

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol.4, No.4-5, Jan-Feb 1999

Rs. 25/-

SHARAYU MHATRE: SOCIAL
CHANGE IN 19TH CENTURY
MAHARASHTRA - 37

Vishnu Bhagwat Got Rid of
by Western Lobby - 7

Saadat Ali Manto:
Jinnah Sahib - 64

Euro Arrives to
Challenge the Dollar
and the Yen - 3

**CHRISTIANITY VS HUMANITY
- INQUISITION AND POPE
FORMOSSUS-18**

**ANDRE MALRAUX:
LA CONDITION
HUMAINE : 45**

ASEAN Summit - 16

**SHAD-DARSANAS:
NYAYA-VAISESIKA-25**

Assembly Elections in 4
States - 13

Distribution of World
Economic Power - 36

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Rammanohar Lohia

Vol. 4, No.4-5, Jan-Feb, 1999

Price Rs. 25/- per retail copy

Rs. 200/- for 10 issues in a year

Rs. 150/- Students' Concessional Rate

Rs. 2500/- For Life Subscription

Overseas Annual Subscription \$ 30 or £ 20

Overseas Life Subscription \$ 300 or £ 200

Executive Editor

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Associate Editor

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

Advisory Committee

George Gomez

Dr. V.V. Gopalakrishna

Krishnanath

Devilal Patidar

Kishan Pattanayak

Vinod Payyada

Dr. M.P.R. Reddy

T. Pattabhirama Reddy

U.K. Sengottaian

Julia Zimmermann

Office Address

5, Hansali, Damle Path,

Pune - 411 004.

Tel. No. 36 65 57

Bombay Bureau

3, 2nd Floor,

372-A, Veer Savarkar Marg.

Dadar, Bombay - 400 028.

Tel. No. 430 90 49

Owned and Published by :

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

Indian Institute of Social Research

From above Office Address.

The views expressed in *Mankind* are those of the contributors concerned. Contents of *Mankind* are covered by copyright and may not be reproduced without written consent of Exe. Edr.

DeskTop Publishing by :

Agtech Systems

1124, Sadashiv Peth,

Nimbalkar Talim Chowk, Shalaka Co-op. Soc.,

Pune - 411 030.

Tel. : 47 00 72.

Printed By :

Prakash Mudranalaya

1411, Sadashiv Peth,

Pune -411 030. Tel. : 47 15 47

CONTENTS

An Opening Statement:40/41 Exe.Edr. 3

The Euro Arrives to Challenge

The Dollar and the Yen

Let Indian People go to Dogs!

Let Private Foreign Insurers Rejoice!

Admiral Bhagwat enmeshed in

Corrupt Bureaucratic Jungle

Patents - Bio Piracy

The Pinochet Case Proves that

the British legal system is one

of Sham Postures !

Wah, Kya Kahen ! Mankind Research Bureau (MRB) 11

Assets of Gujarat

Ministers-Cum-Crooks

according to Their Own

I.Tax Forms !

The Double Tragedy of

Anjana Misra

The Onion Bungle proves

Bureaucratic Sabotage

Saboteurs of Law

Assembly Elections 1998 from

Delhi,Rajasthan,Madhya

Pradesh and Mizoram

Demonstrate Bureaucratic Triumph!

Chalo, Duniya Dekhen ! Exe. Edr. 16

Mujib Murder

Asean Summit : December 1998

Christianity Vs. Humanity Vinayak Purohit 18

Masterpieces of Indian

Literature : 4

Shad - Darsanas: Nyaya-Vaisesika Satkari Mookerji 25

India's Place in the Sun:

Distribution of World

Economic Power Mankind Reaserch Bureau36

Social Change in Nineteenth Sharayu Mhatre 37

Century Maharashtra :

The Period of Close Cooperation: I

Masterpieces of World Literature :10 50

La Condition Humaine Andre Malraux

Jinnah Sahib Saadat Ali Manto 64

AN OPENING STATEMENT : 40/41

Exe. Edr.

THE EURO ARRIVES TO CHALLENGE THE DOLLAR AND THE YEN

The most significant economic development in the world since the publication of our last issue of December 1998, has been the arrival of the Euro on 1st January 1999 representing the single currency for 11 countries of Europe (Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain)

Simultaneously, a single interest rate has been fixed for the common currency economies at 3% (For USA, the Central Treasury Bond Rate is about 5/6 % and for Japan it is 0.5/1.5%).

United Kingdom has held out for the time being, but the Euro is destined to become the most important currency of the world.

The Euro arrives to challenge the dollar and the yen.

The current importance of US dollar is largely due to the military might of USA which does not exactly correspond with its economic strength.

As we can see from the table given alongside of the **The Euro in the International Context** about 40% of world trade is engrossed by Euroland (made up of 11 countries mentioned above plus Greece which has accepted the common currency but which could not meet the Maastricht criteria plus Sweden and Denmark who have already indicated that they will join very soon plus United Kingdom which will be forced to fall in line within the next two or three years.) The U.S.A. commands just about 14% of the world trade. However, 56% of World Currency Reserves are held in dollars, which is almost four times the weight of US in world trade!

This anomaly is bound to be corrected in the long run. For no country can live indefinitely beyond its economic means as, Soviet Russia found out between 1989 and 1991.

The claims of the Stanilist state capitalist gang which was ruling Russia, were found to be spurious. Russian pretensions to being the second super-power of the world, were shattered and the Soviet Union was forced to acknowledge that its "Command Economy" was in shambles. That the "Free Market" economy which displaced the Stalinist Command Economy was no solution, is beside the point.

It is true that the nuclear arsenal and missile delivering systems of USA are formidable and overpowering, but Russia was a fairly close second in nuclear weaponry and perhaps was ahead of USA in missile technology. Joined to the military potential of France and United Kingdom the combined military might of Europe would pose a serious challenge to the US even militaristically.

The economic clout of Europe is obvious. In this issue itself we have shown in another table concerning *The Distribution of World Economic Power* (see p.36) that USA lags behind Europe. However, since USA was politically united as a single state, Europe had to play the second fiddle till such time as it could present a unified political fist.

Revolutionary Maxists, especially the Trotskyists, had been predicting since the 1930s that Europe and USA would be involved before long in a titanic clash. This seems to be now rather imminent.

We must remember that in both the Great Wars of the 20th century, the USA waited on the sidelines and watched the European powers exhaust themselves before joining the fray. The First World War began in 1914 but the USA entered the war only 3 years later in 1917. Similarly, the Second World War also began as an internecine European affair in 1939. The Americans were neutral for the first two years and happily traded with the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) till such time as their own interests were directly threatened in the Pacific, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour at the end of 1941.

For three years at the time of WW I (1914-1917) and for two years in WW II (1939-1941) the USA was not bothered about "Saving Democracy". Only when it was certain that the European powers had mortally wounded themselves and torn their own national bodies limb by limb, that the USA discovered virtues in joining hands with Britain, France and Italy against the so-called Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey), or Britain, France and Russia against the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan)

The alliances also shifted. In WW I, USA was allied with Italy and Japan, in WW II it was a friend of Russia and Turkey.

As we have been analysing and reiterating in the columns of *Mankind* that a third pole of economic power has emerged along the Pacific Rim of Asia. As yet the Third Pole presents a politically divided conglomeration. It is split three ways. Japan and South Korea have chosen to align themselves at the moment with Western European forces organised as the G-7 and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). Secondly, China and Taiwan are competing with each other, both militarily and politically. China considers Taiwan to be a 'Rogue Province'. Long Range Missile Fire is being exchanged on occasions along both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The third crack is between ASEAN and Japan on one side, and between

THE EURO IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

CURRENT MEMBERS	CURRENT EXCHANGE RATE/EURO	CURRENCY	AREA ('000 kms ²)	% OF WORLD AREA	POPULATION 1997(in mlns)	% OF WORLD POP	GDP-PPP 1997 (in \$mlns)	% OF WORLD GDP-PPP	EXPORTS 1996 \$mlns	% OF WORLD EXPORTS	IMPORTS 1996 \$mlns	% OF WORLD IMPORTS
1.GERMANY	1.96	Deutschmark	349	0.27	82	1.41	1748.3	4.73	604,077	9.92	576,283	10.37
2.FRANCE	6.56	Franc	550	0.42	59	1.01	1280.3	3.46	365,375	6.00	334,186	5.12
3.ITALY	1936.27	Lira	294	0.23	57	1.08	1152.1	3.12	320,752	5.27	257,467	3.95
4.NETHERLANDS	2.20	Guilder	34	0.03	16	0.27	332.8	0.90	225,473	3.70	199,932	3.07
5.BELGIUM	40.54	Franc	33	0.03	10	0.17	227.3	0.62	190,732	3.13	179,072	2.75
6.LUXEMBOURG	40.54	Franc	2.6	-	0.42	-	14.3	0.04	-	-	-	-
7.AUSTRIA	13.82	Shilling	83	0.06	8	0.14	177.5	0.48	91,614	1.50	94,418	1.45
8.SPAIN	168.09	Paseta	499	0.38	39	0.67	617.6	1.67	146,404	2.40	141,304	2.17
9.PORTUGAL	200.48	Escudo	92	0.07	10	0.17	157.6	0.43	33,764	0.55	41,729	0.64
10.IRELAND	0.79	Punt	69	0.05	4	0.07	60.7	0.16	54,066	0.89	46,566	0.71
11.FINLAND	5.95	Markka	305	0.23	5	0.07	97.6	0.26	47,844	0.79	38,228	0.59
ASPIRANT		Current	Euroland	1.97	290.42	5.06		15.87		33.95		30.82
12.GREECE	206.00	Drachma	129	0.10	11	0.19	137.5	0.37	15,238	0.25	25,633	0.39
SOON TO BE ?				0.10		0.17		0.37		0.25		0.39
13.UK	1.40	Pound	242	0.19	59	1.01	1,208.9	3.27	340,232	5.59	348,888	5.35
14.DENMARK	7.51	Kroner	42	0.03	5	0.09	36.8	0.10	67,237	1.10	58,198	0.89
15.SWEDEN	9.20	Kroner	412	0.32	9	0.15	168.4	0.45	101,620	1.67	84,809	1.30
				0.54		1.25		3.82		8.36		7.54
COMPARISONS		Total for Euroland		2.61		6.48		20.06		42.56		38.74
16.USA	1.17	Dollar	9,159	7.04	268	4.60	7,690.1	20.81	848,664	13.94	956,004	14.66
17.JAPAN	132.80	Yen	377	0.29	126	2.16	2,950.7	7.99	468,002	7.69	446,679	6.85
18.INDIA	48.68	Rupee	2,973	2.28	961	16.49	1,587.0	4.29	42,690	0.70	54,505	0.84
19.RUSSIAN FED.	6000.00	Rouble	16,889	12.98	147	2.52	618.4	1.67	102,449	1.68	86,001	1.32
20.CHINA	9.73	Renminbi	9,326	7.17	1,227	21.05	4,382.5	11.86	171,678	2.82	154,127	2.36
WORLD TOTALS			130,129 ('000 km ²)		5,829 (mlns)		36,950 (\$ billion)		6,080,040 (\$ mln.)		6,522,540* (\$ mln.)	

* The total of World Exports and World Imports do not coincide, because Exports are FOB and Imports are CIF. (Source: World Bank, World Development Report, 1998/99, Table 1 and Table 15.)

ASEAN and China on the other.

Recent events leading to US air attacks of Iraq have exposed the divisions within the Western bloc. Russia has come out openly against US hegemony. Britain has of course, obsequiously seconded USA, but even France finds US tactics to be "too aggressive". The exposure of the links between the so-called Inspection Regime instituted by Butler and the Americans and their spy networks has revealed the contours of the criminal international conspiracy.

Despite appearances and notwithstanding popular opinion, **THE STARTLING FACT OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY IS THE RELATIVE DECLINE OF US ECONOMIC POWER.** At the end of the Second World War in 1945, the US generated almost 50% of world GDP (See Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988. As also the table *Distribution of World Economic Power* published in this issue shows, the US economic strength is now less than half of that of 1945, relatively speaking. It was 30% in 1960 and just 22% in 1997).

Comparatively speaking, Europe has been on a rollercoaster ride. At the end of the devastation caused by World War II, a nadir had been reached in 1945. Thanks to the Cold War (1945 to 1985) and the Marshall Plan (1948-52), which poured \$13 billions into war torn Europe in just 4 years, Europe recovered to generate 25% of world GDP by 1960. Because of the Soviet Bloc Collapse since 1989-91, it bottomed out again to between 1989 and 1991. It is once again at 25% of world GDP in 1997. At the same time because of the spectacular Japanese boom of the seventies and the Chinese advance in the eighties, the Pacific Rim of Asia has emerged as the greatest regional economic power bloc of the world with a command over 1/3rd of the world GDP.

Let us take a quick look at the total world situation over the last 180 years. Since the end of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in 1815, the contours of the modern disposition of world power centres

began to emerge.

As a result of the French invasion of Spain, the Latin American countries broke away from Spanish tutelage. At almost the same time, the French incursion into Mexico failed. The USA for the first time began to shout about "Manifest Destiny" of sequestering Latin America for its own commercial and financial interests.

Just as the Napoleonic Wars led to the liberation of Latin America, the First World War led to the Russian Revolution. Internecine warfare between capitalist powers has unexpected and fearful consequences.

In the same way, WW II directly led to the Chinese Revolution and the Liberation of the Asian Colonies of European powers. Japan was certainly trounced by the Allies, but from Myanmar to Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines, Japan had assisted in the birth of national liberation and guerrilla wars, Sukarno, Aung San, Pibul Songrem, HoChi Minh, Aginaldo and Subhash Bose were aided and abetted by Japan just before its own collapse.

One might say that the cold war between USA and USSR weakened Western capitalism to such an extent that Germany and Japan staged spectacular comebacks and Africa was freed from direct European control (1960-75).

It is more than likely that coming economic rivalry between America, Europe and Pacific Rim of Asia will result in the total destruction of American dominance and the possible creation of a world socialist order.

The Chinese President Jiang Zemin has just visited Russia and Japan. In Russia, he was able to reverse its historic role and offer Russia economic assistance to the tune of \$0.5 billion. Unfortunately he has channelled the aid through the neo-colonial institution of the IMF. In Japan, Jiang Zemin was less successful. Japan did not come across with the expected admission of guilt and regret for its imperialist crimes (1910-45 for Korea, 1931-45 for China and 1941-45 for the remaining ASEAN

countries) but Japan did grant a \$30 billion aid package.

However it is in a political sense that Jiang's two visits assumed extraordinary importance. Very soon after his visit, the new Soviet premier Primakov was in India, tying up critical military deals. He offered to gift an aircraft carrier of 44,500 tonnes to India, on condition that the fleet of aircrafts and airborne missiles would be bought by India from Russian sources. Even so, the Russian offer was very attractive and spread consternation among the American armament giants.

It is obvious the Russia is watching Asian developments with great interest. If China, Japan and India could come together, even to a limited extent, Russia by its Asian tilt could swing the balance between world powers decisively in favour of the Asiatic bloc.

Even without Russia, India, China and Japan should endeavour to counter both the Euro and the Dollar with their own respective currencies the Renminbi, the Yen and the Rupee. It may not be immediately possible to undermine the Euro and to a lesser extent the Dollar, which has already started weakening and fading from the mainstream of world trade. But in the next two decades it is entirely possible to lift up the Renminbi, the Rupee and the Yen to relatively dizzy heights.

However, this needs a nationalist outlook and will. The Indian National Congress founded by Viceroy Duferin and his Home Secretary Hume never had such an outlook and will. Our *naukarshahi* is made up of Macaulay's children who are "Indian in colour but English in thought and culture". The BJP talks of Swadeshi but implements the Structural Adjustment and Globalisation and Marketisation programme of WB, IMF and WTO.

At the moment of writing, it is difficult to say when the *naukarshahi*-Comprader Government of the BJP will be overthrown and a true nationalist government will take over! Till then only the Euro will rule! ■

LET INDIAN PEOPLE GO TO DOGS ! LET PRIVATE FOREIGN INSURERS REJOICE !

The Insurance sector exhibits total irrelevance and failure of the marketisation and privatisation programme of our government.

It is said that multinational companies and pension funds from abroad will bring in billions of dollars and this will enable India to develop infrastructure industries. In reality, under the liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation programme implemented by the minority Congress government of Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh, since mid-1991, foreign financial institutions (FFI) have been allowed to invest quite freely in the Indian market. These FFIs could be 100% foreign owned, they can buy and sell shares in Indian companies, invest in real estate and take out of the country their earnings from these operations to any extent they like.

As such, why couldn't the insurance companies and / or pension funds invest in Indian Securities especially as the interest rate in India is 12% to 18%?

Already scores of FFIs are freely operating in India and their portfolio investments alone in 1996-97 amounted to 17,580.6 crore. (*Economic Survey*, 1997-98, pp.5-76). What was the difficulty in adding a few more thousand crores when high returns are assured?

The point is not to bring in anything but to take out as much as possible ! Pension funds could have been invested in India to any extent already under the current dispensation. The idea was to hold out as bait, enormous "potential outlays" by foreign funds and immediately secure the opening up of the lucrative insurance sector, from which by way of re-insurance premia and other finagling, money can be siphoned out of the country.

A few months ago, in the August 1998 issue of *Mankind*, we had published an article titled "India's Transactions with the World" (pp.24-32) giving all the details

of the amounts being drained from India by way of trade deficits, external debt and debt-servicing for the last two decades. The actual position is such that our total external debt stands at over \$93.766 billion and debt-servicing is draining out of the country over Rs.28,711 crore per year (see table 5 cited above for the year 1995). It is estimated that every devaluation of rupee one, increases our debt by Rs.100 crore with corresponding rise in debt service obligations.

Prior to 1956, the insurance sector had been open to private enterprise including foreign private companies. Our experience at that time was that the owners of insurance companies looted the Indian people merrily. Since expectation of life at birth was improving by leaps and bounds i.e. by almost a year per year of independence, the life Insurance companies made enormous profits and distributed insignificant amounts, if at all, as bonuses to policy holders. They also invested indiscriminately and injudiciously in ventures belonging to affiliated MRTP houses and passed on the losses suffered to the accounts of the policy holders. The Vivian Bose Commission exposed the evils of private insurance companies, particularly of Dalmia / Jain groups, but almost all the other insurance companies were also involved to a greater or lesser extent. That is why insurance had to be nationalised and a state monopoly was created.

Now we are going backwards to the same bad old days, with the added twist, that under the guise of 'prudent' reinsurance, large sums will be drained out of the country. India with the enormous population of almost 100 crores offers an opportunity to finance capital robbers of the world, second only to that of China. That is why these sharks are pouring in. Henceforth 26% of insurance investments will be held by foreign and additional 14% will be held by their trojan horses, the NRIs. The NRIs

will be controlled and compensated in hundreds of different ways abroad by foreign operators and if care is taken by them to distribute the remaining 60% to small holders. 26% + 14% = 40% holding will be quite sufficient to effectively control the insurance companies affairs .

Insurance is not a lottery or gamble. Demographic tables are available for every country in the world. Yearly premia, if compounded at very low interest rates, are bound to yield profits for corporate sharks.

There is no risk involved. Insured person, is bound to live, averagely for a certain number of years. His premia contributions can be accumulated and laid out at a fair rate of interest very easily in a hundred different directions. Why should the state allow private profit when the state expends thousands and lakhs and crores in Public Health and Public Education which improves the life expectancy? If private insurers are to rake in the profits, let them take the responsibility of running the Public Health, Public Education, Improved Nutrition, Public Housing and all after Social Welfare Programmes.

It is a lie to suggest that pension funds cannot invest in India unless the Insurance sector is opened up. They are actually not interested in investing in India's infrastructure, which will impel the forward march of Indian people. They are on the contrary, interested only in raking in crores at the cost of the Indian people. Actually, we might almost say that the monied foreigners are vitally interested in sabotaging the progress of Indian people provided these aliens can make money, hand over fist! As far as they are concerned, let the Indian people go to dogs so long as their registers keep trilling !

We nationalised insurance in 1956 in order to enforce social accountability. The bureaucratic state in India might have been irresponsible enough to prevent full benefits of state monopoly of insurance from reaching the common policy holder by way of lower premia and higher annual bonuses. But nevertheless, corrupt and

inefficient as the Indian bureaucracy is all the last 43 years, there was no drain of wealth from India on account of private insurance speculation, defalcation and finagling.

Now, that is being assured to private capital. The message from Vajpayee Government to the rich in India and abroad, seems to be "Come on! Loot as much as you like and can from the common Indian people as quickly as you can!"

Naturally, Congress Party in Parliament has vigorously supported

INSURANCE REGULATORY AUTHORITY (IRA), BILL and Vajpayee Government. They have always believed in structural adjustment programme of WB / IMF / WTO which has been designed to benefit the rich of the Western world at the expense of the poor of the third world. Everywhere the WB / IMF / WTO programmes are falling apart. In Russia and its former satellites and its current 15 constituents; in Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, in South Korea and Taiwan, in Brazil and Mexico, Sub

Saharan Africa, everywhere the structural adjustment programme is bringing utter ruin and devastation to the peoples of the world. Now the BJP and Congress have joined hands to place India in equally frightening jeopardy!

Will the concerned and committed intelligentsia finally wake up? Our parvenu comprador and bootlicking ruling class is bent upon bankrupting the country, Is it not time to launch a second liberation movement? ■

ADMIRAL BHAGWAT ENMESHED IN CORRUPT BUREAUCRATIC JUNGLE

From the moment that news appeared of Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat's dismissal, it was obvious that the Western lobby had succeeded in removing an obstacle to their private enterprise.

Let us recollect that from the mid-fifties after the Khrushchev-Bulganin visit India bought most of its arms from the old U.S.S.R. and its satellites. There were several reasons for this. Britain had been the traditional supplier and had many reservations about the flow of arms to India because of its strong pro-Pakistani prejudices. Britain had brought Pakistan into being within six years of the Muslim League demand for the creation of such a state. Originally the demand for Pakistan had been projected by a British agent named Choudhari Rehmat Ali who was supposedly a student at Cambridge and who had sought to present his scheme for a trifurcated Pakistan comprising of 1) Western Bloc consisting of Baluchistan, Sind, N.W.F.P., whole of Punjab, Kashmir Delhi and parts of Rajasthan and U.P. 2) Eastern Bloc comprising whole of Assam and north-east states and the whole of Bengal and 3) a Central Indian Bloc centred upon Hyderabad.

The Muslim League leadership initially thought that this demand was "too big" and had not endorsed Rehmat Ali's grandiose scheme. However times changed. The first two

years of the 2nd World War had brought England almost to its knees and therefore the British imperial administration of India had become panicky and desparate. Thus it was willing to endorse the most extremist lunatic fringe of the Muslim communalists and promoted vigorously the concept of divided India.

For the first time, the Muslim League demanded Pakistan at its annual session in 1941. Within six years of the demand being voiced by the ML annual session, then President Mohammed Iqbal, it was not only conceded but enforced by the Independence of India Act of 1947 passed by British House of Commons. The division of our country was implemented on the ground by the imperial army which forced the formation of two Constituent Assemblies for the Dominions of India and Pakistan before withdrawal of the imperial army in the middle of 1948. (It may come as a surprise to young Indians, that the British army did not withdraw from India in August 1947, but actually the last battalion of the army left the Indian shores in the middle of 1948). ✓

Thus in order to obtain sophisticated arms, India had to resort to the Russia Bloc, purchases from Czechoslovakia and other Eastern countries. Whilst Britain and U.S.A. continued to supply advanced

weaponry to Pakistan who had been dragged in 1954 into MEDO (Middle East Development Organisation) and SEATO (South East Treaty Asian Organisation).

Moreover most of the Eastern Bloc arms supplies came on rupee terms and did not involve any large commissions to middlemen.

This pattern of arms-purchases continued both under Jawahar and Indira. It was Rajiv who first "liberalised and privatised and globalised" by buying Bofors guns from Sweden, Westland helicopters from Britain, HDW submarines from Germany and Boeing aircraft from USA, to mention only the most prominent West-directed orders. Free enterprise was encouraged by Rajiv naturally for massive commissions. This liberalisation programme was undertaken in the beginning when V.P.Singh was Rajiv's Finance Minister. For quite some time, in those days Rajiv kept the Defence portfolio in his own hands to facilitate his own corrupt practices. Later on, Rajiv cronies like Arun Singh, Satish Sharma, Rajesh Pilot, Arun Nehru and the like were also involved.

The Defence Ministry thus became a hot-bed of intrigue and double-dealing. Chandraswami, the Saudi Arabian arms dealer, Adnan Khashoggi, his brother-in-law Mohammed Fayed of Harrods, London; Win Chaddha, Ottavio Quattrochi and such other nefarious elements got the upper hand. Generals and Admirals retiring from Army and

Navy got into the act. Admiral Nanda then formed his Crown Corporation which provided lavish hospitality in St. Petersburg and London to characters like Harinder Singh, who drew Admiral Bhagwat's adverse written comments.

So the stage was set for the denouement.

The competition amongst the arms suppliers had become so fierce that Russia was compelled to offer a 44,500 tonnes aircraft carrier free to India. This aircraft carrier was supposed to replace INS Vikram which had become decommissioned in January 1997(*Times of India*, 17-12-98).

Of course, the free gift of *Admiral Gorshkov* was tied to the purchase of combat aircraft and missiles from Russian sources but even so, there was no need for India to examine very minutely the 'gift horse in the mouth'. The deal was obviously too good to be refused.

Naturally, the Western lobby was deeply hurt. There were several other deals on the pipeline:

*Aircraft carrier *Admiral Gorshkov* was supposedly to cost RS.2000 crore.

*A nuclear submarine project whose approximate cost was Rs.5000/6000 crore became a bone of contention between Bhagwat and the Defence Ministry. Bhagwat was so upset that he wanted to replace the Director of the project.

*Purchase of three frigates from Russia for Rs.1500 crore. Bhagwat disapproved this deal as he wanted these frigates to be built in India in keeping with his indigenisation drive.

*The purchase of submarine from Russia at a cost of 200/300 crore is already approved.

* A submarine construction programme to build 4 subs at a cost of Rs.1000 crore was also planned.

* A Karwar Naval project was

planned in three phases at a total cost of Rs.2000 crore. Phase one of the project was Rs.300 crore and various high-ranking officers were 'being bought' a practice which Bhagwat tried to stop.

PENDING WRIT PETITIONS FILED BY SERVICE PERSONNEL

High Court	Pending Petitions
Delhi	1375
Allahabad	1054
Punjab and Haryana	745
Rajasthan	340
Kerala	306
Jammu and Kashmir	265
Andhra Pradesh	189
Madhya Pradesh	189
Calcutta	133
Madras	129
Karnataka	124
Himachal Pradesh	105
Guwahati	94
Bombay	90
Patna	60
Orissa	37
Gujarat	35
Sikkim	11
Total	5281

* A naval academy was to be set up in Kerala at a cost of Rs.200 crore- Supply and equipment firms had already surrounded the Navy like vultures , ready to pounce upon a fancy morsel (Information about the above deals has been taken from *Outlook*, 18 Jan.98)

Apparently Bhagwat was not only pro-Russian but a strong proponent of Swadeshi indigenisation drive. The Ministry of Defence was equally strongly pro- West and pro-private enterprise. The upshot has been that whilst Bhagwat has been sacked, the Defence Secretary Ajit Kumar has been transferred as a sop to the "Not-so-ardent Westerners".

The only blemish in Bhagwat's

career has been the compromise deal that he struck with Sharad Pawar and P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1991 as a result of which he withdrew the case he had filed against the Navy brass and by which he was promoted in 1992 as Vice-Admiral. Whatever may have been Bhagwat's intentions and whatever may be Nilofar Bhagwat's current defence of her husband's honesty, we do not believe that Narasimha Rao and Sharad Pawar's favours could have been secured without some *quid pro quo* by Bhagwat.

Anyway, it is more than likely that Bhagwat was a relatively less corrupt naval officer. He was clearly pro-Russian and pro-Swadeshi. Therefore he was bound to clash with the pro-West MOD officialdom.

Bhagwat was in all probability a *persona-non-grata* with PMO also. Immediately after the fracas, Vajpayee and his family accepted the lavish hospitality of Harinder Singh who had been attacked by Bhagwat for corrupt practices. Retired Admiral Nanda's associates had provided Harinder Singh with expensive perks in St. Petersburg and London, which Harinder Singh had tried to hide. Why should Vajpayee accept Harinder Singh's hospitality so soon after Bhagwat's removal except as a signal to the West that despite Ajit Kumar's transfer the business was as usual? Why would Vajpayee so openly proclaim his close association with Harinder Singh unless Brajesh Kumar and Jaswant Singh wanted to indicate to their American friends that Vajpayee continued to favour the armament suppliers from Western countries?

Let us hope that details of more murky deals will emerge as a result of thieves falling out. We hope, Vishnu and Nilofar Bhagwat will have the moral stamina to fight out their case to the bitter end. ■

PATENTS AND BIO PIRACY

On December 22, Patent Amendment Bill 1998, moved by the BJP Government was passed in Rajya Sabha with the support of Congress. The same strategy was to be employed in Lok Sabha to thwart the opposition to the bill from the left and DMK. But unfortunately for the ruling coalition and Congress party the bill could not be passed due to the opposition raising several issues including non-availability of copies of the bill. Thus, the proposed amendments to the Indian Patents Act 1970 to conform to requirements of World Trade Organisation(WTO) did not go through both the Houses.

As a signatory to Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) India was required to amend its Patent Act to include product patents for drugs and agrochemicals by 2004. WTO is also pressurising India to grant Exclusive Market Rights (EMRS) to all patents including foreign companies.

The EMRS as proposed in the amendment of Indian Patents Act 1970, are far worse than those for product patents under TRIPS. In fact China, Brazil and Argentina have

introduced product patents but have rejected EMRS. Their amended laws insist on compulsory licensing of the products and in case the patentee is not able to produce the patented product locally, he should grant permission to some other manufacturer to produce the same. Moreover, the product patent regime of China, Brazil, Argentina allowed the domestic manufacturers of pharmaceuticals and agrochemicals to challenge the patents of foreign companies. In contrast, our EMRS grant automatic marketing rights to the foreign patentees whose patents cannot later be challenged in courts of law.

India has world's richest biodiversity with about 81,000 species of flora and 47,000 species of fauna. Out of the former about 15,000 species are exclusive to India. All of them are traditionally used by local communities fuel, food or medicine. These plants are usually picked up by the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) just as samples from our state forest nurseries. And after the laboratory tasting of their ingredients (which have curative qualities against many diseases) the MNCs have

applied for their patents in their own countries. Does it not amount to bio-piracy? The Research Foundation on Science, Technology and Ecology (RFSTE) is making frantic efforts to ferret out information from U.S. Embassy about patents applied for and have discovered many instances of such bio-piracies. There are many patent application in the pipeline in US Patent office for our traditional medicinal herbs which have been used by our Ayurveda for centuries and their medicinal properties detailed in the books published hundreds of years back, are sought to be patented by these "bandit MNCs".

It came as a rude shock to our farmers and scientists to learn that a US firm, Rice Tech has obtained a patent for a variety of Basmati rice. For more than a year our NGOs and farmers and scientists kept on protesting against this patent. Ultimately, the RFSTE filed a public interest litigation (PIL) and in its verdict, Supreme Court has directed the Government of India to fight out the case in US courts.

The serious implications of the bio-piracy can be seen from the following table.

Herb/Plant/Fruit	Ayurvedic Usages	Patents Applied by Countries
1) Neem	Diarrhoea, Fever, Jaundice, Wounds, Snake bite, Piles and Leprosy.	65 patents applied mostly by American, Japanese and European firms.
2) Amla	Cough, Asthma, Inflammation, Fever, Wound, Urinary infections, Jaundice, Ulcers, Sores, Dysentery.	4 US firms, 2 of them by Fox Chase Cancer Center for treating jaundice.
3) Karela	Constipation, Worms, Urinary Infection, Vomiting, Acidity, Arthritis, Migraine, Burning Soles, Psoriasis.	2 by US for treating tumours and HIV infection.
4) Sharifa (Sitafal)	Inflammation, Constipation, Urinary Infection, Infertility.	2 by German company and one by US for properties known to Ayurveda.
5) Haldi	Improvement of Complexion, Relief from Itching, Cure of Anaemia and Dyspesia.	6 by US for properties known to Ayurveda.
6) Angoor (Black Grapes)	Anaemia, Constipation, General Weakness, Jaundice, Asthma, Gout, Alcoholism, Fever, Cough.	9 US firms: 4 of them on properties known to Ayurveda.
7) Mustard	Impetigo, Haemorrhage, Mental Disorder, Rheumatism, Stiff Neck, Influenza.	14 by US and French firms like Calgene and Rhone-Poulenc, France.
8) Katakhal (Jack fruit)	Inflammation, Wound-healing, Constipation, Urtercaria, Skin Diseases.	2 by US medical college of Ohio. Based on properties known to Ayurveda.
9) Adrak (Ginger)	Asthma, Costipation, Cough, Pain, Inflammation, Respiratory Diseases, Arthritis, Nausea, Ear-pain.	4 by US, 2 on snoring and one on its anti-inflammatory properties.
10) Kala Jeera	Appetiser, Digestive Diarrhoea, Vomiting, Analgesic, Urinary Infection.	2 by US firms for immunity enhancing properties.

THE PINOCHET CASE PROVES THAT THE BRITISH LEGAL SYSTEM IS ONE OF SHAM POSTURES!

I had written in an earlier issue of *Mankind* (April 1998), a piece entitled 'I Denounce Pinochet with Personal Animus!' (pp.5,4 and pp.37-8)

Pinochet murdered Salvador Allende in 1973. Allende had taken over as President of Chile three years earlier.

I had been introduced to the activities of the United Front of Socialists and Communists by Renato Sandri, an Italian M.R. whom I had met in Rome in mid-sixties. I had been made an honorary member of the Architects Cell in Santiago by Pedro Senior and his wife Elena and Pedro Junior and Sonia Iribarne, all four architects. Pedro Senior and his wife Elena disappeared during the years that the rascal Pinochet remained in power, for 17 long years from 1973 to 1990. "Red" Paulette, Pedro Junior and Sonia's daughter, had to leave Chile during Pinochet's tenure.

During his years in power at least 4000 more civilians 'disappeared', i.e. were killed by goons belonging to Pinochet's fascist gang of militarists. Pinochet was also an Anglo-phile. He was one of the few Latin American political figures who had supported England's Falkland War in 1972. Margaret Thatcher, the then British Prime Minister and now a baroness, had warmly commended

Pinochet, for his support. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Head of the Anglican Church, had been equally warm in his references to the dictator. That is why, Pinochet felt safe in seeking medical treatment in England. His arrest a few months ago, whilst he was an inmate as an English hospital, came as complete surprise to him.

The arrest had come about as a result of the efforts of two Spanish judges Balthazar Garzon and Manuel Garcia Castellon for the last one year to make Pinochet stand trial in Spain for 'genocide, torture and terrorism'.

All the progressive forces in the world were very happy that at last the law had caught up with Pinochet.

However, the joy was very short-lived. In a typical hypocritical British manner, the judicial system of England did a number of flip-flops!

First, the high court exempted Pinochet from responsibility for his crimes on the ground that being a head of a state he was exempt from prosecution. On appeal by the Spanish judges for extradition to Spain the Law-Lords, a panel of five judges constituted by the House of Lords, decided by a majority of 3 to 2 that Pinochet cannot claim any immunity since the crimes committed by him "were not in futherence of his functions as a Head of State".

This judgement was greeted by the progressive forces of the world as a victory for those who stood for "human rights".

Pinochet had granted to himself constitutional immunity in Chile and the centrist government of Chile sent a plane to Britain to bring him back, to his Chilean fortress.

However, on specious and flimsy grounds that one of the three judges who had voted for extradition of Pinochet to stand trial in Spain, for 'genocides, torture and terrorism, had been connected with the human rights organisation, the Amnesty International, the earlier judgement of 5 Law-Lords was overturned and a new panel of Law-Lords decided that the case will proceed once again through the tortuous channels that it had already traversed., i.e. the high court will once again look into the extradition case brought forward by the two Spanish judges and further appeals may follow in due course. In short, the whole legal game of make-believe and sham postures is to be replayed! How long the farce will go on, it cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty! In the meantime, Pinochet has shifted from his hospital to a luxurious villa, and there he remains whilst demonstrations continue in Chile, Britain and Spain against and for this fascist killer of 4000 and more! ■

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

ASSETS OF GUJARAT MINISTERS-CUM-CROOKS ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN I. TAX FORMS !

Deputy Minister for Industry and Tourism - Khodabhai Patel.
Assests : Rs. 1.36 crore.

Deputy Minister for Forests - Prabhatsinh Chauhan.
Assests : Rs. 1.19 crore.

Civil Supplies Minister - Jaspal Singh.
Assests : Rs. 65 lakh.

Revenue Minister - Vajubhai Vala.
Assests : Rs. 16 lakh.

Keeping with its eight month old promise, the BJP Govt. in Gujarat got its ministers to declare their assets. Their self-assessment revealed some glaring frauds, which are now inviting ridicule. Revenue Minister Vajubhai Vala, who is a prominent builder and real estate developer, wants everyone to believe that his personal assets are are not more than 16 lakhs. Vala's name is closer to the bottom of the list as shown in the above table. Says a senior BJP leader, "It is the news of the week that a leading builder like Vala is just worth 16 lakh !" The

richest man in Gujarat ministry according to himself is Deputy Minister for Industry and Tourism Khodabhai Patel, a Mehsana-based industrialist whose assets are worth Rs. 1.36 crore. Next to him stands the Deputy Minister for Forests Prabhatsinh Chauhan (Rs.1.35 crore), a farmer who makes Rs. 30 lakh annually from agriculture. Next crorepati is Narmada Development Minister Jainarayan Vyas, a project consultant, whose assets are worth 1.19 crore. At the other end of ladder is Deputy Minister for Tribal Development Magnubhai Patel, a *swyamsevaka* whose spartan lifestyle is commensurate with the Rs. 5.35 lakh assets he has declared. Like Magnubhai, Singh (65 lakhs) is one of the few ministers whose declaration of assets has not been contested. Singh also declared that his family does not own any asset besides 500gm. of gold jewellery. He is among the few who assessed the assets at their current value.

In fact, the list is anything but

THE DOUBLE TRAGEDY OF ANJANA MISRA

The nexus between politics and crime was first noticed in metropolitan areas of India like Bombay, Chennai, Delhi and Calcutta. Political pressure to cover up crimes by noted personalities is now the order of the day in every major city and state. Anjana Misra's case illustrates this abundantly.

Twenty-nine year old Anjana Misra filed charges of dowry torture and intimidation against her husband Subhash Misra, an Indian Forest Service Officer. The case started as a domestic conflict in May 1997. Anjana lodged an FIR (First Information Report) against her husband and sister-in law. In June 1997, she met Indrajeet Ray, when he began to take an unusual personal interest in her case. The reason soon became clear.

He molested her on 11 July 97 when he had invited Anjana Misra to his residence to discuss her case. Molestation claim of Anjana Misra was confirmed by an affidavit from former Director General of Police, Orissa, A. B. Tripathy, on 21st July 1997. Tripathy's affidavit gave ample evidence to show how the Chief Minister transgressed his authority to shield Ray. Patnaik instructed Tripathy to dilute the case and tampered with the forensic report on Misra's torn clothes and directed CBI officer R. C. Sharma to slow down the case.

On 21st July 1997 Anjana filed a petition with the Chief Justice of Orissa. In August 1997 The High Court ordered a CBI probe. By November 1997, the CBI completed the investigations and charge-sheeted

a barometer of transparency. While ministers are often seen zipping around in their Marutis, only 5 of the 28 ministers have declared that they own cars. Atleast 8 ministers are known to own licenced revolvers but only Prohibition Minister Fakir Vaghela has declared that he owns one. Not a single minister has declared that he owns a mobile phone.

For long, governments in Gujarat have epitomised corruption in official life. Shankar Singh Vaghela's regime came to be known as "cash and carry regime." When Keshubhai Patel regained power, he vowed to keep a hawk's eye on those indulging in graft. And the BJP leaders defended the move. But the manner in which assets were valued is being questioned. Even minister Jaspal Singh agrees that declaring the value of only those assets which are in the minister's name renders the exercise meaningless! Assets in the names of wives, dependent children or siblings and standing in the name of members of their households are not declared.

Keshubhai's exercise is thus incomplete, full of loopholes and hypocritical. In short, it is fraudulent and encourages ministers of the Gujarat government to lie and prevaricate. (Source: *India Today*, 19.10.98) ■

Ray who reluctantly succumbed to public pressure for his resignation.

The 18-page affidavit of A.B. Tripathy gives graphic details how the official machinery and ministerial positions were abused to help Ray despite public outcry. The Chief Minister, J.B.Patnaik tried to scuttle the probe at every possible juncture and Ray even tried to tamper with the evidence. An affidavit was filed before the court as a PIL. It questioned among other things, CBI's action of filing a charge-sheet against Ray without interrogating key witnesses like Chief Minister himself. When CBI took over the case, the Chief Minister was annoyed and asked Tripathy to arrest officers who were according to him 'creating nuisance!'

R.C.Sharma, the CBI Director, said that he was under pressure to

close the case. In his affidavit Tripathy alleged that administration had launched a massive cleanup to destroy or manipulate the evidence. Of course, the Chief Minister denied all these allegations. He stated that Tripathy was a frustrated man and wanted to hold important government posts after his retirement which he did not deserve.

BJP organised on 22nd Sept. 98 a full-scale statewide bandh. The whole episode refused to fade away.

Jaya Deva Panda, Chairman of Orissa Agro-Industries Corporation filed an affidavit sworn before a notary and then sent it to Congress President Sonia Gandhi (Oct 98). Panda confirmed molestation of Anjana Misra by Indrajit Ray. Madhu Mahtab Jena, the notary, confirmed

that Panda's affidavit had indeed been attested.

As the issue snow-balled, the Chief Minister's image sank lower and lower. While the investigation against former Advocate General Indrajeet Ray was going on, Anjana Misra (*Indian Express* 11 Jan. 99) was gang-raped at gunpoint near Anjana's village Burogi - 16 Km. from Cuttack, where she had been residing. A new case has now been registered under section (376) 2 of IPC dealing with gang rape and abduction. The security men assigned to Anjana Misra refused to escort her during her journey on 11th Jan. 99. Had the rapists forewarned the security men?

Anjana Misra's case forms a close parallel to the case of Bhanwari Devi of Rajasthan. In both cases,

political bigwigs ganged up against helpless women and tried to frighten them into total submission by organising gang rapes. The barbaric acts of the two gangs of young men, in almost identical fashion and circumstances, reveal a sick pattern. First young women are molested and when they insist upon retributive justice against the influential rich perpetrators, they are further punished by gang rapes.

The law is loaded in favour of the rapists. Without the removal of BJP government in Rajasthan or Congress government in Orissa, it is not possible to deliver justice to the innocent rape victims. The next logical step is to see that BJP and Congress governments are never re-elected in Rajasthan or Orissa! ■

THE ONION BUNGLER PROVES BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE

Onion is an important ingredient in the diet of every poor Indian. As such its price rise affects him considerably. No wonder there was uproar all over the country when prices began to rise from June 1998 onwards.

India is a major producer of onions and also a major exporter since 1990s as the following tables will show :-

ONION PRODUCTION	ONION EXPORTS
in lakh tons	in lakh tons
1993-94	40.06
1994-95	40.36
1995-96	39.85
1996-97	42.72
1997-98	36.86

India has 3,27,000 hectares under onion cultivation and produces about 42 lakh tons of the crop. However, since Oct. 1997 due to unseasonal rains, the prices began to sky-rocket as follows:-

Retail Prices of Onion (Delhi)

JUN.	Rs. 6
JUL.	Rs. 16
AUG.	Rs. 28
SEPT.	Rs. 33
OCT.	Rs. 40
30 OCT.	Rs. 60

The story of the great onion disaster begins with bureaucratic laxity. The likely shortage of onions

was well-known since March 1998 when reports of indifferent harvest started trickling in. The political leadership woke up to the onion crisis as late as 10 September, 98 when PMO (Prime Minister's Office) convened a meeting of concerned ministers. It took 15 days for Ministry of Food and Consumer Affairs to prepare a 5 page note on the need to import onions. Even then Som Pal, Minister of State for Agriculture was loath to allow imports. Only on 8th Oct. 1998, a committee of Secretaries banned exports. The Government, thus, did too little too late to arrest prices.

Traders had foreseen the shortage in production and hence they bought rabi crop (Jan-Mar 98) and hoarded the produce. This crop has a long shelf life and can be stored upto 6 months unlike kharif crop which rots within a month. There are 15/20 big traders in Nashik region alone. These traders sold the new kharif crop instead of the stored summer crop leading to a high rate of Rs. 40/- per kilo.

The Government has now decided to have a cell in the Ministry of Agriculture to monitor forecasting of likely production and prices of commodities.

The rabi crop has started

coming in line with the export ban. The retail prices of onions have started coming down and are today veering round Rs. 4/- per kilo in the wholesale market. The farmers are actually demanding a floor price of Rs. 15/- per kilo and a removal of the export ban.

We can see from the above recital of sequence of events that the bureaucracy actually continued to create the electoral debacle for BJP:- First it did not act when the prospect of rising prices were clearly visible from Jun 1998. It permitted exports right through the period when shortage was developing (Jun-Oct 1998)

Having kept the PMO in ignorance, the *naukershahs* further sabotaged all efforts to curb speculation. As soon as elections were over and the desired pro-Congress verdict of the electorate was secured, the bureaucrats acted sharply, to correct prices so that the current price has fallen to Rs. 400 per quintal. Some of the farmers are demanding a floor wholesale price of Rs. 500/- per quintal.

The Onion Crisis reveals the stranglehold of bureaucracy on our economic life and points to the urgent need for Constitutional Amendments that will ensure accountability and transparency on the part of our rulers. ■

SABOTEURS OF LAW

On 20th October 98, the Indian press flashed sensational news on the front page of dailies. "Dawood Ibrahim's frontman-cum high flying politician-cum fixer with close friends amongst political big-wigs and industrial barons, Romesh Sharma, the gangstar was arrested by CBI and the Delhi police."

After Sharma's arrest, he flaunted the name of his close associate and also a business partner, Balasubramaniam, (Balu) probably to impress and deter the police. But it backfired. Police raided Balu's house to look for some of the documents of Sharma-related helicopter theft. But while doing so, the police found a slew of incriminating documents which came under the purview of the Official Secrets Act. Balasubramaniam is a great lobbyist and close confidant of Ambanis of Reliance Industries Ltd. (RIL)

It is claimed by Subramaniam Swamy, Janata Party MP, that the entire list of Voluntary Disclosure Scheme (VDIS) was sent by Sharma to Dawood for use in future extortion operations. If it is so, the Vajpayee Government has lost total credibility. We will not be surprised to know that all important defence documents are sent to ISI through Dawood. Degeneration of bureaucracy is complete and beyond any repair! Even ex-IB Joint Director's son's property is appropriated by Sharma by force and when they lodged a complaint with police, the latter looked the other way. When Rs. 1.25 crore smuggled silver was seized from Sharma's farmhouse in 1992, there was no follow up action by the police.

Sharma's clout with law enforcing agencies and External Affairs Ministry is so strong that he secured a passport for Dawood's mother within a day and that too just four months after the Mumbai blasts.

Balu's association with Sharma dates back to the late 80s when Ambani's son-in-law Raj Salgaonkar was threatened by Dawood's henchman Abu Salem. During that tense period Sharma helped Balu in

resolving the matter by telephoning Abu Salem in the presence of Balu. Balu was probably impressed by Sharma's contacts with the underworld. His perceptive mind lost no opportunity in befriending him and probably using him for resolving many more sticky problems.

Balu's clout with politicians is so great that Delhi police commissioner requested Advani to transfer this case to CBI which is quite capable of giving a decent burial to cases like this. The provisions of the Official Secrets Act are so stringent that its contravention resulted in arrests of even political bigwigs like RSS ideologue S. Gurumurthy in 87 and Coomar Narayan in 1985. But the police are hesitant to arrest Balu by citing some supreme court guidelines. Balu's close association with G. K. Moopnar President of Maanila Congress, V. K. Krishnamurthy Petroleum Minister and R.K. Kumar has made Balu a formidable lobbyist and he has access to every Government document. He had even stalled the home ministry's probe against Sharma.

Romesh Sharma had a very humble beginning. Some 25 years back he was selling clothes hangers on the footpaths of Karol Bagh in Delhi. His political career started with Chaudhari Charan Singh. He then joined the Congress and became close to Congress big-wigs. After Sanjay Gandhi's death he became member of Sanjay Vichar Manch. And in 1996 when he was denied Congress ticket, he floated his own party, the Bharatiya Congress Party.

BJP found him very handy to cut Congress votes and that made him a bosom friend of some big-wigs of BJP. For Sharma it was a god-sent opportunity to enjoy immunity from all law-enforcing agencies. In fact on 12th Sept. 98 when Income Tax Commissioner V. B. Gupta tried to attach his properties, Gupta was overnight transferred by Sushma Swaraj, the CM of Delhi. (*Frontline* Nov.20, p.111)

For more than 15 years Sharma

was operating as Dawood Ibrahim's frontman in Delhi. But nobody dared touch him. He indulged in all sorts of notorious activities like property grabbing, supplying women and currying favours from influential people including politicians, bureaucrats, police, press. In a short span of time Romesh Sharma amassed property worth Rs. 2,500 crores. He owns a fleet of cars including some luxurious foreign cars, many farmhouses and innumerable properties. The tally is simply mind-boggling!

Sharma's *modus operandi* was simple. He used to rent a house or car and never return the property. And after some time he used to get the dispute settled by transferring the property in his name. Signatures of sellers were obtained under duress "without any consideration". He had not spared even political big-wigs like M. Subba M.P. from Assam, incidentally against whom so-many criminal cases are pending. Such people are helpless before Sharma. One can imagine what must have happened to ordinary citizens whose properties were grabbed by Sharma.

Prized Acquisitions of Sharma :

- 1) C-30 Mayfair Garden (Grabbed from Laxman Das Jivnani, Mumbai)
- 2) S-41 Panchasheela Park (Grabbed from Pammi Singh after posing as prospective tenant)
- 3) C-31 Hauz Khas (Dawood Ibrahim's sister-in-law stayed there in 1994)
- 4) B-526 New Friends Colony (After grabbing this house he sold it to Mohan Meakins)
- 5) Basement of C-28 Mayfair Gardens (Grabbed from Ajay Nair, an NRI)
- 6) C-235 Sainik Farms
- 7) 12/19 Saraswati Vihar (Grabbed from a widow)
- 8) Jai Mata Di farmhouse, Chhaterpur
- 9) 64 A Regal Building, Cannaught Place (Grabbed from Sanjay Sabharwal after renting it for a political party office.)
- 10) B-121 Sarvodaya Enclave (first floor registered in the name of Kunjam Budhiraja, one of Sharma's girl friends)
- Hariyana: 11) 200 acre farm house in

Faridabad.

Mumbai : 12) R 371 Jai Mata Kutir, Gandhigram Road, Juhu.

13) Samta Sadan Bunglow No. 10, Union Park, Pali Hill Bandra.

14) Plot at Survey No. 507 Sunder Mahal Next to Ambassador Hotel, Churchgate.

15) Plot at Survey no. 507 behind Sun-Sand Hotel, Juhu.

A classic case of his audacity is Sharma's hire of a helicopter after the elections from Pushpak Aviation Mumbai, for his election campaign. As usual he never returned it to them. When their Commercial Manager Suresh Rao went to Delhi to get back the helicopter, he was beaten up and

made to sign documents relating to the transfer of ownership of the helicopter.

For a change, people get crunchy subject to discuss over coffee tables. Newspapers and periodicals vie with one another to write articles. But the outcome of such cases is a foregone conclusion. Such worthies are never convicted. Even if one Romesh Sharma is convicted, there will be dozens more to take his place. Our politicians and *naukarshahs* invariably combine to rescue Romesh Sharmas, Harshad Mehtas, the Jain brothers and Chandraswamis!

As we are concluding this

article, a very depressing news has appeared in the *Indian Express* of 18th Dec 98, that Sharma's police file is missing from the police station. This is just a beginning. Many more things like this will happen before a chargesheet is prepared which will ultimately give benefit of doubt to Sharma and in time to come Sharmaji will become our *netaji*. The file is related to 10 kg. RDX seized from the farmhouse of Chhota Shakeel with whom Sharma has long association. Is the government not aware that people like Sharma are directly helping ISI? Let all BJP ministers and Sangh Parivar sing in chorus *Vande Mataram* and close this case! ■

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1998 FROM DELHI, RAJASTHAN, MADHYA PRADESH AND MIZORAM DEMONSTRATE BUREAUCRATIC TRIUMPH!

We append hereinbelow a series of tables showing the results of assembly elections from the states of Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Mizoram. Sub-regionwise performance of the leading parties in Delhi, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have also been displayed.

After the *Agenda of Governance* released by the BJP and its coalition parties at the centre, differences between the major political formations have narrowed to the point of insignificance. Support for Hindi has vanished; opposition to article 370 is no more; economic reforms prescribed by the neo-colonial tri-murti of WB /IMF/ WTO are to be pursued. The Indian Patents regime is to be modified. Insurance sector is to be opened up. The bureaucracy is to be

mollified at every turn, and so on down the line. Thus the Congress and the BJP are to become two faces of the same comprador coin.

The people are to have no real choice. They are to elect either Twiddledum or Twidlededee.

That is why, the swing in Madhya Pradesh where Congress retained power showed actually a loss of 0.4% in votes for the Congress; and in Rajasthan, where the Congress secured an unprecedented three-quarters majority, there was no change whatsoever. However, the loss of votes percentage wise was very high for the BJP in all the three states of Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, ranging from -7% to -16%.

In another place, in this issue we have considered the onion price

bungle in relation to the assembly poll. As we have demonstrated the real pattern of bureaucratic sabotage, everywhere, whenever it could, the officialdom had swung against the BJP and its allies. As in 1998 parliamentary polls, the present assembly elections were also covered by Rathikant Bose and Prannoy Roy team of NDTV and STAR. Several former bureaucrats appeared on the small screen to continuously boast of Congress victories. R.K. Dhawan, Mani Shankar Iyer, Ajit Jogi, Jitendra Prasad, Man Mohan Singh, Ramesh Jairam and several others. It was truly a Bureaucratic Triumph on STAR TV.

When there is nothing to choose from and when real power lies with the *naukarshahi*, what can the people do? The electoral wind can only blow hither and thither keeping the flame flickering without dispelling the gloom!

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS RESULTS FROM STATES OF DELHI, MADHYA PRADESH, RAJASTHAN AND MIZORAM PARTY-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS

STATES	TOTAL	CONGRESS	BJP	BSP	OTHERS
Delhi	70	51	15	-	3
Madhya Pradesh	320	172	119	11	18
Rajasthan	200	150	33	2	12
Mizoram	40	6	-	-	34
Total		379	167	13	67

VOTES POLLED			
Party	1993 Assembly	1998 Lok Sabha	1998 Assembly
Congress	39.0	41.5	42.2
BJP	38.9	44.4	36.1
Others	22.1	14.1	21.7
* All state summaries in percentage			

SWING			
State	Congress	BJP	Others
Delhi	+5.2	-16.2	
MP	-0.4	-7.2	
Rajasthan	-	-8.9	
* Over 1998 LS polls in percentage			

STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN DETAIL

I) DELHI

Lok Sabha Elections 1998		Assembly Elections 1998		SUB-REGIONWISE PERFORMANCE			
				Seats	Congress	BJP	Others
BJP	52	BJP	15	Outer Delhi	15	4	1
Congress	16	Congress	51	East Delhi	15	4	1
JD	2	Others	4	Rest of Delhi	21	7	1

II) MADHYA PRADSEH

Lok Sabha Elections 1998 (Assembly Segments)		Assembly Elections 1998		SUB-REGIONWISE PERFORMANCE				
		Party	Seats	Seats	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others
Party	Seats	AJPB	1	Malwa	61(+3.3)	24(-3.3)	1 (-0.1)	3
BJP	218	BJP	119	Mahakoshal	37(-1.3)	31(-2.3)	- (-0.2)	5
BSP	6	BSP	11	Vindhya Pradesh	23(-5.3)	29(+1.8)	8 (-2.6)	8
Congress	89	Congress	172	Chattisgarh	48(-1.1)	37(+3.7)	2 (-2.1)	3
CPI	3	BGP	1	*Figures in bracket show swing between 1993 and 1998 Assembly Elections.				
BGP	1	Ind.	9					
Ind.	2	JD	1					
SAP	1	RPI	1					
		SP	4					

III) RAJASTHAN

Lok Sabha Elections 1998 (Assembly Segments)		Assembly Elections 1998		SUB-REGIONWISE PERFORMANCE				
		Party	Seats	Seats	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others
Party	Seats	BJP	33	Marwar	31(+2.1)	9(-7.7)	- (+0.9)	1
AIIC (S)	5	BSP	2	Dhundhar	43(+7.3)	6(-5.3)	- (+0.5)	5
BJP	56	Congress	150	Matsya	15(+3.9)	4(-5.5)	2 (+4.7)	3
Congress	121	Deferred	3	Haroti	14(+9.1)	4(-9.1)	- (+0.1)	-
CPM	2	CPM	1	Mewar	27(+7.9)	5(-7.7)	- (+0.3)	3
Ind.	14	RJD	1	Bagar	16(+7.3)	5(-3.2)	- (0)	-
JD	2	JD	3	Figures in brackets indicate vote swing between 93 and 98 Assembly Elections.				
		Ind.	7					

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Exc. Edr.

MUJIB MURDER

On 15th August 1975, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the leader of independence movement of Bangladesh along with 15 other members of his family was gunned down in a coup by renegade army officers. Thereafter this nascent state was under military rule until democracy was re-established in 1991.

On November 8, a civil court of Bangladesh gave their historic judgement convicting 15 former army officers, meting out death sentence to them by firing squad. This is for the first time in the history of Bangladesh that a court has sentenced some one to death by firing squad. The legal

experts opine that there is no such provision in law. But judge Kazi Gulam Rasul awarded this deterrent punishment considering the gravity of the crime which did immense harm to the nation as a whole.

This sentence has attracted reactions from many quaters in the country including Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).

Out of the 15 accused only 4 are in custody of Bangladesh government and they have started a hunt for remaining 11 accused. Most of them are holed up in foreign countries with whom Bangladesh does not have extradition treaties. However,

ASEAN SUMMIT : DECEMBER 1998

An ASEAN Economic Summit took place at Ho-Chi-Minh City in Vietnam in early December 1998. ASEAN members are: Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

U.S.A., Japan, China and South Korea are officially accepted as "dialogue partners", thereby making them virtually members of ASEAN. India tried to achieve this status but was denied the privilege two years ago. The 11th Asean Summit in Dec.1998 was the first major international conference hosted by Vietnam.

Area, population and GDP of ASEAN countries is given in *Mankind* Nov.96, p.57 and the current status of ASEAN members may be summed up as 2.5% of world area, almost 4% of world population and 5.25% of GDP/PPP in 1997.

The summit took place amidst economic turmoil that had begun in mid 1997. We had reported in detail

about the East Asian crisis in *Mankind* in January / February 1998, (pp.34-35). We had written as follows: (November 1997) : "As *Mankind* readers are aware, between 1960 and 1994, the percentage share of World GDP, in PPP terms, the North American block lost by 5.72 percentage points, EU lost 8.7 percentage points and East-Asian countries bordering the Pacific made a net gain of 11.60 percentage points (See *Mankind*, Oct. 97, p.12 and also *Mankind*, Nov. 96, p.57). The World Bank and IMF unleashed George Soros upon the Thai Baht, the Malaysian Ringgit, the Philippine Peso, the Indonesian Rupiah and the Singapore Dollar. Soros naturally came out on top as he was backed by the might of the WB and the IMF which have now mounted rescue packages for South Korea (\$60 billion) and Indonesia (possibly \$40 billion plus).

These and other rescue packages for East Asian countries can only eventuate in increasing the total

Bangladesh has to send out requests to Interpol and to US, Canada, Libya and Switzerland to hand them over, as arrest warrants have already been issued against them. Maj.(Retd.) Huda who was languishing in a Thai jail for shop-lifting has been extradited with stunning speed.

Bangladesh has a chequered history of coups and counter-coups. And therefore, it was not possible to prosecute the culprits of Mujib's assassination. Only after the Awami League came to power in 1996, that serious prosecution was started. In fact when Gen. H.M.Ershad assumed power after the coup of 1982, he elevated some of the murderers of Mujib by enhancing their privileges.

Although, the just death sentence has been awarded by the court, it will take it long time before the due process of law is completed for all the murderers. In the meantime, we hope that the sentence of death by firing squad is carried out piecemeal for those who have been caught. ■

foreign debt burdens of the countries concerned, which in turn will cause spectacular increases in the outflow of invisibles in the years to come. Thus, every crisis in the Third World results in a widening gap between North and South (see fig.1, back cover, *Mankind* November 97 which was repeated as fig.3 on p.47 of *Mankind's* issue of Dec.97).

There is no economic solution to this basic international imbalance and military means will be used in the long run against China and Japan.

That is why, *Mankind* has been constantly harping upon the birth of the Tri-Polar World in the late 80s and early 90s. These are the central fault lines of the contemporary world economic crisis (Source: *Mankind*, Nov. 96 and Oct.97, *Outlook*, 10 Nov., 97).

In another place in this issue, we have tabulated current distribution of world economic power.

It will be obvious from the foregoing that the neo-colonial powers of Euro-America have struck back at the Asian tigers. The crisis has

had a spectacular blow-up in Malaysia. The chief Western agent in Malaysia was Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Anwar Ibrahim who has been attacking Mahathir ceaselessly since his dismissal and 'trial'. Mahathir had openly attacked George Soros at the Hongkong ASEAN summit a few months ago. However, by strong nationalist protective measures, Mahathir has stabilised the Ringgit at 3.8 to the Dollar.

At the ASEAN December 98 summit, the following proposals were approved:

- 1) Common Currency Board (Currency Board will regulate the exchange rates of the ASEAN currencies and thus prevent a free-float that was desired by IMF.)
- 2) Regional Bond Market
- 3) Intra-regional investment effort to be intensified.
- 4) Cross listings of shares of small companies by the Stock Exchanges of ASEAN countries.

Proposals 2,3,4 were also intended to strengthen the nationalist defence of ASEAN economies.

On the whole the ASEAN summit strengthened Mahathir's hand and in his speech at the summit, the new Indonesian President Habibie came out openly in support of Mahathir's new economic policies that protected the Ringgit and frustrated speculators of the George Soros type. Japan, at this summit came out with a rescue package of US \$30 billion of

which 5 billion dollars for infrastructure was to be tied to supplier Japanese companies (*Frontline*, 15, Jan.99). Only a few months earlier, at the Kuala Lumpur summit of Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) Forum, Japan and U.S.A. unveiled a \$10 billion initiative to stimulate recovery and growth in countries along with the Pacific Rim, ravaged by the financial crisis. (*Frontline*, p.58). The Japanese offer of \$30 billion at the 11th ASEAN summit was in addition to this.

It will be recalled that the speculators who had forced the collapse of Thai Baht from Jul-Oct. 99 had turned their attention to Ringgit which was made to lose 40% of its value against the Dollar in a week. Anwar Ibrahim, the Finance Minister and Deputy Premier had announced a postponement of vital development projects worth over RM 67 billion. However, Mahathir came out in the open against George Soros, the IMF backed speculator and by late 1998 stabilised the situation. Anwar had, of course, to be sacked and legal action against him is proceeding at the time of this writing.

The fate of ASEAN is being decided. In Myanmar, Aung San Sukyi is being promoted by the Americans to destabilise the government and force future economic growth into the Western mould. Events in Malaysia have been described above. In Indonesia, Habibie is under attack by student leaders and at the same time

ethnic violence has been instigated against the rich emigre Chinese. Simultaneously Sukarnoputri Maghavati is being projected as a future leader and also East Timoris are being encouraged to demand break-up of Indonesia.

Thus American CIA agents are trying to ride at last four horses at the same time. Ethnic anti-Chinese riots, East Timorese recession, Meghavati Sukarnoputri's pseudo-democratic movement and student unrest with nebulous demands. General Suharto's personal fortune of many billions in 'real estate', thousands of square miles of forest wealth, banking companies and industrial ventures, all looted from the Indonesian people between 1965 to 1995, is sought to be investigated by Jakarta's student demonstrators. But the United States has instructed its stooge Habibie not to give in to student demands; thus a stalemate has currently arisen.

The ASEAN countries are under tremendous pressure from Euro-American colonial powers. India should, go all out to develop economic ties with the ASEAN economies both directly or through SAARC countries. Japan has come forward with an aid package of 35 billion. India could consider export credit of a few crores to each of the ten members of the ASEAN. This will promote South-South trade and build up close economic linkages with our East-Asian neighbours. ■

INFORMATION FACT - SHEET TOP 9 ASIAN ECONOMIES IN TERMS OF FDI INFLOW		
COUNTRY	\$Billion Dollars	
	1996	1997
1.China	40.8	45.3
2.Singapore	9.4	10.0
3.Indonesia	6.2	5.3
4.Malaysia	4.6	3.8
5.Hong Kong	2.5	2.6
6.India	2.4	3.3
7.Thailand	2.3	3.6
8.Korea Republic	2.3	2.3
9.Taiwan	1.9	2.2

INFORMATION FACT - SHEET TOP 6 TNCs FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	
1. Daewoo Corporation	South Korea
2. Petroleos de Venezuela	Venezuela
3. Cemex S.A.	Mexico
4. First Pacific Company	Hong Kong
5. Sappi Ltd.	South Africa
6. Reliance Industries	India
<i>World Investment Report 1998 - UNCTAD From Outlook, p.63.23.11.98</i>	

CHRISTIANITY VERSUS HUMANITY

Vinayak Purohit

Christianity and humanity have been at the war with each other since the beginning. We will document this endless conflict with a new series that we shall be serialising as Christianity vs. Humanity. The classical case of the war between Christianity and Humanity has been the so-called Inquisition. We shall begin with that barbaric chronicle of Christian History (4th Century A.D.-20th century A.D.)

I: THE INQUISITION

According to the *Chambers Concise Dictionary*, 1992 (p.535), Inquisition means "a tribunal in the Roman Catholic Church for the discovery, repression and punishment of heresy, unbelief, etc. Also called the 'Holy Office', now renamed the 'Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith'."

As per the *MacMillan Encyclopedia*, 1993 (p.619), Inquisition is a living institution, and even exists today: It is

"An institution of the medieval and early modern church designed to combat heresy and moral offences. Formally instituted (1173 A.D.) by Pope Gregory IX in response to the growing threat of heresy, especially of the Cathari and Waldenses, it attempted to place all control of heresy in papal hands. Inquisitors appointed by the pope, especially from the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and possessing considerable powers often merited their reputation for cruelty. The use of torture was authorised in 1252 and trials were held in secrecy, fines and various penances were imposed on those who confessed, whilst those who refused were imprisoned or executed by burning..... It was revived in Spain in 1478, against Jews and Muslims. Operating with great severity especially under the first grand

inquisitor, Torquemada, the Spanish Inquisition later operated against Protestants in Spain and (with little success) the Netherlands and achieved some notoriety for its arrest of Ignatius Loyola.

"The growth of Protestantism led to the establishment (1542) of a Roman Inquisition by Pope Paul III. It was given complete independence in matters of doctrine and control of heresy, and among the victims was Galileo. In 1965, the Holy Office became a branch of papal bureaucracy and was renamed the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. It is now concerned with maintaining Roman Catholic discipline."

New Webster's International Encyclopedia, 1991, places the beginning of Inquisition in 1231, and attributes its birth to spread of Albigensians in Southern France. "It aimed to save the heretic's soul, but a refusal to recant was punished by fines, penance or imprisonment, and often by confiscation of land by the secular authorities. Later the penalty was death by burning. Torture was ... permitted in heresy trials by Innocent IV (d. 1254). The accused were not told the name of their accusers.... Often the Inquisition was subject to political manipulation. In 1524 it was reconstituted to counter Protestantism in Italy, Its modern descendent is the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith.... The Spanish Inquisition founded in 1478 by Ferdinand and Isabella was a branch of government and was distinct from the papal institution. Its first commission was to investigate Jews and Muslims who had publicly embraced Christianity but secretly held to Judaism and Islam. Under the grand inquisitor Torquemada, it became an agency of official terror,

even St. Ignatius Loyola was investigated. It was extended to Portugal and South America and not dissolved until 1820." (*Ibid.*, p.542)

The *Hutchison Encyclopedia*, 1998, gives 1233 A.D. as the date of establishment of the Inquisition "to suppress heresy (dissenting views), originally by excommunication, sentence being pronounced during a religious ceremony, the auto-da-fe. The Inquisition operated in France, Italy, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, and was especially active after the Reformation; it later extended to the Americas. Its trials were conducted in secret, under torture and penalties ranging from fines, through flogging and imprisonment, to death by burning. During the course of the Spanish Inquisition, until its abolition in 1834, some 60,000 cases were tried. The Roman Inquisition was established in 1542 to control the growth of Protestantism. The Inquisition or Holy Office (renamed Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in 1965) still deals with ecclesiastical discipline." (*Ibid.*, p.542)

The *Concise Columbia Encyclopedia*, 1994, confirms 1233 as the year of establishment of the Inquisition. (p.421) and states that the Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478 and was dissolved in 1834.

The *Longman Illustrated Encyclopaedia of World History*, 1985, gives 1232 as the year of establishment and states that

"the Inquisition was instituted by Emperor Frederick II, though Pope Gregory IX immediately and successfully claimed it as the proper province of the Church.... The Inquisition was not only fully abolished in Spain till 1834" (*ibid.*, p.463)

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1973 Edition, Vol. XII, pp.270-73, states as follows:

"INQUISITION, the name of a papal judicial institution that combatted, heresy, alchemy, witchcraft, etc, and wielded considerable power in medieval and early modern times. The Inquisition

furnishes a favourite argument to those who accuse the Roman Catholic Church of tyranny and cruelty. The name is derived from the Latin verb *inquirō*, "inquire into" which emphasises the fact that the inquisitors did not wait on complaints but sought out heretics and other offenders. Investigating offences rather than waiting for accusations had been practised by both church and state long before any means other than moral suasion were used to secure uniformity of belief. It was only when heresy became widespread and seemed to threaten the existing order that churchmen departed from the traditional position as stated by St. Bernard of Clairvaux: "Faith must be the result of conviction and should not be imposed by force [*Fides suadenda, non imponenda*] Heretics are to be overcome by arguments, not by arms."

"Before the 12th Century. --- During Christianity's first three centuries the penalties against heretics were exclusively spiritual usually excommunication. When, however, the emperors became Christian, Arian emperors persecuted the Catholics and Catholic emperors persecuted the Arians. After Theodosius I the great made Christianity the established religion, late in the 4th century heretics came to be looked upon as enemies of the state and laws were enacted against them. Penalties included confiscation of property, exile, loss of civil rights, etc.; only those whose doctrines or practices threatened society (e.g., the Manichees and Donatists) were subject to the death penalty. The Fathers of the Church, as a rule, were opposed to state intervention. Optat of Milevis, however, defended the death penalty for the fanatical Circumcellions (North African peasants, attacking Catholics in the Donatist cause). Augustine at first declared himself against the application of civil penalties but later came out in favour of moderate severity. Martin of Tours and Ambrose of Milan protested the execution of Priscillian (the first heretic to receive capital punishment) in 385. St. John Chrysostom appealed to Matt. xii 30, "Let both [the wheat and the weeds] grow together until the harvest," to justify his rejection of temporal punishment of heresy; still he was opposed to letting heretics spread their doctrines.

"During the three centuries that preceded A.D. 1000 little is heard of the coercion of religious dissidents. About 1000, however, the doctrines of the Cathari, called in France Albigensians began to spread in Europe (see CATHARI). In 1022 Robert of France had 13 heretics burned at Orleans, and the emperor Henry III had some hanged at Goslar in 1051. Throughout the 11th and early 12th centuries dissenters were occasionally executed by the civil power but the initiative in these cases seems to have come as a rule not from the people, threatening to lynch the dissidents, but from either the secular or the ecclesiastical authorities.

"Origins of the Medieval Inquisition.--- After about 1150 opinion in regard to the employment of force to secure ecclesiastical unity began to change. The numbers of the Cathari and, somewhat later, the Waldenses had increased to such an extent that the state as well as the church

appeared to be threatened. That heresy had to be repressed by force was soon taken for granted. The revival of Roman law, in which the emperor appeared as the defender of orthodoxy, led to the same conclusion. The third Lateran council (1179) passed strict decrees against heretics. In the Synod of Verona (1184) Pope Lucius III, in agreement with the emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, decreed the excommunication of heretics and their protectors; heretics who, after proper ecclesiastical trial, refused to recant and do penance as well as those who after repenting had relapsed, were to be handed over to the civil power for punishment. The emperor for his part declared heretics under the ban of the empire.

"The ecclesiastical Inquisition was at first in the hands of the local bishops, who found it difficult to cope with heresies which naturally did not respect diocesan limits. Moreover, during the 11th and 12th centuries the centralisation of the church had made considerable progress. The result was that Innocent III began to send legates to preside over the repression of heresy; about 1200 he sent two Cistercian monks against the Albigenses in southern France.

"The fourth Lateran council (1215) decreed that rulers who failed to rid their territories of heresy were threatened with deposition and loss of their dominions, and this led them to decree the death penalty for heresy: Aragon in 1197, Lombardy in 1224, France in 1229, Rome in 1230, the Two Sicilies in 1231 and Germany in 1232. To prevent the Inquisition being used for political purposes, however, Gregory IX reserved the apprehension and trial of heretics to the church, and instituted the papal Inquisition. He did not abolish the right of the bishops to judge heretics in their own dioceses but urged them to support the papal inquisitors. In 1233 he wrote to the bishops and prelates of France:

"When we consider that you are distracted by the tumult of your different occupations and are scarcely able to breathe because of the distressful flood of cares which submerge you, we have decided that, it is only right to give part of your burden to others and accordingly to send to the kingdom of France and neighbouring provinces against the heretics some Dominican friars. We enjoin that you receive them kindly and treat them with honor by giving them such good advice, aid and support in this office and in other respects that they may be able to carry out the task entrusted to them."

"When in the course of time it became clear that the Inquisition did infringe upon the rights of the bishops, the Council of Vienne in 1312 prescribed cooperation between papal and episcopal inquisitors.

"Papal inquisitors in medieval times were often members of the Dominican order, though Franciscans and members of other religious orders as well as secular clergy were employed at times. As the Inquisition had no courts of its own, the convent of the order to which the inquisitor belonged was normally used as a court.

"Early Inquisition - The Inquisition was concerned with deliberate, stubborn and public denial of a doctrine

WE ARE ATHEISTS AND ALSO ANTI-IMPERIALISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS

We in *Mankind* are atheists and therefore against all religions. We do not support any religion as we believe that all religions breed irrationality, dogmatism, fundamentalism, ignorance and superstition.

However, because of the long association of Christianity with capitalism, spread over eight centuries, from the 12th to the 20th c.A.D., Christianity has acquired a particularly brutal, bloodthirsty and barbaric association. The older religions of Asia were comparatively more benign, less intolerant and more liberal in their world views. Hinduism (in all its varieties, ranging from original Vedism of the 5th millennium B.C. to 1st millennium B.C. to Vaishnavism and Shaivism of the 4th century A.D. onwards and Smarta doctrines of 8th century onwards) and Shaktism of 6th century A.D. onwards); Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Sufi-Islam, Shintoism, Sikhism, Jainism, etc. were all more catholic and inclusive in their basic attitude and approach. Because of the Islamic invasion of South Europe by Arab-Barber armies and the Muslim occupation of Spain and Portugal for many centuries, from the 8th to the 15th, and because of the Ottoman Turk and Mongol invasions and occupations at various times of the Balkans, Turkey, East Europe and Persia from the 13th to the 20th centuries, the Christian Kingdoms of North West Europe had to mount aggressive crusades against the Islamic forces in 12th and 13th centuries. Thus from the medieval period itself Christianity became an aggressive and fundamentalist faith.

Secondly, Christianity became associated with racialism and imperialism from the start. When Christopher Columbus raided the Caribbean Islands, in 1492 and Vasco de Gama tried to loot the port of Calicut in Southern India in 1498.

Thus, out of an ethnic fervour Christianity acquired an extremely predatory outlook towards the rest of the world and all the imperialist occupational armies whether French, British, Dutch, Danish, German or Belgian and Russian, they all invoked the name of Jesus to carry out genocidal attacks upon the Red Indians, the Africans, the Australian Aborigines, the New Zealand Maories and all the other native peoples of the Third World. Christian missionaries penetrated and forcibly converted millions of tribals, natives, aborigines and ethnic minorities of the Developing World, especially from the 18th century A.D. onwards.

Christianity became synonymous with genocidal massacres, enslavement, fierce economic exploitation, racialism, fraud, chicanery, violence and Western cultural dominance in the minds of the people of the Third World living in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the islands and continents of the Pacific.

According to certain Western scholars like Max Weber and R.H. Tawney, there has been an intimate, almost causal, connection between Christianity and capitalism. [see, R.H.Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, (1926); and Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, (1930)].

Not being fully conversant with the intricacies and convolutions of the Christian doctrine, we are unable to say whether Christianity and Capitalism are causally connected as has been alleged by some Christian scholars themselves. As atheists we are not interested in such minute details of false consciousness.

However, we do know that in the popular mind Christianity has got connected with all the brutality, bloodthirstiness and barbarism of the West. Therefore, a Swadeshi or nationalist reaction to neo-colonialism often takes an anti-Christian fervour.

We are against all forms of religion and are opposed to every kind of communalism. Therefore we would appeal to the Indian nationalists, of all shades of opinion, to eschew anti-Christian attitudes and approaches. We know that Christians have been largely at fault for becoming tools in the hands of the imperialist powers for the last several centuries. Christians also tend to be in many cases elitist, anti-people, pro-establishment, conservative and reactionary. But there are many Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis who are equally reactionary and conservative. Therefore, dirty deeds by Christians must be distinguished from Christian beliefs and faith.

We should condemn neo-colonialism, racialism, capitalism and conservatism in any and every form. But we should not enter into the sterile controversy about whether Christianity is necessarily capitalist and whether it would be possible to salvage some progressive and revolutionary Christians from the ill-consequences associated with the activities of the Western Powers.

In other words, we should distinguish between the communalism of the rich and the powerful i.e. Christian communalism, and the communalism of the poor, the downtrodden and the exploited i.e. the Hindu communalism of the common people of India. The poor, of every faith and creed have been brain-washed for centuries by religious indoctrination and therefore they fall prey temporarily to religious fervour and fanaticism. But we should learn to turn this popular resentment against the Christian imperialist exploiters of the world into revolutionary nationalist channels.

The West has immense piles of money which it is spending on conversion of the poor dalits and tribals of the third world and India humanitarian. It is a heinous activity to offer health-care and minimal free educational facilities to tempt the poor and the deprived to become Christians. But we can not stop prostitutes from selling their bodies for a few coins, neither can we stop beggars from begging nor thieves from stealing, all this goes on in the world !

(contd., on next pg.)

(contd., from previous pg.)

We can only try to build a society in which there is less prostitution, less thieving and other crimes and no religious conversions at all. But that is an ideal which can be realised after a long struggle!

We should try to change the world so that such heinous practices cease. But till we have changed the world we would not be able to stop conversions of Dalits and Adivasis to Christian beliefs. Missionaries are bound to take advantage of the economically poor and the socially handicapped.

Our struggle has to be all sided. We must stop the Christian missionaries from acting as imperialist agents in our country. But in order to do this we must launch a broad struggle against the economic policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. In other words, we must not exaggerate the importance of Christian conversions in India. After all, as long as the Christian West is rich and powerful it is going to assist Christian missionaries in a big way. And these Christian Missionaries will tempt the poor and the exploited in the third world and India. It will be strategically and tactically far more fruitful to engage the masses in a struggle against the imperialist exploiters, rather than divert their attention to trivial and peripheral issues, like the religious conversion of the poor.

Therefore, our central demands should be:

- * FORWARD TO A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER !
- * CONVERSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY CANNOT BE STOPPED TILL CHRISTIAN IMPERIALIST POWERS ARE DESTROYED !
- * RELIGION IS THE OPIUM OF THE PEOPLE AND RATIONALISM ALONE PROVIDES THEIR TRUE SALVATION !
- * FORWARD TO AN EGALITARIAN SOCIETY FREE FROM SUPERSTITION AND IGNORANCE !
- * LET US BUILD A NEW SOCIALIST, NATIONALIST AND RATIONALIST INDIA !

of the church by baptised Christians. Jews, Muslims and heathens were subject to the Inquisition only indirectly, if they tried to lead Christians into heresy or unbelief. The medieval Inquisition was concerned with the heretics of the time - the Cathari, the Waldenses, certain Beguines and Beghards, the Apostolici-most of whom, because of their antisocial tenets, would be treated harshly even by many modern governments. Protectors of heretics were by that fact suspect of heresy, as were the excommunicated who made no effort to have the excommunication lifted. Devil worship, adultery, incest, etc., were eventually included in the purview of the Inquisition.

"The power of the inquisitors was great, and the office was looked upon as a high dignity. Inquisitors could name deputies and had assistants (*socii*), notaries, police and counselors. Since they could excommunicate even princes, they usually had the support of the civil power. Before being chosen for their office the inquisitors had distinguished themselves for learning and upright life. In the course of time manuals for their guidance were composed, those of Bernard Guy and Nicholas Eymeric being the best known. In the judgment of their contemporaries, most of the inquisitors performed their duties in a spirit of mercy and understanding. Some canonized saints were numbered among them, notably St. Peter Martyr (of Verona), who has been called the Saint of the Inquisition. Born of Catharist parents in 1205, Peter early turned to orthodoxy and in the course of time became a Dominican friar. He distinguished himself as a preacher in Lombardy, his faith and piety winning much influence, and about 1234 he was appointed inquisitor by Gregory IX for the Milanese territories; later his jurisdiction was extended to include most of northern Italy. Peter did not hesitate to punish heretics who would not recant, but his

professed desire was to convert them. His rigour and his success in bringing about conversions won him many enemies, and on April 6, 1252, he was assassinated; Pope Innocent IV canonised him the following year.

"Many inquisitors, however, won reputations for excessive cruelty, *Konrad von Marburg* appointed inquisitor for Germany by Gregory IX in 1231, was assassinated in 1233 and has gone down in history as the type of the heartless heresy hunter. Konrad was apparently a member of the secular clergy and had been confessor to St. Elizabeth of Hungary, whom he treated with extreme severity. He was undoubtedly rigid (with himself as with others), but his assassination was due probably as much to German dislike for the institution of the Inquisition, which was soon suppressed in Germany, as to his cruelty.

"Robert le Bougre, who escaped assassination but whose reputation rivals that of Konrad, was another early inquisitor whose name was remembered with hatred. In his youth Robert is said to have renounced Catholicism for love of a Catharist girl, and he lived for years as a member of the sect. After abjuring, he became a Dominican and in 1233 was appointed by Gregory IX one of the first papal inquisitors for France, being suspended the following year on the charge of lack of moderation. Reinstated as inquisitor in 1235, he did not change his methods, and his terrorism led to his dismissal and imprisonment in 1239.

"Procedure - When the inquisitor came to a place where heretics were known or suspected to reside, he assembled the clergy and people to listen to a solemn discourse. Those guilty of heresy were urged to present themselves to the inquisitor within a stated time, called a time of grace and lasting a fortnight or a month. On those who confessed their guilt, lesser sentences were imposed. Those who knew of heretics were ordered under pain of

excommunication to make them known to the inquisitor. At the expiration of the time of grace, those accused or suspected were hailed before the inquisitor. If they admitted their guilt and were ready to renounce their errors, they had to do so in a solemn gathering (*sermo generalis*; see below) in which they were sentenced. Those who pleaded not guilty were questioned by the inquisitor. If the interrogation led to no decision, witnesses were introduced, the testimony of two trustworthy men being considered sufficient to convict if the suspect could not refute the charges.

"The obligation to report suspects was a kind of invitation to denounce personal enemies. The accused, moreover, found it hard to defend himself, since during most of the 13th century he was not informed of the identity of his accusers. The only safeguards lay in the fact that false witnesses were punished and that the counselors of the inquisitor had to testify to the trustworthiness of those whose testimony was accepted. It was not until the time of Boniface VIII (1294 - 1303) that the names of accusers were revealed to the accused. Witnesses for the defence rarely appeared, since this of course might lead to their coming under suspicion. The lawyer of the accused, when he had one, was little more than a counselor, charged more with getting a confession than with defence.

"The use of torture, which had been a customary judicial procedure among the Greeks and Romans, was at first rejected by the northern peoples; ordeals and oaths took its place. But when the church outlawed ordeals and Roman law was revived, torture also was revived. In 1252 Innocent IV, by the bull *Ad extirpanda*, authorised its use by the inquisition to obtain confessions and the names of other heretics. Later Clement V decreed that it could not be used by papal inquisitors without the consent of the local bishop. According to canon law torture could be employed only once, but some inquisitors ordered it a second time as a continuation. It is difficult to determine whether or not torture was much used.

"Sentence: On admission or conviction of guilt of lesser misdeeds, the prescribed penalties included recitation of prayers, fasting, almsgiving, flogging, pilgrimages, etc. Wearing of a yellow cross, imprisonment, confiscation of property, etc., were imposed for more serious heresy. Life imprisonment was the extreme penalty the inquisitor could impose. Condemned heretics who refused to recant, as well as those who relapsed after condemnation and repentance, were turned over to the secular arm for punishment. The inquisitor had to consult his counselors (between 9 and 50 clerics and laymen) about the sentences and could not hand a prisoner over to the civil authorities without the consent of the local bishop. Every effort was put forth to induce the heretic to recant; sometimes, to this end, his delivery to the secular power was deferred for as long as a year.

"The death penalty was imposed by the civil authorities and not by the church, but the ecclesiastical authorities were in fact morally responsible, because they

could excommunicate a ruler who did not carry out the sentence where it was prescribed by law. In handing the heretic over to the secular power, the inquisitor asked that punishment be carried out without shedding blood or endangering life, but this was merely an antique formula intended to influence the condemned to ask for mercy and to emphasize the fact that the church did not itself shed blood. Bodies of persons condemned after death were disinterred and burned.

"Life imprisonment, a not uncommon penalty, was imposed on those who confessed under torture, as well as on those who recanted after being sentenced to death. Confiscation, much dreaded, was imposed on those condemned to perpetual imprisonment, on those who escaped sentence by flight and on those turned over to the secular arm. It could also be imposed on the heirs of those who died in heresy, as well as on those who had acquired the possessions of deceased heretics by purchase. Confiscation was not rare, and its proceeds served in part to defray the expenses of the Inquisition; local civil and ecclesiastical authorities also profited from it.

"The public announcement of penalties was generally made at a solemn gathering, called *sermo generalis* ("general sermon") in medieval times but more commonly known in the history of the Inquisition by the Spanish equivalent, *auto-da-fe*. As a rule this ceremony took place on a Sunday in a church or in the open. The inquisitor preached a short sermon, civil officials vowed obedience to the inquisitor, mitigativus of earlier sentences were pronounced, and then recantations and sentences of condemned persons were announced and the condemned were turned over to the secular arm.

"Geographical Limitation.-The medieval Inquisition did not function in Scandinavia, and in England it was used only in the case of the Templars (though under the statute *De haeretico comburendo* of 1401 the Lollards were persecuted; see *Lollards*). In Germany, after the inauspicious start under Konrad von Marburg, it was used after 1450 against witches; in Bohemia it was employed against the Hussites and in the 14th century it was used in the Netherlands against the Beghards. But it was in northern Italy, Southern France and to a lesser degree in Christian Spain that the Inquisition was most employed in medieval times. By the end of the 13th century it had overcome the Catharist threat to Christianity. In the later middle ages relatively little is heard of it except in connection with the trial of witches and the Spanish Inquisition.

"Since most of the records of the medieval Inquisition have perished, it is impossible to give more than fragmentary statistics in regard to the numbers who suffered the death penalty, confiscation, etc. In the early days scores, occasionally hundreds of burnings at the stake are referred to. Later the extreme penalty was rarely applied; life imprisonment and confiscation of property were commoner. Among the victims of the medieval

Inquisition were St. Joan of Arc, John Huss and Girolamo Savonarola.

"Spanish Inquisition: The medieval Inquisition had played a considerable role in Christian Spain during the 13th century, but the struggle against the Muslims kept the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula busy and served to strengthen their faith. When toward the end of the 15th century the reconquest was all but complete, the desire for religious unity became more and more pronounced. It was at first the Jews who seemed to block the way to unity.

"During the centuries the Jewish community in Spain had flourished and grown in numbers and influence, though anti-Semitism had from time to time made itself felt. Henry III of Castile and Leon (late 14th century) seems to have brought pressure to bear on the Jews to convert them. Then and later the threat of severe penalties hung over the Jewish community in Spain.

"The only alternative before the Jews was baptism or death. Thus the number of nominal converts to the Christian faith soon became very great. The secret Jews were incomparably more dangerous than those who openly professed their religion (L. Pastor, *The History of the Pope From the Close of the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans., vol.iii, p.398 [1894]).

"These nominal converts from Judaism were called marranos (see *Marrano*). After Aragon and Castile were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1469) the marranos were denounced as a danger to the existence of Christian Spain, and a bull of Sixtus IV in 1478 authorised the Catholic kings to name inquisitors in whom they might repose confidence. This did not mean that the Spanish sovereigns were turning over to the church the struggle for unity; rather, they were seeking to use the Inquisition to support their absolute and centralising regime, and most especially to increase the royal power in Aragon.

"The first Spanish inquisitors, operating in Seville, proved so severe that Sixtus IV had to interfere. But the Spanish crown now had in its possession a weapon too precious to give up and the efforts of the pope to limit the powers of the Inquisition were without avail. In 1483 he was induced to authorise the naming by the Spanish government of a grand inquisitor (inquisitor general) for Castile, and during the same year Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia were placed under the power of the Inquisition.

"The president of the Inquisition in Spain was the grand inquisitor, designated by the government but receiving his ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Rome, which empowered him to name deputies and hear appeals. In deciding appeals the grand inquisitor was assisted by a council of five members and by consultors. All these offices were filled by agreement between the government and the grand inquisitor. The council, especially after its reorganisation under Philip II, put the effective control of the institution more and more into the hands of the civil power. After Clement VII (1523-34), priests and bishops were at times judged by the Inquisition. In procedure, the

Spanish Inquisition was much like the medieval Inquisition. The first grand inquisitor in Spain was the Dominican Tomas de Torquemada (1420-98), who has become the symbol of the inquisitor who uses torture and confiscation to terrorise his victims, his methods were the methods of a time when judicial procedure was cruel and designed to inspire terror. The number of burnings at the stake during his tenure has been exaggerated, but it is generally put by fair estimate, at about 2,000. (See also Torquemada, Tomas de.)

"By edict of March 31, 1492, the Spanish Jews were given the choice of exile or baptism. When in 1502 Islam in its turn was proscribed, the Inquisition began to devote its attention to the moriscos (*q.v.*), the Spanish Muslims who had accepted baptism. When the Protestant Reformation began to penetrate into Spain the relatively few Spanish Protestants also were eliminated by the Inquisition. Nor did Catholics escape its rigours: Ignatius Lovola was twice arrested on suspicion of heresy and the archbishop of Toledo, the Dominican Bartolome de Carranza (*q.v.*), was imprisoned for almost 17 years.

"Under the supreme council of the Spanish Inquisition were 14 local tribunals in Spain and several in the colonies, among which those in Mexico and Peru have been particularly attacked. The Spanish Inquisition was introduced into Sicily in 1517, but efforts to set it up in Naples and Milan failed. The emperor Charles V in 1522 introduced it into the Netherlands, where its efforts to wipe out Protestantism were unsuccessful. John III of Portugal, with the permission of the pope, introduced a tribunal like the Spanish Inquisition against the Portuguese Jews in 1536. Though his methods led the pope to revoke the grant, the Inquisition was definitely established in Portugal in 1547, at which time its scope was also widened. The Inquisition in Spain was suppressed by Joseph Bonaparte in 1808, restored by Ferdinand VII in 1814, suppressed in 1820, restored in 1823 and finally suppressed in 1834. The Portuguese Inquisition was suppressed in 1820.

"Roman Inquisition: The Roman Inquisition was established in 1542 by Pope Paul III to combat Protestantism; some have seen in its institution a desire to counterbalance the Spanish Inquisition at a time when a great part of Italy was under Spanish rule. It was governed by a commission of six cardinals, the Congregation of the Inquisition, whose powers in matters of faith extended according to their mandate to the whole Catholic world. The cardinal inquisitors were authorised to delegate their powers and to receive appeals from the sentences of their delegates. The Roman Inquisition was thoroughly independent and much freer from episcopal control than the medieval Inquisition had been. Under Paul III (1534 - 49) and Julius III (1550 - 55) its action was not rigorous, and Julius ruled that although the tribunal had general authority its action should be limited especially to Italy. The moderation of Paul III and Julius III was imitated by their successors with the exception of Paul IV (1555-59) and Pius V (1566-72). Under Paul IV the Inquisition functioned in such a way that it alienated nearly all

parties.

"The hasty and credulous pope lent a willing ear to every denunciation, even the most absurd. Neither rank nor dignity nor merit weighed in the balance in the case of anyone suspected of heresy; he would be treated by the Inquisition as if he were the open and declared enemy of the church. The inquisitors, constantly urged on by the pope, scented heresy in numerous cases where a calm and circumspect observer would not have discovered a trace of it. An actual reign of terror began which filled all Rome with fear. (L.Pastor, *The History of the popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans., vol. xiv, p.287 [1924]).

"While Pius V (a Dominican and himself formerly grand inquisitor) avoided the worst excesses of Paul IV, he nevertheless declared at the beginning of his reign that questions of faith took precedence over all other business and made it clear that his first care would be to see that heresy, false doctrine and error were suppressed. He was said, in fact, to have more zeal against heretics than against the Turks. He took part in many of the activities of the Inquisition, and it was thought that nothing pleased him more than to aid it. (See also PAUL; Pius.) The aims of Paul IV and Pius V, which were pursued with more moderation by the other pontiffs of the 16th and 17th centuries, were achieved. The religious unity of Italy was maintained without resorting to the Spanish Inquisition. The best-known victims of the Roman Inquisition are Pietro Carnesecchi, Aonio Paleario and Giordano Bruno.

"After Protestantism had been eliminated as a serious danger to Italian religious unity, the Roman Inquisition became more and more an ordinary organ of papal government concerned with maintaining good order and good customs as well as purity of faith among Catholics. The best-known case in the 17th century is undoubtedly the condemnation of the Copernican system and of Galileo (1616, 1632). In his reorganisation of the Roman curia in 1908, St. Pius X dropped the word "Inquisition," and the congregation charged with maintaining purity of faith came to be known officially as the Holy Office. In 1965 Pope Paul VI reorganised the congregation along more democratic lines and renamed it the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

"Conclusion: Not only non-Catholics but many Catholics have judged the Inquisition severely. These condemnations have at times been motivated by an exaggerated idea of its rigour. More frequently they may be said to be due in part to the fact that the Inquisition has been considered apart from the judicial context of the times. The principles and practices of the Inquisition were no crueller than those of the contemporary civil courts, if it is condemned on such grounds, the middle ages and the Renaissance must also be condemned. Not only Catholics but the early Protestants and many other religious groups used force to impose religious unity".

Bibliography : H.C. Lea *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vol.(1889), *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vol. (1906-07), and *The Inquisition in the*

Spanish Dependencies (1908); A. Turberville, *Medieval Heresy and the Inquisition* (1920); J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen-age*, 2vol.(1935-38); B.Öjetti in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol xiii, pp.137-139; A. Erler in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, pp. 769-772 (1959).

II: FORMOSUS (b.c.816 - d.896)

Formosus was pope from 891 to 896, whose posthumous trial is one of the most bizarre and macabre incidents in papal history.

The Encyclopedia Britannica, 1983 Edition, *Micropedia*, vol.IV, p.234, records the following details:

"Formosus --- was made the cardinal bishop of Porto, Italy, in 864 A.D. by Pope Nicholas I, who sent him to promote the conversion of Bulgaria. He was assigned missions to France by Pope Adrian II(869) and by Pope John VIII (875), John however mistrusted him and in 876 Formosus was excommunicated. He was absolved under Pope Marinus I, who restored him to his see of Porto in 883. During the pontificates of Popes Marinus, St. Adrian III, and Stephen V (VI), Formosus' influence grew, and he was elected Stephen's successor on Oct.6, 891. Attempting to liberate Rome from the Spoletan Holy Roman co-emperors Guy and his son Lambert, Formosus requested King Arnulf of the East Franks to invade Italy. In Rome in 896 Formosus crowned Arnulf emperor, but while preparing to attack Spoleto, Arnulf was paralysed. Formosus died shortly thereafter.

"At a Roman synod (popularly called the "Cadaver Synod") conducted by Pope Stephen VI(VII), Formosus' political enemies had his corpse exhumed, propped up on a throne and subjected to a posthumous trial --- during which a deacon answered for the corpse. His election was declared invalid, his acts were quashed, and his fingers of consecration were cut off, Formosus' corpse was then cast into a grave, but later thrown into the Tiber River. These ghastly acts divided Rome politically, causing Stephen's imprisonment and his death by strangulation. Pope Theodore II reinstated Formosus' ordinations and solemnly buried his body; Pope John IX condemned Stephen's synod and burned its acts. Formosus' letters were collected in J.P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol.129."

Formosus' posthumous trial is a horrible instance of the notorious and inborn European Christian proclivity for blood - thirsty retribution and inhumanity.

The entire world is still reeling from the terrible onslaught of Christian fundamentalism and self-righteousness, which began with the Crusades in Italian Communes of the 11th Century, and is continuing till date as the neo-colonial "Globalisation and Westerisation" drive to rule the earth, especially from 1492 A.D., when Columbus "discovered" the Caribbean islands and South America, and 1498 A.D. when Vasco de Gama, landed at Calicut, India. ■

SHAD-DARSANAS

NYAYA - VAISESIKA

Satkari Mookerjee

INTRODUCTORY

Although in the earliest stages of their inception the schools of, Nyaya and Vaisesika held independent positions both in epistemology and metaphysics, it was recognised from the very beginning that the two schools had very much in common and their differences were of minor importance. The later fusion of the Vaisesika metaphysics with the Nyaya epistemology was not an arbitrary or unnatural attempt at a *rapprochement*, but was dictated by an inner logical necessity of giving a complete philosophy of realism, with the deficiencies of each being made good in a well-rounded synthesis. It should be clearly recognised that Gautama's *Nyaya-Sutra*, even with the *Bhasya* of Vatsyayana and the *Vartika* of Uddyotakara and the *Tatparyatika* of Vacaspati Misra, does not give as full and free a consideration of the metaphysical issues as is found in the Vaisesika system. Though the professed objective of both the systems is to provide a clear-cut formula for the achievement of salvation or freedom from the limitations of personalised existence, and the entire philosophical enquiry is dominated by this ultimate motive, the detached study of philosophical problems on their own merits does not suffer from a lack of speculative interest; and particularly in the course of its development the purely philosophical interest comes to occupy more and more an importance of overmastering magnitude, and we feel tempted to believe that the ultimate problem of salvation is forgotten or pushed into the background, at any rate for the time being, in the zeal of philosophical speculations. Of course, the question of salvation is a problem of paramount importance and constitutes the justification and ultimate *raison d'etre* of philosophical enquiry.

Philosophy in India has never been a mere speculative interest irrespective of its bearing on life. Perfection in knowledge was believed to culminate in perfection in life, although the conception of perfect life was not uniform or identical. It will not be a fair attitude to condemn the philosophical enquiries of India as unscientific or unscientific because the goal was of a practical nature. Philosophic conviction was the necessary correlate of practical perfection in the life of the soul, and knowledge of truth necessarily resulted in the true freedom of the aspiring soul. The goal loomed large on the philosophical horizon, but it was recognised that there was no short cut or easy walk-over to it. The full price had to be paid in the shape of unflinching philosophic realisation of the ultimate mysteries of existence achieved through a rigorous moral discipline; and mere academic and intellectual satisfaction accruing from philosophical studies was considered to be of value only in so far as it was calculated to bring about the happy consummation.

In his very first aphorism Aksapada (Gautama) states that salvation is the *summum bonum* and the ultimate objective of a spiritual aspirant, and the achievement of this highest perfection and complete freedom is possible through a proper understanding of the real nature of sixteen topics, viz.. (1) proofs or sources of authentic knowledge, (2) the objects of authentic knowledge, (3) doubt, (4) the end or objective, (5) example, (6) approved conclusions, (7) members of a syllogism, (8) corroborative reasoning, (9) determinative conviction, (10) discussion with a view to discovery of truth, (11) sophisticated argument, (12) wrangling or purely destructive argumentation, (13) fallacies,

(14) quibbles, (15) false analogical arguments, and (16) clinchers or points of defeat. It is not possible here to discuss the exact value of every one of these topics, which are discussed in all their bearings in the original work and further and further developed in the later exegetical literature which has centred round it. But it will be apparent from a bare specification of the names that, barring the first and second topics which cover the epistemological and metaphysical positions of the system, the remaining topics are possessed of a subsidiary value and by themselves have very little philosophical importance. The first topic refers to the approved sources or instruments of valid knowledge, which are subsequently specified to be of four distinct types, viz. perception, inference, comparison, and verbal testimony. The question of cognitive instruments and valid cognition has from the very beginning received an elaborate treatment, and the *Tattva-cintamani* of Gangesa, which forms the main foundation of Navya-Nyaya, is almost exclusively devoted to a consideration of this topic alone. The latter-day developments in Navya-Nyaya in Navadvipa are accordingly of the nature of epistemological enquiries, and the interest in metaphysics is purely of a subsidiary character.

In fact, the metaphysical interests of Nyaya philosophy even in the *Sutra* and *Bhasya* periods occupy only a subordinate place, and the main energies are directed to questions of practical importance, such as the proper guidance of philosophical debates. The problems of psychology, ethics, metaphysics, and epistemology are all discussed incidentally, and the purely logical and philosophical aspects are not sharply distinguished. Theoretical logic is pronouncedly under the domination of practical logic, and this gives us an idea of the development of pure philosophy from an inchoate beginning to the clear-cut logical divisions which took place much later. It is only in the *Tattva-cintamani*, the *magnum opus* of Gangesa, that we find

that Nyaya philosophy has shaken off the incubus of extralogical influence. But here the metaphysical problems are given scanty treatment, and the interests are mainly confined to pure logic and epistemology. In the lucubrations of the Navadvipa school this tendency is further accentuated, and, practically speaking, the divorce of epistemology from metaphysics is found to be complete. Of course, in the later manuals of a syncretic character attempts have been made to effect a synthesis of metaphysics and epistemology, and the rapprochement of Nyaya and Vaisesika is almost complete. From the very beginning it is pronouncedly felt that Vaisesika categories are presupposed throughout by Gautama, and the doctrine of the atomic structure of the material world is admitted *totidem verbis*.

Vatsyayana speaks of the Vaisesika categories in terms of approval and justifies the Nyaya enumeration of the objects of cognition (1.1.9) on the ground of their special relevancy to the achievement of salvation. The enumeration is said to be not an exhaustive statement of all the categories of being or thought, but only to relate to those objects the knowledge of which is essential to the achievement of absolute freedom and the ignorance of which perpetuates bondage. This very vindication shows the spirit and the attitude to purely philosophical problems, viz. that the interest is more practical than theoretical. The Vaisesika philosophy on the other hand stands in a better position, being directed to a critical evaluation of the world of reality, both subjective and objective, though it is not less emphatic than the Nyaya in its professions to show the unerring way to salvation. It is therefore not at all a matter of regret that in the course of their development the Nyaya and Vaisesika schools were welded into one system, and this only shows the growing clarity of logical vision and the courage of conviction of later philosophers, which enabled them to rise superior to false considerations of prestige and allegiance and to produce a well-rounded, compact and consistent philosophy. The prestige and honour which Nyaya philosophy enjoys at the present day are entirely due to this happy synthesis of Vaisesika metaphysics, which made this branch of philosophy fuller, richer, and more consistent. The Vaisesika philosophy is poorer in its epistemological interests and is pre-eminently metaphysical and contrariwise, Nyaya is pronouncedly lacking in its metaphysical interests and its strength lies in its logical and epistemological contributions. A combination of the two was a logical necessity.

A SURVEY OF ITS EPISTEMOLOGY

We now propose to give a running survey of the development of the epistemology of the NyayaVaisesika school. It cannot be expected that any justice can be done to the subject, dealt with here as a side issue, when volumes can be written on it. But a student of general philosophy will have some idea of the development of thought that took place in this school. It is unthinkable how from the inconspicuous scrappy beginnings adumbrated in the *Sutra* of Gautama, Nyaya logic and epistemology have come to occupy the position of universal recognition and undisputed authority. The latest contributions of the Neo-

logical schools of Mithila and Navadvipa present a formidable array of facts and arguments; which scare away even a bold student. Nyaya philosophy grew in its strength and volume in consequence of its fight with rival schools, pre-eminently Buddhist schools. Gautama's epistemology and logic as developed by Vatsyayana in his *Bhasya* were mercilessly attacked by Dinnaga, and their prestige suffered a rude shock. This gave the occasion to Uddyotakara to write his *Nyayavarttika*, Uddyotakara in the course of his comments criticised Vasubandhu and Dinnaga and defended the Nyaya position. Dharmakirti, Dharmottara, and others took up the challenge and showed the weakness and inadequacy of Uddyotakara's defence. Next came Vacaspati Misra who again gave replies to the animadversions of the Buddhist philosophers, and the defence of the Nyaya school of thought was carried forward by Jayantabhatta, Sridhara, and Udayana. After Udayana we do not hear of any rival Buddhist philosopher who caused trouble to orthodox systems. Even a casual survey of the works of these writers will convince the reader how keen and acute was the fight that was carried on between the two rival schools of thought.

The result was precision of definitions in which every word, nay, every particle, was duly measured and had to be defended. Nyaya in one sense came to be regarded as the science of definitions, the importance and necessity of which are now coming to be recognised in modern European philosophy on account of the attacks of the neo-realists of Europe and America. Every concept has been accurately defined, and there is no room for doubt or speculation as to the meaning and purpose of the philosophical arguments. Clarity of thought and accuracy of expression have become the characteristic features of works on Nyaya philosophy, and of other schools as well owing to the preponderating influence of Nyaya speculations on the course of philosophical thought of India. The uninitiated complain of the undue waste of skill and ingenuity on the elaboration of definitions, and of the attention devoted to the consideration of linguistic problems. Although the interests of verbal accuracy may have been pushed too far in some cases, the results on the whole have been salutary. The room for misunderstanding due to careless expression has been narrowed down to the minimum, and a course of discipline in Nyaya is a sure propaedeutic for philosophical accuracy. It is not a matter of surprise therefore that the scholarship of a student of Indian philosophy, of whatever school it may be, is looked upon with scepticism unless he can produce a proof of his acquaintance with the Navya-Nyaya speculations.

Udayana is the greatest exponent of Nyaya philosophy in modern times. In fact, he can be looked upon as the pioneer of the new school. Gangesa in his *Tattva-cintamani*, the *magnum opus* of the new school, has adopted the main substance of his work from the writings of Udayana. But the greatest achievement of Gangesa consists in the marshalling of the arguments of all previous

writers in his work with an accuracy and ingenuity which evoke spontaneous admiration. In a short compass he gives us the best and ripest fruits of the labours of the past masters and focusses the attention of the student on the most fundamental and characteristic contributions of the school. Naturally, this work alone has come to monopolise the attention of later students and commentators. **Gangesa's main purpose is to treat of the four pramanas----pratyaksa (perception), anumana (inference), upamana (comparison), and sabda (verbal testimony).** In the first part dealing with *pratyaksa*, he has discussed all the relevant problems associated with the epistemology of perception---its source, conditions, and results. **The division of perceptual knowledge into indeterminate and determinate has received a thorough treatment, and the rival schools of thought, pre-eminently that of Prabhakara, have been relentlessly criticised.** The disappearance of the schools of Buddhist logicians had rendered the refutation of the Buddhist positions a matter of abstract academic interest only and energy and attention were mainly directed against the school of Prabhakara who had close affinities with the Buddhist philosophers in regard to certain fundamentals. **The most outstanding contribution of Gangesa in his *Pratyaksakhanda* is, however, found in his dissertation on the problem of truth and validity of knowledge (Pramanyavada).** In this chapter the positions of Kumarila, Prabhakara, and Murari Misra, who were advocates of the theory of self-validity of knowledge (Svatahpramanyavada), have been thoroughly discussed and criticised, and the Nyaya position of Paratahpramanyavada, which believes in the correspondence theory of truth and ascertainment of truth by verification, has been established. Much ingenuity has been spent in the formulation of a definition of truth, consonant with the positions of the three philosophers who had sharp differences on the nature of knowledge. Then again, the problem is bifurcated into a twofold issue, viz. (1). the origin and source of validity (*Utpatti*) and (2) the ascertainment of the same (*jinapti*). The Mimamsist maintains that knowledge and validity are two necessary correlates and have their origin in self-identical conditions; and as regards the discovery of truth, it is effected by the self-same instrument of the discovery of knowledge. Knowledge is self-revealing according to Prabhakara, and so truth too will be self-certified. Kumarila thinks that knowledge is imperceptible and its ascertainment and discovery are made by the help of inference. The validity of knowledge too will be discovered by the self-same instrument, viz. inference. Murari Misra holds knowledge to be revealed by introspection and so likewise its truth. Gangesa criticises these three positions as absolutely untenable on the ground of contradiction of experience. If all knowledge was self-validated, there would be no occasion for doubt or misgiving, and this doubt is dispelled only by means of verification by another piece of knowledge. Of course, there is scarcely to be found a single novel argument, and Udayana has given all these in his works. But new issues have been raised, and the whole

problem has been studied afresh.

INFERENCE

It is in the chapter on inference (*anumana*) that Gangesa and the later writers have shown their best ingenuity. The conditions of inference have been thoroughly analysed and explained. Inference is defined to be the judgement produced by the knowledge of the minor premise qualified by the knowledge of the universal proposition, the major premise, which states the connection between two terms in their universal reference. This universal connection is termed *vyapti*, and a long discussion of the concept of *vyapti* and its diverse definitions is undertaken. The possibility of the knowledge of the universal proposition, in one word, induction, receives a thorough treatment, and the position of the sceptics is shown to lead to self-contradiction and impossibility of practical life. A thorough exposition of each of these problems will require a separate article, and so we content ourselves with only indicating the lines of enquiry that have been pursued by later logicians. It should be observed in this connection that the later developments of logical speculations were necessitated by the hostile criticism of Nyaya concepts and definitions by Sriharsa, Citsukha, and other Vedantists, who revelled in demonstrating absurdity of the realists' attempts to explain the actual world in terms of reality. Gangesa came after Sriharsa and took upon himself the task of vindicating the orthodox Naiyayika standpoint. Whether and how far he has succeeded in his self-chosen undertaking it is very difficult to say with any amount of certitude. The quarrel between the Naiyayika realist and the Vedantist dialectician has not come to an end and will perhaps never come to an end, because they represent two diametrically opposite standpoints and attitudes of thought. The value of the contributions of the Naiyayikas should not be judged by the numerical strength of their adherents and followers, but by other standards. There is scarcely a characteristic Nyaya doctrine which has not been challenged by other philosophers. But this does not detract from the merits of Nyaya speculations. The chief value of Nyaya philosophy consists in its contributions to method and terminology, which have been invariably adopted by all other schools of thought. The consequence has been that whatever school of thought one may follow and whatever may be one's philosophical predilections and convictions, one must speak in the language of the Naiyayikas.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONDITION OF INFERENCE---PAKSATA

Before we proceed to the next topic, viz verbal judgement as a cognitive proof, it is desirable that we speak of some of the speculations on the conditions of inference and fallacies, which will be regarded as original contributions in the sphere of logic. We have observed that inference is produced by the combined knowledge of the universal proposition (*vyapti*) and of the minor

premise (*paksadharmata*). The minor premise states that the probans (middle term), which is stated to be essentially related to the probandum (major term) in the major premise, exists in the subject of inference (the minor term) But there is a preliminary condition which must be fulfilled in order that inference as a psychical process may follow as a natural consequence from the premises mentioned above. This condition is called *paksata* --- the essential character of the subject; and it is defined to be the absence of a previous conviction that the subject is possessed of the probandum as an accomplished fact. This, however, requires some elucidation. Now, inference as a vehicle of knowledge aims at proving the existence of the probandum (*sadhya*) in the subject on the strength of the existence of the probans (*hetu*), and this knowledge is the objective and *raison d'être* of inference as a means of proof. If, however, there is a previous knowledge of the conclusion, inference will be entirely superfluous and uncalled for, as it will have no scope for its own. So the preliminary condition of inference is that the subject (*paksa*) must not have been known to be possessed of the probandum before it is inferred. But the previous knowledge of the conclusion is not found to operate as a bar to inference, provided there is a positive desire to prove it by inference. A man may actually perceive fire and smoke in a place: still he is at liberty to prove the existence of fire on the basis of the existence of smoke, provided he feels the urge of a desire to prove by inference what he knows by perception. Previous knowledge of the conclusion is a bar only when it is not accompanied by a desire for inference. Desire for inference alone is not the universal condition of inference, since there are cases of spontaneous and unpremeditated inference, as for instance, when we infer the rise of a cloud from hearing a roar of the cloud or the clap of thunder. Nor, again, can doubt of the issue, i.e. the existence of the inferable predicate in the subject, be regarded as the condition, as it is not infrequently observed that inference takes place without a previous doubt of the issue. The full definition of the character of the subject (*paksata*) as the universal condition of inference can thus be propounded to be the absence of previous conviction of the existence of the inferable predicate in the subject, provided there is not a desire to prove it by inference. The legitimate subject of inference (*paksa*) is accordingly one which is not judged to be possessed of the inferable predicate (*probandum*) antecedently to the inference. The occurrence of the predicate is to be proved by inference, and that is the conclusion aimed at. But if the conclusion were forestalled, there would be no scope for inference. The consequences of this complex condition are observed in the following cases: (1) Inference is permissible where there is no previous conviction of the predicate in the subject irrespective of the presence or absence of a desire for inference ; (2) inference is permissible where there is a desire for inference irrespective of the presence or absence of the previous conviction of the conclusion; (3) inference

is not permissible where there is previous conviction together with the absence of a desire for inference.

PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONCLUSION DEBARS INFERENCE --- WHY?

Now a question arises, Why should previous knowledge of the conclusion operate as a bar to the realisation of inference? Knowledge of the predicate *per se* cannot be believed to preclude a second knowledge of the same, since there is such a thing as continuous repetition of knowledge of the self-same object. Nor can it be believed to preclude inferential knowledge, since an object, though perceived, can be known again by inference. The answer is that previous knowledge acts as a bar to subsequent knowledge having reference to the self-same object only if it prevents the emergence of a desire for that kind of knowledge. Now, knowledge may be of a general or specific character, and desire for a general sort of knowledge is satisfied by any kind of knowledge, perceptual, inferential or the like. It is not possible to maintain that a desire for knowledge as such can be satisfied only by the possession of all possible kinds of knowledge, simply because this contingency even with regard to a single object is not possible of attainment, and if this impossible condition is insisted upon, the result will be an impossibility of the satisfaction of any desire for knowledge. It must therefore be admitted that desire for knowledge as such is satisfied by any kind of knowledge. In the case of desire for a specific kind of knowledge, it can be satisfied by the possession of that kind of knowledge alone. A man may feel called upon to prove a thing by inference for his own or other people's satisfaction, though there may be a perceptual knowledge of the same, if there is a demand for inferential proof either felt by himself or urged by another person. So previous conviction of the conclusion debars an inference when there is no subjective or objective demand for specific inferential knowledge, but only a knowledge of the predicate in general is aimed at. Desire is satisfied by the attainment of the object aimed at. Now, a man may desire to have a pen, and any pen may satisfy him. But if the desire is for a specific kind of pen of a specific make and quality, the desire will not be set at rest if he is provided with a pen other than the one that he desires. Thus, previous knowledge of the conclusion cuts at the very root of inferential knowledge if the knowledge desired is of a general, unspecified kind. But it will prove no obstacle to inference if the previous knowledge is other than inferential and if inferential knowledge alone be the objective.

Now, it easily follows as a corollary from the foregoing observations that previous knowledge acts as a bar only by removing the psychological condition of knowledge, viz. desire for the same; and in so far as it exercises a hostile influence on this psychological condition, it comes to be regarded as an obstacle to inferential knowledge. This law, however, holds good only in the case of inference and not in the case of perceptual or verbal knowledge. The reason is that perceptual knowledge is not conditioned by desire, but by the compresence of the conditions of perceptual knowledge, e.g. the presence of the object, the fitness of

the sense-organ, the alertness of the percipient, and so on. In verbal knowledge also desire has no function, and it never fails to materialise if there is a knowledge of the sentence. In inference too the law of obstruction holds good only if the previous knowledge is on all fours with the inferential knowledge aimed at; but if there is an additional element in the subsequent knowledge, the former will not operate as a bar. In other words, the two pieces of knowledge must be in no way different in content or, to be precise, the previous knowledge must not be deficient in content in reference to the subsequent one. Accordingly, if there is previous knowledge of the predicate in a particular individual, it will not bar out the inference of the same in all individuals of the same class. To take a concrete example, our knowledge that Toni, Dick, Harry, and many other men are mortal will be no obstruction to our inference of mortality with reference to the whole class of men, because the subsequent knowledge is wider in its content and reference than the previous one. But if there be a previous knowledge in a universal reference, the inference of the predicate either in a particular individual or in the class as a whole will be ruled out.

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF INFERENCE

An interesting problem may be raised in this connection. What is the subject matter of inference, what is the nature of the conclusion? Is the predicate only the object of inference, or the predicate as related to the subject, or the relation of the two *in abstracto*? Now, the predicate alone cannot be the objective of inference, as the predicate in and by itself is known in our knowledge of the universal proposition. The subject too is known by other means of proof, perception and the like. The relation in *abstracto* is unmeaning nonsense, and even the relation between the subject and the predicate in the concrete cannot be supposed to be the objective. If it were so, the conclusion would be expressed as 'there is a relation between the subject, say man and the predicate, say mortality'. It must be admitted therefore that the objective of inference is the entire judgement in which the subject and the predicate are held together by a relation. The subject and the predicate along with the relation binding them together are equally objects of inference--- to be precise, the conclusion is a unitary judgement in the subject and the predicate merge their individuality and became integral parts of an organic whole. Thus, when a person infers fire in a hill on the evidence of the smoke, the subject-matter of inference is neither fire nor the hill in isolation, but the judgement 'the hill is possessed of fire'. The hill is actually perceived, though fire is not; still the whole situation, the hill and fire together, is the object of inference, and it would be an error of judgement to suppose that the hill is known by perception and fire alone by inference.

PERCEPTION AND INFERENCE

We discover in this situation an interesting psychological law, which can be formulated in the following

terms: 'In a situation where the conditions of perception and inference are present alike, inference will prevail over perception if the object to be cognised is different in each case. In the present case, the object of perception is the hill and the object of inference, admitted on all hands, is fire. Here the conditions of inference overrule and prevail over those of perception, and the resultant knowledge (the hill is possessed of fire) is to be accepted as inferential in character. If this law be not admitted, no case of inference will be possible where the subject is an object of perception. In other words, our knowledge would be cognisant of the hill alone and fire would never be inferred, the conditions of perception being stronger than those of inference. So the above law must be accepted under pain of absurdity. Moreover, no inference whatever will be possible if the law formulated is not accepted. Now, inference is caused by the combined knowledge of the universal proposition and the minor premise, which can be expressed as the knowledge of the subject possessed of the probans in its necessary universal relation to the probandum (the predicate). This synthetic judgement (*paramarsa*), if we may be permitted to coin a new expression, is the immediate cause of inference--- that is to say, of the knowledge of the conclusion. Now, when this synthetic judgement arises in the mind, there is an equal possibility of this knowledge leading either to inference or to introspective knowledge of itself. According to the Naiyayika the existence of a thing, be it a brute physical fact or a psychical phenomenon, can be attested by knowledge of the same, and the knowledge of a psychical fact, be it a cognition or a feeling or conation, is styled mental perception or introspection (*anuvyavasaya*). The condition of introspection, is the presence of a psychical phenomenon in the soul and the association of the mind with the latter. Now, inference is effected immediately by the synthetic judgement. Thus, when the synthetic judgement emerges into being under the stress of the knowledge of the premises, the conditions of inference and of introspection (which is a species of perception) are invariably found to be present. It is to be decided which of the two kinds of knowledge, inference and perception, will have the chance to come into being. If the conditions of perception are thought to be of superior strength, the introspection of the synthetic judgement as the object will invariably be the resultant knowledge, and inference as a psychical fact will be reduced to an impossible fiction. But this is opposed to the deliverance of psychology. The law formulated above saves the situation.

Again, 'in a situation where the conditions of inference and perception are alike present and the object to be cognised is self-identical, the conditions of perception will prevail over those of inference and the resultant knowledge will be perception.' The impugment of this law will lead to absurdities. To take a concrete example: a person finds himself in a puzzle when he cannot make out in a dimly lighted place whether the object standing ahead is a human being or an inanimate post. On closer and minuter observation he discovers

that the object is possessed of hands and feet, and he at once decides that it is a human being, as hands and feet are characteristic of a human being alone and absolutely incompatible with an inanimate post. In this circumstance the condition of perception, viz. the contact of the visual organ with the human being, and that of inference, the synthetic judgement comprehending the existence of the probans—the possession of hands and feet as the invariable concomitant of humanity in the object standing in front --- are present alike and the resultant knowledge may be perception or inference, but not both, being mutually contradictory. The object to be cognised is, however, the same, viz. a human being. If we are to declare that the knowledge at issue is inference, we shall have to accept the conclusion that perceptual knowledge after a doubt is impossible. But if we consult the deliverance of our experience, we must adjudge it to be perceptual. So also with regard to the corrective knowledge which arises after an illusion. The law formulated at the beginning of the paragraph states this fact and helps us to emerge from a quandary. But one important fact has not yet been stated. Both the laws are subject to a proviso in their operation. The first law rules supreme if there is not a positive desire for perceptual knowledge at work. If the latter is found to operate, it will swing back the pendulum and the result will be perception and not inference. In the second law also the presence of a desire for inference will operate as a counteracting condition, and the condition of inference thus reinforced will push the condition of perception to the wall and will eventuate in an inference. So both the laws are to be qualified by a rider to the effect that they hold true, provided there is not a desire for the opposite kind of knowledge.

FALLACIES

We have dealt with the problem of *paksata* and we now propose to deal with fallacies (*hetvabhasas*), on which the Indian logician has furnished the evidence of his penetrating insight and critical observation. The study of fallacies in standard works on logic has been a favourite and useful pursuit from very old times both in Europe and India. Perhaps the necessity of exposing fallacies in the arguments of the opponent preceded the systematic and scientific study of logic as a separate science and discipline. In India we find that the distinction of fallacies of reason, which are strictly of a logical character and value, from the aberrations which resulted from inadvertence and sophistical motives was clearly recognised even in the *Sutra* period. Many of the fallacies treated of in standard works on European logic are not fallacies of inference, and they have been set apart in a different category by Indian logicians. The *nigrahasthana* (grounds of defeat) are rightly believed to form a wider class, which comprehends logical fallacies (*hetvabhasas*) in their scope as a particular variety, and were never confounded with purely logical aberrations. The fallacies, which have been called fallacies in *dictione* by Aristotle and which have their origin in ambiguity of language, are not regarded as fallacies proper by Indian logicians, and they have been judiciously placed under the head of

chalas (quibbles). Many of the fallacies of the *extra dictionem* variety also are not regarded as fallacies of reason, and they may be placed either under the head of quibbles or that of *nigrahasthanas*, which are symptomatic of other than logical delinquency. The fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*, which consists in proving a conclusion other than what is intended, will be subsumed under the head of *arthantara*, a variety of *nigrahasthanas*, which serves to show that the arguer has no clear grasp of the issue. *Hetvabhasas* or false reasons are precisely those fallacies in middle terms which when discovered are found to have no bearing on the conclusion sought to be drawn. A study of fallacies in a work on logic is justified on the ground that it contributes to the discovery of truth or defeat of the opponent by creating a habit of mind to avoid or to discover the flaws in our reasoning.

A *hetvabhasa* is defined to be a false probans, the discovery of which works as a deterrent towards inference; in other words, it is what makes inference impossible and illegitimate. A *hetvabhasa* may be regarded either as a false reason (*hetu*) or as a defect vitiating the reason. Whichever view may be taken of the nature of a *hetvabhasa*, the undeniable fact remains that the concept of *hetvabhasa* (which will hence-forward be rendered by us as fallacy) does not extend to any defect or shortcoming of a personal nature and stands strictly for those objective defects alone which obstruct the process of inference. We have seen that previous conviction of the conclusion is an obstacle to inference, and, according to the definition, it should be regarded as a case of fallacy. An argument, in which the probandum is admitted to be true by the opponent, is dismissed by the remark that it is wasted labour to prove what is not disputed or what is obvious. It is a case of *siddhasadhana*, i.e. of a reason proving what needs no proof, being too well-known. Though it may look like a fallacy, it is not so in reality. It is a defect, because it is concomitant with the third fallacy. The third fallacy, as we shall see, frustrates inference by making the synthetic judgement; which is the invariable antecedent condition of inference, impossible of realisation. *Siddhasadhana* indicates that the requisite character of a logical subject is wanting, because it is already known to be possessed of the probandum. Inference is possible only in respect of a logical subject; and if it be absent there can be no legitimate minor premise, and hence no synthetic judgement will be available. Thus, previous knowledge of the conclusion becomes a bar to inference, not in its own independent capacity, but because it involves the fallacy of the unproven probans. What is true of *siddhasadhana* is also true of a conditional probans (*sopadhikahetu*). It is not an independent fallacy, but a concomitant of the first fallacy. The definition, however, covers the accredited cases of recognised fallacies, which, according to the Naiyayika, are of five different types, viz. (1) *anaikantika* (the inconclusive probans lacking invariable concomitance with the probandum), (2) *viruddha* (the contradictory probans which is invariably concomitant with the absence of the

probandum), (3) *asiddha* (unproven probans), (4) *satpratipaksa* (the counterbalanced probans), and (5) *badhita* (the contradicted probans). We propose to consider how far these varieties of fallacies fulfil the terms of the definition. The inconclusive (*anaikantika*) probans thwarts the process of inference by violating the universal concomitance (*vyapiti*), which is one of the conditions of inference. The frustration of inference may be direct or indirect through the violation of the conditions of inference. Now, the conditions of inference are (i) the universal concomitance of the probans with the probandum; (ii) the subsistence of such probans in the subject --- which is expressed in the minor premise. The combined product of these two premises is the synthetic judgement (*paramarsa*) which immediately leads to inference of the conclusion. If by reason of any defect the synthetic judgement fails to materialise, the conclusion will not follow and a deadlock will be the result.

(1) The first type of fallacy (*anaikantika*) admits of three subdivisions, viz. (i) the common (*sadharana*); (ii) the uncommon (*asadharana*); and lastly, (iii) the inconsequential (*anupasamhari*). (i) The common inconclusive probans is one which is found to co-exist with the probandum (*sadhya*) and the absence of the probandum (*sadhyabhava*) alike. It violates the condition of necessary universal concomitance, which is fulfilled when the probans is found to be invariably concomitant with the probandum and to be absent in a locus wherein the probandum is absent. In other words, the concomitance must be attested both in agreement and difference. The common inconclusive fallacy is illustrated in the following argument: 'Word is imperishable, because it is a cognisable fact.' The concomitance of cognisability with imperishability is not necessary and does not exclude the opposite possibility. Even perishable things are cognisable. So the probans 'cognisable' is inconclusive, being common to perishable and imperishable things alike. It is fallacious because it obstructs inference by violating the condition of necessary concomitance. (ii) The fallacy of uncommon inconclusive probans thwarts inference by thwarting the ascertainment of the concomitance in agreement, which is a necessary condition of inference. 'Word is imperishable, because it is a word.' 'The hill is possessed of fire, because it is a hill.' These arguments are illustrations of the aforesaid fallacy, because the concomitance between the fact of 'being a word' and 'being imperishable' or 'being a hill' and 'being possessed of fire' is not capable of being ascertained outside the subject, and the necessity of the existence of the probandum in the subject is debarred by doubt. (iii) The inconsequential inconclusive probans arises when the subject is the totality of existent things, and the probans and the probandum are absolute universal concepts, as for instance in the argument, 'All things are nameable, because they are cognisable.' There is no case left over where the concomitance between the probans and probandum can be tested, as all existents have been included in the denotation of the subject. This sub-species

of fallacy, however, has been a subject of heated controversy, and Gangesa succeeds in vindicating this fallacy on the psychological ground of failure of a knowledge of universal concomitance, the failure being due to the absence of an accredited example where the concomitance can be ascertained.

(2) The contradictory probans (*viruddha*), being invariably concomitant with the contradictory of the probandum, contradicts the cognition of the necessary concomitance of the probans with the probandum and thus thwarts inference by removing one of its conditions.

(3) We now propose to discuss the third class of fallacy called *asiddha* (unproven). It admits of several subdivisions, varying with the terms of the syllogism that may be unproven. (i) The subject may be a fiction and this would involve the fallacy of the *unproven subject* (*asrayasiddha*). The argument, 'The golden hill is possessed of fire, because it is possessed of smoke', is abortive, inasmuch as no synthetic judgement cognising the presence of smoke --- concomitant-with-fire in a fiction is possible, while this judgement is invariably the immediate cause of inference. (ii) There may be a case of *unproven probans* (*svarupasiddha*) where the probans is known to be non-existent in the subject, as in the argument, 'The lake is on fire, because it is possessed of smoke.' The probans 'smoke' does not exist in the subject 'lake', and this affords an illustration of the fallacy of unproven probans (iii) There may be a case of *unproven probandum* (*sadhyasiddha*), as in the argument, 'The hill is possessed of golden fire, because of smoke.' The fallacious character of the unproven probans and the unproven probandum is evidenced by the failure of the synthetic judgement owing to the absence of the probans in the subject in the former and the absence of the probandum in the latter. The synthetic judgement has for its constituent terms the probans, the probandum, the concomitance between them and the subject 'as qualified by such probans; and the absence of any one of these factors will make the judgement, and through it the inference, an impossibility.' The same consequence arises when the probans is qualified by a fictitious or superfluous attribute. Hence 'golden smoke' has no probative value and even 'blue smoke' is no proof of fire, as concomitance with fire is understood in 'smoke' in its simple character of being smoke and not 'blue-smoke'. The probantia under discussion are regarded as fallacious, as they preclude the knowledge of concomitance, and through this failure the synthetic judgement (*paramarsa*) and inference (*anumiti*) are rendered impossible.

(4) The counterbalanced probans (*satpratipaksa*) is one which, is vitiated by a counter reason advanced in a separate argument to prove the contradictory of the thesis sought to be proved by it. To take a concrete instance, the argument, 'Word is imperishable, because it is amorphous like space', is counterbalanced by the argument, 'Word is perishable, because it is a product like a jar'. The first probans 'amorphous' is contradicted by the

second probans 'product'. The result is a deadlock, as one probans; is offset by another and consequently no inference is possible. The difference between the contradictory and the counterbalanced probans is this that the opposite thesis is proved by a second probans advanced in a supplementary argument in the fallacy of the counterbalanced probans, whereas in the former fallacy the self-same probans proves the opposite thesis and is further instrumental in proving the incompetence of the arguer in employing a probans to prove a thesis, which proves the reverse of it.

(5) We have now to deal with the last-mentioned fallacy called *badhita* (contradicted). This fallacy arises when the absence of the probandum in the subject is ascertained by means of other evidence. Thus, for example, when a person would like to argue, 'Fire is not-hot, because it is a substance and all substances such as water, earth, and air are known to be not-hot', the probans employed will be a contradicted probans. Fire is known to be hot by direct perception, and this directly contradicts the inference. The general definition of fallacy applies to this case *a fortiori*, as it thwarts inference directly. In fact, the contradicted probans and the counterbalanced probans are cases of direct fallacy, as they thwart inference proper; and the other fallacies are indirect, as they frustrate inference only by thwarting the instrument (*vyaptijnana*) or its operation in the shape of the synthetic judgement (*paramarsa*).

This fallacy, however, is not admitted by the Buddhist and Jaina logicians as a fallacy of probans; they would rather believe it to be a case of false probandum (*paksabhasa*). Others, again, have contended that this is not an independent fallacy and the failure of inference is due to the presence of other fallacies. Thus, for instance, if the probans is found to be non-existent in the subject, the fallacy would be a case of 'unproven probans'. If it is existent in the subject, it will be a case of inconclusive probans, as the concomitance of the probans with the probandum will be found to be absent in the subject itself by means of perception and the like. The Naiyayika meets these contentions by appeal to psychology. The sense of contradiction is different from that of non-concomitance. Again, when a person argues the presence of odour in the earthen jug at the very moment of its origination, the fallacy becomes a case of purely 'contradicted probans'. A substance remains divested of its attribute at the moment of its origin, and comes to be 'vested with it only in the second moment. The probandum 'odour' is predicated of the earthen jug at the moment of its origin, and this is contradicted by the law of causality --- the jug being the cause of odour cannot synchronise with the effect.

IMPORT OF WORDS AND PROPOSITIONS

The Naiyayika, again, has his own contribution to the study of linguistic problems. Language has been studied in India both in its phonetic and semantic aspects. In the realm of semantics, so far as the logical value of import of terms and propositions is concerned, the

grammarians, the Mimamsakas, and the Naiyayikas have each their own views, which are in sharp conflict with one another. There is a discussion of the expressive powers of words, of the objects denoted, of the meaning of the suffixes, the syntactical relations, and the resultant verbal judgement. It will be exceedingly cumbrous if we attempt to give an account of these speculations in English. But it must be stated, to guard against a possible misunderstanding, that these linguistic enquiries have not only achieved results which throw light on the structure of the Sanskrit language, but have also led to the discovery of universal laws which will apply to all the languages of the world. Though the syntactical structure of languages varies, the laws of combination of the meanings will apply *mutatis mutandis* to all languages. To take an example, 'Here is a blue cup' (*atra nilaghato'sti*), the syntactical relation of the adjective 'blue' to the substantive 'cup' is designated as *tadatmya* (denotational identity with connotational difference). The 'blue' does not denote an object different from the 'cup', so the relation is one of non-difference of denotation. The individual words have their specific individual meanings, but the relations of these meanings, which cement them into one unitary judgement, are not expressed by the component words, but by dint of their juxtaposition in a sentence in obedience to certain laws. These laws are called *akanksa* (mutual expectancy), *yogyata* (relevancy), and *sannidhi* (proximity both in regard to place and time). If only the adjective 'blue' were uttered, it would not give a complete meaning, and there would be an expectation for another term, viz. 'cup'. This capacity for giving rise to expectation in a human mind constitutes one of the cementing bonds of individual terms, by reason of which they produce a judgement in a rational mind. The second law of relevancy is also a necessary condition. We cannot speak of a 'cold fire', because the meanings are incongruent and irrelevant. The separate articulation of the individual words after long intervals will not give rise to the verbal judgement. So these three laws must be satisfied before there can be a consistent proposition. The syntactical relations, however, are understood only if the terms in a proposition fulfil the conditions noted above. So these relations are the import of the whole sentence. The whole, though made of parts, has a distinct individuality and a function distinct from that of the component factors. The meaning of a verbal proposition cannot be necessarily known by any other instrument of knowledge, say, perception or inference, so far at any rate as the hearer may be concerned, and hence the necessity of postulating a separate means of cognition, viz. verbal testimony (*sabda*). This is of course not the universally accepted position. The Vaisesikas and the Buddhists do not admit the logical necessity of verbal testimony as a separate instrument of knowledge, and they would fain include it under the head of inference or perception. The result has been an interminable tangle of polemics, into which the space at our disposal prevents us from entering.

COMPARISON

Comparison (*upamana*) is a special kind of *pramana*, and there is a difference of views between the Naiyayika and the Mimamsaka both in regard to its nature and function. The Naiyayika thinks it necessary to requisition the aid of this cognitive instrument when a person has to affix a verbal label to an unknown entity from analogy. To take an instance, a person is told that there is a wild animal called *gavaya* which closely resembles a cow. It so happens that the person so informed goes into a forest and actually sees a *gavaya*, and then recognising its close resemblance to a cow, he recollects the words of his informant and at once concludes that the animal is a *gavaya*. The designation of the animal as *gavaya* is made possible only by means of *upamana*, a separate source of knowledge, and neither by perception nor by the recollection of the informant's testimony. Whatever may be its logical value, which has been challenged by rival philosophers, it must be admitted that comparison as a proof has such a limited scope and its achievement is so meagre that it can be safely dispensed with in a scheme of epistemology. The centre of interest is found in the other three *pramanas*, of which again *anumana* and *sabda* have come to monopolise the entire attention of later students.

THE PLACE OF GOD IN THE NYAYA-VAISESIKA SUTRAS

It will not be possible within the limits of this paper to discuss all the metaphysical problems that have been broached in the *Sutra* and elaborately developed in the subsequent exegetical literature. We propose to deal with the following fundamental problems: the position and nature of God and the relation of God to the individual souls and the world. The Nyaya-Sutra, like the cognate Vaisesika-Sutra, postulates the ultimate reality of atoms as the material cause of the world and God as rather the organiser and engineer of the world-order. The world-process proceeds in cycles, and so far as its cyclic existence is concerned it is without a beginning and is coeval with God. The individual souls are eternal entities dating from a beginningless time and so have a parallel existence with God and the world. The Nyaya-Vaisesika school is, in this matter of beginningless creation, fully in agreement with other Indian schools of philosophy. In fact, the doctrine of beginningless existence of the individual souls together with the cyclic world-process is a fundamental postulate of most of the schools of Indian philosophy, and it deserves to be examined whether this doctrine is sanctioned by logical necessity or is an unreasoned dogma, uncritically accepted without question. A detailed examination of this problem will not be relevant to our present enquiry, and we must content ourselves only with showing that this conception is neither absurd nor unnecessary. Unless, we accept the position of unqualified scepticism or absolute illusionism, we have to admit the existence of a timeless entity, be it God or time or atoms or the indivisual souls. It is generally accepted in Western

philosophy that the soul is immortal; its immortality is however not clearly defined as existence through all time but rather as existence after death. If the soul is denied pre-existence and it is believed to come into being with the birth of the present body, it becomes difficult to believe in its endless future existence. It is a truism that things that have a definite origin are liable to destruction. And so unless we are prepared to accord a timeless existence to the soul it will not lie in us categorically to assert its immortality. Again, God at any rate is believed to be a timeless entity; and, if God is by nature an active principle, His activity too will be coeternal with His being, and it must express itself in the process of creation or destruction, and whatever may be found to be reasonable to predicate of God in the way of His activity must be supposed to exist through all time. Then, again, the individual selves, who are *prima facie* supposed to have a somewhat independent existence apart from God, cannot be supposed, without giving rise to absurdities, to have begun their career from a definite point of time. If they are supposed to be created by God in time and as such to be destitute of a pre-existence, no proof can be put forward to establish their immortality, which is the accepted position of most of the philosophers of Europe, barring of course the materialists and sceptics. It is refreshing to find that Dr. McTaggart is a staunch believer in the pre-existence of the self, and he has proved his thesis by arguments which are not liable to be easily assailed. But to the problem of immortality we shall have to advert in the course of our enquiry, and we now propose to deal with the position of God in the *Nyaya* and *Vaisesika Sutas*. (For a somewhat elaborate treatment of the problem the reader is referred to my article entitled 'Immortality of the Soul or After-life' published in the Centenary Number of the *Udbodhana*, the Bengali organ of the Ramakrishna Math.)

NO MENTION OF GOD IN THE SUTRAS

It is a matter of surprise that in the enumeration of the objects of authentic knowledge (I.1.9.) there is no specific mention of God, and in the proofs adduced for the existence of a unitary soul-entity as distinguished from the psychological processes, there is not the slightest allusion to God either as a supreme soul *primus inter pares* or as a separate category. We also miss any reference to God in a most expected quarter. The Nyaya and Vaisesika schools are zealous advocates of the supreme authority of the Vedas in the matter of religion, and though they do not believe either in the eternity of word-essence or the uncreated character of the Vedas as the Mimamsaka does, there is no explicit Statement of God as the author of Vedic revelation in the Sutra. This seems curious, inasmuch as the authority of verbal testimony, not excepting the authority of the Vedas, is derived from the veracity and infallibility of the speaker or writer. In the Bhasya of Vatsyayana too there is no clear reference to the divine authorship of the Vedas, although Vatsyayana is a staunch believer in the existence of God. In the *Vaisesika-Sutra*

(II.1.18) the authorship of the Vedas is attributed to persons of superior wisdom, who are said to be possessed of the power of direct intuition of supersensuous things spoken of in the scripture. In the aforesaid work (IV. 5.1-4), again the Vedic sentences are said to be the product of intelligent persons who had first-hand experience of the facts. Now there is no decisive evidence so far as the wording of the *sutras* is concerned which can enable us to conclude that the *Vaisesika-Sutra* definitely and clearly assigns a place to God in its scheme of metaphysics. The evidence of the *Nyaya-Sutra* too, we shall see, is not more definite, and, there is room for speculation, that these systems were, at any rate in their period of inception, without definite predilections or commitments in favour of God. The *sutras* 19-21 of chap. IV, sec. 1, in the *Nyaya-Sutra* are the only textual passages which allude to God as the creator of the world. But the first *sutra*, which speaks of the inadequacy of the individual's *karma* (moral actions) as the causal principle and makes God the creator of the world, is treated of as the *prime facie view*, which is rejected in the next *sutra*. The third *sutra* in the present context is interpreted by Vatsyayana as establishing the necessity of God's agency. The whole discourse can be summed up in the following words: The actions (*karmas*) of men are not the self-sufficient cause of the world, and so for the creation of the world we must postulate the agency of God. The answer to this contention is that this position cannot be maintained. If the actions of men were immaterial and God alone was the sufficient cause of the world-order there would be no *raison d'être* for moral activity. But we cannot conceive that results can take place without previous deeds. The third *sutra* '*Tatkaritatvadahetuh*' has been interpreted by Vatsyayana in the following way: 'The actions of men are by themselves incapable of producing their fruits but these are directly made fruitful by the agency of God. So the previous argument is inconsequential.' The results of this discourse as interpreted by the scholiast, seem to establish the fact that for the creation of the world God's agency is indispensable, as it is God alone who can dispense the rewards and punishments proper to men's actions in previous lives. Men's actions are not self-sufficient to produce their results which are realised in the creation of the world only because there is an omniscient and omnipotent, being behind them as the judge and ordainer of the fruits. So actions too are contributory factors to creation, but the direct agency is in the hands of God.

But this is not the only possible interpretation. The *vrttikara* has given an alternative explanation which entirely dispenses with God's agency and seeks to explain the failure of men's actions as due to the absence of previous merit (*adrsta*). The divergence of interpretation, which is made possible by the cryptic language of the *sutras*, leaves room for honest doubt whether the admission of God into the architectonic plan of Nyaya-Vaisesika metaphysics is strictly demanded by a logical necessity. Moreover, the introduction of this question of God's

agency into the discussion of the origin of the world is made by way of incidental reference in the *Nyaya-Sutra* and cannot be regarded as clinching the entire dispute. The purport of the *Sutra* seems to be to wage a crusade against those theories which denied the efficacy of *karma* and hence the moral foundation of the world-order. But in spite of the fact that the *Sutra* literature is obscure and non-committal on this vital issue, the later Nyaya-Vaisesika literature, beginning with Vatsyayana and Prasastapada, down to the latest developments in the Navadvipa school, is noted for its staunch defence of God's existence against the attacks of atheistic schools, and the Nyaya-Vaisesika school has rightly come to be respected as the masterful champion of theism. We therefore propose to consider the contributions of these writers to the evolution of the theistic doctrine in this school.

PLURALITY OF GODS IS A METAPHYSICAL IMPOSSIBILITY

But a question arises, Is a plurality of Gods possible? No, there is but one God and one God alone. Why should a plurality of Gods be postulated at all? If one God is impotent to bring about the world-order or to maintain discipline, a number of Gods with different functions allotted to them may be necessary and we shall have a republic of Gods and not absolute monarchy. But are these Gods omniscient? If they are not omniscient and omnipotent, they will be as impotent and helpless as we mortals are, and so they will not be equal to the task of creation and control of the world, which requires just these attributes. The result will be a failure to explain the world-order. If they are omniscient and omnipotent one and all, it is logically simpler and more economic to postulate the existence of one such God, for He will be able to discharge the cosmic functions alone and unaided. Apart from considerations of simplicity and logical economy, the postulation of a number of equally omniscient and omnipotent Gods will lead to insoluble complications. There is no certitude that they will act in unison and accord for all time, and there may arise occasions when they may differ. The result will be an unrelieved anarchy and confusion. If, however, it is supposed that these Gods will be guided by the counsels of one among them who will be the President, a *primus inter pares*, just as we see in the systems of democratic government, then, again, the President will be the virtual God and the supreme ruler, if his mandate is obeyed by all. If it is supposed that these omniscient Gods will never have occasion for dispute, since they will all be persuaded of the wisdom of a particular line of action and will therefore act in complete agreement, then of course none will be the ruler of the universe and so none will be God. But why should we at all believe in such a republic of God --- what logical necessity is there which will make us bless the theory? Absolutely no case can be made out for this hypothesis, and so we must reject it without hesitation or scruple. Polytheism as a philosophical doctrine is absolutely an illogical and superfluous

hypothesis, and it should be clearly recognised that India never favoured this doctrine either in theory or in practice, though unsympathetic critics, owing to their ignorance of the inwardness of Indian religious practices, have maligned the people of India and their religion on this ground.

RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL WITH GOD

We shall conclude our dissertation by adverting to a question of supreme importance. It is a truism that the Nyaya-Vaisesika school staunchly believes in the infallibility of Vedic religion, and its allegiance is not confined to the ritualistic portion of the Vedas alone, but extends to the Upanisads also, although this school follows its own interpretation of them. The Nyaya-Vaisesika school does not believe in monism, and its philosophy can be characterised as uncompromising pluralism. The relation of individual souls to God is neither one of pure identity nor one of identity in difference, but one of absolute and unqualified otherness. The relation of God to the individual selves is not internal but strictly and purely external. God is alluded to as being in the position of a father to the suffering souls, and His cosmic activity has been spoken of as inspired by considerations of justice and mercy alike. The supreme solicitude of God for the deliverance of suffering creatures from the meshes of trans-migration is also alluded to in clear and unambiguous language in the *Bhasya* of Vatsyayana. But man's relation to God is not clearly emphasised in the ancient literature. It is only in the works of Udayana that we find this topic broached. Udayana begins his *Nyaya-kusumanjali* with an impassioned salutation to God, and in the course of his writing he speaks of the worship of God as instrumental in the achievement of salvation and enjoyment of heavenly bliss, whichever may be sought for by His devotees. He

goes on to state that philosophical speculation is a kind of worship of the Deity and has its supreme justification and fulfilment only in so far as it leads the enquiring soul to surrender himself to God's protection and mercy. We are tempted to believe that the predominance of the devotional attitude in subsequent Nyaya literature is entirely due to the influence of Udayanacarya. It is remarkable that Vardhamana took great pains to reconcile this statement of Udayana with the orthodox Nyaya position that salvation is achieved by an unerring realisation of the true nature of the self, and this supreme saving knowledge is effected by proper understanding of the sixteen topics only. There is no room for love of God or worship of God or knowledge of God as an instrument of salvation. Vardhamana therefore was at great pains to bring it into line with the central position of the Nyaya philosophy, and he succeeds by making knowledge of God contributory to self-realisation. But Udayana in the concluding passages of the *Nyaya-kusumanjali* emphatically maintains that worship of God is essential for salvation, and his pleadings and advocacy of the necessity and logical possibility of self-surrender and meditation on God are unsurpassable for their devotional ardour, impassioned enthusiasm, and moral fervour. A better and more successful advocacy of theism is difficult to conceive. The *Nyaya-kusumanjali* will remain, we may be permitted to remark without exaggeration or partisan spirit, one of the best works on theism in the whole of world literature, noted alike for its spiritual earnestness and logical consistency. The philosophical literature of India, and not only of the Nyaya-Vaisesika school, would have been *pro tanto* poorer and weaker if Udayana had not been born to enrich it by his masterly contributions. ■

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN :
DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC POWER :
THE TRIPOLAR WORLD : 1960 TO 2010 A.D.

REGIONS	NO OF ECO-NOM-IES	PERCENTAGE OF WORLD GDP IN PPP TERMS			
		ACTUALS			PROJECTION
		1960	1987	1997	2010
NORTH AMERICA (USA AND CANADA) (USA was over 50% of World in 1945)	2	29.90	24.01	22.59	c.15 (\$7.5 trillion)
EUROPE (EU + FORMER USSR & SATELLITES) (Europe was about 25% of World in 1945)	37	35.09	33.86	26.64	c.(\$10 trillion)
PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA a) JAPAN AND S.KOREA - 2 b) CHINA AND HONGKONG - 2 c) ASEAN - 10		4.17 7.39 2.47	9.29 5.98 3.84	9.66 12.29 5.26	
TOTAL FOR PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA	14	14.03 + Taiwan	19.11 + Taiwan	27.21 + Taiwan	c.35 (\$17.5 trillion)
REST OF ASIA (INCLUDING INDIA, WHICH GESTATES 4 % OF WORLD GDP-PPP today)	31	7.86	8.04	9.07	c.10 (\$5 trillion)
REST OF WORLD (CARIBBEAN,LATIN AMERICA,AFRICA, OCEANIA AND AUSTRALASIA) (Asia and Rest of World were probably 25% of World in 1945)	90	13.12	14.98	14.49	c.15 (\$7.5 trillion) c.5 ** (\$2.5 trillion)
TOTAL NUMBER OF COUNTRIES TOTAL SIZE OF WORLD ECONOMY IN PPP DOLLARS	174*	100= \$6.5 trillion	100= \$23 trillion	100= \$37 trillion	100= probably \$50 trillion

* - out of a World total of 208 countries and territories

** - Errors and Onissions

Note: No GDP-PPP data could be obtained for the following countries: Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia-Herzagovina, Iraq, Liberia, Libya, Myanmar, N.Korea, Puerto Rico, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Taiwan, Yugoslavia and Zaire. Most of the omissions relate to strife-torn countries with very low GDP-PPP..

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

THE PERIOD OF CLOSE COOPERATION

1830s TO 1870s - I

Sharayu Mhatre

The Rayatwari Settlement

It appears that the nature of the rayatwari settlement carried out in the Bombay Presidency has been often misunderstood. This was the conjoint consequence of deliberate British propaganda, conscious or unconscious semantic confusion, and a presumption that imperialists always act in the interests of the conquered people.

Let us dispose off the third ground for misunderstanding. It is a firm belief of imperialists that they are forever acting in the interests of the subject peoples. Some scholars are taken in by such self-serving pronouncements. In respect of the rayatwari settlement of the Deccan, Tara Chand writes:

"The system was advantageous both to the Government and the cultivator...A further advantage was that it helped to win over the mass of the cultivating population to the support of British rule, and free it from dependance upon the support of a few big zamindars. The strength of British rule, it came to be realised, would lie more in the contentment of the masses than in the loyalty of the few who lived by the exploitation of the peasants." (*Op. cit.*, vol.1, p.277)

In the same way, the Americans contended that they were in Vietnam in the interests of the Vietnamese people, the French that they were in Algeria to further the welfare of Algerians and the Japanese went so far as to call their Asian empire the 'Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere'. There is not a shred of evidence to support

such contentions and as a matter of fact, all the accumulated evidence lies in the contrary direction.

As to the question why the imperialists should have wanted to hold millions of square miles and crores of subject people in thralldom and regularly kill lakhs of them in the latter's own interest, the only answer offered by imperialists is that they are motivated by sense of compulsive mission, or that it is their racial privilege, or that they have a quasi-religious duty to spread civilisation as they understand it. But such large assumptions of missionary, racial or spiritual prerogatives cannot be rationally accepted.

We may next take up the first source of misunderstanding, viz., British propaganda. Baden-Powell defines rayatwari as:

"the system of Survey and Land Revenue administration generally in which there is no middleman or landlord over the individual raiyats." (*The Land Systems of British India*, vol.III, 1892/1974, p.621)

He considers the principle of the rayatwari revenue system as the "principle of direct dealing with the individual cultivator." (*Ibid.*, p.392)

In the *Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government* by order of Governor-General of India in Council (1902), it was categorically stated:

"A Settlement is of two kinds: permanent, by which the demand of the state is made fixed and unalterable for ever; temporary, under which the State demand is revised at recurring

periods of greater or less duration. Inasmuch as all agricultural land in India must fall within either the permanently-settled or the temporary-settled areas, it is desirable to consider what are the criticisms or proposals that have been made with reference to each of these two classes. ...

"It is however, to the temporarily settled districts that the bulk of criticism has been directed, and to this branch of the subject the Governor General in Council will now turn. The two sub-divisions of this category will be successively examined; the zamindari tracts (in some provinces called *malguzari* and *talukdari*), where the landlord pays the land revenue to the State, whether he cultivates the land himself or by means of rent-paying tenants; and the *ryotwari* tracts, where the cultivator pays directly to the State." (pp. 5,9)

A victim of this British propaganda, but far from alone, was Tara Chand.

"What distinguished the ryotwari system from the zamindari was that it substituted for the multiplicity of landholders one zamindari, namely the Government. It brought the cultivators into direct relations with the Government which functioned as the sole landlord. It interposed no intermediate agency between the workers on the soil and the rulers of the country. It recognised, however, the proprietary rights of the cultivator in the land which he cultivated." (*Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 278)

We have shown above that the rayatwari settlement in Bombay, in fact, involved the setting of two sets of landed interests. The first consisted of feudalists, though a peculiar variety thereof, being made up of feudalists subordinated to the bourgeois economy and to the bourgeois state instituted by British imperialism. In that sense they may be considered to be semi-feudalists. In the region of Western India with which we are concerned, this made up about 29 per cent of the area.

The second set of landed interests embraced the bourgeois zamindars who were granted about a

quarter of the land as alienated villages or alienated lands within government villages.

But what is fascinating to observe about the remainder of the land area, or roughly 29,000 sq. miles out of a total of 55,000 sq. miles, is that even here the rayatwari settlement did not involve actual cultivators. This is made clear by the *1902 Resolution of the Government of India* on land revenue policy. The contradictory and yet confessional statements made therein may be now quoted in full:

(i) "As a matter of fact, the extent to which subletting prevails in rayatwari provinces indicates that the revenue is substantially below the rental value." (p. 30)

(ii) "The classes which suffer from famine: (para 30): An additional source of error lies in the conception, which is erroneous that it is from the rent-paying or revenue-paying classes of the agricultural community that the sufferers in famine and the recipients of famine relief are principally drawn.

An inspection of any relief works on a large scale, while it will show that the poorer sections of the tenant class are not unrepresented, will also demonstrate that the great majority are not rayots, but labourers on the land, whom the revenue assessment practically in no way affects. (p. 36)

(iii) "The rayots commonly sublet at a rent of half the gross produce, and the assessment is on the average equivalent to about a fifth of the amount which such a rent would bring the revenue-payer." (p. 59)

(iv) "It (land revenue) falls short of the rent at which most of the land is sublet with a profit of from 200 to 300 percent on the assessment." (p. 60)

(v) "Under the rayotwari system of Bombay, Madras and Burma, a large and increasing proportion of the land is regularly sublet at a rent of half the produce, and the growth of a tenant class who find a means of livelihood between the land and its nominal cultivators is at once a consequence of a moderate land revenue assessment and a proof of its moderation." (p. 62)

(vi) "Cash rents: 24. As regards cash rents such statistics as are available all go to prove that the letting value of land bears everywhere a high relation to the revenue demand. Very rarely has it been found to be less than twice the assessment. In many parts of the Presidency, and specially in the Deccan, it is a good deal higher three, four and even six to seven times the assessment being not uncommon." (p. 259)

(vii) "25. It will be seen that land is generally sold for about 24.8 times and mortgaged for about 19 times the assessment." (p. 260)

(viii) "26. The rapidity with which the hand is passing into the hands of the money-lending classes has sometimes been adduced as evidence of the burdensome character of the assessment. But as a matter of fact there is no better proof of the moderation of the assessment than the great demand which has arisen for it on the part of thrifty capitalists." (p. 261)

We have piled up quotations in order to nail the British propagandist lie. For the same 1902 Resolution

states that dues under the rayatwari settlement were collected directly from the cultivator (p. 9). At the same time, it lets the cat out of the bag by maintaining against R.C. Dutt and others who wanted the permanent settlement to be extended to the whole of India that the rayats "commonly sublet", that "most of the land is sublet" and that "a large and increasing portion of the land is regularly sublet" (pp. 59-62). In other words the term rayat was interpreted as cultivator as it suited the British.

This brings us to the third and last source of misunderstanding of the nature of the rayatwari system, viz., that of semantic confusion. It might have been unconscious in the case of innocent Indian scholars like Tara Chand, who made 'the rayat' equivalent to 'the worker on the soil'. However, in the case of Baden-Powell we are inclined to think that the obfuscation was deliberate. In *The Land - Systems of British India*, Baden-Powell simultaneously advances three different meanings of the terms rayat and rayatwari as follows:

(i) Rayat meant cultivator and the rayatwari settlement an arrangement for receipt of land revenue from cultivators. (This has already been cited in and is to be found on p. 621 of his book.)

(ii) Rayatwari meant individual assessment, in contrast to collective or village settlement, effected in North-West India (Uttar Pradesh). This is asserted on the same page (621):

"Rayatwari (= according to individual holdings)..."

This distinction between rayatwari and mahalwari is argued at length in Book 4, Part 2, Chapter I, and is reiterated scores of times (pp. 197-247).

(iii) The third meaning imputed to 'rayat' was exactly the opposite of "cultivator" viz., that the so-called rayat was actually a descendent of some old princely and landlord family.

"...it was a general feature of the Dakhan villages at the beginning of this century that over large areas there was found a class of cultivators called 'mirasidar', which implies that they are 'hereditary' landholders.... they were once members of co-sharing-landlord communities... The Persian term 'mirasi' probably came into use when the Muhammadan Dakhan kings ruled. One of their ministers, Malik Ambar made a revenue settlement in the seventeenth century. In this he seems to have adopted, at any rate partially, a system of village-assessments, and encouraged and perhaps restored, the 'mirasidars'. But the landholders had a term of their own, 'thalwai' or 'thalkari' = shareholder - leaving no doubt as to the nature of hereditary right implied in 'mirasi'. The villages were, in fact, divided into major shares, 'stal' (= patti or tarf, of Upper India). It is evident that the 'thalwai' (or mirasi) right was long respected.... In the end, whether "by the uniform pressure of latter Maratha demand, ... or whether by the gradual decadence of the old landlord class, the special feature of 'mirasi' holding disappeared. In the first quarter of the present century, no such surviving joint ownership existed as would warrant the 'village system' of revenue

management being adopted." (pp.256-57)

In support of this third imputation, on page 621, it is stated: "Raiyat (or exactly, ra'iyat, Arabic) = protected..."

Thus 'rajyat' in Baden-Powell's spelling and 'ryot' as spelt in official British state papers, could mean a cultivator, or an individual assessee whether cultivator or a non-cultivator descendent of an old landlord. In other words, it could mean anything at all, and in practice, nothing. It is this sort of lying imperialist propaganda that misled Marx into writing that the rayatwari system was "a caricature of French peasant proprietorship." (*On Colonialism*, undated, p.80) Actually it was not even a caricature! It was merely an arrangement of extracting tribute from the Indian people whereby a lower rung of the minutely divided Indian feudal hierarchy was got hold of and made to pay land-tax in order to extract a larger sum of revenue. The distinctive characteristic of rayatwari settlement was not that it was made with cultivators, nor that it was made with individuals whether cultivators or not, and not at all with descendents of mythical old "landlord communities." The essential characteristics of rayatwari were in our opinion, two:

(i) That the settlement was temporary. In other words, British administration left open for itself the option to enhance the tribute whenever it felt that the market value of land and crops justified such enhancement without provoking social and political upheaval.

(ii) That the settlement was with a lower order of feudal hierarchs who could be taxed more. In other words, the rayatwari system was structurally not different from permanent settlement, but was formally distinguishable by the exigencies of British rule.

All this does not mean that an occasional, actual cultivator did not obtain the rayatwari patta in his favour. By chance or accident, a cultivator might realise the 'dream' of possessing an individual holding under rayatwari patta. As the Government of India Resolution of 1902 amply evidences in the course of the nineteenth century, even this chance or accidental and certainly rare acquisition of rayatwari patta by an actual tiller of the soil was either lost to the moneylender or the so-called tiller of the soil had elevated himself into the "elite" of rack-renters. It only means that the rayatwari land revenue settlement was not designed for the accommodation of the actual cultivators of the soil. The system was evolved to accommodate and benefit a lower order from the elaborate Indian feudal hierarchy of those who lived on the toil of others and to metamorphose the lower feudalists into bourgeois zamindars of a humble rank.

The different systems of land tenures or settlements arose in the nineteenth century because the British budgeting procedure was roughly as follows:

(i) All charges in relation to expenses incurred by the so-called Home Government, interest on government loans, guaranteed dues on railway loans, etc., were first debited to India. In other words, unless there was a drain of wealth from India, represented by the totality of the so-

called "Home Charges," it would not have been possible to persuade the English Parliament to rule India in the interests of the entire British capitalist class.

(ii) The essential administrative expenditure necessary to continue the drain of wealth from India had then to be accommodated. This included military expenditure as also cost of employment of Englishmen in privileged echelons of the bureaucracy; banking, insurance and freight charges; pensions for ex-servants, both military and civilians; other necessary outlays to boost imperial prestige; returns on British investments in India; gains to be made from unequal terms of trade extracted from India; and so on.

(iii) Revenues had to be "raised" to meet the above two requirements since those depended upon political considerations, including the expenditure necessary to exclude competitors like France, Germany, U.S.A., and Japan. Land revenue settlements were formally altered to suit such circumstances. In late eighteenth century, permanent settlement (initiated by Warren Hastings and confirmed by Cornwallis) yielded enough to meet the above requirements. In the fourth decade of the nineteenth century and thereafter as these requirements went up, it became necessary to impose the rayatwari settlement. No other distinction between the two is historically valid.

Rayatwari Settlement in Operation

Throughout the nineteenth century, the expenditure of the government of India went on increasing year after year and by leaps and bounds. The main reasons for this increase were:

(i) In 1765, the British had acquired merely a toehold on Indian territory. The expansion of administrative responsibilities and costs received a big spurt after the fall of the Peshwa in 1818 and the conquest of Sikh Punjab in 1849. Under the doctrine of lapse, further acquisitions were made so as to make British Indian presidencies a contiguous geographical mass upto 1856. Thus by sheer enlargement of the area to be ruled, it became necessary to increase budgetary allocations.

(ii) The rivalry with other European imperialisms --- with Russia in Central Asia, with France in North Burma, Thailand and Indochina region and with Holland in the Malaya, Indonesia area compelled an adventurous military policy aimed at the discovery and establishment of a so-called "scientific" frontier. The disastrous Afghan Wars, the costs of the Persian Mission, the maintenance of influence in the Gulf States, Yemen, Sudan and Egypt, the more successful Burmese Wars and neutralisation of Thailand, the gobbling up of Malayan States under Thai suzerainty, and the building up of the military bases of Singapore and Trincomalee against the Dutch involved very heavy military expenditure. All these costs were debited to India on the specious theory that India was ruled in the interests of Indians by the British.

(iii) The costs of the maintenance of British rule over India naturally went on increasing as the Indian masses stirred into action, particularly during the First War of Indian Independence, 1857-60. Furthermore, external

dangers multiplied as Britain lost its industrial lead in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the scramble for the carving up of Africa proceeded apace. Once again Indian mercenary forces had to be employed, particularly in Eastern and Southern Africa to thwart Italians, French, Germans and Belgians, as well as the local nationalist movements of the Boers and the Zulus and to contain similar outbreaks.

(iv) As industrial unrest and social tensions mounted within Great Britain (Chartist, Reform and Anti-Corn Law Movements, echoes of 1848 struggles, etc.) it became necessary to bribe the English middle classes and the labour aristocracy with attractive opportunities in the imperial service. Thus India and other colonies had to pay the fantastic high salaries of British officials from the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief to the Educational Department Inspector and Police Sub-inspector, so as to enable the British capitalist class to overcome domestic opposition, and to grant to the latter welfare concessions.

(v) The enormous profits accruing from the exploitation of India created an appetite for still greater loot. Thus in the course of the nineteenth century, the revenue settlements were continuously revised upwards to squeeze the last drop of blood from a famished populace. Salt and opium monopolies were used to yield the maximum returns. The Forest Laws were brought into operation to expropriate the common lands of the villagers. The Inam Commissions took away large chunks from the defeated followers of the Peshwa. In every way, the screw went on being tightened until Indians just could not sustain life and died by the crores. So complete was the prostration of India that the Famine Commission of 1880 noted, about the impact of the Great Famine of 1876-8, that the greater and necessary efforts to save all possible lives-

“would go far to render the future government of India impossible. The embarrassment of debt and the weight of taxation, consequent on the expenditure thereby involved, would soon become more fatal to the country than the famine itself.” (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973, vol.9,p.58B)

In other words, the saving of Indian lives during famine was inconsistent with continued British rule over the people.

How spectacularly the expenditure of the government of India climbed up can be seen in R.C. Dutt's *Economic History of India*. Between 1817-18 and 1837-38, the gross expenditure of the Government of India remained relatively steady, showing a minor decline of about 1/2 million pound. (vol.1, pp. 402,405). Between 1837-8 and 1857-8, it more than doubled (vol..2,p.212). From the latter year to 1876-7, it nearly doubled once again. (*Ibid.*, p.373), and from the latter year to 1901-2, it once again almost doubled itself (*Ibid.*, p.595). Overall increase from 1817-18, when it stood at just over 18 million pounds, to 1901-2, when it stood at just above 107 million pounds was of the order of 90 million pounds. (Roughly, for the first three-quarters of the 19th century, we may accept 1

million pounds as equivalent to one crore of rupees and thereafter as one and one-third crores of rupees.)

As far as Bombay presidency is concerned, Tilak's *Kesari* wrote in 1902, that of the additional revenue of 120 crores that the government had collected from the people between 1885 and 1895, 80 crores had been swallowed up by army (Bipan Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 585). At the same time, total government expenditure on welfare for the two selected years was as follows:

	1885	1895
Education	1.04crores	1.37crores
Scientific Department	0.40crores	0.45crores
Med icine & Public Health	0.69crores	1.53crores
Irrigation	0.79crores	0.2crores
		(net revenue income)

(Source: *Ibid.*,p.621)

Just as military expenditure was the biggest item of expenditure till the end of British rule in India, similarly land revenue was the single most important item of state revenue till the third decade of this century (Vera Anstey, *op.cit.*,p.538). The best summary of the painful burden borne by the cultivators of our area is provided by the Resolution of the Government of India issued by the Governor-General in Council on 16th of January, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902). Whilst this Resolution pretends to defend British administration, it makes so many admissions in passing that upon a careful reading, exactly the opposite effect is created than that intended by its authors. The Resolution states *inter alia*:

(i) In the Indapur taluka of Poona district, the first settlement was made by one Pringle in 1829-31. This was so fierce that it is admitted that it was 70 per cent more than the Tanka settlement of Malik Amber (p. 246).

(ii) It is openly confessed that the excessive assessment by Pringle created such confusion that the revenue department bureaucrats “generally introduced throughout the district” a system of unauthorised collection which far exceeded even the authorised exorbitant rates.

(iii) It is alleged that under the Marathas the cultivators had “to pay all that could be exacted from them” and that this amounted “to not less than one half of the gross produce.” (p. 246). It was estimated that in respect of the eighteen districts acquired by the British, this came to Rs.256 lakhs. In 1895-96, the British coolly raised it to Rs. 301 lakhs or by 15 per cent.

(iv) Whilst famines ravaged the districts, it is nonchalantly admitted that the revised survey settlements of the late sixties and early seventies raised the original demand (of 30 years previous) by 30 per cent and that the second revision of the end of the century raised it still further (pp., 246, 255).

(v) It is confessed that in the year 1891-92, when there was a considerable failure of crops, no less than 99.2 percent of the land revenue demand was actually collected, and that in 1896-97, in a season of severe famines, 95.3 percent was extracted, with “an insignificant amount of pressure” (p.257).

What this euphemistic phrase meant in practice was commented upon by K. Marx in his article for *New York Daily Tribune* of 17.9.1857. In the course of this article, Marx quotes DeHousie that "he has long ceased to doubt that torture in one shape or other is practised by the lower subordinates in every British province." One of these so-called lower subordinates, one Brereton, Deputy Commissioner in charge of Ludhiana District, had as per Dalhousie himself provided "irrefragable proof" of being "guilty of each item in the heavy catalogue of irregularities and illegalities" and of "arbitrary imprisonment and cruel torture of rayats" (*On Colonialism*, undated, pp. 151-56).

To return to the 1902 Resolution, it was observed therein that, the Settlement Officer would probably propose an increase of assessment, if the letting and mortgage Value land increased amongst other factors (p. 250). Considering the facts that land was sold in our districts at 25 times the assessment and mortgaged for about 19 times, it was reiterated that the heavy enhancement of demand after each settlement of thirty years was justified (p.260).

(vi) It was acknowledged that Sholapur was the most highly assessed district and that the cultivator was left with only Rs.10.22 per cultivated acre after paying the assessment. Since, however, in actual practice, it was conceded that the real cultivators paid three, four and even six to seven times assessment (p. 259) to those who let their land as rayatwari holders, it is obvious that the British administration knew very well that the real cultivator was actually left with nothing.

(vii) It is admitted that one bad year in three was the accepted standard in the Deccan. By the same token, it was admitted that the actual enhancement in relation to real output from land was one-third more than the 30 per cent admitted by revision surveys (p. 259).

(viii) The climax of callous confessions is reached by the Government of Bombay presidency when at the end of its report to the Government of India, it states with reference to the devastating famines in the Deccan of the end of the century:

"It may reasonably be doubted whether in any country in

the world so large a proportion of the population could have been thrown out of occupation and deprived of their ordinary means of livelihood for such lengthened periods with less disastrous results." (p.265)

Due to numerous changes in administrative boundaries of districts and acquisition of new territories like Satara it is not possible to follow the increase in land revenue assessments for our eight districts excluding Bombay City and Island for a uniform period of years through the Bombay Gazetteer series. But we have prepared the table given herein below on the basis of comparable data made available by the compilers for selected years:

The overall picture appears to be that in a total of some 308 years there was an increase of about 328 percentage points or more than 1 percentage point per year.

On the whole it seems that in the 90 years of British rule on which this study is focussed, the payment by rayatwari patta holders to the state must have increased by some 90 percentage points over the actual collections made by the Marathas during the last years of their rule.

Our conclusion is confirmed by the study of Mann and Kanitkar, *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, 1921, where it was found that the revenue collected in 1823 by the British was not only the highest ever, but was almost five times that realised in the last year of Peshwa rule (1817). Mann and Kanitkar's conclusions were that as a result of the first regular settlement (upto 1871-72) which was reduced from the 1823 level, the assessment was a little less than 2 1/2 times the 1817 net revenue. The second survey settlement was pitched at 3 1/2 times the base year. The third settlement of 1915 made the assessment about the same or 3 3/4 times the base year. In this entire period 1817-1915, the cultivated area increased by less than 16 per cent. The significant absolute figures are net revenue in 1817, Rs. 427, and in 1823, Rs.1,950. Assessment during first settlement, Rs. 1,161, during second, Rs. 1,467 and, during third Rs.1,581. Assessed area in 1817 was 1954 acres and from 1876-77 to date was 2,271 acres. (pp.34, 40)

The rayatwari holders paid a heavy price for the benefits of bourgeois development which the British carried through. The

	LAND REVENUE	YEAR	LAND REVENUE	YEAR	INCREASE % IN YEARS	
Thana	10,58,480	1830-31	14,13,450	1879-80	36	49
Kolaba	5,22,411	1852-53	7,38,988	1880-81	40	28
Ratnagiri	6,60,800	1830-31	9,3,070	1878-79	42	48
Poona	6,36,124	1837-38	10,36,718	1882-83	61	45
Nasik	9,60,062	1858-59	12,50,431	1877-78	31	18
Ahmadnagar (i)	3,96,510	1836-37	6,97,010	1847-48	43	11
Ahmadnagar (ii)	9,59,078	1835-39	11,21,490	1882-83	16	42
		1842-43				
Sholapur	6,31,938	1840	9,01,748	1880	42	40
Satara	11,39,564	1854-55	13,59,457	1881-82	19	27

Source: *Bombay Gazetteer*: vol.13, part 2, p.641, vol.11, p.214, vol.10, p.275, vol.18, part 2, p.512, vol.16, p.303, vol.17, pp.433,538, vol.20,p.361, vol.19, p.384.

real cultivators, meaning the poor peasants who rented land from patta holders, the unemployed artisans who were thrown back on land, the miserable farmers who accepted onerous share-cropping terms and landless labourers in the grip of the moneylenders, actually paid through blood and perpetual hunger for the entire social change in favour of capitalism carried out under British tutelage in 19th century Maharashtra.

The Communication Network

In order to exploit India more efficiently, to convert her into a supply depot of raw materials increasingly needed by the newer and bigger industrial units coming up in the metropolis, to develop her as a market for the increasing volume of finished products poured forth by British industry, to make India absorb significant amounts of finance capital at high rates of yield and to safeguard all these operations with a sufficient number of troops concentrated at strategic locations that could be moved at short notice to trouble spots, it was necessary to develop the communication network in the country. Thus ports, roads, railways, telegraph lines, post, sea-cables, etc., had to be developed to tie down India to British and world economies.

As far as our area is concerned, we may briefly review the developments that occurred. A pattern of typical colonial development took place whereby Bombay was subordinated to metropolitan centres, and the smaller ports in the Konkan were, in an identical manner, subordinated to Bombay. This is vividly brought out by the following passage from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. 10, 1880:

"In former days Bombay firms were obliged to order and to keep on hand large stocks of the staples of commerce. The heads of the large commercial firms lived in Bombay, where their experience and judgment were most wanted. Now no stocks are kept by merchants, and all important business is transacted by wire. The heads of the firms are usually in England, and the operations are directed, as the case may be, from London, Liverpool, or Manchester. Much the same change, on a smaller scale, has been gradually brought about in Vengurla. The trade of this town is now mostly carried on by Bombay merchants and traders in the Southern Maratha country by means of their commission agents, *dalals*, in Vengurla. These agents are responsible for clearing and despatching consignments as fast as they were received. They are warned by wire of the despatch of the goods, and beforehand provide land or water carriage as required. They keep their clients informed of the ruling market prices, and act on their instructions as to local purchases or sales. It is no longer necessary for the Kanarese trader in Belgaum or Hubli, or Bhatia firms in Bombay, to keep a branch and partners at Vengurla. Even should a visit to Vengurla be occasionally necessary, the regular steamer takes the Bhatia down from Bombay, or the Kanarese trader easily makes the journey by road. Usually, the agent, *dalal* is summoned once or twice a year to Bombay to make up

his accounts and.. **no principals reside at Vengurla.**" (p. 180)

Port, Docks and Land Reclamation

The entire development of port, docks and the reclamation of land required for the purpose, as well as for the terminal points of G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. Railways was turned into a bonanza for British private capital and their native partners. The Elphinstone Land and Press Company was one of the principal agencies, and between 1856 when it commenced operations and 1870 when it was liquidated, it operated upon a total area of 386 acres which included the Victoria Terminus and its surroundings. During the share mania of 1861-65 which had been provoked by the American Civil War and the consequent Indian Cotton Boom, the shares of this company reached a fabulous premium --- as high as Rs. 1 lakh 80 thousand. By 1866-67, the Company had a paid-up capital of Rs. 1.28 crores, and apart from all the profits made and remitted abroad throughout its existence, it was paid an additional sum of Rs. 1.86 crores, even though it was under liquidation. There were other companies in the field too like the Backbay Reclamation Company which provided the land needed for the Churchgate railway station. This company also mis-managed its affairs to go into liquidation. (For details see *Gazetteer of Bombay city and Island*, vol. III, 1910, pp. 69-72, vol. 1, 1909, pp. 66-67)

Even British officialdom was compelled to admit the scandalous terms on which the Elphinstone Company was allowed to reclaim strategic areas:

"...politically the bargain was a mistake; for the company secured a monopoly of the harbour frontage opposite that point; in the native town where the country-trade had for years centred, and owing to the proximity of the railway terminus, were also in a position to subject a large portion of the trade of the port to wharfage and other dues." (*Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 69)

Similar happenings, involving a waste of the Indian taxpayer's money for the benefit of British investors and their native partners, led to the Nariman-Harvey Case of this century, but in the nineteenth century nationalist protests were as yet distant.

Going back to the 19th century, it will be recalled that in the introduction we have already noted the enormous loss suffered by one of the leading lights of the period in the crash of the Backbay Reclamation Company.

In the same way the Mazgaon Dock was handed over to P. and O. Company in 1859 and was still in its possession in 1910 (*Ibid.*, p.259). Another dock was constructed by the British India Company in 1845, and leased to the P. and O. from 1846 to 1870 when the British India Steam Navigation Company became tenant. A third, the Ritchie Dock was built by the P. and O. Company between 1859 and 1867. A fourth dock belonged to the Viegas Company. The Sassoon and Company had a fifth dock in 1875. Other private wharf owners prior to 1877 were the Colaba and Frere land companies. On a trivial excuse, two wharves of the Prince's Dock were allocated to Graham and Company.

It was not merely as private owners that British companies made money, but as huge contractors of public works, e.g., Glover and Company made money on a contract of 42 lakhs and Messrs. Price, Wills & Reeves on a contract of Rs. 373 lakhs, etc. (*Ibid.*, pp. 259-265).

Railways

The objectives of railway development in India were spelt out with brutal frankness by Dalhousie and these remarks are too well-known amongst Indian scholars to need elaborate reiteration. Nevertheless, very briefly we may restate the central ideas of his notorious minute of 1853. The objectives behind the introduction of Railways in India were:

"To immensely increase the striking power of his military forces at every point of Indian Empire:"

to "bring British capital and enterprise to India;" and to "bring into the ports produce from the interior." (Quoted in R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol.IX, pp.384-85)

Naturally the entire operation was carried out in a manner which would yield the greatest benefit to British capitalists. By a Guarantee Scheme, a system was devised whereby extravagant expenditure was incurred at the cost of the Indian people. As a former Finance Minister in India put it to a *Parliamentary Enquiry on Indian Finance* in 1872:

"Enormous sums were lavished and the contractors had no motive whatever for economy. All the money came from the English capitalist, and so long as he was guaranteed five per cent on the revenue of India, it was immaterial to him whether the funds that he lent were thrown into the Hooghly or converted into bricks and mortar... It seems to me that they were the most extravagant works that were ever undertaken." (Quoted in R. Palme Dutt, *India Today*, 1949, p. 129)

Actually, the statement that the capital came from England was a falsehood, for, as R.C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji and William Digby have proved in their works of 1901, British capital invested in India was in reality first raised in India from the plunder of the Indian people, and then written down as debt owed by India to Britain, on which basis an accelerated drain from India by way of interest and dividends was then extracted.

So fantastic was the expenditure that as on December 31, 1880, the capital cost per mile for the G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. Railways, the lines that concern our area, was Rs.1,95,945 and Rs.1,85,582 respectively (*The Congress Select Committee Report on The Financial Obligations between Great Britain and India*, 1931, p. 52).

We need not here go into the details of manipulations of rates and fares carried out by the British administration to favour export and import trade at the cost of internal movements and indigenous industries, nor into the flagrant discrimination exercised in favour of British importers and manufacturers. (A convenient summary of the issues is to be found in Radhakamal Mukerjee,

Economic Problems of Modern India, vol.1, 1939, pp. 278-81)

The first 21 miles of the G.I.P. Railway were opened to traffic in 1853, and by 1867, 1870 and 1871; the three termini at Nagpur, Jabalpur and Raichur were reached. By 1870 and 1871, through communication had been established with Calcutta and Madras. The B.B. & C.I. Railway entered our area with a contract in 1859 for construction of a line from Surat to Bombay. The connection was completed in 1864 when Ahmedabad was linked to Bombay (*Gazetteer of Bombay City & Island*, vol.1, pp.344-353)

The railway development for our area may be summarised for the six districts of our region, excluding Bombay, which has been dealt with above, and also excluding Kolaba and Ratnagiri, where no railway development took place, as follows:

District	Crucial Railway Year
1.Thana	1853
2.Poona	1858
3.Nasik	1861
4.Ahmadnagar	1878
5.Satara	1889
6.Sholapur	1859

The absence of railway development in the Konkan districts of Kolaba and Ratnagiri was in all probability due to the fact that military strategic considerations did not require it. The coast could be threatened and controlled by warships. Also, Konkan did not cultivate the kind of bulk produce that was needed by British industry. Anyway, the absence of the rail line in a period when road transport was primitive, imposed a double backwardness upon the region. This backwardness afflicts the area even today. As a result, on one hand, futile but special continuing efforts are being made to develop the area, and on the other hand, regionalist demands lie just below the surface of the socio-political life of this sub-region of Maharashtra.

In the sociological literature, much has been often made of certain trivial and accidental consequences of railway development like its contribution towards "breakdown of caste and community barriers" and "broadening of rural horizons." As a matter of fact, the reality was far more complex. By vendors on Railway platforms shouting "*Hindu chai*" and "*Muslim Pani*" and "*Brahmin khana*" and so on, communal and caste barriers were in many ways intensified. Also the employment of lakhs on famine relief works had a far more powerful effect on breaking down caste barriers as compared with third-class railway compartments. For, "equality before death" was transmuted into "equality before approaching death" in the case of the mass of the Indian people. However, a matter of greater importance is that caste barriers cannot be broken or mitigated by such mechanical contrivances as the railways. It needs a transformation of social life to bring about such strong results and the whole bourgeoisification process accelerated by the British

hegemony in nineteenth century Maharashtra was aborted by impoverishment, deindustrialisation, ruralisation and forced under-development in Britain's colony that was India. Hence, further, caste and communal barriers could not be dissolved; and poverty, the struggle for survival and the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" actually intensified the horrors of the fragmented Indian society.

Roads

We need not go into details of the chronological development of the remaining forms of communication. However, a few interesting vignettes may be culled from the Gazetteer series which reinforce our description of the British-imposed process of military development in our region, and the overwhelming importance that the British attached to military considerations in its road-construction programme for India.

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 17, Ahmadnagar:

(i) "About 1840, in great measure through the enterprise of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai of Bombay, the export of Berar Cotton was turned from its former eastern course to Mirzapur to a western route across the Deccan to Bombay." (p. 327)

(ii) "...the Poona-Ahmadnagar road ... was built for military purposes as Ahmadnagar was the headquarters of the Bombay artillery." (*Ibid.*)

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 18, Poona, Part II:

(iii) "The first road made by the British was the POONA-PANVEL Road, from Panvel in Thana through the Bor pass to Poona. In the close of 1779 the leaders of the unfortunate expedition that ended in the Vadgaon Convention spent four weeks (23rd November - 25th December) in making a path fit for Artillery up the Bor pass. In 1804, General Wellesley constructed a good military road from the head of the Bor Pass to Poona." (p. 142. The same passage is repeated in vol. 13, *Thana*, Part I, p. 318)

(iv) "The BOMBAY-AHMADNAGAR road ... From this road a new excellent military road branched to the right near Vadgaon." (vol. 18, Part II, p. 142)

(v) "At present (1884) in the Poona and Kirkee cantonment and in the civil limits of two stations, fortytwo miles of Imperial roads and twenty-eight miles of provincial roads, all metalled and bridged, are kept in repair... (*Ibid.*, p. 148)

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 13, *Thana*, Part I

(vi) "Two other military roads, to Gujarat and to Nasik, engaged the early attention of the Bombay Government. The part of the route between Poona and Gujarat, that lay through the rugged country between the Tal pass and Bhiwandi, was improved by the Pioneers in 1826. To improve the route by Bhiwandi through the Tal paaa to Igatpuri, twelve miles of approach, from Khardi to Kasara were constructed between 1850 and 1858 by Lieutenant C. Scott of the Bombay Engineers. Lieutenant Chapman, of the Bombay Engineers, carried the road beyond Kasara to Igatpuri, making one of the best engineered roads in Western India." (pp.318-19)

Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 10, *Ratnagiri and Savantwadi*:

(vii) "...during the first years of British rule, the people suffered much from being forced to carry the baggage of military and other travellers. For forty years, except the military road from Vengurla through the Ram pass south to Belgaum, and four miles from the Dapoli camp to the Harnai sands, little was done to better the roads." (p. 168)

The development of the communication network considered immediately above and the alteration in the pattern of trade to be considered immediately below were the major factors in the new pattern of urbanisation that became manifest in nineteenth century Maharashtra. This new urbanisation pattern has been considered in many places throughout this dissertation. ■

MASTERPIECES OF WORLD LITERATURE:10 LA CONDITION HUMAINE:

Andre Malraux (1901-1976)

Introductory Remarks by Vinayak Purohit

FRENCH LITERATURE OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

In our earlier Introductory Remarks to Tolstol's *War and Peace* (MK, Vol 2, No.4, Jan.1997), we had identified Russian and French literatures of the 19th and 20th centuries as the most significant currents within the limited European context.

The Spanish *Ora di Sigla* (Golden Age) occurred a little earlier in the 16th and 17th centuries coinciding with the climax of the Spanish Colonial Empire. The Italian peak was reached even earlier in the 12th to 15th centuries, parallel with the rise and growth of Communes.

The other literatures of Europe, like the Dutch, the Belgian, the English, the Irish, the Scandinavian, the German, the Swiss, the Central and East European Slavic and Baltic, the Greek, etc., were still more minor affairs. (Just because we Indians fell into the British imperialist trap or clutches, our intellectuals have got an exaggerated notion of the value and worth of English literature, which is, all said and done, merely of passing interest).

Among the leading lights of French literature of the last two centuries or so, we may mention:

Le Sage (1668-1747), who translated from the Spanish *Gil Blas*; Marivaux (1688-1783) Montesquieu (1689-1755); Voltaire (1694-1778), who as the *EB* mentions, regretted having introduced Shakespeare to the French); Rousseau (1712-1778); Diderot (1713-1784, : and the Encyclopaedists like D'Alembret, Condillac, de Buffon, Condorcet, Holbach, etc.); Beaumarchais (1732-1799); Marquis de Sade (1740-1814); Saint Simon (1760-1825, also Fourier

and Proudhon); Chénier (1762-1794); Chateaubriand (1768-1848); Stendhal (1783-1842); Michelet (1798-1894); Victor Hugo (1802-1885); Dumas Pere (1802-1870); Saint Beuve (1804-1869); George Sand (1804-1876); Gautier (1811-1872); Baudelaire (1821-1867); Flaubert (1821-1880); Renan (1823-1892); Dumas Fils (1824-1895); Taine (1828-1893); Zola (1840-1902); Mallarme (1842-1898); Verlaine (1844-1896); France (1844-1924); Maupassant (1850-1893); Rimbaud (1854-1891); Rolland (1866-1944); Gide (1869-1951); Proust (1871-1922); Apollinaire (1880-1918); Cocteau (1889-1963); Breton (1896-1966); Simenon (1903-1989); Sartre (1905-1980); Beckett (1906-1989); Beauvoir (1908-1986); Camus (1913-1960); Genet (b.1910); Robbe-Grillet (b. 1922)

There is a stench of sickness and decadence emanating from French literature from very early on. Even from a limited liberal bourgeois point of view, one can feel this. This horrible stink passes for boldness, chic, sexual freedom and so on, but it is in reality just anti-humanitarian, neurotic, frenetic and hysterical.

We cannot refer to each of "the great guys" listed above, but a few illustrative instances may be adduced:

* Beaumarchais (1732-99): A secret service agent of Louis XV and XVI, addicted to financial speculation, imprisoned during the French Revolution as a reactionary, managed to get released due to the intervention of a former mistress, this cad gets his reputation from two trite little plays of court intrigue, *The Barber of Seville*, 1775, and *The Marriage of Figaro*, 1784. These plays were set to music by Rossini and Mozart, and made into popular operas. Later of course, films, hard discs

and video tapes, TV serials and so on, were made under the same titles and achieved European acclaim. This is the general pattern in the West. They operate on the gang principle. One literateur working in some corner of Euro-America does some little thing, it is immediately picked up by scholars and academicians on the payroll of the various petty governments, and built up into an "earth-shaking genius"! It has happened time and again. Shakespeare was lauded by Goethe, Voltaire (a matter of later regret by Voltaire), and scores of "shining lights", who have also been similarly applauded by other "brilliant pens", who in turn have been built up by and so on, *ad infinitum*. What is the evidence that "X was great? "Y" and "Z" have said so and written 13 books of literary criticism on "X"! Who are "Y" and "Z"? Why, of course, their writings have been approved as school and college textbooks; they have received the Nobel, the Booker, the Goncourt and other Prizes and Awards; their books have been filmatised, broadcasted, TV serialised, etc. etc. Ultimately, when each layer has been peeled off the European onion, one is left with nothing but a dirty smell!

Let us take a few more instances:

* Marquis de Sade (1740-1814):

A man who was so depraved, that the word "sadism" originates from his pervert activities, and writings that described and eulogised such activities. "Sade was used to consort with prostitutes and developed a taste for sexual perversions. For his flagrant; mal treatment of a young prostitute, Rou Keller, he was sentenced to imprisonment ... In 1792, he embarked on a career of gross licentiousness ... His wife was his accomplice... Sade fled to Italy Soon after his return, he was imprisoned at Vincennes... transferred to Bastille... began to write novels in which he allowed his sexual fantasies full reign After Bastille was stormed in 1789, Sade was transferred to a lunatic asylum at Charanton where he passed his last years ... and where he persuaded his fellow inmates to perform his plays" (*EB*, Micro., 83 edn., Vol VIII, p.759).

* Jean Genet (1910-) "... spent part of his adolescence at a notorious reform school. His autobiography (*The*

Thief's Journal, 1949), gave an uninhibited account of his life as a tramp, pickpocket and male prostitute at Barcelona, Antwerp, and various other cities (1930-39); the work also reveals him as an aesthete, an Existentialist and a pioneer of the Absurd His talent was brought to the attention of Jean Cocteau, Jean Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir ... After writing two other novels... he began to write dramas ... strong influence of Sartre (who, incidentally, wrote *Saint Genet*, 1952, a biography spread over some 700 pages)... similarly with works of Eugene Ionesco and Samuel Beckett His prison-world thematic play, *The Maids*, 1949, established Genet as an outstanding figure in the 'Theatre of the Absurd'.... His subsequent plays were designed to shock an audience by playing upon its political, social and religious prejudices. This 'Theatre of Hatred'..... did not endorse either the Right or the Left' (*EB*, 83 edn., Micro, vol. IV, p. 464).

* **Jean Cocteau** (1889-1963) : ".... experienced a period of opium addiction ... which brought on a brief return to religious practice... His play *Children of the Game* and the novel *The Enfants Terribles*, 1929, explored the inviolability of the character of a brother and sister." Being a practising homosexual, Cocteau gravitated towards Diaghilev's *Ballet Russe* for which he wrote the libretto for the ballet *Parade* (1917). "Cocteau explored his own private mythology." Cocteau's admirers were Picasso (who did the stage designs for *Parade*), Modigliani, Max Jacob, Apollinaire, Martain, etc. etc. (See *EB*, 83 edn., Macro, Vol 4. p. 815-6; and Merriam-Webster's *Ency. of Literature*, 1995, p., 254).

* **Jean Paul Sartre** (1905-1980): We are sorry for the length of our next quotation, but this is the last of the individual French cases that we will give. All the quotations are from Paul Johnson, *Intellectuals*, 1988.

"Sartre was a supreme egoist... the classic case of a spoiled only child Sartre was notorious for never taking a bath and being disgustingly dirty ... He was in effect politicised by the German guards who despised their French prisoners, especially when they were dirty and kicked Sartre repeatedly on his broad bottom.

"Sartre was lucky. Having taken no part in pre-war politics, not even the 1936 Popular Front, he did not figure on any Nazi records or lists ... Sartre never actively collaborated with the regime. The nearest he came to it was to write for a collaborationist weekly *Comoedia*, agreeing at one stage to contribute a regular column. But he had no difficulty in getting his work published and his plays presented. As Andre Malraux put it, 'I was facing the Gestapo while Sartre in Paris had his plays produced with the authorisation of the German censors.'

"He talked . He wrote. He was Resistance-minded in theory, mind and spirit, but not in fact. He helped to form a clandestine group, *Socialism and Freedom*, which held meetings and debated.... But Gide and Malraux, whom he approached, turned him down ... Sartre, in so far as he was anything, followed Proudhon ... there were plenty of words but no deeds.... In the end the group died of inanition.

"Sartre, then, did nothing of consequence for the Resistance. He did not lift a finger, or write a word, to save the

Jews. He concentrated relentlessly on promoting his own career... He would drink down a glass of milky tea, set out his inkpot and pen, then scribble relentlessly for four hours, scarcely lifting his eyes from the paper, 'a little ball of fur and ink'. Simone de Beauvoir, who described him thus, noted that he was enlivening the tract, which was eventually 722 pages, (*Being and Nothingness*) with 'spicy passages'. One 'concerns holes in general and the other focuses on the anus and love-making Italian style'. It was published in June 1943.

"'Existentialism,' said Sartre, 'defines man by his actions.... It tells him that hope lies only in action, and that the only thing that allows man to live is action.... This is what I mean when I say we are condemned to be free.' The Frankfurt School, which hated Brecht, hated Sartre still more. Max Horkheimer called him a 'crook and a racketeer of the philosophic world.' Moreover, existentialism was not just a philosophy to be read, it was a craze to be enjoyed. *An Existentialist Catechism* insisted. 'Existentialism, like faith, cannot be explained : it can only be lived,' and told readers where to live it. For St-Germain-des-Pres to become the centre of intellectual fashion was not new. Sartre was in fact treading in the footsteps of Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, who had patronised the old Cafe. Procope stood further down 'the boulevard. It had again been lively under the Second Empire, in the age of Gautier, George Sand, Balzac and Zola; that was when the Cafe Flore had first opened, with Huysmans and Apollinaire among its patrons.... The shift to St. Germain, which was social and sexual as well as intellectual, was therefore dramatic, for Sartre's St. Germain was leftist, committed; strongly heterosexual, ultra-french.

"Sartre was a convivial soul, loving whisky, jazz, girls and cabaret He was described, by Jacques Audiberti, as 'a truck parking everywhere with great commotion, in the library' in the theatre, in the movies.' But at night he played, and by the end of the evening, he was usually drunk and often aggressive. Once he gave Camus a black eye... With the end of the war he suddenly found himself rich, and surrounded by women, who were after his intellectual glamour as much as his money. The year 1946 was his best for sexual conquests and it marked the virtual end of his sexual relationship with de Beauvoir ... as Sartre grew older, his girls became younger - seventeen or eighteen year olds, whom he spoke of 'adopting' in a legal sense, meaning they would inherit his copyrights... there was Arlette, who was only seventeen when Sartre picked her up --- she was the one de Beauvoir hated most ... At one time in the late 1950s he was running four mistresses at once, Michelle, Arlette, Evelyn and Wanda, as well as de Beauvoir, and deceiving all of them in one way or another.... his daily intake of stimulants at this time included two packets of cigarettes, several pipes of black tobacco, a quart of alcohol (chiefly wine, vodka, whisky and beer), 200 milligrams of amphetanates, fifteen grams of aspirin, several grams of barbiturates, plus coffee and tea.... he quarrelled with all the rest : Raymond Aron (1947), Arthur Koestler (1948), Merleau - Ponty (1951), Camus (1952), to mention only the prominent.

"Even in the late 1940s, he could not bring himself to

condemn the Communist Party or Stalinism --- one reason why he quarrelled 'with Aron and Koestler ... Sartre's only positive move was to help organise an anti-Cold War movement of the non-communist left, called the *Rassemblement Democratique Revolutionnaire*, in February 1948 As it was his fellow organiser of the RDR, David Rousset who found him quite useless: 'despite his lucidity, he lived in a world which was totally isolated from reality'. He was, said Rousset, 'very much involved in the play and movement of ideas' but took little interest in actual events: 'Sartre lived in a bubble.' When the party's first national Congress took place, in June 1949, Sartre was nowhere to be found: he was in Mexico with Dolores, trying to persuade her to marry him.

"Sartre took up the case of the homosexual thief Jean Genet, a cunning fraud who appealed strongly to the credulous side of Sartre's nature - the side which wanted some substitute for religious faith. He wrote an enormous and absurd book about Genet, nearly 700 pages long, which was really a celebration of anarchy and sexual incoherence.

"In 1952 Sartre resolved his dilemma about the Communist Party and decided to back it He observed an uneasy silence about Stalin's camps He likewise forced himself to keep silent about the appalling trials in Prague of Slansky and other Czech Jewish communists Some of the things Sartre did and said during the four years when he consistently backed the Communist Party line almost defy belief... In July 1954, after a visit to Russia, he gave a two-hour interview to a reporter from the fellow-travelling *Liberation*. It ranks as the most grovelling account of the Soviet state by a major Western intellectual since the notorious expedition by George Bernard Shaw in the early 1930s... Many years later he admitted his mendacity 'After my first visit to the USSR in 1954, I lied.....' He fell upon the Soviet Hungarian invasion of 1956, with relief as a reason, or at any rate an excuse, for breaking with Moscow.

"Much of Sartre's time in the 1960s was spent travelling in China and the Third World, a term invented by the geographer Alfred Sauvy in 1952 but which Sartre popularised. He was particularly warm in praise of Mao's China. He noisily condemned American 'war-crimes' in Vietnam and compared America to the Nazis (but then he had compared de Gaulle to the Nazis, forgetting the General was fighting them when he himself was having his plays staged in occupied Paris).

"The book he eventually produced on Flaubert ran to three volumes and 2802 pages, many of them almost unreadable Sartre always preferred to write nonsense rather than write nothing This verbal diarrhoea eventually destroyed his magic as a lecturer. When his disastrous book on dialectic appeared, Jean Wahl nonetheless invited him to give a lecture on it at the College de Philosophie. Sartre started at 6 pm, reading from a manuscript taken from a huge folder, 'in a mechanical, hurried tone of voice'. He never raised his eyes from the text. He appeared to be completely absorbed in his own writing. After an hour, the audience was restless; The hall was packed and some had to stand. After an hour and three quarters, the audience was exhausted and some

were lying on the floor In 1965 he had secretly adopted Arlette as his daughter. So she inherited everything, including his literary property and presided over the posthumous publication of his manuscripts, For de Beauvoir it was the final betrayal : the 'centre eclipsed by one of the peripheries'". (The long quote is from Paul Johnson, *Intellectuals*, 1988, pp.225-51. Paul Johnson was editor of *The New Statesman*, London, from 1965 to 1970. The factual basis for his essay on Sartre has never been challenged or controverted.)

We may as well write here that Sartre was sailing in the same luxury boat down the Seine River, Paris, as Picasso, during the years of Nazi occupation (1940- 44). As Sartre was staging his plays to the applause of crowds, unprecedented for him, during these fateful years, so was Picasso, dining and wining famously, with SS generals, Nazi riff-raff and collaborationist Vichyites, in the same black years !

European Intellectuals are so hollow, so pretentious, so viciously arrogant, so hypocritically showing off, and generally so deceitful, comical and hard-hearted, that it is a pain to write about them !

The fundamental fact is that they have never confronted the reality of murder-rape-arson-theft of the Third World, which racist-imperialist loot lies at the bottom of all the "intellectual palaces and ivory towers" that they have built for themselves !

***Andrew Malraux (1901-1976)** : Andrew Malraux laid a very eventful life. As a Trotskyist, I became familiar with Malraux's name and life very early. Since Malraux was Trotsky's French translator, I wrote a very long review of Malraux's "*Voices of Silence*" (1951) which attempted to be Art History but actually succeeded in being only a feuilliton.

Malraux was arrested by the French colonial administration in 1922 when he was carting away some of the world famous antique statuary from Angkor Wat, Cambodia which was part of the French Indo-China. His wife then collected signatures of French intellectuals which enabled Malraux to secure his release from terrible jails of French colony. It was possibly, his prison experience which turned Malraux into fervent Indo-Chinese national.

Later, Malraux travelled to China and participated in the Communist movement against Chiang-Kai Shek.

After returning to France, Malraux wrote several important novels. "*The Royal Way*" (1930) was a thriller set among the Khmer temples of Cambodia and "*Days of Wrath*" or "*Days of Contempt*" (1938) was about the rise of Nazism in Germany. In 1936, he joined international brigade to fight Franco's forces in Spain. He fought as a pilot of a miniscule airforce, on the republican side. He wrote a novel "*Days of Hope*" (1937) on his Spanish experiences and later he made a film on the same subject (1938-39). His masterpiece in novel writing was "*La Condition Humaine*" (1933) about the Shanghai uprising quelled in blood bath by Chiang Kai Shek's Kuomintang Army.

For me, a freedom fighter of August 1942 movement, Malraux was a heroic figure, anti-imperialist, larger than life polymath. Amongst his last roles was that a Minister of Culture in the post war De Gaulle Government. I originally read

English translation of "*La Condition Humaine*" in 1943 in Woli Jai, Bombay.

In the course of our discussions of "*Random House*" list of hundred great novels of twentieth century (MK, Sept.1998, p.8), we had identified Malraux's "*La Condition Humaine*" as one of the great novels of the twentieth century which did not

receive noble prize. (Several other exclusions were also pointed out, namely "*War and Peace*" by Tolstoy; *Fontamara* by Ignazio Silone; "*U.S.A.*- a trilogy by John Dos Passos; "*We*" by Zamyatin, "*Good Soldier' Svejk*" by Hasek, "*Chhamana Atha Guntha*" by Fakir Mohan Senapati and "*Ulysses*" by James Joyce.

LA CONDITION HUMAINE

Andre Malraux

Part I

21 MARCH 1927

12. 30 A.M.

Should Chen try lifting up the mosquito-net? Or should he strike through it? He felt desperate in his inability to decide. He knew he was strong really, but for the moment it was only a blank realization, powerless before that mass of white muslin which draped down from the ceiling over a body that was vaguer than a shadow; from which only a foot protruded, the foot of a sleeper, angular but still convincingly human flesh. What light there was came from the neighbouring building : a great rectangle of pale electric light, striped by the shadows of the window-bars, one of which cut across the bed just below the man's foot, as if to give it greater substance and reality. Four or five klaxons rasped out all together. Had he been discovered? If only he could flight, fight an enemy who was on his guard, who gave blow for blow --- what a relief that would be!

The wave of noise receded: a traffic jam (so there still were traffic jams out there, in the real world...). Once more he was faced with the great shapeless splotch of muslin and the rectangle of light, fixed particles in a world grown timeless.

He kept telling himself that the man must die. It was foolish; for he knew that he was going to kill him. Whether he was caught or not, paid the penalty or not, mattered little. Nothing counted any more but that foot, this man whom his blow must paralyse before he could resist : there must be no resistance, or he would call put.

Chen's eyelids fluttered as he stood there, and the thought came to him, rose up till it sickened him, that he was not the fighter he expected, but one performing a sacrifice. And to more than the gods of his own choosing. This was his offering to the Revolution, but in its train black horrors would rise from the abyss, till the crushing anguish of that night would pale into insignificance before them. 'Assassination isn't like ordinary killing; far from it.... 'In his pockets his hands waited doubtfully; in the right he held a razor, closed; in the left a short dagger. He stuffed them in as far as possible, as though without that aid the darkness were insufficient to conceal his doings. The razor was safer, but Chen knew that he could never bring himself to use it; he was less revolted by the dagger. The back of the razor was digging into his clenched fingers, and he let go of it; the dagger lay naked in his pocket, without a sheath. He changed it over into his right hand, his left

dropping down on to the woollen surface of his singlet, and clinging there. He raised his right arm a little, amazed that the silence remained unbroken around him, as if some catastrophe should have been precipitated by his gesture. But nothing happened, nothing at all: he was still in control

That foot lay there like a sleeping animal. Was there a body on the end of it? 'Am I going crazy?' He must see that body. Have a look at it, look at its head; to do that he had to move into the light, let his squat shadow fall across the bed. How much resistance did flesh offer? Suddenly Chen jabbed the dagger into his left arm. He was almost beyond realising that it was his arm, but the pain, the certainty of punishment if the sleeper should awake, brought him back to reality for a moment. Punishment was preferable to this atmosphere of insanity. He went closer. It was undoubtedly the man he had seen two hours earlier, with the light full on him. All at once the foot, which was almost touching Chen's trousers, turned round like a key in a lock; then went back to its old position, and was still again. Perhaps as he slept he could feel him there, though it didn't fully rouse him.... Chen shuddered: an insect was running over his skin. No; it was the blood which was coming trickling out of his arm. The feeling of sea-sickness persisted.

One move and the man would have ceased to live. To kill him was nothing; it was touching him that was impossible. And the blow had to be delivered with the utmost precision. The sleeper, lying on his back in his European style of bed, wore only a short pair of pants; but his ribs were invisible under the loose flesh. Chen would have to take aim from the position of the man's nipples. He knew how difficult it is to strike directly downwards. He held the blade of the dagger up in the air, but the left breast was the farther from him; with the mesh of the mosquito-net in the way he would have to strike at arm length - following a curve, like the swing in boxing. He altered the angle of the dagger, so that now the blade was horizontal. To touch this motionless body was as difficult as touching a corpse; possibly for the same reasons. As if invoked by the thought of a corpse, the man's breath rattled in his throat. Chen could not even draw back, his legs and arms had ceased to obey him. But the rattling noise became rhythmical: not a death-rattle, the man was snoring. At once he was alive again, vulnerable; and simultaneously Chen's sense of bafflement returned to him. The body slipped fractionally over to the right. Was he going to wake up at this point? With a blow hard enough to pierce a plaiak,

Chen stopped him short, to the screech of slit muslin and a dull thud, commingled. Physically conscious to the tip of the steel blade, he felt the body jerk towards him, rebounding off the spring mattress. Furiously he stiffened his arm to hold it there; the legs swung up together to the chest, as if tied to it --- then suddenly stretched out straight. He ought to strike again, but how was he to draw out the dagger? The body still lay on its side, unstably, and despite the convulsion that had just shaken it Chen had the impression of holding it down to the bed with his arm, on which he was still leaning the whole of his weight. Through the wide tear in the mosquito-net he could see the body quite clearly; the eyelids were open - could he have woken then? - and the eyes themselves showed white. Blood began to seep along the blade of the dagger, looking black in this unreal light. There seemed to be life in the very weight of this body, ready to fall to right or left. Chen could not let go of the dagger. Along its blade up his stiffened arm, across his smarting shoulder, a sensation of the utmost horror found its way, from the body, deep into his chest; to his thumping heart, the only thing that moved in all the room. He stayed absolutely quiet; the blood which still flowed from his left arm seemed to belong to the dead man. For although there was no external change, he knew for certain that the man was dead. Scarcely breathing, he held this thing still on its side in the dim, unaltered light, in the emptiness of the room. There was nothing to indicate a struggle - not even the rent in the muslin, which seemed to have been split into two strips; only the silence and an overpowering tipsiness in which he clung to his weapon, foundering, far from the world of the living. His fingers clenched tighter and tighter, but the muscles of his arm relaxed and its whole length swung loose, like a rope. It was not fear that possessed him, it was a frightful and at the same time solemn sensation of panic such as he had not known since childhood; he was alone with death, alone in a place where no man was, feebly overcome at once by horror and by the taste of blood.

He managed to open his hand. The body rolled gently over on to its stomach; as the hilt stood crooked, a dark stain began to spread on the sheet, growing like a living thing. And next to it, becoming larger too as it became larger, he saw the shadow of two pointed ears.

The door was a good way off; the balcony closer; but it was from the balcony that shadows came. Although Chen did not believe in evil spirits he stood rooted where he was. Something miaowed; he gave a start. Half-way to deliverance, he now dared to look. A gutter cat glided in from the balcony on silent pads, its eyes fixed on him. A furious rage shook Chen as this shadow advanced towards him, anger not against the animal itself but against its presence here; nothing that had life ought to enter this strange region into which he himself had sunk; this thing that had observed him knife in hand barred the way of his return to reality. He opened the razor, took a step forward; the creature fled through the window. Chen dashed after it- and found himself face to face with Shanghai.

To his tortured mind the night seemed to froth up into

an enormous swirl of black smoke, full of sparks; then, as his breathing came more smoothly, it took shape, and through the rifts in the clouds stars clicked into place, dragging him back as he met the colder outdoor air, to all the ordered universe that they implied. A siren droned up the scale, then gave way to utter peace. Down below, right down, in the lights of mid-night which the glistening tarmac and the pale lines of rails threw back through a yellow fog, throbbled the world which does not kill. There were millions of lives in that world, and each one had cast him out: but what did their puny outlawry avail against the relief he felt that death was leaving him, the feeling that it welled out from him in long gushes, like that man's blood? All those shadows, flickering or still, went to make up Life; like the river, like the sea that was too far off to be visible - the sea. . . . At last he breathed as deep a breath as he could take, and as his chest expanded he felt with immeasurable relief that Life had received him again - relief that was near to tears, that was almost as shattering as all that he had just passed through. 'Best get out of this . . .' He remained, watching the cars go by, and the people moving quickly past in the lighted street underneath; like a blind man who sees again, like a starving man eating. Greedily, madly he wanted Life; he would have liked to touch those bodies. The screech of a siren split the air, on the far side of the river: the night-shift coming off duty at the Arsenal. If the Workers were stupid enough to go and turn out arms that were destined to kill the men who fought for them - then let them! Was that brightly lit town to be held for ever by her military dictator, be farmed out for ever, like so much hvestock, to War Lords and Western commerce? His murderous deed was worth many days' output from the arsenals of China. The approaching attempt to place Shanghai in the hands of the Revolutionaries would not have two hundred rifles behind it. If the short carbines (almost three hundred in number) which the dead entrepreneur had just arranged to sell to the Government were thrown in too, the chances of the rebels would be doubled, for their first step would be to seize the arms of the police for their own troops. But during the last ten minutes, Chen had not once thought about that.

And he hadn't got the paper yet - the paper for which he had killed that man. He went back, as though he were going back to prison. The clothes were hanging at the foot of the bed, beneath the netting. He went through the pockets. A handkerchief, some cigarettes.... No wallet. The room looked just the same: mosquito-net, white walls, clear-cut rectangle of light; so murder doesn't make any difference to things.... He felt under the pillow, shutting his eyes. The wallet was there, very small, hardly bigger than a little note-case. Distaught (was it fear or shame?), for the sensation of the head gently pressing down the pillow was horribly eerie, he reopened his eyes: there was no blood on the bolster, and the man didn't look in the least dead. For a moment he almost thought he would have to kill him again. But a glance at the staring eyes and the blood on the sheets reassured him. He drew back into the

light, to examine the wallet: the light came from a restaurant, full of people gambling. He found the paper, put it back in the wallet, then almost ran across the room, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. A corridor of the hotel - he tried to walk slower - with no lift there at the end. Should he ring? He walked down. Down below, where the dancing went on, and the bar and billiard-rooms were to be found, ten or a dozen people stood waiting for the lift, which was coming down. He mingled with them. 'The little piece in red is an absolute peach!' said the man next to him, in English. He was Burmese or Siamese by the look of him, and rather drunk. Chen wanted both to strike him, to make him hold his tongue, and to embrace him because he was alive. He mumbled an incoherent answer; the other man leered at him, and tapped him on the shoulder. 'He thinks I'm drunk too....' But the man was starting to speak again. 'I don't know foreign languages,' said Chen, in Pekinese. The other man said no more, but gazed with interest at this young man who wore a neat woollen sweater, but no collar. Chen was opposite the mirror inside the lift. His face showed no signs of the murder. ... There was nothing but fatigue in his face: the features were unchanged, more Mongolian than Chinese: strongly marked cheekbones, nose very flattened, but with a slight ridge like a beak; even his massive shoulders and thick, dominating lips betrayed nothing untoward; only his arm, sticky when he bent it' and hot.... The lift stopped. He got out with the others.

1. 30 A.M.

He bought a bottle of mineral water, and called a taxi: a closed one, in which he washed his arm and bound it up with a handkerchief. A faint gleam came from the deserted tramlines and the puddles left by the showers of the afternoon. It was a reflection of the glow in the sky. Without knowing why, Chen looked up at it: how much nearer he had been to it a moment before, when he had first noticed the stars! As his exaltation diminished and he came gradually back to ordinary life, they seemed to become more and more remote.

At the end of the street were machine-guns, almost as grey as the puddles, and a bright barrier of bayonets, carried by silent shadows. It was the picket which showed where the French Concession began. The taxi went no farther. Chen showed his faked passport, passing himself off as an electrician at work in the Concession. The official just glanced at it ('It certainly doesn't show what I've just done'), and let him pass. In front of him rose up the Avenue des Deux-Republics, which marked the boundary of the Chinese town. Alone in the silence. Laden with all the noises of the largest town in China, waves of sound came rumbling up and died away, like vibrations coming from the depths of the earth, to lose themselves at the bottom of a well: the noises of men in arms, and the fast fretful tossings of a multitude which has no wish to sleep. But men were far away; the world made no contact here. There was only the night, and Chen gave himself up to it instinctively, as if to a sudden offer of friendship. Murder

was quite in keeping with that restless world of the night; a world in which men played no part, a timeless world. Would there ever be another dawn? Would those crumbling tiles ever see the light again, or all those passages in whose depths lanterns gave a glimpse of windowless walls, mazes of telegraph wires? Murder had absorbed him into a world of its own, and he found it as hard to escape from it as from the heat itself. There was no sign of life. Not the least movement, no noise anywhere near; not even the cries of hawkers, not even the barking of stray dogs.

At last he came to a miserable little shop: *Lou You Shen and Hemmelrich, gramophones*. He must come back to reality now. ... He waited for a few minutes, but something of the spell still remained. Then he knocked on one of the shutters. The door opened almost at once. The place was full of gramophone records, carefully arranged, so that it looked like a sort of little library: beyond, in the back part of the shop, large and bare, sat four men in shirt-sleeves. The lamp swayed as the door was shut: the faces disappeared, appeared again: on the left, Lou You Shen, completely rotund; then Hemmelrich, a battered hulk of a boxer, with shaven head, broken nose, and sagging shoulders. Behind, in the shadow, Katow. On the right, Kyo Gisors; as the lamp swung over his head it showed up his mouth in strong relief, drooping at the corners like a Japanese print: when it swung away the shadows shifted, and the face which had looked half-caste became almost European. The lamp grew gradually steadier, and Kyo's two faces reappeared one after the other, less and less dissimilar.

Desperately anxious for information, they all looked at Chen with pathetic earnestness, but no one spoke. He looked down at the stones in the floor, spattered with sunflower seeds chewed and expectorated. He could give these men information, but he could never put into words all that was in his mind. The way the body had resisted the knife obsessed him, it was so unlike his own arm: surprise had given it impetus at the last moment' or the weapon would not have gone in very far. 'I should never have thought it would be so hard.'

'It's all right' he said.

In the room, face to face with the body, once full realisation had come to him, he had been quite certain: he had *felt* Death.

He held out the order for the delivery of the arms. It was very long-winded. Kyo started to read it.

'Yes, but...'

They all waited. Kyo showed no impatience or irritation; he hadn't moved; perhaps he looked just a little tense. But every one knew that he had discovered something which shook him to the core. At last he got the words out.

'They haven't been paid for. *Payable on Delivery.*'

Chen felt a sudden rage, as if he had stupidly let some one steal something from him. He had been convinced that that piece of paper was the one he was looking for, but

had had no time to read it. In any case, he couldn't have done anything about it. He took the wallet out of his pocket and gave it to Kyo: some photos and receipts; nothing else.

'I think we'll be able to fix it up with one of the Shock Sections,' said Kyo.

'As, long as we can manage to climb on board,' answered Katow, 'it'll be all right.'

Silence. Their presence was breaking down Chen's ghastly feeling of isolation. It yielded gently, like an uprooted plant which still clings to the ground with a few slender threads. And as he gradually drew nearer to them it seemed to him that he suddenly knew them for the first time---as he had known his sister after his first visit to a brothel. They had the feeling of strain which comes to gamblers at the end of a night's play.

'Did it go well?' asked Katow, at last putting down his record and moving into the light.

Chen looked at that honest, comic, Russian face, but did not answer: those mocking little eyes and upturned nose, which even that light could not make impressive. *He* knew what death meant, if the other didn't. Katow got up; he went and looked at the cricket asleep in its tiny cage; Chen might have reasons for his silence. Chen was watching the light swinging; it relieved the strain. The cricket had been woken up by his arrival, and its shrill chirping joined in, as the swaying shadow wobbled to a standstill.

The memory of the hardness of that body haunted him; he felt an urge to press his arm hard up against the first thing he came across. Speech would shatter the intimacy of his communion with death.

'What time did you leave the hotel?' asked Kyo.

'Twenty minutes ago'

Kyo looked at his watch: twenty to one.

'Good. Let's get things settled here, and move on.

'I want to see your father, Kyo.'

'You know that it is probably arranged for tomorrow?'

'All the better.'

They all knew what *it* meant: the arrival of the revolutionary troops at the railway termini, which was to be the signal for the rising.

'All the better,' said Chien again. Like all violent sensations murder and danger left a void behind them: he burned to experience them anew.

'Still --- I want to see him.'

'Go along there tonight: he never goes to sleep before dawn.'

'I'll go about four o'clock.'

Whenever he sought support and sympathy, Chen instinctively went to old Gisors. He knew that he made a very painful impression on Katow by doing so --- the more so because it had nothing to do with conceit. He knew it, but it had no effect on him. Kyo was one of the organizers of the revolt, a man trusted by the inner council; Chen no less; but he would never take life in cold blood. Katow was nearer to him, Katow who had been condemned to five years' penal servitude in 1905 when a medical student, for

having attempted to blow up the prison gates at Odessa. Still...

The Russian was eating little sugar sweets, one after another, without taking his eyes off Chen; and Chen had a sudden feeling of greed. Now that he had killed a man, he had the right to feel anything he wanted. The right. Even if the feeling was a childish one. He put out his spade-like hand. Katow thought that he wanted to leave, and gave it a shake. Chen stood up. Perhaps it was just as well: he couldn't do anything more; Kyo had all the information - it was for him to act on it. As far as he, Chen, was concerned, he knew well enough what he wanted now. He went to the door, but came back again.

'Pass me some of the sweets.'

Katow gave him the bag. He wanted to divide them; no paper. He poured them out into the palm of his hand, crammed them into his mouth and went out munching.

'It must have been a pretty tricky business,' said Katow.

He had been a refugee in Switzerland from 1905 till 1912, when he returned secretly to Russia, and though he spoke French without any trace of a Russian accent, his vowels were blurred at times, as if by way of compensation for the precise articulation which became necessary when he talked Chinese. When he stood almost underneath the lamp like that, the light hardly touched his face. Kyo liked him best that way: the whimsical, ingenuous expression which Katow's small eyes and even more his upturned nose gave him struck him all the more forcibly because it differed so completely from his own features: it often irritated him.

'Let's get it over,' he said. 'Have you got the records, Lou?'

Wreathed in smiles, bobbing up and down in his anxiety to please, Lou You Shen submitted two records to Katow for examination, then placed one on each gramophone. It was essential to start them off together.

'One, two, three,' counted Kyo.

The scratching of the first record rendered the other one inaudible; suddenly it stopped --- and they heard: send. Then it went on again. Another word came through: thirty. More scratching. Then: men. Scratching.

'Excellent,' said Kyo. He stopped them, then started off the first record alone. Scratch, silence, scratch. Stop.

'Good. Label that as a dud.'

Now the other one: Third lesson. To run, to walk, to go, to come, to send, to receive. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, one hundred. I saw the men running. There are twenty women here. Thirty...

Those imitation language-records were excellent: the counterfeit label was beautifully done. Kyo was worried though:

'Didn't my voice record well?'

'Excellently, splendidly.'

Lou began to smile; Hemmelrich didn't seem to be taking any notice. From upstairs came the cries of a child in pain.

Kyo couldn't make it out:

'Then why has it been changed?'

'It hasn't been changed,' said Lou. 'It's your own. Hardly any one recognises his own voice, you know, when he hears it for the first time.'

'Does the gramophone distort it?'

'It's not that, for there's never any difficulty about recognising other people's voices. You see, we just aren't used to hearing our own voices....'

Lou was experiencing to the full the delight of the Chinaman in explaining to a person of intelligence something of which he was previously unaware.

'The same thing applies to our own language...'

'Right. Is it still the plan to come and fetch them tonight?'

'The boats leave at dawn tomorrow for Hankow.'

The records which made the scratching noise were sent off by one boat: the talking ones by another. The latter were in either French or English, according to whether the local Mission was Catholic or Protestant. The revolutionaries sometimes used genuine language-records, sometimes those of their own recording.

'At dawn,' thought Kyo. 'A lot's got to happen before then....' He stood up.

'We need volunteers, for the arms. And if possible a few Europeans.'

Hemmelrich came up to him. Upstairs the child was crying again.

'There's the kid's answering you himself,' said Hemmelrich.

'Is that enough? What the blazing hell would you do yourself with the kid just about to kick the bucket and the old girl lying moaning up there --- not making too much noise about it, in case she disturbs us....'

There was something like hatred in his voice, according well enough with the broken nose and sunken eyes, reduced to two black daubs by the light coming straight down from above.

'There's a job for everybody,' Kyo answered. 'The records are essential, too. Katow and I can manage. Let's go and collect some of our men: we can find out incidentally whether the attack is to come off tomorrow or not, and I...'

'They may run across the body at the hotel,' said Katow.

'Not before dawn. Chen locked the door. There's no night-watchman.'

'Perhaps the agent had arranged to meet him?'

'At this time of night? Unlikely. Whatever happens, the vital thing is to see that that boat is moved to another anchorage. They'll waste at least three hours looking for her then, if they do try and start anything. She's right out by the harbour-bar.'

'Where are you going to shift her to?'

'Inside the harbour. Not alongside the quay, naturally. There are hundreds of ships there. Three hours lost, at least. At least.'

'The captain will wonder what's up.'

Katow's face rarely gave any clue to his feelings: his whimsical expression never deserted him. His voice alone reflected his uneasiness just then; but the impression was all the stronger.

'I know a man who specialises in the arms traffic,' said Kyo.

'The captain won't suspect him. We haven't much money, but we can make it worth his while.... I imagine we're agreed on the best way to go to work: we use the paper to get us on board, and after that we'll take things as they come?'

Katow shrugged his shoulders, as though it wasn't much use arguing. He put on his pea-jacket, which he always left open at the neck, and handed Kyo a coat which was hanging from a chair: they both shook Hemmelrich warmly by the hand. Pity would only have increased his humiliation. They went out.

They left the avenue at once, and entered the Chinese quarter.

Heavy banks of clouds hung low overhead, drifting less densely in places, but for the moment hiding the stars from view, save for glimpses through the rifts here and there.

The shifting clouds made the darkness like a living thing, fading and deepening, as though at times huge shadows were arriving and the night grew darker at their bidding. Katow and Kyo were wearing light rubber-soled shoes, and it was only when they slipped on the mud that their steps became audible: over by the Concessions --- the enemy --- a dull glow lowered over the house-tops.

Slowly a long siren-note swelled until it filled the wind which wafted across the faint hum coming from the besieged city, almost silent now, and the hooting of the picket-boats as they returned to the men-of-war. Wafted it across, and bore it away past the wretched electric lamps which glimmered down the side streets and the alleys which engulfed them: all around them crumbling walls stood out from the waste of shadow, laid bare in all their blotchy nakedness by that merciless unwavering light, which seemed unearthly in its unrelieved darkness. Those walls hid half a million men: hands from the spinning-mills, men who work sixteen hours a day from early childhood, ulcerous, twisted, famine-stricken. The coverings which protected the bulbs lost their clear outline, and in a few minutes rain, rain as it only falls in China, raging, slashing down, took possession of the town.

'A good quarter,' thought Kyo. For more than a month he had gone from one meeting to another, organising the rising, oblivious of the existence of streets: what was mud to him beside his plans?

The scrabbling of the myriads for their daily bread was giving place to another, a more vital energy. The Concessions; the rich quarters of the town, with rain-washed palings guarding the streets which gave access to them, no longer existed save as a menace, a barrier, long windowless prison walls; but in these nauseous slums,

which provided the largest muster of Shock Troops, throbbed the pulse of a vast and vigilant horde. As he turned out of a narrow passage he suddenly found himself looking down one of the main streets, wide and well-lit. Despite the rain beating down, which half obscured its outlines, he never for a moment saw it save as something flat which would have to be attacked in the face of rifles and machine-guns, firing horizontally. After the failure of the February insurrections, the central committee of the Communist Party had instructed Kyo to set about the coordination of the revolutionary forces. In each of those silent streets where the downpour was blotting out the outlines of the houses, the number of combatants had been doubled. The rain smelt of smoke. Kyo had asked for the numbers to be raised from two thousand to five, and it had taken the military staff less than a month to do so. But they hadn't got two hundred rifles among them (and there were three hundred carbines there for the taking on board the *Shan-Tung* as she rocked up and down in the estuary). Kyo had divided up the fighting-men into a hundred and ninety-two detachments of about twenty-five men, all provided with leaders: only the leaders were armed.

They went past a garage full of old lorries converted into omnibuses. All the garages were 'listed'. The heads of the military department had constituted a General Staff: the Party Assembly had elected a Central Committee; once the insurrection began they would have to be kept in touch with the Shock Sections. Kyo had organised a liaison detachment of a hundred cyclists for a start; directly the first shots were fired, eight Sections were to take possession of the garages and seize the motor-cars. The leaders of these sections had already visited the garages and would make no mistakes. All the other section-leaders had spent ten days now studying the districts in which they were going to operate. How many visitors, that very day, had made their way into the principal buildings, asked to see a friend whom nobody knew, chatted and suggested tea before they went away? How many workmen, notwithstanding the torrential rain, were repairing roofs? All the vantage-points were known as far as street-fighting was concerned; the best points to fire from, marked in red on the plans, at the Shock-Section headquarters. Kyo knew enough about the underground preparations for the rising to feel fairly confident about the details of which he was ignorant. Something far bigger than himself was rising from the great tattered flanks of the town, from Chapei and Pootung, covered with factories and misery; something that would galvanise into activity the giant nerve-centres of the city. That judgement-night was quickened by an unseen host.

'Tomorrow?' said Kyo.

Katow hesitated, stopped swinging his huge hands. No, the question was not addressed to him. Nor indeed to anyone.

They walked in silence. The shower was giving place to a steady drizzle: the rapping of the rain on the roofs grew fainter, and the darkness of the street was filled with

the gurgle of water running away. Their faces relaxed: they saw the street now with the eyes of reality --- long, black, expressionless; and it seemed to Kyo as though he was re-experiencing something which had long lain buried in his memory, so strong had been his obsession.

'Where do you suppose Chen has got to?' he asked. 'He said he wouldn't go to my father till about four o'clock. Would he be asleep?'

There was an incredulous admiration behind the question.

'Don't know.... In a brothel, perhaps.... He doesn't get drunk....'

They came to a shop: SHIA, LAMPSELLER. Like everywhere else, the shutters were up. The door was opened. A ghastly looking little Chinaman confronted them, dimly shown up by the light behind him. A halo of light surrounded his head, and his slightest movement sent an oily streak darting across his huge pimple-studded nose. Innumerable hurricane-lamps hung on the walls, the flames of two lanterns on the counter striking a reflection in them, until they were lost in the gloom, far away in the invisible depths of the shop.

'Well?' said Kyo.

Shia looked at him, and rubbed his hands obsequiously. He turned round without a word, walked a step or two, and rummaged in some hiding-place or other. His nails scratched against a tin in a way that set Katow's teeth on edge: but he was back almost at once, his braces flapping loose. . . . Kyo read the paper which he had unearthed, his head almost touching one of the lamps, with the light coming up from underneath. It was a report from the combatant detachment operating with the railwaymen. The reinforcements for the defence of Shanghai against the revolutionaries were being drawn from Nankin: the railwaymen had gone on strike: the white guards and the Government soldiers were compelling those whom they caught to drive the troop-trains, under penalty of death.

'One of the men arrested has derailed the train he was driving,' read the Chinaman. 'Killed. Three other troop-trains were derailed yesterday owing to the track having been removed.'

'Issue orders for extension of "sabotage" policy to all sections, and have notes inserted concerning the quickest way of effecting repairs,' said Kyo.

'The White Guards shoot anybody caught doing wilful damage....'

'The Committee know that. We'll shoot back. Another thing: any munition trains?'

'No.'

'Is it known when our men reach Cheng Chow?'

'I haven't had the midnight report yet. The man from the Central Office thinks it'll be either tonight or tomorrow. . . .'

So the revolution would begin on the next day or the day after. They would have to await instructions from Headquarters. Kyo was thirsty. They went out.

They weren't far from the point where they would

have to leave each other. Again there came the sound of a ship's siren; three short blasts, then one long one. The noise seemed to expand in waves through the drenched night: at last it died down again, with the suddenness of a rocket. 'Would they be getting anxious on board the *Shan-Tung*?' Absurd. The captain didn't expect any one till eight o'clock. They started off again, all their movements inextricably linked to that boat over there in the cold greenish water, with its cases full of arms. It had stopped raining.

'As long as I can in that chap, it's all right,' said Kyo. 'All the same, I should feel happier if the *Shan-Tung* changed her moorings.'

Their ways lay separately now: they arranged where to meet again, and parted. Katow was going to fetch the men.

Kyo finally reached the iron-barred gate which bounded the Concessions. Two Anamese troopers and a sergeant from the Colonial army came and examined his papers. He had his French passport. As a temptation to the guards, hopeful China-men had stuck little pies all over the barbs of the wire. ('Good way of poisoning a station, if need be,' thought Kyo.) The sergeant gave him back his passport. He soon found a taxi and gave the driver the address of the Black Cat.

As they drove along, at full speed, they came across several patrols of European volunteers. 'The troops of eight nations keep watch here,' said the newspapers. It didn't matter much. The Kuomintang had no intention of attacking the Concessions. Empty avenues, little hawkers creeping by like ghosts, their stock-in-trade swinging from their shoulders. . . . The taxi stopped in front of a minute garden, the entrance to which was lit up by the words: Black Cat. As he went past the cloakroom, Kyo looked at the time: two o'clock. 'It's a good thing any kind of clothes will do here.' Beneath his dark grey sports coat, of fluffy wool, he was wearing a sweater.

The jazz was inconceivably irritating. It had been going on since five o'clock, proffering not so much cheerfulness as a frenzied intoxication to which couples gave themselves up a little doubtfully. Suddenly it stopped, and the crowd broke up. The patrons of the establishment collected at the far end of the room, and the dancing-partners sat round the sides. Chinese women sheathed in worked silk, Russians and half-castes; one ticket for each dance, or each conversation. An old man who might almost have been an English clergyman remained standing in the middle of the floor, completely bewildered, flapping his arms up and down like a penguin. For the first time in his life, at the age of fifty-two, he had failed to come home one night, and his dread of his wife was such that he had never since dared to return. For eight months now he had been spending his nights in the night-clubs, unable to get any washing done, and going to the Chinese shirt-makers to change his underwear, between two screens. Business men faced with bankruptcy proceedings, dancing-girls and harlots, all who felt themselves in danger

- in fact almost everybody --- kept their eyes fixed on that apparition, as if it had some strange power to save them from being engulfed in the abyss. At dawn they would go to bed, in a state of utter exhaustion --- just when the executioner would be on his way through the Chinese quarter. That hour reminded one inevitably of the severed heads lying in the cages, lying there with their hair soaked by the rain, before even it was quite light.

'Like monkeys, my dear girl. They'll be dressed up like little monkeys!'

The facetious tone of voice, every modulation of which recalled Punchinello, seemed to come from a pillar. Its muffled malevolence was appropriate enough in those surroundings, froze out a kind of zone of silence, within the noise of clinking glasses, up above the harassed cleric. Kyo saw the man he was looking for.

As he moved round the pillar, he caught sight of him among the crowd at the end of the room, where the tables left vacant by the dancing-girls were placed in varying degrees of obscurity.

Amid a confused mass of backs and throats and silky chiffon, a Punchinello, thin and humpless, but looking very like what his voice had suggested, was illustrating his powers as a comedian for the benefit of a Russian girl and a Philippine half-caste seated at his table. He stood there with his elbows glued to his sides and his hands waving expressively, bringing every muscle of his unbelievably aquiline face into play; hampered by the unyielding square of black silk which covered his right eye, which had presumably suffered an injury.

Whatever he was wearing --- tonight he was in evening clothes - Baron Clappique looked as if he were in disguise. Kyo had decided not to speak to him there, to wait until he went out.

'Precisely, my dear girl, precisely! Chiang Kai Shek will come in here with his revolutionaries and cry --- quite in the classic style, I tell you, as though it were a city that he was capturing: "Let these merchants be clothed as monkeys, and these soldiers in leopard skins" (as if they had sat on newly painted benches!).'

'Like the last prince of the Leang dynasty, precisely like the prince, my dear girl, let us board the imperialjunks, let us gaze upon our subjects arrayed, to serve our pleasure, each in the hue appropriate to his calling; blue, red, green, complete with pig-tails and top-knots; not a word, dear girl, not a word, I tell you.'

Then, growing confidential:

'All music shall be forbidden except Chinese bells.'

'And what'll you find to do?'

He whimpered: 'Can't you guess, dear girl, do you mean to say you can't guess? I shall be Court astrologer, and one night when I am drunk --- can it be tonight? - I shall meet my death digging for the moon in a pond!'

Measuring his words:

'... like the poet Tu Fu, whose works most unquestionably enchant --- not a word, I'm quite sure I'm right --- your leisure hours.' And then...'

The hooting of a siren filled the room: one of the men-of-war. Immediately the cymbals joined in with an impetuous crash, and the dancing began again. The baron had sat down. Kyo threaded his way through the tables and the couples, till he reached an empty place just behind him. The noise of the music had drowned everything else: but now that he was close to Clappique he could hear his own voice again. The baron was fiddling about with the Philippine, but continued to address his remarks to the thin-faced Russian girl, all eyes.

'... the awful thing, dear girl, is that there's no imagination left in the world. Now and again....'

With fore-finger upraised:

'... a European statesman sends his wife a little parcel; she opens it --- not a word ...'

The finger laid across his lips:

'... and there's her lover's head inside. Still a subject of conversation three years later.'

Maudlin: 'A shocking business, dear girl!'

'Look at me.' Do you see my head? That's what twenty years of congenital imagination have done.' It might almost be syphilis - Sh!'

Forceful:

'Waiter! Champagne for these two ladies, and for me...'

Confidential once more:

'...a s-small Martini...'

Severely:

'...very dry.'

('At the very best, I've still got an hour in hand, with police like these,' thought Kyo. But is this going on much longer?)

The Philippine was laughing, or pretending to. The Russian was making prodigious efforts to understand. Clappique went on gesticulating, his finger almost possessed of a separate identity; now stiff and commanding, now beckoning appealingly. But Kyo hardly listened to him: the heat was sapping all his energy, and in the process a vague anxiety which till then had lain concealed, grew into a feeling of intense strain: that record, and not recognising his own voice at Hemmelrich's just now. It produced the same perplexed uneasiness as the sight of his tonsils had done, when, as a child, they had been removed by the surgeon. But his thoughts defied further analysis.

'... in short,' squeaked the baron, blinking with his uncovered eye as he turned towards the Russian, 'he had a castle in North Hungary.'

'Are you Hungarian?'

'Not the least.' I'm French. (And it leaves me completely cold, dear girl, completely.) But my mother was Hungarian.'

'Well then, my old grandfather lived in a castle there, with large rooms --- very large --- ancestors buried underneath, and fir-trees all round; lots of f-firs. A widower. He lived alone with an e-norm-ous hunting-horn hanging over the chimney.' Along comes a circus. With

a female rider Pretty ...'

Magisterial:

'I repeat: pretty.'

Winking again:

'He abducts her --- easy enough --- Takes her into one of the large rooms.'..'

Commanding attention, hand upraised:

'Not a word! She lives there. Stays on there.' Has a boring time of it. You, too, little girl' --- he tickled the Philippine --- 'but bear up. ... Besides, he didn't make any attempt to amuse her: he used to spend half the afternoon having his finger-nails and toe-nails attended to by his barber (he still had a barber attached to the castle), while his secretary, the son of a filthy serf, read to him, aloud - over and over again --- the family history. Delightful pastime, dear girl, a perfect life! In any case, he was generally drunk. She...'

'Did she fall for the secretary?' asked the Russian girl.

'She's splendid, this little girl, simply splendid! Dear girl, you're splendid. Remarkable insight!'

He kissed her hand.

'... but she slept with the chiropodist, not having your appreciation of culture. Then it dawned on her that the old grandfather was beating her. Not a word, it's no use: hence a separation.

'Well, he feels he's been jilted, wanders through his huge rooms, fuming with rage (with the ancestors there underneath all the time), vowing vengeance on the two culprits who had dared to make him a laughing-stock, while they were cuckolding him for all they were worth in a little inn (*a la Gogol*) in the country town, with a chipped water-jug in the bedroom and carriages in the courtyard. He takes down the e-nor-mous hunting-horn, fails to get any response out of it, and sends out his bailiff to call the peasantry to arms. (They still owed him homage in those days.) He arms them: five shot-guns, two pistols. Not enough to go round, dear girl.

'Then they ransack the castle: all those poor wretches marching off --- just imagine it, just im-a-gine it, I tell you! Armed with foils, arquebusses, flintlocks, Heavens knows what! Rapiers and curious-looking sabres, with grandpa leading the way, off to the country town: crime pursued by vengeance. The news of their arrival spreads. The local ranger arrives, accompanied by the police.'

'Magnificent spectacle.'

'--- and then?'

'Nothing. They were relieved of their weapons. Grandfather succeeded in reaching the town all the same, but the guilty pair had fled from the Gogolesque inn, as quick as they could go, in one of the dusty carriages.' He replaced the circus-rider by a peasant girl, the chiropodist by another chiropodist, and got drunk with the secretary. From time to time he would work on one of his 1-little wills ...

'Whom did he leave his money to?'

'A matter of no importance, dear girl. But, when he died ...

With wide-open eyes:

'... everything came out, all the fantastic ideas he had had, getting people to scratch his feet for him and read him chronicles, when his quarterings went to his head! His instructions were obeyed: he was buried beneath the chapel, in an immense vault, upright upon his horse, killed to keep him company, like Attila's charger.'

The jazz ceased its raucous wail. Clappique went on, much less like Punchinello now, as though the silence had a damping effect upon his clowning:

'When Attila died, they set him on his horse, prancing high above the Danube. The setting sun threw such a giant shadow across the plain that the horsemen fled in terror, like dust before the wind.'

His thoughts were beginning to wander, under the influence of alcohol and the sudden quiet; were straying far afield. Kyo knew exactly what he wanted him to do, but he only knew him very slightly, though his father was better acquainted; in these surroundings he scarcely recognised him. He listened impatiently (directly there was a free table in front of the baron, he would go and sit there and sign to him to leave; he didn't want to address him openly), but not without curiosity. The Russian girl was talking now, a slow husky croaking; almost delirious from lack of sleep.

'My great-grandfather had a fine estate too . . . We left because of the Communists, you see. So as to retain some privacy, some respect; and here we are two at a table and four in a room together! Four in one room.'... and the rent has to be paid As for being respected....If only drink didn't make me ill! ...'

Clappique looked at her glass: she had scarcely drunk anything. The Philippine, on the other hand Half-drunk, she was luxuriating in the fumes that smouldered inside her, like a cat basking in front of the fire. No good taking any notice of that. He looked at the Russian again:

'I suppose you've no money?'

She shrugged her shoulders. He called the waiter, paid the bill with a hundred-dollar note. He took ten dollars from the change which was brought, and gave the woman what remained.

She looked at him with haggard intensity.

'All right.'

She started to get up.

'No,' he said.'

He looked at her pathetically, like a friendly dog.

'No. You don't feel much like it tonight.' He was holding her hand. She looked at him again:

'Thank you.'

She hesitated:

'Still..... if you'd enjoy it...'

'I should enjoy it much more some time when I've no money.'

He became Punchinello again:

'That'll be soon enough.'

He drew her hands together, kissed them several times.

Kyo, who had already paid his bill, overtook him in the empty passage.'

'Let's go out together, shall we?'

Clappique looked at him, recognised him.

'You here? Can't be true! But ...'

The babble closed for a moment, as the forefinger was raised:

'You're living too fast, my young friend!'

'That's all right.'

Already they were outside. Although the rain had stopped, the air felt as wet as if there was water hanging suspended in it.' They walked a few paces across the gravel in the garden.

'In the harbour,' said Kyo, 'there is a boat with a cargo of arms ...'

Clappique had stopped. Kyo had walked on a step, and had to turn back: the baron's face was scarcely visible, but the huge cat, dazzlingly bright, the sign of the Black Cat, surrounded him like a halo.

'The *Shan-Tung*,' he said.

The darkness, and the position in which he was standing --- with his back to the light --- sufficiently concealed his expression; and he said nothing further.

'The Government have made an offer,' Kyo went on, 'of thirty dollars per gun. They haven't received a reply yet.' Now I have got some one prepared to pay thirty-five dollars, plus three dollars commission. For immediate delivery, in the port. Wherever the captain pleases, as long as it's in the port. He can leave his anchorage at once. We'll take delivery tonight, and have the money ready. His agent has agreed: here's the contract.'

He handed him the paper and lit his cigarette-lighter, shielding it with his hand.

'He's trying to do the other buyer down,' thought Clappique, as he looked at the contract. . . . ' " Goods in Piece . . . , " and clear five dollars per gun out of it. It's clear enough.' Well, what the devil do I care about that? I shall get three.'

'That's all right,' he said aloud. 'You'll leave me the contract, I suppose?'

'Yes.' You know the captain?'

'There are others I know better, old chap, but I think I can say that I know him.'

'He might get suspicious (especially away down the river there). Sometimes the Government requisition arms without payment, don't they?'

'Don't you believe it!'

Punchinello again. But Kyo waited for him to continue: what force would the captain have at his command, to prevent their men (instead of the Government) from seizing the arms? Clappique went on, less stridently: 'These orders come from one of the official contractors. I know him.'

Mockingly:

'He's a traitor . . .'

The voice sounded very odd in the darkness, with no facial expression to render it convincing. As if he were ordering

a cocktail:

'A thorough-going traitor, as treacherous as they make them! This is all arranged through a Legation which... Not a word! I'll see what I can do. But first of all it's going to cost me a prodigious amount in taxis: the boat's a long way off. I've got...'

He fumbled in his pocket, and produced a single note, turning round so as to let the light from the sign fall on it. 'Ten dollars, old chap! That won't do. I shall probably be buying some of your uncle Kama's pictures for Ferral, before long, but in the meantime...'

'Will fifty do you?'

'That's ample.'

Kyo gave them to him.

'You'll let me know at my house directly it's settled.'

'Right.'

'In an hour's time?'

'More, I expect. But as soon as I can.'

And in the same tone of voice in which the Russian had said 'If only drink didn't make me ill...' in almost the very same voice, as though the same feeling of despair has overtaken all the occupants of that place:

'This is a serious business.'

Off he went, with hunched back, nose pointing towards the ground, bare head, and his hands in the pockets of his dinner-jacket.

Kyo called a taxi and drove right to the end of the Concession, where the first small street of the Chinese quarter began; it was there that he had arranged to meet Katow.

Katow went down passages, through little doors, till, ten minutes after leaving Kyo, he came to a bare white room, brightly lit with hurricane-lamps. There was no window. Beneath the arm of the Chinaman who opened the door for him, he could see five heads: looking up at him as they leant over the table, gazing at that tall form which every Shock Section knew: legs widespread, arms swinging loose, blouse unbuttoned at the neck, nose in the air, tousled hair. They were examining various types of hand-grenades. It was a *chon*, one of the units into which were divided the combatant sections which he and Kyo had organised in Shanghai for the Party.

'How many men have enrolled?' he asked in Chinese.

'A hundred and thirty-eight,' answered the youngest of the Chinese, a young man with a small head, very prominent Adam's apple, and sloping shoulders; dressed as a workman.

'I abs'lutely must have twelve men at my disposal for tonight.'

'Abs'lutely' formed part of Katow's vocabulary in every language.

'When?'

'Now.'

'Here?'

'No: in front of the Yen-Tang dock.'

The Chinaman gave some orders: one of the men went out.

'They will be there before two o'clock,' said the leader.

His hollow cheeks and great gaunt body gave an impression of weakness; but the resolute tone of voice, and taut facial muscles denoted nerves under iron control.

'How about the arms drill?' asked Katow

'It's all right as far as the grenades are concerned. All the comrades know how to use our type now. As to the revolvers --- the Nagans and the Mausers anyway --- that's all right too. I make them practise with empty cartridges, but they ought to do some actual firing, even if it's only blank..... We've been offered the loan of a cellar which is abs'lutely safe.'

In each of the forty rooms where the revolution was being organized, the same problem confronted them.

'No ammunition. Perhaps it'll come through: for the present, that's all we can say. What about rifles?'

'They're all right too. It's the machine-guns which I'm worried about, unless we can get a little practice with blank.'

His Adam's apple rose and fell under the skin every time he spoke. He went on:

'But isn't there any chance of getting hold of a few more arms? Only seven rifles, thirteen revolvers, and forty-two live grenades! Half the men don't possess firearms at all.'

'We'll go and get them from those who do. Perhaps we shall soon have revolvers now. If things start tomorrow, how many men in your section won't know how to use their weapons?'

The man thought for a moment. He seemed engrossed, concentrating. 'An intellectual,' thought Katow.

'After we've relieved the police of their rifles?'

'Abs'lutely.'

'More than half.'

'What about the grenades?'

'They all know how to use them; and very well too. I've got thirty men here who lost relatives in the February executions. Unless...'

He paused, finishing the sentence with a vague gesture. A deformed hand, but a sensitive one.

'Unless?'

'Unless those swine use tanks against us.'

The six men looked at Katow.

'That doesn't matter,' he answered. 'You take the grenades, tie them together in bundles of six, and bloody well chuck them under the tank; anything over four will send it sky-high. If the worst comes to the worst, you can dig trenches in one direction anyway. Have you got any tools?'

'Very few. But I know where to get some more.'

'Get hold of some bicycles too: directly things start the sections must all have some means of keeping in touch, apart from Headquarters.'

'You're sure that'll do the trick with the tanks?'

'Abs'lutely! But don't worry: the tanks won't leave the front. If they do, I'll bring a special squad along. Just leave that particular business to me.'

'Suppose we're taken by surprise?'

'You can see tanks coming a mile off: we've got scouts on the look-out. Take a bundle of grenades yourself, and give one to each of the three or four men you can most rely on.'

Everybody in the section knew how, when Katow was sentenced to one of the less drastic penal settlements after the Odessa affair, he had asked to be allowed to accompany the miserable wretches who were sent to the lead-mines, to teach them. They trusted him, but they were not entirely reassured. They were not afraid of rifles or machine-guns, but they were afraid of tanks; they felt quite helpless in front of them. Even in that room full of volunteers, who had all, almost without exception, had to submit to the execution of those near and dear to them, the prestige of the tank exercised a diabolical fascination.

'Don't you worry about the tanks coming, we shall be there if they do,' Katow went on.

How could he go away leaving things as uncertain as that? That afternoon, he had inspected some fifteen sections or so, but he had seen no signs of fear. The men he was dealing with now were no less brave than the others, but they saw things more clearly. He knew that he was powerless to free them from their fear; that with the exception of the picked men under his own command, none of the revolutionary troops would face the tanks. The tanks would probably be unable to leave the front; but if they did reach the town, it would be impossible, in the parts where so many small streets intersected, to stop them all by digging trenches.

'It's absolutely certain the tanks won't leave the front,' he said.

'How are we to tie the bombs together?' the youngest Chinaman asked him.

Katow showed him. The feeling of tension diminished a little, as though his demonstration were a safeguard against future emergencies. Katow saw his opportunity and left them, by no means reassured. Half the men wouldn't know how to use their arms. At least he could rely on his Shock Sections, whose duty it would be to disarm the police. Tomorrow. But what of the day after? The army was advancing, was getting nearer every hour. Perhaps the last station had already been captured. When Kyo came back, they would probably be able to find out from one of the Intelligence Bureaux. The lamp-seller had heard nothing since ten o'clock.

He waited some time in that little street, walking up and down all the time: at last Kyo arrived. They told each other what they had been doing; then set off again through the mud, in their heavy rubber-soled shoes: Kyo small and lithe as a Japanese cat, Katow swinging his shoulders, thinking of the troops getting nearer; their rifles glistening in the rain, advancing through the intense darkness, while Shanghai glowed dully like a coal. Kyo, also, wanted to know whether that advance had been checked.

The little street along which they were walking, the first that one came to in the Chinese quarter, was very close to the European houses, and was occupied by dealers in livestock. All the shops were closed: there was not an animal to be seen, or a sound to break the silence, save for the hooting of the sirens and the raindrops which still dripped from the roofs into the puddles below. The animals were asleep. They knocked at a shop door, and went in: a dealer in live fishes. A candle stuck in a photophore provided the only illumination, reflected as a

feeble glimmer by a row of luminous jars ranged in line as if by Ali Baba himself; in which slept, unseen, the famous Chinese carp.

'Tomorrow?' asked Kyo.

'Tomorrow; one o'clock.'

At the back of the room, behind a counter, something vaguely human lay curled up asleep, its crooked arm serving as a pillow. It had scarcely raised its head when answering. That shop was one of the eighty-four depots of the Kuomintang, by means of which news was transmitted.

'Is that official?'

'Yes. The army is at Cheng Chow. General strike at midday.'

The gloom remained unchanged. The shop-keeper dozing at the bottom of his cell made no movement, but the gleaming surface of the jars began to quiver gently: smooth black ripples rose silently to the surface and expanded. The sound of voices was awakening the fish. Once more the note of a siren blared out and faded away into the distance.

They left the place and continued their walk. Still the Avenue des Deux-Republicues.

A taxi. The cab started off at breakneck speed. Katow, who was sitting on the left, leant forward and looked closely at the driver.

'He's crazy for his dope. Pity: abs'lutely insist on not being killed before tomorrow evening. Steady, old chap!'

'So Clappique is going to see about getting the boat,' said Kyo. 'The comrades at the Government clothing stores can provide us with police-uniforms.'

'No need. I've got fifteen at least at the depot.'

'We'll take your twelve men with us in the launch.'

'You'd be better left out of it.'

Kyo looked at him without saying anything.

'It's not all that risky, but it's not all plain sailing by any means. D'you get me? It's more dangerous than driving with this Goddam fool who's just starting to speed again. And it's not the right moment for you to do yourself in.'

'Nor you either.'

'That's not the same. I can be replaced, now, don't you see. . . . I'd prefer you to look after the lorry, see that it's waiting for us, and that the arms go to the right places.'

He paused, ill at ease, his hand on his chest.

'Must let him think it over,' he thought.

Kyo said nothing. The taxi still went rushing along between streaks of light only half-visible through the fog. There was no doubt that he was of more use than Katow: Headquarters were acquainted with every detail of his plans, but only as so many figures, while for him they were the breath of life. The town was in his blood --- its weak points were so many wounds. Not one of his comrades reacted as swiftly and accurately as himself.

'All right,' he said.

More and more lights. . . . Again, the armoured lorries from the Concessions; then once more darkness.

The taxi stopped. Kyo got out.

'I'm going to get our new suitings,' said Katow; 'I'll send and fetch you when everything is ready.'

Kyo lived with his father in a one-storey Chinese house;

it had four wings to it and a garden in the middle. He went through the first of them, crossed the garden, and entered the hall. The white walls were covered with Song paintings and blue Chardin phoenixes; at the back was a Buddha of the Wei dynasty, almost Roman in style. Tidy-looking divans and an opium table. Behind Kyo were the windows, bare like windows in a studio. His father appeared, having heard him come in: he had been suffering from insomnia for years, and welcomed gladly anything that served to enliven the hours of wakefulness that now invariably preceded the few hours of sleep which came to him with the dawn.

'Good evening, father. Chen is coming to see you.
'Good.'

Kyo hadn't the same cast of features as his father: it seemed as though his mother's Japanese blood had been endowed with just sufficient strength to temper slightly the monastic asceticism of old Gisors' mask-like face --- rendered even more mask-like that night by his camehair dressing-gown --- to remodel the lineaments of the son in the form of a Samurai.

'Has something happened to him?'

'Yes.'

No further question. They both sat down. Kyo wasn't sleepy. He recounted the Clappique episode --- but said nothing about the arms. Not that he was in the least distrustful of his father; but his desire to retain complete control of his destiny was too strong for him to acquaint any one else with more than the bare outline of his doings. The old Professor of Sociology, expelled from Peking University by Chang Tso Lin on account of the principles he expounded, had created the most effective revolutionary centre in Northern China; but he took no active part himself. Whenever Kyo arrived there, he noticed to his distress that his will-power turned to mere cerebration; his interest narrowed from events to individuals. And because his father, who knew Clappique well, was listening to him, he now found the baron more mysterious than when he had actually been talking to him.

'In the end he touched me for fifty dollars.'

'He doesn't want it for himself, Kyo.'

'But I've just seen him spend a hundred dollars. People who live in the clouds are always rather upsetting.'

He wanted to know how far he could go on using Clappique. His father, as ever, was trying to analyse the essential roots of the man's character. But the roots of a man's character rarely provide an immediate motive for action, and Kyo thought of his pistols.

'If he likes feeling rich so much, why doesn't he try to get rich?'

'He used to be the best-known antique dealer in Shanghai.'

'But why does he spend all his money in one night, unless to give himself the illusion of wealth?'

Gisors blinked and shook back his longish white hair; his voice was that of an old man, but if the tone was thin the words flowed evenly and steadily:

'Living in the clouds is a way of denying life, isn't it? Denying, not forgetting. You must see that it's no good looking at the affair from a purely reasonable point of view.'

He thrust his hand forward vaguely; his gestures were constrained, unexpansive, straight in front of him; the movements with which he completed a sentence seemed not so much to dismiss as to grasp hold of something.

'It looks very much as if he had been trying to convince himself last night that though he had lived for two hours like a rich man, there is really no such thing as riches. Because in that case there is no such thing as poverty either. And that is the vitally important thing. Nothing exists; it is all a dream. And remember that alcohol gives it substance.'

Gisors smiled. His smiling lips, drooping at the corners, already a little worn, were a subtler guide to his character than the words he spoke. For twenty years now he had pleaded the cause of his fellow-men, devoting all his energies to earning the love of humanity by his advocacy, and they were grateful to him for his sympathy, never suspecting that it had its origin in opium. The Buddhist patience with which he was credited was, in fact, the fatalism of a drug-addict.

'It's impossible to go on living without any confidence in life,' answered Kyo.

'It is a poor way of living, but it satisfies him.'

'He's really been forced into it.'

'The forcing is done in his case by the antique-dealing, perhaps by drugs and the arms-traffic too. In cooperation with the police, whom he doubtless detests, but who join in that little game in return for a reasonable rake-off. It didn't matter much: the police knew perfectly well that the Communists hadn't sufficient money to buy arms from the gun-runners.'

'You can tell what any man is like from what makes him suffer,' said Kyo. 'What is it in his case?'

'His sufferings are of no importance, they don't mean anything now, don't you see; they go no deeper than his cunning or his high spirits. He has no depth of any kind, and perhaps that is the best description of him, for it is unusual. He tries hard to fill the gap, but he would have to be a much stronger person for that to do much good. Unless you are really intimate with a man, Kyo, you have to think hard to tell what he is going to do. Now in Clappique's case . . .'

He pointed to the aquarium, where the black carp, soft and jagged like oriflammes, drifted up and down.

'There you see. . . . He drinks, but it is opium he was cut out for: one can choose the wrong vice just like the wrong anything else: lots of men never pick on the one which would set them right. A pity, for he is by no means a nonentity. But all this is hardly of interest to you just now.'

It was true. Kyo might not be tinkering about his actual plans that night, but his thoughts certainly remained concentrated on himself. The heat was gradually taking hold of him, as it had at the Black Cat a little earlier: the memory of the record began to haunt him once more, and that tingling sensation which utter weariness produces to come creeping up his legs. He recounted his feeling of

astonishment on listening to the record, but gave the impression that he was referring to one of the voice-recordings which could be made in English shops. Gisors sat there listening, stroking his angular chin with his left hand: he had very beautiful, delicate hands. His head was thrust forward: his hair had fallen over his eyes, despite the height of his forehead. He jerked it back with a shake of his head, but his thoughts were still remote:

'I have at times found myself in front of a mirror, unexpectedly, and not known who I was. . . .'

He was gently rubbing his thumb against the fingers of his right hand, as if it were a match to set the tinder of his memory alight. He was talking to himself, following a train of thought which took no account of his son.

'There's probably a physiological explanation: we hear other people's voices through our ears.'

'And our own?'

'Through our throat: stop your ears and you will hear you own voice. Opium, too, belongs to a world which we can hear with our ears. . . .'

Kyo got up. His father scarcely noticed him. 'I must go out again in a moment.

'Can I help at all about Clappique?'

'No: it's all right, thanks. Good night.'

'Good night.'

*

In an attempt to diminish his fatigue, Kyo passed the time of waiting lying down. He lay quite still, in the dark. It wasn't that his thoughts were on the rising; it was the rising itself which, as vital a part of as many brains as the sleep which held so many others, crushed him beneath a load of torturing suspense. Less than four hundred rifles all told. Victory --- or execution, ingeniously protracted. Tomorrow. No; in a moment's time. It was a question of speed: of disarming the entire police force and arming the Shock Sections with their five hundred Mausers before the Government troops from the armoured train could intervene. The great mass of the population was ready. Half of the police were in so abjectly miserable a condition that they would probably go over to the rebels. There remained the other half. But the revolt was timed to begin at one --- which meant that the general strike would begin at noon --- and arms would have to be found for the majority of the Shock Sections before five o'clock.. 'Soviet China,' he thought. Recognition as human beings for those one loved. And the Russian Soviet Union had reached a total of six hundred millions. Success, or failure? The fate of the world was hanging in the balance there that night. Unless the Kuomintang, once Shanghai was captured, were to try and crush their Communist allies.... He started; the garden door was opening. Then he remembered. His wife? He heard someone shut the house-door. May came in. Her blue leather cloak, of an almost military cut, increased the latent masculinity of her walk and features. She had the wide mouth, short nose and prominent cheekbones of the north German type to which she belonged.

'Is it really starting soon now, Kyo?'

'Yes.'

She was a doctor in one of the Chinese hospitals, but she had come from the women's revolutionary association, whose secret hospital she looked after:

'It's always the same thing; I've just left a girl of eighteen who tried to commit suicide with a razor-blade in the marriage palanquin. She'd been forced into marrying some plausible brute or other. They brought her in with her red bridal dress all soaked with blood. Her mother came in afterwards, a wizened little shadow of a woman, sobbing away. Naturally enough. When I told her the girl wasn't going to die, she said:

"Poor kid! She was nearly lucky, all the same!" Luck.... That word tells one more than all our talk about the position of women here.'

She was of German origin, but born in Shanghai; a doctor of the Universities of Heidelberg and Paris; and spoke French without any accent. She threw her beret on to the bed. Her wavy hair was caught back behind her head, to save trouble in arranging it. He found it wildly attractive. Her bold forehead also had something masculine about it, but directly she stopped talking she became more feminine (Kyo kept his eyes fixed on her), partly because her features softened and her will relaxed, partly because fatigue smoothed them out and partly because she had no beret. It was the sensual mouth and large, limpid eyes which lent animation to her face; eyes which were so clear that their deep, penetrating gaze seemed to come not so much from the pupil as to be a reflection cast by the forehead above their oval sockets.

Attracted by the light, a white Pekinese came trotting in. She called to him, wearily.

'Little curly pup: little hairy, woolly one!'

She caught hold of him with her left hand and lifted him up to her face, stroking him.

'Rabbit,' she said, smiling, 'little bunny-rabbit....'

'He looks like you,' said Kyo.

'Yes, doesn't he?'

She looked at the mirror and saw that white head close against her own, and the little paws together underneath. It was her strongly marked Nordic cheekbones which produced the absurd similarity. Though she could scarcely be called pretty, he called to mind (amending them), the words of Othello:

O my sweet warrior...

She put the dog down, and got up. Her cloak hung half-open, uncovering her chest and revealing the contour of her high round breasts, which reminded one of her cheekbones. Kyo told her what he had been doing that night.

'At the hospital this evening,' she answered, 'we had about thirty young women belonging to the Propaganda service, who had managed to evade the White troops. . . . Wounded. We're getting more and more of them. They say the army is quite near; and that they've had a lot of casualties. . . .'

'Half those who are wounded will die too. . . . Pain can only be justified as an alternative to death, but

actually death almost always follows in the end.'

May thought for a moment.

'Yes,' she said at last. 'And yet, perhaps that is a man's way of looking at it. For me, for women, pain is oddly enough associated more with life than Because they bear children perhaps. . . .'

Then, after further reflection:

'The more wounded there are, the nearer we get to the Revolution, the more people sleep with each other.'

'Clearly.'

'There's something I ought to tell you, which you may not like very much. . . .'

Supporting his head on his elbow, he looked up at her inquiringly. She had brains and courage, but often lacked tact.

'I slept with Langlen this afternoon.'

He shrugged his shoulders, as much as to say 'That's your own affair'; but it was an uneasy movement, and, like the tense expression on his face, belied his indifference. She looked at him, desperately tired, her cheekbones sharply defined by the light coming down from above. He, too, looked at her, but her eyes were in the shadow, expressionless, and he said nothing. He wondered what gave her face its voluptuous quality: whether it was that the violence of the contrast between those clouded eyes and expansive lips, and her features, made her all the more feminine. She sat down on the bed and took his hand. He was on the point of withdrawing it, then yielded. But she felt the impulse:

'Has that upset you?'

'I told you that you were free to do as you liked Don't let's discuss it any further,' he added bitterly.

The puppy jumped on to the bed. He took his hand away, perhaps in order to stroke it.

'You are free,' he repeated. 'That's the only thing that matters.'

'Still, I had to tell you about it. If only for my own peace of mind.'

'Yes.'

That it had been her duty to tell him, they neither of them doubted for a moment. He felt a sudden desire to get up: lying down like that, with her sitting on the bed, as if he were an invalid and she the nurse. . . . But what could he do? It was all so hopeless. . . . He continued to look at her, however, and realised that, though she still had the power to hurt him, for months now it had made no difference whether he looked at her or not. She didn't seem real to him any more. At times, just a fleeting impression. That intense love which bound them together --- as the illness of a child might have done --- bound them often almost more tightly than they could endure; their feeling of complete union, both in life and death: the physical compact which they had made with each other: all that faded away before the inevitable corruption of those features with which he had sated himself while they were yet pure. 'Am I less in love with her than I imagine?' he wondered. No. Even at that moment, he knew that in the

event of her death all that he hoped for from the cause he served would die too, and that he would serve it despairingly, like a dead man. But all that availed nothing against the desecration in that face of something which lay at the very root of their intimacy; shrouded in obscurity, now, buried in the ground. He remembered a friend who had watched the mental death of the woman he loved, through months of paralysis, and it seemed to him that he saw May dying in the same way, saw the visible symbol of his happiness fantastically vanishing like a cloud merging into the greyness of its background. It was as if she suffered two deaths: one the work of nature, the other of her confession.

She got up, and walked over to the window; steadily despite her fatigue. She decided, half fearfully, half on account of rather artificial feelings of guilt, to make no more mention of what she had just said, since he did not refer to it. She wanted to escape from that conversation, but realised that they would find escape impossible, and tried to express her affection by talking of trifles, instinctively calling to her aid the nature which he loved; opposite the window, one of the Mars trees had opened out during the night: the light from the room showed up its leaves, still a little crinkled, delicately green against the dark background.

'He's been hiding his leaves in his trunk during the daytime,' she said, 'and he's bringing them out at night now that no one can see.'

She seemed to be talking to herself, but Kyo was hardly likely to fail to catch her meaning.

'You might have chosen some other day,' he muttered by way of answer.

He was looking at his reflection in the mirror now, saw himself leaning on his elbow --- a face that seemed pure Japanese peering out from the white sheets. 'If only I wasn't a half-caste.' He strove desperately to repulse the bitter and unworthy thoughts which crowded into his mind in justification of his anger, adding fresh fuel to it. And he looked at her, kept his eyes fixed on her, as though, by the very brutality of his gaze, he could compel that face to regain its former animation.

'But, Kyo, today is just the one day when it didn't matter... and...'

She nearly added: 'he wanted to so badly.' With death confronting them it had so little importance. . . . But all she said was:

'....I may die tomorrow, too....'

All the better. Kyo felt pain in its most degrading form; pain which his self-respect dare not admit. In point of fact she was free to sleep with whoever she wished. What then was the cause of his suffering for which he could find no justification, but which held him in such complete subjection?

'When you realised that . . . that you meant a good deal to me, Kyo, you once asked me --- only half-seriously perhaps --- if I thought that I'd come to a prison camp with you, and I said that I couldn't tell --- that the difficult

part would probably be seeing it through when I got there. But you took that to mean that I would, because I meant a lot to you, too. Why should things be any different now?' 'It would take a very special type of person to do that. Katow would go, even without being deeply in love. He'd go because it fits in with his views on life and his place in the world. People don't go to penal servitude for the sake of a human relationship.'

'What a masculine way of looking at it, Kyo...'

He pondered.

'Still,' he said, 'to have some one to love who will do that for you, or rather, to be loved by them --- love can't go any further. It's pretty crazy to question their behaviour after that. Even if they do it from a sense of duty....'

'It's not that,' she said slowly. 'A sense of duty would never be anything like enough in my case.'

'But your love' (he, too, spoke slowly) 'didn't prevent you sleeping with that man, even though you realised - you've just said so --- that it would . . . upset me?'

'Kyo, I'm going to tell you something strange, but true. Until five minutes ago, I thought you wouldn't mind. Perhaps it suited me to think so. There are some things people ask of one, above all when death is as near as this (it's other people's death that I've had to face till now, Kyo.....) which have no connection with love....'

Jealousy there was, notwithstanding; all the less clearly perceived in that the desire which she awoke in him was based upon affection. His eyes closed, and, still leaning on his elbow, he set himself the painful task of understanding. He could hear nothing but May's laboured breathing and the scratching of the puppy's paws. The principal cause of his suffering (he would inevitably find others: he could feel them lying in ambush, like his comrades who still waited behind their closed doors) lay in his idea that that man who had just slept with May ('I can't after all call him her lover') despised her. The man in question was an old friend of hers, whom he hardly knew; but he knew well enough the contempt in which women were ultimately held by almost all men. 'The idea that having slept with her, as a result of having slept with her, he may be thinking "That little tart"; I could kill him for that. Are we always only jealous of what we imagine the other person is thinking? Men are pretty hopeless creatures....' As far as May was concerned, sexual relations implied no kind of contract. That ought to be made clear to this man. If he slept with her, well and good; but don't let him start thinking he possessed her. ('This is becoming pitiable...') But that was something out of his control --- and he knew that, in any case, it wasn't the vital thing. The vital thing, the thing which was torturing him almost beyond endurance, was the barrier which had suddenly cut him off from her: it wasn't hatred which had done it, though there was hatred in him: it wasn't jealousy (or perhaps that was just what jealousy was?): it was a feeling to which he could give no name, as destructive as Time or Death: he could not recapture her. He had reopened his eyes; was it really human, that athletic body, strangely

familiar, that meaningless profile? A long slit of an eye, reaching to the temple, thrust in between the bold forehead and the cheekbone . . . did it belong to that concubine? Didn't it also belong to the woman who had strengthened him in his moments of weakness, of pain and petulance, the woman who had helped him to nurse his wounded comrades and watched with him over his dead friends. . . . The sweetness of her voice still haunted him.... One's memories are not so easily expelled. Once more, though, that body was beginning to take on the intensely mysterious quality which a sudden metamorphosis produces --- was becoming dumb, blind, lunatic. And it was a woman. Not a variation of the male. Something else. . . .

She was completely lost to him. And perhaps, as a result of that, he felt a frantic, blinding urge for close contact with her, whatever it might entail: fear, cries, blows. He got up and approached her. He knew that he was completely unstrung, that tomorrow what he was feeling then would very likely seem completely incomprehensible, but it was as if he saw her dying there in front of him; and, seeing her die, felt irresistibly drawn towards her: the desire to touch, to run his hands over her, to hold back some one who was leaving him, to link himself securely to her. She looked at him with intense uneasiness, as he stood there close beside her. Then, in a flash, he realised what it was he wanted; to possess her, to make that a means of escape from the nightmare dread of losing her for ever. Could intimacy be more complete than in that moment when every muscle strained to bind their bodies to each other?

Suddenly she turned round: the bell had rung. Too soon for Katow. Had the rising been discovered? All that they had been saying, all that had passed between them, all their passion and their rancour, suffered instant and ruthless eclipse. There came another ring. He took his revolver from under the pillow, went through the garden in his pyjamas and opened the door: it wasn't Katow, it was Clappique, still in evening clothes. They remained in the garden.

'Well?'

'Before anything else, let me give you back your papers: here they are. Everything is all right. The boat has moved. It's going to anchor off the French Consulate. Almost on the other side of the river.'

'Any trouble?'

'Not a word. Implicit confidence - always have had. Can't see how it could have been managed otherwise. In these matters, young man, confidence is greatest when it least appears so....'

'Meaning?'

Clappique lit a cigarette. All Kyo saw was a black silk cravat and the vague outline of a face above it. He went to fetch his wallet.... May was waiting --- came back again and paid him the commission as arranged. The baron stuffed the notes in his pocket without counting them.

'An act of kindness brings good fortune,' he said. 'Old chap, the tale of my deeds tonight is an extra-ordinarily moral tale: it begins with charity and ends with

prosperity. Not a word.'

His forefinger upraised, he bent close to Kyo's ear and whispered: 'Love from Fantomas'; turned round, and was gone.

As if afraid to go inside again, Kyo watched him depart, his dinner-jacket rubbing along the white wall. 'He certainly looks it, dressed like that.'

Kyo heard a cough and recognised it instantly, for he was expecting it: Katow. There was no time to waste, that night.

Perhaps so as to be less easily seen, he was walking in the middle of the road. Kyo imagined rather than distinguished his pea-jacket: somewhere up above in the darkness, a nose protruded.... More clearly than anything, he imagined the swinging movement of those hands. He walked towards him.

'Well?' he asked, as he had asked Clappique.

'It's all right. What about the boat?'

'Opposite the French Consulate. A long way out. In half an hour's time.'

'The launch and the men are within four hundred yards of there. Let's go.'

'What about the clothes?'

'Don't you worry. They're fixed up all right, every man of 'em.'

He went inside and was dressed in a moment: trousers and singlet. Light canvas shoes (he might have to do some climbing). He was ready. May offered him her lips. In his heart Kyo wanted to kiss her; not her mouth, though --- as if there alone bitterness still lingered. He kissed her at last, clumsily. She looked at him sadly, with listless eyes which suddenly filled with animation as the muscles regained control. He left her.

Once more he and Katow were walking side by side. But he could not put her out of his mind. Only a moment ago she seemed like some one blind or demented. 'I don't understand her. It's only my love for her which helps me to understand her. I only understand her from that point of view. The extent to which a person belongs to one is the extent to which one has changed them, as my father says.... And what then?' As his reasoning grew more and more introspective, so the street grew darker and darker, until even the insulators on the telegraph wires no longer appeared any lighter than the sky above them. His anguish

of mind was undiminished and he remembered the incident of the gramophone records: 'We hear other people's voices with our ears, our own through our throat.' Yes. The sound of one's life, too, comes to one through the throat; and other people's?... The thing that predominated was isolation, securely entrenched as the background to the ephemeral millions who moved in front of it, just as real Night, real primeval Night, loomed behind the covering of darkness which hung low and dense over the watchful waste of city, pregnant with the ferment of unfulfilled hopes. '*To me myself* what does my life mean to me? The cosmos expressing itself in an identity, an idiotic identity: a concentration of forces in the prevailing nebulousness. For others, it's what I've done that counts.' Only May judged him other than by his actions: only in him did anything more than the record of her life awaken interest. The fierce embrace with which love seeks to break down isolation brought no comfort to his ordinary self: it was the unbalanced side of him which profited, the unspeakable monstrosity, dear above all else, which self-analysis evokes and which man cherishes in his heart. Since the death of his mother, May was the only person in the world who saw him not as Kyo Gisors but as the partner in a most intimate companionship. 'A mutual, triumphant, chosen companionship,' he thought, finding the night curiously sympathetic to his thoughts, as if they were for ever divorced from daylight now. 'What have other men in common with me? Just so many entities who look at me and criticise. My real fellow-creatures love me unreflectingly, love me in spite of everything, love me so that no corruption, vileness or betrayal has any power to alter it: love me for myself and not for what I have done or will do; whose love for me goes as far as my own --- embracing suicide.... With her alone do I share a love like that, whatever batterings it may have undergone, as others share the sickness of their children, their risk of death...' It certainly wasn't a feeling of happiness, it was something primeval, in tune with the darkness, which set him tingling till he stood there locked in an embrace, as if his cheeks were laid against another --- the only part of him which was stronger than death.

On the roof-tops, vague shapes were already at their posts. ■

JINNAH SAHIB

Saadat Hasan Manto

"The year was 1937. The Muslim League was young—and so was I. I was at an age when you want to do something.... anything. I was well-built and strong, always ready to take on whatever came my way. I was rearing to go. I would have even wanted to fashion a creature with my own hands and then go for him in no-holds-barred physical combat. Such is youth. You are perpetually restless because you want to do things, hoping they will be big things. You simply cannot sit still."

This was Azad the film actor, a name familiar to most people. Before the Partition of the country, he used to be in the movies in Bombay. He has since lived in Lahore, where, like the rest of his fellow actors, he was struggling to survive, such being the state of the industry in Pakistan. Someone once told me that he had been Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's chauffeur for many years. I was keen to know if it was true and sought him out one day. I was to hold many more meetings with him to help him relive the old days. But let Azad speak himself.

"Like Ghalib had once been young, so was I. I do not know if the great poet ever found himself sucked into a political movement, but I can tell you that I was a committed worker of the All India Muslim League. I was a sincere member of the Ghaziabad Corps, as were many other young people like me. I say sincere because sincerity was all I had.

"I recall clearly when Mohammad Ali Jinnah came to Delhi and was taken out in a procession, the like of which had not been seen before. We, the youth of Ghaziabad had played no small part in making the event a great success. Our crops was led by Anwar Qureshi, a strapping young man, who was later known as the poet of Pakistan. He had written a special poem for the occasion, which we were all singing in chorus as we marched. I do not know if we were offbeat, but singing we were and very lustily too. We could not care less if the notes that left our throats were right or wrong. Remember what Ghalib said: "it does not matter how you say it nor if what you say is in or out of rhythm. the important thing is to say it." Our historic procession set out from Delhi's historic Jama Mosque with sky-renting slogans and wound its way to the Muslim League office through Chandani Chowk, Lal Kunwan, Hauz Qazi and Chowri Bazar.

"It was during this procession, I think, that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was spontaneously given the title of Quaid-i-Azam—the great leader. He was in a phaeton drawn by six horses, and every leading Muslim League leader marched that day with us. There were men on cycles, motor bikes and even camel carts. It was all very disciplined, which seemed to please our leader greatly, since he was a strict believer in discipline.

"My response to that procession was deeply emotional. I was completely overwhelmed. I do not even remember now what exactly I felt when I first set eyes on Jinnah sahib. When I look back and analyse my reaction. I realise that I was so taken with him even before I had seen him, that if someone had pointed at a man, any man, and said to me, "There goes your Quaid-i-Azam," I would have believed him immediately and felt deliriously happy. That's the way faith is. Pure and without the slightest trace of doubt. As our procession wound its way through the streets of old Delhi, I had occasion to look at Jinnah sahib from many angles. Then suddenly a thought came to my mind. How could my Quaid, my great leader, be so gaunt, so weak, so frail!

"Ghalib had once marvelled at his beloved actually coming to visit him. In wonder, the poet had gazed at her and then at the home which she had graced. I felt more or less the same way. I would look at the Quaid's fragile figure and then at my strong and well-built body and wish that I would either shrink and become like him or have him become like me. I also had prayed that he be safe from those who wished him ill, and it was said there were many such.

"Life moved on and it so happened that this deep and hidden urge I have always had to do something artistic now began to add to my restlessness. One day, therefore, I decided to travel to Bombay and try my luck in that city. I was always inclined towards drama and acting. So here I was, no longer smitten with the desire to serve the nation so much as to become an actor. What a bundle of contradictions a human being is! When I arrived in Bombay, the Imperial Film company ruled the roost, but it was next to impossible to get into it. I, however, persisted and finally managed to get a foot in as an extra on a daily wage of eight annas. That did not stop me from dreaming about becoming a great star

of the silver screen. I am gregarious by nature. I may not have a sweet tongue but I am not that bad a talker either. Urdu being my mother tongue—something with which all the great stars of the company were unfamiliar—came to my rescue, ironically in Bombay where it was not spoken and not Delhi where it was. Since the language of the movies was Urdu or Hindustani, I was always in demand to read and write the lines the actors were required to speak. I would also read their fan mail for them and write the replies. However, this reading and writing did not help me in my ambition. Extra I was and extra I remained.

"It was during those days that I became friends with the personal chauffeur—a man named Buddhan—of the owner of the Imperial, Seth Ardeshir Irani. The first thing he did for me was to teach me how to drive. This he would do during his spare hours which were not many. He was always afraid that if the Seth found out what he was doing, he might be laid off. Because of this constraint, my intelligence and enthusiasm notwithstanding, I did not quite master the art of motor driving. All I could manage was to drive Seth Ardeshir Irani's Buick on the arrow-straight roads of Bombay whenever I had the opportunity. As to what made a car move or what its body parts were, I knew absolutely nothing.

"I was obsessed with acting, but that was in my head. My heart was still filled with the love of the Muslim League and its moving spirit, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. One talked endlessly of the treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Congress, whether while whiling away time at the Imperial Film, company or loafing about around Kennedy Bridge, Bhendi Bazar, Mohammad Ali Road or the Playhouse. Everyone knew at Imperial that I was an ardent Muslim League supporter and a follower of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In those days a Hindu did not become your enemy just because you like Quaid-i-Azam. The formal demand for Pakistan had yet to be made. Not everyone at the Imperial Company perhaps knew about Quaid. Some might have thought that when I praised him, I was referring to a movie actor whose fan I was. One day, the most celebrated hero of those days, D. Billimoria, passed on a copy of *The Times of India* to me and said, "Look, here is your Jinnah sahib." I thought it was a picture of his which had appeared that day but when I found nothing on any of the pages, I asked, "But where is his picture then?" Billimoria, who sported a John Gilbert moustache, smiled and said, "There is no photo-voto but an ad". "What kind of an ad?" I asked. Billimoria took the paper away from me and pointed at a column. "Mr Jinnah wants a motor mechanic who should take charge of his garage and all the cars in it." I looked at the spot which Billimoria had

touched with his forefinger and said, "Oh! as if I had read every word instantaneously, though the fact was that I knew about as much English as Billimoria did Urdu.

'As I have already said, my driving prowess consisted of the ability to get the car moving, provided the road was straight like an arrow. And quite ignorant about how cars worked. All I knew was that when you pressed the self-starter, the engine caught. Sometimes it failed to do so, but if someone had asked me why, I would have replied that it was all part of the immutable laws of motor driving which the human mind could not fathom. I asked Billimoria what address the ad carried and memorised it. Next morning, I decided to go to the Quaid-i-Azam's house, not to get job but to take a chance on seeing him again. The only diploma I had under my arm was my devotion to the Quaid. I arrived at his residence on Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill. There was a Pathan security guard outside the magnificent bungalow, wearing a spotless, generously cut white *Shalwar* and a huge silk turban, tied just right. I was delighted. Here was another well-built man. Mentally, I tried to compare myself with him and was satisfied that the difference, if any, was marginal.

"There were quite a few hopefuls there already, and each of them had certificates and diplomas testifying to his suitability for the position. I joined them quietly. I might add that I did not even possess a driving licence. All I was waiting for was to take one more look at the Quaid-i-Azam. I was hoping he would appear any moment now. Then suddenly there he was on the porch. Everyone came to attention, while I slunk to one side. Next to him stood his tall and graceful sister, Fatima, whose pictures I had often seen in newspapers and magazines. Standing a few steps away at a respectful distance from Quaid was his secretary Matloob sahib (Matloob Hussain Syed).

'The Quaid adjusted his monocle and scrutinised each candidate carefully. His monocled eye came to rest on me. I shrank even more. Then I heard his penetrating voice, "You" That much English I understood, but who was 'you?' I was sure it was the man standing next to me, so I nudged him, "He has called for you." My companion stammered, "Sahib, I?" The Quaid-i-Azam's voice rose again, "no...you." His thin but steel-like finger was pointed at me. I began to tremble. "Sir, I?" "Yes," he replied. This one word went through me like a bullet out of a Royal Enfield 303 rifle. My throat, from which I had raised so many slogans for the Quaid, was now utterly dry. I could not speak. He took off his monocle and said, "All right." It seemed to me that he had somehow come to know how I felt and in order to end my agony had said, "All right." He turned, looked at his young and handsome secretary, said something to him and then went back into the house with his sister. I was about to run off when Matloob spoke, "Sahib has asked that you report here tomorrow at ten." I could not even ask him why I had been called, nor could I tell him that I had no qualifications for the job the Quaid-i-Azam had advertised for. I could not. Then Matloob sahib walked back into the house and I returned home.

'Next morning, I duly reported at the house and was informed by the Quaid's secretary that the sahib had liked me and I was to immediately take charge of the garage. My first thought was that I should confess that I knew nothing and that the Quaid-i-Azam had been misled. I had walked in just like that and was in no position to take the responsibility being given to me, but I don't know why I just kept quiet. I was given the keys to the garage and put in charge of the Quaid's four cars. The only car I had off and on driven was Seth Ardeshir Irani's Buick and that too on a straight road. The Malabar Hill was full of hair-raising bends and turns and I, poor Azad, was now required to drive a man on whose life depended the survival of millions of Muslims, all along this hazardous route and God alone knew where else.

I had a wild urge to drop the keys on the ground and run all the way home, pick up my things and get on a train bound for Delhi,

but thought better of it. It would be best to tell Jinnah sahib the truth, ask his forgiveness and go back to where I belonged, I said to myself. However, believe me, such an opportunity did not come my way for six months. "How?" I asked Mohammad Hanif Azad.

'This is how it was,' he explained. 'I was informed six months after I had joined that I was to drive the car into the porch and wait. I almost fainted but consoled myself with the thought that as soon as the Quaid appeared, I would salute him, hand over the keys of the garage to him and then fall at his feet. That did not happen. The moment he walked into the porch, I was so dumbfounded that I could not utter a single word. Fatima sahiba, his sister, was also with him and Manto sahib, how can you fall at someone's feet in a woman's presence. It would not have been right somehow. So, Manto sahib, I had to start the car, a new Packard it was. I silently prayed to god and managed to drive it out on the road through the front gate without a hitch. I negotiated all the turns of the Malabar Hill quite well but when I came to the red light on the main road, I ran into trouble. My master Buddhan had taught me to use the brake gently, but I was so nervous that when I yanked it down, the car came to a stop so suddenly and with such a jolt that the cigar the Quaid was smoking fell out of his hand and Fatima sahiba was practically thrown out of her seat. She began to curse me and I thought I would die. My hands began to tremble and I felt my head reeling. The Quaid-i-Azam picked up his cigar from the floor and said something in English which I thought meant I should return to the residence. Once we got back, he asked for another car and another driver and drove off. My next opportunity to serve him did not come until six months later.'

'And you served him the same way?' I asked, smiling. Azad smiled too, 'Well, the thing was that sahib did not try me all this time. There were other drivers who were used. They all wore sahib's livery and very smart it was. Matloob sahib would inform us a night before who the driver for the next day was going to be and which car was to be taken out. Off and on, I would ask about myself but he would say nothing. The fact was that nobody could say with certainty what the sahib had in mind, nor could anyone dare ask him. He was very matter of fact and would only speak when it was necessary to speak and listen to only when it was necessary to listen to. That was why despite being physically close to the Quaid, I could never find out why he had chucked me aside in his garage as a useless spare.'

I ventured a guess, 'May be he had forgotten all about you.' Azad laughed loudly, 'No, sir, no way that the sahib had forgotten or would forget anything. He well knew that Azad had been feasting around for the last six months without doing the least bit of work. And Manto sahib when Azad feasts away, it takes a lot to keep him happy. Just look at me and my big body.'

I looked at him. He indeed was a big and strong man. I could imagine what he must have been in the year 1937 or 1938. Since I had learnt that he had once been the Quaid's chauffeur, I had been looking for an opportunity to talk to him. I was to meet him several times and ask him about his days with Quaid. As I began to write this account, it occurred to me that the Quaid-i-Azam liked strength, as **Allama Mohammad Iqbal, the poet, liked tall people.** The Quaid's choice of those who worked for him was governed by this basic consideration: strength. During Azad's time, everyone who worked for the Quaid was physically strong and good looking. Matloob, his secretary, was well-built and handsome, as were the drivers and the security guards. Mr. Jinnah may have been weak but he had nerves of steel. It makes psychological sense that he did not wish to be associated with weaklings. One always takes good care of what one likes. The Quaid was no different. He was very particular about the smart turnout of his staff. The Pathan watchman was under orders to always wear his traditional dress. Azad, though not a Punjabi, was often asked to wear a turban because it made men look tall and impressive. If his turban was well and properly tied, he would

sometimes earn himself a special tip.

Come to think of it, the secret of Quaid-i-Azam's strong character lay in his physical infirmity. He was always conscious of his fragility and it was this awareness which was his greatest strength. It manifested itself in everything, from the way he carried himself to how he spoke. Azad told me that the Quaid-i-Azam ate very little. 'He was such a small eater that I would often wonder what it was that kept him alive. Had I been put on that diet, I would have begun to vanish in a matter of days. Every day, four to five chickens were prepared in the kitchen and all Jinnah sahib would eat would be a small bowl of soup. Fresh fruit would come to the house in large quantities every day but he would hardly eat any; it all went into the servants' bellies. Every day before going to sleep, he would indicate from a list what he wished to be prepared the next day. I would be handed a hundred rupee note to cover the shopping.'

'A hundred rupees every day?' I asked Azad.

'Yes sir, one hundred rupees. The Quaid-i-Azam never asked us to account for it. What was not spent would be divided among the staff. On some days, it would be thirty rupees, on others forty and sometimes even sixty or seventy. He certainly knew about it but he never once asked for accounts. Miss Jinnah, however, was different and would often say that we were all thieves and were charging more for our shopping than what we had paid. We would listen to her quietly because we knew that the sahib did not really care about such things. On such occasions, he would tell his sister, "It's all right, it's all right."

However, there was one occasion when it did not turn out to be 'all right' and Miss Jinnah was so angry with the cooks that she laid off both of them. One was exclusively assigned to cook European meals, while the other was in charge of Indian cuisine. The latter would often be idle, sometimes for months on end. When his turn came, he would spring into action, but the Quaid-i-Azam was not really overly fond of Indian food. He kept quiet when both cooks were sacked because he would never interfere in his sister's affairs. For several days, both of them would go to the Taj to eat their meals. This was great as far as we were concerned. We would take the cars out in search of new cooks and gallivant around the city royally, only to come back and report that we had failed to find anyone suitable. In the end, Miss Jinnah asked the two old cooks to come back.

'Small eaters are either jealous of those who eat more than they do or are happy to see them eat well. The Quaid fell in the latter category of small eaters. That was why he would never ask us what we had done with the money we had obviously not spent on meat and groceries. Let me tell you a story. The year was 1939. I was gently driving the Quaid in his white Packard along the Marine Drive, the waves beating languidly against the shore. There was a touch of cold in the air. I could see that Jinnah sahib was in a pleasant mood. I thought it was a good opportunity to mention the Id festival which was around the corner. I could see him in my rear view mirror. There was a faint smile on his lips. He knew what I meant. I wanted some money. His faithful cigar was between his lips. Finally, he spoke, "Well, well you have suddenly become a Muslim.... try being a bit of a Hindu for a while." Only four days earlier, the Quaid had tipped me two hundred rupees and thus made a good Muslim out of me, which was why he was now advising me to embrace a bit of Hinduism since I wanted more money.'

The Quaid-i-Azam's domestic life has always been a mystery and would remain so. It has been generally said that his domestic life was non-existent because all his time was taken up by politics. He had lost his wife years earlier and his daughter had married a Parsi against his express wishes.

Azad told me, "This was a great shock for the sahib because he wanted her to marry a Muslim, no matter what caste or colour he was, but his daughter would argue with him. She would say that if he

himself had exercised his freedom to choose a wife, why was he not willing to accord the same freedom to her?'

The Quaid-i-Azam had married the daughter of a prominent Bombay Parsi, something that had been deeply resented by the Parsi community which wanted the slight avenged. Some people said that the marriage of the Quaid's daughter to a Parsi was the result of a well-thought out plan. When I mentioned this to Azad, his reaction was, 'God knows best, but all I know is that after his wife's death, this had come as the greatest shock to the Quaid-i-Azam. When he learnt of the marriage, you could see the grief on his face. He was very transparent that way. You could know how he felt by merely looking at him. He was a sensitive man and even a minor incident could upset him. His brow would furrow and you would know that he was angry or upset. Only he could measure the extent of his grief, but those who saw him during those days knew how restless he was. For two weeks, he would not receive visitors. He would just keep smoking his cigars and pacing up and down in his room. He must have walked hundreds of miles in those two weeks.

'He would always pace about the room when he was thinking, often late at night, all alone, up and down the spotless floor of his room, taking measured steps. His brown and white or black and white brogues would produce a rhythmic pattern of sound as the night wore on. It was like a clock ticking. The Quaid-i-Azam loved his shoes. Was it because they were always at his feet and would do exactly what he willed?'

'After two weeks he resurfaced. There was no sign of grief on his face, nor any tension. His head was again held high, although for two weeks he had tended to keep it bent. But this did not mean he had forgotten what had happened or really recovered from it.'

I asked Azad how he knew that. 'Nothing is hidden from servants,' he replied. 'He would sometimes ask for a certain metallic chest to be brought to his room and unlocked. It was full of clothes that belonged to his dead wife and his headstrong daughter when she was a little girl. The clothes would be taken out and sahib would gaze at them without saying a word. His gaunt, transparent face would become clouded. "It's all right, it's all right," he would say, then remove his monocle, wipe it and walk away.

'The Quaid had three sisters, Fatima, Rehmat and third one whose name I do not remember. They used to live in Dongri. Rehmat Jinnah lived at Chowpati Corner near Chinoy Motor Works. Her husband was employed somewhere and did not earn much. Sahib would give me a sealed envelope every month with money in it, and sometimes a packet which probably contained clothes. These I had to deliver to Rehmat Jinnah. Off and on, sahib and Miss Jinnah would go and visit her. The other sister who lived in Dongri was married too and, as far as I knew, was well off and in no need of financial assistance. The Quaid had a brother whom he used to help regularly, but he was not allowed to come to the house. I once saw him in Bombay. It was at the Savoy bar. He looked like the Quaid and he had just ordered a small rum. He had the same nose, the same general features, the same combed back hair with a gray streak in the middle. When I asked someone who that person was, I was told; it was Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's brother Ahmad Ali. I watched him for a long time. He sipped his rum slowly and paid the bill— which was less than a rupee — with a flourish as if it was a vast sum of money. The way he sat there, you would have thought he was not in a third-class Bombay watering hole but the Taj Mahal hotel itself. Before the historic Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, there was an equally historic meeting of Bombay Muslims which a friend of mine attended. He told me that as the Quaid-i-Azam spoke in his characteristic style, in a back corner stood his brother Ahmad Ali muttering, a monocle fitted to his eye.

'The only indoor sport the Quaid-i-Azam liked was billiards. Whenever the urge to play came upon him, he would order the billiards

room to be opened and although it used to be cleaned and dusted every day, the servants would still take one extra look at everything on such days to be sure that all was spick and span. I was permitted to go to the billiards room because I too had a bit of a liking for the game. Twelve balls would be placed in front of the sahib and he would carefully choose three and then begin playing. Miss Jinnah would often be there too. Sahib would place his cigar between his lips and study the position of the ball that he planned to hit. This would take several minutes, as he would examine it from every angle. He would weigh the cue in his hand, run it over his long and slim fingers as if it was a bow he was going to play a stringed instrument with, take aim and then stop short of executing the stroke because he had thought of a better angle. He only played his shot when he was fully satisfied that it was the right one. If the shot went through as planned, he would smile triumphantly at his sister.

'In politics, the Quaid-i-Azam was equally meticulous. He never made a hasty decision. As at billiards, he would examine the situation from every angle and only move when he was sure he would get it right the first time. He would take the measure of his quarry and choose the right weapon to bring it down. He was not one of those who would hurriedly pick up a gun and shoot without looking, confident that they would not miss. The Quaid was mindful of every pitfall before going into attack.'

According to Azad, the Quaid-i-Azam avoided casual visitors because he hated idle talk. He only had ears for relevant and brief conversation. In the special room where he received visitors, there was only one sofa with a small side table. He would flick the ash from his cigar in an ashtray that lay on that table. There were two glass-front cabinets resting against the opposite wall where he kept copies of the Holy Quran presented to him by his admirers. His personal papers were also kept here. Most of his time was spent in that room. If one of us was sent for, we were expected to stand at the door and listen to his instructions, then we would leave. The papers he was looking at would lie scattered on the sofa. If he wanted to have a letter written, he would send for Matloob or his stenographer and dictate it in a harsh, decisive voice. Although my knowledge of English was limited, I always felt that he emphasised words which did not need emphasis.'

The harshness Azad refers to was perhaps an unconscious defensive reaction to his physical frailty. His life was like a bubble on moving waters but he gave the world the appearance of a giant whirlpool. It was his lack of physical strength that kept him alive so long. Azad said the Quaid's best friend with whom he had the most informal relations was the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang. He would often come to stay and the two would talk for hours on national and political issues. The Quaid was a different person when he was with the Nawab. He was the only man with whom he talked as one talks to a close, personal friend. They were like two childhood buddies. When they were together in a room, you would often hear them laughing loudly. There were others who came to visit, including Raja sahib of Mahmoodabad, I. I. Chundrigar, Maulana Zahid Husain, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohamaad Ismail and Ali Imam. However, the sahib dealt with them in an official kind of way. Gun was that easy informality

which one associated with Bahadur Yar Jang's visits.

I asked Azad if Liaquat was a frequent visitor.

'Yes, he was,' Azad answered. 'The Quaid treated him as his most talented pupil. Liaquat would show the utmost deference to him and carry out his orders to the last detail. Sometimes when he had been sent for, he would ask me before being shown in what kind of a mood the sahib was in. I would always tell him because when the Quaid was in a bad mood, everyone knew, even the walls of the Malabar Hill home. The Quaid-i-Azam was particular about the appearance and conduct of his servants and staff. He hated everything that lacked cleanness, including human character. He liked Matloob very much but when he learnt that he was carrying on with a Muslim League woman volunteer, he was annoyed because he was not one to tolerate such deviant behaviour. Matloob was called in, questioned and sent home. However, whenever the Quaid met him later, he always treated him like an old friend.'

'Once I came home very late. You see I had gone out on the town and spent quite a few hours at a bar. I thought the sahib would not know how late I had been, but I was wrong. He sent for me the next day and told me in English that I was spoiling my character, then added in broken Urdu, "Well, *ab hum tumahara shadi banaiga*" or "We will have to get you married off now." four months later when he came to Delhi from Bombay to attend a meeting of the Muslim League, as desired by him, I was duly married. It was because of my association with him that I found a wife who came from a Syed family. I was a Sheikh by caste but had been accepted as a son-in-law by the Syeds because I was in the service of the Quaid-i-Azam.'

I asked Azad if he had ever heard the Quaid-i-Azam say, "I am sorry." Azad shook his head. 'No, but I am sure if the words had ever escaped his lips, he would have excised them from the dictionary for good.' This one observation contains the key to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's character. I think.

Mohammad Hanif is alive in Pakistan which his Quaid-i-Azam gifted to him, a country which is trying to survive in a harsh world under the leadership of his talented pupil, Khan Liaquat Ali Khan. On this piece of free land, he sits on a broken cot outside the office of Punjab Art Pictures, close to a betel leaf seller, and waits for his sahib and prays for the day when he would be paid his salary on time. He is even prepared to become a bit of a Hindu, just as the Quaid-i-Azam had advised, provided there is an opportunity.

Last time I spoke to him about the Quaid, he felt depressed. I realised that he did not even have enough on him to buy himself a betel leaf. I talked to him of this and that and managed to get his mind off his troubles.

He sighed. 'My sahib is dead. How I wish I was with him on his last journey, driving his white Packard with the roof down. How I wish I could have driven him gently to his destination. His delicate temperament was not suited for a rough, jolting ride. I have heard — and I do not know if it is true or untrue — that when his plane brought him to Karachi on what was to be his last trip, the ambulance which was to take him to the Governor General's house broke down. The engine stalled after it had gone a short distance. I know how much that must have upset my sahib.'

There were tears in Azad's eyes.

THE PRICE OF WESTERN CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION AND BASIS OF CURRENT EUROPEAN PROSPERITY :1492 / 98 TO 1999

15th to 20th
Centuries

4. About 45 million killed in miscellaneous massacres by Western White Christian Colonisers in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and generally in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, between 1600 and 1999. In particular, the victims were Australian Aborigines, New Zealand Maoris and Zulus, Congolese, Angolans, Madagascarians, Ethiopians, Som-alis, Sud-anese, West Africans etc. in Africa.

1500 to 1850

3. At least 20 million killed in Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, as estimated by Fidel Castro in his speech cited below.

1765 to 1947

2. Over 85 million killed in Famines of Purchasing Power(1765-1947) created by the British Imperialist Drain of Wealth from India, caused by the Imperialist Policy of De-Industrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation (See Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, pp.87-88, also see William Digby, '*Pros-perous*' *British India*, 1901)

1492 to 1999

1. Genocidal massacre of Red Indians after 1492, when Columbus landed in the Caribbean. Estimated by Fidel Castro, to be 70 millions killed (See welcome speech delivered at Havana Airport, to greet the Pope, reproduced in *Mankind*, May 1998). Estimated by *Encyclopaedia Britannica* at 90 to 110 million (in 1973 Edition, vol. 12, p.54)

0

Numbers Masscred

100
mln

185
mln

205
mln

250
mln