the society. Their scope, meaning, and aim changed from step to step. Whereas in higher echelons commendation created a professional caste of warriors soon to become the nobility, in the lower echelons it created a class of people serving the lords in different capacities. As long as the service was basically military, the link of commendation created vassalage, which had come to be regarded as the only condition fitting a free man. Lower down, commendation created serfdom of varying degrees, but always connoting economic dependence, social degradation, and exclusion from the community of free men and subjects.

The hierarchic principle of cohesion and dependence was sustained economically by the legal hierarchy of land

and by the fixed relation of men to land. Only where feudalisation did not penetrate the depth of society were there free communities, direct subjects of royalty, and allodial (entirely independent) property. Ireland and Scotland preserved clannish cohesion; Frisia preserved independent communities; in Saxony and parts of Spain there were free men; and German nobility kept allodial property late into the twelfth century. In all other territories all land except the royal domain had the legal status of tenure or dependent possession.

**The main economic feature of the fief was the holder's privilege not to work the land himself but to receive income in kind, money, and work from the peasant population.** The peasants themselves held their land as servile tenures restricted as to payments and services, which varied widely according to the type of servile tenure. But it is a striking feature of the system that the obligations of the peasant were those deriving from his own legal status and that of the land he held. The theoretical symmetry between the status of a man and that of his holding was soon destroyed by marriage and inheritance. A serf might, for example, be the tenant of a "free mansus" (*mansus*, "a unit of family holding"), his duties deriving from his status as serf and the obligations inherent in the free mansus.

**Stabilisation of the system.** Around 1100 in Europe the major features of feudalism began to stabilise and integrate into a coherent politico-economic system. Yet, complete integration was never achieved. Rights of possession, economic privileges, and public authority often remained undefined, consequently competing and overlapping. Starting in the second half of the twelfth century, political theoreticians with legal training tried to describe the institutions of government and society as forming a logical whole. One of the stabilising factors was the general rule linking vassalage with fiefs and their regular, hereditary transmission. Occurring on all levels of the feudal hierarchy, it assured a solid scaffold of social structure. Not only were the simple knight, his immediate overlord, and every lord up to the apex of the feudal hierarchy henceforth concerned with fiefs and seigniories, as pure vassalage links would have postulated, but the family as a whole became a major factor in the feudal mechanism. On the upper level of the hierarchy, that of the great tenants-in-chief of the crown with quasi-state authority, it was the dynasty that counted. Below them, the traditional vassals of the dynasty were often regarded not only as members of the household (*maisnie*) but as a part of the noble lineage (*lignage*). The relations between lords and vassals were often conceived in terms of family relations, and the competences of the lord were not unlike the Germanic *mundeburdum* or the Roman *patria potestas*. The custom of sending the vassals' children to be raised at the court of the overlord strengthened this type of relation, as did the meetings of the vassals in the lord's court in times of festivity, which were held as much for business as for socialising.

**Rise of the nobility.** In the twelfth century in Europe a two-hundred-year-old process of class formation came to an end, producing a class of nobility.



The old warrior class of the eighth century was by then a class pursuing the profession of arms, which assured it a privileged place in society and a major share in political power; moreover, it was a class which could transmit its economic, social, and political standing to its descendants, becoming, consequently, a hereditary nobility. Despite the marked differences within the class itself, differences based primarily on the extent of political power and the control of economic resources, all fief holders regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as the highest class in society.

The ideals of monasticism and warriorship merged into the ideal of the Christian knight par excellence. Chivalry became institutionalised, adopting a military-ecclesiastical initiation rite ("dubbing") and elaborating a code of behaviour and a set of virtues fitting a member of the class. Henceforth, membership in the nobility depended not only on origin but the formal act of "Knighting". The chivalrous virtues and rules of behaviour and the image the class had of itself were perpetuated by upbringing and education. The noble child passed a period of graded apprenticeship, living with a noble family (very often the vassal's overlord) before dubbing, which could be given only by someone who was himself a knight. The introduction of chivalric rites and what became in the later part of the thirteenth century a formal code of chivalrous behaviour made the noble class more exclusive, thus affecting social mobility. The code became, especially after the fourteenth century, extremely formalised and served to exclude non-members who acquired economic position in non-noble pursuits (commerce and banking) and who, by buying fiefs, tried to penetrate the ranks of nobility. It also excluded knights who engaged in commercial pursuits.

While the nobility was guarding its ranks against outsiders, its own internal differentiation proceeded swiftly. The baronial class, in many cases, split into magnates, "greater barons," or *grandes*; beneath them "smaller barons," or *hidalgos*; and below them simple knights. Although social mobility existed, it tended to be rather limited. Marriages and dowries were usually contracted in a closed class market, and marriage with a lower-born noble was regarded with disdain. Local variations always existed — for example, social mobility was greater in England than on the Continent, and German *ministeriales* (sometimes serfs but in any case not nobles) in royal military service were ennobled and could exercise the highest state functions, even at the end of the twelfth century (although Germany at this time was not entirely feudalised). The features and ideals of the nobility that are described above survived long after the class lost its political standing and parts of its economic position or even economic privileges.

**Growth of political units.** As the links of cohesion strengthened, the administrative framework, grouping fiefs and seigniories into larger political units, became clearer. Generally speaking, there were two main lines of development. One was the creation of strong local principalities (Anjou, Normandy, Flanders), which at the turn of the eleventh century succeeded in dominating the different seigniories in their territories, recapturing some of the public authority (control of castles and mints

— in some places a monopoly of the princely dynasty), and often developing princely bureaucratic administrations. This process built up the strong centralised provinces, which during the next hundred years were taken over by the Capetians and became the foundations of the kingdom of France.

The second line was followed by Germany. In twelfth-century Germany, less feudalised than France, public authority was often still in the hands of local princely dynasties with allodial possessions, who exercised their competences not as the king's vassals but, theoretically, as his officials. Their power was strengthened at the beginning of the century when the "quarrel of investiture" weakened the standing of royalty. To create stronger cohesion and forge links of dependence, the crown tried to bring the highest nobility into direct vassallic dependence, in the process resigning to it public authority in the principalities. The principalities, by forging vassallic links with the local nobility were supposed to become well-ordered administrative units directed by the crown. The principalities achieved, indeed, strong governments, but the crown never succeeded in bringing them into a rigid state framework. Germany, especially after the interregnum at the end of the Hohenstaufen dynasty (middle of thirteenth century), was made up of principalities and their rulers (*Länder* and *Landesherren*) within a loose framework of the empire. Legislation forced the emperor to enfeoff noble escheats, which could otherwise have enlarged the royal domain and thus strengthened his position at the expense of the princely class. Finally, the principle of election of the emperor by the imperial electors (*Kurfürsten*) assured their dominance. Consequently, Germany never reached any degree of state unity. On the contrary, the principalities became independent, strongly organised states, with princely power based on authority delegated by the emperor and on the vassallic links obligatory within their territories. In England, after the Norman conquest, sovereignty and suzerainty assured a preponderant power to the crown. Feudal particularistic tendencies, brought to light in the middle of the twelfth century by rival claims to the throne, were quickly checked, leaving royalty in full possession of its powers. In Italy the development followed the lines of Germany, but the place of the principalities was taken by emerging cities, the "communes," which created territorial units virtually independent of the central power.

**The decline of feudalism.** The decline of feudalism was a general phenomenon of European history that owed as much to the economic transformations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as it did to features inherent in the feudal system itself. The economic transformations were the result of the twelfth-century "urban revolution," i.e. rise of Communes — Exe. Edr. The revival of money economy, the renewal of city life with its more complex division of labour, the rise of the new social stratum of burghesses — all proclaimed new needs and new possibilities. They enabled the state to perform and enlarge its functions without constant recourse to feudal services. The new market situation enabled the peasants to accumulate money from the sale of surplus



production and initiated the commutation of manorial services into money payments. The final result was the disruption of the manorial economy and a profound change in the standing of the nobility.

Insecurity decreased in the far better policed states of the central Middle Ages, and the rural population did not depend for its survival or defence on the local magnate. The political power he wielded could be, and was, more efficiently used by state officials. Inherited political power consequently lost its practical and moral justification.

The change in the position of the feudal lord is even more marked when compared with the all-important lord-vassal relations of the earlier period. As already mentioned, the inheritance of fiefs greatly contributed to the solidity of the system. At the same time, it brought with it a notable change in the feudo-vassalic establishment. As heredity was the rule and the renewal of the vassalic oath usually only a formality, the economic element in the relationship overshadowed the personal and intimate elements. Previously undefined and unlimited duties of service were replaced by fixed and measured obligations. Thus, the military service was fixed for 40 days yearly; other aids and services were measured in stereotyped proportions according to the size of the fief. **The fact that from the end of the tenth century a vassal could hold fiefs from different lords created a problem of multiple, often opposed, loyalties.**

The weakening of the ties of dependence in the upper strata of society and the process of dissolution on the manorial level brought about a complete transformation in patterns of social cohesion and state organisation. Different strata of society became crystallised in the pattern of "estates." The estate grouped people of the same social class, who had a similar economic standing and enjoyed the same privileged position in the state in relation to the crown and to other estates. Unlike the former feudal links of cohesion, which were vertical, the new links binding man to man were horizontal. Men joining others of their own class sought assurance and confirmation of their privileged position more than security and protection. A man's standing was no longer described in terms of dependence on a feudal overlord, but in terms of his belonging to a given "estate." The hierarchic pattern continued to exist but as a hierarchy of strata of society rather than a hierarchy of individuals. Moreover there were no formal links of dependence between the different estates. In a sense, all were in direct relation to the crown, and all claimed a share in political power, whether on the national or the local level.

### Feudalism in other areas

**Japan.** Outside western Europe, the greatest convergence of feudal characteristics in the various institutional spheres probably occurred in Japan, where it developed at the end of the twelfth century and persisted in its "pure" form until the Tokugawa regime. Here we may follow Hall's analysis (1962).

The climax of feudalism in Japan seems to have coincided with the establishment of the Kamakura shogunate by Minamoto Yoritomo in 1192. Although

vassalage and enfeoffment may have existed even before the twelfth century, only a small portion of Japanese society was organised around these practices by 1192. In Japan during the **Kamakura period (1185-1333)** the legal government was still centered on the emperor. It operated through the traditional civil administration (greatly weakened) and an expanding system of semipublic domains (*shoen*). Independent of these administrative and fiscal relationships, there were numerous more informal hierarchies based upon clan ties and military allegiances. Military hierarchies tended to form around the local magnates. It was primarily through the development of hierarchies of such allegiances as they came to center upon the office of shogun, or military dictator (or on certain other high military posts), that feudal institutions crystallised.

Yoritomo's importance to the development of feudalism in Japan lay in regularising and extending the practice of pledges or military allegiance combined with protection of landholdings. Yoritomo's authority to appoint *shugo*, or "constables," and *jito* or "stewards," and to interfere in the *shoen* system was based on his assertion of supreme military command in a time of national crisis. Through such appointments and through the increase of legal powers, the feudal nexus in government and society steadily encroached upon the imperial-*shoen* complex, giving rise to a new type of institutional nexus.

At the apex of the state structure military authority gradually overshadowed civil authority, and **during the thirteenth century the balance between civil and military power shifted steadily in the direction of the latter.** Similarly, at the provincial level, military interests gained over civilian as the *shugo* increasingly took on the stature of military governors. Locally, the *shugo* were able to build up their economic support largely through the plural holding of *jito* rights to numerous *shoen*. They used their superior status in the shogunal hierarchy to assert their influence among local *bushi*, or members of the military class. Before long the *shugo* had absorbed many civil administrative powers at the same time that they achieved personal leadership of province-wide military bands, which they organised increasingly on a lord-vassal basis. Below the *shugo* the step-by-step expansion of the *jito*'s land rights among the *bushi* also served to extend the feudal element in Japanese society.

As local *bushi* became *ryoshu*, or landed proprietors, they began to divide these lands among family members or retainers, extending the practice of combining grants of land with ties of military loyalty. The new military bonds forged between *shugo* and proprietary *jito* or between *jito* and vassal families became the basis of their ever-widening feudal system of social and political organisation.

**The warfare that embroiled most of Japan during the middle of the fourteenth century hastened feudal trends in all parts of the country. Under the Ashikaga shogunate (1338-1573) the imperial centre lost all of its effective power.** The shogunate, now located at the very seat of the imperial court in Kyoto, absorbed most of the powers and functions of the civil government, although even now the emperor continued to play a crucial



role as the ritual symbol of sovereignty and the source of the shogun's delegated authority.

In the provinces the key figures were the *shugo*, who by the end of the fourteenth century had developed into true regional overlords, having acquired the combined powers of the former civil and military governors. They held title, under the shogun, to territories the size of entire provinces, serving as the ultimate authority in both civil and military affairs.

By 1500, however, most of the jurisdictional territories of the *shugo* had been broken into fragments and a wave of new magnates of local origin had inherited the pieces. The *shugo* had disappeared and with them not only a generation of *bushi* leaders but also the last remnants of imperial law and civil land management based on the *shoen*.

The end of this relatively "pure" type of feudalism came in Japan with the more centralised Tokugawa regime (1603-1867). Although based on the feudal structures and to some extent perpetuating them, this regime, through its policy of centralisation, in fact froze the feudal institutions, depriving them of vitality and autonomy.

Japanese feudalism differed from the European pattern in several important respects : (1) the continuous importance of the imperial centre in spite of its loss of political function; (2) the weakness, perhaps even total absence, of contractual elements in the relations between lords and vassals; (3) the full, personal, familistic expression of these relations; and (4) the lack of any representative institutions. Nevertheless, like the European pattern, it is a major example of feudalism, since it clearly demonstrated a relatively high degree of convergence of feudal characteristics in the different institutional spheres.

**Russia.** In other societies the extent of such convergence was smaller. The régime of the feudal (patrimonial) principality in medieval Russia was accompanied by a certain immunity from political authority, conferred by private possession of land. The connection became firmly established because of the importance of military functions in local politics in pre-Muscovite central Russia and, later, its national importance in Muscovy. Whenever possession of land was hereditary, the authority connected with it was also hereditary. This was the normal pattern in pre-Muscovite times, and it again became general in the seventeenth century, the nonhereditary *pomest'e* ("benefice" or "military holding") being merely a historical interlude, even if a rather long one. In pre-Muscovite Russia the essential sociopolitical relation was not between lord and vassal but between the *votchinnik* ("patrimonial lord") and the population of his *votchina* ("landed possession" or "patrimony"), which came close to that of ruler and subject. There was no link between the prince's service and possession of land, and although there was hereditary landholding, the prince's service was not hereditary, and subjects were free to have their principalities. Yet, even though the *pomest'e* was not hereditary, there was a connection between military function and possession of land. It was based not on a feudal contract involving mutual fealty between a suzerain and a vassal, but rather on the

absolute sovereignty of the tsar, who, requiring service from any of his subjects, granted a *pomest'e* in return for such service (Szeftel 1956).

Three distinct types of sociopolitical structure are relevant to Russian feudalism : the *votchina* regime, the *pomest'e* regime, and Western feudalism.

The *votchina* regime was characterised by the growth of the manorial power of the lord of the estate over the population labouring on it or merely settled in its vicinity. Such power could be enforced by immunity privileges. The *votchina* estates were owned by political rulers (*pünes*), by private persons, or by the church. Although it represented, to a certain extent, the social aspects of feudal tendencies the *votchina* system did not contain a counterpart to the political aspects. There was no formal political connection between the vassal's service and the control of the land.

The *pomest'e* regime tended to make the control of the land depend on service rendered to the state by the landholder. There was no dispersion of political power in this regime as it grew up in the Muscovite state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The power was concentrated in the person of the supreme ruler, the tsar.

In the standard type of feudalism (which is termed as Western feudalism) some characteristics of both the *votchina* and the *pomest'e* regimes are combined. However, for this type to develop, certain traits which were lacking in either or both of these regimes are essential. Like the *votchina* regime, the standard type of feudalism presupposes the expansion of the manor and the growth of the manorial rights of the lord. On the other hand, like the *pomest'e* regime, feudalism of the standard type is characterised by the conditionality of rights on the land. The control of the land by the lower-class landlord depends of the service he renders to the seignior.

The important point of difference between the *pomest'e* regime and feudalism of the standard type is that while in the former political power is concentrated in the hands of the supreme ruler, in the latter the political authority is usually dispersed. Thus, no lord-vassal relationship of the western European type could develop in pre-Muscovite Russia, no code of chivalry was based on it, and there could be no consistent heredity of functions.

The key to understanding the difference between the Russian and the Western developments is the great migratory and resettlement movement in medieval central Russia. This mobility of the rural population was fundamentally caused by the rapid exhaustion of soil that was not too fertile to begin with and by extensive primitive agriculture. Although the movement produced some feudal traits in Russian life, it was also the source of instability in social relationships. In Russia the shifting local population did not provide the "free servant" with many bases to rely on, and there was no other protection for his liberty than the temporary character of his service and the right of free departure.

**Byzantium.** The constellation of feudal characteristics in the Byzantine Empire was rather different from that found in Russia, centering primarily on the system of the *pronoia* ("providence," "foresight," "care"). To give



lands to a person in *pronoia* is to give lands into his care. In practice it meant that estates were given for administration to high officers of the state or army, to monasteries, and to private persons, as a reward for services. The grants differed from simple donations in that the *pronoia* land was bound to the recipient, the *pronoiaros*; that he received it for a definite period only, usually for life; that he could not sell the *pronoia* estate; and that it was not hereditary.

The system developed under the eleventh-century Byzantine rulers who tried to reduce the power of the military class and to increase that of the civil bureaucracy by demilitarising the administration. This policy clearly reflected the decay of the former organisation of the military-peasant colonies (*themes*). The military commander (*strategos*), who usually served as a governor of a province, was replaced by the *practor*, who had been the supreme justice on the staff of the *strategos*. The *practor*, of course, was a civilian, and thus, the primacy of the military command in the *themes* gave way to the primacy of a civilian administration based upon the new aristocracy of scholars and civilians in the capital.

But the preponderance of the civilian aristocracy in the capital did not lead to a strengthening of the central power in the rural districts. Generals and great landowners outweighed the civilians. The emperors of the Ducas dynasty had already been compelled to give great privileges both to their civilian adherents and to their military or landowning adversaries; with the accession of Alexius Comnenus, 1081-1118, the military aristocracy took over the state. It was under the Ducas that the *pronoia* system was first developed and that Byzantium approached quasi feudalisation. The new class of the *pronoia* owners became liable for military service, replacing the former class of peasant soldiers of the decaying system. The owner of a *pronoia* estate, when summoned, had to appear with a certain number of horsemen, according to the size of the *pronoia*.

Since within the *pronoia* the formerly free peasants became more or less serfs, they came under the jurisdiction of the *pronoiaros*, although this jurisdiction was restricted. The central government, thus, gave up many of its prerogatives including that of direct taxation, and the *pronoiaros* became small rulers, whose estates appeared as little kingdoms within the empire. The crown became more and more dependent on them, which contributed to the weakening of the central government and to the decline and disintegration of the empire (Ostrogorski 1940; Kantorowicz 1956).

In sum, Byzantine feudalism was characterised by the relative predominance of economically independent small estates combined with a growing political decentralisation — without, however, the concomitant development of an over-all system of vassalage, a feudal-chivalrous military class, or special feudal political institutions.

Parallel cases. The Byzantine type of feudalism is found in many other societies, especially in periods of the rise (There is an obvious error in the text, since "rise" has been replaced with "decline"— Exe.Edr.) of

great empires — to some extent at the end of the Roman Empire, in the later Sassanid period in Iran, and in the aftermath of Asoka's kingdom in India. In many cases institutions of this type of feudalism developed when officials abused their rights to collect taxes and turned their offices into hereditary fiefs. In other cases the political traits of feudalism (usually many politically self-sufficient patrimonial units having some interrelations and an orientation toward one budding centre) were more highly developed than feudal economic characteristics. Such cases can be found in China under the Shang and, even more clearly, under the Chou; in ancient Mesopotamia under the Kassites, in Mittani, in the Iran of the Parthian regime, in the *iqta* institution of medieval Islam, and possibly in ancient Egypt.

In none of these cases, however, was there a fully developed system of vassal-lord relations or a full-fledged social organisation of a military-political class. At most, only rudiments of each existed.

### Emergence and demise of feudal systems

In spite of all the differences in their origins and features, the feudal systems of various societies analysed above — and many more could be included — manifest some common characteristics. Perhaps most important is that they played a major role in the development of "high" cultures or civilisations. Feudal systems can be found, even if in varying degrees, in almost all of the great civilisations of the past, where they were central in keeping and developing great traditions under circumstances often inimical to their maintenance.

The importance of this characteristic can best be seen by examining the varying conditions under which feudal institutions develop. One such set of conditions is the partial dismemberment of relatively comprehensive, widespread sociopolitical systems (Hintze 1929; Coulborn 1956). The reasons for such dismemberment may vary greatly: the clash of cultures, the invasions of nomads, or the development of internal contradictions that cause the imperial system to lose its effectiveness and its essential resources. However, the dismemberment is not by itself crucial to the development of feudalism; rather, it is the combination of the dismemberment and the persistence or development of the ideals of a "great empire" and its orientations toward broader societal frameworks among some of the elite groups (such as the church or the new military class) who gain control over the governmental and economic functions and the contradictions between the idea of an empire and the lack of material and administrative positions to administer one. In some cases, such as that of Chinese feudalism, these orientations were developed by active groups that were unable to establish any viable broader system but, nevertheless, developed some vision of such a system. (See EMPIRES).

Within the most feudal systems, ideological orientations to such broader frameworks were of great importance, even if they were only partially institutionalised. Any feudal system is, thus, always characterised by some inherent imbalances in its structure, as it contains more and less differentiated centripetal and centrifugal structures and



orientations. However, the exact location of such institutional imbalances in any feudal system — whether in the economic, political, or cultural sphere — varies greatly.

The demise of the feudal system is predicated on changes in those conditions (i.e. in Mode of Production—Exe.Edr.) technological, political, and economic — that increase the effectiveness of the wider frameworks and that may enable the restoration or the establishment of unitary frameworks and of central powers within them. In less differentiated societies this can give rise to a restoration of patrimonial or imperial systems. In more differentiated

societies — as in western Europe and in Japan — the feudal background made the later transition to modernity easier and more stable, and in some cases, it might have facilitated — after a period of the “estate” system or of absolutism — the development of a relatively pluralistic system. ■

(See also BUREAUCRACY; EMPIRES; MANORIAL ECONOMY; VILLAGE. Other relevant material may be found in EVOLUTION, article on SOCIAL EVOLUTION; KINSHIP; STATUS, SOCIAL; and in the biographies of BLOCH; BÜCHER; FUSTEL DE COULANGES; GIERKE.)

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# INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

## INDIAN MINORITIES

Vinayak Purohit

We may make special note of the following points regarding communal, SC-ST, and linguistic minorities.

- Three of the southern states, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Kerala are linguistically uncentered. Tamil and Telugu, being spoken by 85 per cent of the people of the state; and in the case of Kerala, 96 per cent speak Malayalam. But in the case of Karnataka only about two-thirds of the state's subjects speak Kannada.

- The proportion of Muslims does not coincide with the proportion of Urdu speakers. Thus, quite a few Muslims had accepted that their mother tongue is something else.

- In the case of Kerala, communal and SC minorities exceed 50 per cent of the population.

- In the other states of the south, communal and SC-ST minorities form about one-third of the population.

- West Bengal is one of those states where the SC population exceeds one-fifth of the total. The same is the case in U.P., Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Meghalaya. In Punjab and Himachal Pradesh the SC population is almost one-fourth.

- The tribal population exceeds one-fifth in the case of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and

Sikkim.

- The tribal proportion is from 70 per cent to 94 per cent in the case of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, and Mizoram and in the Union Territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep.

- In the eastern region, Assam is somewhat like Kerala, with a highly diversified and heterogeneous, communal and SC-ST population. However, linguistically, Kerala is unilingual with almost everybody speaking Malayalam. In Assam, less than 60 per cent of the people speak Assamese.

- In the West, Maharashtra is far less unilingual than Gujarat. Less than three-quarters of those living in Maharashtra speak Marathi whilst 91 per cent of those in Gujarat speak Gujarati.

- The case of Jammu and Kashmir is very peculiar. The 1981 Census claimed that 64 per cent of Kashmiris were Muslims. The regional language was admitted to be Kashmiri but less than 53 per cent had Kashmiri as the mother tongue. Most Kashmiris seem to be bilingual, since 24.46 per cent spoke Dogri, 24.74 per cent spoke Punjabi, and 17.03 per cent claim

Hindi as the mother tongue. What is most remarkable is that Urdu was accorded the signal honour of being called Official language of the state, but not even one per cent of the state's subjects spoke the language. How and why the state's census officials allowed the people to give two or more mother tongues remains a mystery, since the number of people who spoke Kashmiri, Dogri, Punjabi, Hindi and Ladakhi exceeded 120 per cent of the population of the state.

- Arunachal Pradesh had about 70 per cent of its people as tribals, who all claim to be non-Hindus. However in Nagaland, 84 per cent were tribals and 80 per cent Christians just as in Mizoram, 94.7 per cent were tribals and 86 per cent Christians. In Lakshadweep, 94 per cent were both tribal and Muslims.

- In short, tribals could be animists in Arunachal Pradesh, Christians in Nagaland and Mizoram, Hindus in Dadra and Nagar Haveli or Muslims in Lakshadweep.

- The Hindi belt (U.P., Bihar, M.P., Rajasthan, Haryana, Delhi, Himachal and Chandigarh) were highly unilingual, particularly, if Urdu is taken to be a variation of Hindi, as it is.



REGION	STATE	1981 CENSUS				1981 CENSUS	
		MUSLIMS	CHRISTIANS	SIKHS	BUDDHISTS	SC	ST
SOUTH	ANDHRA PRADESH	8.47	2.68	0.03	0.02	14.9	5.9
	TAMIL NADU	5.21	5.78	0.01	Neg.	18.4	1.1
	KARNATAKA	11.05	2.05	0.02	0.11	15.1	4.9
	KERALA	21.25	20.56	0.01	Neg.	10.0	1.0
EAST	W. BENGAL	21.52	0.59	0.09	0.29	22.0	5.6
	ORISSA	1.60	1.82	0.05	0.03	14.7	22.4
	ASSAM	(24.56)	(2.60)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(7.4)	(12.8)
WEST	MAHARASHTRA	9.25	1.27	0.17	6.29	7.1	9.2
	GUJARAT	8.53	0.39	0.07	0.02	7.2	14.2
NORTH	U.P.	15.93	0.15	0.41	0.05	21.2	0.2
	BIHAR	14.12	1.06	0.11	Neg.	14.5	8.3
	M.P.	4.79	0.67	0.27	0.14	14.1	23.0
	RAJASTHAN	7.27	0.12	1.44	0.01	17.0	12.2
	PUNJAB	1.00	1.10	60.75	Neg.	26.9	-
	HARYANA	4.05	0.09	6.20	Neg.	19.1	-
N. W. STATES	DELHI	7.75	0.99	6.33	0.11	18.0	-
	J & K	64.19	0.14	2.23	1.16	8.3	-
	H. P.	1.63	0.09	6.20	Neg.	24.6	4.6
	CHANDIGARH	2.02	0.99	21.12	0.10	14.1	-
N. E. STATES	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	0.80	4.32	0.19	13.69	0.5	69.8
	MANIPUR	0.99	29.68	0.07	0.03	1.3	27.3
	TRIPURA	0.75	1.21	0.01	2.67	15.1	28.4
	MEGHALAYA	3.10	52.62	0.13	0.21	21.1	0.2
	SIKKIM	1.02	2.22	0.10	23.71	5.8	23.3
	NAGALAND MIZORAM	1.52 (0.56)	80.21 (86.08)	0.10 (0.12)	0.07 (6.81)	- (0.1)	84.0 (94.7)
THE REST	GOA	(3.75)	(31.76)	(0.10)	(0.03)	2.08	0.03
	D & D	4.46	29.29	0.13	0.03	3.6	12.7
	D & NA	1.87	1.95	0.01	0.18	2.0	78.8
	PONDICHERRY	6.06	8.26	Neg.	0.01	16.0	-
	LAKSHADWEEP	94.64	0.66	-	-	-	93.8
	A & N	8.58	25.58	0.53	0.07	-	11.9
ALL INDIA	YEAR						
	1961	10.7	2.4	1.8	0.7	-	-
	1971	11.2	2.6	1.9	0.7	-	-
	1981	11.4	2.4	2.0	0.7	15.8	7.8
	1991	11.7	2.3	2.0	0.8	-	-

Source for both Tables : (i) Ministry of Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1994-95, pp.180-1 for population of Minority communities by religion and pp.183-5 for Statewise major linguistic minority groups constituting 1% or more of the states / UT's population.  
(ii) *India Reference Annual*, 1977-78, p.10 for communal distribution for Assam, Mizoram and Goa based on 1971 census  
(iii) *India at 50*, Express Publication, p.584 for SC & ST figures for Assam, Mizoram and Goa based on 1991 census.  
(iv) *Manorama Yearbook*, 1998, p.462 for all-India figures for the four years, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991.



REGION	STATES	LINGUISTIC MAJORITY			MINORITY LANGUAGES AND PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE SPEAKING THE LANGUAGE (OVER 1%)
		MAIN LANGUAGE	% OF POPULATION	STATUS OF LANGUAGE	
SOUTH	ANDHRA	Telugu	85.13	R* & O**	Urdu 7.84, Hindi 2.60, Tamil 1.23 Telugu 8.29, Kannada 2.39, Urdu 1.80, Malayalam 1.20 Urdu 9.54, Telugu 8.13, Marathi 3.78, Tamil 3.76, Tulu 3.31, Hindi 1.78, Konkani 1.74, Malayalam 1.60. Tamil 2.39
	TAMIL NADU	Tamil	85.35	R & O	
	KARNATAKA	Kannada	65.69	R & O	
	KERALA	Malayalam	95.99	R&O+ English is O	
EAST	(English is also accepted as official language in all three states of W. Bengal, Orissa and Assam)				
	W. BENGAL	Bengali	86.34	R & O	Hindi 5.99, Santali 2.90, Urdu 2.21, Gorkhali/Nepali 1.31. Telugu 2.31, Hindi 2.28, Santali 2.01, Kui 1.99, Bengali 1.45, Urdu 1.42, Ho 1.00. Bengali 19.44, Hindi 5.34, Bodo/Boro 3.57, Gorkhali 4.62, Nepali 1.71, Lushai/Mizo 1.28, Mikir 1.18, Miri/Mishing 1.00, Oriya 1.00.
	ORISSA	Oriya	82.23	R & O	
	ASSAM	Assamese	59.54	R & O	
WEST	MAHARASHTRA	Marathi	73.62	R & O	Urdu 6.94, Hindi 6.66, Gujarati 2.71, Khandeshi 1.73, Telugu 1.51, Kannada 1.48, Bhili/Bhilodi 1.22. Sindhi 2.15, Hindi 2.13, Urdu 1.80, Bhili/Bhilodi 1.26, Marathi 1.14
	GUJARAT	Gujarati	90.73	R&O+ Hindi is O	
NORTH	U.P.	Hindi	89.68	R & O	Urdu 9.74 Urdu 9.99, Santali 0.2, Bengali 3.01. Bhili/Bhilodi 3.09, Gondi 2.59, Marathi 2.28, Urdu 2.18, Oriya 1.12 Bhili/Bhilodi 4.64, Urdu 2.13, Punjabi 2.12. Hindi 14.6 Punjabi 9.21, Urdu 1.77
	BIHAR	Hindi	80.16	R & O	
	M.P.	Hindi	84.37	R & O	
	RAJASTHAN	Hindi	89.89	R & O	
	PUNJAB	Punjabi	84.88	R & O	
HARYANA	Hindi	88.77	R & O		
N. W. STATES	DELHI	Hindi	76.29	R & O	Punjabi 13.17, Urdu 5.88, Bengali 1.05. Dogri 24.46, Punjabi 24.74, Hindi 17.03, Ladakhi 1.21 Punjabi 5.83, Kinnauri 1.23. Punjabi 41.18
	J & K	Kashmiri	52.73	R=Kashmiri O=Urdu	
	H.P.	Hindi	88.95	R & O	
	CHANDIGARH	Hindi	55.11	R & O+ English=O	
N. E. STATES	(English is the official language in all N. E. States)				
	ARUNACHAL	English	23.39	O	Adi 19.99, Gorkhali/Nepali 7.61, Bengali 7.56, Monpa 5.55, Wanchoo 5.38, Nocte 4.61, Assamese 4.45, Hindi 4.00, Mishmi 3.98, Tangsu 2.74. Tangkhuui 5.54, Thado 4.09, Mao 3.78, Kabui 3.57, Kuki 2.64, Gorkhali/Nepali 2.63, Paite 2.19, Hmar 2.07, Bengali 1.31, Vaiphei 1.12 Tripuri 23.10, Hindi 1.28 Bengali 9.01, Gorkhali/Nepali 4.62, Hindi 2.24, Assamese 1.78, Koch 1.22, Rabha 1.05. Lepcha 7.26, Bhotia 7.00, Limboo 5.81, Hindi 4.86, Sherpa 3.48 Tibetan 1.35. Sema 12.58, Konyak 11.15, Angami 10.49, Lotha 7.74, Chang 3.09, Santam 3.85, Yim-Chungre 3.66, Bengali 3.58, Gorkhali/ Nepali 3.34, Phom 3.25, Hindi 3.24, Khiemnungam 2.28, Naga 2.28, Khezha 2.13, Rengma 2.01, Assamese 1.68, Kuki 1.04. Bengali 8.29, Tripuri 4.23, Lakher 3.30, Gorkhali/Nepali 1.26.
	MANIPUR	Manipuri	62.37	R & O	
	TRIPURA	Bengali	69.59	R	
	MEGHALAYA	Khasi	47.46	R	
		Garo	30.08		
	SIKKIM	Gorkhali/ Nepali	62.57	R & ***	
	NAGALAND	Ao	13.94	R	
	MIZORAM	Lushai/Mizo	77.59	R & O	
THE REST	GOA	Konkani	61.21	R&O+ Marathi=R&O	Marathi 27.12, Kannada 3.41, Urdu 2.81, Hindi 2.09. Marathi 1.07. Gujarati 23.84, Marathi 4.35, Hindi 1.70. Malayalam 5.15, Telugu 4.02. Mahi 15.15. Bengali 24.68, Hindi 18.14, Tamil 14.81, Nicobarese 11.98, Malayalam 10.43, Telugu 9.86, Kurukh/Oraon 3.22, Kharia 1.10, Munda 1.04, Urdu 1.00.
	D & D	Gujarati	94.58	Gujarati & English=O	
	D & NH	Bhili/Bhilodi	68.69	Hindi & English=O	
	PONDICHERY	Tamil	89.18	R&O+****	
	LAKSHADWEEP A & N	Malayalam Hindi	84.51 18.14	English=O R&O, English=O	

Notes : \* = Regional Language.

\*\* = Official Language

\*\*\* = Nepali, Lepcha, Bhotia and Limboo also official language.

\*\*\*\* = Tamil official language in Pondicherry and Karaikal, Malayalam in Mahe, Telugu in Yanam.



# ADDA AT NUKKAD

## Letter from Marianne Hofsten

Nockeby Kyrbev 60,  
S16774 Bromma,  
Stockholm,  
Sweden.

8.5.98

Dear Vinayak Purohit,

Thank you so much for the journal you sent me now several weeks ago. I tried to read it thoroughly, but I must admit that my English isn't good enough to understand it too well. So I gave the paper to a man who lives in the same pensioner's home where I live. He knew Erland and is very familiar with Marx, so I thought he could be interested. And he was very much so. Thank you!

I hope everything is OK with you and Sharayu. I am still remembering with delight the nice afternoon I spent with you both and the delicious fish in a real Indian restaurant.

Sincerely yours,  
Marianne Hofsten

## Letter from Natwar Gandhi and Reply

Natwar M. Gandhi  
Deputy Chief Financial Officer  
Tax and Revenue  
441 4th Street, N.W.,  
Suite 400S,  
Washington, D.C. 20001  
202/727-6083

Dear Vinayakbhai:

Since you have kindly shown interest in me, I have taken the liberty to mail you some recent clippings from *Washington Post* which describe what I have been doing in Washington, D.C.

As you will see from the attached clippings, when I joined the District of Columbia government as its tax commissioner about a year ago, the Nation's Capital was virtually bankrupt. The United States Congress had dismantled home-rule and had put the District under the control of an appointed board. The Control Board

has been running the District since 1995 and will continue to do so until the District achieves four consecutive annual balanced budgets.

The District is well on its way to financial recovery and stability under the brilliant leadership of Chief Financial Officer, Anthony A. Williams. As Mr. William's Deputy CFO for Tax and Revenue, I am happy to have played a part in the District's financial recovery by strengthening its tax administration. The Office of Tax and Revenue (OTR), which I currently head, has nearly six hundred employees. It administers the District's tax laws and collects about \$ 2.5 billion annually. In fiscal year 1997, OTR collected \$ 100 million more in tax revenue than in the previous year. In addition, as OTR increased revenues, we substantially enhanced the District's accountability and taxpayer services. We also cleaned up the District's books, helping the District receive a clean audit opinion on its 1997 financial statements from external auditors. All in all, it has been quite a comeback story, and I am glad to have been part of the team that achieved this remarkable feat.

Unfortunately, I did not get a chance to get together and visit with you the last time I was there. Let us hope that the next time I am there, we will have a chance to get together and catch up. My warm greetings to Mrs. Purohit. When is your next visit to the United States?

26.5.98

Dear Natwarbhai,

I vividly recollect our first meeting in the mid-50s in a restaurant next to the present Princess Street flyover (I believe there was no flyover at that time). You were a member of a literary group, which had been following my contributions to Umashankar Joshi's *Sanskriti*.

I note the details of the progress

you have made along your chosen career path.

Last time we had met in Bombay and you had collected a few issues of *Mankind* from me. I am sending a few more issues of the same.

With warm personal regards,

Vinayak Purohit

## STRUGGLE AGAINST HIGH INDAL HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT, ORISSA

Vadodara  
16.4.98

Dear Friend,

The penetration of all states of India by foreign capital is assuming particularly frightening proportions in Orissa. The Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) has published figures in one of its reports that Orissa is targeted for the highest capital investment (10.5% of the national total). What the CMIE report does not highlight are the struggles against this invasion by outside capital and the repression to which those participating in these struggles are subject to!

Ravi, one of the activists mobilising those affected by the High Indal Hydro Industrial project was assaulted and half of his hair and beard were shaven. The police played the role of mute spectators.

There is a fact-finding report which shows that tribals in 20 villages in the Koraput district will be directly affected by the bauxite mines which are proliferating in this area. Tribals from 40 other villages will be indirectly affected. The report emphasises that bauxite mining will lead to depletion of minerals which help the soil retain water and this will adversely affect the availability of water. Utkal Alumina and Larsen & Toubro's Alcoa projects are letting loose a propaganda barrage about the environmental benefits of aluminium. They are also resorting to repressive tactics to prevent mobilisation of the tribals displaced by these mining projects.



Orissa, like Bihar, is very rich in mineral resources. The annual output is 8 to 10 million tonnes. But the local population has no share in the trade in minerals. From the Tata steel plant in Gopalpur to the mines which have been hit by agitations and judicial stays, Orissa is reverberating with the cries of the displaced local populations.

The Balliapal military range project was successfully thwarted by the agitation of the fisherfolk and agriculturists of 162 villages in that area. On April 4, 1998, there was a meeting to reiterate the opposition to the firing range which was attended by 2,000 local people.

Slogans about the martyrdom of Gajanand Giri were raised. Arun Jena is struggling to keep alive this agitation by mobilising local resources. Jena has participated in electoral politics, mainly as a Janata Dal sympathiser. But he retains his faith in popular agitations because of the lack of action by political leaders and the people's total trust in their own strength. After actively participating in this agitation, the Biju Janata Dal has decided to join the BJP-led coalition at the Centre.

But there are hundreds of rural activists who are genuine revolutionaries.

The struggle against Balliapal military range will prove an inspiration to all those who will be inevitably engaged in a fight against the onslaught of national and international capital upon Orissa.

But now, a new agitational strategy needs to be visualised. The wrath of the local population must be channelised by appropriate research and analysis. Local intelligentsia and sensitive journalists, as well as freedom fighters from the older generation, must come together to intervene when there is repression by the state against an agitation. A NGO — Agragami — has supported the

Koraput struggle at times fighting repression let loose against it.

Cordially  
Medha Patkar

(Source : *Andolan*, (Marathi), May 1998)

## THE STATE GOVT. & THE TAJ GROUP LAND GRABBING AT VELAGAR, KONKAN

Vivek Kudu

Velagar is a small village about 32 kms. from Savantwadi in the Konkan Region of Maharashtra. There are 51 households of Christian, Bhandari and

### ENRON WITHDRAWS FROM NEPAL

The Enron Renewable Energy Corporation had drawn up a proposal to generate 10,800 megawatts of electricity by constructing a dam on the Karnali river in Western Nepal. This electricity was to be exported to India and China. Enron had planned to build an electrical distribution system through the Himalayas to reach electricity to China. This project was proposed to be under Enron's control for 50 years and was to be handed over to the Nepal government thereafter. Experts believe that this project was an attempt to exert a greater control on the shaky Nepalese economy by waving the carrot of foreign capital investment.

Now an official spokesman of the Nepalese government has said that Enron has withdrawn from this \$ 60 billion project.

The World Bank had earlier refused a loan of \$ 17.5 crores to Arun III, a billion dollar hydroelectric project in East Nepal. It should be noted that the World bank had said, while refusing the loan, that the Himalayan kingdom needs small hydroelectric projects on its many rivers.

(Source : *Andolan*, May 1998)

Koli community who have lived peacefully for generations here.

The Taj group happened to earmark this village for their hotel project during one of their aerial jaunts and on July 11, 1996, the representatives of the Revenue Department came to conduct a survey of this village. A member of the Thackerey family is supporting the proposed Taj group hotel project. The people of Velagar resisted this attempt by the state government to acquire their land without giving them any prior notice. On July 22, 1996, Section 144 was imposed and the police lathi-

charged the people who had gathered to oppose the land acquisition efforts. A woman demonstrator was injured and 101 people were arrested. When the people sought the intervention of the court, the district court directed the state government to stop all land acquisition in this area. In spite of this, on 4.12.96 the state government filed a notice to acquire the land. The local people approached the high court with an objection to this notice, which was rejected as the state government has already submitted a caveat. An application against this caveat has been made, but dates are being given in court, and this application is not being taken up for hearing.

The BJP-Shiv Sena alliance which is in power in Maharashtra is retaliating against the people of Velagar by denying them all grants and loans. If the people approach the representatives of the state government for any village level scheme, they are asked to get clearance from the Central government.

The state government has decided to open the Sindhudurg district for tourism. But the development of tourism is going to mean dispossession of the local population.

The construction of hotels on lands which are under coconut and mango groves is going to deprive the local population of their livelihood.

The Velagar Sangharsh Samiti (The Velagar Struggle Coordination Committee) had organised a meeting which was attended by Sanjay M. G. of National Alliance of People's Movements, Rajan Indulkar of Konkan Sangharsh Samiti and ex-MLA Pushpasen Sawant. The villagers of Velagar and Shiroda expressed their resolve to resist the attempts of the Taj group to encroach on their lands with the help of the state government.

(Source : *Andolan*, May 1998)



## THE AGITATION OF THE MAHESHWAR DAM AFFECTED

The Madhya Pradesh government and S. Kumars, a private sector company, have started again the work on the Maheshwar Hydroelectric project in Narmada valley. The farmers affected by this project and other villagers have begun agitations against it. They are organising protest marches in the dam-affected area and are planning a *dharna* at Bhopal. At a huge meeting held on April 3, 1998, the villagers from the Nimad area affected by this project have expressed their determination not to allow the construction of the dam to start.

In January 1998, thousands of villagers occupied the dam for 21 days. After this, the state government stopped work on the dam and announced a total reconsideration of the project. A task force has been appointed and the state government has issued directives to stop land-acquisition, construction of dam walls and electricity cabins. There have been three meetings of the task force to review the whole project. But the state government and S. Kumars have suddenly commenced construction of "safety walls" on this project. This step has led to the agitation by the Maheshwar dam-affected villagers. They plan to stop all work at the dam site. They succeeded in sending back the trucks which were bringing outside labour to the project area. But the company has begun dynamiting activity at the dam site, which is causing extensive damage to the houses in the area.

(Source : 'Narmada Bachao Andolan' leaflet, May 1998)

## THE STRUGGLE OF THE MIGRANT SWEEPER CASTES IN MUMBAI

The sweeper caste takes care of the urban public health by cleaning the drains, public toilets and the roads in the cities. Certain castes from the U.P., Haryana, Rajasthan, M.P. and Gujarat have migrated to Maharashtra due to lack of employment opportunities in their states of origin as well as due to natural calamities and social oppression. They were forced to take up the job of carrying human excreta due to lack of alternative employment. But this has closed all avenues of development to them.

The slogans of liberating the sweeper castes (bhangi) have been given time and again. Many committees have been appointed to study their problems, e.g. Prof. Malkani, Barve and Lad Committees. These have made many recommendations to liberate the sweeper castes from their centuries old and demanding work and to improve their economic, social and cultural status. But all these recommendations have remained on paper.

The Maharashtra government does not give them the certificate necessary for them to claim posts reserved for scheduled castes. This deprives the migrant sweeper castes of educational concessions and job reservations which are available to local scheduled castes. Educated members of the migrant sweeper castes have to hold on to their traditional occupation.

For the last ten years, the *Samata*

*Andolan* (Struggle for Equality) has organised these castes to improve their lot. There have been processions by the sweeper castes migrants to Mantralaya, the seat of the state government, a survey of these castes and publication of its findings, a state-wide camp of activists and a state-level conference of these sweeper castes. On 15th April, 1998, the Samajwadi Janaparishad and like-minded organisations collaborated to organise a *dharna* highlighting the following demands :

(i) The sweeper castes should get the necessary certificates like other scheduled castes entitling them to reserved jobs.

(ii) They should get permanent ownership housing as per the recommendations of the Lad Committee.

(iii) The recommendations of the government-appointed commissions should be made legally binding and enforced in gram panchayats, municipalities, zilla parishads and government institutions.

(iv) The Commission to look into the problems of these workers should be given constitutional status.

(v) The jobs of the unorganised workers from these castes should be legally protected.

(vi) The contract system prevalent among these jobs should be abolished.

A *janadhikar panchayat*, (Forum of Assertion of People's Rights) was held in Delhi on 27-28th April, 1998 and the long-standing grievances of the sweeper community were highlighted from this platform.

(Source : A leaflet of the Samajwadi Janaparishad, May 1998)



# LIHAF

(THE QUILT, URDU)

Ismat Chughtai

Every winter when I pull the lihaf over me, and the shadow it casts on the wall sways like an elephant, with a sudden bound my mind begins to race and scour over the past. What memories revive in me !

I don't propose here to tell you a romantic tale about my own lihaf. Indeed no romance can be properly associated with a lihaf. Come to think of it, a blanket may be less comfortable, but its shadow is never so frightening ... as the rocking shadow of a lihaf on the wall. My story dates from the days when I was very young and used to spend the whole day getting into fights with my brothers and their male friends. I sometimes wonder why the devil was I so quarrelsome in those days. At the age when other girls were securing admirers, I was busy fighting every boy or girl that came my way.

That was the reason why, when Mother went on a visit to Agra, she left me for a week in the care of her adopted sister. Mother knew very well that there wasn't a single child, not even a mouse of a one, to quarrel with in that house. A nice punishment for me ! Well, so it came about that I was left with Begum Jan, the same Begum Jan whose lihaf has burnt itself into my memory and is to this day preserved in it like a scar from a red-hot iron. Begum Jan's poor parents had given her in marriage to the Nawab Sahib because, although somewhat "advanced" in age, the Nawab was a very pious man. No prostitute or street woman had ever been seen in his house. He had gone on the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca himself, and had helped many others to perform this holy service.

But the Nawab had a mysterious hobby. It is common for people to have

a craze for pigeons or for cock fights and so on. The Nawab detested such silly interests. His only pleasure was to have students around him, young, fair-faced boys with slim waists, whose expenses were generously borne by the Nawab Sahib himself.

After marrying Begum Jan, and installing her in his house along with the furniture, the Nawab Sahib totally forgot her presence, leaving the frail young Begum to pine in loneliness.

It is difficult to say where Begum Jan's life begins; at the point when she made the first mistake of stepping into this world, or when she became the wife of a nawab and was tethered to her canopied bed; or when the boys invaded the Nawab Sahib's life and sumptuous dishes and rich sweets began to be prepared for him, and she felt she was rolling on a bed of live coals as she watched from the chinks in the drawing room door and saw the boys in their translucent *kurtas*, their well-formed legs in tight-fitting *churidars*; their willowy waists ... or, does it begin when all her prayers and vows, her vigils and charms failed to move the Nawab ? What's the use of applying leeches to a stone ? The Nawab didn't budge an inch. When this happened Begum Jan was heartbroken. She turned to books. But this too failed. Romantic novels and sentimental poetry left her even more dejected. She lost sleep and became a bundle of regret and despondence.

To hell with all those clothes ! One dresses up in fine clothes to catch another's eye. But here, neither did the Nawab Sahib have any time to spare from the boys to look at her, nor did he let her go visit other people. Ever since she had been married, Begum Jan's relatives had come to visit her, staying for months, while the poor lady

herself never escaped the confinement of her house. Those relatives made her blood boil. They all came to enjoy themselves, eat the rich food that the Nawab Sahib served, and have their winter needs provided for, while she would lie in the cold, feeling chilly even under her lihaf, freshly stuffed with cotton which had been teased out in a fluff. As she turned in her bed, the lihaf threw ever-changing shadows on the wall, but not one of these held any hope or solace for her. Why should one live then?.... Well, one lives as long as life lasts. It was in her stars that she live, and live she did.

It was Rabbu who pulled her back from the brink. And then in no time, Begum Jan's dried-up body began to fill, her cheeks glowed, her beauty burst into bloom. The massage of a mysterious oil brought back the flush of life to her. And the best medical journals, if you ask me, will not give the prescription for this oil.

• • •

When I first saw Begum Jan she must have been forty or forty-two. How elegantly she reclined on the *masnad*, with Rabbu sitting close and kneading her back and her body ! She had thrown a purple shawl across her legs and looked as grand as a queen. I was quite enamoured of her looks. I was happy to sit near her and look at her for hours. Her dark, luxuriously oiled hair was neatly parted, and so immaculately set that not a strand of hair could be found straying. Her eyes were black and her carefully plucked eyebrows were like drawn bows. Her eyes were a little distended with heavy eyelids and thick lashes. But it was her lips, often reddened, that were the most amazingly attractive feature of her face. She had a downy upper lip with the faint suggestion of a moustache. Her hair grew long at her temples. Sometimes watching her face you had the queer feeling that you were looking at the face of a young boy.

Her skin was white and smooth as though someone had stitched it on her body. Often when she uncovered her legs below the knees so that she could scratch them, I would cast sneaking glances to see how they glistened. She had a tall figure and, being well



clothed with flesh, she looked large of build. But her body was perfectly moulded and beautifully proportionate. She had large, white, smooth hands and a well-formed waistline. Well then, as I was saying, Rabbu used to sit with her, scratching her back. She sat for hours doing it, as if scratching the back was one of the basic necessities of life, perhaps even more than a basic necessity.

Rabbu had no other job assigned to her. She sat all the time with Begum Jan, on the canopied bed, massaging her legs or her head or various other parts of her body. It bewildered me sometimes to watch the endless kneading and rubbing. I can't speak for others, but I can say that my body would have disintegrated under so much pounding. And this vigorous daily massaging was not all. On the day Begum Jan took her bath the ritual became more elaborate. God, to think of it! For two full hours before she entered the bath, she would have her body rubbed with all kinds of oils, perfumed unguents, and lotions. That would go on so long that the very thought of it made my imagination race. The doors of her own room were shut, the braziers were lighted, and the massage would begin. Generally only Rabbu was in the room with her. The other maids stood by at the door, murmuring and handing in whatever was required.

The fact is that Begum Jan suffered from a permanent itch. Hundreds of oils and unguents were tried but the poor woman could not get rid of it. The doctors and hakims said there was nothing they could diagnose. The skin lay clean without a blemish. If there was a disorder below the skin they wouldn't know. "Oh these wretched doctors, they are so stupid! Who would believe you have a disease? Your blood, God bless you, is a little heated, that's all." Rabbu says smiling and looks at Begum Jan with her eyes screwed into a slit. As for this Rabbu— she was as dark-skinned as Begum Jan was fair, as flushed in her face as Begum Jan was snowy white. She seemed to glow like heated iron. There were faint pockmarks on her face. She had a robust, solid body, small, nimble hands, a small, taut belly and fat, always moist, lips. Her body exuded a distracting odour. How quick her small, plump hands were! This moment you saw them at Begum Jan's waist and in a trice they were at her thighs and then racing down to her ankles. As for me, I used to watch those hands whenever I sat near Begum Jan, intent on seeing where they were and what they were doing.

Winter or summer, Begum Jan always wore fine-spun Hyderabad lace kurtas, foamy white over her dark coloured pajamas. The fan was kept going as a rule. Begum Jan habitually draped a light shawl over her body. She loved the winter months. I enjoyed staying with her in winter. She avoided exertion. One always found her lying relaxed on the carpet, munching dry fruit, while her back was being scratched. The other maids in the house held a bitter grudge against Rabbu. The witch!

She ate with Begum Jan, was her constant companion and even slept with her! Rabbu and Begum Jan were a topic of amused conversation at social functions and gatherings. There were bursts of laughter the moment their

names were mentioned. Innumerable stories had been coined about the poor lady. She, on her part, never stirred out, never met anyone. It was just herself and her itch, and the world could go by! As I was telling you, I was a small girl at the time I am talking about and quite enamoured of Begum Jan. She, too, was very fond of me. And that is why, when Mother went to Agra, knowing that left by myself in the house I would run wild and start up a war with my brothers, she left me for a week with Begum Jan. It delighted me and Begum Jan alike. After all, she had declared herself my mother's sister.

Where was I to sleep? Naturally, in Begum Jan's room. So a small cot was placed for me next to Begum Jan's bedstead. On that first night, Begum Jan and I chatted and played "Chance" till ten or eleven. Then I went over to my bed to sleep. When I fell asleep Rabbu was still with Begum Jan, scratching her back as usual. The low woman! I thought.

Sometime in the night I suddenly woke up, feeling a strange kind of dread. The room was in total darkness. Begum Jan's lihaf was rocking as though an elephant was caught in it.

"Begum Jan —," I called out timidly.

The elephant stopped moving. The lihaf subsided.

"What is it? —go to sleep—," came Begum Jan's voice, from somewhere.

"I feel frightened—," I said in a scared mousy voice.

"Go to sleep— what's there to frighten you —just say the 'Aayat-al-Kursi.' "

"Okay." I started repeating the 'Aayat-al-Kursi' hurriedly but got stuck in the middle although I knew it by heart quite well.

"May I come over to you, Begum Jan?"

"No daughter, — get back to sleep." This a little sternly. And then I heard two people whispering. Dear me! Who was this other one? I felt even more scared.

"Begum Jan — do you think there is a thief around?"

"Get to sleep, girl — what thief could there be?" This was Rabbu's voice. I quickly pulled my head back under my lihaf and went back to sleep.

By next morning the whole frightening scene had vanished from my mind. I've always been of an apprehensive nature. When I was a child, I had nightmares. Muttering in my sleep, waking up suddenly, and bolting from the bed were daily occurrences. People said I was possessed. The previous night's incident, therefore, quite slipped from my mind. In the morning the lihaf looked absolutely innocent.

When I woke on the second night, I felt as though a dispute between Rabbu and Begum Jan were being silently settled on the bed. I could not make out anything, nor could I tell how it was decided. I only heard Rabbu's convulsive sobs, then noises like those of a cat licking a plate, lap, lap. I was so frightened that I went back to sleep.

One day Rabbu went off to see her son, a perverse lad. Begum Jan had done a lot to help him. She had set up a shop for him, and tried to settle him in a village, but he



was amenable to nothing. For a time, he too took up the service of the Nawab Sahib and received many gifts of clothes from him, but then, no one knew why, he fled and never turned up at the house even to see his mother. So Rabbu had to go to see him at a relative's. Begum Jan was unhappy about that, but Rabbu had no choice.

The whole day Begum Jan was disconsolate. Her body ached at every joint. She didn't want anyone to touch her. She didn't eat anything and was dejected the whole day long.

"Shall I scratch your back, Begum Jan?" I asked with eagerness, shuffling a pack of cards. Begum Jan looked at me intently.

"Shall I? ... Really?" And I put the cards away.

For a while I did the scratching, and Begum Jan said nothing. She just lay quiet. The next day Rabbu should have returned, but she didn't. Begum Jan grew irritable — she drank several cups of tea and gave herself a headache.

Once again I sat scratching her back — smooth like a table top ... I kept on gently scratching. One felt so happy doing something for her!

"A little harder — undo the buttons," Begum Jan told me. "This side — ah me, a little below the shoulder, here — yes — there's a nice girl! — ah! — ah!," she sighed with pleasure.

"Further, this side." Begum Jan could have easily reached the spot with her own hand, but she was making me do it, and instead of resenting it, I felt important.

"Here," she said. "— Oi, — you're tickling me."

"— You! —" and she giggled. I had kept talking to her while I scratched.

"Tomorrow I'll send you out shopping," she continued. "What will you buy? A doll that opens and shuts its eyes again?"

"No, Begum Jan, not a doll. I'm not a child now."

"What are you then, an old woman?" she laughed. "All right, buy a *babua* — make the clothes yourself. I will give you lots of cloth to do it with." She turned as she spoke.

"Fine," I said.

"Here," she took my hand and placed it where she felt the itching. She kept guiding my hand wherever she wanted to be scratched, and I, lost in thinking of the *babua*, went on scratching mechanically while she kept up her chatter.

"Listen, you don't have many frocks left. Tomorrow I'll get the tailor to make a new one for you. Your mother has left some cloth with me."

"I don't want one of that red cloth . . . it looks cheap . . ." I was prattling and I did not notice where my hand had wandered, nor that Begum Jan was now lying on her back, supine. "Oh my . . .!" I hastily withdrew my hand.

"Dear me, child! Watch where you're scratching — you're tearing up my ribs," Begum Jan said with a shy, mischievous smile, making me blush.

"Come here, lie down by my side." And she made me lie down with my head resting on her arm.

"Dear, dear! How thin you are! All your ribs show." She counted my ribs.

"Oo-oo!" I mumbled.

"Oui? — I wouldn't gobble you up, would I? — What a tight sweater! You haven't even put on a warm vest."

I began to fidget.

"How many ribs does one have?" She changed the tenor.

Nine on one side and ten on the other," I said, haphazardly recalling hygiene lessons learned at school.

"Let's see, take off your hand — right — one — two — three!" I wished desperately to escape but she held me tight and pressed me to herself.

"Ouh!" I protested — Begum Jan began to laugh loudly. Even now when I think of how she looked that day I feel quite distraught. Her heavy eyelids had grown heavier, the down on her upper lip darker, and, in spite of the chilly weather, tiny drops of sweat glistened on her lips and nose. Her hands were cold as ice but so soft that I felt as though the skin on them had been peeled off. She had taken off her shawl, and in her thin kurta her body gleamed like dough. Heavy gold studs that had come undone were swinging to one side of her open front. Dusk had fallen and the room was in total darkness. An unknown dread took hold of me. I felt bewildered. Begum Jan's eyes had deepened. I began to weep inwardly. She hugged and squeezed me like a plaything. The warmth of her body drove me to distraction. But she paid no attention, she was like one possessed. And I could neither scream nor cry.

After a while she lay back exhausted. Her face grew dull and unattractive. She started taking long breaths. She is dying, I thought, and jumping up, took to my heels.

Rabbu, thank God, was back in the evening, and as I got into bed still nervous, I quickly pulled the quilt over me to sleep. But sleep wouldn't come and I lay awake for hours.

Why was mother taking so long to return? Begum Jan so scared me now that I passed the whole day with the servants. The mere thought of setting foot in her room was enough to drive me out of my wits. There was no one I could speak my mind to. And what could I say, after all? That I was sacred of Begum Jan, the Begum Jan who, everybody knew, was so fond of me?

Rabbu and Begum Jan had fallen out again, to my ill luck. This had me worried, for suddenly it occurred to Begum Jan that I was too much out of doors in the cold and would certainly catch pneumonia and die.

"Young girl!" she said. "Do you want that my head should be shaved? If anything happened to you, I'd be held responsible." She sat me down near her. She was washing herself in a basin placed before her and the tea was ready on the small table.

"Pour a cup out for yourself, and give me a cup too," she said, drying her face on a towel. "I'll get changed in the meantime."

I sipped tea while she dressed. Whenever Begum Jan called me to her when her back was being rubbed, I would go, but keep my face averted and run back at the first chance. Now when she began changing in my presence the gorge rose in me. Looking away, I kept sipping my tea.



"Oh, mother!" a voice within me called out in despair. "Is quarrelling with one's brothers such an offence that you should cause me all this..." Mother was always against my playing with boys. As if boys were carnivorous beasts who would eat up her dear one. And what boys were they after all! My own brothers and a few of their rotten little friends. But Mother thought otherwise. For her, womankind had to be kept under lock and key. And here I was, more scared of Begum Jan than of all the loafers in the world. I would have run into the street that moment if I could. But I sat helpless.

After she had dressed, Begum Jan went through her elaborate toilet. When the make up was over the warm scent of the perfumed oils she had used made her glow like an ember, and she prepared to shower her affection on me.

"I want to go home," I repeated in reply to every proposal she made. And I started crying.

"Come, sit beside me," she coaxed. "I'll take you to the bazaar — listen to me..."

But I would have none of it. "I want to go home" was my one response to all the toys and sweets that were being offered.

"Your brother will hit you when you are home, you little witch," she said, slapping me affectionately.

"Let him beat me as much as he will," I thought to myself and remained withdrawn and stiff.

"Unripe mangoes are sour, Begum Jan," Rabbu offered acidly. And then, suddenly, Begum Jan had a fit. The gold necklace which a moment ago she had wanted to put around my neck flew into pieces, her fine lace *dupatta* was in shreds, and the neat part in her hair, never for a moment disturbed, was all roughed up. "Oh! — Oh! Oh! Oh!" she began to scream. Her body shook with convulsive jerks. I ran out of the room.

It was a long time before Begum Jan could calm down. When later I tiptoed into the bedroom, I found Rabbu sitting with her, massaging her body.

"Take off your shoes," Rabbu said as she scratched Begum Jan's ribs. Like a frightened mouse I crept into my bed and pulled the *lihaf* over me.

Sr — sr — phat — kitch... In the darkness, Begum Jan's *lihaf* was swaying like an elephant. "My God," I murmured, my voice faint with fear. The elephant leapt inside the *lihaf*, and then lay still. I was quiet. But the elephant was on the rampage again. I trembled from head to foot. I decided that I should gather all my courage and switch on the light at the head of the bed. The elephant rose, agitated. It seemed to be trying to sit on its legs. I heard noises, slop, slop — as if someone were eating something with great relish. Suddenly I understood the whole affair. Begum Jan hadn't eaten anything that day and Rabbu — Rabbu had always been a greedy glutton. Surely something delicious was being gulped down under the *lihaf*. I sniffed the air trying to catch the aroma. Only the warm scent of attar, sandalwood, and henna reached me.

The *lihaf* was swelling again. I did my best to lie still and ignore it. But the *lihaf* began to take on such strange, outlandish shapes that it sent shivers down my spine. It seemed like a huge bloated frog inflating itself and about to spring on me. I plucked up the courage to make some disturbing noises, but no one took notice and the *lihaf* entered my skull and began to swell there. Hesitatingly I brought my legs down on the other side of the bed, groped for the switch and pressed the button. Under the *lihaf* the elephant turned a violent somersault and collapsed. But the somersault had lifted a corner of the *lihaf* by a foot — "Allah!" I dived for my bed!

## ISMAT CHUGTAI (1915-1992)

Born in Badayun, a small town in Uttar Pradesh, into a well-to-do family, Ismat Chughtai grew up insisting she would do what the boys did; she refused, she says, to do embroidery or to play with dolls. Her early years were phased in Jodhpur, where her father was a civil servant. When he retired, the family returned to their ancestral home in Agra. It was there, among the dingy, tortuous lanes and low-roofed houses, that Ismat, experiencing urban middle-class existence, was appalled by its unhealthy meanness, its sham and duplicity. She saw the "hunched, half-consumptive girls who panicked at the flutter of their own heart," and was later to bring them alive on the pages of her sharp, incisive stories. A major early influence was her brother Azeem Baig Chughtai, a well-known humorist and fiction writer. He taught her English and history and later the *Quran* and the *Hadiith* (the Prophet's recorded sayings). Through him she discovered literature."

Despite her elite background and the freedom she had managed to win for herself at home, she had to fight for her education. The Muslim middle class considered

education unnecessary, even harmful, for girls, and when Ismat was fifteen, her parents set about arranging her marriage. She managed to avert what she clearly saw as a catastrophe by the cheeky ruse of getting engaged to a cousin she "never intended to marry."

From 1939 to 1941, she taught at the Raj Mahal Girl's School at Jodhpur. This was followed by an assignment as inspector of municipal schools in Bombay, which she gave up in 1943 for a career in writing, including script writing for films. In 1941 she married Shahid Latif, a film maker, with whom she had two daughters. Of their tumultuous relationship she says, "I was twenty-eight when I got married. Well, we stayed together until he died, though we fought and quarrelled all the time."

Ismat's theme are drawn from life in the middle class household. She knows its intricacies, its drabness, its bright spots. She explores the oppressions of family life and the workings of sexuality in the middle-class home, its inhibitions and its unsuspected little freedoms, with a subtlety still unrivalled in Urdu fiction. Among what might be regarded as explicitly feminist fiction are the novels *Ziddi*

(contd. on p.60)



# CONGRESS AND SOCIALISM

Jawaharlal Nehru

Socialism may be good or bad, it may be a dream of the distant future, or a problem of the present; **whatever it is or might be**, it seems to occupy a large corner of the mind of India today. The word is bandied about from right to left, and behind it lurks, we are solemnly told, the grim shadow of communism. True, the notion of many of its critics as to what is socialism is of the haziest. And even professional economists, after the manner of Government propagandists, try to confuse the issue by dragging in God and religion and marriage and the degradation of women. We must not complain, although it is a tiring business to explain the alphabet to people who tell us that they can read. The curious part of it is that most of this talk and shouting about socialism comes from those who seem to dislike it and who do not want mention made of the word or the idea.

Socialism, as every schoolboy ought to know, is an economic theory which endeavours to understand and solve the problems that afflict the world today. It is also a way of looking at history and of trying to find from its wayward course the laws, if any, that govern human society. Vast numbers of people, all over the world believe in it and seek to realise it. **A great area from the Pacific to the Baltic is already under its sway; other great countries like France and Spain, hover on the brink of it;** and there is hardly a country in the world where it has not got a numerous and faithful following. Neither the intelligence behind it, nor the numbers that support it, necessarily establish its truth. But they do demand a respectful and careful consideration of it by us in India. They put us on enquiry for our own problems, political and economic, loudly demand

solution. After considering it, we may reject it utterly, or we may learn something from it at least even though we do not accept it wholly. To ignore this vital impulse which moves millions and captures both the minds and hearts of worthwhile people, can never be the path of wisdom.

But for us, it is rightly said, the political issue dominates the scene, and without independence all talk of socialism, or any other radical change in our economic system, is moonshine. **Even a discussion about socialism introduces an element of confusion and divides our ranks.** We must concentrate on political independence and that alone. This argument is deserving of consideration for we may not do anything which weakens us by breaking our joint front against Imperialism. To some extent the premises are accepted by the most ardent socialist for he admits that political freedom is the first and the essential objective for us today. Everything else must necessarily follow it, and without it there can be no other radical change.

Thus much is common ground. **Nationalism is admitted to be our primary urge and concern.** And yet the way of looking even at this common objective is not the same.

Nobody wants to create division in our ranks and all of us talk continually of joint fronts against our powerful adversary. Yet we can hardly ignore conflicts of interest, and even as we advance politically (quite apart from socialism or the economic issue) these conflicts become more apparent. When the Congress came into the hands of the 'extremists,' the 'moderates' dropped out. This was not because of any economic issue but simply because politically we were becoming more advanced and the

moderate elements consciously and subconsciously felt that too great a political advance might endanger their interests. They dropped out. Yet curiously this split did not weaken the Congress, much as one might have regretted the parting from some old colleagues. The Congress drew into its fold large numbers of others and became a more powerful and representative organisation. Later came non-cooperation and again some Congressmen could not keep pace with the great majority. They dropped out (again on the political issue, though behind it there were other issues) and again the Congress was not weakened. Vast numbers of additional people joined it and for the first time in its long history it became a power in our rural areas. It came to represent India as it had never done before and to move millions by its mandates and advice. Thus the inherent conflicts between small groups at the top and the vast majority of our countrymen became ever more apparent as we advanced politically. We did not create them. We went ahead regardless of them and thereby increased in power and effectiveness.

Gradually other issues began to colour our political horizon. **Gandhiji spoke about the peasantry; he led strong movements in Champaran and Kaira.** This was not a political issue though inevitably it had political repercussions. Why did he introduce this complication in the pure nationalism of our political movement? Why did he go about speaking of the terrible poverty of our people? This was new talk, a new orientation, likely to change the centre of gravity of our movement. He knew this well and deliberately he worked for this economic orientation of our political problem. Was it not largely because of this, as well as because of his great personality, that the millions rolled in under the banner of Congress? All of us began to talk of the under-dog, and the sorely tried and crushed under-dog turned to us with relief and hope.

Gandhiji persisted in his stress on the poverty of India's millions. We knew this of course theoretically —



who could forget it ? — for we had the evidence of our own eyes, and the teaching of the giants of old — **Dadabhai Naoroji, Digby, Ranade, Romesh Dutt.** And yet it was a matter of books and statistics for us of the middle class. Gandhiji made it a live issue and we saw for the first time with horror-struck eyes what India was — a mass of hungry, starving, miserable people. To alleviate this hunger and unemployment he urged the revival of spinning and weaving. Many people who considered themselves very wise laughed at this, **but the charkha, though it may not have gone far in solving the problem of poverty, brought relief to many.** Even more so it gave a new spirit of self-reliance and cooperation to those who lacked this most. It played a brave part in our political movement. Here again we see an extraneous non-political issue influencing for good our national movement.

In later years Gandhiji also stressed the problem of the depressed classes. In doing so inevitably he angered some groups of Sanatanists. There was conflict between these representatives of old custom and vested interest and the progressive forces. For fear of this conflict Gandhiji did not hesitate to launch his great campaign against untouchability. It was not directly a political issue. Yet it was raised, and rightly raised.

So in the Congress and outside it we see these conflicts of interests ever coming to the front. Whether it is a measure of social reform, like the **Sarda Act or Dr. Bhagwan Das's new Bill**, or a political measure affecting various interests, or a labour or peasant matter, this conflict of interests always comes up. Let us avoid conflict by all means, but how can one ignore it when it is there ? And what are we to do about it ? After sixteen years of stressing that we stand for the masses there can be only one answer to this question when this conflict affects them. That answer Gandhiji gave in one of his speeches at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931. "Above all," he said, "the Congress represents, in its essence, the dumb semi-starved millions scattered over the length and breadth of the land in its 700,000 villages, no matter whether they come from British India or what is called Indian India. Every interest which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection has to subserv the interests of these dumb millions; and so you find now and again apparently a clash between several interests, and if there is a genuine real clash, I have no hesitation in saying, on behalf of the Congress, **that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of the interest of these dumb millions.**"

Our ever-increasing contacts with the peasantry made us think more and more in terms of their grievances and their welfare. **There were agrarian movements in Bardoli, in the United Provinces and elsewhere.** Local Congress Committee had often, almost against their will, to face the problem of the conflict of interests and to advise their peasant members as to their course of action. Provincial Committees in some provinces did likewise.

**In the summer of 1929 the All India Congress Committee** itself, at a meeting held in Bombay, boldly

faced the issue and gave an ideological lead to the country. With all its nationalist background and stress on political freedom, it declared emphatically that the economic structure of society was one of the root causes of our poverty. Its resolution ran thus :

"In the opinion of this Committee, the great poverty and misery of the Indian people are due not only to the foreign exploitation of India but also **to the economic structure of society, which the alien rulers support** so that their exploitation may continue. In order therefore to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities."

Revolutionary changes ! I ventured to use these words not so long ago in Lucknow city and some people thought that they were new on a Congress platform. Few socialists could improve on this general declaration of policy and outlook. **Yet it would be absurd to say that the Congress has gone socialist.** It was becoming more and more concerned with the poverty and misery of the Indian people and the realisation was growing that mere political changes were not enough, something more was necessary. That something more was a change in the present economic and social structure, a revolutionary change. What this change was going to be, it did not state; it was naturally, under the circumstances, vague and undecided about it.

Civil disobedience came, a political movement for a political objective. Again we saw a conflict of interests coming to the forefront and the big vested interests, fearing a far-reaching political change, opposed the movement and supported the British Government. In some areas, like the United Provinces, the conflict of interests was more marked because of the agrarian upheaval.

At Karachi the drive towards an economic orientation became more marked. The Congress hesitated to go far but it could not hold back. Again it declared that "In order to end the exploitation of the masses political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions." It talked in terms of a living wage and it declared that the State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport." A socialistic proposal, yet it was still far from socialism.

Thus has Congress been driven by force of events and the pressure of reality to face the economic issue. With all its passion for political freedom it could not isolate it from economic freedom. The two were inseparably bound up together. We have tried to keep them apart and to concentrate on political freedom, but economic problems would insist on barging in. We would shut our eyes to the conflicts of interests and yet, even on the political plane, these conflicts became ever more apparent. The Round Table Conference provided a revealing display of vested interests lining up behind British Imperialism and opposing the forces that were working for Indian freedom.

Memories are short and many people forget their recent history of the Congress and of India. Socialism or a change



of the economic structure of society are not new ideas unheard of previously in the Congress; nor is the conflict of interests a novel conception. And yet it is perfectly true that the Congress is not socialistic today. But whether it is socialistic or not, it ceased many years ago to be an organisation thinking in political terms only and ignoring economic issues. As I write, one of the principal activities is to enquire into peasant grievances and draw up an agrarian programme. It must face this and other urgent economic problems. And in doing so, wherever conflicts of interests appear, as they are always appearing, all interests that clash with those of the masses will have to be sacrificed.

It is clear that we must concentrate on the political issue — the independence of India. That is of fundamental and primary importance for us and any activity or ideology which blurs that issue is undesirable and not to be encouraged. On that I take it there is agreement amongst Congressmen of all ranks. Why then this talk of socialism ?

As I understand it, it is not because any socialist imagines that socialism can have any place in India before political freedom has been established. It can only follow independence if India is ripe for it and the great majority of the people desire it. But the socialistic outlook helps in the political struggle. It clears the issues before us and makes us realise what real political content (apart from the social content) of freedom must be. Independence itself has been variously interpreted, but for a socialist, it has only one meaning and **that meaning excludes all association with imperialism**. Therefore stress is laid on the anti-imperialist character of our political strength and this gives us a yard measure to judge our various activities.

Further the socialist outlook stresses (what the Congress has been emphasising in varying degrees during these past fifteen years) that we must stand for the masses and that our struggle should be of the masses. Freedom should mean the ending of the exploitations of the masses.

This brings us to a consideration of the kind of Swaraj we are aiming. **Dr. Bhagwan Das**, with a most commendable persistence, has been demanding for many years that Swaraj should be defined. **I do not agree with him in some of his views** but I do agree with him that we cannot go on talking vaguely about Swaraj without indicating, however roughly, what kind of Swaraj we are aiming at. **Are the present owners of vested interests to be the successors of the British in the governance of the country ?** Obviously that cannot be the Congress policy for we have often declared that we are against the exploitation of the people. So inevitably we must aim at strengthening the masses so that they may effectively hold power when imperialism fades away from India.

That strengthening of the masses, and of the Congress organisations through them, is not only necessary because of our objective, but because of the strength itself. Only the masses can give real strength to that struggle, only they can carry on the political fight to the end.

Thus the socialist outlook helps us in our present struggle. It is not a question of carrying on now a useless

academical argument about a distant and problematic future, but of shaping our policy now so as to make our political struggle more powerful and effective. This is not socialism. **It is anti-Imperialism**. It is the political aspect as seen from the socialistic viewpoint.

Socialism of course looks further ahead. It aims at social reconstruction based on an elimination of the profit motive. That is not possible today and so the consideration of it may appear to some as academic and premature. But that view would be short-sighted indeed. For the consideration and clarification of the objective, even though we may not decide about it, affects our approach to it. In whose hands will power come when political freedom is achieved ? For social change will depend on this, and if we want social change we must see that those who desire such change have the power to bring it about. If this is not what we are aiming at, then it means that all our struggle is meant to make India safe for vested interests who desire no change.

The socialist approach is the approach of Marxism. It is a way of looking at past and present history. The greatness of Marx none will deny today and yet few realise that his realistic interpretation of events, which has illumined the long and tortuous course of history, was not a sudden and brilliant innovation. It had deep roots in the past; **it was known to the old Greeks and Romans as well as to the European thinkers of the Renaissance and onwards**. They conceived of history as a movement and a conflict of ideas and interests. Marx applied science to this old philosophy, developed it and made it the brilliant exposition that has so impressed the world. There may be lacunae in this exposition, over-emphasis here and there. We must not look upon it as a set of dogmas, but as a scientific way of looking at history and social changes. Much is made of the fact that Marx emphasised the economic side of life only. He did emphasise it because it is important and because there had been a tendency to ignore it. But he never ignored the other forces which have moved human beings and shaped events.

Marx is a name that terrifies some people who know little about him. It may interest them to know what one, who, far from being an agitator, is a very respectable and honoured British Liberal said not long ago. Lord Lothian, in the course of the annual oration at the London School of Economics in June 1931 said :

"Is there not more truth in the Marxian diagnosis of the ills of modern society than we have been accustomed to think ? I confess that the prophecies of Marx and Lenin are being realised with the most uncomfortable accuracy. When we look round at the Western world as it is, and the persistence of its troubles, it is not obvious that we must probe into the fundamental causes far more deeply than we have been in the habit of doing ? And in so doing, I think that we may find that a good deal of the Marxian diagnosis is true."

**This confession from one who might easily have been Viceroy of India is significant**. In spite of all the prejudices of his class and the powerful pressure of his environment,



his keen intelligence could not help being attracted by the Marxian diagnosis. **Lord Lothian may have changed his opinion during the past five years.** I cannot say how far what he said in 1931 represents his thoughts today.

But Marxism is not an issue before the Congress today. The issue is whether we must fight the evil effects that we see around us or seek the causes that underlie there. Those who concern themselves with the effects only seldom go far. "They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of these effects; they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction, that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady."

That is the real problem — effects or causes. And if

# THE CONGRESS AND MUSLIMS

## I

Mr. Jinnah has in a recent utterance taken exception to my saying that essentially there were only two parties in the country — the Government and the Congress — and he has reminded me that there was a third party and that was the Indian Muslims. In the course of this speech he has made some remarkable statements. I am rushing about from place to place in Behar and can find no time to give the careful consideration which Mr. Jinnah's speech deserves. But the importance of what he has said impels me to steal some time from an exhausting programme, after a very heavy day's work, to offer a few remarks.

Mr. Jinnah, it seems to me, has said something which surely is communalism raised to the n<sup>th</sup> power. He objects to the Congress interfering with Muslim affairs in Bengal and calls upon the Congress to let Muslims alone. This objection and demand bear a strong family likeness to what **Bhai Permanand** has often said on behalf of the **Hindu communalists**. Carried to a logical conclusion, Mr. Jinnah's statement means that in no department of public activity must non-Muslims have anything to do with Muslim affairs. In politics and social and economic matters, Muslims must function separately as a group and deal with other groups as one nation deals with another. So also in trade unions, peasant unions, business, Chambers of Commerce and like organisations and activities. Muslims in India are indeed a nation apart and those who forget this fact commit a sin against the Holy Ghost and offend Mr. Jinnah.

Again, who are the Muslims? Apparently only those who follow Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. When **Maulana Mohammad Ali joined the Congress**, Mr. Jinnah tells us that he fought against the Muslims. It was a small matter that scores of thousands of Muslims were members of the Congress then and millions sympathised and cooperated with it. Being outside the fold of the Muslim League and not following Mr. Jinnah's lead, they can be

we seek for causes, as we must, the socialist analysis throws light on them. And thus though the socialist State may be a dream of the distant future, and many of us may not live to see it, socialism is a beacon light of the present, lightening up the path which we have to tread.

So socialists feel. But they must know that many others, their comrades in the present struggle, do not think so. They cannot assume, as some do, an attitude of superior knowledge and make of themselves a sect part. They have to justify themselves in other ways and thus seek to win over to their way of thinking those other comrades and the country at large. For whether we agree or differ about socialism, we march together to the goal of independence.

July 15, 1936 ■

presumed to be other than Muslims. Presumably, according to Mr. Jinnah, powerful Muslim organisations in the Punjab and in Bengal like the **Ahrars** and the **Kisan parties**, being outside the fold of the Muslim League, are not really Muslim. We have a new test of orthodoxy.

What exactly Mr. Jinnah would like us of the Congress to do with the large numbers of Muslims in the Congress I do not know. Would he like us to ask them to resign and go on bended knee to him? And what shall I say to the great crowds of Muslim peasants and workers who come to listen to me?

All this seems to me extraordinary and harmful doctrine and most unjust to the Muslims. His reference to a 'third party' is also far from happy or complimentary to the Muslims. Between British imperialism and Indian nationalism he would have them remain as a political group apart, apparently playing off one against the other, and seeking communal advantage even at the cost of the larger public good.

I am totally unable to think along these or any other communal lines, and with all the deference to Mr. Jinnah, may I suggest that such ideas are medieval and out of date. They bear no relation whatever to modern conditions and modern problems, which are essentially economic and political. Religion is both a personal matter and a bond of faith, but to stress religion in matters political and economic is obscurantism and leads to the avoidance of real issues. In what way are the interests of the Muslim peasant different from those of a Hindu peasant? Or those of a Muslim labourer or artisan or merchant or landlord or manufacturer different from those of his Hindu prototype? The ties that bind people are common economic interests, and, in the case of a subject country especially, a common national interest. Religious questions may arise and religious conflicts may take place, and they should be faced and settled. But the right way to deal with them is to limit their sphere of action and influence, and to prevent them from encroaching on politics and economics. To encourage a communal consideration of political and economic problems is to encourage reaction and go back to the Middle Ages. It is an impossible attempt for it ignores realities.

The realities of today are poverty and hunger and



unemployment and the conflict between British imperialism and Indian nationalism. How are these to be considered communally ?

There are of course many groups and parties and odd individuals in the country today. But, historically speaking, the present contest lies between imperialism and nationalism. All 'third parties,' middle and undecided groups, etc., have no real importance in this historic sense. They have consequently no great strength and they function only in elections and the like and fade away at other times. The Congress represents Indian nationalism and is thus charged with a historic destiny. Because of this, it is the only organisation which has developed a vast prestige in India and the strength and will to stand up against British imperialism. Thus, in the final analysis, there are only two forces in India today — British imperialism and the Congress representing Indian nationalism. There are other vital forces in the country, representing a new social outlook, but they are allied to the Congress. The communal groupings have no such real importance in spite of occasional importance being thrust upon them.

Mr. Jinnah leads a party in the Legislative Assembly. The members of that party have shown the most remarkable independence of each other and of the party. Why is that so ? Because no common principle or policy binds them and at the touch of any real problem they break apart. That must also be the inevitable fate of communal parties.

There is no question of dictators and camp followers. The Congress is a democratic organisation with its roots deep down in the Indian soil. Its doors are open to every Indian who believes in independence. For it the dominant issue is that of independence to enable us to get rid of poverty and the exploitation of the people. It may make mistakes but it tries always to think in terms of the nation and in terms of national freedom, and deliberately to avoid a narrower or a communal outlook.

What does the Muslim League stand for ? Does it stand for the independence of India, for anti-imperialism ? I believe not. It represents a group of Muslims no doubt, highly estimable persons but functioning in the higher regions of the upper middle classes and having no contacts with the Muslim masses and few even with the Muslim lower middle class. May I suggest to Mr. Jinnah that I come into greater touch with the Muslim masses than most of the members of the Muslim League ? I know more about their hunger and poverty and misery than those who talk in terms of percentage and seats in the Councils and places in the State service. I have had vast Muslim audiences in the Punjab and elsewhere. They did not ask me about the communal problem or percentages or separate electorates. They were intensely interested in the burden of land revenue or rent, of debt, of water rates, of unemployment, and the many other burdens they carry.

As President of the Congress I have the honour and privilege to represent the innumerable Muslims throughout the country who have taken a valiant part in the struggle for freedom, who have suffered for the great cause of independence and who have stood shoulder to shoulder with the others in our historic fight under the banner of

the Congress. I represent the many brave Muslim comrades who still stand in the front ranks of our forces and who have been true to the Congress through the strain and stress of past years. I represent the hunger and poverty of the masses, Muslim as well as Hindu; the demand for bread and land and work and relief from innumerable burdens which crush them; the urge to freedom from an intolerable oppression. I represent all this because the Congress represents it, and I have been charged by the Congress to hold aloft its principles and the torch that it has lighted to bring hope and strength and brightness to the dark corners of our land and to the suffering hearts of our people.

The Congress welcomes all cooperation; it has repeatedly stressed the need for a joint front against imperialism. It will cooperate with pleasure with the Muslim League as with other organisations, but the basis of this cooperation must be anti-imperialism and the good of the masses. In its opinion no pacts and compromises between handfuls of upper class people, and ignoring the interests of the masses, have any real or permanent value. It is with the masses that it deals for it is concerned above all with their interests. But it knows that the masses, Hindu and Muslim, care little for communal questions. They demand urgently and insistently economic relief and, in order to obtain this, political freedom. On this broad basis there can be the fullest cooperation between all elements in the country who seek the good of the people as a whole and their freedom from imperialism.

January 10, 1937

## II

For various reasons the problems of increasing the Muslim element in the Congress has recently received considerable attention. This has been so both on the side of prominent Congressmen, Hindu and Muslim alike, and on the part of others who, though sympathetic, have hesitated to join the Congress. There is no doubt about it that Muslim India is in a state of ferment today. The Muslim masses inevitably think more and more in terms of common economic problems and common burdens together with others. As a reaction to these new currents certain prominent Muslims, connected with communal organisations, have tried to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress and have even hinted at dire consequences and catastrophes if this should happen. I have no desire to enter into these controversies which tend to become personal and in which irrelevant issues are often raised. It is not therefore with a view to controversy that I issue this statement, but I do feel that clarity of ideas is desirable and the Congress position should be clearly understood. I find that even Congressmen sometimes fail to appreciate this and talk in terms of pacts and compromises with Muslims or other religious groups.

The Congress is a political organisation dealing also inevitably with economic problems, for these problems affect the masses of India more than anything else. The objective of the Congress is political independence, that is, the capture of power by the people of India, irrespective



of their religion. Every Indian of the hundreds of millions who inhabit this country must be a sharer in this power and must benefit by the new order that we strive for. For ultimately it is this order, which removes our crushing poverty and unemployment, which we work for. Subjection and poverty are the common lot of Indians whatever their religion might be; freedom and economic and cultural betterment must also be the common lot of all of us. In the struggle to obtain this the Congress offers a common platform to all, and because it thinks in terms of the masses and their betterment, it goes to them, organises them, advises them, seeks strength and guidance from them.

The Congress, being a political organisation, does not concern itself with religion or connected matters. But religion and culture being important matters in the life of many individuals, it is right that they should want to know how these are viewed by the Congress. Therefore the Congress declared at Karachi and subsequently, in the clearest language, that the fundamental and basic rights of all Indians must contain provisions for the free exercise of religion, for freedom of conscience, for the protection of the culture, language and script of minorities, and further that all citizens whatever their religion or caste or sex, were equal before the law and in regard to public employment, office, trade or calling. **The franchise must be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.**

This assurance has been repeated in the Congress election manifesto and is the basis of all Congress policy. It applies to all majorities and minorities alike and it is unthinkable that the Congress will ever vary it.

Having given this solemn assurance, the Congress has nothing further to do with religious or cultural matters and it pursues its political struggle. In this political struggle it has gained great power because millions of people have sided with it, approved of its programme, and looked to it for deliverance from their thralldom and misery. That programme was a common programme for all Indians whatever their religious persuasions may be. The development of the nationalist movement has crystallised power in two opposing ranks and we have in India today two dominating forces : Congress India, representing Indian nationalism, and British Imperialism. I have often been made to say in the public press, owing to a mistranslation, that there were only two parties in India. That is manifestly wrong for there may be, and are, any number of parties, big or small, important or confined to a handful. But what I have said, and what I think is true, is that there are two principal forces in India today, that of the Congress and that of imperialism. Others inclined during a crisis towards the one or the other, or are mere lookers-on and do not count. We have had big crises and conflicts in the past and, as is the way with nations and communities, we have gained strength and self-reliance thereby. Out of the fiery furnace of a nation's suffering and conflict, the Congress has steeled itself and risen higher and higher, strong in the love and strength of our millions. Those who kept out of it and relied on the feeble prop of an alien and vanishing government, remain themselves feeble, without self-reliance or strength, unable to charge themselves with the energy

of a nation on the move.

Strength does not come to a nation or a community from mere numbers, or special seats in the legislatures, or protection given by outsiders. It comes from within and from the cooperation and goodwill of comrades in a common cause. The minorities in India will not flourish by being spoon-fed from above but by their own merits and strength. Can anyone imagine that any majority in India can crush the brave Sikhs, small as they are in numbers ? Only a lunatic can think that the Muslims can be dominated and coerced by any religious majority in India.

The time has gone by when religious groups as such can take part in political or economic struggles. That may have been the case in medieval times. It is inconceivable today; the lines of cleavage are different, they are economic. Therefore to think in terms of communal groups functioning politically is to think in terms of medievalism. And this is the reason why communal groups in India fail so dismally in the political field; they have and can have no common political or economic policy ; they split up and are usually dominated by reactionaries. Having no inner strength they look inevitably to favours from the imperialist masters. And what are those favours ? A few State jobs, a few seats in the legislatures. How does this affect the hunger of the millions or the unemployment of vast numbers ?

Realisation of this is coming slowly to those who hoped for relief from their communal leaders and so they are turning more and more to the Congress, and thinking in terms of political and economic power.

We talk of approaching the Muslim masses. That is no new programme for us although the stress may be new. That is part of our principal programme of developing increasing contacts with the masses, whether they are Hindu or Muslim, Sikh or Christian or any others. The religion of all these is their personal matter which the Congress guarantees. But we think of them not as religious units but as suffering units of the hungry Indian masses who cry loudly for succour.

It must be remembered that the Congress has always had large numbers of Muslims in its fold, and larger numbers have sympathised with its activities. Some of the most eminent of our national leaders have been and are Muslims. But it is true that the Muslim masses have been largely neglected by us in recent years. We want to repair that omission and carry the message of the Congress to them. Why do others object to this ? If they disagree with the political or economic policy of the Congress, they are at perfect liberty to place their policy before the masses. But it is to the masses that the appeal must be made.

This is important, the appeal to the masses. Our problems cannot be solved, we hold, by a few people at the top. And that is why we have lost faith in the old style All Parties Conference in a few persons, representing communal organisations with no common political background, meeting together and discussing and quarrelling. We have had enough experience of these in the past and that experience does not call for repetition.



We are of course always willing to discuss our problems with all who earnestly desire their solution, whether they agree with us or not. But the way to a solution is not through a so-called All Parties Conference.

Those who talk of the Congress entering into a pact or alliance with Muslims or others fail to understand the Congress or the new forces that are moving our people. We have already made a great pact amongst ourselves, amongst all who desire national and economic freedom, to work together to this common end. The Muslims are in this pact just as the Hindus and Sikhs and so many Christians. They are there as Indians, and if they have problems *inter se*, as they must have occasionally, they will discuss them and decide them democratically within the great organisation which has come to represent to such a remarkable degree the will of the Indian people. Is it not better and more dignified to do this than to seek favours from and take deputations to, our alien rulers who dominate over us, and seek to play off one against the other?

When we have gained our freedom, that is the only possible and democratic way for us. And even now, in the course of our struggle for freedom, that is the only way.

Some people suggest that semi-communal nationalist parties should be formed, like a Muslim Congress Party. That seems to me a wrong course and one which will encourage communalism and injure the larger cause. Our experience of the Nationalist Muslim Party in the past was not a happy one. Such half-way groupings confuse the issue and the masses are perplexed. Those who disagree with the Congress will of course form their groups and parties. But those who agree should not stand on the doorstep; they should enter the nation's chamber and take full share in shaping the nation's policy. There are many today who talk vaguely of being Congressmen and of being in favour of independence. But they work through other and communal organisations and waste their strength thereby.

The crisis deepens and the people of India will soon have to make many fateful decisions. Already these petty and unreal problems, communal and the like, shade off into the background, and the real issues, pregnant with destiny, overshadow India and the world. What will our answer be, whether we are Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or Christians? Shall we stick to our little ways, lost in a wilderness of pettiness? Or will we, united and firm of purpose, take the shaping of events in our strong hands and make the history of our choice?

April 4, 1937.

### III

I have read Mr. Jinnah's latest statement with care. I agree with him that the Muslim League is a political organisation and often acts on the political plane. But because it is confined to a religious group it is like others of its kind, essentially a religious or communal organisation. I can fully understand and appreciate a religious or cultural organisation acting on a religious or cultural plane only. I can also understand a political organisation acting politically, whatever its views might be. But to mix the two is to create confusion and prevent

the proper decision of any issue. Mr. Jinnah tells us that the Muslim League is a political organisation and its policy and programme differ in vital respects from that of the Congress. The mere fact that a person is born to or professes the faith of Islam does not surely mean that he must also conform to the political policy and programme of the Muslim League. If he disagrees with that policy, as large numbers of Muslims do, he must inevitably seek some other political organisation whose policy and programme appeal to him. If he agrees with the Congress policy he will join it and function through it politically. That does not mean that he wants the disruption of Muslims. He is merely acting as politically thinking people act. Obviously there are great differences of political opinion *inter se* among Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, etc. Among each of these religious groups one may find Congressmen, socialists, anti-socialists, communists, liberals, direct actionists, revolutionaries, moderates, extremists, believers in different kinds of economic theory, supporters of the Douglas Credit system or any other system. These cleavages of political and economic opinion are rightly represented by political and economic parties in the public life of the country. But to form a religious or communal party, which also dabbles in economic and political matters, cuts across these real cleavages of opinion on live issues and thus is an unreal party in the political sense. Or else it partly represents, as the Muslim League or Hindu Sabha or Sikh League may claim to represent, a certain section of a religious group which holds by certain political and economic theories. But even this it does not do with clarity and precision as it is always talking in terms of a religious group which, by its very nature is a politically mixed one.

I do not agree with the policy of the Liberal Party but I can understand it. It is a political party which bases its appeal on a certain political theory and its doors are open to all, Hindus or Muslims or others, who agree with that theory. Not so the Muslim League or the Hindu Sabha.

Mr. Jinnah has failed to understand me if he thinks that I am out to destroy other parties. But, because I believe in the Congress policy and programme, I try my hardest to push that forward and to convert all others, Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, etc., to that viewpoint. Mr. Jinnah, or the Liberals, or any other individual or group, are perfectly entitled to push their policy forward in the same way. Why then does Mr. Jinnah object to my working amongst the Muslims for the spread of Congress ideals? The objection is not political, it is communal, and hence the confusion of thought and action. When Mr. Jinnah talks of the Musalmans, or warns them to do this or that, he is not speaking politically but communally. He is presuming that all Musalmans must inevitably think on the same political lines and these should be in accordance with the policy laid down by him and the Muslim League. Surely that is a large presumption.

Mr. Jinnah thinks that the Congress policy is wrong and harmful. I think likewise of his policy. We differ. Let us agree to differ and work democratically for the spread of our respective viewpoints. I would gladly welcome Mr. Jinnah as the leader of a purely political party open to



all denominations and with a defined policy. Political and economic issues will then be placed clearly before the country and the people of the country, who will ultimately decide these issues. will be enabled to think about them on right lines. To appeal to Musalmans or Hindus or religious groups on political matters is obviously the wrong thing. It is the medieval attitude, when politics and economics were in the background, and it cannot possibly fit in with the modern world. It is because of this that I say that I find it difficult to think on communal lines.

It is very unfair of Mr. Jinnah to say that the Congress considers it utter nonsense to safeguard the rights and interests of the minorities. The very reverse of this is true. In so far as religious and cultural and linguistic rights are concerned (and these are generally considered to be the basic minority rights) these have been amply safeguarded by the Congress as far as solemn declarations can safeguard them. There may be other questions which require consideration, and certainly occasions have arisen in the past and will arise in the future, in this imperfect world, when political adjustments are desirable in regard to minorities. The Congress is fully alive to this and is always ready, when such occasions offer themselves, to help in bringing about such an adjustment. But political adjustments must be in consonance with a basic political policy. To have a relatively minor adjustment at the expense of fundamentals is not an adjustment; it is the uprooting of the whole structure, a complete loss of equilibrium.

The Congress does not and cannot accept the Communal Award because it is a negation of our fundamental principles of democracy and of united India. It is incompatible with freedom. But Mr. Jinnah knows that the Congress policy is to get it altered in cooperation with, and with the goodwill of, the communities concerned.

When Mr. Jinnah says, quite rightly, that the Muslim League differs in vital respects from the Congress in

political matters, does he expect the Congress, including the Muslims who agree with the Congress, to give up its policy, in deference to the Muslim League, a policy which has been a beacon-light to us and to millions in this country these many years, and for which so many of us have gone repeatedly through the valley of the shadow? Mr. Jinnah knows that in the hour of our trial when we faced the might of a proud empire, many prominent leaders of the Muslim League sought alliance with the die-hard leaders of the Conservative Party in England, than whom there are no greater enemies of Indian freedom. Are we to submit to them now, we who have refused to submit to the embattled power of that Empire, and who prepare afresh for fresh trials and tribulations in the struggle for independence which has become the life-blood of all our activities?

Mr. Jinnah refers apparently to my faith in socialism. It is true that I desire to put an end to imperialism all over the world and I look forward to the establishment of a socialist State not only in India but elsewhere also. I believe in a world order based on the principles of socialism, and I am convinced that only thus will the distempers and miseries that afflict us find final burial. But the Congress is not committed to this creed or policy. Nevertheless the Congress thinks and acts in terms of the masses, Hindu or Muslim or other, seeks strength from them, and determines its policy with reference to them. Therefore it considers that even political adjustments with minorities will have a surer and more real basis if the masses are enabled to have their say in the matter.

Do I talk like a dictator or a sovereign authority? It is for others to judge. But may I venture to say that Mr. Jinnah when he objects to our carrying on our ordinary political work amongst Muslims, or issues mandates and warnings to Musalmans as a whole, regardless of their political opinions or affiliations, adopts an attitude which may, without impropriety, be called dictatorial?

May 2, 1937. ■

## A MESSAGE TO SOCIALISTS \*

Comrade Masani has asked me for a message to your Conference. I send my greeting gladly and I hope that your deliberations will result in good to the great cause we have at heart. That cause today is best served by building up a powerful anti-imperialist joint front in the country. It is obvious that the National Congress is the only organisation which can function as such a joint front.

As you know I am vastly interested in the socialist approach to all questions. It is right that we could understand the theory underlying this approach. This helps to clarify our minds and give purpose to our activities. But two aspects of this question fill my own mind. One is how to apply this approach to Indian conditions. The

other is how to speak of socialism in the language of India. I think it is often forgotten that if we are to be understood we must speak the language of the country. I am not merely referring to the various languages of India. I am referring much more to the language of the mind and the heart, to the language which grows from a complex of associations of past history and culture and present environment. So long as we do not speak in some language which has that Indian mentality for background we lose a great measure of our effectiveness. Merely to use words and phrases, which may have meaning for us but which are not current coin among the masses of India, is often wasted effort. It is this problem of the approach to socialism that occupies my mind — how to interpret it in terms of India, how to reach the hearts of the people with its hope-giving and inspiring message.

That is a question which I should like a socialist to consider well.

December 20, 1936

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

\* Sent to the Conference of the Congress Socialist Party at Faizpur, December 1936.



## POST SCRIPT TO NEHRU'S "EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA."

Vinayak Purohit

The first thing to be noticed about the charlatan Jawahar Nehru's writings of the mid-thirties is that he divides the political struggle for independence from the struggle for socialism. This is the absurdity that he and his ilk perpetrated upon the inexperienced cadres of our country. Actually there is no division. The struggle for socialism entails a struggle against colonialism. The two are the reverse and obverse of the same coin.

Another point that is remarkable is that Jawahar was fully aware of the terrific Drain of Wealth from India. He refers to "the teachings of the giants of old :"  
Romesh Dutt (whose writings we reproduced in the first year of the revived *Mankind*) and William Digby, whose writings we are serialising right now. However, **knowing Drain of Wealth is one thing, and acting on the basis of the knowledge, another.** Jawahar was a

born charlatan. His knowledge of the Drain of Wealth actually led him after 1947 to increase the Drain !

We can see his mean tactics. First, he relegates socialism to a secondary position, as though independence can be realised without socialism by comprador collaborators of imperialism. Next, he throws out of the window genuine nationalism because that doesn't suit the compradors.

Without the slightest hesitation, Jawahar asserts that the franchise must be "on the basis of universal adult suffrage," but the 1946-49 Constitution, the present one was not formulated by an assembly elected "on the basis of universal adult suffrage." But words have no precise meaning in Jawahar's writings. He can say anything, he can write anything and he can act anyhow ! That is the essence of Jawahar's charlatanism.

## A PSEUDO-OVERTURN IN NIGERIA

Sani Abacha, the strongman of Africa's most -populous state , Nigeria, the killer of Black playwright Ken Sarowiwa and a particular friend of Anglo-Dutch oil giant, Burma-Shell, died suddenly a few days ago. In the last few years, he had smeared his hands with gore whilst crushing every form of democratic protest in Nigeria.

These are bad times for Western neo-colonial powers of the OECD, G-8, NATO, EU and NAFTA. Laurent Kabila drove out Mobutu Sese Seko from Congo-Zaire last year and Mobutu died soon after in exile in Morocco. He had amassed merely \$ 8 bln. in ill-gotten wealth.

Just two months ago, Mobutu's colleague in the CIA, Suharto, has been forced to step down after 32 years of misrule in Indonesia. Suharto's family and cronies amassed \$ 16 bln. double that of Mobutu's.

Now, Sani Abacha is no more. His loot of Nigeria is likely to surpass that of Mobutu and Suharto put together, for Nigeria lies closer to Europe and Shell was allowed to do immense ecological harm to the Niger delta.

### ISMAT CHUGTAI (contd. from 51)

(The Stubborn One), 1941, and *Tehri Lakir* (Crooked Line), 1943, and the short stories "Dayin" (Witch), "Saas" (Mother-in-law), "Chattan" (Rock), "Chui Mui" (Touch-me-not), "Uf Yeh Bacche" (Oh, These Children), and the classic "Chauthi ka Joda" (Trousseau of the Fourth Day). Many of these were published in the popular collections of her stories, *Choten* (Wounds), 1943; *Kaliyan* (Buds), 1945; and *Chui Mui*, 1952.

In 1941, Ismat wrote *Lihaf* (The Quilt). The piece was to bring her special notoriety. A lesbian relationship between the beautiful wife of a wealthy landlord and her servant maid is presented by a child narrator who sees it all, yet concludes little and makes no judgements. The style achieves a superb balance of reticence and suggestiveness. As might be expected, however, the story outraged many, as it did

even when an English translation was published decades later. Ismat was charged by the then British government with obscenity, but she won the case, she reports, because her lawyer argued that the story could be understood only by those who already had some knowledge of lesbianism.

In an autobiographical piece she contributed to a special number of the literary journal *Nuqush* (Marks), Ismat speaks of meeting with her mother after everyone else had left for Pakistan. "I looked at her age, I looked at her loneliness. After having given birth to ten strong and healthy children, she was lonely. A flood of love rose in my heart. I looked at my mother, then I looked at my daughter and found myself imprisoned between the two."

Translated by Syed Sirajuddin.

(*Women Writing in India, 600 B.C. to the Present*, Vol. II : The 20th Century, 1993)



# GUILTY MEN OF INDIA'S PARTITION : 3

Rammanohar Lohia

If generosity should ascribe Mr. **Nehru's collaborationism in early 1942** to his anti-fascist passion, what of his later acceptance of the country's partition? The story is not as simple as has hitherto been made out. To make sense, its various parts must hang together. The readiness to be seduced by the foes of human dignity and happiness, to have been willing at one time to give away freedom for the sake of anti-fascism, and to have subsequently bartered away the unity of the country, can be the consequence alone of our opportunist desire for office. There is a strong likeness in these two major events of Mr. Nehru's life. It would not do to ascribe one to his democratic world outlook and the other to his propensity to fall under spells. In the effort to shield his colleague, **Mr. Azad has made use of secondary and perhaps misleading information and has suppressed the primary facts.**

A strong possibility exists that Mr. Azad may not have been the chief culprit of this distortion of history. Two other persons have collaborated on this work. Mr. Nehru has denied taking a hand in revisions or corrections of the book. That may be true in a literal sense. He did not have to tell his underling in the India government, the man who wrote the Maulana's book, to make any specific corrections. All that Mr. Nehru need have done is to disclose certain facts and to air certain opinions, at private tea with the Maulana's scribe. I strongly suspect that **Mr. Kabir and Mr. Nehru are at least partly responsible for the peculiarities and inaccuracies of Mr. Azad's book, but, in the absence of positive evidence, the Maulana must take all the blame.** In order to buttress his theory

of Mr. Nehru's propensity to aristocratic or female persuasion, which may be entirely true in a secondary way, **Mr. Azad has started the silly story that the prime minister was persuaded to partition only after the Mountbattens came on the scene.** I have deliberately not read many records of those days written by people like Messrs. Pyarelal, Nehru and Mountbatten's advisers. Something keeps me away from them. I recoil from them as I would from any suppression or distortion of the truth. I would not have read the Maulana's book, but for the public interest that it has once again aroused on the subject of India's partition. I am, therefore, unable to say whether any positive evidence has already been published to establish Mr. Nehru's conversion to the idea of partition prior to the Mountbatten's arrival. I am certain that the evidence is there in the archives.

I may be permitted to refer to a private conversation with Mr. Nehru in Noakhali around the end of 1946, to which I had more or less been forced by Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Nehru spoke of the water, slime, bush and tree that he found everywhere in East Bengal. He said with some vehemence that was not the India he or I knew and wanted. East Bengal would be better off by cutting away from the main land of India. That was an extraordinary observation. The man was obviously speaking under an emotional strain. He had set his heart on something. **He was trying to discover enduring reasons of geography in order to still some small voice of conscience that he may still have been hearing.** These reasons of geography might under other circumstances prove how

necessary it is for the Ganga and Jamuna plains to stay joined with their luxuriant terminus. **But once the idea of partition came to be accepted as a condition precedent to India's freedom,** no matter that the acceptance was still very private and not even communicated to Mahatma Gandhi, the geography of East Bengal could well become abominable. For myself, I have found the gay laughter of East Bengal women unparalleled in all the world.

**These men were old and tired.** They were near their deaths, or so at least they must have thought. It is also true that they could not have lived much longer without the restorative of office. They had begun looking back on their life of struggle with a sense of hopeless despair. Their leader was not allowing them to temporise over much. What fancies had started assailing them can only be a matter of speculation and will differ according to each case. **Some may have been hungering for office and the power and the comfort and pelf that goes with it. Some may have been wanting to change their country and leave their mark on history and mistakenly believing that they could do neither unless they ran the government at least for some years before their death. Yet others may have been frightened at the prospect of being regarded as mere failures of history,** as persons of no importance. It is possible that these various fancies, so different as they look from each other on the surface, are all aspects of a single desire. **The enjoyment of power, the improvement of the country through government and the fear of being considered a failure, are different aspects of the single wish to do good to the country with one's own hands with the help of the administration.** I am not such a small man as these, and I say this not out of conceit, but with some gratefulness to them, for I stand on their shoulders.

**There is not the slightest doubt that the socialist movement in India has floundered on the sharp rocks of the reality of Partition. India's socialists like their predecessors and**



teachers, the leaders of the Congress party, have wanted to do administrative good with their own hands and to enjoy power. They have tried to play the tricky game of politics. They did not have a prophet like Mahatma Gandhi to save them from their crasser degradation. They did not also possess the craftsmanship of a Nehru or a Patel. **Their opportunism has not yielded them fruit as it did in the case of their craftier predecessors.** They have sinned without pleasure. All politics without prophetic zeal must necessarily deteriorate in this fashion. Socialists have wanted to administer society and to improve it if they could; they should have wanted to effect revolutionary changes. The revolutionary, down to the lowest village revolutionary, is a bit of a prophet. He wishes to change his people, their mind as well as their life. **He is not distressed overmuch if he cannot witness the last stages of this change in his lifetime. He is satisfied that he is piling up the conditions for that change, which will more assuredly be accomplished by his successors.**

The dose of politics has been in excess of the dose of revolution in the mental make-up of India's socialists, who have shown a tendency to deteriorate in middle age, while Congress leaders have at least been able to stand it out until the advent of old age. Nevertheless, the curious fact must be noted that the prophet failed to infect his contemporaries and his successors with revolutionary patience. I revert to the will of Messrs, Nehru and Patel. It was the corroded will of tired old men. I imagine that what has been said of Mr. Nehru applies equally to Mr. Patel. However, it may well be that Sardar Patel acted more simply and was the greater idealist of the two, although he did not leave behind him misleading trails of high-souled effusions.

I cannot resist the temptation to recall a very significant expression of corroded will on the part of Mr. Nehru. That must have been around May-June 1946. I had not met him after coming out of jail and felt no special urge to do so. But he sought me out without previous notice on the fourth storey of a house and made me promise to spend the evening with him. After dinner, the two of us went to his corner of the lawn and he opened his full charms on me. I suppose he can be exceedingly charming when he so desires and when there is some possibility of a mutuality of interest. He asked me if I would speak or he or if I wanted the interview to be a long silence. I asked him to do it the way which most pleased him. At some stage of the conversation, I warned him of the danger that he was running, a danger that I wished to warn him against with all my strength. I warned him that he was going the liberal way, that he was losing faith in his colleagues and in the Congress organisation, that he was hankering to obtain control over the administrative machinery in order to do good, that he had started thinking a little too highly of Indian Civil Service men and such, like and that he would soon become a moderate if he did not mind his steps. He did not at first deny my charge. He did told me with some vehemence how low Congressmen had fallen and that I did not possibly possess a full picture of their degradation.

He told me of an annual report of the Uttar Pradesh Congress tribunal for internal elections, which stated that Congressmen violated every single section of the Indian Penal Code in their fights with each other. I could not understand how the whole penal code could come into operation but was again told with some vehemence that it was so, which of course must have been true. Politicians tend to fall rather low in their fights. I was also told how Mr. Nehru had come out of his jail some months earlier than I did, with probably the same ideals and schemes. He took up the work of reorganising the Congress Committee of his city, for he thought that he must demonstrate a scheme in detail before he could ask for its application to all the country. Within a bare three months, the Congressmen of his city had stopped meeting him, even such as were reputed to be no more than his lap-dogs.

I was then astonished. I can understand Mr. Nehru's point of view, although I have very recently been told of the occasional Tammany Hall lapses of Mr. Nehru, in respect of the Congress organisation. Nevertheless, I was not persuaded then as I am not now. **I told Mr. Nehru that Congressmen had indeed fallen very low but that they were better than the Civil Service in respect of our need to overthrow foreign authority, and that was what mattered. I often have occasion to give myself a similar advice, for socialists who are tending to fall rather low, are better than the well-behaved middle class in respect of our need to overthrow capitalism.** When Mr. Nehru found that he could not persuade me, he changed his approach and tried to reassure me of his intention to continue his basic belief in the Congress flock.

This is where the trouble lay. Congress leaders were fed up with their following as they were with their own old age. I came up against this aspect of Mr. Nehru's thinking again in June-July 1946. He was made Congress President and he wanted to take Mr. Narayan and me into his Committee, and additionally to make me the Congress General Secretary. We had three sessions, all past midnight and one reaching up to three in the morning. I will pass over all the other aspects of these meetings, and will disclose that Mr. Nehru rejected outright two of my demands, one, that no member of the Congress Working Committee should be a government minister and two, that some formula permitting benevolent criticism by the Congress party of its own government should be evolved, and partly accepted my third demand that the Congress President should keep out of the government.

The air was then thick with the impending Congress-British agreement. Mr. Nehru accepted the principle, but refused my request to apply it to his own person. He reminded me, not without an affectionate appeal for understanding, that the provincial ministries of 1937 and after had rarely responded to his suggestions, although he was then the Congress President. Advisers and executors are two different entities and except in very rare circumstances, executors tend to follow their own line. I can today understand Mr. Nehru better than I did then.



I, of course, refused his offer.

A question might be asked if my attitude towards power is not unbalanced at the other end of fright as that of Congress leaders has been at the end of temptation. Some are tempted by power. Some are frightened at the prospect of holding power. Both attitudes can become equally hazardous. **A politician, who is also a statesman, would so strive that he is neither tempted by power nor shies at it.** I should like to relate a story, which might show whether I have acted coyly when power seemed to approach. I have long wondered whether I should be relating stories that were personal to me, when I am reviewing events of national significance. After all, what happened to me personally did not affect the main flow of events. What, then, is the importance of these personal happenings? In the first place, I can vouch for their authenticity. Secondly, what happened to me also happened to our people. Their actions took place under one constraint or another. Mahatma Gandhi was a sole exception to this. That is why he was both in the main flow of events, and away from it at its fringes and beyond. **I was at the fringe of the main flow of events and so were my people.** In a contemporary sense, the main actors have appeared to decide the destiny of the country, but who knows whether the activities of the people at the fringe will not ultimately shape the contours of the land both physically and spiritually in a more effective way. The main flow will pass off; much of it dirty. The fringe might stay.

I had been part persuaded and part compelled to stay in the riotous area of Delhi, as I had earlier been made to stay in the riot-torn areas of Calcutta and Noakhali. I do not know what made Gandhiji do this. I sometimes suspect that he used me as some kind of safety valve, **somewhat similar to the attachment of a grandparent to his grandchild.** One morning, the newspaper report of the discovery of three hundred three rifles in a Muslim area enraged me. We had something to do with that area, for it was one of our workspots. One rifle had been discovered in a Muslim home, a rifle that carries the name 303. The news of one rifle with a specific marking had been falsified into the news of three hundred and three guns. Any body would have been enraged, much more so those whose job it was to smoothen bulges and strains of Hindu-Muslim relationships. I went to Gandhiji, as I was, without my bath. I took the newspaper report with me. Flashing the report towards him, I thought I had made a complete argument, when I asked him why he was making people like me work pointlessly for Hindu-Muslim unity, when a single report of that kind emanating from the Department of Information and Broadcasting undid the work that we had patiently done for several days or weeks. Sardar Patel was incharge of this department.

Gandhiji remained completely unruffled and gave an unpredictable turn to the argument. **He asked me if I could not take over the department.** I laughed. He accused me of running away from office; a probability that he had in mind on that earlier occasion when he had tried probably more than Mr. Nehru, to make me the Congress General

Secretary. I turned serious at once. I told Gandhiji that he should offer me something after he had decided that Congress leaders were not the best men in the country. **Gandhiji tried to make fun of my wish; he asked me if I wanted him to declare that I was better than Mr. Nehru.** I told Gandhiji, as much in banter as with conviction, that I found nothing wrong in the declaration, and that I should like to know what reasons he had against it. There was silence.

Some persons from the prime minister's household were present during this conversation. Gandhiji obviously did not want to carry the argument further in their presence. **This saint, than whom there has been none saintlier in all history, was not so entirely public and open in his speech as has been made out.** He detained me with one story after another, much to the annoyance of the people around him until it was time for him to go to bed. Then, he beckoned me to follow him into his bedroom. **He asked me as to when I had found him saying that Messrs. Nehru and Patel were the best men in the country.** I must have been a little vehement and at first told him that he had said it a dozen times and increased the number to hundred and more in my subsequent arguments. Gandhiji told me that my mind, which was earlier precise and capable of concentrated attention, appeared to be deteriorating. **He added that he had never called these men the best in the land; he had only said that there were none better than them.** Was Gandhiji lawyer or saint? I could well have told him that he was practising duplicity against his people by talking ambiguous language likely to mislead them. And, yet, the peerless subtlety of the logician gripped me and who knows whether the path of truth is not as sharp as the razor's or the lawyers edge? I should have argued the point out. Some innate chivalry held me back. I became silent and let him go to bed.

**I am definite that Mr. Nehru and others like him hurt the country very much when they bought the freedom of the country at the price of its unity.** Even if they had acted like coy maidens at the prospect of holding power, they should not have hurt the country so much. **They could have waited and continued to strive. Another generation would have come, to whom governmental power would have been given as a genuine translation of people's power.**

India's politics have hitherto lacked in grit. I do not think that as a people, we have always lacked it in the past or that we shall ever lack it in the future. Gandhiji possessed grit and tenacity in a great measure. He was unable to transmit it to his colleagues and followers. Whether he is to blame or the period in which he lived, or both, can be a subject for fruitful enquiry. **I can only say that this lack of grit and hard core caused the partition of the country as it is continuing to cause the rot in the socialist movement, two of the great disasters of our lives.**

I should like to relate another story. I must have been somewhat peeved and also despairing, when I asked Gandhiji on some occasion to let me go away from Delhi,



because I was not producing any results. He looked at me and was silent for a while and then asked me to drop him a post card, whenever I succeed in producing results, so that he could join me where I was. I had almost forgotten this story of great faith, unrelieved resignation and also unceasing labour. **Immediate results are difficult to produce, when one is out for revolutionary changes.**

A mental condition does not bear fruit, unless it finds suitable nourishment from the environment. **The subjective condition of an old Congress leadership greedy for office would have done no damage to the country, if it were not supported by the objective condition of Hindu-Muslim rioting.** In a situation where Hindu-Muslim relationships had become nearly impossible, old Congressmen's greed for office appeared on the surface in the grab of some high purpose. Some of them may not themselves have been aware of their low motivation. They could in fact feel the glow of righteousness, when they were dismembering the country and preparing themselves for office. They could well believe that they were laying aside the impossible Hindu-Muslim problem. Large sections of the people also felt the same way about it. They thought that an impossible problem had been solved and freedom was won.

How impossible the Hindu-Muslim problem had become will be evident from the fact that, in spite of a natural curiosity and of long years in the fight for freedom, I could only learn second hand or worse of what Muslim Leaguers thought of their country and the world. I do not recollect having attended more than one public meeting of the Muslim League. The one occasion when I listened to Mr. Jinnah was at an annual conference of the Muslim League. This meeting has left a profound impression on me. **Mr. Jinnah sat, looked and spoke like a king and his listeners watched him and listened to him as though he were their own chosen king.** I have nowhere seen a greater hypnosis in all my life than at Hitler's meetings but this was something different. I have nowhere seen greater devoutness than at Gandhiji's meetings, but this was something different. There was a natural bond, not too explosive but also not easily shakable between Mr. Jinnah and his crowd, as though between a king and his subjects. There was also a certain primitive dislike of the stranger. I remember having felt very uncomfortable at this meeting. There were daggers in the eyes of those who looked at us, infidels of faith and of politics.

In this atmosphere, death brushed me on several occasions as it brushed millions of others and took away hundreds of thousands of our countrymen. I shall ever remember the day when scores of people had collected on the Hindu side of the no man's land, when I had disappeared into the Muslim side for nearly two hours. This was in the Calcutta of 1946. For nearly a year, streets and quarters had separated themselves on the basis of their faith and one was sealed off from the other. There used to be a half hour of brisk trading between the two sectors in no the man's land, when one side brought its basket of eggs and the like and the other its food grains or

something similar. I was told that the settlement of price used to be effected through sign language or loud shouts across the no man's land. One side would then half-cross the no man's land when the other side had withdrawn some distance away from it. Gandhiji had talked me into staying on in such a Calcutta. When I asked him if he wished me to do anything particular, he had wanted me to take my own instructions and had added casually that if I could I should meet my Muslim friends in their homes and quarters.

The house we went to was a hostel for Muslim students. These students were almost all Muslims Leaguers, some of them presidents and commanders of their various organisations. Our friend was about the only socialist. We had soon a bunch around us. They gave us tea. They did not spare us any arguments. They asked me inconvenient questions as to whether I thought Mr. Jinnah to be a British agent. After that nakedly honest act of walking through lurking death, I could not well have returned a dubious or a soft answer. Some of these students were very angry. But I was in their home and man never entirely loses his humanity. Our act had, furthermore, established a bond of kinship among us. Some of these students complained to me that their vice chancellor or the local Congress leaders had not visited them the way that I was doing, although they had been distressingly marooned in their little quarter for several days in that murderous city. I asked them if they fully realised the consequences of their wish. They laughed and told me that I was nevertheless alive and so the conversation went on for nearly two hours. At one stage the two Guptas, Balkrishna and Ashwini, joined us in the hostel, for they were beginning to be anxious about us on the other side of no man's land. The students insisted on reaching us to the end of their quarter.

**Sachin Mitra died in the effort to carry out Gandhiji's wish. Gandhiji must have also told him what he told me. One particular day and in a particular quarter, some Muslims who did not like such acts killed him. Sachin was a remarkable man.** When we were together in the same students' organisation in Calcutta, he took the lead in commencing a mass meeting for the boycott of the Simon Commission, without waiting for its announced president, Subhas Babu to arrive. Sachin and I had later gone our separate ways, I to Germany and he subsequently to England. My convictions had continued without a break. He was a dandy. I was upset with him during those days. I should have known no better. I am sometimes sad that Sachin is not still alive.

No memorial has yet been founded in Sachin's name. That brings me to the question of the numerous memorials that have been founded in the country in recent years. Others, offensively vulgar, have followed in Gandhiji's steps. It has become customary for kinsman of a big man to demand and be given a share in the benefits and bigness of their famous relations. Much cultural reintegration will be necessary before we can be worthy of men like Sachin Mitra, Shoaibullah Khan and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi who laid down their lives in the cause of Hindu-Muslim



amity. We could then perhaps take a small clod of the earth where they were burnt or buried and mix them up and erect on them memorials meaningful to the eye as well as embodying some high social purposes.

I must relate another incident that took place in Chittagong on 17th August, 1946. On the previous day, I had had some intimation of the trouble ahead, from the rumours that were floating concerning the Calcutta killings. My open-air meeting in Chittagong on a somewhat rising ground was divided into two by Muslim League hooligans. The district magistrate and the chief police officer of the district, both Muslims, had supervised operations in person until a few minutes before they began. One person in the audience, who had more self-respect than they would allow him tried to flee from the meeting and the hooligans had cut him into two on the spot. Everybody fled except three persons who had made some kind of a protective ring around me. For nearly five minutes, we stood our ground. The hooligans kept their distance-I do not know why-but bricks came flying at us from all directions. I was hit on the arm, back and the chest, oftener than I would care to remember. What amazed me then, and is still a source of wonder, whenever I remember the incident, was the agile and turn-about frequency with which my head ducked the bricks. Youth and life's stubbornness to continue probably combine to create such situations. I was ultimately prevailed upon to withdraw, and as far as I recollect, some importunate pushing-away was also done. This incident can still awake in me a minor regret as to why the hooligans held back or why I did not squat. The town, which had over 80% Muslims out of 100 of the population, was later given over to rioting, looting and general terror. The second police officer of the town, who was a Hindu, wanted to protect us for the night in his house, but we could not very well accept the protection of an authority which we were seeking to destroy. We saw and smelt that night what the terror of an over-powering majority can be over a minority. I was profoundly influenced by the incident and remember having made a somewhat melodramatic statement to the effect that such things could no longer be tolerated and a way-out had to be found. We did not know the realities of the situation, nor did we possess a plan to tackle them, at least I did not. I made ridiculous efforts, which now appear to me to be comical in the extreme. I sent a Chittagong Armoury Raid hero, who had joined the Socialist Party, all the way to Delhi to meet the man who is now the prime minister of the country. I must have written in obvious distress and anger. I had forgotten, and was reminded only recently, that there was an answer to it. I have again been told of the appalling conversation that took place between my emissary and Mr. Nehru as well as Mr. Azad.

Mr. Nehru seemed at first to react with vigour and asked whether a Chittagong Armoury Raid hero had to be told what to do in a situation of anxiety and distress. When my emissary asked him if this was a considered answer, Mr. Nehru wanted him to have another talk with him as well as Maulana Azad. The first and early vigour

of Mr. Nehru proved to be a mannerism, a style of speech, superficial froth, that conveys a first impression of something strong and deep underneath. India's leadership of the century, of course and Mr. Jinnah, has been guilty of criminal flippancy, and of an almost total lack of early realistic goals, and an equal absence of a careful and realistic plan to achieve them. The problem of Hindu-Muslim rioting was tackled precisely at such levels of flippancy. One may understand a person like me, who was not clear-sighted enough with regard to Hindu-Muslim problem. But what of those who sat at the centre of events, of whom a clear grasp of reality and the way to tackle it, may have reasonably been expected? But they were worse than me and not only miscalculated criminally, but also acted with criminal intent. **I was at no point a supporter of partition. They were.** But opposition can be of three kinds: verbal, silent and active. Our opposition tended to be confined to words, when it did not actually become silent. The fear of chronic and unresolvable situation of Hindu-Muslim riots may have been at the back of it. **I will now try to recollect the weakness in my own armour at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee which discussed and accepted the scheme of partition.**

My opposition to partition was combined with certain suggestions about the second best alternative. A serious and outright opposition in politics is not an academic pursuit, nor an open policy of re-insurance with the choice of lesser evils. **To the serious oppositionist, there is no lesser evil.** There is just evil and good and he sets about to achieve the good and fight the evil. I remember having had some very sharp exchanges with Mr. Patel as well as Mr. Nehru, which I now realise must have been more wordy than real. Sardar Patel told me that older persons like him were only trying to give younger persons like me a country to change and improve. I reminded him that if he was a general of the freedom fight, we had also been its soldiers, and that policies should be debated in an atmosphere of equality. Mr. Patel also told us that he would thenceforth talk to Mr. Jinnah with a lathi, upon which I reminded him that he had a year earlier promised to talk to him with a sword. I am sure that Mr. Patel did not quite realise what he was up against, nor what bitter fruit the schemes that he had laid with Mr. Nehru would bear.

At some point in the debate I had made a plea for the rejection of the two-nation theory, and had also made some flamboyant assertions about continuing to cherish the undivided map of India. **Mahatma Gandhi endorsed this point which made Mr. Nehru throw a fit. To him this continual harping on Hindu and Muslim being brothers or one nation, when they were flying at each other's throat, appeared fantastic, as also this continual debate with Mr. Jinnah.** I intervened to say how fantastic his observation was. Had the Americans ceased to be brothers and one nation, because they had fought a war amongst themselves for several years and killed hundreds of thousands, the North against the South? Mr. Nehru knows how to smile at a lost point. But men like me were only scoring wordy points. **The draft resolution with which**



Mr. Nehru had come armed to the meeting of the Committee, and which he produced dramatically after several hours of debate, contained no reference to the rejection of the two nation theory or to the cherishing of the undivided map of India. I can at least claim to have introduced, with Mahatma Gandhi's support, this point into the resolution which was subsequently accepted by the All-India Congress Committee.

I must also relate the story of the drafting committee which finally prepared the resolution. I do not know what made Mr. Nehru include me on this committee, along with Mr. Patel, Mr. Kripalani and one another, who might have been Mr. Azad. So inconsequential were the roles of these gentlemen of the Congress party outside of Mr. Nehru and Mr. Patel, that it is difficult to remember who was present and on what occasion. We had a session in Mr. Nehru's room after midnight. He gave us coffee. How these old men could drink coffee as they did at their age, when I cannot do so at mine, without some risk, is a mystery to me. The nearness of office probably revives some people. Mr. Nehru may have, furthermore, included me, on the committee because he had seen the chinks in my armour, or because I had not yet rejected him wholly. The point about the undivided map of India was made and accepted. Here were men with the clear intent of buying freedom at the cost of partition and persons like me tried to resist them with unclear wills. Mr. Nehru did indeed try to school me in diplomacy, both of speech and behaviour, and rejected some of my points on the ground that they were undiplomatic. I do not recollect that any other member of the drafting committee had anything to say.

The country was partitioned in order to avoid further Hindu Muslim rioting. Partition produced that which it was designed to avoid in such abundance that one may for ever despair of man's intelligence or integrity. Six hundred thousands women, children and men were killed, often with such lunacy that the killers seemed to be experimenting with a view to achieve yet newer forms of murder or rape. Fifteen million persons were uprooted from their homes and made to seek a living and habitat in regions that tended to become less friendly with time. THIS WAS PROBABLY THE GREATEST MIGRATION, FORCED OR WILLING, IN ALL HISTORY. To this day some men are trying to find out as to who was more beastly, the Hindu or the Muslim. Such a research is in its very nature futile. When the Hindu including the Sikh, and the Muslim were both trying to discover new forms of atrocities, it makes no meaning to research into their record for ascertaining as to who was less uncivilised. A far more profitable field of research would consist of ways in which civilised forms of behaviours break down. It is possible that the more civilised group suffers a greater breakdown in the event of an irrational rage overtaking it. One such event of rage, I witnessed in riot-torn Delhi after partition. A Muslim young man wished to accompany me on my rounds of the city. I had a premonition of sad events to come, but I did not possess the mean rationality to ask him to stay in his

area. As we reached the area of the Haizbazar police station, a fair-sized group of Muslims, men, women and children, was running back and forth, with tear-streaked faces like hunted animals. We had the car stopped barely twenty places away from the police station. The Muslim boy took command. My presence apparently gave him an incredible confidence in that riotous situation. I seemed to turn into stone. I knew that the situation was laden with disaster. At the same time, I did not possess the stomach to let a principle and an obviously reasonable proposition be stifled by caution and calculation. The Muslim youth stepped out of the car and tried to harangue the escapees in courage and return to their homes. Hindus and Sikhs started collecting on the roadside. The entire event had been unfolding like a nemesis and I had until that point observed it like a paralysed spectator as the riotous crowd grew, I woke up out of my lethargy, shoved the Muslim youth into the car and stood guard on the footboard outside. Someone shouted my name, but it did not appear to impress anybody. Most people implored me with folded hands to step aside, some took courage and tried to drag me away. Before they could do harm to the young man, I would be back again at my duty on the footboard. This happened twice or thrice. Here was clear evidence that not many persons can directly kill or injure and also that an agile alertness is born out of a sense of right and wrong. If something had happened to the Muslim youth and I had not tried seriously to prevent it, my self-respect would have been damaged beyond repair. An armed policeman or a soldier arrived on the scene after some time had handled the situation with great tact. No harm came to the youth nor to me, but we had both come very near it. Mr. Azad talks of the administrative impartiality and courage of Mr. Nehru in the face of riotous situations. He has no word to say of the fairness or courage of hundreds of thousands of ordinary, unofficial people who had been schooled in the tradition of humanism or nationalism.

In a sense, we lived through frequent nightmares in those days. The trouble was not all of contemporary origin, nor was it entirely political in the ordinary or surfacial sense of the term. Nearly eight centuries of conflict and occasional rapprochement had come to a climax. The Hindu had barricaded himself into a defensive purity. Occasionally some of these barricades in some sectors would be down, but the basic segregation from the Muslim in respect of food and marriage continued. No ties of kinship hold such segregated groups together. In situations of violent change, where relative position of these groups is at issue, conflict and bloodshed would be difficult to avoid except under a most astute and creative statesmanship. I was recently told of an instance of such segregation, that hurt deeply. When some Hindus and Muslims of Burma and Singapore fled over the eastern Himalayas into Manipur, a Muslim young man, who had until then lived and suffered with the Hindus like a brother, was denied the admission in to nearly a dozen hotels and dharmshalas. This Muslim youth later joined the Muslim League and rose to be the commander of its Kerala volunteers, although his reconversion to



nationalism and his baptism into socialism took place soon after partition. I am sure that Abu Saheb was not the only one to turn sour however temporarily, and Hindu-Muslim rioting and partition are a result of the souring that came out of the Hindu segregation of caste and community.

The element of segregation among Hindu castes is undoubtedly, of a different quality and much less in intensity or bitterness, but India would do well to become sensitive to it before it does further irreparable damage. I obtained an interesting sidelight on partition from Mughalmian of Patna, that the backward castes among Muslims had generally held back from the Muslim League. They could also not have been too enthusiastic except in riotous situations and then also sections of them. The nationalist movement did at some stage try perfunctorily to follow a policy of encouragement to backward Muslims. But the policy was too tactical to achieve satisfactory results. If all backward castes, among Hindu as well as Muslim, had been encouraged with a view to destroy the caste system and to achieve equality and if the nationalist movement had systematically pursued this policy at least from the beginning of Non-Cooperation, then India may not have been partitioned.

I have so far dwelt on the Hindu side of the mischief. The Hindus are more definitely to blame, for, not only are they the majority group, but they also determine the contours of India and have nowhere else to go. Their defensive purity has debilitated them at its best, and rotted them at its worst. With a more expansive outlook, they could perhaps take the sting out of the Indian expression of Muslim faith. But the Hindus had been sorely tried. Mr. Azad has put on record a frustrating episode of Hindu tribulations. He had insisted on the inclusion of a Parsi in India's first Cabinet. India has often seemed to be the pleasant hunting ground of its minorities, Muslim, Christian and Parsi. The Hindu who has nowhere else to go, has sometimes appeared to have been put out of the threshold. India has sometimes seemed to belong to everybody except its Hindu. In a deeper sense, this is also true. India's politicians have hitherto not cared to promote the interest of the really oppressed minorities of the country, the numberless backward castes among Hindus as well as Muslims. They have served the cause of the strong on the pretext of their being a minority, the Parsi, the Christian, the high castes among Muslims as also among Hindus.

When a Hindu is not cultivated in the sad lessons of

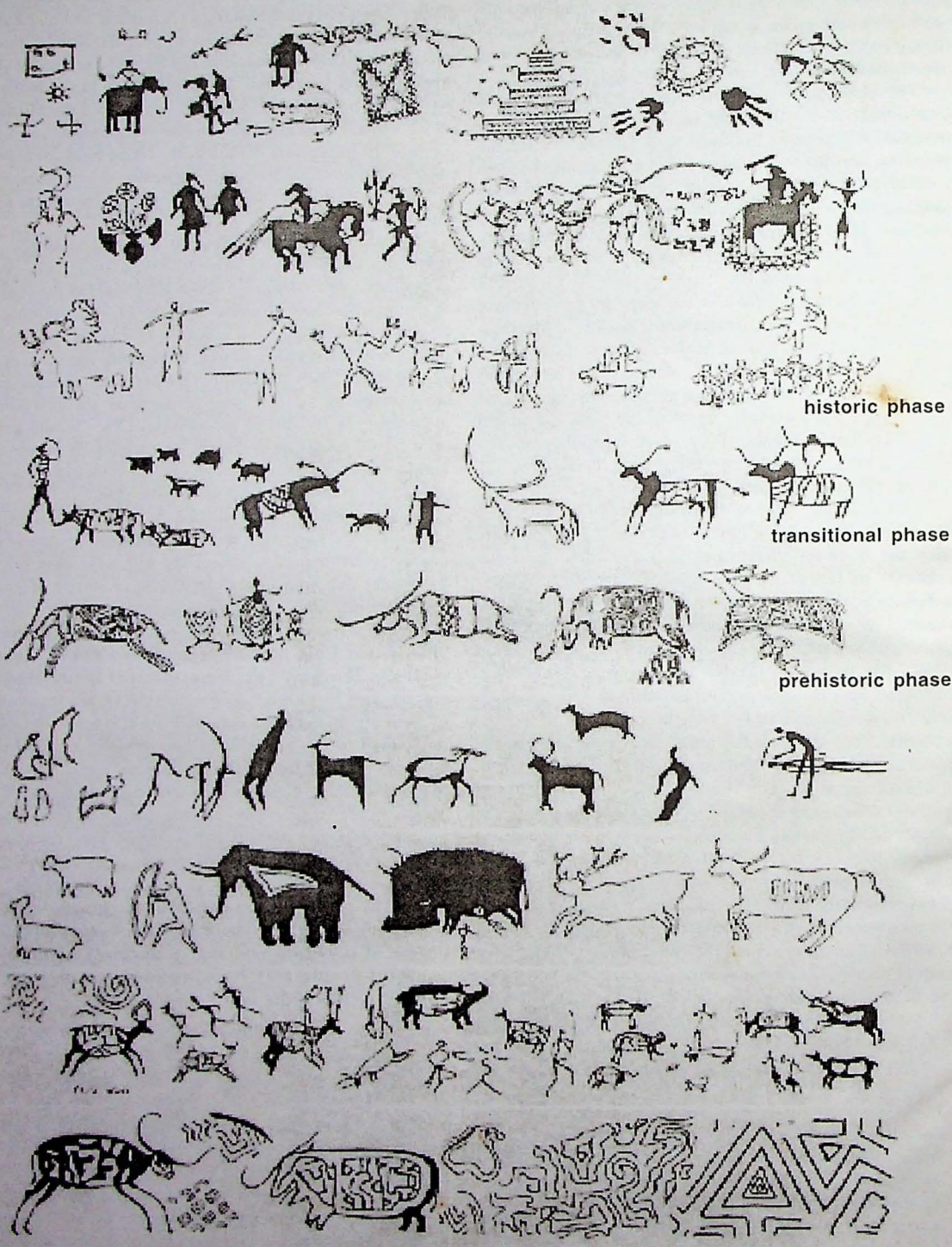
history, a baffled rage overtakes him at the sight of his ancient sculptures and buildings. A number of these have been mutilated or put to the use of another faith. A more recent expression of vandalism has been the seizure of the best sites and landscapes for a privileged faith. While I have never been able to share the rage against the Muslim or Christian, I have also been unable to sentimentalise over some of the institutions of their faith. I have been overcome with a sadness at the frequent impotence of our ancestors.

We must also not forget that most Muslims are ex-Hindus.

For its inability to calculate the consequences of partition, India's leadership deserves no excuse, nor sympathetic understanding. Those who stood at the centre of events could not possibly have dreaded the prospects of Hindu-Muslim riots so much as to espouse partition, the cause of much graver rioting. Repentance almost undoes an evil deed. The main culprits whose souls should have been seared by the evil deed of partition are grovelling pleasurably in the dirt of their infamy. They would keep on descending to lower depths of conduct. If only they would repent of their past deed, they would cleanse themselves into a high and purposive state.

I was a man of no consequence. So were millions of others like me. We could not have changed the course of history in an immediate sense, but we might have borne witness to our protest against it. It is a matter of great sorrow to me today that not one man guided us or sat in jail, when this great land of ours was partitioned. **I regret greatly that I did nothing to get into a jail of India's partition. The dread but false prospect of Hindu-Muslim rioting had so blinded me as to render me incapable of bearing witness to my faith at the most decisive movement of my life and the country's recent history.** So were others blinded. But something worse happened to the leadership; it was tempted. The temptation continues. Many people believe that, without partition, India could not have achieved stability nor progress. The concepts of stability and progress deserve closer inspection in order truly to ascertain the effects of partition. Meanwhile, no shadow of doubt need obscure a simple proposition that **a decaying leadership operating in a riotous situation produced partition and that a purposive and more youthful people may have avoided the division of Hindustan into India and Pakistan.** ■





**From Bhimbetka, near Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh.**