

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol. 3, No.11, August 1998

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MANKIND

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Vol. 3, No.11, August 1998

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 35

Exe. Edr.

WE MUST CLAIM OUR SHARE OF ANTARCTICA

In a letter published in this issue, addressed to T. Pattabhirama Reddy, his children, Nandana and Konarak, and their spouses, Harindran and Kirtana, we have outlined a programme of political action that could fire the imagination of the Indian people. To this action programme, we would like to add a claim, for a segment of the Antarctica sub-continent, that India should register immediately, and formally, with the Antarctic Treaty Organisation.

Pattabhi is a noted Telugu poet and Kannada film-maker with whom the Executive Editor was able to renew his contact after many years, just in the middle of June. Pattabhi has joined our Editorial Board last month, and at a small party held at his son-in-law's beautifully architected place, I was able to renew my acquaintance with Dr. S. Chandrashekar, Director, Liquid Crystal Laboratory, Bangalore.

During our *tête-à-tête* and *tour de horizon*, the conversation took such a turn that I was suddenly reminded of my note to Dr. Qasim, Secretary in the Ministry of Ocean Development. I must have written this note in the early 80s when I was a Visiting Scientist to the NISTADS (National Institute of Science, Technology and Development Studies), New Delhi, a branch of the CSIR.

I had raised the demand for registering our claim to a pie-segment of the continent of Antarctica, along the longitudes 61° E (Baluchistan border) to 91° E (Arakan) or approximately 100° E (where Tsangpo turns into the Dihang, as it rounds the north-eastern extremity of Assam, India).

I had argued in the note that history and geography supported our demand for the segment 61° E to 91°/100° E

longitudes. 61° E is the western-most limit of India on the Indo-Iranian border and a point roughly coinciding with the western limit of our Sapta-Sindhu Vedic (the so-called Indus Valley) Civilisation of times immemorial. (Sutkagen Dor on the Makran coast is the westernmost settlement of the so-called Indus Culture). Travelling along the crest of the Suleiman and Kirthar ranges from the Makran coast north-eastwards to the numerous chains of the Hindu-Kush that merge into the Pamir and Karakoram ranges of the Swat, Chitral, Hunza and Gilgit valleys of North Kashmir, and to river Kabul; which was known as Kubha in Vedic and Mahabharatian times. So far, the northernmost limit of the Vedic, Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati culture have been excavated at Shortu-Ghai on the Amu Darya (Greek : Oxus) on the Afghano-Soviet border.

Similarly, the easternmost limits of the old Vedic culture are to be found in Haryana and Western UP, particularly at Ahichhatra and Alamgirpur in western UP. The southernmost limits of the vast Saraswati culture (alternative names, Vedic or Sapta-Sindhu culture) are to be found at Lothal, at the head of the bay of Cambay; at Bhagatrap at the mouth of the Narmada; and at Daimabad on the banks of the Godavari in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra.

Historical India stretched from the Sapta-Sindhu region, through the Gangetic plains to the Brahmaputra, which is the name of the river in its last section. The middle part of the same river is known as the Dihang. Prior to that, from its origin at the eastern edge of the same Manasarovar massif, this river is known as Tsangpo, as it flows at the southern edge of the

Tibetan plateau, just north of the Himalayan scimitar. The eastern limit of the Sindhu-Ganga-Brahmaputra riverine plains is also known from Mahabharatian times. Chitrangada, the Manipuri princess, was married to Arjuna and they had a son named Babhravahana. It is likely that the Indo-Aryan speaking peoples had spread at that time to the Indo-Burmese borderlands, that were later intruded upon by Tibeto-Burman speaking Shan people, of whom, the most significant were the Ahoms of the 14th century A.D. who settled down in the Brahmaputra valley and gave the name Assam to the region.

Having established the geographic and cultural limits of ancient India, let us now proceed southwards from the Himalayas. For the average reader I would suggest that he should think of Mother India as having her head at the junction of the Hindu-Kush and Himalayan chains in the Pamir-Karakoram ranges. She is holding her skirts with the left arm and fingers running along the Hindu-Kush, Suleiman and Kirthar ranges to the Makran coast and the right arm and fingers along the Lushai and Chindwin ranges upto the Arakan hill district. This is the fetching figure of Mother India, that has remained unchanged over the last 7,000 to 9,000 years.

The Indian Ocean is the only great ocean that is land-locked to the north (both Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are open from North to South).

No big land mass lies to the south of India upto the Antarctic coastline except a few scattered islands of the Indian Ocean, of which the largest are the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Sri Lanka, Lakshadweep, and Maldives; plus there are a few miniscule dots of the Diego Garcia archipelago.

We may now proceed with a brief description of the Antarctic continent in the current political context (See map of Antarctica on back cover)

The Antarctic continent is the fifth largest after Asia, Africa, North and South Americas. Its extent is 5,400,000 square miles or 9% of the world total of 57,900,000 sq. miles. It has the highest average elevation of all continents about 1.6 miles (2.5 kms.) and is overlaid by a continental ice

sheet containing about 90% of the world's ice. The average thickness of this ice sheet is about 6,900 feet. It is divided roughly by the Trans-Antarctic Mountain Range into two parts : East Antarctic Sub-Continent which forms most of the Antarctic land mass and a West Antarctic Sub-Continent which is an archipelago. The waters of the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans converge along the coasts of the Antarctic continent. These mixed waters form a feeding region for myriads of pallegic sea-birds and the world's largest populations of seals and whales.

Antarctica formed at one time a part of the vast land mass known as Gondwanaland. A geological continuity and affinity exists between Peninsular India south of the Vindhya, and the submerged extensions from Australia, the Andes of South America and South Africa. This is one of the reasons why it is suspected that the continental landmass of especially East-Antarctic Sub-Continent, may be extremely mineral-rich.

The resources of the Antarctic continent may be subsumed under the following heads :

- A. Extremely rich marine life.
- B. Varied and valuable minerals in continuation of the gold, copper, iron, and other minerals, known from Chile, South Africa and Australia.
- C. Locational advantages conferred upon the continent for missile and satellite launchings.
- D. Source for meteorological and

ocean current data essential for intercontinental commercial aviation and merchant shipping.

E. It is known that Antarctica contains considerable coal. It is almost certain that oil and gas too will be found offshore and onshore.

An Antarctic Treaty came to be signed in 1959 (came into force from 1961) by 12 countries, viz. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States and USSR. Later additions to the Treaty were notified by five countries, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, The Netherlands and Romania.

"Article I of the treaty provides for the peaceful use of Antarctica; Article II for international cooperation and freedom of scientific investigation.; Article III for free exchange of plans, scientific results, and personnel; **Article IV for the nonrenunciation of prior claims and the citation of any activity during the treaty terms as a basis for past or future claims;** Article V for prohibition of nuclear explosions or waste disposal; Article VI for application of the treaty to all areas south of latitude 60°S, excluding the high seas, which come under international law; Article VII for open inspection of any nation's Antarctic operations by any other nation; Article XI for reference of disputes to the International Court of Justice if they cannot be settled by peaceful negotiations or arbitration by involved parties; and Article XII for a review

of the treaty after it has been in force for 30 years. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macro, 1983, Vol. 1, pp. 964-5)

AS FAR AS INDIA IS CONCERNED, IT IS THE SAME SAD STORY. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CONTINUED THE COLONIAL LEGACY AND ACCEPTED BRITISH IMPERIALIST DICTATES IN EVERY FIELD.

It suited British interests to allow Australia to claim an immense land mass on the Antarctic continent. See the entry, Australian Antarctic Territory in *The Hutchinson Paperback Guide to the World*, 1990, p. 27 :

"Australian Antarctic Territory the islands and territories south of 60°S, **between 160°E and 45°E longitude** excluding Adélie Land; area 6,044,000 sq. kms./ 2,332,984 sq. m. of land, and 75, 800 sq. km/ 29,259 sq. m. of ice shelf."

Thus, in comparison to its own territorial extent of 7.7 mln. sq. kms, Australia has claimed 6.2 mln. sq. kms, in Antarctica. **Australian claims between 160°E and 45°E longitude completely overlap with legitimate Indian interests.** At the most, Australia can claim territories lying immediately south of its landmass within the Antarctic circle of 60°S latitude. Thus, its claim should be restricted to lands lying between the longitudes 110°E and 155°E. **The lands lying between approximately 60°E and 100°E longitude, rightfully belong to India and India must learn**

The territorial claims registered with the Antarctic Treaty Organisation are given below.

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN ANTARCTICA

Country	Sector	Date of Claim
Norway (Queen Maud Land)	20°W-45°E	January 14, 1939, by Norwegian Order in Council (also claimed Bouvet Island on January 23, 1928, and Peter I Island on May 1, 1931)
Australia (Australian Antarctic Territory)	45°E-136°W 142°E-160°E	February 7, 1933, by British Order in Council; and June 13, 1933, by Australian Antarctic Territory Acceptance Act.
France (Adélie Island)	136°E-142°E	April 1, 1938 by official decree (placed under Governor of Madagascar in 1924)
New Zealand (Ross Dependency)	160°E-150°W	July 30, 1923, by British Order in Council.
Chile (Antarctic Peninsula)	90°W-53°W	November 6, 1940, by official decree.
Gr. Britain (British Antarctic Territory)	80°W-20°W	July 21, 1908.
Argentina (Antarctic Peninsula)	74°W-25°W	1942

(Source : *EB*, Macro, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 962)

to assert its international rights which are completely fair and aboveboard.

A SIMPLE RULE SHOULD BE OBSERVED. THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE ALREADY LAID CLAIMS TO THE WATERS, ICE-SHELVES AND ISLAND TERRITORIES OF THE ARCTIC OCEAN CANNOT HAVE ANY CLAIMS WITH REGARD TO THE ANTARCTIC, WHICH MUST BE ALLOWED TO THE POOR PEOPLES OF THE THIRD WORLD, VIZ., TO THE PEOPLES OF ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND OCEANIA.

As successor governments to the Australian Aboriginal Tribal Federation and the Maori Tribal Federation, the present day racist White governments of the original Penal Colonies of Australia and New Zealand, may for the time-being claim some small shares in the Antarctic Continent, strictly according to the strength of their miniscule White populations.

HOWEVER, THE MAIN POINT IS THAT OIL AND FISHING RESOURCES OF THE ARCTIC OCEAN HAVE BEEN EXTENSIVELY EXPLOITED BY USA, CANADA, GREAT BRITAIN, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, GERMANY, NORWAY AND RUSSIA. THESE COUNTRIES CAN HAVE NO CLAIMS ON ANY PART OF ANTARCTICA.

Let us consider just one recently discovered feature. As reported in the

Macmillan Encyclopaedia, 1994 ed., p. 882 :

"North Sea Oil. The oil deposits that were discovered under the North Sea in the 1960s. Exploration and development has been carried out by multinational companies from the USA and Europe. The area is divided into UK, German, Norwegian, Danish, and Dutch sectors. The UK has the largest of these sectors, nearly-half of the total, and became self-sufficient in oil in 1980, since when oil revenues have aided the UK's balance of payments. In 1985 total output had reached a peak of 127.6 mln. tonnes, which fell to 91.6 mln. tonnes in 1990. Exploration is still continuing."

At the latest count, there are 700 platforms extracting the North Sea oil and gas on behalf of world Monopoly Houses. (See, *The New Webster's International Encyclopaedia*, 1991 and *The Hutchinson Encyclopaedia*, 1998)

IN ACTUALITY, THE OIL, FISHING AND OTHER RESOURCES OF THE HIGH SEAS BELONG TO ENTIRE MANKIND. IN THE ARCTIC, THESE RESOURCES HAVE BEEN MISAPPROPRIATED BY WHITE, CHRISTIAN, RICH COUNTRIES OF EURO-AMERICA. AT LEAST IN THE CASE OF ANTARCTICA, LET A BALANCE BE STRUCK AND LET THE RESOURCES GO TO THE POOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES !

INDIA MUST CUT ITSELF OFF FROM THE APRON STRINGS OF

COLONIALISM ! LET US ASSERT OUR RIGHTS TO THE SEGMENT OF THE ANTARCTIC CONTINENT LYING BETWEEN 60°E AND 100°E LONGITUDES.

WE MUST FIRE THE IMAGINATION OF OUR DEMORALISED AND SUPINE PEOPLE. LET US DEMONSTRATE IN ACTION THAT WE ARE FREE FROM IMPERIALIST TUTELAGE !

Since the last few years we have established a research station, Dakshin Gangotri in Antarctica. This is a triviality. What is necessary is to assert our legitimate claims between 60°E and 100°E longitudes.

I hope that someone in the External Affairs Ministry reads these lines. Vajpayee, the Prime Minister, is also our External Affairs Minister : Let him not go on endlessly babbling about *swadeshi* and similar clap-trap and shibboleths !

LET HIM CONCRETELY DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS VIGILANT ABOUT INDIA'S LONG-TERM INTERESTS. ANTARCTICA IS BOUND TO GROW IN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE OVER THE NEXT HALF CENTURY. LET US NOT MISS OUT AGAIN AS WE HAVE DONE UNDER THE COMPRADOR NAUKERSHAHI RULERS JAWAHAR, INDIRA, RAJIV, AND OTHER COWARDLY CONGRESS LEADERS.

LET THE INDIAN PEOPLE MARCH FORWARD ! ■

KAL KA CHHOKRA S — — JAAT PE GAYA !

A propos Bill Clinton's hilarious visit to China, the Americans media have had the temerity, the cheek and the utter gall to repeatedly ask this question : does China deserve a visit by Bill, Hillary and Chelsea ?

Can there be anything sillier or more arrogant or more puerile ?

It is like Marco Polo asking whether he should give an audience to Kublai Khan !

American history begins as annals of a penal colony to which hardened British criminals were cheaply and

conveniently exiled; it continues with the genocidal massacre of millions of Amerindians or Red Indians, it reaches a sort of climax with slave trading and the killing of several million Africans; ... Is it necessary to go into further details with the community of intelligent and sensitive readers who receive *Mankind* ?

The American record for barbarian brutality is unparalleled, even amongst European racials and fascists ! Never have so few killed so many in such double quick time !

The question that anyone with a modicum of acquaintance with history should ask is, does the oral sex specialist Billy Clinton deserve to be invited by a civilized nation like China ? Should he be allowed to enter a country like India in the latter part of 1998 as threatened ?

Just because Euro-America have recently become rich on the basis of loot of India, China and the Third World, do the Western worms and scoundrels think that retrospectively their criminality and savagery will become sanctified ?

Alas ! We must agree with Charlie Chaplin's Monsieur Verdoux :

"Numbers sanctify ! If you kill one, you are a murderer, but if you drop an atom bomb on a populous city and wipe out one million and damage genetically several future generations, you are a hero ! A leader of the Western World ! A Great Western Statesman !"

One American president called Hairy Savage Truman performed heroically fifty-three years ago, dancing a *tandava* upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki ! Of course America no

longer possesses the bloody economic fangs to the same comparative degree, that Hairy Savage had in 1945. Yet, what kind of devil's bloody dance is Billy Clinton going to enact on top of the Great Wall ?

Mankind marvels at the capacity of the Western baboons to delude themselves with visions of bogus grandeur ! *Kal ka chhokra, s- - - jaat par gaya !*

NOT WHO KILLED ABIOLA, BUT WHO BENEFITS FROM HIS DEATH ?

Chief Moshood Abiola suddenly died whilst on the point of being released from the custody of the new Nigerian military leader Abdulsalam Abubaker.

It was surely not an accident because accidents cannot happen so conveniently !

It cannot be suicide, though even suicide in custody must be laid at the doors of the military *junta*.

Autopsy by foreign experts, British or American, is a camouflage. As a matter of fact it is Burma Shell, the Anglo-Dutch oil giant which propped up the old military government led by General Sani Abacha. This illegitimate dictatorship had cancelled the results of the 1993 elections which had been won by Chief Abiola. The autopsy report will now be couched in such diplomatic language that will only

GREAT SOCIALIST SUPERVISES PRIVATISATION OF HIS MINISTRY.

We had predicted in our Obituary. Note on George Fernandes (*MK*, June-July 98, p.3-5) that "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."

As stated in our last issue, George is following very closely the detailed

scenario laid down by us for his downward-flowing degenerate movement : "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 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 *MK*, April 1998, pp. 41-46).

CHINA APES WESTERN BLOOD HOUNDS AND NEO-COLONIAL HYENAS !

They say that the new convert is the most fanatic ! China which was not admitted into the United Nations for several decades, has suddenly become the bosom chum of U.S.A., the leader of the neo-colonialist pack of hounds.

Perhaps it was not such a strange coincidence that acceptance of the Permanent Member's seat in the UN Security Council occurred in such close proximity with Deng Xiaoping's turn to "Market Socialism." Both events

P.S. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, Vol. 22, p. 274 adds a comical comment : "The 'S' in the Harry S. Truman name did not stand for anything."

Perhaps the 'S' stood for *suvar* (wild hog) !

Perhaps it was an abbreviation of ASS !

Perhaps it really stood for Savage as we have suggested ! ■

vindicate Burma Shell's long term investments in the oil fields of the Niger delta.

It is for the Nigerian people to answer at the barricades the question : who killed Abiola ?

To us in *Mankind*, the answer has always been clear. We do not need any autopsy report. In fact we consider the question who killed ... as irrelevant. Who benefits from Chief Abiola's sudden death on the eve of his release from jail, is the only question that is pertinent. ■

Just last week there has been extensive TV and newspaper coverage of Rajesh Shah and George Fernandes getting together to float nine task forces that will explore ways and means of realising close cooperation between private and public sectors as far as defence research and production are concerned. Privatisation of Defence Department's activities is going to proceed very fast under George's active supervision.

Let us enjoy the spectacle of a GREAT SOCIALIST WHO IS PROMOTING CAPITALISM IN HIS DEFENCE MINISTRY ! ■

took place in the '70s.

Already China has found it convenient to bark like the American bloodhound and hiss like the neo-colonial hyena.

China has the temerity to threaten India with dire consequences if India does not heed the advice given by the Western powers.

Is any further proof of Chinese degeneration at all required ? ■

TRAVEL NOTES

It was a very pleasant and productive trip that we made to Bangalore from 5th June to 16th June.

We travelled by road and one of the most obvious things that we noticed was the almost total absence of bullock carts from our National Highway No. 4. Both, on the way out, and on the return journey from Bangalore. We had the occasion also to travel in the interior of Karnataka and encountered a few carts, but on the main National Highway, I cannot recollect passing or crossing a single bullock cart.

There was one Ramaswamy, who headed NITIE, in Bombay for several years and then jumped on to the Bangalore IIM. He spent several crores of public money on a project to improve the design of the Indian bullock cart, which incidentally, is almost the same today, as what it used to be in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa times (c. 2500 B.C. to c. 1250 B.C.)

There is a craze in this country for anything that sounds, even remotely Gandhian, and thus Ramaswamy was allowed to fritter away a few crores. There is not a trace of the cart model on the IIM campus at Bangalore where we stayed for a few days as houseguests of a faculty member.

History is inexorable. It may have preserved the bullock cart for 4,500 years but the notion that, "small is beautiful" is a will 'o' the wisp. The notion may work in the case of miniaturised micro-chips, but in other fields the idea is strictly blasé.

Small maybe beautiful, but what is small, in general? Small, in relation to what? And why should small, be invariably beautiful? I like many big things, like the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur. Like the gigantic ruins at Hampi. Like the monolithic, multi-chambered Kailasnatha Temple at Ellora. Like the colossal Iron Pillar at Delhi (Height 24 feet, Diameter 16 inches and weight 6 tons). Or the 7 feet tall copper Sultanganj Buddha. Or even the Shravanbelagola Gomateswara (70 feet and 3 inches in height — Murray's Guide, 1929)

Incidentally, Gol Gumbaz, the

Hampi ruins and the Gomateswara statue are all in Karnataka.

To return to Ramaswamy, all I can say is that I 'liked' the colossal fraud that he was. He had no notion in his head, except that he could mulct the Central government of some millions of rupees in order to prosper as a true charlatan of 20th century India.

Thus, not withstanding Ramaswamy, the bullock carts have disappeared and are disappearing from our arterial roads. However, sad to say, this is mere facade. In the interior, they are there, because the economic life of our little villages and towns has not changed very much!

*

Before we pass on to notice the selective list of booming trades and industries, and those that are declining, as seen from the road, let me make mention of the beautiful tamarind, which begins to form long avenues for miles, just as we cross from Maharashtra into Karnataka, somewhere near Kagal.

Oh what a beautiful tree the tamarind is! Its feathery leaves grow into a superb canopy from fairly near the ground level, just six or seven feet from the curbside, to a height of 50, 60 and 75 feet, for grand old specimens. The tamarind provides a wonderfully deep shade, and every part of the tree is useful. The wood is excellent for carving, building and turning. A round, flat wheel-like joined affair when thrown into a well lasts for years to keep the well bottom clean. Tamarind is derived from *Tamar-e-hind*, "the date of India," as the Arabs called it. Tamarind is the seasoning of choice in South Indian cuisine. There is a special way of boiling it and ridding the pulp of some noxious elements. The South Indian *sambar*, the very mention of it, makes my mouth water, is impossible without lots of tamarind going into it.

There are many beautiful Indian trees, amongst them, asoka, banyan, peepal, jamun, drum-stick, sag, seesam, sal, rosewood, kachnar, neem, jackfruit, coconut, *supari*, sandalwood,

parijat, *champak*, *palash*, mahogany, ebony, soap-nut, silk-cotton, lemon, mango, almond, walnut, pistachio, plum, pear, peach, pomegranate and hundreds more, each more beautiful than the other. I wish somebody would make a vast garden with only pure classical Indian trees. I would love to roam in such a garden.

Each state could declare a great Indian tree as the State Tree and line up as many avenues within the state as possible with the State Tree.

*

I would say that in present day India the following industries are booming:

1. Automobiles, tractors, garages, repair-shops, petrol pumps, etc.

2. Hoteliering, tourist buses, restaurants, *dhabas*, fast-food joints, sweetmeat shops, and so on.

3. Electronics gadgetry, including xerox, ISD and STD booths and shops.

4. Construction and land speculation.

5. Commercialised education. English-medium schools, coaching classes, management science institutes, etc.

In short, there is a boom in the Services' Sector and very little is going towards Manufacturing. I do not know how long and how far this kind of parasitical activity can carry India. It will have to be a bust very soon, or perhaps we are in for a roller-coaster economic ride! In the period immediately ahead, we will just lurch and hiccup and stall and suddenly start.

*

Our road-signs are very deficient. The Karnataka authorities are particularly guilty. They insist on placing only Kannada signboards, so that for long stretches we do not know exactly where we are going. This is especially true of the interior roads, where we had strayed in our search for some old temples and similar archaeological sites. On the outward journey to Bangalore, we were misdirected to the Shogul Falls, which at the time of the year, just before the monsoon, had the appearance of a little child urinating from a height! We turned back, deeply disappointed.

Finally, on the return journey, we

managed to find some of the old temples we had been looking for, like Kalleswara at Hirehadagali, and Kúruvatti and Lakkundi.

We do believe that Hindi signboards should be put up everywhere along Karnataka roads. I think Chief Minister J. H. Patel owes at least this much to the memory of Lohia. **At least in non-essentials let him observe the percepts of Lohia!** I hope somebody reads out this passage to him.

Another thing that he, as Chief Minister of Karnataka, should and could do is to forthwith remove all the speed-breakers and rumpers and such other horrible contraptions strewn about on the roads of Karnataka.

These obstructions reveal the hectoring authoritarian bureaucratic mentality of our authorities. It is a shame that the police and the PWD should join hands to punish millions of innocent road-users. The wear and tear of the brakes, the gnashing of gears, the excess fuel consumption and the abrupt irritating manner in which they intrude as the car is speeding away, it is really a shameful state of affairs.

I do not think that the speed-breakers and rumpers improve road safety. I saw a dozen mishaps and more during my 1,600 km car journey. I think an All-India research study would confirm my opinion that these axle-breakers and gear-smashers are completely out of date in a **democratic polity. They belong to our colonial past.** I have never known of such hindrances on European or American roads.

As J. H. Patel, the Karnataka CM has confessed, "wine and women are my weaknesses," I am glad that he has shed some of the horrible hypocrisy that surrounds the *gaddis* which the politicians occupy. However, if he can find time away from his two fond pre-occupations, let him remove these axle-breakers and gear-smashers from our roads, at least from the roads of Karnataka.

*

Why does not Karnataka teach Maharashtrian restaurant and dhaba-owners, and managers of Maharashtrian

cafés, the art of brewing fresh aromatic coffee? I had lovely coffee all through the ten days that I spent in Karnataka. One never finds such coffee in Maharashtra. Not even in Bombay! Not even in five-star hotels! It is only in the small Udipi establishments and in Mavalli Tiffin-Rooms in Bangalore city that one can find such lovely aromatic coffee! I do not know what magic the Kannada coffee-makers possess. They just do it, simply and astoundingly. I have had coffee in Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Kerala; but my honest opinion is that there is nothing to touch the Karnataka coffeewala!

*

I met many old friends and acquaintances in Bangalore. Amongst them, Dr. S. Chandrashekhar, head of the Liquid Crystal Laboratory.

As I sat on the couch talking to him, I was reminded of a note which I had given years ago to Dr. Qasim, secretary of the Ministry of Ocean Development. In another part of this *Opening Statement*, I will be dealing with my old note.

*

I must say that we do not have a map-reading and route-marking culture in our country. Motorists have to waste a lot of time in finding their bearings and getting directions for intended destinations. Especially in the case of stopovers overnight. Our metros and big towns lack indicators which show the way out of the town and towards the next district town.

Long ago I had pointed out this lacuna to the Municipal Commissioner Mumbai, B. M. Sukthankar, who did make some feeble efforts in this direction. He installed in Mumbai, a few road signs with arrows towards important landmarks. But there was no indication that certain landmarks resulted in exits from the city, whilst, other pointers were merely showing the way to some internal features of the city.

I have thought very often about this problem, since I suffer from topographical cretinism and cannot find my way to and from any place without having performed the journey at least a hundred times. I am particularly

sensitive to topographical considerations.

It all began very very long ago during the 1942 Movement when I prepared a very crude map of streets of Vile Parle, Mumbai, to help me in appointing street-leaders for our underground bulletins. I used to cyclostyle the bulletin in a photographic studio in East Santacruz and carry away bagfuls of cyclostyled bulletins in broad daylight, riding a bicycle. There must have been secret sympathisers of the August Movement in the police force, since I was never picked up, though I was induced to become recklessly careless in course of time.

Ultimately, they did arrest me for possession of illegal literature, but that was several months later following a raid on my residence. However, I continued operating through my Street Leader Network before and after the raid on my place and arrest on "possession" charges.

After long cogitation, I have been able to work out a fantastic schema. I don't think it will ever get implemented, but I would like to put it down on paper, once and for all, so that it may at least get noticed as a mad man's dream.

First, a Universal Colour Code should be worked out. Let us begin with the four cardinal directions. Let North be Yellow, East red, South green, and West black. (There is in my mind a symbolic association of directions and colours, but we will not go into that at the moment.)

In all towns, cities, even in large villages, signs may be placed along all major roads and streets which will indicate by colour to which quarter of the habitation they belong and in which direction the exit or ingress lay. If we imagine the clock face, then, the entire segment from ten-thirty to one-thirty o'clock would have signs painted yellow; from one-thirty to four-thirty would be painted red; from four-thirty to seven-thirty would be painted green and from seven-thirty to ten-thirty would be painted black.

In whichever town or city he may be, the motorist will immediately
(Contd. on p. 23)

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

PRIME MINISTER ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE AND HIS INNER CIRCLE

1
**JASWANT
SINGH**
(Deputy Chairman,
Planning Commission)

The Prime Minister's main policy adviser. Also manages Coordination Committee of the coalition.

2
**PRAMOD
MAHAJAN**
(Political Adviser)

Mahajan combines the role of a political firefighter-cum-super assistant to Vajpayee. Deals with

1. Coalition partners
2. Party MPs
3. Media
4. Public Grievances Cell (headed by Vijay Goel)

3
**SHAKTI
SINHA**
(Personal Secretary)

Every file passes through him.

4
**BRAJESH
MISHRA**
(Principal Secretary)

Head of the PMO

OTHER INNER CIRCLE OFFICIALS

Jawed Usmani
Harnam Singh
C. Phunsog
P.P. Shukla
Jarnail Singh
Ashok Priyadarshi
S.S. Meenakshisundaram
Ashok Saikia

Ashok Tandon
Sudheendra Kulkarni

(Industry & Finance)
(Science & Technology)
(Personnel & Administration)
(Defence & External Affairs)
(Home Affairs & IB Reports)
(responsibility undefined)
(Health & Family Welfare)
(Agriculture, Human
Resources Development)
(OSD, Information)
(Speech Writer)

THUMB NAIL SKETCHES OF MAIN FIGURES

1. **Jaswant Singh** : Major Jaswant Singh is the only member of Prime Minister Vajpayee's inner circle whom he lists as a personal friend. The RSS' veto over Singh's appointment as Finance Minister and his exclusion from Kushabhau Thakre's BJP National Executive did not deter Prime Minister Vajpayee. Jaswant Singh was appointed as Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. However, Jaswant Singh's role extends far beyond handling of financial matters. The Prime Minister who himself is a master of Hindi language, is well in awe of Singh's formidable command over English. It is not an unusual scene to find Singh poring over a draft of the Prime Minister's speech and piloting some suggestions. Jaswant is in virtually every task force set up by the Prime Minister. And Vajpayee ensures that he becomes part of every aspect of government. Jaswant Singh led the Indian delegation at the Conference on Narcotics at the UN General Assembly on June 8 in New York. This was considered a convenient opportunity to explain India's stand on the nuclear issue, particularly when the foreign ministers of the Permanent Five were to meet in Geneva on June 4 and those of the G-8 in Cardiff on June 12 to take stock of the new situation in South Asia. His present role as the Prime Minister's chief envoy is likely to get formalised as he has been elected to the Rajya Sabha. There is a suggestion, for his induction into the cabinet as Minister without Portfolio which would enable him to do his troubleshooting, merrily.

2. **Pramod Mahajan** — Pramad Mahajan is another trouble-shooter who had assumed the grand title of Political Adviser to the Prime Minister some time ago. It combined the twin roles of a strategy planner and spokesman for the PMO. While the

task of handling public relations and attending the *janata-darbars* has been entrusted to his protege, Delhi MP Vijay Goel, Pramad Mahajan has been a sort of super-spokesman of the government. Recently a story had been published in a couple of newspapers about Mahajan having been asked to restrain his daily outpourings to the media. But Mahajan did not lose his cool and continued to drive home a point which his listeners would find hard to believe. He said, "Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee shares his views with Home Minister L. K. Advani on everything — 100 per cent."

Mahajan's re-entry into Parliament has just taken place. He is being tipped for the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs. Pramad Mahajan is seen as one of the most skilled practitioners of realpolitik in the BJP. Mahajan has wide-ranging contacts with MPs of other parties. More particularly, Mahajan in BJP is like Murlidhar in Congress. They are the Big Fund-Raisers !

3. **Shakti Sinha** — Shakti Sinha is Personal Secretary to the Prime Minister. A low key and self-effacing person, he has been thrust into the limelight due to his key role in the PMO. Sinha is an IAS officer and has been with the PM since 1996. His marriage into Prime Minister's adopted family — the Kauls, has brought him close to the Prime Minister. He connects the PMO to the rest of the government. No file is allowed to reach the PM without going through him. His thorough knowledge of bureaucratic details, helps him to provide instant inputs to the Prime Minister, particularly during Parliamentary debates. He is the principal *naukershahi* conduit to the PMO. He is so much a part of the Vajpayee establishment that many often joke that the nuclear tests were named after him.

4. **Brajesh Mishra** — Brajesh Mishra is the name of the Principal

Secretary — the formal head of the PMO. Mishra heads an establishment that includes one secretary and eight joint secretaries. A former diplomat, he served as India's permanent representative to the UN. The son of former Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister D. P. Mishra (once described as Indira Gandhi's Chanakya), Brajesh Mishra joined the BJP in 1991. He headed BJP's foreign affairs cell. Like the Prime Minister, Mishra's interest lies in the areas of defence and foreign affairs. A retired IFS man, he is regarded as the most authoritative voice on Indian foreign policy. During the recent debate on the nuclear issue, Mishra could often be found briefing Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath while working out the details of the Government's stand. His appointment as a Principal Secretary came as a surprise. With the exception of P. N. Haksar, who served under Indira Gandhi, most principal secretaries have been from the IAS with experience in economic ministries.

PMO :

PMO constitutes a small group of 11 persons. Those on whom the Prime Minister leans heavily for his day to day conduct of the affairs of the state.

Prime Minister's Office (PMO) is regarded as a country's engine room. This is a room where confidential files are sifted and policies formulated. It reflects the incumbent's character and style of functioning. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's office has a distinct character of its own. It is easy of access and informal in style. In ordinary circumstances, you would hardly find any hangers-on as you enter the PMO. Nor would you have to encounter trusted aides like R. K. Dhawan, M. L. Fotedar, Arun Nehru and Arun Singh, to seek access to the Prime Minister. Vajpayee is more self-confident and is bolder in approach as compared to his Congress predecessors, like Indira, Rajiv and P. V. N. Rao. ■

LET JUSTICE BE DONE TO BHANWARI AND RICHA !

During zero hour of the last Parliamentary session, the Double Gang Rape incident in Rajasthan was highlighted by the Opposition leader, Sharad Pawar. He vociferously charged the BJP leaders with politicising a sensitive issue. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) MP Mrs. Sumitra Mahajan and a few others from her party sought to counter the Congress charge, that similar incidents had taken place in Madhya Pradesh, which also needed a thorough probe. It was like the pot calling the kettle black. Both BJP and INC have been tainted by the same dirty brush, INC for fifty years and BJP for fewer ! But the colour has been the same — dirty black !

There is no denying the fact that an increasing number of atrocities on women in Rajasthan have gone unheeded. The table given below reveals a dubious reputation which the state of Rajasthan has acquired in the

that shook the state in September last year, Richa was abducted on 22nd May this year. After leaving a library run by a voluntary agency, where she had begun working barely six weeks earlier, she was waiting for her autorickshaw on that day, when a red Maruti van pulled up by her side. Four men with their faces covered, got off, pushed her into the van and sedated her. They took turns raping the gagged and tied girl for three hours, in the moving van. Then at 7.30 p.m., she was dropped off at the same spot from where she had been kidnapped.

Earlier, when the autorickshaw driver didn't find her waiting at the gate of her office, he informed her family about it. After waiting for her for an hour, the family alerted the police.

In her statement, Richa told the police that the second gang-rape was chiefly done to force her to withdraw

selection of Om Beniwal to the Rajasthan Police. Richa who had come to register the FIR had also named 15 persons who were sexually intimidating her for the past seven years. The accused did not spare the victim's father. Even he had received threats and offered blandishments to get his daughter to withdraw the charges against the accused.

But the Rajasthan state administration was not geared to prevent recurrence of such ghastly incidents. Nine months on and the police failed to arrest three of the nine rapists named in the chargesheet viz. Bhola Yadav, Ramnivas and Brijendra Punia. Nor did they arrest any of the 15 people Richa had named in the sexual exploitation case, which included, Dy. SP Prahlad Singh Krishnaia, Dharmendra Punia as well as politically well-connected Manoj Sharan Chauthala.

The victim's father, a well known Hindi journalist and progressive writer, has now become more determined than ever to fight and carry on his long struggle against an unrelenting system. He reportedly told journalists, " I am not going to oblige them. My fight is no longer for my daughter, but for the women of Rajasthan." (*Indian Express*, 27.5.98) This is going to be a long, uncertain and torturous struggle for him, since Rajasthan is a state ridden with feudal prejudice and antiquated views on women, their sexuality and their place in society. The state police normally dismiss rape and dowry cases on the ground that they are 'false'. According to the Janvadi Mahila Samiti of the CPI-M, quoting official statistics, the police in Ganganagar sealed the fate of 228 (or 53 per cent) of the 430 dowry related cases by taking No Action. Between 1990 and 1996, according to the Home Department, rape cases rose by 56 per cent (740 to 1,162) and molestation cases by 83 per cent (1,413 to 2,583). It is all the more disturbing to note that only 10 per cent of the rape cases that make it to the courts, end in conviction. In most of the cases victims prefer to suffer in silence. This has been brought out by Kavita Srivastava of the Mahila Atyachar Virodhi Jan Andolan. In the

RAJASTHAN'S SHAME : CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN				
	1993	1994	1995	1996
Rape	890	1,002	1,036	1,162
Kidnapping & Abduction	2,303	2,276	2,579	2,488
Dowry deaths	369	298	300	415
Torture	1,984	2,277	3,041	3,900
Molestation	1,587	1,505	1,969	2,593
(eve teasing)				
Sexual harassment	27	49	63	40
Crime under special laws *	-	55	14	05
Total	7,160	7,462	9,002	10,603

* Includes Importation of girls, and offences under the Sati Prevention Act, Immoral Traffic Prevention Act and Indecent Depiction of Women.

matter of crimes of various sorts against women.

We have already brought it to notice of *Mankind's* readers in our Nov. 1997 issue that in all cases of crimes against women the criminal-political-naukershahi nexus takes over in denying justice to the innocent victims of sexual molestation. 27 year old Rajasthan girl Richa's re-lived saga of brutality is a stark proof of this.

A victim of seven years of sexual harassment which ended in a gang rape

her charges against Deputy Superintendent of Police Prahlad Singh Krishnaia, son-in-law of local BJP MLA Richpal Miridha; and to protect Dharmendra Punia, son of local Dy. SP Jilian Singh Punia. On 5th September 1997, Richa had been brutally gangraped by nine men at the J. C. Boys' Hostel of the local university. While men in clusters of 10 and 15 were standing outside the room and watching this grand finale to the booze 'n' blue film party held to celebrate the

Ajmer sex scandal uncovered in 1992, out of 30 teenaged girls identified as victims of blackmail and sexual exploitation, only 12 filed FIRs. Later, 10 of them retracted their statements. Out of 16 men who were identified as culprits only 11 were arrested and of them six are out on bail. (*Indian Express*, 26.5.98).

There is another incident which took place just two days before this double gang rape case, leaving the culprits at large. Here, a 20 year old woman had filed a criminal complaint saying that she had been raped by BJP MLA Rangji Meena and three others, including two Congress leaders, while she was on her way to the Kailadevi temple in Karoli District.

A parallel that exists between the famous Bhanwari Devi case, and the Double Gangrape Richa case is remarkable. Bhanwari Devi was a backward caste *sathin* (a voluntary worker) in Rajasthan state-sponsored scheme of Women's Development Project (WDP) meant for empowering rural women and helping them participate in their own development. Her job was to prevent child marriages. She tried to stop Ram Karan Gujjar (a member belonging to the rich family of the dominant Gujjar caste) from

getting his one year old daughter married off. She was gangraped on the evening of September 22, 1992. 43 year old Bhanwari Devi filed a rape complaint with the police. But the police tried to botch up the case by conducting the medical examination 52 hours after the incident. Exactly the same tactic was repeated in Richa's case, where the victim was made to wait for nine hours on Sept. 5, 1997. By that time, in her innocence the girl washed her undergarments and unwisely destroyed crucial forensic evidence. In Bhanwari's case the district and sessions court in Jaipur dismissed her case and acquitted all the five accused. In Richa's case, to date, the critical DNA and serological reports on the nine condoms found at the scene of the crime, have not been received back from the Hyderabad Forensic Lab. Should this be termed "administrative laxity" or "complicity"? This issue is being treated on communal lines. Now that the Jat community, traditionally a Congress vote bank, is being courted by the BJP leaders in the hope of its obtaining electoral support; Rajasthan administration is doing little to expedite trial and bring the guilty men to book. In Bhanwari Devi's case, Gujjars made

it a caste issue, with full backing of the BJP MLA, Kanhaiya Lal Meena, who led a rally in Jaipur on Jan 18, 1996. Bhanwari Devi was denounced as a *randi* (prostitute) and *kalankini* (bad omen).

Bhanwari Devi has not yet given up her struggle against injustice. Her appeal against the lower court order exonerating her attackers, has been admitted by the High Court in Feb 1996. But hearing is yet to begin. Meanwhile Bhanwari Devi has turned down offers of help for her relocation in Jaipur, and has stayed very much in her village Bhateri, even as the state government applied brakes on the *sathin* scheme and reduced their number from 1,300 to 700. Bhanwari Devi has only this much to say, "Since the day I was raped, I have lost all my options. The only way ahead is to fight." Richa's father is also up in arms to fight the battle to the finish!

Bravo! We are fully with Bhanwari and Richa, and their families!

Let full justice be rendered to them!

Let them receive ample compensation! Let the guilty officials personally pay this compensation!

Let the guilty men receive exemplary punishment! ■

SHOULD NOT PRIYANKA AND RAHUL BE MADE TO PAY FOR THEIR FATHER'S CRIMES ?

In our last issue we had written that everybody's attention is monopolised by the relatively small (money-wise) Rs. 64 crore Bofors scandal, whereas virtually no attention was being paid to the Securities Scam of 1992, which involved hundreds and thousands of crores! However, that is another issue. The Securities Scam does not belong to the Rajiv 'misrule' era. But Bofors was not the only murky deal that Rajiv was involved in, though it was the one that brought down his house of cards. Rajiv was involved in four more grand larcenies; the St. Kitts Forgeries Case; the HDW Submarines Scam; the Westland Helicopters Deal and the Airbus-320 Scandal.

The Airbus-320 scandal conforms to the classical pattern of the corrupt deals of those days: "rejection of sound professional opinion, followed by a feverishly hurried process culminating in the purchase of an item rejected earlier, leaving a trail of reasonable suspicions of graft." (*Frontline*, 8.5.98)

In May 1984, a sub-committee of experts recommended to Indian Airlines (IA) the purchase of Boeing 757s in order to augment its fleet of aircraft. In October 1984, Airbus Industrie in France sent an unsolicited offer for the sale of A-320 planes which the company 'planned to manufacture.' After that things started

moving very fast. Rajiv Gandhi and Satish Sharma travelled to Paris in June 1985 and attended an air show at which Rajiv sat in the 'simulated cockpit' of an A-320. On August 2, 1985, at a meeting presided over by Rajiv, it was decided that IA "should go in for Airbus-320 aircraft with V-2500 engines." (*Ibid*). Others present at the meeting were S. S. Sidhu, Secretary, Civil Aviation and Tourism, his Minister Jagdish Tytler, Cabinet Secretary P. K. Kaul and Gopi 'Bofors' Arora of the Prime Minister's Office.

The decision to buy 19 planes with an option to buy 12 more was taken in 1985 though the agreement was formally signed on March 15, 1986. At the time of decision-making neither the Airbus-320 nor the engine V-2500 had been manufactured. Neither had they been tested or tried. Their

airworthiness was a matter of pure guess.

On June 26, 1988, an A-320 on a demonstration flight crashed at Mulhouse, near Paris. IA had a fleet of 35 jets (10 Airbus 300 and 25 Boeing 737 aircrafts). In just two years, the fleet size nearly doubled with the addition of 31 A-320s without any thought for corresponding changes with regard to ground equipment, airport facilities or the strength and training of operating and maintenance personnel. An enormous expenditure of Rs. 2,400 crores in foreign exchange was incurred. It was estimated in 1990 that the additional expenditure on the Airbus-320 fleet in comparison to that of Boeing 757s would exceed Rs. 500 crores. The total accumulated loss suffered by IA at that time was Rs. 900 crores. Consequently, four days after an Indian Airlines A-320 crashed in Bangalore on February 14, 1990, killing around 90 passengers, Civil Aviation Minister Arif Mohammed Khan ordered a grounding of the A-320 fleet.

In response to this, the CBI filed a First Information Report containing charges of conspiracy and offences under the Prevention of Corruption Acts of 1947 and 1988 under the Indian Penal Code against all the bureaucrats and officials involved but the politicians and especially Rajiv Gandhi got away scot-free. However, in the case of the bureaucrats and officials too, only charges were filed, nothing came of it. In all probability the officials were either uninvolved or were minor players.

After the FIR was lodged by the CBI, it was found that an important file in which Airbus Industrie's unsolicited sudden offer of November 1984 was processed, "has reportedly become untraceable at present." S. S. Sidhu, former Secretary, Civil Aviation, whose role in the HDW Submarine Deal was also under investigation was nominated Secretary-General of the International Civil Aviation Organisation on August 1, 1989, for a three-year term and thus claimed diplomatic immunity, just as Gopi Arora had done after the Bofors deal.

The file which is supposedly untraceable now, also contained another letter in which the Ministry asked IA to furnish its comments on the Airbus proposal "at the earliest for onward transmission to PM's office."

At the time when the deal for Airbus-320 was formalised, the IA was in the process of acquiring Boeing 757s since it was in dire need of fleet replacement. The delay caused a loss of interest, on the deposit of \$ 9 mln. which had been the refundable advance to Boeing company, to the extent of Rs. 13.5 lakhs.

On May 8, 1990, nearly six weeks after the FIR was lodged, *Indian Express* had published a note in Sidhu's handwriting which he had signed and which was dated August 2, 1985, stating that "It has been agreed in a meeting held in the P.M.'s room in Parliament House today that IAC (Indian Airlines Corporation) should go in for Airbus A-320 aircraft with V-2500 engines." The note proved the falsity of the claims made by P. Chidambaram and others of the Congress, soon after the FIR was filed, that it was a collective independent decision of IA made on technical and economic grounds.

As in the case of the Airbus, the V-2500 engines were also in the process of development though the CPM International, the aircraft engine manufacturers, had offered its engine for the A-320. The delivery schedule began with two planes in April 1989 and ended in March 1990. "Consequently, a very attractive, economical and prudent transaction with Boeing Co. was nullified and abandoned for no valid reason, save and except, that the A-320 **"had to be acquired at any cost."**

After the V. P. Singh government was toppled, Chandrashekhar became PM with Congress help and he also started dilly-dallying in the matter and tried to scuttle the probe. In a statement he said "that a loss of Rs. 500 crores had been incurred in the grounding of the A-320 fleet. There was no evidence of any 'mishandling' in their purchase."

In the meantime, CBI Joint Director N. K. Singh rejoined the CBI.

Towards the end of 1990, letters rogatory were sent to France, UK and the US.

The Chandrashekhar government in general, and his law minister Subramaniam Swamy in particular, were finally responsible for the scuttling of the investigation.

"On February 3, 1991 night Swamy telephoned the then CBI Director, Vijay Karan, and wanted to know whether in the Airbus case, the Letters Rogatory had gone and whether the name of any politician was mentioned there. Vijay Karan avoided giving him a direct answer. But in the meeting convened by the Law Minister in his office next morning, the Director was specifically asked whether the name of Captain Satish Sharma, a Congress (I) member of Rajya Sabha, had been mentioned in the Letters Rogatory ... the same afternoon, the Prime Minister himself rang up the CBI Director and asked him whether the name of Captain Satish Sharma figured in them." Consequently, on March 26, 1991, N. K. Singh was transferred out of the CBI to the Border Security Force.

As of now, like all other investigations relating to Rajiv Gandhi, viz the St. Kitts Forgeries Case, the HDW Submarines Scam, the Westland Helicopters Deal, the Bofors Scandal, etc. the Airbus A-320 probe too is gathering dust with absolutely no chance of it being solved. As for the key players, the main villain, Rajiv Gandhi is dead and so, it is said, no investigation can be carried out against him. Actually, why not? Rajiv's heirs could be deprived of some specific amounts of their ill-gotten inheritance! Most of the bureaucrats have fled to jobs that grant them diplomatic immunity.

But should not the nation's poor be compensated for their loss? Why should not Rajiv's inheritance be nationalised? At this point we can only repeat what we had stated in the April 1998 issue of *Mankind: Oh For a New Naukershah, a New Scam, a New Chargesheet and a New Investigation!* These scams add spice and zest to our drab existence! ■

WILL QUATTROCCHI EVER PAY FOR HIS BOFORS SINS ?

Bofors has remained a hot potato in India. It may be recalled that the first genuine investigation into the Bofors payoffs in secret Swiss accounts was started during Soli Jehangir Sorabjee's first tenure as Attorney General of India in 1989. After almost a decade, his reappointment as Attorney General of India has generated renewed hopes that there would be expeditious and thorough investigations to wind up the Bofors issue.

The first set of documents that arrived from Switzerland last year identified some persons. On the basis of which, the then CBI director, Joginder Singh, drew up a provisional chargesheet that named amongst others Rajiv Gandhi as a 'conspirator.'

Others in that category included, Ottavio Quattrocchi, former Rajiv aides S. K. Bhatnagar and Gopi Arora, former External Affairs Minister Madhavsinh Solanki and one time Bofors representative Win Chaddha and his wife. In March this year, a two member CBI team landed in New Delhi with information about how Bofors kickbacks worth \$ 9.2 million moved from Guernsey, Channel Islands, to four coded accounts in Vienna and Geneva. The CBI's investigations in Guernsey atleast have had the desired effect, since within a week after this, the businessman and key suspect in the Bofors payoffs scandal, Ottavio Quattrocchi, petitioned the Delhi High Court asking for the Non Bailable Warrant (NBW) issued against him in February 1997 to be cancelled. He also pleaded for the withdrawal of an Interpol red-corner alert put out at the request of the CBI.

The CBI investigations into the final destination of \$ 9.2 million that

was allegedly paid to Quattrocchi and originally held in coded account at the Union Bank of Switzerland in the name of a front company, Wetelsen Overseas, revealed that the \$ 9.2 million had been transferred from the above-mentioned Geneva account to Inter Investment Development Co. and to a company named Ansbacher Ltd. in Peter Port, Guernsey (Channel Islands) on May 21, 1990. 10 days later i.e. on June 1, 1990, the entire sum but for a minimum

experience of such business was given a "consultancy" contract by the company. AE Services was to support the AB Bofors in its bid and provide the services needed for keeping it well informed about the progress of negotiations. If AB Bofors did win the Howitzer gun contract before April 1, 1986, AE services was to be given a 3 per cent commission.

At the time AE Services entered into agreement with Bofors, plenty of competitive offers were available with the decision-makers. French-made Sofma gun was rather a strong contender. Technically Sofma gun system was superior to Bofors.

Quattrocchi, the representative of a petrochemicals corporation, was brought into the picture at this moment, as AE Services. Despite the fact that Quattrocchi and his firm were short in knowledge of the armaments business, his choice was made by Bofors on

INFORMATION FACT SHEET		
DOORDARSHAN'S ASSETS		
Sr.No.		
1.	Channels	17
2.	Programme and Production Centre	41
3.	Transmitters	921
4.	Satellite Transponders	18
5.	Weekly Programme Output	1,422 hqurs
6.	Population covered	87 per cent
7.	Cumulative Viewership	450 million
8.	Commercial Revenue	487 crore

(Source : Outlook, 8.6.98)

deposit of \$ 30, was moved from Guernsey to four coded accounts in Vienna and Geneva. The CBI, now fully armed with details of these four accounts, three of which are said to be located in Geneva and one in Vienna, is expected to issue Letter Rogatories (LRs) i.e., letters of request for the Governments of Austria and Switzerland.

The CBI filed a counter-affidavit on April 13 as a reply to Quattrocchi's petition. The 30-page document, gives a detailed account of payoff deals which ultimately shaped the award of the Bofors contract. This counter-affidavit, based on the confidential report of its Special Investigation Team (SIT) working on the Bofors case and the Swiss documents, tells the story of the payoffs from the beginning. The Government of India had declared as early as 1984 its policy of totally eliminating middlemen and agents from defence contracts. But AB Bofors preferred to pay no heed, since AE Services, a company with no previous

altogether a different ground. As the counter-affidavit records, "the families of the then Prime Minister of India and Ottavio Quattrocchi were on very intimate terms with each other and they used to meet frequently." (*Frontline*, 8.5.98). This intimacy resulted in the award of the fat contract to AB Bofors. AE Services' report on negotiations with the Defence Minister leaves no room for doubt that bureaucrats and politicians were well aware that via AE Services they were dealing with the agents for Bofors. In fact the process of negotiations going on since 1984, picked up pace suddenly after Nov. 1988, as AE Services entered the picture. Army Headquarters in its report of 17.2.86, rated the Bofors gun as number 1. On the basis of this report, the Negotiating Committee recommended the issuance of a Letter of Intent in favour of Bofors on 12.3.86. The hurried decision taken for the issuance of a letter of intent was itself abnormal since at a late stage of competitive bidding, both Sofma and

Bofors would have reduced their initial quotations. But by circumventing that formality it was made known through this Letter of Intent to the Swedes, that the contract had been awarded to them.

For the first time in the Bofors scandal, a charge of corruption has been made by an official organisation in a sworn statement. Since the commission received by Quattrocchi was transferred later on to various accounts, which itself proves that he was holding the money as a *mere benami* ! Further evidence in this regard is awaited which could be

obtained from the trials of former External Affairs Minister Madhavsingh Solanki and bureaucrats S. K. Bhatnagar and Gopi Krishan Arora. CBI's requests for mandatory sanction for the prosecution have been on hold since the I. K. Gujral Ministry's term in office.

With the BJP government now in power, it is obvious that Sonia is trying to arrive at an understanding with Vajpayee and Advani. Congress opposition has been very low key from the time Sonia took over as leader of the Parliamentary Party, without being

an M.P. !

The next logical step for the government could be to initiate proceedings to have Quattrocchi extradited from Malaysia, where he is sitting pretty after having beaten off an extradition effort once.

However, if a Vajpayee-Sonia deal comes through, no such extradition proceedings will face Sonia's countryman ! He will remain in Kuala Lumpur, lolling in the sun, drinking an endless series of imported Chianti or Cinzano cocktails ! ■

KARAN SINGH, HIS SON, AND LALIT SURI IN ONE MORE SCAM !

Another addition to the ever-growing list of scams is the recent one concerning Dr. Karan Singh, the Rajya Sabha M.P. son and of the erstwhile Maharaja of Kashmir. Hari Singh.

A 28-acre palace, situated along the Dal lake, was disposed of for a mere Rs. 10 lakh. The sale deed was executed by the heirs of Hari Singh, including former Sadai-i-riyasat and Rajya Sabha member Dr. Karan Singh and his family. The palace has been sold to Narinder Kumar Batra, younger son of influential Kashmir business magnate Dharam Veer Batra. However, it is most probably a front for the real owner, **Lalit Suri of Bharat Hotels, who being a non-Kashmiri cannot by law purchase immovable property in J&K.** That the real owner is Suri can be made out from the fact that immediately after registering the sale deed formally in Srinagar court, **Batra transferred all his rights on the property in favour of Suri's Bharat Hotels** through a general power of attorney, signed and executed on that very day.

Actually, there is a double scam in the deal. One, that Vikramaditya Singh, Karan Singh's son, who by virtue of a memorandum of partition dated 16.3.65 became the owner of the palace had already leased the building and land to M/s Jyoti Private Limited, of which his father was the managing director, on February 21, 1978, for 40 years. But 20 years later, on November

22, 1997, Vikramaditya executed a perpetual lease deed with the aforementioned company for a period of 99 years. Thus, in the first place, the sale to Narinder Kumar Batra was illegal because, the perpetual lease deed states that the lessor (Vikramaditya) "shall have no right/title or interest left in the scheduled property nor shall he be entitled to revoke/determine this Indenture Perpetual Lease until the expiry of the lease period." (*Outlook*, 15.6.98). The lease period expires in the year 2096. On the other hand, if Suri has also purchased the said company, then the deal is in gross violation of the state subject laws, which bars outsiders from owning immovable property in J&K.

The second illegality in the whole deal is that Vikramaditya, through the sale deed transferred and assigned to Batra the entire property — in consideration of a sum of Rs. 1,000,000 paid via Pay Order No. 004448 dated 13.1.98, drawn on Oriental Bank of Commerce, Subzi Mandi, Delhi. The same day, Batra transferred all his rights in favour of Suri's Bharat Hotels Limited through a general power of attorney. In the document, Batra nominates the chairman of Bharat Hotels Limited (Suri) as his "lawful attorney" of the property with all rights to "sell, convey, transfer, exchange, assign or otherwise part with the possession of the said

property and for that purpose to apply for permission to sell from the competent authorities and to receive the same from the officers of the concerned authorities."

Also, while Vikramaditya Singh claims to have sold the property for 10 lakhs, Suri said to a Srinagar newspaper that **"his company had purchased the building and land, including all the fixtures, for Rs. 35 crore and stamp duty worth Rs. 1.10 crore has been paid."** (*Ibid*). The sale deed executed on January 16, 1998, clearly states that the sale price was Rs. 10 lakh and Rs. 1.08 lakh had been paid as stamp duty at the rate of 10.8 per cent.

In fact, the whole deal smells fishy. That Batra is a front man for Suri is established by clause 12 of the document in which Batra states : "And I do hereby confirm that the present Power of Attorney is irrevocable and I shall not revoke this Power of Attorney under any circumstances whatsoever ... And I do hereby further agree and undertake not to alter, amend, diminish or derogate from these powers or to cancel or revoke this Power of Attorney." (*Ibid*)

There can be no doubt in anybody's mind that the amount claimed to have been received by Vikramaditya Singh is not correct because no sane man can sell such a strategically placed luxurious palace for such a paltry sum when a decent-sized apartment costs much more. The point now is that why was the actual amount declared by Vikramaditya and in the first place, how could he sell a

perpetually leased property before the expiry of the lease period ?

Once again, a prominent and

influential person will get away with murder. No charges will be brought

against him. He will get away scot-free to enjoy his millions. ■

RUPEE IN DEEP DIVE

Two news items in today's *Indian Express* (5.7.98) make clear the immediate reasons for the precipitous downfall of the rupee. Forex Reserves have fallen by \$ 1.8 billion during the first three months of the Current Financial Year. The foreign exchange

reserves of the country have additionally fallen by \$ 1.2 bln. in June alone.

Furthermore, " (1) In all the five financial years following the fiscal 1992 till end 1997, the NRI deposits had grown at an average rate of 10.72

per cent. The growth in the preceding fiscal of 1997 was the highest at 16.9 per cent.

(2) The Total outstanding balance under the four NRI Deposit Schemes was at \$ 20.39 bln. as on March 31, 1998 as against \$ 20.38 bln. at the end of March 1997." (*Indian Express*, 5.7.98) ■

Sr.No.	MAY/JUNE 1998		RUPEE VALUE
1.	11th May	India conducts nuclear tests; US, Japan, Germany slap sanctions	39.78
2.	22nd "	Standard & Poor's Rating downgrades India's Sovereign debt from "stable" to "negative".	40.67
3.	25th "	Rupee slides on fear of possible downgrading by Moody's after the budget of 1998-99.	41.18
4.	26th "	World Bank puts off vote on loans for India after US opposes move.	41.18
5.	27th "	Rupee touches record low of 41.50. Recovers only after \$BI starts selling.	41.31
6.	28th "	Pakistan conducts nuclear tests. Rupee touches 41.90 in kerb deals.	41.35
7.	29th "	RBI issues statement reassuring the market.	41.68
8.	1st June	Rupee touches a record low.	41.75
9.	9th "	Rupee continues to weaken against the dollar.	42.24
10.	15th "	Rupee defines a new low.	42.29
11.	17th "	Rupee strengthened against \$ to quote at	42.09
12.	18th "	Rupee closes at 42.20 of Thursday.	42.20
13.	23rd "	Rupee dives to a historic low of 43.03 in a spate of dollar-buying by Corporates and Banks.	43.03
14.	26th "	Rupee settles at 42.64 against the dollar.	42.64
15.	3rd July	Rupee closes at 42.51 on fresh corporate demand for dollars.	42.51

(Source : *Outlook*, 8.6.98; *Times of India*, 2.6.98, 28.6.98, 3.7.98; *Times of India*, Bangalore 10.6.98)

CHANDRASWAMI WANTS TO RUN, BUT IS MOMENTARILY STOPPED !

Controversial godman Chandraswami moved an application in the Crime Branch of India (CBI) court only recently to seek its permission to travel to France and the US for 'medical treatment.' The CBI Special Judge Ajit Bharioke however rejected it, in his order of 1st May. On the other hand, just a fortnight back, on April 17, the Directorate of Enforcement (DOE), an agency trying Chandraswami in five cases of foreign exchange violations amounting to Rs. 2,100 crore, sent

"no objection" letter on the same application to the metropolitan magistrate hearing the cases. The enforcement agency claimed that since both investigation and adjudication proceedings were completed in four cases, there was technically no reason for it to oppose the move. But the CBI, which is handling two cases against the godman, the St. Kitts Forgeries case and the Lakhubhai Pathak Cheating case, chose to reject the move outright.

This has brought to the fore the

dichotomy in government's stand. Whereas DOE appeared to be soft-peddling the cases against Chandraswami; the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) seemed to be more eager to nail Chandraswami, when the MHA gave its approval to prosecute Chandraswami under the Foreign Contributions Regulations Act (FCRA). The CBI while inspecting the accounts of Chandraswami's Vishwa Dharmayatan Trust came to know about foreign contributions made to the trust. These contributions were not made known to the MHA until then. In an interim Income Tax report it was also revealed that the NRI businessmen

like Somchai Chawla of Hong Kong, Abdul Ismail from the UK, Adnan Khashoggi and Rakesh Khanna from Canada had made substantial contributions in dollars to the Trust, amongst the other foreign donations that it received till June 1996.

It appears that the government is in two minds about the fate of this godman. What has aroused further suspicions is Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's recent announcement to "introduce drastic changes" in foreign exchange regulations in this session of the Parliament. Does that mean that major concessions will be offered for F E R A offenders? If this is done it means, Chandraswami would be in a better position to escape the charges which he faces at the moment.

Anyhow, Chandraswami's desperation to flee this country seems to be for another reason. Both Chandraswami and the Janata Party leader Subramanian Swamy have been named in justice M. C. Jain's final report on the larger conspiracy behind Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. The government has the next six months to place the Report before the Parliament alongwith an Action Taken Report. The godman's involvement in the wider international conspiracy is no longer a 'yet to be established' fact, since the former Cabinet Secretary Zafar Saifullah had told Jain of having

personally read certain wireless intercepts of conversations between the LTTE, Chandraswami and Israeli Intelligence Agency, Mossad, in 1991.

Sonia is at present in a quandary. On the one hand, she cannot publicly admit that she is disinterested in pursuing the inquiry into Rajiv's assassination. On the other hand, any inquiry into Rajiv's assassination that

Quattorocchi, Satish Sharma, Arun Singh, Arun Nehru and so on. Out of a conflict of interests between these two gangs of operators, the conspiracy to assassinate Rajiv was born.

A massive cover up operation has been going on for many years now. Win Chaddha and Ottavio Quattorocchi were allowed to run away from India. S. S. Sidhu and Gopi Arora have claimed

diplomatic immunity by manoeuvring themselves into convenient new foreign postings. Arun Singh refuses to utter a word on the ground that his wife had an affair with Rajiv and therefore as a gentleman he cannot be questioned about the conduct of his rival in love! Chandrashekhar and Subramaniam Swamy are representative of single member parties in our Lok Sabha who have said so many contradictory things over so many years that it is impossible

INFORMATION FACT SHEET			
COST OF LIVING			
Sr.No.	Commodities	Pre-Budget	Post-Budget
		Price (Rs/Kg)	Price (Rs/Kg)
1.	Onions	6	20
2.	Potatoes	8	12
3.	Tomatoes	18	30
4.	Lemons	25	70
5.	Beans	28	40
6.	Capsicum	28	40
7.	Brinjal	20	30
8.	Tea	176	184
9.	Cheese (per tin)	72	75
10.	Chicken	75	90
11.	Cooking Oil	46	53
12.	Rajmah	28	34
13.	Bananas (per dozen)	15	20
14.	French beans	20	80
15.	Cauliflower	20	40
16.	Green Chillies	20	50

(Source : Outlook, 6.7.98)

goes deep enough exposes the murky deals that Rajiv was involved in. Thus Rajiv's name gets assassinated by any indepth inquiry into his physical liquidation!

The truth is that Chandraswami, Adnan Khashoggi, P. V. Narasimha Rao and the Brunei Sultan were involved in numerous shady deals with our Defence Ministry. Pamela Bordes acted as their sex servant in some of these cases. When Rajiv took over as PM in 1984, he substituted his own team of trusted aides, like

to understand where they stand.

Just as ultimately the Supreme Court ruled in favour of our comprador elite and exonerated all the politicians, bureaucrats and criminals involved in Jain Hawala Diary Case, similarly, Chandraswami will be allowed to go abroad sooner or later, and from there he might or might not return.

All that we can be certain of is that nothing will emerge out of any inquiry that involves the topmost Congressmen, the highest *naukershahs* and the biggest international armament industry *dalals*. ■

RSS X-RAYED

Mankind Research Bureau

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), is an organisation founded in 1925 at Nagpur by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar as its *sarasanghchalak* or supreme. It was founded with the aim of establishing a "vibrant Hindu nation" with the ethos of the Golden Vedic age at its core. The birth of this organisation is ascribed to Hindu-Muslim communal tensions generated in the wake of Congress-backed Khilafat movement of 1921 which came out in support of the Khalifa, the Head of the Islamic "Church," who was headquartered in Ankara, Turkey, the only Muslim nation of Europe.

As a Hindu revivalist movement, the RSS has a dual identity. One, as a movement of reformation of Hindu society. Two, as a dual response to the perceived threats of a proselytising Christian British Raj, which openly supported missionary activity across the length and breadth of India through its official Ecclesiastical Department. And as a reaction to the Pan Islamic Movement that had pervaded the entire North-African continent and the Middle East after the end of World War I. The Ottoman Empire 1453-1919 had ruled over North Africa (Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, etc.) and the Middle East (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Persian Gulf States and Iraq) until the 1919 Versailles Treaty deprived Turkey of its empire. The post WW I Pan Islamic Movement had arisen as a response to Turkey's defeat in the War along with that of its allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary, all three termed in those days as Central Powers. The Pan Islamic Movement had finally hit India in 1921 in the form of the Khilafat Movement led by the Ali Brothers and M. K. Gandhi. The formation of RSS was a further reaction to the Muslim agitation sweeping over North India in particular, though a distant echo was felt as far as Kerala

in the shape of the Moplah Revolt of 1921.

In close to 75 years of its existence, the RSS has been a secretive body more hidden than apparent, pursuing relentlessly its self-imposed task of consolidating the Hindu community from within.

We must also remember that during WW II (1939-45), the RSS and the Hindu Mahasabha, both stood for support to British Imperial Armed Forces. On the excuse that "Hindu boys need military training in order to develop their character," the RSS stood for joining the British Army. (Prior to 1939, and after 1925, RSS activities were obscure and on a very small scale)

In this long span of time, it has had for *sarasanghchalaks* :K.B. Hedgewar (1925-40), M. S. Golwalkar (1940-73), Balasaheb Deoras (1973-94) and the present incumbent Rajendra Singh (1994 onwards). It has spawned a *parivar* with over 80 affiliates in various fields engaged in the task of character-building of Indians, and attempting to mould them in the Sangh pattern. The RSS has had to face bans three times due to its self-proclaimed Hindu ideology, which is at variance with our so called "secular" bourgeois capitalist culture, that is actually a *naukarshahi-dalal* composite mixture of neo-colonialism and bureaucratism. The RSS was banned after Gandhi's assassination in 1948, and during the Emergency of 1975-77; and after the Ayodhya dispute in 1992. Each time the ban was lifted by the authorities for unstated and unexplained reasons. After Gandhi's assassination in 1948, there were serious anti-Brahmin riots in Maharashtra. To give an example, the renowned public school, the Hindu High School, Panchgani was burned down. It has now been revived and expanded as the Sanjeevan School, and

has celebrated its Platinum Jubilee just a few months ago.

It would be worth looking into the activities of the *Sangh parivar*. It works on the belief that governments cannot change the nation. It is only by creating a committed cadre in various spheres, that a change can be brought about in the nation's basic outlook.

1. **Education** — The Sangh principally works in the field of education. The *Vidya Bharati Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Sansthan*, set up in 1978, has 13,000 schools, 74,000 teachers and 17.5 lakh students. It tries to inculcate values of the *Bharatiya* culture in young minds. Right from kindergarten to high school, it is through the conduct of Sanskrit exams, quiz programmes and painting competitions on Hindu mythology and leaders, that efforts are made to bring up the students in the *Bharatiya* manner. *Bharatiya Adhyapak Parishad*, an offshoot of *Vidya Bharati*, trains teachers in the field of primary education. Then there is *Sankalp*, established in 1986, with the objective of coaching students appearing for competitive exams. *Sankalp* has four branches in Delhi University, Jawaharlal University, IIT Delhi and IIM, Lucknow. The *Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana* is another institution which came up in 1973 with the aim of rewriting the Indian history of the last 5,000 years from the National Viewpoint, a most laudable objective. It correctly emphasized that the Aryans were the indigenous people of India and were neither invaders nor intruders. The BISI drew attention to the overwhelming archeological evidence that existed. As we have repeatedly stated in *Mankind*, British Imperialism was vitally interested in demoralising the Indian people by falsely alleging that the Aryans were outsiders and that India had been repeatedly invaded by alien armies. As a matter of fact it was England and Europe which had been continuously invaded or occupied by armies from the Asiatic East. We shall explore this theme further in future issues of *Mankind*. Here we will merely state that imperialist historiography has seriously distorted our vision of Indian history. Unfortunately comprador

Indian historians have largely swallowed imperialist lies. The effort by the BISI to correct the picture has been directed against both neo-colonialists and their comprador agents. However, instead of relying on solid evidence provided by such authorities as Dr. S. R. Rao, Dr. David Diring, S. G. Talageri and similar scholars, many BISI members have invited ridicule upon themselves by blindly following the mumbo-jumbo certified by certain Shankaracharyas. It will be *Mankind's* task to sift the chaff from the grain, a task that we shall gladly undertake in forthcoming issues of our journal.

Then there is *Sanskar Bharati* established in 1982 to focus on different facets of Indian culture like *sangeet*, *nriya*, *natak*, *chitrakala* and *sahitya* for countering western influence on Indian culture. Unfortunately all these good, intellectual efforts to counter Neo-colonialism were mixed up with a lot of mumbo-jumbo of the religious sort.

Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad a student body registered on July 9, 1949, has grown to include 9 lakh members in its fold. Among the 30 universities where elections to students' bodies are held, it has captured 15. The ABVP played an active role in mobilising resources in men and money for the Babri Masjid's demolition.

2. Farmers — The RSS is not lagging behind in championing the cause of farmers; though the *Bharatiya Kisan Sangh* came into being as late as the '60s. Dattopant Thengadi, who is its founder, has been mobilising farmers for procuring a higher purchase price from the government for crops, for fertilisers and power subsidies, and for small scale irrigation projects keeping in mind local needs. Thengadi has also built up two more organisations, the *Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (SJM)* and the *Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)* the trade union wing of BJP. (See below)

3. Workers — In 1996, *Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh* was declared the country's largest trade union by the Ministry of Labour. Founded on July 30, 1955, by Dattopant Thengadi, today its membership has reached 45 lakhs. Hasmukhbhai Dave, general secretary of the BMS, while clarifying the union's ethic says, "We do not believe in class or caste struggle. Unlike Communist trade unions, we believe that *malik* and *mazdoor* can work together. We want to promote workers' welfare as well as that of industry and the nation." (*Outlook*, 27.4.98, p. 22).

4. Tribals — In order to counter the growing influence of Christian missionaries in the tribal belts, from the early '50s, the RSS concentrated its activities on spreading Hinduism. It has sent its *pracharak*s to tribal belts in different parts of India for winning back the adivasi population. The RSS prefers to call them *vanavasis* i.e. people living in forests, not "adi" in the sense of "first" or "original" settlers. They are to be brought back to the Hindu fold. Under a unique programme called the 'Students' Experience in Inter State Living,' tribal students from remote areas are put up with the families living in cities, in order to make them familiar with a Hindu *parivar*. A notable illustration in this regard is that of Arunachal Pradesh CM, Gegong Apang, who as a tribal student was taken to Mumbai to stay with a Hindu family. *Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram (VKA)*,

is the RSS-backed organisation working in the tribal areas undertaking development and welfare projects. Out of 1,36,525 tribal villages, the VKA has its presence in 26,768 villages. The maximum number of 2,398 projects are run by the VKA in South Bihar.

5. Women — *Rashtra Sevika Samiti* is the organisation founded chiefly for women. Laxmibai Kelkar was its founder member. *Swayamsevikas* 'volunteers' would go to different houses, mingle with family members, help them in household work and at the same time make them aware of the important role that women play in inspiring members of the family on the righteous path. It was through this Samiti that the VHP mobilised thousands of families to cook for *kar sevaks* headed for Ayodhya.

6. Armed Forces — The RSS has always been pro-defence services. Perhaps its adherence to a 'code of discipline' brings its organisational ethos closer to that of the defence services. The RSS cashed in on the retired service officers' frustrations with successive governments over issues like poor salaries and low retirement benefits. In 1993, the *Purva Sainik Seva Parishad (PSSP)* was launched in U.P. The services of retired army officers were requisitioned for inculcating soldierly qualities in the youth. The organisation has by now been extended to 12 states. With the BJP in power at the Centre a grant of Rs. 1 crore has flowed in for PSSP.

7. Intelligence Agencies — Over the last two decades, the RSS has remained an organisation sought after by our intelligence agencies like the Intelligence Bureau (IB), Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and Military Intelligence. As the RSS can be relied on for the supply of volunteers required for infiltrating the ranks of the 'enemy', scores of Kashmiri Pundit youths belonging to the RSS or the ABVP have given their services to RAW and IB, for the anti-militant operations in Kashmir.

8. Scientists — *Vigyan Bharati* is the RSS-backed science centre, promoting the use of *swadeshi* technologies and encouraging indigenous scientific endeavours. Indigenous scientific effort is sought to be promoted by maintaining a 'healthy' relationship between industrial houses and the scientific community.

9. Lawyers — *Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad (ABAP)* is the lawyers' organisation which started working from 1992 for the improvement and evolution of a judicial system which will be in consonance with *Bharatiya* traditions, values and sense of justice. It also aims to make the justice delivery system more efficient. The ABAP has made it a point to launch an attack on Article 356 of the Indian Constitution. **It has also fought against the entry of foreign legal and media firms in India.** The Parishad has focused on procedural problems in the judiciary, e.g., the serving of notices, recording of evidence, obtaining a copy of any order and delay in disposal of cases.

10. Foreign Affairs — The RSS functions abroad through its *Videsh Vibhag*. The RSS opened its first *shakha* in Kenya's Mombasa city way back in 1947. Today it has 200 *shakhas* in 27 countries. And they receive full co-operation from Indian embassies.

11. **Social Work** — In 1980, *Sewa Bharati* was founded in order to take up welfare activities in slum areas. The RSS also has its *shakhas* in a lepers' colony in Tahirpur in the trans-Yamuna area in Delhi. In Maharashtra '*Samajik Saharasata Manch*' works for the upliftment of Dalits and the nomadic tribes like the *Pardhis*.

Traditionally, the RSS has been extremely secretive. Doors remained closed for the media for many years, as Hedgewar wrote in 1936, "Due to excessive publicity, many difficulties will be created in our work." (*Ibid*). The current openness would have been unthinkable some years ago. Old timers still remember Golwalkar covering his face with both hands as an evasive gesture towards the media, when a photographer tried to click his picture. Times have changed today. Media-shy RSS workers have donned a media-friendly *avataar* and have come out into the open. The *Sangh* wants to create a better image of itself and the BJP. That is one of the reasons why "contentious issues" like Ram Janmabhoomi, the abrogation of Article 370 and the demand for a Common Civil Code were left on the back burner. The RSS no more wants to expand its base by resorting to its age-old *Hindutva*-oriented strategy. On the other hand,

Rajju Bhaiyya, its *sarasanghchalak*, was seen taking great pains to emphasise that "Hindutva upholds equally the genuine interests of all sections of people, including those of the Muslims." (*Outlook*, 6.4.98)

These are welcome signs of improvement. We as revolutionaries, do not accept any religious ideology, though we respect the feelings of its adherents. At the same time we believe that secularism has nothing to do with the scientific temper. England and Japan, where the Industrial Revolution first occurred in Europe and Asia, have never been secular! The Head of the State in each country was the head of Church! As we have mentioned earlier, the bogie of secularism is playing havoc in Indian politics. In the name of secularism, communal forces in Pakistan and India are being pampered by our political parties to obtain political mileage. We have nothing against the BJP's proclamation of *Hindutva*, which is in consonance with the liberal bourgeois practices prevalent in other parts of the Western World. What we advocate is the development of the scientific temper and of a sustained effort by the Indian people to build an egalitarian social and economic order. Such genuine effort will bind our people together in a true national endeavour. ■

TABLE 1

**THE RSS NETWORK :
SOME ESSENTIAL FACTS**

The *Shakha* is the basic unit of the RSS. There is no hard and fast rule about the number of people that can form a *shakha*. The number of participants varies, from 50 to 100. A *shakha* which has more than six members has a *Gatanayak* (group leader) or *Ganashikshak* (martial arts instructor). There is also a *Mukhya Shikshak* (head instructor) who sets the programme for the *shakha*. There are close to 40,000 *shakhas* in India.

ALL INDIA BREAK-UP OF SHAKHAS	
1. Assam	900
2. Andhra Pradesh	1,660
3. Bihar	2,300
4. Delhi	1,500
5. Haryana	600
6. J&K and Himachal	450
7. Gujarat	900
8. Kerala	4,149
9. Karnataka	2,305
10. Madhya Pradesh	3,230
11. Maharashtra	4,000
12. Rajasthan	3,500
13. Punjab	775
14. Tamil Nadu	1,051
15. Orissa	1,481
16. Uttar Pradesh	9,000
17. West Bengal	1,500
Total Shakhas	39,301

Probable number of volunteers from 20 to 40 lakhs.

TABLE 2

**CHRONOLOGY OF FORMATION OF
IMPORTANT BRANCHES OF THE RSS**

- 1925 : The RSS founded by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar. There have been four *Sarasanghchalaks* of the RSS so far. Hedgewar (1925-40), M. S. Golwalkar (1940-73), Balasaheb Deoras (1973-94) followed by the present incumbent Rajendra Singh from 1994 onwards.
- 1936 : *Rashtra Sevika Samiti* for women (fd. by Laxmibai Kelkar).
- 1947 : The first branch of the *Videsh Vibhag* fd. in Mombasa, Kenya.
- 1948 : *Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad* for students.
- 1952 : *The Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram* for tribals (fd. by Ramakant Keshav Deshpande).
- 1955 : *Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh* (fd. by Dattopant Thengadi).
- Late 1960s : *Bharatiya Kisan Sangh*, for farmers.
- 1973 : *Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana* for rewriting Indian History.
- 1978 : *Vidya Bharati Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Sansthan*, with 13,000 schools; 74,000 teachers and 17.5 lakh students.
- 1980 : *Seva Bharati* for the poor and underprivileged.
- 1982 : *Sanskara Bharati* for research and advanced courses in Sangeet (Music), Nritya (Dance), Natak (Theatre), Chitrakala (Visual Arts) and Sahitya (Literature).
- 1986 : *Sankalp* for students appearing for Competitive exams for recruitment to state services.
- 1992 : *Akhil Bharatiya Adhivakta Parishad* for lawyers.
- 1993 : *Purva Sainik Seva Parishad* for ex-servicemen. ■

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Exe. Edr.

WHITES CARRY RACIALISM EVERYWHERE THEY GO !

Pauline Hanson, is a name which counts today in Australian Political Circles. She had been dismissed as a

one-term aberration after her surprise election win to Federal Parliament in 1996. But today, One Nation Party led by this former barmaid and fish-and-chip shop-owner, controls the balance of power in the state of Queensland.

One Nation Party has recorded a huge swing in its favour in the Queensland state elections. It has captured more than 22 per cent of the first-preference votes under the state's transferable vote electoral system. Which means in the 89 seat Queensland Parliament, One Nation has won at least nine electoral districts and has a

chance of capturing 10 more. Since the counting is yet to be over and the final outcome won't be known for days.

Better known for its anti-immigration stance, One Nation Party's electoral success doesn't auger well for Australia's Aborigines and Asians. The party has always made a scathing attack on Aboriginal and Asian peoples on the

basis of race. And its electoral performance is more disappointing for the Aborigines and Asians as it shows

success lie in the regional areas which were once better off, but with the evergrowing cosmopolitan culture of the big cities, now feel abandoned. One Nation Party has been successful in sensing a note of discontent amongst the masses of small towns hard hit by economic globalisation. In the Queensland election campaign, it proposed a new bank to give farmers loans at 2 per cent interest. It is also cashing in on a growing disillusionment with Australia's mainstream political parties.

But does this portend well for Australia's long-term interests? The anti-Asian stance seems to be perverse

for a state that has prospered by selling its coal and sugar to Asians attracting huge number of Asian tourists to its beach and reef resorts. Economists predict that the anti-immigration party, which also wants to return to trade protectionism, could damage economy and drive away foreign investors. In Melbourne, Victoria state Labour opposition leader, John Brumby said, "One Nation's success will cause lasting damage to Australia's trading partnerships." (*Ibid*, 15.6.98) Pauline Hanson's Saturday victory has shaken up Australian politics as never before. Particularly when her rise has coincided with

increased attacks on migrants; including the India-born community (78,000 in Australia). Prime Minister John Howard did not hold back and made Asian community more vulnerable when he introduced new immigration policies. He has now made it difficult for elderly parents to join their children here.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

THE LATEST MILITARY EQUATION AS REPORTED IN THE POPULAR PRESS

Sr. No.		India	Pakistan	China
1.	Total troops	9,80,000	5,20,000	28,40,000
2.	Main battle tanks	3,314	2,120	8,500
3.	Self-propelled artillery	180	480	2,500
4.	Combat aircraft	777	429	3,740
5.	Armed helicopters	34	-	N.A.
6.	Destroyers/Frigates	25	11	54
7.	Aircraft Carriers	1	-	-
8.	Submarines	17	9	61
9.	Short-range missiles *	20 ²	62 ²	30 ²
10.	Long-range missiles **	-	3-5 ²	75
11.	Nuclear Warheads	25-65 ¹	15-20 ¹	450

Note : * Upto 300 Km

** Over 300 Km

1. Unassembled

2. Estimated

Sr. No.		Disputed Area
1.	Line of Control	740 Km of Disputed border with Pakistan
2.	Aksai Chin	38,000 sq. Km area occupied by China
3.	Chinese Claim Line	China claims over 90,000 sq. Km. area in Arunachal Pradesh
4.	Sino-Indian Border	4,056 Km of border area disputed by China

(Source : *India Today*, 1.6.98)

that "ordinary" people are prepared to vote for a party which holds such horrible views. An Aboriginal activist, Ray Robinson, said, "One Nation's rise means that indigenous people and Asians might be treated as second-class citizens." (*The Times of India*, 16.6.98)

One Nation is against everything that is foreign. And the roots of its

However, Hanson is not ready to be branded as a racist. She said that she has a grudge against many Asians as they were not prepared to assimilate. And that widespread immigration made Australians feel like foreigners in their own country.

According to an opinion poll published after the Queensland state elections, One Nation was favoured by 13 per cent of the electorate

nationwide. Perhaps it was out of this concern that Prime Minister John Howard brought about a legislation only recently, which reversed some of the land rights of the Australian Aborigines. The nation's highest court had recently ruled that the Aborigines were entitled to these ancestral lands, in a case brought by the Wik people in 1996. It included the right to claim title over their ancestral lands and use

them. Aborigines were however not consulted at any point of time in working out this compromise. A bill which had been defeated twice in the Senate was made into law in a desperate attempt to avoid an electoral clash with Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party. This has no doubt lifted the threat of a race-based snap election, but in the process it has turned a blind eye to the just claims of Australia's 386,000 Aborigines. ■

BILL GATES IS A DIRTY MONOPOLIST ENGAGED IN NEOCOLONIAL PRACTICES !

Bill Gates' company, Microsoft, the software giant which has been a market ruler because of its Windows Operating System (OS), Microsoft is in the middle of a major battle with another software company, Netscape, which has a monopoly where the navigator browser is concerned. The Navigator browser is used to access the Internet.

Gates' Microsoft decided to give away its browser Internet Explorer (IE) free along with its Windows 98 operating systems, which has resulted in a 30 per cent fall in the sales of Navigator. Microsoft's defence is that by interfacing IE with Windows, it is only providing more functionality to the consumers using personal computers (PCs). Netscape argues that Microsoft is trying to monopolise the market.

Consequently, Netscape petitioned the anti-trust division of the US justice department, which started proceedings against Microsoft. The justice department asked Microsoft to :

- (i) include Netscape's Web browsing software into Windows 98;
- (ii) give up its right to display the Windows user interface when consumers turn on the PC running

Windows for the first time; and

(iii) give up its rights to display the Web browsing functionality, a key feature of Windows.

Another charge against Microsoft is that its license with hardware makers to display the Windows desktop as the 'first screen.' This charge gained ground as it virtually held the PC market to ransom with its monopoly of OS.

Microsoft's argument is that computer-makers have complete freedom to display any competitive product right on the Windows desktop.

Apart from this fight with Netscape, Microsoft is also involved in a courtroom battle with Sun Microsystems, which has charged it with trademark infringement, unfair competition, breach of contract, and other infractions in the implementation of Java into Microsoft's IE 4.0 browser. Sun's JavaSoft Division President, Alan Baratz, claims that "Microsoft had publicly disputed its contractual responsibility for the implementation of Sun's Java Developers Kit (JDK), in defiance of a 1995 agreement by not including key Java interfaces and by altering key class libraries deceptively.

This, Baratz felt, would make developers believe that they were writing cross platform applications, when they were really writing what would run only on IE 4.0.

"On its part, Microsoft claimed that Sun failed to deliver technology that passed its own test studies and failed in its obligation to treat Microsoft on an equal footing with other licencees." (*The Week*, 7.6.98)

Bill Gates makes all the right noises to try and garner public sympathy. It is true that, apart from being involved in all these cases concerning infringements, his company realises that it is also one of the many neocolonial MNCs that pays less to Third World engineers, than it does to those from Europe or America. (*Indian Express*, 21.6.98)

For the time being, Gates has managed a small victory since the US Court of Appeals has allowed his company to release the Windows 98 version to manufacturers. As for the unequal pay to Third World Engineers, everybody knows that nothing is going to come of it. Microsoft and others like it may merrily continue their evil ways ! ■

ALL REPORTAGE IS STORY-CONCOCTING !

In our last issue we had enumerated the dastardly barbaric acts committed against the peoples of the Third World by the Westerners (*Western Culture Redefines Itself, MK*, June-July 1998, pp. 28-33). It is now a proven fact that the Westerners have

been the initiators of genocide, famine, enslavement, deceit, treachery, murder and other atrocities for centuries. Hence, it comes as no surprise that the web of deceit extends to their media, as has been shown up beyond doubt, by recent examples.

In order to get ahead in the rat race, journalists in the US have been obtaining information, illegally, concocting stories or inventing quotes for people. Also, the ones to do it are not the budding journalists, but the seasoned ones.

The whole murky business can be attributed to capitalist greed for money, power and fame. Everybody is in such a hurry to get to the top that compromising the truth does not faze them in the least. After all, what's a little lie in the course of free enterprise ?

Newspaper readership in the US has fallen from 81 per cent in 1964 to 58 per cent in 1997. Everybody has gone hi-tech and around 20 per cent of US citizens use the Internet to follow the news. Thus to increase readership more and more newspapers are resorting to all kinds of stunts and if lying is one of them, then so be it. Following are the notable recent incidents of false reporting by major newspapers and journalists :

● "The *Cincinnati Enquirer* said it would pay Chiquita Brands International Inc. more than \$ 10 million after it emerged that the author of several highly critical articles on the company had obtained some of his information, namely internal voice mail

messages, illegally." (*The Indian Express*, 2.7.98)

● A CNN and *Time* report that the US military used sarin nerve gas in a 1970 raid aimed at killing US defectors during the Vietnam war. Though the story was later retracted, the damage to its reputation has already been done.

● Patricia Smith, a Boston Globe columnist and a 1998 Pulitzer Prize finalist had to resign when it was found that she had fabricated people and quotations in four of her columns. In one case, she made up nearly an entire column about a woman dying of cancer. Smith has been lying from the beginning of her career to "succeed" in her chosen profession. In fact, she got her first job as a journalist by lying to the editor, and throughout her career she had been writing small lies or concocting quotes for her columns.

The *Boston Globe* has another columnist, Mike Barnick, who also has been twisting the truth to suit his

purposes. One instance is where he has falsely attributed a racist and sexist remark to Professor Alan Dershowitz of the Harvard Law School in a 1990 column.

● One of the staff writers of the *New Republic*, Stephen Glass, has also been found guilty of having fabricated parts or all of 27 of the 41 articles written by him.

These are some of the reporters and columnists who have been found guilty of false reporting, but there are definitely scores of others who are still going on about the business of fabricating stories to get ahead in the rat race. Whether, anyone of them will ever be prosecuted is a moot point. In a world where every TV channel or newspaper waits for a major scoop to happen in order to sell their "wares," we know that the gullible public is still going to be fed all kinds of incredible and fantastic stories.

In fact, in common parlance, all reportage is now termed "story-collecting" ! ■

(Opening Statement contd. from p. 8)

recognise from the colour of the road signs that he is in a particular quarter of that city or town. He will then orient himself and make his exit.

There are other colours in the spectrum. In very large metropolises of the world, like, Mumbai, Calcutta, Delhi, Tokyo, Shanghai, Beijing, Moscow, Berlin, Paris, London, New York, etc. it may be necessary to work out a schema involving eight colours. But it is not necessary to go into such minute details at this juncture.

I think a Colour Code would be of immense help to international tourist traffic as well as to national transport operators. I do not think it is difficult to implement my proposal. A simple law passed by our parliament will achieve the purpose in no time.

My fantasy may remain fantasy for a long time, but when evil fantasies are being realised so quickly and so extensively, I wonder why good thoughts fail to get translated into action so persistently ! Is it not an evil system under which we are all groaning ?

*

Anyway, another little idea strikes me. All our milestones or kilometre-stones are misleading. They might have been correct at some point of time in the past, but with every realignment of roads, building of new bridges, culverts, diversions, especially the long bypasses around busy population centres, the present lot of milestones and kilometre-stones become often comically contradictory. I think a National Remeasuring Unit should check and revise all the distance markers that lie alongside our National Highways. This opportunity should also be taken to make them uniform, scriptwise and in size of lettering. A simple code could also be worked out. In the first line the village and the distance to and from may be mentioned, in the second line, the taluka town on the route, in the third line the district town and in the fourth, the state capital. Not all the signs need mention, all the four lines, but every mile-marker could carry the legends about the distance to the district town

and the state-capital whilst every marker between the mile or the kilometre need carry information about the village and taluka town only.

*

Road travel is my preferred mode of travel. I like the sense of freedom and the nearness to earth that this mode provides. One can stop anywhere, at anytime. One is not bound to the confines of smelly railway compartments and definitely one is not tied to the seat with seat-belts as in aeroplanes. Also, what is there is see outside an airplane window ? From a railway window at least you can see something during daylight hours. However, the view from a car or bus window is the best.

A night halt can be made anywhere between 200 to 400 kilometres out, depending entirely upon your sightseeing programme or urgency of business. I know that the private car is a deadly polluting agent, but so long as it is there, I would say that it is the most exhilarating and spirit-uplifting mode of, fairly convenient, travel. ■

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :

INDIA'S TRANSACTIONS WITH THE WORLD

Mankind has been studying the dynamics of World Economy, the Indian Economy and the interrelations between the two right from the beginning of its revived publication in Oct. 1995. In *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 2, Nov. 1995, we had published a set of five important tables :

1. *Balance of Trade and Cumulative Trade Deficit 1951-95*, in million US \$.
2. *Exchange Rate Decline : Rupee against the Dollar, 1946 to 1995*.
3. *Terms of Trade* covering the indices from the First Five Year Plan to the present, in particular from 1960 onwards.
4. *Total Foreign Debt of India*, 1970 onwards in million US \$.
5. *Debt Servicing*, 1970 to the present in million US \$.

After nearly 3 years, we are presenting the same data much improved and with all earlier errors corrected and the focus made sharper.

- Table I is relatively little changed, except that the data has been brought upto date.
- Same with Table II and Table III.
- The real improvement is in respect of Tables IV and V. Table IV A gives not only the data on the little debt that had accumulated between 1951 and 1974, but also the yearly augmentations upto 1996-97. Table IV A shifts the data-base to Rupees crores, since this is the actual burden borne by the Indian people.

(not in millions of dollars, as earlier, which actually hides the real agony of the Indian people, who are groaning under the burden of constant devaluations.) Table IV B gives the cumulative debt burden for the last 15 years. This is also shown in *abja* or *arab* rupees, i.e. in billions of rupees (hundreds of crores).

- In the same manner, in Table V, we have provided figures of *Debt Servicing* in *abja* rupees. Table V is based on *World Bank Reports*.
- In addition, we have included a Table VI, which depicts the horrendous dimension of Debt Servicing that has reached back-breaking levels in India. This Table is based on *Pre-Budgetary Economic Surveys*, prepared by our Finance Ministry.

We have expanded all the Notes, which summarise our conclusions and the lessons to be drawn from the Tables.

The main conclusions are as follows :

1. The Annual Trade Deficit has multiplied from almost nothing to nearly Rs. 1,500 crores and more **per month**. The Cumulative Trade Deficit has jumped up to about Rs. 177,000 crores.
2. The dollar value of the rupee has worsened by 14 times from 1946-47 to the present everything else being equal. **One Kg of Tea, Jute,**

Spices, Oil-seeds, Mineral Ores, Leather Goods, etc. would have fetched in 1947 the same value in dollars as 14 kgs. of such exports today. This is the measure of the neo-colonial reconquest of India.

3. Terms of Trade have deteriorated by about a third during the last 50 years. The point to be noted is that, whenever in two or three or more years, the terms have moved favourably for India, a dose of devaluation has been forced upon us to correct the situation in favour of Euro-America.
4. The Total Debt of India has been gleaned both from the *Economic Surveys* and *World Bank Reports*. Whichever way you look at it, a fearful debt burden has been accumulated, which **it is impossible to repay without incurring a greater debt**. We owe the world as at the end of March 1997, a Total Debt, including External Commercial Borrowings and Defence Debts, a grand sum of **over Rs. 3.3 lakh crores**.
5. In million dollars, we owed the world almost 99,000 millions at the end of 1994, which we have been servicing at the cost of Rs. 21/28 million crores per year in recent times. **We have already repaid to the world bourgeoisie over Rs. 137 million crores and yet we owe the world atleast another Rs. 116,285 crores.**

TABLE I : TRADE BALANCE

(Rs. Crores)

Year	Exports (including re-exports)	Imports	Deficit	Cumulative Deficit	
1949-50	485	617	-132	-	A. Nehru Era commences from Sept. 1946
50-51	606	608	-2	-134	
51-52	716	890	-174	-308	
52-53	578	702	-124	-432	
53-54	531	610	-79	-511	
54-55	593	700	-107	-618	
55-56	609	774	-165	-783	
56-57	605	841	-236	-1,019	
57-58	561	1,035	-474	-1,493	
58-59	581	906	-325	-1,818	
59-60	640	961	-321	-2,139	
60-61	642	1,122	-480	-2,619	
61-62	660	1,090	-430	-3,049	
62-63	685	1,131	-446	-3,495	
63-64	793	1,223	-430	-3,925	
64-65	816	1,349	-533	-4,458	B. Nehru Era ends May 1964
65-66	810	1,409	-599	-5,057	C. Shastri's Term of Office 1964-66
66-67	1,157	2,078	-921	-5,978	
67-68	1,199	2,008	-809	-6,787	D. Indira's First Term 1966-77
68-69	1,358	1,909	-551	-7,338	
69-70	1,413	1,582	-169	-7,507	
70-71	1,535	1,634	-99	-7,606	
71-72	1,608	1,825	-217	-7,823	
72-73	1,971	1,867	+104	-7,719	
73-74	2,523	2,955	-432	-8,151	
74-75	3,329	4,519	-1,190	-9,341	E. Indira Declares Internal Emergency 1975-77
75-76	4,036	5,265	-1,229	-10,570	F. Indira ousted by Janata Party Coalition 1977-80
76-77	5,142	5,074	+68	-10,502	
77-78	5,408	6,020	-612	-11,114	
78-79	5,726	6,811	-1,085	-12,199	
79-80	6,418	9,143	-2,725	-14,924	
80-81	6,711	12,549	-5,838	-20,762	G. Janata Coalition Crumbles 1979-80
81-82	7,806	13,608	-5,802	-26,564	H. Indira's Second Term 1980-84
82-83	8,803	14,293	-5,490	-32,054	
83-84	9,771	15,831	-6,060	-38,114	I. Indira Assassinated 1984 Oct.
84-85	11,744	17,134	-5,390	-43,504	J. Rajiv Succeeds Indira Nov. 1984
85-86	10,895	19,658	-8,763	-52,267	
86-87	12,452	20,096	-7,644	-59,911	
87-88	15,674	22,244	-6,570	-66,481	
88-89	20,232	28,235	-8,003	-74,484	
89-90	27,658	35,328	-7,670	-82,154	K. Rajiv Ousted by Janata Dal Coalition 1989-91
90-91	32,553	43,198	-10,645	-92,799	
91-92	44,041	47,851	-3,810	-96,609	
92-93	53,688	63,375	-9,687	-106,296	
93-94	69,751	73,101	-3,350	-109,646	
94-95	82,674	89,971	-7,297	-116,943	L. Janata Dal Coalition Crumbles March 1991
95-96	106,353	122,678	-16,325	-113,268	
96-97(P)	118,817	138,919	-20,102	-153,370	
97-98	126,286	151,554	-25,268	-178,638	
					M. Rao-Singh Era of Steep Economic Decline and Reconquest of India by Neo-Colonialism 1991-96.
					N. The "Disaster-Duo" of Rao-Singh was ousted by a "Disaster Trio" of Deve Gowda-Gujral-Chidambaram from 1996 to 1998 during the term of the 11th Lok Sabha. Thereafter, there has been a return to another Disaster-Duo of Vajpayee and Sinha, following the 1998 Elections to the 12th Lok Sabha.

P = Provisional

(Source : Economic Survey, 1997-98, Table 7.1 (A), p. S-80)

TABLE II : EXCHANGE RATE

Rs. per US \$

Year	Rate (Rs. per US \$)	Notes
1946, Sept. 1947, Aug. 1948 1949, upto Aug. 1949, Sept.	3.3200 3.3175 3.3175 3.3175 3.8275	A. During Jawahar's term of office, 1946-64, the rupee declined from Rs. 3.32 to Rs. 4.77, or by Rs. 1.46, i.e. by 44%. B. First sharp fall in the value of the rupee, occurred in Oct. 1949, as Sterling was devalued against the dollar, and as Jawahar had kept the rupee tied to the apron strings of British Imperialism. Despite India's huge surplus held in London in the form of Sterling Balances of upto \$ 4.7 billion, calculated at the then prevailing Sterling-Dollar exchange rate, Jawahar carried out a devaluation from Rs. 3.32 to Rs. 4.77 or by Rs. 1.46, i.e. 44% !
1949, Oct. 1950, upto March 1950-66 1966-70 1971	4.7750 4.7750 4.762 7.500 7.279	C. Indira forced a second devaluation of the rupee in 1966 from Rs. 4.8 to Rs. 7.5, or by Rs. 2.7, i.e. by 56% ! D. Overall, during Indira's first term, 1966-77, the rupee declined from 4.8 to 8.8, or by Rs. 4, i.e. by 83 %.
1972 1973 1974 1975 1976	8.080 8.203 8.150 8.937 8.881	
1977 1978 1979 1980-81 1981-82	8.209 8.188 7.907 7.908 8.968	E. During Janata Party Coalition rule of 1977-1980, the exchange rate actually moved in favour of the rupee, from 8.8 to 7.9 i.e. the world bourgeoisie had ample confidence in Morarji Desai (an improvement of plus 10%) F. During Indira's second term 1981-84, the rupee declined from 7.9 to 10.3, or by Rs. 2.4, i.e. by 30 % ! Overall decline during Indira's two terms, of minus 113 %.
1982-83 1983-84 1984-85 1985-86 1986-87	9.666 10.340 11.889 12.235 12.778	G. During Rajiv's term of office 1984-89, the rupee declined from Rs. 10.3 to 14.5, or by Rs. 4.2, i.e. by 41 %.
1987-88 1988-89 1989-90 1990-91 1991-92	12.966 14.482 16.649 17.943 24.474	H. During Janata Dal coalition rule from 1989-91, rupee declined from 14.5 to 17.9, or by Rs. 3.4, i.e. by 23 %. Obviously, the world bourgeoisie had no confidence in either V. P. Singh or Chandrashekhar. I. During the disastrous term of office of Rao-Singh duo 1991-96, the rupee declined from Rs. 17.9 to Rs. 35.2, or by Rs. 17.3, i.e. by 87 %.
1992-93 1993-94 1994-95 1995-96 1996-97	30.649 31.366 31.399 33.450 35.500	J. During the 50 years of Congress rule 1946-1996, with two small interruptions from 1977 to 80 and 1989 to 91, the overall decline of the rupee was nearly 11 times from 3.3 to 33.4. This is the consequence of the Comprador rule of the Congress-Naukershahi combine, and the reconquest of India by WB, IMF, and WTO from 1980, especially 1991-98.
1997-98	37.165	K. Two general elections took place in quick succession in India to the 11th Lok Sabha in 1996 and to the 12th Lok Sabha in 1998. The decline of the rupee continued under the tutelage of the terrible <i>trimurti</i> of WB, IMF and WTO, from 33.45 to 42.25 (22.6.98). Thus the overall decline of the Rupee, from 1947 to 1998, has been minus 14 times, or by Rs. 38.94, i.e. by 1276 % ! This is the fearful price that the Indian people have been forced to pay for Congress-Naukershahi misrule !

(Sources: 1. Figures upto March 1950, from Communication to Exe. Edr. by Reserve Bank of India, Dept. of Economic Analysis and Policy, vide, Letter No. DEAP, DIF, 878/19.01.03/94-95, dated June 6, 1995.

2. 1950-1979 figures from *CMIE-Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy*, Vol. 1, All-India, August 1986, table 21.12.

3. For figures from 1980-81 to 1997-98, see *Economic Survey*, 1997-98, Table 6.5 : *Exchange Rate of Rupee vis-a-vis Selected Currencies of the World*, p. S-78)

TABLE III : TERMS OF TRADE

Year	Base Year 1960=100	Notes
1960	100	A. Nehru Era to May 1964 B. Indira's first Term Jan. 1966 - May 77 C. Emergency imposed by Indira, 1975-77 D. Janata Party Coalition, May 1977 - Jan 1980.
1970	96	
1975	88	
1976	70	
1977	80	
1978	77	E. Indira's 2nd Term Jan. 1980 - Oct. 1984.
1979	100	
1980	63	
1981	58	
1982	60	
1983	60	F. Rajiv's Term Oct. 1984 - Dec. 1989
1984	68	
1985	72	
1986	80	
1987	72	
1988	74	G. Janata Dal Coalition Dec. 1989 - March 1991. H. Rao-Singh Disaster Duo June 91 - Feb. 1996.
1989	69	
1990	69	
1991	72	
1992	66	
1993	69	I. Elections to the 11th Lok Sabha in Feb. 1996 lead to rise to power of A. B. Vajpayee (13 days), H.D. Deve Gowda (10 1/2 months) and I.K. Gujral (9 months). J. Vajpayee returns to power after elections to the 12th Lok Sabha in April 1998.
1994	100	
1995	109	
1996	105	
1997	97	

Note : We may summarise the pre-1960 data as follows : (see First Five Year Plan - 1953, p. 64, Second Five Year Plan, 1956, p. 96)

1928-29 to 1938-39, worsening of terms of trade by about 15 per cent.

1938-39 to 1948-49, improvement by about 15 per cent.

1948-49 to 1950-51, improvement by about 22 per cent.

July 1951 to April 1952, return to 100 of 1948-49.

1951-52 to 1955-56, a decline of 33 points.

1955-56 to 1960, the situation assumed to be stagnant.

In short, from 1948-49 to 1960, a decline of something like 30 per cent. If we assume 100 for 1948-49, for 1960, we will get an index of 70, and for 1997, the figure will be 68.

(Sources: 1. Terms of Trade indices are based upon *World Bank Reports* as follows :

Table 6 of 1978; Table 8 of 1979, 80, 81, 82;

Table 9 of 1983, 84, 85, 86; Table 10 of 1987; Table 11 of 1988; Table 14 of 1989,90,91,92,93; Table 13 of 1994,95.

2. *Economic Survey*, 1997-98 Table 7.6, p. S-96.

3. *Mankind*, November 1995, p. 93)

TABLE IV A

TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT OF INDIA EXCLUDING EXTERNAL COMMERCIAL BORROWINGS (Rs. Crores)

Year	Debt Incurred during the period (In Rupees crores)	Cumulative Debt (Rs. crore)	Notes
1951-74	11,209.40	-	<p>A. Till Jawahar had frittered away on mainly imported British consumer goods, India's sterling balances of \$ 4.7 bln. That is till 1957-58, India had no external debt.</p> <p>B. The neo-colonial powers enticed the Indian fly into the Western spider's web very slowly after 1957-58, by first offering grants, and then PL-480 surplus grain on part rupee and part non-rupee repayment terms.</p> <p>C. By 1977-78, PL-480 funds had served their purpose and India had been sucked gradually into the debt trap.</p> <p>D. The steep fall in the value of rupee after mid-1991, when the Disaster Duo of Rao and Singh began their devastating LPG campaign, resulted in a spectacular rise in the External Debt of India. Today, every one rupee fall in the external value of the rupee, vis-a-vis the dollar, results in an increase of Rs. 10,000 crores in the External Debt of India.</p> <p>E. It is impossible to keep track of the vagaries of our financial bureaucrats. They started publishing External Debt figures inclusive of External Commercial Borrowings only from 1984-85, and inclusive of Defence Debt from 1988-89. Furthermore, they suddenly changed</p>
1974-75	1,220.40	12,429.80	
1975-76	1,557.20	13,987.00	
1976-77	1,353.10	15,340.10	
1977-78	1,029.40	16,369.50	
1978-79	942.30	17,311.80	
1979-80	1,048.60	18,360.40	
1980-81	1,765.30	20,125.70	
1981-82	1,519.30	21,645.00	
1982-83	1,910.40	23,555.40	
1983-84	1,964.20	25,519.60	
1984-85	1,963.30	27,482.90	
1985-86	2,495.20	29,978.10	
1986-87	3,175.90	33,154.00	
1987-88	4,575.20	37,729.20	
1988-89	4,738.40	42,467.60	
1989-90	5,137.80	47,605.40	
1990-91	6,170.00	53,775.40	
1991-92	10,695.90	64,471.30	
1992-93	10,102.20	74,573.50	
1993-94	10,895.40	85,468.90	
1994-95	9,964.50	95,433.40	
1995-96	9,958.60	105,392.00	
1996-97	10,892.90	116,284.90	
Total	116,284.90		

the years of applicability, calling them Revised Classification. We will not burden our readers with such senseless bureaucratic trivialities.

F. Today our External Debt of Rs. 331,355 crores is 28.8 % of our GDP, at current prices, of Rs. 1,149,215 crores (ES, 1997-98, p. S-1)

G. Our annual Imports are Rs. 151,554 crores and exceed our annual Exports by over Rs. 25,000 crores.

H. It is impossible to visualise a regime of balanced trade with the world unless Imports and Invisible Outflows are drastically curtailed. **Under the present circumstances, India must borrow more and more from abroad, in order to keep up payments of Interest and Amortisation of Old Debt.**

I. The discerning reader would have noticed that the accumulated Trade Deficit, shown in Table I, amounted to Rs. 178,638 crores, which was significantly less than the Total External Debt of India shown in Table IV B, at

(Contd. on next page)

TABLE IV B

TOTAL EXTERNAL DEBT OF INDIA INCLUDING EXTERNAL COMMERCIAL BORROWINGS

(Rs. Crore)

Year	Total Debt (End March)(Rs. crore)	Notes
1984-85	35,725 ^a	See Notes F to I in Table IV A The figures of external debt of India given in <i>Economic Surveys, 1989-90 to 1997-98</i> vary slightly from those in World Bank Reports 1978-97. Why this should be so is a mystery, because apparently the Finance Ministry is the source for both sets of figures. Unless the Central Statistical Organisation is feeding one set of figures to the World Bank which are at variance with the figures originating from the Finance Ministry. Anyway our tables IV A and IV B are based on <i>Economic Surveys</i> prepared by our Finance Ministry and the figures in col.1 of table V are based on the World Bank data.
1985-86	39,691 ^a	
1986-87	48,348 ^a	
1987-88	54,650 ^a	
1988-89	89,836 ^b	
1989-90	130,278 ^c	
1990-91	163,311 ^c	
1991-92	253,033 ^c	
1992-93	280,977 ^c	
1993-94	284,204 ^c	
1994-95	311,685 ^c	
1995-96	315,435 ^c	
1996-97	331,355 ^c	

a. Old Series, excluding Defence Debt.

b. New Series still excluding Defence Debt, *ES* 1994-95, p. S-112; 1993-94, p. S-110; 1995-96, p. S-105; 1996-97, p. S-106; 1997-98, p. S-108.

c. New Series, including Defence Debt.

(Source : *Economic Surveys*, 1989-90, p. S-90; 1990-91, p. S-96; 1991-92, p. S-98; 1992-93, p. S-109; 1993-94, p. S-110; 1995-96, p. S-105; 1996-97, p. S-106; 1997-98, p. S-108.)

(Table IV A Contd. from preceding page)

Rs. 331,355 crores. Whilst the Annual Trade Deficit lies at the root of the External Debt of India, the **Cumulative Deficit and Cumulative Debt nearly matched each other till 1980-81** (See Table VII). Thereafter, the Trade Deficit increased by leaps and bounds, whilst External Debt did not increase at the same rate, **because India was being forced to pay an enormous amount for Debt Servicing. Old debts were being repaid at a very fast pace, whilst new debts were being incurred at an almost equally furious pace!** Thus, our Cumulative Trade Deficit has gone up 8 times from 1980-81 to 1997-98. The Annual Servicing of the Debt has gone up from Rs. 578 crores in 1976 to Rs. 28,711 crores in 1995! **The Annual Debt Servicing burden has risen nearly 50 times, whilst Cumulative Trade Deficit has gone up only 8 times!**

It is a fantastic scenario! The world bourgeoisie is imposing a fearful burden upon India. **The deterioration in Terms of Trade plays a very small part, as the TOT have deteriorated by only about a third between 1948-49 and today. (Table II) It is the terrific decline in the external value of the rupee by 14 times (Table II) that has created the extraordinary situation, wherein we are servicing the debt annually to the extent of tens of millions or crores of rupees, and yet, the debt burden keeps on rising!** For instance, the Cumulative Debt was just over Rs. 20,000 crores in 1980-81 but leapt to Rs. 116,285 crores in 1996-97! In the same period, we paid a Debt Servicing charge of Rs. 130,789 crores!

It is an Unbelievable Situation. **We serviced our External Debt to the extent of Rs. 131 thousand crores between 1980-81 and 1996-97** and yet our Total External Debt climbed from Rs. 20,000 crores to Rs. 116,285 crores!

(Source : For 1951 to 1989-90, *Economic Survey*, 1989-90, pp. S-85, S-87; for 1990-91, *ES*, 1990-91, p. S-95; for 1991-92, *ES*, 1992-93, p. S-99; for 1993-94, *ES*, 1994-95, p. S-108; for 1994-95, *ES* 1995-96, p. S-101; for 1995-96, *ES*, 1996-97, p. S-102; for 1996-97, *ES*, 1997-98, p. S-104.)

TABLE V : EXTERNAL DEBT SERVICING

Year	Total Debt		Exports (Min. \$)	Debt Service as % of Exports	Debt Service (Min. \$)	Exchange Rate \$1 to Rs	Debt Service in Rs. Crores	Notes :
	Rs. Min.	(Min. \$)						
1976	110,053	12,392	5,424	12.0	651	8.881	578	A. As stated earlier in Notes to table IV A. India had no external debt when Nehru came to power in 1946-47. On the contrary, there were Sterling Balances of upto \$ 4.7 bln., which were forcibly kept in London with the Bank of England. These were squandered away by Nehru, by first, Devaluation of the Rupee in 1949 by 44 % in line with the devaluation of the pound-sterling (Pakistan did not devalue its rupee). Secondly, the Sterling Balances were frittered away against purchases of British consumer goods. Thirdly, the Sterling Balances were released to India in dribbles, which obstructed planning and proper use. There were no balances left after 1957-58 (See <i>India in World Affairs</i> , 1947-50 by K. P. Karunakaran, 1952; <i>India in World Affairs</i> 1950-53 by K. P. Karunakaran, 1958; and <i>India in World Affairs</i> 1954-56 by M. S. Rajan, 1964) B. In the same table IV A, we have shown that from 1951 to 1974 and during the years 1975, India had accumulated a very small external liability of Rs. 11,209.4 crores and Rs. 1220.4 crores respectively. We do not have precise figures of Debt Servicing Outflows for those years. However, they must have been rather insignificant since India had been gradually enticed by the neo-colonial powers to incur more and more debt on concessional terms and PL-480 loans were made, partly, repayable in rupees. C. Having achieved their purpose, India was plied with more liquor in the form of Foreign Loans, which began to mount very rapidly, after 1976, to reach inebriated proportions (See Tables IV A and IV B) D. The cumulative figures shown in Table IV B will shock the perceptive reader. These are all gleaned from <i>World Bank Reports</i> from 1978 to 1997 and converted into Rs. at the average exchange rate for the year.
1977	119,285	14,531	6,222	10.5	653	8.209	536	
1978	125,489	15,326	6,614	9.4	622	8.188	509	
1979	123,673	15,641	6,998	9.5	665	7.907	526	
1980	137,267	17,358	6,694	8.9	596	7.908	471	
1981	161,200	17,975	8,064	N.A.	N.A.	8.968	N.A.	
1982	188,361	19,487	8,446	7.1	600	9.666	580	
1983	220,004	21,277	9,705	10.3	1,000	10.340	1,034	
1984	297,391	25,014	9,437	13.8	1,302	11.889	1,548	
1985	433,853	35,460	10,260	12.7	1,303	12.235	1,594	
1986	525,022	41,088	11,741	24.6	2,888	12.778	3,690	
1987	601,233	46,370	12,548	24.0	3,011	12.966	3,904	
1988	832,903	57,513	14,600	21.8	3,096	14.482	4,484	
1989	1,040,712	62,509	15,523	26.4	4,098	16.649	6,823	
1990	1,258,073	70,115	17,967	28.8	5,174	17.943	9,284	
1991	1,751,286	71,557	17,664	30.7	5,423	24.474	13,272	
1992	2,359,452	76,983	19,795	25.3	5,008	30.649	15,349	
1993	2,878,803	91,781	21,553	28.0	6,035	31.366	18,929	
1994	3,108,187	98,990	25,000	26.9	6,725	31.399	21,116	
1995	3,136,472	93,766	30,764	27.9	8,583	33.450	28,711	

N.A. World Bank Data missing from 1983 Report.

E. Table IV B is deliberately presented in Rs. crores, so that it will become clear that the real burden carried by the poor people of India, of the enormous Foreign Debt accumulations, is truly staggering.

F. There have been official jugglery and manipulations of figures. Commercial External Borrowings have at times been excluded. Defence Debt has been included in recent years. The Reference Years have been changed arbitrarily. However, the overall picture is very clear. In the five years 1984-85 to 1988-89 we carried a Debt Servicing burden of Rs. 15,220 crores. After 1989-90, and particularly from 1991-92, the Foreign Debt Servicing burden reached astronomical proportions. In the last seven years, for which data is available, the neo-colonial powers have extracted from the poor people of India a sum of Rs. 113,484 crores !

G. We remind our readers that at the end of all Debt Servicing, we still owe the world a grand sum of \$ 94 billion (See Table V Col. 1). In the meantime, just during the last 7 years of heavy devaluations of the rupee, we have paid the world as much as Rs. 113,484 crores, and yet we owe \$ 94 bln. In short, we have been paying to the world at the rate of Rs. 16,212 *abja* per year for the last 7 years, 1989-90 to 1996-97, and yet we owe the neo-colonial powers (G-8, OECD, EU and NATO) something like \$ 94 bln. equal @ Rs.43= \$1, to Rs. 404,200 crores !

H. This is bourgeois logic of compound interest carried to its logical extreme. The poor in India will be squeezed till there is no blood left in the Body Economic of India ! It all began with a frittering away of Sterling Balances; "assistance" in the form of Grants, Small loans on concessional terms, Repayment Holidays for the first few years, Rupee Payment facilities, and so on.

Ending up in the Deadly Debt Trap, wherein more debts are needed to be taken to repay old debts with Perpetual Devaluations and Endless Trade Deficits.

(Source: 1. *Economic Survey*, 1997-98, p. S-78

2. *World Development Reports*, 1978, pp. 86,92,96; 1979, pp. 140,150,154; 1980, pp. 124,134,138; 1981 pp. 148,158,162, ; 1982 pp.124, 134, 138 ;1983, pp. 164,178 ; 1984, pp. 164,248 ; 1985, pp. 190,204 ; 1986, pp. 196, 212 ; 1987, pp. 220, 232,236; 1988, pp. 242,252,256; 1989, pp. 190, 204, 208 ; 1990, pp. 204, 218, 222 ; 1991, pp. 230, 244, 250; 1992, pp. 244, 258, 264; 1993, pp. 264, 278, 284; 1994, pp. 186, 200, 206; 1995, pp. 186, 200, 206; 1996, pp. 216, 220; 1997, pp. 242, 246

**TABLE VI : BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA)
DURING LAST SEVEN YEARS**

Rs. crore

		1990-91 Rs. crore	1991-92 Rs. crore	1992-93 Rs. crore	1993-94 Rs. crore	1994-95 Rs. crore	1995-96 Rs. crore	1996-97 Rs. crore
1.	Imports	50,086	51,418	72,000	83,869	112,749	146,542	170,646
2.	Exports	33,152	44,923	54,762	71,146	84,329	108,481	119,876
3.	Trade Deficit (1-2)	-16,934	-6,495	-17,238	-12,723	-28,420	-38,061	-50,770
4.	Invisible Receipts	13,394	23,449	27,038	35,501	48,838	59,482	75,537
5.	Invisible Net Balance	-435	4,258	4,474	9,087	17,837	18,454	37,835
6.	Total Net Invisible Payments (7+8)	-13,829	-19,191	-22,564	-26,414	-31,001	-41,027	-37,702
7.	Net Payments of Interest and Amortisation of Govt. Guaranteed Loans	-4,958	-6,346	-7,395	-8,170	-8,446	-7,734	-7,831
8.	Invisible Payments, Remittances of Profits, Dividends, Royalties, Fees Etc.	-8,871	-12,845	-15,169	-18,243	-22,555	-33,293	-29,871
9.	Total Outgo Per Year (3+6)	-30,763	-25,686	-39,802	-39,137	-59,421	-79,088	-88,472

Notes :

A. Politically, these seven years can be divided into three :

1990-91 : The Janata Dal Governments of V. P. Singh and Chandrashekhar collapsed in Nov. 1990 and June 1991 respectively.

1991-96 : The Disaster-Duo of P. V. Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh operated to utterly ruin the country.

1996-97 : The pieces were picked up by A. B. Vajpayee, H. D. Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral. The Finance Minister for both the latter Prime Ministers was P. Chidambaram, who persisted with the Bankrupt Policy of his predecessor, Manmohan Singh, I.A.S.

B. Both India's imports and exports increased by a little over three times. Thus, the initial Trade Deficit for 1990-91 was nearly Rs. 17,000 crores which increased to nearly Rs. 51,000 crores i.e. by almost exactly three times, to prove that heavy Devaluations (See Table II) were totally ineffective in stemming the rot. Contrary to claims made by all three Finance Ministers, Subramaniam Swamy, Manmohan Singh and P. Chidambaram, devaluations did not push up exports sufficiently to compensate for the cheapening of Indian exports and the onerous rise in India's debt burden in rupee terms.

C. Tables V and VI present two sides of the same tragic story. Table VI shows the fearful exploitation of India by the neo-colonial powers, as described in our Pre-Budgetary *Economic Surveys*. The payments of Interest and Amortisation of annual debt have gone up from about Rs. 5,000 crores to about Rs. 8,000 crores (Line 7). However, the terrific increase has been in other Invisible Outflows, which have gone up from about Rs. 9,000 crores to about Rs. 30,000 crores (Line 8).

D. This is what Globalisation means in practice : A terrific increase in the Drain of Wealth from India from about Rs. 30,000 crores 7 years ago to a current annual rate of around Rs. 90,000 crores (Line 9). (We have deliberately chosen to add the Annual Trade Deficit (Line 3) to Total Net Invisible Payments (Line 6).

(Source : *Economic Survey, 1997-98, Table 6.2. Balance of Payments, pp. S-72-3*)

TABLE VII
TRADE DEFICIT, EXTERNAL DEBT AND DEBT SERVICING (1976-1995)

(Rs. Crore)

Year	From Table I Cumulative Trade Deficit	From Table IV A Total External Debt	From Table V Debt Servicing	
1951-74	-8,151	11,209	N.A.	
1974-75	-9,341	12,430	N.A.	
75-76	-10,570	13,987	N.A.	
76-77	-10,502	15,340	578.	
77-78	-11,114	16,370	536	
78-79	-12,199	17,312	509	1,623
79-80	-14,924	18,360	526	
80-81	-20,762	20,126	471	
81-82	-26,564	21,645	N.A.	
82-83	-32,054	23,555	580.	
83-84	-38,114	25,520	1,034	2,611
84-85	-43,504	27,483	1,548	
85-86	-52,267	29,978	1,594	
86-87	-59,911	33,154	3,690	
87-88	-66,481	37,729	3,904	
88-89	-74,484	42,468	4,484	15,220
89-90	-82,154	47,605	6,823	
90-91	-92,799	53,775	9,284	
91-92	-96,609	64,471	13,272	
92-93	-106,296	74,574	15,349	
93-94	-109,646	85,469	18,929	63,657
94-95	-116,943	95,433	21,116	
95-96	-113,268	105,392	28,711	49,827
96-97	-153,370	116,285	N.A.	
97-98	-178,638	N.A.	N.A.	
			Grand Total	132,938

'PROSPEROUS' BRITISH INDIA, 1901

William Digby, C.I.E.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER I

I

(23. From the Eleventh Report from the Select Committee on the Administration of Justice in India, pp. 759, 762-764)

EXTRACT OF REVENUE CONSULTATIONS, FORT WILLIAM, MARCH 17, 1775.

The Honourable Mr. Monson — From the proceedings of the last consultation it appears that Bridjoo Kishore, during his short stay at Calcutta in 1174, acknowledges to have dissipated the sum of 84,500 Sicca rupees in nuzzars (presents) to the gentlemen of the Council, in a present to Mr. Coxo, and in his own expenses; that he procured for himself the office of Dewan to the Rajah, contrary to the intentions of the Ranny. In his Accounts considerable charges are made to several persons: one of the enormous sum of 2,02,485 Rupees to Mr. John Graham; another of 30,425 Rupees to Bobanny Churn Metre, Bayan to Mr. Graham; 5,500 to Cantoo Baboo, Bayan to Mr. Hastings; and 500 to Kishen Churn Chatterjea, Cantoo Baboo's servant. From this conduct it appears that Bridjoo Kishore has been an unworthy and unthrifty servant to the Rajah, disrespectful to the Ranny, and a calumniator of the servants of the Company. Unless it should hereafter be shown that the sums debited the Gentlemen should have been received by them, I think him an improper person to be employed by the Company, or to hold any office of confidence or trust near the Rajah's person, or in his household.

I therefore move, That Bridjoo Kishore be entirely dismissed from the Rajah's service; and that the Ranny be permitted to appoint such persons as she shall think proper for the education of Rajah, her son, and for the management of his household.

The Board agree to the motion.

EXTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE OF REVENUE, FORT WILLIAM, MAY 12, 1775.

Read the following Petition and Enclosures, from the Vackeel of the Rajah

of Burdwan :-

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, President and Governor, etc., Council of Revenue.

Honourable Sir and Sirs, — I beg leave to enclose the following papers, which are all the accounts of embezzlements which the Paishcar Roopnarain Chowdry, has been hitherto able to make out from Bridjoo Kishore's books or rather leaves. In order to bring the Burdwan transactions under one point of view, I have brought into these Accounts what I formerly delivered into consultation on the 10th of March last.

DURBAR EXPENSES UNJUSTLY MADE BY BRIDJOO KISHORE ROY, OUT OF THE CONSUMMANY, ETC.

Cash paid to the following persons, from Bengal Year 1174 to the month of Poos, Bengal Year 1181, as follows :-

	Rs.
Mr. John Graham, as per Account No. 1, delivered in council on the 10th March, 1775 ...	2,02,485
Ditto, No. 2 do.do...	36,065
	2,38,550
The Honourable Mr. Stuart, as per Account enclosed, No. 3	2,17,684
Mr. Becher, ditto No. 4	2,100
Mr. James Alexander, ditto No. 5	31,000
Mr. Hastings, as per Account No. 3, delivered in Council on the 10th March, 1775 ...	15,000
Mr. George Vansittart, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 6...	35,400
Mr. Mackdonald, in Bengal Year 1179, in the 30th Assin, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, Provincial Cashkeeper ...	500
Mr. Fleetwood, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 7 ...	23,450
Mr. Shott, in Bengal Year 1181, in the Month of Augum, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, but wrote in Kazedaun Account, in the month of Poos ...	4,000
Mr. Swain, in Bengal Year 1179,	

	Rs.
in the 20th Assar Ackeray, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, by Callypersaud Bose ...	6,000
Colonel Sample, as per Account enclosed No. 8 ...	3,000
Mr. Samuel Lewis, in Bengal Year 1181, in 27 Srabon, through the hands of Rammoo Podar, Provincial Cash-keeper, by Ramloceon Mitre ...	2,000
Mr. Goodlad, as per particular Account enclosed, No. 9 ...	10,000
Bobanny Churn Metre, as per Account No. 5, delivered in Council on the 10th March, 1775	Rs. 30,425
Ditto, No. 10, enclosed this day	50,500
	80,925
Callypersaud Bose, as per Account enclosed, No. 11 ...	1,01,675
And smaller sums, the whole amounting to Sicca Rupees...	12,05,054 11a. 6p.

(Signed by) Roopnarain Chowdry
Calcutta, 9th May, 1775.

II

TRIBUTES, AT THE INQUIRY OF 1831, TO INDIAN FITNESS FOR OFFICIAL POSITIONS IN INDIA.

Evidence of John Sullivan, Esq.,
Collector of Coimbatore.

Mr. John Sullivan, of the Madras service, testified as follows :-

4769. You have stated your opinion of the native character, as far as you have had an opportunity of observing it, to be generally very favourable: do you confine that opinion to the natives of the district of Coimbatore, or to the Peninsula generally, as far as your knowledge extends? — It is a general opinion, as far as I have had an opportunity of observing it.

4770. You have visited Calcutta and Bombay? — Yes, I have.

4771. Consequently you can speak from your own personal experience? — Yes; my opinion was very favourable, particularly of the Parsees of Bombay.

4772. Would you not be disposed to place as much confidence in the natives of India as you would in your own countrymen? — Yes, if equally well treated.

4773. Are they not extremely anxious to be raised in the scale of society? — I consider them most anxious to be raised, and to feel acutely the depressed state in which they are kept.

4774. Have you not found that feeling to be general throughout India, as far as you have had an opportunity of observing? — Yes, universal, as far as my observation has gone.

4775. Are they not more anxious, in your opinion, upon that score, than even for the improvement of their worldly circumstance? — Yes, I think that the feeling dearest to their hearts, to be trusted with that degree of power and official emoluments they invariably enjoyed previously to our obtaining possession of India.

4776. Have you not found, where you have placed confidence in natives, it has generally or always been rewarded by a faithful discharge of their duties? — It has been very frequently so, I have had cause to complain, like others whose confidence has been abused.

4777. Are you not of the opinion, that the more they are encouraged, and the more they are admitted into the employment of the government of the country, the more they will improve themselves? — I am decidedly of that opinion; and I should think that the best system that could be established at this moment, would be to entrust all the details of the revenue, and all the original suits in judicature, to natives, leaving the business of control to Europeans; the natives would do the details much more effectually than Europeans.

4778. Would not the situation of European servants in India be most completely helpless without the natives? — Yes, entirely so.

4779. So that they may be said to be mainly dependent upon the natives for carrying on the affairs of the country? — I consider the most efficient officers of the Government quite helpless without the assistance of the natives.

4780. Do you consider the natives of India a very sensitive race of people, and alive to kindness? — Yes.

4781. And grateful for it? — I think so, certainly.

4782. And anxious to make suitable returns? — Yes, I think so, certainly. I speak under qualification here, but fully as much so as any other people with whom I am acquainted.

5080. You were understood to say, that supposing the natives to be more generally employed in the different departments of Government, the expenditure of Government might be considerably diminished, do you conceive that the present Government of India is an expensive Government? — A most enormously expensive one, in the civil administration of the country.

5081. In what branches do you think a saving could be effected? — In every civil department, revenue and judicial.

5082. Do you mean by the employment of natives? — By the employment of the natives and by simplifying the machinery of government.

5089. When you say that you think the expenses of the Government might be reduced by simplifying the machinery, and calling more natives into employ, do you contemplate any reduction of the number of Europeans? — A very considerable reduction.

5090. Out of the five in Coimbatore, how many do you think might be dispensed with? — Four.

5091. Do you think that one European superintendent, with natives under him, could manage the revenue and civil concerns? — I think that he could. When I speak of the machinery of the Government, I allude to the presidency. The present mode of carrying on the Government is by a system of boards which are as complicated as anything can be. There is the revenue board, the military board and the board of trade, so that the Government, in fact, have no direct communication with their executive officers,

everything passes through these boards, and that leads to an enormous multiplication of records and of course to great delays and expense.

5092. Would you propose that the one superintendent in the district should exercise the functions of superior judge of the district and also of magistrate and collector of revenue? — My own idea is that the European should be confined to superintendence and control. I should conceive that both the revenue and civil and magisterial functions might be managed by the natives, with a strict European control. The greatest abuses of authority always arise out of the fiscal jurisdiction, not out of the ordinary magisterial or judicial functions.

5093. Do you conceive that the natives that would be called into action would be the persons who now act under the European officers, or that a new class of persons would be brought into operation? — Undoubtedly, those who have been regularly brought up; none but those duly qualified by previous education in the inferior offices of the civil administration should be permitted to occupy the higher grades.

5094. Are they not now found to be generally very corrupt? — If they are found to be so, it is in consequence, I conceive, entirely of our treatment of them; they have no interest in working for us, and therefore they invariably work against us when they can.

5095. And you conceive, that if they had better salaries and better prospects their corruption would be materially diminished? — I think that they would be nearly, I will not say altogether, as honest as Europeans, if we held out the same motives to them.

5096. Would not a larger extension of confidence to them produce a better state of feeling among them? — Unquestionably that would be the result.

5097. Do you conceive that the experiment of the employment of the native agency might be tried with advantage, in a particular district? — I am satisfied it might be, with great advantage — that is to say, if the experiment was made by a person favourable to its introduction, but not otherwise.

5098. Do you apprehend, that under the Madras presidency there are many persons of sufficient rank who concur with you in opinion? — I should suppose there are a considerable number; it is a growing opinion; I think it is an opinion amongst all those persons who are most conversant with the natives. Those in the trammels of a judicial office have but little to say to the natives; this is not a matter of choice but of necessity. The Collector, on the contrary, has constant intercourse with all classes of the people; he has a deep personal interest in the prosperity of the country, and his object is to consult the wishes and inclinations of the people on all subjects. On the other hand, people who pass their time at Madras know very little of the natives; but amongst that class who have free intercourse with the natives, a considerable number, I imagine, concur in opinion with me.

Evidence of W. Chaplin, Esq., Collector in Madras, and Commissioner in the Deccan.

5296. You have stated that you conceive the reduction of the land revenue would be the best mode of improving the character and condition of the lower orders; have the goodness to state what occurs to you with a view to the amelioration of the character and condition of the superior orders. — I conceive the best way of improving the character and condition of the superior orders would be to leave open to their ambition some of the higher and more lucrative offices of the Government, and to allow them to participate as much as possible in the administration of their own country; it may not be politic to allow

them to hold the highest departments, which, I conceive, should always be fitted by Europeans.

5297. To what departments do you allude? — The judicial and revenue; from the chief political offices I should always exclude them.

5298. Did you say the higher or the highest? — In the highest I would not recommend their employment; those, I think, must always be in the possession of Europeans. By permitting the natives to fill a few of the high situations, we shall gradually raise a native aristocracy of our own, who, being indebted to our Government, will feel an interest in maintaining it, being sensible that they would be the first to suffer by any revolution; they would then consider the security of their own fortunes identified with the safety of the Government.

5299. How do they stand affected to our Government now? — The exclusion of the natives from all offices and places of trust, except the subordinate ones, has a tendency to produce a deterioration of character. In this respect they sensibly feel the consequences of foreign rule, all the paths of honourable ambition being shut against them, and it may be feared that discontent will increase so that we may eventually become extremely unpopular. Indeed, I conceive that a general disaffection might be expected to take place, were it not for the sense generally entertained of the good faith of the Company's government, its regard for the rights of persons and property, and its strict attention to the religious customs and prejudices of its subjects. Hence, though there is little attachment to our rule, and no great interest in its stability, there is a general feeling of respect, and a thorough confidence in the integrity of the English character, which, supported by the fidelity of our native troops, forms the chief support of our tenure in India.

5300. You consider that their feelings are at present those of a conquered and degraded people? — I conceive very much so.

5301. Are you of opinion that any improvement in the circumstances of the people has yet been effected by our government? — I am afraid that the nature of our government is not calculated for much improvement. The natives enjoy under our sway more security of property and person, and they suffer less oppression and less exaction than under the native rule. They have generally, also, an incorrupt and impartial administration of justice, though, I am sorry to say, a very tardy and expensive one; but I conceive the degradation already adverted to tends very much to check improvement. The nature of our government is, in fact, adverse to improvement. Its officers from the Court of Directors here, and from the Governor and Council in India, downwards, are constantly fluctuating. Partial and limited experience is no sooner acquired than a change takes place before it can be brought into effectual operation. Plans of improvement are followed for a time, and then relinquished under a new Chairman of the Court of Directors, a new Governor General or a new administrator of the revenue; these frequent revolutions, by flood and field, occasion, in my opinion, a vacillation in the administration of affairs extremely injurious to the interests of the community in India.

5442. The committee have no further question to put to you, but would be glad to know whether there are any suggestions you would make on any topics which have or have not been touched upon? — I am not prepared to offer to the Committee any suggestions further than to recommend, as far as I am able to do, the expediency of making throughout our territories the land assessment as light as the finances of government will admit, but above all to fix the limit of the field assessment, as the only sure means of affording protection to the ryot and providing

against maladministration. This I presume to be the grand secret for the good government and the maintenance of tranquillity in India.

5443. Upon the whole the Committee are to understand that the more you have seen of the natives, the better your opinion of them? — I have always formed a good opinion of the native character generally; I think they will bear an advantageous comparison with the natives of any country in the world.

INDIAN CHARACTER AND SUPERIOR ATTAINMENTS.

Evidence of Major-General Sir L. Smith K.C.B.

5481. You have had a great deal of experience enabling you to know the character of native officers? — I have.

5482. You have had also great means of knowing what European officers have done? — I have.

5483. Speaking of the conduct of both deliberately, what is your opinion of the comparison? — I think, generally speaking, native officers are on all questions of evidence, and certainly in reference to their own customs and laws, infinitely more to be depended upon than European officers.

5600. What is your opinion of the moral character of the natives of India generally? — I think, considering the disadvantages they have been under many years — not those of Bombay, but those above the Ghats, where they have had formerly a vicious government — they are a very good people, and in my opinion they have been greatly belied by all those who have written about them.

5601. Are they a cruel people? — By no means; all their chiefs were of rude military habits; which made the body of the people what they were, rude and violent, but they are essentially a good people; and where they have taken to cultivation, they are one of the most quiet, orderly, people I have ever lived amongst. In my own cantonment I had generally before the war upwards of 30,000 followers, and for four years we had only four capital crimes; what the punishments were I do not know, for we sent them to the Peishwa, we had not then any criminal law of our own; I do not believe there are many parts of Europe which could boast of such absence of crime.

5616. What do you think would be the effect on public feeling of giving the natives a power of deciding on the crimes committed by Christians? — I think the Europeans in general at first would be displeased at it. There is a tone, of course in proportion as they are ignorant of the natives, of superior feelings — a superiority which perhaps would make them shrink from coming into close contact with them in the exercise of such duties, but that ought to be done away; and it is to give them a beginning, and make the Europeans come in contact more with the people of the country, that I think the greatest good may be done to the country. They would resist a little, I think, at first; some of them are very haughty, some of them dislike natives, but do that away by bringing them together by law, and one party will feel himself more respectable, and both in the end be satisfied.

5618. Would there be any feeling on the part of Europeans in acting with natives on this service? — Perhaps at first they would object, in proportion as some men find it very difficult to conquer old tastes and prejudices; the greatest fault of Europeans in India is that they are too aristocratical or distant, and keep aloof from the natives, not mixing half enough with them.

5619. Would you have any objection to be tried by a jury of natives? — No, I should not, myself, but I think I am, perhaps, an exception to most.

5624. You have said that the people generally have advanced in knowledge and intelligence during the last few years? — Yes, to a great degree.

5625. Are you speaking of the whole population of the country? — Yes; a school was established in the Deccan before I came away, and I had an immense number of applications to get poor boys in from my native friends, and in Bombay it has been going on for many years, and is on a most beautiful footing on the Lancasterian system. (A poor Deccani boy from this region, helped by Mr. J. N. Tata to continue his education at an English university, was bracketed senior wrangler at Cambridge in 1899.)

5626. Do you consider that the people consider themselves degraded by not being admitted into the superior offices? — I think they must feel it.

5627. Is it not likely to increase with their increasing intelligence? — Most decidedly, it must increase.

5628. How is it to be met, if that is so? — Let them participate in the administration of the country, I should say.

5629. Should you say it

would be safer for the government of this country to allow that intelligence to increase under that feeling of separation from the English, or to attempt to identify the natives and the English? — I think the first effect of it will certainly be, that it will tend to identify and make the people happy; I think that the ultimate end, when you have succeeded in educating the large proportion of the people, will be that they must find by every amelioration that you can give them, that they are still a distinct and degraded people, and if they can find the means of driving you out of the country they will do it.

5630. Can you prevent their finding out their strength? — I think the circumstance is so unprecedented in the history of man, that a handful of foreigners should continue to govern a country of sixty millions, which is fashionably called the empire of opinion, that the moment you have educated them they must feel that the effect of education will be to do away with all the prejudices of sects and religions by which we have hitherto kept the country — the Mussalmans against Hindoos, and so on; the effect of education will be to expand their minds, and show them their vast power.

5631. Would not the abolition of the existing disqualifications of natives, which they feel to be a degradation and their participation with Europeans in all the advantages of our civil institutions in India, be a material corrective of such tendency arising out of education? — For a time, as I have said before, no doubt it will.

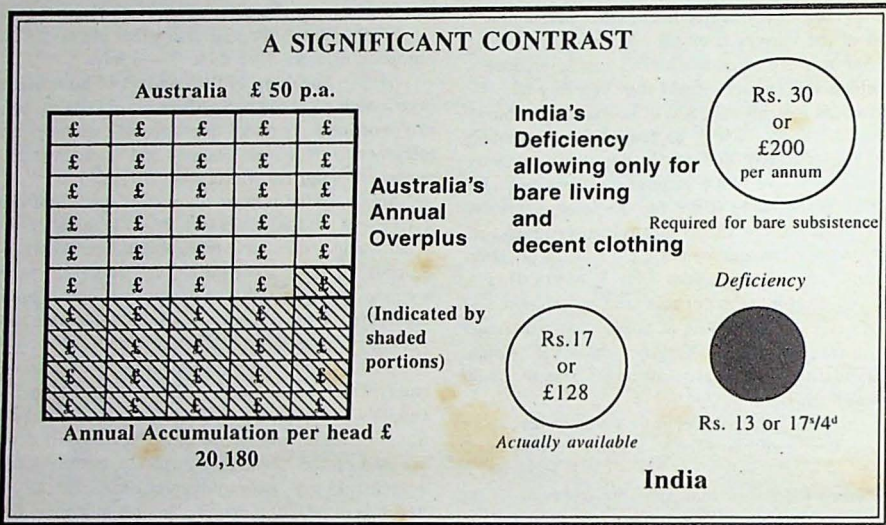
5632. Would it not identify them with British dominion,

and give them a common interest in preserving it, which they do not now feel? — To a certain extent it might do so.

5633. Do you not consider that such securities for the attachments of the inhabitants of India would be both more honourable to the country, and more to be permanently depended upon than any other attempts to govern India by keeping its natives in darkness and ignorance? — I would decidedly enlighten them as much as possible; but then you lose the country.

5634. Supposing any rival European Power were to find its way into India, would it not, by holding out the abolition of the existing disqualifications of natives, find the certain means of seducing them from their allegiance to us? — If they can once establish themselves, of course it would depend vastly on

the Power; they know there is no European Power like ours likely to conquer the country. 5636. Supposing those disqualifications were removed in time by ourselves, would any inducement remain to the people of India to prefer the dominion of any other



European Power? — No, I do not think any European Power could have any influence with them, if we use our power properly, by giving them a participation in the government of the country, and by promoting education and civilisation.

5639. If in the progress of time India were to become sufficiently instructed to understand the principles of the Christian religion, and to comprehend the nature of government, such as that which belongs to the British Constitution, is it your opinion that in that state of civilisation India would permit itself for any length of time to be governed by the authority of England? — No, I should say not; taking the history of nations, that they would feel the value of governing themselves; it is human nature, I think, that they should.

5640. Is it not the case that in that state of civilisation which you contemplate as of advantage, the British dominion in India must also be contemplated by you as to cease? — I have expressly said, that I feel the effect of imparting education will be to turn us out of the country.

5641. If that should take place, are you prepared to say that India may not be of more value to us than it now is? — By no means; America has been of more value to us separate than as a colony.

5642. What portion of the population of India is most attached to the British rule, whether the most ignorant or the most intelligent; or, in a word, is there any part of India with which you are acquainted where the attachment to the British Government is so strong as at Bombay? — I should say the most intelligent; I look upon it the people of Bombay, who are

intelligent and well educated, have higher expectations from those advantages, and look up to Government with more confidence to derive those advantages; therefore that they must have stronger excitement of loyalty and affection to Government than those who are perfectly ignorant.

5643. Are the Committee to understand your opinion to be, that in proportion as India becomes civilised and instructed, there would be a desire for independence? — I should think there naturally would.

5644. Even if that independence took place, you are not prepared to say that India might not be equally valuable to England as it now is? — Certainly not; there would not be such an outlet for gentlemen's sons for appointments and things of that kind, but I should think the profit of the country would be as great; there would be none of the expense and all of the advantages.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY : WHERE DOES INDIA STAND ?

India in a Worse Position To-day than on January 1, 1801.

A Condescension to Particulars :

- (a) Wealth.
- (b) The Poverty of the People.

A significant Contrast.

- (c) National Industries.
- (d) Government Service.
- (e) Moral, Intellectual, and Spiritual, Position.

Appendix :

How Lascars voyaging to England would suffer moral harm and India material damage.

'The arrival in the port of London of Indian produce in Indian-built ships created a sensation among monopolists which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The shipbuilders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation.' — Taylor's *History of India*, p. 216.

1801	1901
Lord Wellesley	Lord Curzon
Governor-General	Viceroy and Governor-General.

With the beginning of a new century it may not be unsuitable to ask and to answer the question contained in the heading to this chapter. So far as the present writer is concerned there can, unhappily, be no hesitation as to what must, of necessity, be the reply. The question cannot, with any approach to accuracy, be answered save in some such sentence as this :-

India stands in a terribly worse position to-day than that which it occupied when the first dawn of 1801 trembled across the bay of Bengal and flashed upon the hilltops on the north-eastern coast of Hindustan.

It matters not in what direction one looks, so far as the material prosperity of the vast mass of the population goes, the answer must be seriously adverse in comparison with the ancient time. Not now is prosperity, but once was prosperity. In all of a material character that goes to make a prosperous realm, India on January 1, 1901, was a greater

number of leagues behind India on January 1, 1801, than I, for one, care to try to count. To finish assertion and to come to facts :-

WEALTH

One hundred years ago, in spite of the conveyance ('convey, the wise it call,' said Shakespeare) of vast amounts of ill-gotten wealth by civilians and military men and others to England, especially from Bengal and Madras, there was still much accumulated wealth throughout the continent. Other conquerors before us in India settled in the country; what they stole remained in India; they spent it or hoarded it in India. It might be taken from Bengal to Delhi but much of it found its way back to Bengal, and Bengalis in high office in Delhi had their fair share of what was available. Save in a few historical instances India's treasure was not removed from India, and even what was taken was not extraordinary in amount. Nearly the whole of the wealth remaining in the country a hundred years ago has been so drained away that there is now less of popular pecuniary reserve in India than in any civilised country in the world. During the famine of 1900 so completely had the reserves been exhausted that a large number of very ancient coins found their way into circulation, and, in 1901, were offered to numismatists in London. How terrible the drain has been may be judged by various statements made at divers times. Notable amongst them Montgomery Martin's remarks of nearly seventy years ago. 'The annual drain of £ 3,000,000 from British India,' he said, 'has mounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of £ 723,900,000 sterling.' From that day to this there has been cessation in the flow. More : with every year it has increased until the stream which in 1830 was regarded as almost beyond control, has increased tenfold, and has become altogether beyond control. It is true the area drained is larger now than then, but the proportion of wealth annually taken is far greater. During the closing ten years of the nineteenth century it became beyond control, to the extent of involving more than half the cultivators in the Empire in almost irremediable debt; (In the Bombay Presidency, according to the Macdonnell Famine Commission Report, four-fifths of the cultivators were indebted.) it has turned the moneylender into the real lord and sovereign of India, while twenty millions of patient, suffering, excellent, people have died prematurely from want of food and from the diseases occasioned by privation and from plague. During the last thirty years of the century the average drain cannot have been far short of £ 30,000,000 per year, or, in the thirty years, £ 900,000,000, not reckoning interest ! Against this great and forcible withdrawal, forcible by economic law in the first instance, by British might in the second, is to be set the money loaned by England to India for warlike purposes and public works, only a small portion of which has been wealth creating to an appreciable extent, so far as the masses of the people are concerned, and the sum total of which does not compare with the drain to England. And, further, all of it has to be

repaid some day. It may, in another chapter, be possible to strike the balance, although only approximately, between the two sides of the account, but the very best that can be shown will leave an almost unthinkable deficit on India's side, a deficit only realisable as it may be brought to bear year by year on the existing population, and thus carried to the individual home. The argument applied to the individual Indian will be found developed at greater length elsewhere. Here, it can only be stated in outline. That India is not far from collapse is proved by the frequent famines now prevailing and the ominous fact that although, even in the worst of years — the years 1900 and 1901 — enough food was grown to feed the people, the people had not the wherewithal to buy the food which would have kept them alive, and, obtaining which, with their own means, they would have retained their homes and not have lost their families and their few possessions. The present Secretary of State (Lord George Hamilton) has made the expression, that the recent famines are famines of money and not of food, a part of current historical phraseology. It is not, however, an accurate statement, save to a very limited extent. There would not be food enough for all the people, nor anything like food enough, were a favourable response given to the Christian's prayer: 'Give us this day our daily bread.' My information and calculations lead me to express the opinion that if provision were made for as much to be eaten as is needed for health, three-fourths of the country, for at least three months in the year, would be on short rations and many millions of people on none at all. Speaking in general terms, India, at the beginning of this century, has no *working capital*: all her working capital has, under a mistaken system of government, been drained to another country, and she is, in herself, wholly resourceless, as resources go among modern nations. She cannot recuperate herself from herself in existing conditions.

THE POVERTY OF THE PEOPLE.

If the foregoing remarks be sustainable, it follows that now there is vastly much more requirement of the necessaries of life among the people than was the case a hundred years ago. Statistics for 1801, by which an exact comparison can be made, are not available. One of the witnesses at the inquiry which preceded the renewal of the Charter of 1833, said [Mr. Wood, p. 580, 'Affairs of the East India Company,' 1833 (445-II.)] :-

'It may be asked if the labourer of India is placed on a par with the labourer of Europe. In India, within our own provinces, it may be said there is no distress except in times of scarcity; and since we have ensured to the merchant the unrestricted sale of his grain, prices have adapted themselves to the productiveness of the crops, and there has been no scarcity or famine similar to what was known when the grain merchant was forced to sell his grain at whatever price the Government of the country was pleased to dictate. In India the labourer of our provinces has no difficulty in maintaining himself and his family with independence without resorting to the charity of the public, and we know the reverse to be the case in our native country.'

Here, too, are rough means by which the grave decadence of the past twenty years may be apprehended :-

In 1880: 'There remain forty millions of people who go through life on insufficient food.' — Sir W. W. Hunter at Birmingham.

In 1893: The *Pioneer* sums up Mr. Grierson's facts regarding the various sections of the population in Gaya, and remarks that the conclusion is by no means encouraging. 'Briefly, it is that all the persons of the labouring classes, and ten per cent of the cultivating and artisan classes, or forty five per cent of the total population, are insufficiently clothed, or insufficiently fed, or both. In Gaya district this would give about a million persons without sufficient means of support. If we assume that the circumstances of Gaya are not exceptional — and there is no reason for thinking otherwise — it follows that nearly one hundred millions of people in British India are living in extreme poverty.' The whole of the article from which this passage is taken is quoted later.

In 1901: 'The poverty and suffering of the people are such as to defy description. In fact, for nearly fifteen years there has been a *continuous famine in India* owing to high prices.' Thus, on May 16, 1901, wrote an Indian Publicist of ripe experience and wide knowledge.

Since Sir William Hunter's remarks were made the population has increased (or is alleged to have increased) by nearly thirty millions. Meanwhile the income of the Empire has greatly decreased during this period. Wherefore this follows: that if, with the same income, in 1880 forty millions were insufficiently fed, the additional millions cannot have had, cannot now have, enough to eat; this, again, ensues :-

40,000,000 plus, say, 30,000,000, make 70,000,000; and there are this number of continually hungry people in British India at the beginning of the twentieth century.

That is my own estimate, made several months ago, and, like all my estimates, is too conservative; for it will have been observed that the *Pioneer*, the ever-ready apologist for the British rule in India, eight years ago put the 'British people who are living in extreme poverty' at 'one hundred millions.'

NATIONAL INDUSTRIES.

These have been ruthlessly destroyed, and, during the earlier part of the century, destroyed without any pretence at concealment of the circumstance that English industries were to be benefited by the destruction. The passage quoted at the head of this chapter furnishes a notable illustration. A hundred years ago shipbuilding was in so excellent a condition in India that ships could be (and were) built which sailed to the Thames in company with British-built ships and under the convoy of British frigates. The Governor-General in 1800, reporting to his masters in Leadenhall Street, London, said: 'The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes to England.' (Again: 'From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which

the art of shipbuilding has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress, and supported by abundant and increasing supplies of timber), it is certain that this port will always be able to furnish tonnage, to whatever extent may be required, for conveying to the port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal.' — *Lord Wellesley*, in 1800.) **The teakwood vessels of Bombay were greatly superior to the 'oaken wall of old England.'** Let note be taken of this testimony ('Consideration on the Affairs of India, written in the year 1811,' by Lieutenant Colonel A. Walker. H. L., 1853 (445-VI.) p. 316.) :-

It is certain that our present policy prevents us availing ourselves of all the advantages which our Indian possessions are capable of producing. Perhaps the time has not yet arrived when this question can be calmly, impartially, and without prejudice, discussed. Nations are slower than individuals in ascertaining their real interests, and it is only lately, notwithstanding that we have acknowledged the scarcity of timber at home for shipbuilding, that we have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the valuable productions of the forests of India.

In Bombay alone, two ships of the line, or one ship and two frigates, can be produced to the British navy every eighteen months. The docks at Bombay are capable of containing ships of any force.

Situated as Bombay is, between the forests of Malabar and Gujarat, she receives supplies of timber with every wind that blows. **Flax of a good quality is also the produce of our territories in India.** It is calculated that every ship in the navy of Great Britain is renewed every twelve years. **It is well known that teakwood-built ships last fifty years and upwards.** Many ships Bombay-built, after running fourteen or fifteen years, have been brought into the navy and were considered as strong as ever. The *Sir Edward Hughes* performed, I believe, eight voyages as an Indiaman before she was purchased for the navy. **No Europe-built Indiaman is capable of going more than six voyages with safety.**

Ships built at Bombay are also executed by one-fourth cheaper than in the docks of England.

Let the result of these observations be reduced to calculation, and the advantages will be evident.

Every eighteen months two ship-of-the-line can be added to the British navy, four in three years, and in fifteen years twenty ships-of-the-line. Thus in fifteen years we should be in possession of a fleet which would last fifty years. The English-built ships requiring to be renewed every twelve years, the expense is quadruple. Suppose, therefore, a ship built in England to cost £ 100, in fifty years it would cost £ 400, but as a ship of equal force to last the same period would cost in India only £ 75 of the sum, **the difference in favour of India-built ships would be £ 325 per cent.**

Say that a ship-of-the-line in its original cost is £ 100,000.

£			
Four times renewed	...	...	400,000
A Bombay ship	...	...	75,000
Saving	...	...	<u>£ 325,000</u>

This calculation is excessive, but it is chosen to show how much may be saved, even although one-half may be erroneous.

Were it not for our numerous captures we should probably have had some difficulty in keeping our navy complete. Has it been found that the number of prizes brought into our ports has diminished the demand for our own ships; or has it had the effect of producing any of those consequences which jealousy imputes to our Indian-built shipping ?

The docks that have recently been constructed at Bombay, under the superintendence of Major Cooper of the Engineers, are elegant specimens of architecture, and excite universal admiration. They are capable of containing vessels of any force.

In Bengal, Prince of Wales Island, and other maritime stations, excellent ships may be constructed, and the number may be increased to a much greater extent than the above estimate; but the estimate has been purposely confined to Bombay, which is furnished with docks, and the ships are there constructed with more advantage than anywhere else; and it is our grand naval arsenal in India.

Of course no heed was given to such wise counsel. Nor, were opportunity to offer for India to-day to render like service to the Empire at large, would it receive any greater favour.

To mention the above is to show, as by a lightning flash on a dark night, how far, industrially, with the sole exception of the spinning and weaving of cotton by steam machinery in Bombay, the India of Lord Curzon is behind the India of Lord Wellesley. As, again and again, I have wandered through the records of obscure administration in India during the past century, growing more and more woeful as instance upon instance forced upon me the unteachability of the Anglo-Indian civilian, scarcely anything has struck me more forcibly than the manner in which the **Mistress of the Seas in the Western World has stricken to death the Mistress of the Seas in the East.** Statistics for the beginning of the century are not available — to me at least; I can only learn about India that which is permitted to appear in Blue Books and in works written about India — official generally. But from the Statistical Abstracts I gather these significant facts :-

1857		Vessels	Tonnage
Indian	(entered and cleared) ...	34,286	1,219,958
British and British-Indian	" ...	59,441	2,475,472
1898-99			
Indian	(entered and cleared) ...	2,302	133,033
British and British-Indian	" ...	6,219	7,685,009
Foreign	... ..	1,165	1,297,604

That is to say, **the Indian tonnage in 1898-99, compared with British and Foreign in 1857, is one-seventieth of the whole trade now against one-half then.** And, from Mr. O'Connor's report on the trade of India for 1898-1900, which carries the figures a year later than the above, I take **the following funeral comment on the extinction of Indian shipping :-**

Native craft continues to decline :-

		No.	Tons.
1898-99	... ..	2,302	133,033
1899-1900	... ..	1,676	109,813

As for Indian manufactures generally, on the theories prevalent early in the nineteenth century, they were deliberately throttled. The circumstance that the British authorities acted in accordance with the teaching of the times is a plea which is barred by the principle on which we held the country. The story I am about to tell throws a curious light on our frequent professions that we remain in India

for the good of the Indian people first, and for any benefit to ourselves next. 'No Government ever manifested, perhaps, a more constant solicitude to promote the welfare of a people; and it is with satisfaction and with pride that I can bear an almost unequalled testimony in its favour.' Thus Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, who, immediately proceeds to make his own eulogy ridiculous by substituting a statement of fact for a flight of fancy. He said :-

On the other hand, what is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country in relation with India? The silk manufactures, and its piece goods made of silk and cotton intermixed, have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and, of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent, but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics which heretofore constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions. (From a letter to Mr. Huskisson, written in 1823. 'Memorials of Indian Government.' Richard Bentley, 1853, p. 494.)

We compelled India to take our goods either with no import, or with merely nominal import duty. How we treated Indian articles appears from what Mr. Tucker says in the preceding paragraph, but the testimony of Mr. Rickards, may be cited. (Report Select Committee, East India Company, 1831. Appendix. p. 581.) He remarks :-

The duties on many articles of East India produce are also enormously high, apparently rated on no fixed principle, and without regard to market price. For example :-

Aloes, subject to a duty of from	70 to 280 percent.
Asafoetida " "	233 " 622 "
Cardamums " "	150 " 266 "
Coffee " "	105 " 373 "
Pepper " "	266 " 400 "
Sugar " "	94 " 393 "
Tea " "	6 " 100 "

... The rates of duty imposed on Indian imports into Britain, when compared with the exemption from duty of British staples into India (cotton goods being subject to a duty of only 2 1/2 percent.), constitute an important feature in the present question. Indians within the Company's jurisdiction, like English, Scotch, or Irish, are equally subjects of the British Government. To make invidious distinctions, favouring one class but oppressing another, all being subjects of the same empire, cannot be reconciled with the principles of justice; and whilst British imports into India are thus so highly favoured, I know that Indo-British subjects feel it a great grievance that their commodities when imported into England should be so enormously taxed.

The following charges on cotton manufactures in 1813 are significant :-

Flowered or stitched muslins of white calicoes	£	s.	d.
(for every £100 of value)	32	9	2
And further ditto ditto	11	17	6
Calicoes and dimities... .. ditto	81	2	11
And further ditto ditto	3	19	2
Cotton, raw (per 100 lbs.) ditto	0	16	11
Cotton, manufactured ditto	81	2	11

Articles of manufacture of cotton, wholly or in part made up, not otherwise charged with duty	...	...	...	32	9	2
(for every £100 of value) ... ..	...	...	...	84	6	3
Hair or goat's wool, manufactures of, per cent	...	...	...	81	2	11
Lacquered ware, per cent ... ..	...	...	...	84	6	3
Mats and matting, percent ... ..	...	...	...	84	6	3
Oil of Aniseed, per cent ... ..	...	...	...	84	8	3
Oil of Cocoonut, per ton ... ..	...	...	...	96	0	0
Tea; in 1814, customs and excise ... ..	...	...	...

These burdensome charges were subsequently removed, but only after the export trade in them had, temporarily or permanently, been destroyed. The manufacturing industries which have been established during the century will be found described in some detail in the chapter on 'The Resources of India — Who Possess Them?' When, however, all has been considered and allowed for, it remains that, practically, in the clash of machinery in the mill and more of the world's workshops to-day there is no contributing sound from India, a British country. **One-fifth of the people of the world, in an age of mechanical production, take no recognisable part in manufacture by machinery. Once they occupied a respectable manufacturing and exporting position; now they have no position as such save in the Western Presidency, and there side by side with the most poverty-stricken of all the agricultural regions in India.**

GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

In 1801 a large part of India had not come under British domination: it was not indeed until fifty years later that the Lawrences and others of their day began the 'settlement' of the region of the Five Rivers. With what disastrous result a previous 'settlement' in the North-Western Provinces was arranged the *Pioneer's* description of the settlement of Gurgaon by John Lawrence will tell. (Gurgaon was, in 1877, a district with nearly 700,000 inhabitants.

From 1837 (Lord Lawrence — then Mr. Lawrence — being Settlement Officer) the district has been steadily rack-rented.

In 1877 the rents were raised.

Rains failed, crops were ruined, the Government demand was nevertheless exacted, with these consequences, as officially admitted :-

At the end of five years it was found that 80,000 people had died; 150,000 head of cattle had perished; 2,000,000 rupees of debt, to pay the Government rents, incurred; the people were emaciated, and unable to reap a good crop when it came.

Mr. S. S. Thorburn, ex-Commissioner in the Punjab, says the first effect of the British occupation of the Punjab was the over-assessment, and, referring specially to Gurgaon, remarks, 'at first ignorantly over-assessed by us.')

A hundred years ago the many Indian Courts provided positions of influence, honour, emolument, which gave scope to the proper ambition of thousands of able men, benefited tens of thousands of families, and produced, by the lavish expenditure of the resources of the country in the country, a widespread prosperity and personal contentment. Wars, it is true, now and then occurred; acts of rapine and cruelty were not unknown. But for ten persons affected by such incidents ten thousand persons were unaffected, while variety of service and occupation were open in a vast number of directions; these, by the opportunities they provided, more

than counter-balanced the injustice which was but occasional. In all parts of their own land, save that already under British domination, Indians of a hundred years ago could become that for which their personal bravery and intellectual acumen fitted them. Every civilised country requires a certain number of high officials : where now Europeans occupy important positions, Indians were then at the top of the tree. 'In 'Asia and Europe,' by Meredith Townsend, published by Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd., Westminster, the following observations on this point occur :-

'It the active classes who have to be considered, and to them our rule is not, and cannot be, a rule without prodigious drawbacks. One of these, of which they are, fully conscious, is the gradual decay of much of which they were proud, the slow death, which even the Europeans perceive, of Indian art, Indian culture, Indian military spirit. Architecture, engineering, literary skill, are all perishing out, so perishing that Anglo-Indians doubt whether Indians have the capacity to be architects, though they built Benares, or engineers though they dug the artificial lakes of Tanjore; or poets though the people sit for hours or days listening to rhapsodists as they recite poems, which move than as Tennyson certainly does not move our common people. Another is, that the price of what they think imperfect justice is that they shall never right themselves, never enjoy the luxury of vengeance, never even protect their personal dignity and honour, about which they are sensitive as Prussian officers. They may not even kill their wives for going astray. And the last and greatest one of all is the total loss of the interestingness of life.

It would be hard to explain to the average Englishman how interesting Indian life must have been before our advent; how completely open was every career to the bold, the enterprising, or the ambitious. The whole continent was open as a prize to the strong. Nothing was settled in fact or in opinion except that the descendants of Timour the Lame were entitled to any kind of ascendancy they could get and keep. No one not of the great Tartar's blood pretended to the universal throne, but with that exception every prize was open to any man who had it in himself the needful force. Scores of sub-thrones were, so to speak, in the market. A brigand, for Sivajee was no better, became a mighty sovereign. A herdsman built a monarchy in Baroda. A body-servant founded the dynasty of Scindia. A corporal cut his way to the independent crown of Mysore. The first Nizam was only an officer of the Emperor. Runjeet Singh's father was what Europeans would call a prefect. There were literally hundreds who founded principalities, thousands of their potential rivals, thousands more who succeeded a little less grandly, conquered estates, or became high officers under the new princes. Each of these men had his own character and his own renown among his countrymen, and each enjoyed a position such as is now unattainable in Europe, in which he was released from law, could indulge his own fancies, bad or good, and was fed every day and all day with the special flattery of Asia — that willing submissiveness to mere volition which is so like adoration, and which is to its recipients the most intoxicating of delights. Each, too, had his court of followers, and every courtier shared in the power, the luxury, and the adulation accruing to his lord. The power was that of life and death; the luxury included possession of every woman he desired; the adulation was, as I have said, almost religious worship. Life was full of dramatic changes. The aspirant who pleased a great man rose to fortune at a bound. The adventurer whose band performed an act of daring was on his road to be a satrap. Anyone who could do anything for "the State" — that is for any ruler — build a Temple, or furnish an army with supplies, or dig a tank, or lend gold to the Court, became at once a great man, honoured of all classes, practically exempt from law and able to influence the great current of affairs. Even the timid had the chance, and, as Finance Minister, farmers of taxes, controllers of religious establishments, found for themselves great places in the land. For all this which we have extinguished we offer nothing in return, nor can we offer anything. We can give place, and, for reasons stated elsewhere, it will be greedily accepted, but place is not power under our system, nor can we give what an Asiatic considers power — the right to make volition executive; the right to crush an enemy and reward a friend; the right above all, to be free from that burden of external laws, moral duties and responsibilities to others with which Europeans have loaded life. We cannot even let a Viceroy be the ultimate

appellate court, and right any legal wrong by supreme fiat — a failure which seems to Indians, who think the Sovereign should represent God, to impair even our moral claim to rule. This interestingness of life was no doubt purchased at the price of much danger and suffering. The Sovereign, the favourite, or the noble could cast down as easily as they raised up, and intrigue against the successful never ended. The land was full of violence. Private war was universal. The great protected themselves against assassination as vigilantly as the Russian Emperor does. The danger from invasion, insurrection, and, above all mutiny, never ended. I question, however, if these circumstances were even considered drawbacks. They were not so considered by the upper classes of Europe in the middle ages, and those upper classes were not tranquillised, like their rivals in India, by a sincere belief in fate. I do not find Texans hate the wild life of Texas, or that Spanish-speaking Americans think the personal security which the dominance of the English-speaking Americans would assure to them is any compensation for loss of independence. I firmly believe that to the immense majority of the active classes of India the old time was a happy time; that they dislike our rule as much for the leaden order it produces as for its foreign character; and they would welcome a return of the old disorders if they brought back with them the old vividness, and, so to speak, romance of life.'

In a phrase, the measure of Indian degradation now, as compared with then, may be thus expressed :-

Not one Indian, during a whole century, has occupied a seat in the Supreme, or Presidency, or Provincial, Executive Councils, nor in the Secretary of State's Council in England.

It is true there has only been an average of about one hundred and fifty millions of people in British India throughout this period, and that number of human beings MAY never have produced one man fit for such a position anywhere in the world. Yet, in the Feudatory States — so far as Residential control would permit, which was not very far — some of the finest administrators of the century in any country have arisen, men who may be matched, so far as opportunity served, with the leading statesmen of any European country or the United States of America. The men to whom I refer, with a very few exceptions, were subordinate officers in the British service, and, but for the chance given by the Feudatory States, would never have risen higher than a Deputy Collectorship. In Sir Salar Jung, Sir Madhava Row, Sir Dinkar Row, Sir K. Seshadri Aiyar, and many other Indian administrators, were found instruments which in the old days of faith (days now, alas ! Destroyed for Anglo-Saxondom by Imperialism so-called) would have been regarded as Providential provisions to solve the difficulties in the way of a true and righteous government of India. Compare Sir Salar Jung's administration with that of the British Provinces. As against the interference of the Resident and the friction caused by the retention of the Berars, (although each of the articles of the treaty had been or would be complied with — powerful hindrances these to successful work—) must be placed the force of one mind continuously acting towards a given end. This gave Sir Salar Jung and all other native-Indian statesmen, in their respective spheres, a power of the greatness of which may easily be overlooked. What Lord Salisbury has said of the rule of India in its higher ranks, that it was 'a government of incessant changes' — ('It is,' he added, 'the despotism of a line of kings whose reigns are limited by climatic causes to five years') — may be said also of British rule in little. After making full allowance for continuity of policy, Sir

Salar Jung's achievements rank before those of any administrator with like duties and opportunities which India has known. Take this series of comparisons prepared by me sixteen years ago :-

GROSS LAND REVENUE COLLECTED

The Nizam's Dominions.		The British Indian Empire.	
Rs.		£.	
Collected in 1853	64,85,098	Collected in 1853	16,190,000
Collected in 1881	1,83,40,861	Collected in 1881	21,860,000
Increase	Rs. 1,18,55,763	Increase	£ 5,650,000
Percentage of increase per cent	260	Percentage of increase less than	25 per cent.

INCREASE OF REVENUE

Sir Salar Jung's last year of office compared with his first shows :-

1853		1881-82	
Rs.		Rs.	
Total revenue	68,01,130	Total revenue	3,11,40,538

Or an increase of 357.84 per cent. This was the result of unremitting care and consideration, combined with the exercise of the often disunited qualities of prudence and stonewall firmness. In this unique combination of qualities the late Sir Salar Jung stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries — Anglo-Indian and Indian.

COST OF COLLECTION OF CUSTOMS REVENUE.

The Nizam's Dominions.		The Berars.	
Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Average per cent	6 7 3	Average per cent	45 14 5
		Or seven times higher !	

REVENUE COMPARISONS

The Nizam's Dominions.		The British Indian Empire	
Rs.		£	
Increase in 1853	68,01,130	Revenue in 1853	28,610,000
Revenue in 1881	3,11,40,658	Revenue in 1881	68,370,000
Increase	Rs. 2,43,39,528	Increase	£ 39,760,000
Increase nearly	357.84 per cent	Increase	230 per cent

(The condition in H.H.'s districts and in the Berars are exactly the same, or should be, seeing the territories join each other. The expensive administration of the Berars, and the consequent withholding of profit revenues from the Nizam, has long been known to all acquainted with Indian affairs. It is a transaction, which, if it were the other way about, would draw from English public men comments concerning 'oriental perfidy' which would be unparliamentary in their vigour.)

It will probably be said that Sir Salar Jung did all this so well because he followed the British plan. Granted, I am not contending for the overthrow of British rule, but for its being remodelled in such a way as provides satisfaction to the Indian mind and prosperity to the country. What denial of service has meant to India of men who could wisely and well have administered her affairs may be judged by what Ranjit Singhji has done in cricket against the best batsmen of England and Australia; by what Paranjee, Balak Ram, Chatterjee and the brothers Cama have done at Cambridge against intellectual athletes from all parts of the world by what Professor Bose is now doing in electrical field, and Dr. Mullick in medical practice. There are Indian judges in the High Courts of India — not a dozen in all — and a couple of score great Indian pleaders and here and there an Indian Collector, and

one solitary Commissioner in Bengal; but they are as naught in numbers compared with what their numbers should have been and would have been under a rational and fair system of government. Great work has been done by Indians but it has been in Feudatory States and in England where a chance, denied to them in their own land, was open to them. Given fair-play, Indian administrators would, in their way, and so far as circumstances permitted, have become the equals of Bismarck, of Cavour, of Gortschakoff, of Gladstone, or of Disraeli.

Sir John Malcolm, in his day, warned the authorities of the mingled folly and injustice of the course they had then too long adopted. As usual, the words of three generations ago possess an application as great now as they ever did. 'There are reasons,' said Sir John Malcolm (or supposed reasons, let me interpolate) 'why, as foreign rulers, we cannot elevate the natives of India to a level with their conquerors. We are compelled by policy to limit their ambition; both in the civil government and in the army to inferior grades, but this necessity constitutes, in my opinion, the strongest of reasons for granting them all that we can with safety. Their vanity and love of distinction are excessive, and a politic gratification of such feelings may be made a powerful means of creating and preserving a native aristocracy worthy of the name, and exciting to honourable action men whom a contrary system must degrade in their own estimation and in that of the community, and who, instead of being the most efficient of all ranks to preserve order, and give dignity to the society to which they belong, and strength to the government to which they owe allegiance, are depressed by our levelling system into a useless and discontented class. Many, judging from results, ascribe it to the want of virtue and good feeling, and to rooted discontent in this class, what appears to me to be distinctly attributable to our conduct as rulers. We shape our system to suit our own ideas. The constitution of our Government requires in all its branches an efficient check and regularity; but in our attention to forms and routine we too often forget the most essential maxims of State policy, and every deviation is arraigned that disturbs the uniform usage of our affairs in courts of justice. No motives suited to their prejudices and habits are supplied to awaken the inert to action, to kindle the embers of virtue, or to excite an honourable ambition among our native subjects. Yet pursuing this system, our record teems with eulogies on the excellences of our establishments, and the degeneracy of all, and particularly the higher classes of India, whom, in the case before me, it is desired (from no cause that I can understand but rigid adherence to system) to exclude from a few unimportant privileges, which, though little more than a shadow of distinction, are sought for with an eagerness that shows singularly the character of the community, and confirms me in the belief I have long entertained, that by our neglect in conciliating and honouring the higher and more respectable class of our native subjects, we cast away the most powerful means we possess of promoting the prosperity and permanence of the Empire.' (Page 360, Appendix to Report from Select Committee, East India Company, 1853. Minute of Sir John Malcolm, November 30, 1830.)

MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND SPIRITUAL POSITION.

In this region there cannot be proper comparison, only a summing-up as to how India, with all her demerits, ranks among the world's peoples during this eventful century. May an Englishman, without shame, ask the question ? The natural abilities of the Indian people being what they are; their inheritance of military courage, of administrative ability, of spiritual insight and saintly living, being of so varied and remarkable a character as they are, what has India to show in the array of the world's great men of the nineteenth century ? This is her record :-

That is all. 'But,' asserts the reader, 'that is nothing.'

True ; it is nothing. India has furnished no commanding intellect in the department of human service which may be denominated moral, intellectual and spiritual, which may rank with those in Europe and America whose names are known the world over. The sole reason for this is that there is no scope for such development in their own country. **The 'pousta' has worked too effectually. In the words of Mr. Thackeray, quoted in the preceding chapter, everything which would produce sages, statesmen, heroes, has been 'suppressed.'** To-day we are shocked at such remarks as Mr. Thackeray's — and go on doing exactly what the remarks recommend. Yet India's people, as Lord George Hamilton never tires of telling us, number one-fifth of the population of the globe. On an appropriate stage the late Mr. Justice Ranade would, for his goodness and his great character, have moved the admiration of all mankind. Only in spiritual things has India made any show at all. Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Rama Krishna, Bengalis to a man, to mention spiritual workers only who have passed away, who are known everywhere and who are honoured as amongst humanity's noblest spiritual teachers. What are these amongst so many ? What, especially, are they in a land which contains more real spirituality than, maybe, all the rest of the world put together ? Opportunity has been denied to India to show her vast superiority in this or in any other respect. When Europe produced a Martin Luther she gave the world a religious reformer. At the same period India produced her religious hero : he was an Avatar of the Eternal, and is to-day worshipped by vast numbers of devout men and women as The Lord Gauranga. During the last century the finest fruit of British intellectual eminence was, probably, to be found in Robert Browning and John Ruskin. Yet they are mere gropers in the dark compared with the uncultured and illiterate Rama Krishna, of Bengal, who, knowing naught of what we term 'learning,' spoke as no other man of his age spoke, and revealed God to weary mortals.

Why is India, spiritually, so little recognised, and the world, as a consequence, deprived of the advantage which the recognition would bring ? Chiefly, I think, because of the existence of the Societies for the Conversion of the Heathen to Christianity. While Christian missions are sent by all the Churches to India it will be impossible for more than a select few to realise that Indian spirituality may as

assuredly be an expression of the Divine Essence as are the faith and good works of pious men in the West who believe that the Holy Spirit of God is an abiding and helpful influence to them in all their thought and action. As a hindrance to their proper recognition as men of character and often of noble life, the Christian Missionary Societies of England interested in India have done the Indian people almost irremediable mischief.

In one respect there is much that is common to the two time periods, 1801 and 1901, offering themselves for comment. It was not merely for effect that I put at the head of this chapter in juxtaposition the names of Lord Wellesley and Lord Curzon, though a comparison of these rulers of India would not be unworthy to either. Making allowances for the different circumstances of the different periods, both noblemen go about their work in much the same spirit : each was confronted by a harder task than even whole-hearted devotion to his sense of duty and desire to serve India and England could, apparently, perform, and greater than any predecessor had to contend with. The one aimed to bring all India under British rule; the other is endeavouring to grapple with an accumulation of adverse circumstances which has grown Himalaya-high without the officials in the past, including Lord Curzon himself as parliamentary Under-Secretary of India, recognising what was going on, and quite contrary to what they all believed would happen. Each of the statesmen grapples with the situation before him in a broad-minded spirit. If anything, the ancient ruler was the more courageous. For, so far, Lord Curzon, brave as he is, has done nothing so great as was Lord Wellesley's beginning of the education of the Indian people. The English had been in touch with India for one hundred and sixty years, and in supreme power for thirty years in Bengal, for many more years in Madras. It was high time something was done for education. Lord Wellesley, to his lasting credit, made a beginning. Yet fifty-three more years passed, and there was then only one English school in the oldest presidency — that of Madras. As to-day an organ of Anglo-Indian opinion, generally most loyal to the Raj, blind sometimes in its devotion, does not hesitate to say of Lord Curzon that he is 'inclined to take too much upon himself,' that he, 'is breaking with English traditions,' while he is derisively and sneeringly informed that 'British have not conquered India in order that, in the fullness of time, Lord Curzon might be a Viceroy,' and further, that having two enemies in himself, he is on the way to making more enemies — so Lord Wellesley was subjected, in the Court of Directors and elsewhere, to like criticism, and was saved from penal discipline by the Board of Control as Lord Curzon may be saved by the devotion of the people whose best interests he seems desirous to appreciate and to serve.

As the round circle of the century's years comes once more to a beginning, that which hath been is now again passing before our eyes, and he who would measure its effect and forecast its consequences may learn much by looking backward over the long course of years since 1801.

APPENDIX

In opposing the employment of Indian-built ships in the trade between England and India, the Court of Directors employed an argument which, in some of its terms, sounds very curious at the present time when so many Lascars are employed by all the great lines of steamers running to the East. After reciting other reasons against ship-building and ship-manning in India, the Court, writing from East India House on the 27th of January, 1801, said :-

'XVII. Besides these objections which apply to the measure generally, there is one that lies particularly against ships whose voyages commence from India, that they will be usually be manned in great part with Lascars or Indian sailors. Men of that race are not by their physical frame and constitution fitted for the navigation of cold and boisterous latitudes; their nature and habits are formed to a warm climate and short and easy voyages performed within the sphere of the periodical winds; they have not strength enough of mind or body to encounter the hardships or perils to which ships are liable in the long and various navigation between India and Europe, especially in the winter storms of our Northern seas; nor have they the courage which can be relied on for steady defence against an enemy. To have any considerable portion of the Property and Trade of this country, therefore, dependent on the energy of men of this stamp unless on the coasts of India, where they are less exposed to dangers, cannot be advisable : Yet on the employment of Indian sailors the chief freight of Indian ships seem naturally to turn : For if these ships, rigged and fitted out as they are with stores chiefly brought from Europe, were manned with Europeans, receiving wages far higher, and provisioned at a much greater cost than Lascars, it does not appear how they could be afforded at a lower rate of freight than British bottoms. But this is not all. The native sailors of India, who are chiefly Mahomedans, are, to the disgrace of our national morals, on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character: They are robbed of their little property, and left to wander, ragged and destitute, in the streets; a sight that, whilst it wounds peculiarly the feelings of men connected with India and the Company, raises both the compassion and indignation of the Public; the one in favour of those miserable objects, the other against the Company, as if they had drawn the poor creatures into such a state of suffering, or neglected them in it; when in fact, though individuals bring them

home, the Company are at great pains and expense to collect, maintain, and return them; but such are the bad habits they acquire, that they often escape from the houses where the Company have them lodged and provided for, and take to a mendicant state for the chance of obtaining from the pity of passengers new means of vicious indulgence. From causes of this nature, and from the severity of our winters, not a few have lost their lives or become incapable of further service. On the Continent of Europe, and even in America, where some of these Lascars are also now carried, they have no protector as here, and their case must be still more deplorable; so that, instead of a larger introduction into the Western world of this feeble race, it is very seriously to be wished, that before their numbers are thinned by fatigue, climate, or disease, some means were devised for preventing them from leaving their own seas.

'The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return, cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of our Asiatic subjects, whose reverence for our character, which has hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East (a reverence in part inspired by what they have at a distance seen among a comparatively small society, mostly of the better ranks, in India) will be gradually changed for most degrading conceptions; and if an indignant apprehension of having hitherto rated us too highly or respected us too much, should once possess them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental.

'From the waste of life and other losses attending the employment of this class of sailors, perhaps it may appear at length necessary to resort to European Mariners; these, in such case, will flock in great numbers to India; and hence it may be expected that colonisation will be accelerated there. Indeed the return of peace might call for this substitution British seamen, many of whom must have to seek employment in the Merchants' Service; and no British heart would wish that any of the brave men who had merited so much of their country, should be without bread whilst natives of the East brought ships belonging to our own subjects into our ports. Considered, therefore, in a physical, moral, commercial, and political view, the apparent consequences of admitting these Indian sailors largely into our navigation, form a strong additional objection to the concession of the proposed privilege to any ships manned by them.' (Appendix No. 47 — Supplement to Fourth Report, East India Company, pp. 23-24)

EIGHTEEN MONTHS IN INDIA

CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP

Jawaharlal Nehru

Ever since my name was mentioned for re-election to the Congress Presidentship I have thought repeatedly and anxiously over the matter. The idea did not attract me for **I do not believe in the same person functioning again and again in one office.** My utility, such as it is, would not disappear if **I was not president. It might possibly be greater,** for I would be relieved of the routine performance of many duties which take up a great deal of time and energy. The burden that a Congress President has to carry is no light one and his lot is not enviable. There were other colleagues and comrades fitted for the task and it seemed improper that I should in a way monopolise this seat of honour and this burden of authority. I discussed the matter with my comrades and I pressed for other names, notably that of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. But Khan Saheb was wholly unwilling and the others were also reluctant. I felt that **I could not myself adopt a wholly negative attitude as there were some reasons, in the past years as in the present, which favoured me.** In a way I represented a link between various sets of ideas and so I helped somewhat in toning down the differences and emphasizing the essential unity of our struggle against imperialism. So, undecided, **I could say neither yes nor no definitely** and I remained silent on this issue, leaving chance to decide it.

Nominations for the presidentship have now been made and the time for election draws near. I feel that I can not remain silent any longer and I must tell my countrymen what my feelings are. I shall gladly welcome the election of any of my colleagues and co-operate with him in another capacity in the great enterprise we have undertaken. Should however the choice of my countrymen fall on me, **I dare not say no to it;** I

shall submit to their pleasure.

But before they so decide, they must realise fully what I stand for, what thoughts move me, what are the springs of action for me. In speech and writing I have given enough indication of this and from this I want to be judged. I am not an unknown quantity and I do not want to be accepted under any false pretences.

When I returned from Europe last March I came as one long cutoff from political activity, without the living touch with events which is so necessary for those who dabble in public affairs. Yet I had the advantage of a period of quiet thought, detached from the day-to-day worries of a political life. I ventured to place these thoughts of mine before my countrymen at the last session of the Congress.

Since then, during a crowded eight months, I have picked up the old threads, resumed contact with the many sided life of India, met innumerable comrades of mine, wandered about the great deal over this great land of ours, and looked into the eyes of millions of my countrymen and countrywomen. And so I have been able to form some idea of India as she is today; I have filled in that picture which had grown a little vague.

This further knowledge has not made me change in any way those views of mine which I expressed at Lucknow. It has but confirmed them. **I see the world in the grip of a titanic conflict, of which our own struggle is but a part. I see the old order breaking up; capitalism having fulfilled its purpose, decaying; and imperialism, its latest offshoot and development, entrenching itself before the onslaught of socialism and nationalism. For imperialism is but an aspect of this new capitalism and it is not possible to understand it**

without reference to this central fact.

In India the outstanding fact is the appalling poverty and misery of the people and the vast and growing dimensions of unemployment. **There can be no substantial relief from this under imperialism and so perforce we must have independence.** The primary issue becomes one of political freedom, though this is intimately allied to social issues, and only if this alliance is understood can effective advance be made and the right stress laid. I believe that through socialism alone can we solve our economic problems, but socialism can only function when India is politically free. Yet in that struggle for Swaraj itself the socialistic analysis helps by showing us the true nature of the struggle, its relation to the wider world struggle, and **the kind of Swaraj we should aim at.**

So the problem today in India is one of combating Imperialism in all its aspects, and the necessity for us to build up **an anti-imperialist front** for this purpose. That front must include all elements and people who desire independence whatever their social or economic objectives might be. **It must include socialists and those who are not socialist alike on this basis. The Congress itself has offered the widest basis for this joint front.** We must maintain that. We may not break that front for we have to face powerful imperialist and reactionary forces. If any weaken this front, they do so at their peril and to the injury of the nation.

Our task is therefore to pool our resources, to tone down our differences as far as we can, to bear with each other even though we may differ on some matters, for ours is the larger agreement on the issue of Indian freedom and independence. We have done so in the past and built up the magnificent structure of the Congress. We shall do so in the present and in future and so build up on an ever wider foundation this strong and united front against imperialism.

The immediate task is to combat the new Act and all its work. The Congress Election Manifesto has declared that **there can or will be no co-operation with this Act.** Let there be no weakening in this resolve and let us carry it to its logical consequence.

We shall fight the elections with all our strength but we shall fight them for this and no other purpose, remembering always that **the real struggle and the real strength lies outside the legislatures.**

These are my present thoughts and I place them before my countrymen so that they may know how my mind is working. But over and above all this lies the shadow of international crisis and ever-impending war. We may not forget it for our fate and our future is involved in it.

November 20, 1936.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS, FAIZPUR, DECEMBER 1936

Before we consider the problems that face us, we must give thought to our comrades — those who have left us during these past few months and those who languish year after year, often with no end in prospect, in prison and detention camp. Two well-beloved colleagues have gone — Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abbas Tyabji, the bearers of names honoured in Congress history, dear to all of us as friends and comrades, brave and wise counsellors in times of difficulty.

To our comrades in prison or in detention we send greeting. Their travail continues and it grows, and only recently we have heard with horror of the suicide of three detentus who found life intolerable for them in the fair province of Bengal whose young men and women in such large numbers live in internment without end. We have an analogy elsewhere, in Nazi Germany where concentration camps flourish and suicides are not uncommon.

Soon after the last Congress I had to nominate the Working Committee and I included in this our comrade, **Subhas Chandra Bose.** But you know how he was snatched away from us on arrival at Bombay and ever since then he has been kept in internment despite failing health. Our Committee had been deprived of his counsel, and I have missed throughout the year this brave comrade on whom we all counted so much. Helplessly we watch this crushing of our men and women, but this helplessness in the present steels our resolve to end this intolerable condition of our people.

One who was not with us at Lucknow has come back to us after long internment and prison. We offer cordial welcome to **Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan** for his own brave self as well as for the sake of the people of the Frontier Province whom he has so effectively and gallantly led in India's struggle for freedom. But though he is with us, he may not, so the orders of the British Government in India run, go back home or enter his province or even Punjab. And in that province of his the Congress organisation is still illegal and most political activities prevented.

I must also offer on your behalf warm welcome to one who, though young, is an old and well-tried soldier in India's fight for freedom. Comrade **M. N. Roy** has just come to us and after a long and most distressing period in prison, but though shaken up in body, he comes with fresh mind and heart, eager to take his part in that old struggle that knows

no end till it ends in success.

The elements have been unusually cruel to us during these past few months and **famine and floods and droughts have afflicted many provinces and brought great suffering to millions of our people.** Recently a great cyclone descended on Guntur district in the South causing tremendous damage and rendering large numbers homeless, with all their belongings destroyed. We may not complain of this because the elements are still largely beyond human control. But the wit of man can find a remedy for recurring floods due to known causes, and make provision for the consequences of droughts and the like, and organise adequate relief for the victims of natural catastrophes. But that wit is lacking among those who control our destinies, and **our people, always living on the verge of utter destitution, can face no additional shock without going under.**

We are all engrossed in India at present in the provincial election that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world. Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these eight months vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war. We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see today the horror and tragedy of Spain.

How has this fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world? To understand this one must seek a clue in **British foreign policy.** This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to cooperate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of the Ethiopians and breaking of the League of Nations' system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of League and in defence of collective security, but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open to fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and ever the British 'National' Government followed meekly

in its trail and gave it its whispered blessings.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here again while fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower today than it has ever been for many generations.

It is because of this that we can not understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy is the socialist structure of society. **We do not fight for socialism in India today for we have to go far before we can act in terms of socialism**, but socialism comes in here and now to help us to understand our problem and point out the path to its solution, and to tell us the real content of the Swaraj to come. With no proper understanding of the problem, our actions are likely to be erratic, purposeless and ineffective.

The Congress stands today for full democracy in India and fights for democratic State, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us today is political independence and the establishment of a democratic State. And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must stand for world peace. Recently there has taken place in Europe a significant development in the peace movement. **The World Peace Congress, held at Brussels in September last**, brought together numerous mass organisations on a common platform and gave an effective lead for peace. Whether this lead will succeed in averting war, no one can say, but all lovers of peace will welcome it and wish it success. **Our Congress was ably represented at Brussels by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon** and the report that he has sent us is being placed before you. I trust that the Congress will associate itself fully with the permanent peace organisation that it is being built up and assist with all its strength in this great task. In doing so we must make our own position perfectly clear. For us, and we think for the world, the problem of peace cannot be separated from imperialism, and in order to remove the root causes of war, imperialism, and in order to remove the root causes of war, imperialism must go.

The League of Nations has fallen very low and there are few who take it seriously as an instrument for the preservation of peace. India has no enthusiasm for it whatever and **the Indian membership of the League is a farce, for the selection of delegates is made by the British Government**. We must work for a real League of Nations, democratically constructed, which would in effect be a League

of Peoples. If even the present League, ineffective and powerless as it is, can be used in favour of peace, we shall welcome it.

With this international background in view, let us consider our national problems. The Government of India Act of 1935, the new Constitution, stares at us, offensively, **this new charter of bondage which has been imposed upon us despite our utter rejection of it**, and we are preparing to fight elections under it. Why we have entered into this election contest and how we propose to follow it up has been fully stated in the Election Manifesto of the All India Congress Committee, and I commend this manifesto for your adoption. **We go to the legislatures not to cooperate with the apparatus of British imperialism, but to combat the Act and seek to end it, and to resist in every way British imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people**. That is the basic policy of the Congress and no Congressman, no candidate for election, must forget this. Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. **We are not going to the legislatures to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism**.

There is a certain tendency to compromise over these elections, to seek a majority at any cost. This is a dangerous drift and must be stopped. **The elections must be used to rally the masses to the Congress standard**, to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress.

With the effort to fight the Act, and as a corollary to it, **we have to stress our positive demand for a Constituent Assembly elected under adult suffrage. That is the very cornerstone of Congress policy today** and our election campaign must be based on it. This Assembly must not be conceived as something emanating from the British Government or as a compromise with British imperialism. If it is to have any reality, it must have the will of the people behind it and the organised strength of the masses to support it, and the power to draw up the constitution of free India. We have to create that mass support for it through these elections and later through our other activities.

The Working Committee has recommended to this Congress that a Convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures, and such other persons as the Committee might wish to add to them, should meet soon after the election **to put forward the demand for the Constituent Assembly**, and determine how to oppose, by all feasible methods, the introduction of the Federal structure of the Act. Such a Convention, which must include the members of the All India Congress Committee, should help us greatly in focussing our struggle and giving it proper direction in the legislatures and outside. **It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters**. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all India discipline, and

it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale. The idea is full of big possibility and I trust that the Congress will approve of it.

Next to this demand for Constituent Assembly our most important task will be to oppose the Federal structure of the Act. Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so bad in it as this Federation and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole. To live not only under British imperialist exploitation but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate whatever the consequences. It is an interesting and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavour to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. **We are not against the conception of federation. It is likely that a free India may be a Federal India**, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is **a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country. The present Indian States** took shape sharply in the nineteenth century in the unsettled conditions of early British rule. The treaties with their autocratic rulers, which are held up to us so often now as sacred documents which may not be touched, date from the period.

This is a state of affairs which no nation, no people can tolerate. We cannot recognise these old settlements of more than a hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging. **The Indian States will have to fit into the scheme of a free India and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.**

Till recent years little was heard of the treaties of the States or of paramountcy. The rulers knew their proper places in the imperial scheme of things and the heavy hand of the British Government was always in evidence. But the growth of the national movement in India gave them a fictitious importance, for the British Government began to rely upon them more and more to help it in combating this nationalism. **The rulers and their ministers were quick to notice the change in the angle of vision and to profit by it. They tried to play, not without success, the British Government and the Indian people against each other and to gain advantages from both. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have gained extraordinary power under the federal scheme. Having preserved themselves as autocratic units, which are wholly outside the control of the rest of India, they have gained power over other parts of India. Today we find them talking as if they were independent and laying down conditions for their adherence to the Federation. There is talk even of the abolition of the viceregal paramountcy, so that these States may remain, alone in the whole world, naked and unchecked autocracies, which can not be tampered with by any constitutional means. A sinister development is the building up of the armies of some of the bigger States on an efficient**

basis.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. We are told by people who can think only in terms of action taken in the legislatures, that it is not possible to wreck it, and there are ample provisions and safeguards to enable the Government to carry on despite a hostile majority. We are well aware of these safeguards; they are one of the principal reasons why we reject the Act. **We know also that there are second chambers to obstruct us. We can create constitutional crises inside the legislatures, we can have deadlocks, we can obstruct the imperialist machine, but always there is a way out. The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organisation and mass action.**

The policy of the Congress in regard to the legislatures is perfectly clear; only in one matter it still remains undecided — the question of acceptance or not of office. Probably the decision of this question will be postponed till after the elections. **At Lucknow I ventured to tell you that, in my opinion, acceptance of office was a negation of our policy of rejection of the Act; it was further a reversal of the policy we had adopted in 1920 and followed since then. Since Lucknow the Congress has further clarified its position in the Election Manifesto and declared that we are not going to the legislatures to cooperate any way with the Act but to combat it. That limits the field of our decision in regard to offices, and those who incline to acceptance of them must demonstrate that this is the way to non-cooperate with the Act, and to end it.**

It seems to me that the only logical consequence of the Congress policy, as defined in our resolutions and in the Election Manifesto, is to have **nothing to do with office and ministry. Any deviation from this would mean a reversal of that policy. It would inevitably mean a kind of partnership with British imperialism in the exploitation of the Indian people, an acquiescence, even though under protest and subject to reservations, in the basic ideas underlying the Act, an association to some extent with British imperialism in the hateful task of repression of our advanced elements. Office accepted on any other basis is hardly possible, and if it is possible, it will lead almost immediately to deadlock and conflict. That deadlock and impasse does not frighten us; we welcome it. But then we must think in terms of deadlocks and not in terms of carrying on with the office.**

There seems to be a fear that if we do not accept office, others will do so, and they will put obstacles in the way of our freedom movement. But if we are in a majority we can prevent others from misbehaving; we can even prevent the formation of any ministry. If our majority is a doubtful one then office for us depends on compromises with non-Congress elements, a policy full of danger for our cause, and one

which would inevitably lead to our acting in direct opposition to the Congress mandate of rejection of the Act. Whether we are in a majority or minority, the real thing will always be the organised mass backing behind us. A majority without that backing can do little in the legislatures, even a militant minority with conscious and organised mass support can make the functioning of the Act very difficult.

We have put the Constituent Assembly in the forefront of our programme, as well as the fight against the federal structure. With what force can we press **these two vital points** and build up a mass agitation around them if we wobble over the question of office and get entangled in its web?

But the urge to go ahead was too great, the push from below increased, and though a few left us, unable to adjust themselves to changing conditions, vast numbers of others joined the Congress. It became a great propaganda machine dominating the public platform of India. But it was an amorphous mass and its organisational side was weak, and effective action on a large scale was beyond its power. **The coming of Gandhiji brought the peasant masses to the Congress, and the new constitution that was adopted at his instance in Nagpur in 1920 tightened up the organisation, limited the number of delegates according to population, and gave it strength and capacity for joint and effective action.** That action followed soon after on a countrywide scale and was repeated in later years. But the very success and prestige of the Congress often drew undesirable elements to its fold and accentuated the defects of the constitution. The organisation was becoming unwieldy and slow of movement and capable of being exploited in local areas by particular groups. **Two years ago radical changes were made in the constitution again at Gandhiji's instance. One of these was the fixation of the number of delegates according to membership,** a change which has given a greater reality to our elections and strengthened us organisationally. But still our organisational side lags far behind the great prestige of the Congress, and there is a tendency for our committees to function in the air, cut off from the rank and file.

The real object before us is to build up a powerful joint front of all anti-imperialist forces in the country. The Congress has indeed been in the past, and is today such a united popular front, and inevitably the Congress must be the basis and pivot of united action. The active participation of the organised workers and peasants in such front would add to its strength and must be welcomed. Cooperation between them and the Congress organisation has been growing and has been a marked feature of the past year. This tendency must be encouraged. The most urgent and vital need of India today is this united national front of all forces and elements that are ranged against imperialism. Within the Congress itself most of these forces are represented, and in spite of their diversity and difference in outlook, they have cooperated and worked together for the common good. That is a healthy sign both of the vitality of our great movement and the unity that binds it together. The basis of it is anti-imperialism and independence. **Its immediate demand is for a Constituent Assembly leading**

to a democratic State where political power has been transferred to the mass of the people. An inevitable consequence of this is the withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

These are the objectives before us, but we cannot ignore the present day realities and the day to day problems of our people. These ever-present realities are the poverty and unemployment of our millions, appalling poverty and unemployment which had even the middle classes in its grip and grows like a creeping paralysis. The world is full of painful contrasts today, but surely nowhere else are these contrasts so astounding in India. **Imperial Delhi stands, visible symbol of British power, with all its pomp and circumstance and vulgar ostentation and wasteful extravagance; and within a few miles of it are the mud huts of India's starving peasantry, out of whose meagre earnings these great places have been built, huge salaries and allowances paid.** The ruler of a State flaunts his palaces and his luxury before his wretched and miserable subjects, and talks of his treaties and his inherent right to autocracy. And the new Act and Constitution have come to us to preserve and perpetuate these contrasts, to make India safe for autocracy and imperialist exploitation.

As I write, a great railway strike is in progress. For long the world of railway workers has been in ferment because of retrenchment and reduction in wages and against them is the whole power of the State. **Some time ago there was a heroic strike in Ambernath Match Factory near Bombay, owned by a great foreign trust.** But behind that trust and supporting it, we saw the apparatus of Government functioning in the most extraordinary way. **The workers in our country have yet to gain elementary rights; they have yet to have an eight hour day and unemployment insurance and a guaranteed living wage.**

But a vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of peasants. In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city. The Lucknow Congress laid stress on this land problem and called on the Provincial Committees to frame agrarian programmes. This work is still incomplete for the vastness and intricacy of it has demanded full investigation. But the urgency of the problem calls for immediate solution. **Demands for radical reforms in the rent and revenues and the abolition of feudal levies have been made from most of the provinces.** The crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes has led to a widespread cry for a moratorium and a substantial liquidation of debt. In the Punjab Karza (Debt) Committees have grown up to protect the peasantry. All these and many other demands are insistently made and vast gatherings of peasants testify to their inability to carry their present burdens. Yet it is highly doubtful if this problem can be solved piecemeal and without changing completely the land system. That land system can not endure and an obvious step is to remove the intermediaries between the cultivator and the State. **Cooperative or collective farming must follow.**

The reform of the land system is tied up with the

development of industry, both large-scale and cottage, in order to give work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raise the pitiful standards of our people. That again is connected with so many other things — education, housing, roads and transport, sanitation, medical relief, social services, etc. Industry cannot expand properly because of the economic and financial policy of Government which, in the name of Imperial Preference, encourages British manufactures in India, and works for the profit of Big Finance in the City of London. **The currency ratio continues in spite of persistent Indian protest; gold has been pouring out of India continuously now for five years at a prodigious rate**, though all India vehemently oppose this outflow. And the new Act tells us that we may do nothing which the Viceroy or the Governor might consider as an unfair discrimination against British trade or commercial interests. The old order may yield place to the new but British interests are safe and secure.

These are distant goals for us today though the rapid march of events may bring us face to face with them sooner than we imagine. The immediate goal — independence — is nearer and more definite, and that is why perhaps we escape, to a large extent, that tragic disillusion and hopelessness which affect so many in Europe.

We are apparently weak, not really so. We grow in strength, the Empire of British fades away. Because we are politically and economically crushed, our civil liberties taken away, hundreds of our organisations made illegal, thousands of

our young men and women always kept in prison or in detention camp, **our movements continually watched by hordes of secret servicemen and informers, our spoken word taken down, lest it offend the law of sedition**, because of all this and more we are not weaker but stronger, for all this intense repression is the measure of our growing national strength. War and revolution dominate the world and nations arm desperately. If war comes or other great crises, India's attitude will make a difference. We hold the keys of success in our hands if we but turn them rightly. And it is the increasing realisation of this that has swept away the defeatist mentality of our people.

Meanwhile the general election claims our attention and absorbs our energy. Here too we find official interference, in spite of denial, and significant attempts to prevent secrecy of voting the case of illiterate voters. The United Provinces have been singled out for this purpose and the system of coloured boxes, which will be used everywhere else, has been ruled out for the U. P. But we shall win in these elections in spite of all the odds — State pressure, vested interest, money.

That will be but a little step in a long journey, and we shall march on, with danger and distress as companions. We have long had these for our fellow travellers and we have grown used to them. And when we have learnt how to dominate them, we shall also know how to dominate success.

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

POST SCRIPT TO NEHRU'S RADICAL EFFUVIA

Vinayak Purohit

A comprador culture like ours, inevitably generates charlatans on a large scale. There is a great gap between word and reality. The local elite lives splendidly, aping the West in minute detail. A favourite pastime in clubs and evening parties of jet-set compradors is to correct the English pronunciation and diction of each other.

Charlatans are very difficult to deal with. They lie like hell ! They lie from beginning to end ! They lie till they are the deepest shade of blue in their faces.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the quintessential charlatan. Even in small matters he insisted on lying.

- About Congress presidentship, he declares that he does not believe in second terms. He declares that he could be of greater use to the Congress by not being President and then, in the same breath he says that there are good reasons why he should continue. He also adds that he is unable to say no or yes.

- He says that imperialism is only an aspect of capitalism but at the same time he insists that imperialism can be overthrown without harming capitalism. He exhorts capitalists to join socialists in overthrowing imperialism.

- He repeatedly says that the immediate task, the supreme task, the primary task, is to combat the New 1935 Constitution. The same Constitution that Ambedkar called the embodiment of all democratic aspirations of the Indian people. The same Constitution from which, 95 articles were bodily lifted into our present 1946-49 Dominion Status Constitution. This is the Constitution that Jawahar repeatedly denounced in the strongest possible terms in the 30s. The

same Constitution that was slightly modified and praised sky-high by him and his Law Minister in the late 40s and early 50s.

- He tirelessly asserts that the Congress will not work the Constitution, will wreck it from within and without, will not accept office under it ... and then immediately proceeds to advocate acceptance of office in an extract which we have published in *MK*, March 1998, pp. 34-36.

- He is fully aware of the urgency and pressing needs to carry out drastic land reforms. He even goes on to state that co-operative and collective farming must follow and then quietly folds his hand and submits to the dictates from the landlords lobby as soon as he has come to power.

- He clearly formulates the Indian protests against the pound-rupee currency rate. He agrees that under this exchange rate mechanism, gold is pouring out of the country and then proceeds to swallow all his words as though they meant nothing.

- He attacks the Swedish Match Company as a foreign trust that is pursuing anti-labour policy and yet, when in power, he took no action against the MNCs.

- He raises the demand for a Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage and then simply forgets about it.

- It is a dreary task to go on and on about Jawahar's perfidy and double-speak. The man was such a lying hypocrite and prevaricator that it is impossible to consider him as a worthy ideological opponent ! Jawahar is just beneath contempt. ■

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

DESTRUCTION OF FEUDAL ECONOMY

1813/18 TO MID - 1830s

Sharayu Mhatre

The Immediate Background : Local and International

Early in the eighteenth century forces had been let loose which were undermining the centralised rule of the Mughals and the irrigation-based agricultural prosperity of the feudal system. By the time the British acquired a foothold in Eastern India in 1765, the Indian feudal economy was in an advanced state of collapse and fissiparous tendencies had gained momentum under the leadership of the Marathas who were merely in the forefront of a host of other feudalists, including Haidar and Tipu in the extreme south of the peninsula, the Hyderabad Nizam in Central Deccan, the Bengal Subedars in the East, the Nepali Ranas in the North, the Sikh Misldars in the North-West and the Rajput Chieftains in the West. In fact, the Maratha Confederacy had merely filled up the gap in Western Deccan, Gujarat, Central and North-Central India which fell outside the purview of the ring of feudal adventurers enumerated.

The course and final outcome of the battle fought between the feudal and bourgeois armies in India in the last third of the eighteenth and first third of the nineteenth century was not determined by the greatly superior personal qualities of the British, nor by the degeneracy of the Indians, nor yet by the inveterate disunity displayed by the latter. The European powers were even more bitterly divided amongst themselves. It was the Spanish invasion of Portugal which destroyed the Portuguese empire in the East, the French invasion of Holland and Spain

which led to a temporary collapse of Dutch influence in Asia and a permanent eclipse of Spanish rule over Latin America, and the Seven Years War between the British and the French which had actually helped the three Deccan powers — the Nizam, the Marathas and the Mysoreans — to challenge more effectively the Delhi Mughal. Indian feudalism was strong enough to confront and subordinate the forces organised by European mercantile capitalism. However a qualitative change occurred with the acquisition of territorial revenues in 1765 by the British in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and the Northern Sarkars. It was this loot that enabled the British capitalist class to clear administrative and military expenses and purchase Indian goods sent out as unrequited exports out of monies collected from Indians themselves as taxes. It was the arrival of the Bengal treasure which triggered the industrial revolution in England and which powered the perfection of steam power itself and which energised the pumps that enabled the coal mines to produce enough to replace wood fuel for smelting of iron. **Indian feudalists had to contend henceforth not with mercantile capitalist armies, which because of the immense surpluses generated by Asiatic feudalisms they could match and occasionally subdue, but with the new industrial capitalist armies that they could never hope to equal, much less conquer.**

De-industrialisation of India

The whole process has been recorded by two acute observers.

George Forster, a member of the Company's Madras Establishment, has recorded the transformation from the Indian end.

"Previously to the era in which Bengal was annexed to the possessions of the English, the various nations who visited it were compelled to give specie for the greatest portion of the commodities they purchased, there being but few articles accepted as a satisfactory barter by the natives. The species of commerce, which must have enriched India with a large amount of gold and silver, continued for more than a century and a half. But, on the establishment of the English government at Bengal, the necessity of such a system was annihilated, as the amount of the revenues was sufficient to purchase the cargoes of the country and to clear the public expenditures.

"The native princes and chiefs of various descriptions, who retained in their service a great number of dependants, afforded a full and constant employment to a multitude of ingenious artificers who supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs, plain muslins, beautiful silks and many other articles of Asiatic luxury, the usual appendages to opulence and voluptuousness. These Mahometan or Hindoo chiefs are, however, now removed or fallen from their pristine grandeur into poverty and decay, and the manufacturers, whose sole support depended on these wealthy employers, were obliged on their expulsion, either to quit their professions or to abandon their country. Hence many branches of rare manufacture have evidently declined, and some of the most precious are now entirely lost.

"... in fact, when we consider that the Mughal court exceeded that of other nations, both in wealth and magnificence; that the governors, established throughout the provinces, assumed that manners of the most potent sovereigns; and that their most splendid habiliments were fabricated at Bengal; it is natural "to conclude, that the discontinuation of such a trade must of necessity have produced strong effects, ...

"During the administration of the Mussulmen, private wealth was usually

expended on the spot where it had been acquired, and though oppression and severity might probably have been exercised in the accumulation, yet the country at large was improved by its quick circulation through the channels of luxury, without any decrease of the general currency. It may indeed be urged, that the sums of money expended by Europeans, in their public and private buildings, have been equivalent to the wants of the labourer and artisan; but ... the amount is very inconsiderable, when compared to that applied by the preceding governors, to the construction of mosques, baths, Hindoo temples, **grand reservoirs**, magnificent gardens, and a variety of costly private edifice. He justly observes, that these modes of expense are by no means compatible with the genius or inclination of the present possessors, who merely regard themselves as the moveable tenants of the day and are anxious to enjoy the fruit of their labours, in the bosom of their native home." (*Travels in the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia, by the Caspian Sea Performed in the Years 1782, 83 and 84*, pp. 2-4)

From the English end, the picture is completed by Brooks Adams :

"For more than sixty years after the foundation of the Bank of England, its smallest note had been for £ 20, a note too large to circulate freely ... the arrival of the Bengal silver not only increased the mass of money, but stimulated its movement; for at once, in 1759, the Bank issued £ 10 and £ 15 notes, and in the country private firms poured forth a flood of paper.

"Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous for all the authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution', the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. Prior to 1760, according to Baines, "the machinery used for spinning cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as in India; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. At that time four-fifths of the iron used in the kingdom came from Sweden.

"Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled in rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny; in 1776 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the powerloom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam engine ... **Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together Possibly since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor. ...** From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious." (*Brooks Adams, The Law of Civilisation and Decay*, 1955, pp. 260, 255, 256, 259)

It was the Indian loot that enabled the English bourgeoisie to gestate the new system of industrial organisation of production. And it was the new system of production organisation that enabled the English bourgeoisie to overcome, on the one hand, the French ruling classes (feudal mercantile / capitalist till 1789 and more or less, pure bourgeois, thereafter), finance repeatedly reformed coalitions of numerous European feudalists (Austrian, Prussian, Russian) and mercantile capitalists (Spanish and Portuguese), to fight against the French bourgeoisie and to forge ahead despite the loss of its American colonies. On the other hand, the same Bengal loot and its consequent, the new organisation of industrial production, enabled the British bourgeoisie to send shiploads of Englishmen to Indian shores, to hire Indian mercenaries and pay them regularly, to engage in continuous warfare in and around India and to finally defeat and subjugate Indian feudalists. (First Mysore War : 1767-69; Rohilla War : 1773-74; First Maratha War : 1775-82; Conquest of Gujarat : 1778-89; Second Mysore War : 1780-84; Third Mysore War : 1790-92; Campaign in Ceylon : 1795-97; Subjugation of Nizam : 1798; Fourth Mysore War : 1799; Campaign in Egypt : 1801-3; Campaign in Ceylon : 1803; Second Maratha War : 1803-5; Campaign in Indonesia and Malaysia : 1811-16; Nepal War : 1814-16; Pindari War : 1817; Campaign in Ceylon : 1815-18; Third Maratha War : 1817-19; Campaign in Persian Gulf : 1819; First Burma War : 1824-26; reduction of Bharatpur : 1827; and annexation of Coorg : 1834, apart from numerous international wars including American Revolutionary War : 1775-81, French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars : 1793-1815 and another war with America : 1814).

In other words, the same developments in the political economy of Great Britain enabled it to prevail over her capitalist European rivals, mainly the Dutch and the French, as to overcome her feudal adversaries in India.

The change in the mode of organisation of economic production in England necessitated a corresponding change in the political organisation of Indo-British relations. It involved the abandonment of the older mercantile capitalist policies, based upon grant of monopolies, in favour of a new set of policies based upon imposition of free trade on unfree India. Particularly in the context of the protectionist measures of Continental Blockade adopted by Napoleon in Europe and by the newly independent North American colonies, this meant that not only the East India Company's monopoly position in India had to be eliminated, but also that India had to be made into a dumping ground for British industrial output. The Indian artisan had to be ruined and his market taken over by the British factory-owner. At the same time, to the extent possible, a more scientific organisation of the exploitation of India had to be instituted and some slight modification of the earlier practices of indiscriminate individual depredations by the British officialdom had to be effected.

A series of measures adapted to these ends were carried out. Through the Regulation Act of 1794 greater

parliamentary control, in the interests of the whole of the British capitalist class, was imposed. Private trading privileges of the company's servants were withdrawn. The services were reorganised to eliminate Indians. The Charter Act of 1813 ended the Company's monopoly, save with regard to the tea and the China trades. Both these residual monopolies were extinguished together with the commercial trade of the company in India in its entirety by the next Charter Act of 1833. The total extinction of the China commerce occurred with the further Charter of 1853.

The greatest impact was upon the Indian spinner and weaver of cotton textiles. Till almost the end of the eighteenth century, he had supplied the whole world with cloth. As stated in our introductory chapter (1.5.3), as late as in 1814, India exported 4 lakh more metres of piecegoods to Britain than she imported from the same source. But by 1835, her imports from Britain were 16 times her exports. Textiles was India's greatest industry and India was about the greatest manufacturing country in the world till the end of the eighteenth century. What this revolution in industry and commerce meant can only be assessed from the fearful toll that the British-made famines took in India from the latter part of the eighteenth century onwards. As Marx noted about capitalism in general, capital comes into the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, undated, p. 711) As a British Governor-General reported in 1834-35 :

"The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers bleached the plains of India." (quoted by Marx, *Ibid.*, p. 406)

The disarming of the Indian people that was carried out in each region as the British armies backed by industrial capital rolled forward, and which process therefore affected our region with particular severity after the Third Maratha War of 1817-19, caused the same strong effect to be felt by the metal worker, leather worker, the horse-breeder, the salt-petre extractor, the soldier, the *ghasdana* supplier, the tent pitchers and hundreds of other craftsmen, contractors and merchants associated with the war industries of the feudal period. Just as George Forster has noted in the extract given above in relation to the water works and public buildings, it was the policy of the British administration of India, till the First World War, to refrain from encouraging local production and to patronise British manufacturers. What this meant in terms of human suffering for the Indians is once again reflected in the same famine statistics of British India.

We will now provide a minimum number of references and extracts from the Bombay Gazetteers of late nineteenth century to illustrate the devastation caused by the implementation of free trade policies upon the Indian masses. We have chosen the district gazetteers of the old series to provide evidence of deindustrialisation not only because they are concerned primarily and specifically for our area of study, but also because these gazetteers contain statements in the nature of inadvertent confessions made by the British rulers themselves. To proceed :

(i) The Gazetteer for Sholapur district (Vol. 20, 1884)

notes in Ch. 3 - People : Craftsmen, that the *koshtis* or weavers, the *lohars* or blacksmiths, the *tambats* or coppersmiths suffered as a result of European competition and had lost "much of their trade and income" (pp. 119, 122, 141).

(ii) The Gazetteer for Satara district (Vol. 19, 1885) in Ch. 2 - Production, states :

"Till within the last thirty years the iron ore was smelted by a class of Musalmans called Dhavads. At present (1883) **they live as labourers chiefly by road-making and myrobolan-gathering.**" (pp. 28-29)

(iii) The Gazetteer for Ahmednagar district (Vol. 17, 1884) mentions summarily under ch. 6 - Trade and Crafts :

"In 1865, the Revenue Commissioner reported that the hand-loom weaving was declining from year to year." (p.347)

Further, how the spread of railways aided the process of de-industrialisation is brought out by another remark :

"**Most railways by fostering the export of field produce raise the local price of grain, increase the cost of living, and so stifle hand-loom weaving.**" (p. 348)

The destruction of the yarn industry and carpet-weaving at Ahmednagar, and of paper-making at Sangamner is noted in the same volume (pp. 350, 687).

(iv) The Gazetteer for Kolaba district (Vol. 11, 1883) continues the sad story :

"JINGARS or saddle-makers are returned as found in Pen, Roha, Mangaon and Mahad. The decrease in the number of horse owners and the greater use of European "harness, have greatly reduced the demand for native saddlers. The Jingars have had to take to fresh employments. ... KHATRIS are found only in Alibag. ... They were formerly silk-weavers and dyers, and dealers in gold, silver, and silk lace. Every family has still one or two looms in working order, but they do not chiefly depend on weaving for their living. About twenty years ago, as they found silk-weaving a declining trade, the Khattris took to pawnbroking. ... LOHARS or blacksmiths are found in all large villages. They are steady and well-employed, but suffer considerably from the competition of European hardware." (pp. 64-65)

The decline of Cheul is described in the same volume (p. 285)

About Janjira,

"... industries have lately died out, iron-making at Shigre about two miles north-east of Murud, and brick-making near Kasid in Nandgaon. **The iron smelting has been stopped for fifty years and the brick-making since 1865.**" (p. 431)

(v) The Gazetteer for Nasik district (Vol. 16, 1883) relates the process of artisans being pushed back on land :

"Silk weaving in Nasik town is carried on to a smaller extent than in Yeola ... still competition has greatly reduced prices, and now **many of the weaving classes have to take a field or even to work as day-labourers and are said to be in poor circumstances.**" (p. 53)

"The decline in the demand for Khandesh indigo forced them to give up their old trade. They are now hand-loom weavers and from the competition of machine-made cloth are poorly off." (p. 54)

The story of Yeola silk weavers and the adverse impact of railway construction which was far from being an unqualified boon to India is brought out in the same volume.

"As Yeola silks are in good demand, the dealers are not forced to hawk their goods over the country. ... On the other hand, from the opening of the railway, the competition of foreign silks is greater than formerly." (p. 161)

Paper making industry in Nasik suffered in the same manner as in Ahmednagar :

"Paper-making, introduced about eighty years ago by one Balaji Abaji, a Thakur of Brahma-Kshatriya, was once important and prosperous but is now fallen into decay.... Of fifty factories only five remain." (pp. 177-178)

About the once famous metal workers of Nasik, it is reiterated :

"The competition of cheap English hardware has greatly reduced the demand for their work and presses heavily on them." (pp. 487, 143)

Having concluded our brief survey of particulars of the havoc brought by British imperialism in Western India, we shall now view once again the situation in broad perspective. This will also enable us to avoid repeated references in successive chapters of this dissertation to this fundamental, imperialist-enforced process of de-industrialisation and ruralisation despite overstepping the narrower time frame for this chapter. We may select W. W. Hunter's *Indian Empire* (1886) for our purpose.

Indian manufacturers could compete with the European manufacturers in skill and aesthetic taste. The feudal courts patronised the luxury-oriented products of manufactories. The European found society in India highly advanced in arts and crafts. But while in India stagnated under foreign rule, the West forged ahead. The fall of native rulers meant loss of workmen's chief market. In addition, the competition of mass-produced European goods has pushed craftsmen on land and has killed many crafts (W. W. Hunter, *Indian Empire*, 1886, p. 598)

Since India clothed the world with cotton textiles, we shall notice in particular the deliberate underdevelopment under imperialist tutelage, with regard to the cotton textile industry. Hunter notes that cotton textiles was a very ancient industry in India, but it was only two centuries old in Europe by the end of nineteenth century. India supplied cotton goods to England and imitation cotton made of wool was made in England. It was in 1676 that cotton manufacture began in England. The use of Indian cotton was prohibited by law and it was only when the use of steam power made cotton production cheap that these protective statutes were removed. During 1840-45 India imported annually cotton manufactures worth £ 3,000,000 sterling. In 1877-78, this figure reached £ 20,000,000 and £ 21,500,000 sterling in 1882-83, i.e., more than seven times in forty-four years.

The English took care to chose concentrations of weaving populations to make their earliest settlements, e.g., Surat, Calicut, Hubli, and Masulipatam. At the end of the century, the Indian cottons were superior to English in quality, but the English cottons were cheaper than the

Indians. The prohibition on the use of Indian cottons in England, and the high prices of cotton yarn during the American war affected the cotton weavers adversely and killed this industry. England also had to force her cotton goods on India to pay for various imports from India to England. (Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 567-68, 599-600)

For our region Hunter remarks :

"No part of India has more cruelly felt the English competition than Bombay." (p. 601. Hunter meant by "Bombay", the whole presidency, and not merely the town of Bombay.)

Metal work was an industry which exhibited a high degree of artistic excellence especially in the towns which were capitals of former rulers. India had very old iron deposits in every part of the country. Iron is found wherever there are hills. The indigenous method of smelting iron produces a metal of fine quality but it could not compete with iron imported from England in price (*Ibid.*, pp. 606, 618)

As we have seen in the extracts from the Bombay Gazetteers (3.2.8 supra), the metal workers of India were reduced to a very sorry state by imperialist policy of free trade imposed on India.

About another part of the gigantic Indian feudal armaments industry, the salt-petre manufacture, Hunter remarks :

"India has almost a monopoly of the supply of natural salt-petre upon which Europe largely depends for the manufacture of gun powder. Its preparation leaves common salt as one of residuary products; and fiscal restraints have accordingly tended to limit the manufacture to the most remunerative region, which is found in North Behar. ... In former times, the East India Company engaged in the manufacture on its own account; and when it gave up its private trade, the works were taken over by European firms. But these have in their turn retired from the business, which is now in a state of decline (almost killed in Southern India), partly owing to the general fall in price and partly to restriction imposed by the salt preventive department." (pp. 623-24)

Thus by bureaucratic interference, just because a minor residual product consisted of salt, the vast Indian salt-petre industry was destroyed.

A very interesting verbal exchange occurred in the course of an enquiry conducted on the affairs of the East India Company by a Committee of the House of Commons :

"And asked if the civilisation of Hindus could not be improved by the establishment of an open trade, he gave that memorable answer which has often been quoted and will bear repetition : 'I do not understand what is meant by civilisation of the Hindus; in the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in education "which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can

contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country (England) will gain by import cargo." (quoted by R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, 1901, pp. 259-60)

Early in this century, three well-informed scholars in their significant works drew attention to the process of de-industrialisation in India and squarely fixed the blame on British imperialism. Dadabhai Naoroji in his *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. William Digby in his ironically titled '*Prosperous British India*' and Romesh Chandur Dutt in his *Economic History of India* (all three published in 1901), reached identical conclusions. However, since their views are very well known we will refrain from quoting their opinions at length. We will limit ourselves by quoting the verdict of H. H. Wilson whose opinion was incorporated by R. C. Dutt in his work :

"It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India upto the period could be sold for a profit in British market at a price from 50 to 60 % lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 % on their value or by "positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted to her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." (*Ibid.*, pp. 262-263)

Before we take up the trends in Indo-British trade during the nineteenth century, we may note that the conclusions of Naoroji, Digby and Dutt have been reconfirmed recently and it has been conclusively established that the process of de-industrialisation was continued right upto 1931 by British imperialism :

"On the basis of our findings we observe that the process of de-industrialisation did continue even upto 1931. ... These facts together with the evidence of a declining working force and a declining industrial working force lead us to conclude that personalities like William Digby or Romesh Dutt were

perfectly justified in holding the British rulers in India responsible for the economic plight of the Indian people." (Raghavendra Chattopadhyay, *Deindustrialisation in India Reconsidered*, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. X, No. 12, March 22, 1975, pp. 529-30)

India's Trade

As H. H. Wilson pointed out the Indo-British political relations were reflected by the export and import trade of India. Excluding the period prior to 1834 which is statistically complicated because of the E. I. Company's confusing manner of maintaining accounts, we may build up the picture as follows :

- (i) In 1834, imports of merchandise totalled 4.26 crores and exports of merchandise were 7.99 crores with a net import of treasure (gold and silver in specie) amounting to 1.7 crores. The balance of over Rs. 2 crores represented the net drain of wealth from India. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 260. For a full picture of the drain reference may be made to the 1901 trilogy which we have listed above. For a convenient summary of the entire literature on the drain, see Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, 1966, Ch. 13.)
- (ii) The annual average, for the quinquennium 1835/6 to 1838/9, of imports and exports, including treasure, were Rs. 7.32 and 11.32 crores. The drain was thus Rs. 4 crores per year (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 268).
- (iii) The further progress of trade may be followed in Hunter's *The Indian Empire* (1886; p. 562) :

Foreign Trade of India for Forty-five Years Classified according to Quinquennial Periods, in crores of rupees

Period	Imports			Exports		
	Cotton Manu- factures	Total Merch- andise	Treas- ures	Raw Cotton	Total Merch- andise	Treas- ures
1840-44	3.19	7.69	2.74	2.34	14.62	0.48
1845-49	3.75	9.14	3.07	1.68	17.00	1.32
1850-54	5.15	11.06	4.79	3.14	20.10	1.00
1855-59	6.94	15.58	11.27	3.11	25.85	0.92
1860-64	10.92	23.97	17.07	15.56	43.17	1.02
1865-69	15.74	31.70	17.62	25.98	57.66	1.80
1870-74	17.56	33.04	8.56	17.41	57.84	1.59
1875-79	19.29	38.36	9.81	11.52	63.13	2.81
1880-84	22.48	47.95	12.61	14.29	79.97	1.26
Average in crores (Rs.)	11.67	24.27	9.72	10.55	42.15	1.36

- (iv) The annual average for quinquennium ending 1889/90, 1893/94, 1898/99, 1903/4 and 1908/9 which would bring the figures upto the end of the period of our study were as follows :

Annual Average Crores of Rupees

	Imports (Merch- andise)	Exports	Net Importsof Treasure
Q. ending 1889/90	61.5	88.6	11.9
Q. ending 1893/94	70.7	104.9	14.2
Q. ending 1898/99	73.6	107.5	8.4
Q. ending 1903/4	84.6	124.9	14.3
Q. ending 1908/9	119.8	165.5	26.2

(Source : Vera Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, 1942, p. 330)

(v) It may be noted that the annual average of value of imported cotton manufactures, during the last three quinquenniums referred to above, was Rs. 30.72, Rs. 41.49 and Rs. 53.63 crores (*Ibid.*, p. 534), and exports of raw cotton were Rs. 14.72, Rs. 21.24 and Rs. 33.63 crores (*Ibid.*, p. 536).

(vi) The drain can perhaps be more sharply visualised from the following figures of the average annual total imports and exports for the quinquennial periods 1834/5 to 1908/9.

	Imports (in lakhs of rupees)	Exports
Average 1834-5 to 1838-9	7,32	11,32
Average 1839-40 to 1843-4	10,45	14,25
Average 1844-5 to 1848-9	12,21	16,99
Average 1849-50 to 1853-4	15,85	20,02
Average 1854-5 to 1858-9	26,85	25,85
Average 1859-60 to 1863-4	41,06	43,17
Average 1864-5 to 1868-9	49,31	57,66
Average 1869-70 to 1873-4	41,30	57,84
Average 1874-5 to 1878-9	48,22	63,13
Average 1879-80 to 1883-4	61,81	80,14
Average 1884-5 to 1888-9	75,13	90,28
Average 1889-90 to 1893-4	88,70	108,67
Average 1894-5 to 1898-9	88,56	113,93
Average 1899-1900 to 1903-4	110,69	136,59
Average 1904-5 to 1908-9	146,00	165,40

[Source : *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. III, 1908, p. 268; except last line which is from table given under (iv) above]

(vii) In other words, as far as drain of wealth from India is concerned, it increased from Rs. 4 crores per year in the quinquennium ending 1838-9 to about Rs. 20 crores per year in the quinquennium ending 1908-9. As already stated, for the period 1818 to 1834, the picture is more complicated (see R. C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Chs. 14, 15, 16 and 23, as also A. Tripathi in Ch. 34 of R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. IX cited.) But the average annual drain for those 16 years at the commencement of our period of study were, according to R. C. Dutt and Montgomery Martin, about Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 crores (R. C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-10).

On the general character of the trade of India from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the First World War, Vera Anstey has admirably summarised the situation :

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century India's chief

exports were 'specialities' such as indigo and saltpetre and 'manufacture of fine quality and workmanship, such as cotton and silk piece-goods. In return she imported specie, woollens, 'novelties', and a certain number of miscellaneous manufactures. The English cotton-mill industry was, however, already firmly established, and after two or three decades, Lancashire cotton goods had entirely ousted Indian from their former European markets, and had begun to invade the Indian and Far Eastern Markets. During the nineteenth century a number of other factory products, one after another, were introduced into India, where they undercut indigenous goods.

"Thus by the end of the nineteenth century India had become an exporter of foodstuffs, raw materials and plantation products, whilst she depended upon imports for a large part of her clothing and for an immense range of miscellaneous manufactures. The volume of her overseas trade had vastly increased, but from having been a seller of artistic manufactures and much sought after specialities, she had become a source of foodstuffs and raw materials for the materially more advanced countries of the West.

"The first fourteen years of the twentieth century were marked by a great increase in, but little change in nature of India's foreign trade." (*op. cit.*, pp. 330-33)

It is obvious that the processes of deindustrialisation of drain of wealth from India are closely related. In fact the one is the obverse of the other. Without deindustrialising India and consistent with the rapid industrialisation of Great Britain, it would not have been possible to drain the wealth of India. By the same token, as Hunter has formulated, "the necessity under which England lies to export something to India to pay for her multifarious imports" required the dumping of Manchester and Lancashire piece-goods into the Indian market, thus ruining the Indian artisanal manufactories still further. Ultimately the process had to come to a dead end. The Indian standard of living could not be further depressed. Indian died like flies in British-made famines. Warren Hastings was asked : "From your knowledge of the Indian character and habits, are you able to speak to the probability of a demand for European commodities by the population of India, for their own use?"

"The supplies of trade" replied Warren Hastings, "are for the wants and luxuries of a people; the poor in India may be said to have no wants. Their lives were confined to their dwellings; to their food, and to a scanty portion of clothing, all of which they can have from the soil that they tread upon." (R. C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1., pp. 257-58)

John Malcolm opined that Indians :

"are not likely to become consumers of European articles, because they do not possess the means to purchase them, even if, from their simple habits of life and attire, they required them." (*Ibid.*, p. 258)

John Strachey deposed that the Indian labourer earned from 3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. a month. "How could such a nation use European goods?" he asked. (*Ibid.*, p. 260)

(Contd. on p. 67)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

LETTER TO SHRI T. PATTABHIRAMA REDDY

Dear Pattabhi,
Nandana and Harindran,
Konarak and Kirthana,

It was a great pleasure meeting all of you after so many years. All of you made our stay in Bangalore so interesting and productive. Hopefully, we shall continue to meet, again and again.

I. Contours and Dynamics of World Economy

We shall have to use 1994 data, since PPP comparisons are available only as of that date. (I am awaiting WB and UNDP Reports for 1998 which are due any day now).

Overall, we are about 560 crore (25.6 billion) human beings living on this planet. The total world GDP is 31.28 trillion dollars, yielding a per capita income (PCI) per annum of a little less than \$ 6,000. This average is however very unevenly distributed. In 1960, World GDP (PPP) was 6.89 trillion dollars. The then population was 4 billion. Corresponding PCI was \$ 1,720.

It is a tri-polar world today. The world GDP, in 1994, in PPP terms was roughly divided as follows :

	GDP-1994	Popul-ation
North America (USA & Canada)	23%	c. 5%
Europe (EU plus Russia&Sattelites)	27%	c. 13%
Asia Excluding India and including seven sub-centres*)	32%	c. 60%
	(36% incl. India)	
Rest of the World (L. America, Carriibbean, Africa and Oceania)	18%	c. 20%

* Asia includes seven sub-regions
1. China etc.; 2. Japan; 3. ASEAN; 4. SAARC (Excluding India) which by itself is 4 % additionally; 5. OPEC; 6. Five Central Asian

Republics of former USSR; 7. Minor intrusions of Europe into Asia, like Turkey, Israel, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

N. America and Europe are far more politically unified than either Asia or the Rest of the World. See next issue of *Mankind*, June-July 1998, for further analysis of the Tri-Polar World. Please also refer to the following earlier issues of *Mankind* :

- * *India's Place in the Sun* : 4/5, *Mankind*, Jan/Feb. 1996, pp. 43-57, including 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*, Aug./Sept. 1996, pp. 3-5.
- * *India, NAM, Cold War, Soviet Collapase, 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 1997, pp. 56-67.

II. Indian History

The original home of the Aryans was in India. There was never any Aryan invasion of India.

Science and Technology originate in India.

India gave to the world, numbers, alphabet, the sciences of linguistics, political economy, erotics, astronomy, plant and animal breeding, mineralogy, irrigation and hydraulics, metallurgy and distillation, architecture and landscape gardening (*ashrama*), textile and sugar technology, medicine and yoga, grand trunk roads, hospitals, traveller's bungalows, hostleries and inns, algebra and mathematics, grammar and prosody, metrics, aesthetics etc. Civilisation, as we know it, and excluding the Chinese sphere, is a gift of India to the world.

Almost all the valuable cultigens,

that is, species of domesticated plants and animals, have their origins in India.

Historically, India has known the following transitions.

1. Pastoralism : c-6000/4500 B.C. - 700 B.C.
2. Feudalism : A. Incipient c.2500 - 700 B.C.
B. Sangha - c.700 B.C. - 300 A.D. (Monastic Phase)
C. Samanta - 300 - 1300 A.D. (Classical Phase)
D. Iqta - 1300 - 1500 A.D. (Militarist Phase)
E. Mansabdari - 1550 - 1720 A.D. (Bureaucratic Phase)
F. Pendhari - 1720 - 1820/60 A.D. (Bandit Phase)
3. Capitalism : Colonial - 1820/60 - 1947 A.D.
Comprador - 1947- (ongoing)

III Let an Inspired Indian People March Forward

I believe we have to fire the imagination of the Indian people, in order to propel humanity forward.

Without such a prodigious effort we cannot establish an egalitarian society that does not waste genetic material by imposition of a regime of wasteful and constrictive poverty. Some of the major steps that will lift up the spirits of our downtrodden masses may be mentioned.

1. Defiant and intensive nuclear weaponisation, till the world is forced to forsake all nuclear and conventional arms.

2A. The creation of a conscript Indian army of the precise numerical strength that may be desired by demographical call-ups of age groups.

2B. A Reserve Force or Land Army will be created on the same conscription principle. This Reserve Force will be engaged in building infrastructure for the Indian economy. Instead of using one earth-mover or any other complicated piece of machinery, we shall use India's tremendous manpower, say at the rate of one lakh

man-hours for each earth mover, or each piece of complicated mining equipment, or their equivalents in other infrastructural spheres.

3. A Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra.

4. Creation of a Mohajiristan, east of Indus to the Rajasthan border, as well as of an Eelam within Pakistan and Sri Lanka, as two steps towards the establishment of a Confederation of Socialist States of the Indian Sub-Continent.

5. The forging of an Indo-Irano-Kazakstan etc. alliance to overthrow the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

6. The leasing, by India, of an Island off the China coast as Meteorological, Fuelling and Scientific Research Station.

7. An Imaginative and fledgling economic programme that would embrace the following points.

A. Total ban on all Imports in excess of our Exports plus Invisible Outflows.

B. No more devaluations. In fact, a revaluation of the rupee will be made to equal its Purchasing Power Parity level, in stages.

C. No more foreign debt. All debt will be incurred and repaid henceforth in PPP terms.

D. Since India has an enormous internal market, it will give a lead to the Third World by selectively banning exports of tea, spices, oilseeds, jute and other raw materials, so that the rest of the Third World reaps the benefits of the higher prices which will have to be paid by USA and Europe as soon as India ceases to be a supplier.

E. India will cut off all trade relations with United Kingdom till all the looted art treasures are restored, especially the Kohinoor Diamond, the Sultanganj Buddha, the Amravati Reliefs, and so on. The India Office Library must be returned to India before trade and diplomatic relations are restored with Britain.

India totally rejects the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB, IMF and WTO.

No globalisation till Indian labour is allowed free entry into all those

countries of the world which are demanding a free entry for capital into India.

We cannot develop India unless we project an inspiring programme which lifts our people out of the demoralised state into which they have sunk.

I have a New, Fresh Comprehensive Theoretical Vision of India to present to close and intimate friends like you. We must discuss this Vision threadbare in the columns of *Mankind*, and personally when we meet, whenever that may be.

I am quite confident of my database, which has been fully cited in past issues of *Mankind*. The Indian origin of almost all valuable cultigens and Significant Scientific Initiatives and Historic Achievements will be presented as parts of the series 25 *Turning Points in World History* in future issues of *Mankind*.

I am sending by separate Book-Post, *Mankind* Vol. 2, No.12, September 1997, my article, *Sex, Reproduction and Love*, which *en passant*, discusses female sexuality in the context of differing Modes of Production: Heterae and Dikterae in Ancient Greece, *Kothewaliyan* and *Deredariyan* in feudal India, *Geishas* of various grades in feudal Japan, prostitutes and call-girls in bourgeois set-ups, etc.

With warm fraternal regards to each of you from me and Sharayu.

Vinayak Purohit

LETTER FROM M. SUNNY

M. Sunny
Jihad-e-Aashiqui
4-A, Pocket C,
Siddharth Extension,
N. Delhi 110 014

Dear Vinayakji,

Speaking from Northern India it does seem like being in an ivory tower all these sophisticated debates on secularism, socialism, because when one lives in rural areas you realise how little things change. Until we can handle caste in the Indian context there can be no "revolutionary consciousness" because the social structure in this Vedic-inspired subcontinent refuses to abandon the

security caste provides. I recently did an orientation workshop on caste with urban college students who were going to stay with some rural NGO or movement and realised how strongly caste is embedded in our elite mindset too! Almost 90% of the 20 odd students were upper caste Hindus, Christians or Muslims and the funny thing is that the Mandal movement had created enemies amongst Dalits who gained nothing more. The interpretation of class and caste in the Indian context makes it impossible to support any simple caste movement which has its own political animals and the class parties are led mostly by upper caste individuals — My experience shows that in India it is easier to "declass" yourself but not to "de-caste". Caste conditioning and arrogance or psychological mindsets are the last to be exorcised. If one were to study any movement in India, one would come up against the majority lower castes being led by minority upper castes. Caste lobbies are rampant in every political, bureaucratic set up not so in private sector which anyways has mostly upper caste/non Muslim workforce in the higher echelons.

A Jat home minister from Harayana once said that we have to give all the Delhi Police Jobs to Jats for what else can they do while the harijans can have all the sweeping/cleaning jobs — how cleverly Indians have divided up modern jobs along ancient caste divisions! Nothing is going to change until any ideology clearly accounts for the permanency of caste regardless of religions, ideologies and regional affiliations in India.

Yours,
M. Sunny

LETTER FROM P. T. VENUGOPALAN AND REPLY

P. T. Venugopalan
'USHUS'
Kodamolikunnu
Nellikode-Post
Kozhikode

I am working as Sales Tax Inspector in Kerala and am a subscriber of your monthly. Your report in May 1998 issue "*Herbal Medicines of*

Shahnaz Hussain neither medicine nor herbal" has a big value as far as our department is concerned. There are so many retail dealers in Kerala selling Hussain products. In Calicut Global Marketing is such a dealer. They are declaring their goods in the department as ayurvedic medicines and evading tax due to the government. Your report in this matter helped me to proceed further in this matter and file an appeal before Kerala Sales Tax Appellate Tribunal. So I request you to send me further documentary evidence if it is in your hands to prove that the goods are cosmetics and not ayurvedic medicines. These documents are to be produced before Kerala Sales Tax Appellate Tribunal. -

My dues of subscription will be sent within 2 months.

P. T. Venugopal

2.6.98

Dear Venugopal,

I am glad that you have found our May 1998 issue article, *Herbal Medicines of Shahnaz Hussain Neither Medicine nor Herbal* very useful.

Lots of people are cashing in on the spread of "green consciousness." We are all a little more conscious these days of environmental hazards flowing from that. Capitalist greed has reached a point at which it is threatening human existence on this planet.

Please keep in touch, and keep us informed of the developments in the case that you are pursuing.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Vinayak Purohit

Exe. Edr. Mankind

COMMUNICATION FROM VOICE OF THE VANGUARD, MARCH- APRIL 1998

**MNC OFFENSIVE IN INDIA —
CAPITULATION OF INDIA'S
COMPRADOR BOURGEOISIE**

The American computer giant, Hewlett Packard, entered India in 1989 in collaboration with Indian company, HCL. After getting access to HCL's markets, it has set up its own 100% subsidiary, having eased out HCL. Proctor and Gamble (P&G) struck an

alliance with Godrej Soaps to enter Indian toiletry industry. They too have kicked out Godrej after taking over the markets and have set up a 100% subsidiary — P&G Home Products. Godrej had three of its brands — Vigil, Evita and Marvel — wiped out and was forced to rebuild its distribution channels from scratch having transferred its original marketing and distribution network to P&G. Parle, the largest soft drink manufacturer in India has been turned into a mere bottling company for Coca Cola. Now Coca Cola is demanding a 51% controlling share in the bottling company.

The successive Indian governments have laid down a red carpet to the multinationals seeking to enter the Indian market. A stream of 'official' delegations from the major imperialist countries has been coming to India since 1995, looking for markets, capital investments and cheap raw materials. In October 1995, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister came to India with 35 businessmen. This visit resulted in major business deals including huge arms contracts. Next came the Canadian Prime Minister striking deals worth \$ 3 billion. The British Prime Minister made an extensive tour of India accompanied by a 100 member business delegation. The Australian delegation came with an eye on the mining industry which has since been thrown open to the private sector. The US Agricultural Secretary came to promote US agribusiness in India. The 21 member delegation led by the Israel Finance Minister resulted in three agreements and a major telecom deal worth Rs. 4,000 crores. Even tiny Finland is making large investments in India through their companies Nokia and Finnish Telecom.

The bigger the MNC, the more arrogant its behaviour and more servile our rulers. The chief losers are the Indian masses. The winners are the imperialists and a handful of their native agents who facilitate the enslavement of the country.

Globalisation is a crisis-management programme devised by the G-8 powers to retrieve the imperialist economies from the recurrent recessions hitting them. There are two

aspects to globalisation. First, to restructure capitalism in their home countries by forming bigger conglomerates through mergers and by increasing profits through massive attacks on the working classes. Second, by an aggressive expansion of their markets in the third world with greater control over their wealth and cheap labour. These two aspects are interdependent.

Under the banner of globalisation, the MNCs are gobbling up large parts of private industry in the third world countries as well as their public sector industries, finance, banking and insurance, small-scale industry, and also agriculture and mining. Trade is leading to a huge invisible outflow of wealth to the imperialist countries. Enormous manipulations on the financial markets lead to windfall profits for international speculators, while simultaneously destroying local currencies and stock markets.

The government and ruling classes of the third world countries are introducing massive 'reforms' in laws and regulations to allow this brazen robbery.

The Congress (I) went all out to open up the economy between 1991 and 1996. The United Front government has achieved in the sphere of economic reforms in one and a half years what the Congress achieved in five. The BJP has been in favour of liberalisation and opening out of the economy. The state governments — whether of the Shiv Sena-BJP, DMK, AIADMK, Telugu Desam or the CPM — have all competed with each other to attract foreign capital.

The UF government first raised foreign equity ceiling in Indian companies from 40% to 51%, and then to 74% and finally to 100%.

The Congress (I) government has actively promoted entry of foreign capital in the country on a qualitatively new scale from 1991. The Industrial Policy Statement issued in July 1991 resulted in the following :

(i) All industries were thrown open to the foreign investors.

(ii) The ceiling of foreign capital was raised to 51% and in certain industries 100%.

(iii) Only six industries were reserved for the public sector, viz. defence, atomic energy, coal and lignite, mineral oils, railway transport and specified minerals as per the schedule to the Atomic Energy Order. Thus MNCs were now allowed in iron and steel, mining of iron ore, heavy electrical plants, telephone and telephone cables, generation and distribution of energy.

(iv) Reduced protection to the small scale sector — garments were excluded from the protected list.

(v) Abolished industrial licensing except for a short list of industries.

(vi) The MRTP Act restrictions on expansion of large firms were abolished.

(vii) Liberalised policy of utilisation of foreign brand names.

(viii) MNCs were now free to decide whether they will use imported or local materials.

The overall impact of these policy decisions was to open the doors wide to foreign capital.

The UF government's policy of capitulation was embodied in their Common Minimum Programme drafted by the Marxist pundit, Sitaram Yechuri. This programme placed a target of attracting \$ 10 billion in foreign capital per year — this was more than twice the amount achieved in the previous year.

In the first three months after coming to power (July-Sept. 1996), the UF government passed more foreign investment proposals than the previous Congress government did in the first three years — i.e. Rs. 14,882 crores of foreign investment proposals approved between July and September 1996 as against Rs. 13, 281 crores worth approved by the Congress in the preceding three years.

In August 1996, the Power Ministry decided to grant automatic approval for 100% foreign equity holding in coal-based and hydro power projects and projects based on non-conventional energy sources. In October 1996, the government allowed private investment in the ports sector. In the same month, the Disinvestment Commission cleared a list of 40 public sector units for disinvestment. These

included SAIL (Steel Authority of India), Air India, ITDC (Hotels and Tourism), NTPC (Power) and Gail (Gas), Indian Telephone Industries and Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Ltd. These are amongst the most profitable public sector units.

In January 1997, the UF government announced major amendments in the FIPB guidelines which authorised the Reserve Bank of India to allow upto 74% foreign equity in nine categories including electricity generation and transmission, construction, mining services and the basic metals and alloys industries. This list is in addition to the 35 industries which were already eligible for automatic approval for foreign equity upto 51%. The new guidelines allow investment proposals for majority holding even upto 100% foreign equity on a 'case to case basis.'

In January 1997, an Expert Committee on small enterprises suggested complete abolition of the policy of reservations for exclusive manufacture of certain products in the small-scale sector. Many of these suggestions were brought in with the March 1997 budget.

As if all these concessions were not enough, the government through the Security and Exchange Control Board of India (SEBI) brought into effect the New Takeover Code which has enormously facilitated the takeover by the MNCs of Indian companies. Earlier regulations and restraints such as the MRTP Act gave some protection to Indian companies as in the case of the attempted takeover of DCM and Escorts by NRI Swaraj Paul which was disallowed in the early '80s. The New Takeover Code has specifically allowed FIIs to takeover existing companies. It allows those FIIs holding 10 to 75% of the shares in an Indian company to acquire an additional 2% each year, without any public announcement.

In March 1997, the government began the process of opening out the insurance sector by allowing foreign participation in Health Insurance.

In mid-1997, the UF government permitted FIIs to invest in dated government securities. Now, the government will issue bonds for FIIs

and borrow in the international market to cover the growing fiscal deficit at home. This is the first step towards full capital account convertibility and is bound to increase the already mammoth foreign debt. Full convertibility of the rupee will result in the government having absolutely no control over foreign capital.

The continuous devaluation of the rupee is the biggest concession to the imperialist powers in trade relations. Between September 1997 and December 1997, the rupee was devalued from Rs. 35 to the dollar to Rs. 40 to the dollar, i.e. by about 14%. If we assume the quantum of trade to be about 2 lakh crores in 1996-97, this 14% devaluation would mean a loss of about Rs. 2,800 crores to India.

In the realm of customs duties, the Indian government has reduced the duty on imports from the maximum rate of 400% to 40%.

From October 1997, the Indian government has introduced a new system whereby the value of imported goods would be assessed at the time of shipment and the Indian customs would be reduced to the mere clerical job of collecting the duty already decided by the assessment agency.

In spite of all these major concessions, the G-8 countries led by the US go on bullying India to change her patent laws and remove all Quantitative Restrictions (QRs) on imports. In addition, US has been blacklisting Indian firms which it suspects are abetting weapons development or nuclear research.

India has to accept applications for product patents on pharmaceuticals and agricultural products. This will lead to a five to ten fold increase in the cost of many medicines. India has also to give exclusive marketing rights for five years to holders of product patents issued in another WTO member country.

While demanding that India remove all its quantitative restrictions on imports, they themselves have been resorting to more and more protectionist measures against imports from India.

Presenting their economic agenda for the last Lok Sabha polls, all the

parliamentary parties — The Congress, the UF and the BJP — agreed that reforms were irreversible. It makes little difference which party is in power. All of them have a consensus on speeding up economic reforms and serving as agents of imperialism.

ISLAMIC BANKING, SWISS MERCENARIES, ROGUE COUNTRIES, UPSTART NATIONS AND RELATED MATTERS

I was recently asked by an old RBI hand to comment about Islamic banking.

These lines may be found a little rambling, because the question was not cogently posed. Nevertheless, we have chosen to answer as our readers may be interested. The question is really absurd, not merely anomalous and irrelevant.

ISLAMIC BANKING IS A FRAUD. IT IS CLAIMED BY SOME SILLY THEOLOGIANs THAT THE QURAN FORBIDS INTEREST. I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY SUCH REFERENCE. MUHAMMAD WAS A MERCHANT AND AN ORGANISER OF CARAVAN LOGISTICS. IT COULD BE THAT THE SEMI-PASTORALIST NOMADIC TRADING INTERESTS OF 7TH CENTURY A.D. FOUND SOME RESTRICTIONS ON USURY TO BE NECESSARY AND BENEFICIAL TO SOCIETY AT LARGE.

HOWEVER, INTEREST IS NOT AN ISOLATED FEATURE. IT IS A WHOLE SET OF RATES INVOLVING MORTGAGES, LEASES, HIRE-PURCHASE ARRANGEMENTS, LETTERS OF CREDIT, NEGOTIABLE INSTRUMENTS AGAINST BILLS OF LADING, REMITTANCES FROM NON-RESIDENT NATIONALS LIVING ABROAD, TRAVELLER'S CHEQUES, PERSONAL CREDIT CARDS AND A HUNDRED OTHER INSTRUMENTS THAT REPLACE MONEY AND SPEED UP ITS CIRCULATION.

It is not possible for any banking system in the world to opt out of the

international chain. Some stupid academicians and politicians in Islamic countries try to claim, fraudulently, that, there is interest-free banking in their Islamic lands. This is nonsense. Even the euphemisms of "Service Charges" and "Operational Costs" are pure hypocrisies that will not bear a moment's scrutiny. As members of the IMF, all the Central Banks of all the 210 countries and territories into which the world presently stands divided (See enumeration in *MK*, November 1996, pp. 58-66), it is not possible for individual countries to opt out of the world economic system. They will receive payments and disburse sums calculated as per the worldwide consensus on interest rates, which include mortgage rates, leasing rates, letters of credit rates, credit card rates and so on.

It is simply silly to talk about Islamic banking as though it were a distinct entity, even if we leave aside, as aforesaid, the euphemisms of "service charges" and "operational costs."

There is no such things as Islamic banking just as there is no such thing as Christian banking or Jewish banking or Zoroastrian banking. All banking in the World is one, just as all transport, all telecommunications, all manufacturing, all agriculture is the same.

FURTHER, BY BEING A MEMBER OF IMF, PAKISTAN AND ALL ISLAMIC COUNTRIES ARE PRACTISING BANKING THAT INVOLVES INTEREST.

Take the recent example of the New Central Bank of Europe, which is going to have its Headquarters in Frankfurt. As the mass media the world over have reported, the central task facing the new bank is the determination of the rate of interest that will prevail in all those EU countries, who will accept the new currency, Euro. It is around the central interest rate that all other rates for mortgages for Government bonds and Treasury bills for short-term, medium-term and long-term, secured and unsecured loans, rates for mortgages, leases, hire purchase, credit cards, and so on will be fixed.

IN FACT THERE IS NO BANKING POSSIBLE WITHOUT INTEREST AND ALL TALK OF "ISLAMIC BANKING WITHOUT INTEREST" IS PURE FRAUD.

● As long as the World Economy is dominated by the Neo-Colonial Powers (in overlapping circles of G-8, NAFTA, OECD, NATO AND EU), it is not possible for any Third World Bank to become an influential bank on a world scale.

Let us take the example of Bank of Credit and Commerce International, which was floated by a Persian Gulf Sheikh and was manned principally by Pakistanis. Because legitimate ways of becoming big were denied to the BCCI, it was forced to have recourse to laundering of illegitimate money. (Narcotics traffic, Gold Smuggling, Hawala money etc.) Eventually, it led to collapse and bankruptcy. Thousands of Pakistanis living in the Middle East and in Euro-America lost their lifetime's savings and have for many years now been trying to recover even a small part of their original deposits.

The BCCI was not ruined because of Islamic banking practices. The BCCI has always functioned within international banking norms and went bankrupt strictly according to legitimate international practices adopted by all bankrupt bodies!

There was nothing specifically Islamic about their illegitimate laundering of drug traffic, or similar other criminal activities. There are any number of banks in the Western world, which are following dirty practices.

In U.S.A., the Mafia controls scores of banks, which promote their criminal activities including drug traffic particularly from Latin America and Asia. Gambling is promoted in Las Vegas, Atlanta and many other places. Prostitution, extortion, number rackets, slot machines, etc. are legitimate spheres of interest on the part of hundreds of American banks.

In Russia, 40 per cent of the new privatised free enterprise economy is controlled by criminal gangs.

British banks have been running gold smuggling business to India for the last 100 years and more, and British bankers do not think that the financing

of gold and silver imports into India is at all illegitimate, anti-social or criminal.

It has recently been revealed that almost all Swiss banks were involved in the loot of Holocaust victims.

IN SHORT, LET US UNDERSTAND ONCE AND FOR ALL THAT THE BCCI DID NOT GO BANKRUPT BECAUSE OF EITHER ITS SUPPOSEDLY ISLAMIC BANKING PRACTICES OR BECAUSE OF ITS AVOWEDLY CRIMINAL ASSOCIATIONS. THE BCCI WENT PHUT BECAUSE IT WAS A THIRD WORLD BANK THAT ATTEMPTED OVER-AMBITIOUSLY TO COMPETE WITH THE NEO-COLONIALIST BANKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THE BCCI WAS SYSTEMATICALLY SABOTAGED FROM WITHIN AND DRIVEN TO THE WALLS BY DETERMINED COMPETITORS FROM WITHOUT.

Arab Oil Money was by hook or crook enticed away from BCCI by bankers of the G-8 nations and their satellites. The BCCI could have led a marginal and fringe existence like the branches of the Third World banks operating in the West, who cater to the limited needs of the non-residents. The BCCI management was not satisfied with such a marginal role for itself. It attempted to play the Big Game and went bust.

● The Habib Bank had its headquarters in Bombay before Partition. It shifted to Karachi after 1947. It is a member of the select group of 20 Monopoly Houses of Pakistan. It was a Sunni concern and followed the norms of international banking. There never was anything very specifically Islamic about its operations.

Similarly, the Bombay Mercantile Bank, which has been taken over by HongKong and Shanghai Bank was mainly a Shia outfit. I think that it is continuing to have a large number of Shia account-holders. I do not know the details of its alliance with the HongKong and Shanghai Bank.

● Let us now turn to the peculiarities of the birth and rise of certain European powers.

Let us consider the Swiss.

Switzerland is a rogue country, which has allowed certain western bourgeois interests to operate freely, taking advantage of certain Banking Secrecy Laws and Regulations. They allowed Nazis to pay for imports from Neutral countries. During the Second World War, Sweden and Spain were supposedly neutral, i.e. Sweden and Spain traded with both the warring sides throughout World War II. American capitalists enjoyed the same privilege of neutrality in business dealings between September 1939 and December 1941, that is, for the first two years of W.W. II.

Such special Banking Secrecy laws and tax havens are to be found all over Europe, e.g. in Andorra, Monaco, Lichtenstein, Channel Islands, Gibraltar, Malta, Ceuta, etc.

Switzerland is located at the tri-junction of Germany, Italy and France. Its population speaks these three languages, which are all considered to be official (I think there is a fourth language, Romansch, which is also official.) Throughout the medieval period in Europe, roughly from the 4th or the 9th Century A.D. to the 15th, Switzerland was known for its mercenaries. Swiss soldiers of fortune were available for hire to any European princeling in any wretched little war that the miserable princeling wanted to pursue. The Swiss mercenaries often confronted each other in rival armies. In such cases, quite often "they settled the war peacefully," that is, by mass desertions on both sides, on eve of battle, so that the little wars simply fizzled out. Such comical happenings were the norm in medieval Europe.

Let us consider the case of America. It was originally a penal colony like Australia, established by Great Britain to receive English criminals. In the early centuries of the capitalist era, the peasantry was dispossessed on a very large scale in Britain and therefore, there was much brigandage, banditry and lawlessness in the so-called United Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The cost of housing such huge numbers in native jails would have been too heavy. Therefore, Great Britain decided to establish penal colonies all over the world, in U.S.A., Australia and

elsewhere. The state had to spend almost nothing as these penal colonies inmates was supposedly "free or on perpetual parole."

Later, these penal colonies organised themselves into so-called federation or a Union of Thirteen Colonies on the North-East coast of the present United States. At about the time that India was being enslaved by the East India Company. In roughly 1760-65, the Thirteen Colonies proclaimed their freedom in a development that is called the American Revolution. About a hundred years later, the American colonists fought an internecine war, in about 1860-65 and they call this event the American Civil War.

The major activity of these Thirteen Colonies and the Confederate States of America (the so-called South) was to conduct genocidal massacres of Amerindians. The White Americans managed to wipe out many millions of these Red Indians.

At the same time, in the 18th and 19th centuries, there were many religious persecutions taking place in Europe. The Catholic princes would drive out the Protestant inhabitants of their respective "princedom or nations." Similarly, the Protestant princes would drive out the Catholics. Both varieties of Christians would be conducting pogroms against the Jews. All these religious minorities found refuge in U.S.A.

This entire process of wars of liberation against Britain, France, Holland, and Spain; of civil war amongst the Americans, the genocidal massacres of millions of Amerindians or Red Indians; the reception and mingling of persecuted minorities from Europe; and similar co-mingling socio-economic processes were called "Building the Nation" by some historiographers.

This, in a nutshell, is the history of the foundation and development of the American nation from the middle of the 18th century to the present (end of the 20th century). More details and more boastful claims may be found in Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 Vols. (1927). ■

GUILTY MEN OF INDIA'S PARTITION - 4

Rammanohar Lohia

IV

The problem of India's partition is not being viewed without prejudice even at this distance of time. Twelve years have passed since India was partitioned, but as after a dishonourable conspiracy, there is either silence or a concocted story. India without partition would have been worse off than India with partition, so goes the story. One can at best understand persons, without agreeing with them, who argue the inevitability of the partition. From inevitability to desirability is a very long step, but one most easily undertaken when rationalising an existing situation. India's partition has not only been inevitable, but has also become desirable, according to current Congress thinking. What is could not have been otherwise and should also be.

To the masses, the partition of the country has become an accustomed routine. Much of the inevitability of any change, in a dialectical reasoning on political issues, derives from man's desire to become used to things. The people have become used to partition. That is why they think that it was inevitable. If they thought more logically and factually and did not allow the prejudice of their existing situation to warp their argument, they would protest or at least be sad. To the common man's desire to become used to things is joined the ordinary leader's interest to justify and extol that for which he has been responsible. Thus, the inevitable easily becomes the desirable. A whole forest of vested interest and, therefore, an entire army of interested people, grows luxuriantly in any political situation that exists. This army justifies the situation out of which it has grown. It finds irremovable causes for its situation and, continuing the argument, discovers salutary effects to which the causes

have led. The vested interest of a guilty leadership and the common man's desire to lead an accustomed life have combined to cover up the calamity of partition with the illusions of inevitability as well as desirability.

An argument runs to the effect that an unpartitioned India would not have been able to make progress owing to the mutually cancelling policies of its governmental leadership. **This argument assumes that India of the current period has made progress** and also that this progress is of a pattern with other like-situated nations. Neither assumption is correct. It is now well known that in the commonly accepted meaning of progress to connote increasing indices of production, other countries, both capitalist and communist and similarly situated, have taken very much longer strides. The sentimental haze that surrounds all high topics in India of the current period is proof enough that the country after partition has become intellectually moribund, when not immersed in the gross vice of hypocrisy. Only a very great leadership and a people in a vastly heroic frame of mind could have saved the country from the moral decline that was bound to come out of the two most perverse events of all times, the death by violence of the unequalled statesman of non-violence and the uprooting of tens of millions from the virtues and values of home.

Another assumption is made that an unpartitioned India would have fallen prey to conflicting policies, at the level of the government. The experience of the short-lived administration with Muslim League as well as Congress Party participation is adduced as proof. This administration tended to pursue mutually cancelling policies, the home ministry one and the finance ministry another and so forth. This led to overpowering frustration at

the level of the leadership, which succeeded in communicating it to the people. To this day, a considerable number of persons would argue that they have done well in putting all such frustrating experience behind them and that future generations can build without having to carry this almost unbearable burden. Such an argument does not take into account the definitely unbearable burden that partition had imposed on the people on both sides of the frontier. This burden is both visible and concealed. Of the invisible burden, I shall say nothing. **The stupendous decline in the character of the people, particularly of the leadership, from the days of the freedom fight must be traced to the largest single cause of partition.** The visible burdens are too obvious to enumerate. **Defence expenditure and Kashmir, uprooting of millions and rehabilitation expenditure and issues that create regular tension have plagued and weakened both sides of the frontier.** The question naturally arises whether everything was done that could have prevented these calamities.

Congress leaders are easy to understand. They were far too eager to do the business of governing by themselves. In fact, they were shamelessly eager. They could have been somewhat more patient, to their own personal advantage. They might not have needed to be patient for too long a time. Congress leaders did not have at this time even that little patience, which is necessary for all selfish interests of a somewhat big size. Not only did they put their personal interest before the national interest, but they had also become incapable of striving for some big-size selfishness, if that meant sacrificing an immediate personal interest, however small-size.

More important than the question as to whether everything was done to prevent the partition of Hindustan is the question as to what is to be done now in order to repair the damage. The two questions are indeed somewhat interrelated. The past inevitability or otherwise of partition and its future continuance are somewhat linked together; one who wishes for the annulment of partition would be more inclined to doubt that it was inevitable. Such is the nature of human affairs that

the best of scientific analysis, including evaluation of events that have already happened, is to some extent shaped by one's perspective. Nevertheless, a distinction between a study of the past and the shaping of the future may often be made with profit. Some at least of those, who may consider partition to have been inevitable, are likely to be persuaded to the desire for its annulment. Before we consider possible courses of action that are now open to us, we may dwell a little further on the **pettily selfish inadequacies of the Congress leadership**. What the impersonal investigation of policies has disclosed to us is elaborately depicted by Mr. Azad through numerous disclosures of personal matters. This book leaves an overpowering impression that his colleagues were petty, spiteful, jealous, mean, little and less than men in ordinary trades of life. His anecdotes are largely incorrect. He sees life through petty, spiteful, jealous and mean spectacles. May it not then be that what he has seen in others was largely in himself and that Congress leaders were not after all as small as he has made them out to be? That might have been so, but the springs of action of these Congressmen were indeed exceedingly muddy. The Maulana has made innumerable mistakes in describing their individual actions, but he is largely right in outlining the contours of their little wills.

How could men so small have played such a large role in national affairs? I have no explanation other than the theory of influence, of the miracle that the touch of a man of the centuries can perform upon men, who are otherwise less than ordinary. On the other hand, **I am now somewhat suspicious of certain aspects of Gandhiji's philosophy or at least of some of his modes of action and organisation**. These appear to have turned other men into heroes or extraordinary men of the flashy moment, but to have brought out the worst in them in the normal routines of life. How much does man need to keep a close watch on his inner life — not so close and unnatural that cleanliness turns into dirt, not so piecemeal that some portions receive all the light while the rest is infernally dark. That brings up the question of balance. **Was there an evil core of imbalance in Gandhiji's modes of action?**

The Maulana has released the full steam of his spite on Sardar Patel. This was only natural. Sardar Patel was as undoubtedly Hindu in his political motivation, as Maulana Azad was Muslim. To these divergent outlooks was added the degrading conflicts of personal position and power. The conflict between Mr. Azad and Mr. Patel was a part of the usual pattern of relationships among their colleagues. Neither wanted the other to rise and either became vindictive when foiled by the other. **The Nariman, Bhulabhai and Bhabha stories are all there in the book**. The Nariman story has been incorrectly told in so far as Mr. Nariman was the president alone of the Bombay city congress, while the chief ministership of Bombay province would have covered the far more populous areas of Maharashtra, Gujarat and parts of Karnataka. **The Bhulabhai story has not yet been fully told**, and it is in any event a part of Gandhiana, rather than of Sardar Patel's life. If there was injustice done to Bhulabhai and he had not overstepped the limits up to which he should compromise and adjust, **Mahatma Gandhi must**

take the accusation. There was a razor's edge in Gandhiji's path between good and evil and I am not so certain that he did not on rare occasions sacrifice some of his men in order to restore his own balance.

The Bhabha story is basically correct. Nobody had ever heard of this Mr. Bhabha before he was appointed a minister in the Central Government, but Mr. Azad should have admired Mr. Patel for the skilled craftsmanship with which he turned a matter of personal disadvantage into one of gain. Mr. Azad wanted a Parsi in the Central Cabinet, also because of his private war upon Mr. Patel, who was skilled and unscrupulous enough to turn this seemingly lost point to his own advantage. **Another man might have shied away from choosing an utterly unknown business associate of his son to be a Cabinet minister**. Mr. Patel could indeed be very personal, very unscrupulous and **pettily vindictive against his opponents**. Mr. Azad need not have related untrue stories to bring this point out. The meek docility and less than mediocrity of Gujarati Congressmen under Mr. Patel's leadership is conclusive proof. But the spite of Mr. Azad comes out not alone in the false embroideries to his tales, but also in his readiness to take under his wing anybody who happened to oppose Mr. Patel. I must point out the biggest lie told against Mr. Patel. Mahatma Gandhi did not confer the Congress presidency upon Mr. Patel, in fact, he had robbed him of it in the previous year. **Mr. Patel had got more votes than Mr. Nehru for the presidency of the Lahore Congress, which passed the resolution on complete independence, but Gandhiji persuaded him to withdraw**. Where Gandhiji persuaded and where he forced, particularly in such matters of personal position and preferment, would be difficult to determine.

I cannot let go the Patel affair, before I have made a supplementary point. **Mr. Patel was probably as petty, personal and vindictive as Mr. Azad or Mr. Nehru, but he was cut out of a much bigger cloth. His dimensions in the realm of statecraft were incomparably greater**. Where his petty self was not involved, he could act with consummate skill and daring, as in the matter of the princely states. By itself, his action was probably not remarkable. He did not have anything of worth to contend with, the princes were so utterly degenerate. But, when I think of unregenerate Congress leadership minus Sardar Patel, I wonder whether Mr. Azad or Mr. Nehru could have done it. **Mr. Patel stands out so incomparably tall because of the dwarfness of his colleagues, and not because his achievement was difficult or improbable**. In ordinary times of average talent, such skill and daring as Mr. Patel showed would have received no special mention. But the past thirteen years of our life have been a nightmare of debasement and degeneracy.

Mr. Azad has also brought out a notable discrepancy in Mr. Rajendra Prasad's views. There should not have been much to say about changing outlooks of Mr. Rajendra Prasad, for the general run of politicians is not particularly noted for its consistency. But this particular discrepancy is more than inconsistency and it tells badly upon the character of the man. **Mr. Rajendra Prasad took up a position of almost absolute nonviolence and would have**

nothing to do with armies in the context of the last world war and possible deals with Britain. Later he took up a position of unmixed violence and wanted the Indian army to be divided between India and Pakistan without delay in the context of the partition. On issues which did not concern him except remotely and impersonally, he could be large-hearted, but he resumed his narrow and selfish sight on problems which were of immediate import to him. I would like to endorse Mr. Azad's point about this disintegration of the mind with a still more personal detail. Mr. Rajendra Prasad fought with Gandhiji against the British landlords and indigo planters of Champaran and for the right of farmers to the fruits of their toil in what became the first engagement of civil disobedience on Indian soil. Twenty years later, he allowed his sons to acquire acres and acres of this lush soil of Champaran — not through normal purchase, but as the result of political patronage. The men of Gandhiji's faith have been able easily to divide their minds into the two worlds of the abstract and the concrete, a rigid set of lofty standards for the non-self and elastic or equivocal values for the self. They have also known how to keep the two minds distinctly apart and have not allowed the lofty vapourings of the one and the realistic outlooks of the other to interact.

Mr. Azad has something quite caustic to say about the Gandhians as distinct from the non-Gandhians in the Congress leadership, and he presumably has himself and Mr. Nehru in mind when he talks of the non-Gandhians. He dismisses the Gandhians as of no consequence. They took all their breath from their Master and had no life apart from him. How one wishes this were true. If Mr. Patel and Mr. Rajendra Prasad had really become the shadows of their Master, there would not have been the crass decline of national character nor partition. In another sense, Mr. Azad is right. These Gandhians were neither blind nor critical followers; they just leaned a little too heavily on their Master to be able to do without his crutches or not to betray him at the last public hour and in the numberless preceding private hours. **But the non-Gandhians were a sorer crowd. They seemed to have made a business out of the middle path, out of playing the non-partisan and mediating between two opposing factions of any time. Mr. Azad has dwelt on how he and Mr. Nehru were such non-partisans, ever anxious to conciliate, to restore goodwill and to get the whole army going.** This gave them independence of outlook, so they thought. Up to a point, that may have been true. But that point was the salesman's, the broker's or the diplomatist's point. It was certainly not the point of creative statecraft. **On every major issue, when these non-Gandhians differed from Gandhiji, at least in the later years, they were not only in the wrong, but also positively reactionary and obstructed national progress.** The conciliator's business seems to have stifled their creative abilities, if they had originally any. Furthermore, this business brought them great personal gain. **Out of the business of conciliating between opposing factions, they could almost always extract high jobs like Congress presidencies of more than normal tenure for themselves.** The conciliator should always be suspect, if he makes profit.

The only man whom Maulana Azad spares the accusation of being small-minded is Mr. Nehru and, up to a point Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Nehru, according to Mr. Azad, never acted out of spite or petty jealousy. When he went wrong, that was due to the influences around him. The Mountbatten influence has been recorded and so had been the Tandon influence in the matter or not keeping troth with Khaliqzaman, which is of course a patent untruth. Mr. Nehru deserted Mr. Khaliqzaman, because he obtained an absolute Congress majority. Mr. Azad has described Mr. Nehru as impulsive, generous, given to abstract reasoning and liable to go wrong under undesirable influences. **This theory of scapegoats has been Mr. Nehru's most formidable single shield throughout his long public life. Someone has either stalled him from doing the right thing or another has talked him into doing a wrong one.** Researchers may later discover the great fraud behind it and that a whole army of propogandists, in particular, **Left busybodies,** was always kept busy whispering the name of the latest obstructor or misleader of Mr. Nehru. I have often admired **Mr. Nehru, the world's unmatched politician,** as the practitioner of the great art of building up a fresh defence through an unending series of scapegoats. Before one defence cracks or is demolished, another more formidable goes up. **Chetty, Bajpai, Deshmukh, Patel and Tandon and now Pant and Desai, every one by turn, all of them his minions, except Messrs. Patel and Tandon, but each one garbed as the evil contender or misleader of the moment, the story is there for any one read.** Mr. Azad has named no one in particular as the evil influence of a revealing story he has told. But the story, despite the manner in which it has been told, reveals a little too much — not alone of Mr. Nehru's petty spites and jealousies but also of the great craftiness.

Mr. Azad had one time achieved the remarkable feat of persuading the Punjab Unionists, some of whom were associated with Mr. Jinnah, into a coalition ministry with the Congress Party. To most people that appeared to be a remarkable achievement. Only they could have condemned it or remained indifferent to it, who took up the line of revolutionary purism or patient mass work. Mr. Nehru was surely not one of them. But the Maulana's achievement had brought him great glory. He records in his book how his crowds at wayside stations had grown enormously, how newspapers were putting him up as a great tactician and craftsman of politics and how Congressmen everywhere were pressing him to assert himself fully in the Congress Party. Mr. Azad states that Mr. Nehru opposed his Punjab achievement as contrary to Congress policy, but he hastens to add that Mr. Nehru did not do so out of petty jealousy. The theory of evil influences is again there. What exactly could these evil influences have talked Mr. Nehru into except to look upon Mr. Azad as a rival, who was making rapid strides? But Mr. Azad does not say so. What he says is contrary to what he implies. He goes so far as to make damning assertion, that Mr. Nehru opposed him on every issue in the meeting of the Congress executive, that took place subsequent to his Punjab achievement. I do not know whether a stylistic sloppiness has marred this particular narration. As it stands, it can have only one meaning. Mr.

Nehru's opposition to Mr. Azad would have been confined to the particular issue of the coalition ministry if he were acting in furtherance of a cause or theory. His opposition was general. That only a man consumed by petty jealousies could do. Within the fold of a single faith, an ideal makes a man oppose a specific act or speech of another person; spite makes him oppose the person and almost all that he says or does. After having made a full exhibition of petty spite and jealousy, which must indeed have been garbed as idealism, Mr. Nehru made a withdrawal apparently very gracefully. This took place because Mahatma Gandhi had put a powerful plea on behalf of Mr. Azad. Mr. Nehru knew that the odds were heavy against him. He called on Mr. Azad the next morning and made his explanations. **This is one of the great fortes of Mr. Nehru. He can appear so charming and generous. He also knows better than anyone else in the country how to promote his personal interests and those of his relations and friends as well as how to pursue a foe to his ruin. He can command a finesse to obscure his greed and his vendetta that the others do not possess.**

I must relate another of my personal experiences, although in its barest outline. I had asked Gandhiji, if he would be willing to conduct a meeting of representative Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in riot-torn Delhi. The Congress Party of the city appeared to me to be the natural auspices for such a meeting. An office-bearer of the City Congress was at that time also a member of the Socialist Party, and he undertook to issue invitations. For two weeks and more, nothing happened. In disgust and worse, I told Gandhiji that no good could come out of the Congress Party any more and that the best of men must rot if he officered his party, and added idly that, if he so wished, I could have the meeting arranged under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Gandhiji somewhat surprised me by his reaction. He told me that the agency did not matter, so long as the work was good, and that he would go wherever I wanted him to go. Under the threat of the Socialist Party taking a lead over it, the City Congress Party assured me that it would act with despatch. What happened immediately prior to the meeting reads like a crime story. Microphone arrangements failed. Some leading dailies gave advance publicity to this small gathering of representatives as though it were a public meeting. Who did all this? Was this done in order to humiliate me? Or, were some men in authority in the Congress Party trying to foil the effort? What surprised me most was that, to pursue their bent and their interests, Gandhiji's disciples did not shrink from making their Master suffer and attend a meeting of a large number of persons for four long hours without a microphone. He was then recovering from an illness. I ran to Gandhiji a few hours before the gathering with the woeful tale of the newspaper's publicity and how understanding he was and told me that all good work was in such manner obstructed.

A piquant situation developed, as this gathering met in a bigger neighboring room because the Congress executive was scheduled to meet in Gandhiji's own room at the same hour. I had warned Gandhiji of this, but he might also have wanted to play the imp, through not necessarily in my fashion, to the Congress executive. I was naturally and vastly

delighted at having been able to cock such a big snook at that silly and pompous body. Members of that august body were regaled with soft drinks at Gandhiji's behest and ordered to do their business without him. But they had apparently no business outside of him and, after making vain efforts to wheedle Gandhiji into their midst, they departed one by one after waiting an hour or more. Before going away, Mr. Patel and Mr. Azad came to my meeting, sat for half an hour or so near Gandhiji, but spoke not a word. Mr. Nehru alone sat in the meeting right up to the end. He took a rear seat and spoke not a word. The meeting was inconclusive. It took no decisions, because there was no specific agreement. At an early stage of the meeting, I asked Gandhiji if a resolution should be drafted. He asked me not to worry, for a resolution did not take more than a few minutes to write, and what mattered was the trend of the discussion.

That such a gathering, although inconclusive, took place in riot-torn Delhi was itself a great achievement. When all was over, two of us alone were left in the room and we walked towards each other. The prime minister told me that I was learning to become crafty. To this day, I do not understand what on earth he could have meant. He must have seen the disgust or anger on my face and, disregarding my vehement question as to what he meant, he put his arm round me in that gesture of affection, which I wish I could also command whenever there was need for it, and desired to reach me wherever I wanted. I reached him to the door and bowed myself away. **I have never in all my life known how to promote my personal interests. Nor do I wish ever to know.** I may sometimes have acted out of spontaneous impulses of anger, joy or disgust and also out of contempt or mischief or the pure delight of being able to assert myself and put the other fellow in his place. There is no greater delight than to put a crafty prime minister in his place. Outside of doing my duty in that riot-torn city and at the behest for Gandhiji, I may also have been motivated by the impish desire to get square with these bloated ministers and leaders. But I was pursuing no personal interest. I was merely seeking communal peace. But the prime minister beheld some craftiness in me, for I had managed to bring off something which he himself had not been able to do. He could only see the world in his own image. But who knows if his jealous suspicions might not have become right under a different turn of events. **If Gandhiji had lived for a few more years, I might also have incidentally obtained the satisfaction of what to some would have appeared as my personal interests.**

Maulana Azad has brushed Gandhiji a little, while pointing out the spiritual lack of his contemporaries. **He has probed into Gandhiji habit of running after Mr. Jinnah and to cajole him through praise.** I cannot say that Mr. Azad has no case at all. He is, of course, politically rattled. He was the great Muslim and not Mr. Jinnah. Furthermore, Gandhiji had always picked out someone else to head the nationalist Muslims; at one time it was the Ali Brothers and then it was Doctor Ansari. Mr. Azad was a man of logic; Gandhiji needed men of emotion. That, however, is a quarrel which we might leave to Gandhiji and the Maulana. I understand that the thirty unpublished pages

of Mr. Azad's memoirs relate largely to this quarrel and the **Maulana's accusation that Gandhiji suffered from some spiritual lack which made him run after Mr. Jinnah.** Has the Maulana hinted that as Gandhiji was unjust to the Muslims, he tried to be generous to Mr. Jinnah? Or, has he tried to relate Gandhiji's attitude towards Mr. Jinnah to his inner life. All such efforts, if they have been made, are vain. **What may be correct is Mahatma Gandhi's tendency to effusion, to overdo and oversay things in certain situations.** He appeared to cajole and wheedle at such times. He probably did so because he wanted his leadership to be a light burden on his people, and also because he thought that the people were fickle-minded and easily scared and could not yet take it. I can say from hindsight that such effusiveness either with the British or the Muslim League or any other opponents was bound to lead men to duplicity and falsity of character.

The Maulana inflicts his meanest cut on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. I doubt the biscuit story. Even if some Pathans told the Maulana that the Khan Brothers eat biscuits themselves and gave them none, that was patent lie. The Frontier Gandhi could not have been present on

such occasions if they at all happened. If he had been, he must have seen to it that his guests got what they needed and what he could give. I have been unable to understand the repeated and patently baseless harshness of Maulana Azad towards **Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the only true and great man among Gandhiji's apostles.** Mr. Azad has also had occasion to talk of the Khan brothers' waning influence, as though the other Congress leaders had any influence of their own outside that of Mahatma Gandhi. **The only legitimate criticism that Maulana Azad makes against the Khan brothers is the inclusion of several of their relations into the ministry and the administrative set-up of the frontier.** The Frontier Gandhi is believed to have objected to it. That was not enough. He should have put his foot down. Do men like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan bow to injustice? But it will be some time before the men of Asia, even the greatest among them, learn not to let their families, relations and friends profit from their political successes. As to the harsh treatment received by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at the hands of Mr. Azad and his other colleagues, this may well be their way of reminding themselves that they committed no evil deed in agreeing to partition. ■

(Destruction of Feudal Economy Contd. from p. 56)

Hunter put the same thing more analytically :

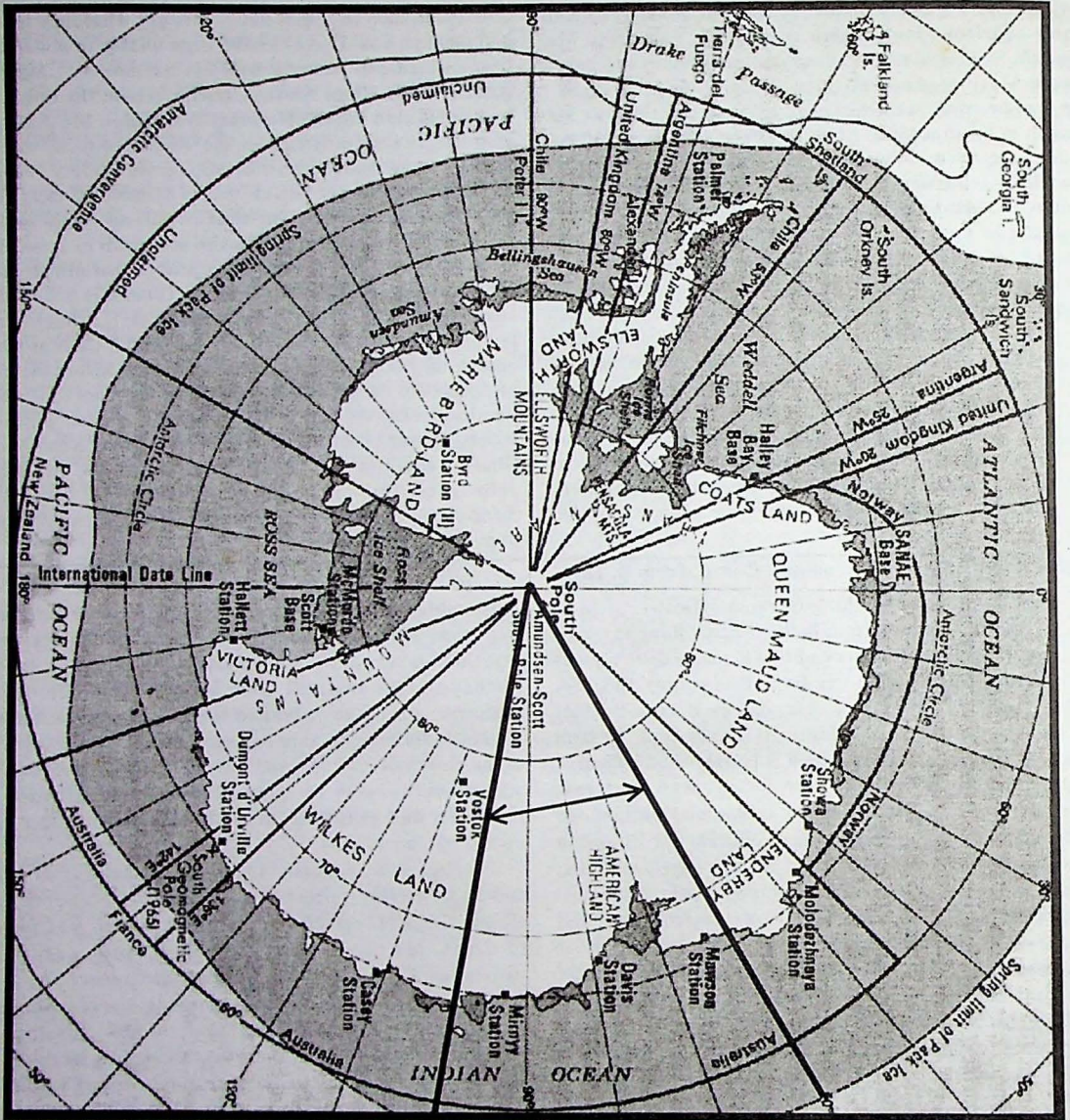
"As regards imports from India, the first thing to notice is the enormous predominance of two items — cotton goods and treasure. During the forty-five years ending 1883-84, cotton goods formed 33 per cent, or exactly one-third of the total, and treasure an additional 30 per cent. Next in order come metals (copper, which is largely used by native smiths, slightly exceeding iron); Government stores; including munitions of war, boots, liquor, and clothing for soldiers and railway plant; liquors, entirely for European consumption; coal, for the use of the railways and mills; railway plant for the guaranteed and assisted companies; salt, provisions, machinery and mill-work, and manufactured silk. It will thus be seen that, with the exception of Manchester goods, no articles of European manufacture are in large demand for native consumption, but only for the needs of our English administration and few raw materials, except coal, copper, iron, mineral oil and salt. England's export trade to India thus mainly depends upon piece-goods." (*op. cit.*, p. 565)

In fact the authors of our 1901 trilogy, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Digby and R. C. Dutt, who were closely identified with the imperialist ruling establishment of India, raised a protest about the drain of wealth from the deindustrialisation of India precisely because at the end of the nineteenth century, a further continuation of imperialist policies had become counter-productive. They had all argued that if only the drain could be eased a little and the minimal reindustrialisation permitted, it would be possible for the Indian market to absorb far more English goods. Dadabhai Naoroji exclaimed: "What a vast field there is for English commerce in India! Only £ 1 a head will be equal to the whole exports of the United Kingdom to all parts of the world ... Let India have its present drain brought within

reasonable limits, and India will be quite prepared for any free trade ... For the present the inevitable conclusion is that there is a heavy and exhausting annual drain, and to remedy this unnatural and serious evil, European employment needs to be **limited to some reasonable extent,** so that India may be able to retain to itself some portion of the profits of its trade, and, by thus increasing its capital and prosperity, **may be strengthened and confirmed in its loyalty and gratitude, to the British nation.**" (*op. cit.*, pp. 36, 62 and 123-24)

Though Ranade denied the drain of wealth from India and its deleterious effects on Indian socio-economic life (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 673-74), he too was forced to admit that ruralisation in modern India meant "its rustication, i.e., a loss of power and intelligence and self-defence." The net effect of this increasing loss of traditional industries, combined with the failure of new industries to take their place, was that India was treated by its rulers as "a plantation growing raw produce to be shipped by British Agents, in British Ships, to be worked into fabrics by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to the Dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere." (*Ibid.*, p. 59)

But the cry in favour of reasonableness and restraint on the part of imperialism was futile. The 4 crores of famine deaths in the 100 years from 1800 to 1900 were followed by 3 crore deaths between 1901 and 1944 (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, p. 88). A permanent loss of capital and employment opportunities for India resulted from substitution of raw cotton for quality muslins and calicoes in India's exports. The substitution of English piece-goods and yarn for gold and silver in imports and unrequited exports also had the same result. ■



ANTARCTIC TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, TO REMAIN STATUS QUO UNDER THE TERMS OF A TREATY SIGNED BY 12 NATIONS ON DEC. 1, 1959. THE TREATY DEDICATES ANTARCTICA FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES ONLY AND IN EFFECT INTERNATIONALISES THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. (ICE SHELVES ARE INDICATED BY DARKER AREAS) INDIA MUST CLAIM SLICE BETWEEN 60° E AND 100°E AS INDICATED.