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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 43

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ARE OUR STATISTICS ALL LIES?

Indian statistics are put together to apparently illustrate the adage. 'There are lies, damn lies and statistics.'

I had for long assumed that at least in the same publication, Government of India will not issue contradictory data.

I was wrong, the GOI is capable of issuing three sets of contradictory figures in the same publication ! I found this out when casually perusing the *Economic Survey* of last year (1997-98).

I wrote to N.R. Acharya,

Economic Advisor to the MOF last month, drawing his attention to anomalies and requested him to explain the absurdities.

I received no reply from him. However, in the *Economic Survey* of 1998-99 obviously some corrections have been carried out.

In the preceding year (Table 6.2, 7.2 and 7.4) not only the figures had been at variance with each other but they had moved in different directions. In the same year, an ADVERSE balance of trade had become a FAVOURABLE balance, as I

had pointed out in my letter to Acharya.

Now all the figures are atleast uniformly negative, though not to the same extent.

In Table 6.2 they vary from -6495 to -3810, in 7.1, for the identical year 1991-92.

In an attached table, we have reproduced the data given in Tables 6.2, 7.1 and 7.4 of *Economic Survey* 1998-99, pp. S 73-74, S. 81-82 and S.91-92.

What is alarming is that for the latest year 1997-98 the difference between the Balance of Payments Data given in 6.2 and 7.1 is to the extent of 240%.

How can such large differences be tolerated by our government employed statisticians? In the same publication?!

The Balance of Trade Data paints a picture of our relations with the World Economy. How can such wide discrepancies continue in such a vital area?

Year	Table 6.2 Balance of Payments (in Cr. Rs.)			Table 7.1 Exports, Imports and Trade Balance (in Cr. Rs.)			Table 7.4 Direction of Trade (in Cr. Rs.)		
	Imports	Exports	Balance	Imports	Exports including reexports	Balance	Imports	Exports	Balance
1960-61	-	-	-	1,122.00	642.00	-480.00	1,122.00	642.00	-480.00
1970-71	-	-	-	1,634.00	1,535.00	-99.00	1,634.00	1,535.00	-99.00
1980-81	-	-	-	12,549.00	6,711.00	-5,833.00	12,549.00	6,711.00	-5,833.00
1990-91	50,086.2	33,152.6	-16,933.6	43,198.00	32,553.00	-10,645.00	43,198.00	32,553.00	-10,695.00
1991-92	51,417.5	44,922.5	-6,495.0	47,851.00	44,041.00	-3,810.00	-	-	-
1992-93	71,999.7	54,762.0	-17,237.7	63,375.00	53,688.00	-9,687.00	-	-	-
1993-94	83,868.7	71,146.0	-12,722.7	73,101.00	69,751.00	-3,350.00	-	-	-
1994-95	112,748.5	84,328.5	-28,420.0	89,971.00	82,674.00	-7,297.00	89,971.00	82,674.00	-7,297.00
1995-96	146,542.3	108,481.1	-38,061.2	122,678.00	106,353.00	-16,325.00	122,676.00	106,353.00	-16,723.00
1996-97	173,753.0	121,193.5	-52,559.5	138,920.00	118,817.00	-20,103.00	138,920.00	118,817.00	-20,103.00
1997-98	190,256.8	129,515.9	-60,750.9	151,553.0	126,286.00	-25,268.00	151,553.00	126,286.00	-25,267.00

DAYLIGHT MURDER OF DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Amongst the thousands of columns written in journals and newspapers and the hundreds of hours of broadcast and telecast time devoted to Bihar, not one word has appeared about the undemocratic and reactionary features of our current constitution framed in 1946-9 by a

Congress coterie. The will of the people has been openly thwarted and such is the supine state of our country, that not one word of protest has been recorded.

What happened in Bihar is startling. The Lok Sabha approved the take-over of the state administration

by the centre under article 356 by a clear margin of 29 votes.

WHY ARE THE RIGHTS OF THE RAJYA SABHA TO BE EQUATED WITH THOSE OF THE LOK SABHA?

Rajya Sabha is a non-constitutive body whereas each of the 545 members of Lok Sabha is directly elected by

lakhs of voters. The Rajya Sabha has 245 members of which 233 are elected by State Legislatures for a term of three years. One third of its members retire every two years. 12 of the members are nominated by the President. Of its 245 members, at the moment the BJP and its allies have the support of only 72, whilst the Congress and the Opposition have as many as 173.

Since action under Article 356 has to be approved by both the houses of Parliament, Vajpayee government failed to move the resolution in the Rajya Sabha. Thus, after just a fortnight, the Rabri Devi government which was responsible for repeated massacres of dalits by Ranvir Sena, was reinstalled. The culpability of Laloo-Rabri duo's criminal rule was obvious to any observer. The leader of Ranvir Sena, one Brahmadev Singh, has not been arrested. Other killers are at large. The police looks the other way when landlords gun down landless dalits. This has been going on since 1984 when the Ranvir Sena was founded. (see *Mankind*, Jan-Feb.99 for more details about the Ranvir Sena).

We are opposed to the use of article 356 by the Centre as it is a flagrantly undemocratic provision of our comprador 1946-49 Constitution. But if ever there was a case for the use of Article 356, it was to be found in Bihar in the year 1999.

However, the Congress Party, in return for 40 parliamentary seats

promised to it by Laloo Prasad Yadav in the next General Elections to the 13th Lok Sabha, decided to reverse its earlier stand to the effect that "Rabri Devi government had lost its moral right to rule Bihar". It is not for nothing that the Congress is led by Sonia Gandhi who is the daughter of Mussolini's supporter Maino! She has herself been foisted upon the country as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, without being a member of either of the two houses of parliament. This is unique in the history of parliamentary parties anywhere in the world. If tomorrow, Vajpayee government falls, the President, (an old Congress stooge and a former bureaucrat) will invite this daughter of a fascist to take over the government of the country!

At every step, the current constitution stands in the way of the national democratic movement of India. Yet, just because a few Great Leaders of the Congress (Sitaram Kesari, Jagannath Mishra, Madhav Sinh Solanki, Karan Singh, Ghulam Nabi Azad, S.B. Chavan, Pranab Mukherjee, etc.) and a few ex-Big Bureaucrats (Manmohan Singh, Jitendra Prasad, etc.) are members of the Rajya Sabha, no voice of protest is being raised.

As we have repeatedly stated in *Mankind*, our present constitution is a joke, a farce, a fraud, a betrayal and a travesty. It was made by an indirectly elected house with one-third

of the members nominated by former Native Princelings.

Its indirect election through Provincial Assemblies which were themselves elected was on the basis of a 14% franchise divided in communal electorates.

We have reiterated this data many times in the past issues of *Mankind*.

SUCH A SELF-APPOINTED COTERIE OF CONGRESSMEN WAS INCAPABLE OF FORMULATING A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.

Among the most retrograde features of our constitution is the equality established between the two houses on all matters other than money-bills.

In the United States, the two houses have equal powers but there the Senators are popularly elected. Anyway, we do not consider USA to be a model of democracy.

In India, the Rajya Sabha is openly made to flout the Lok Sabha and this dastardly act is allowed to go unpunished.

We must have a new constitution formulated by a new Constituent Assembly, unless we wish to slide into an authoritarian dictatorship. If the sensitive intellectuals of India fail even to demand a new Constituent Assembly, elected for the first time on the basis of direct, universal adult franchise, the Bihar scenario will be repeated everywhere in the country. ■

SOME MPs ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

In several early issues of the revived *Mankind* (Apr.96, pp.60-63, May 96, pp.60-62), we had published tables of vast differences in the size of constituencies that elect members of the Lok Sabha. We had shown that the smallest constituency electing a member to the Parliament was Lakshadweep with just 30,000 voters, and the largest was 52 times larger at 15.74 lakhs in Outer Delhi. Even within the 15 major states, an electorate of 3.31 lakhs elected a member from the autonomous districts of Assam whilst the candidate from Thane,

Maharashtra had to woo an electorate of 15.54 lakhs, i.e. the ratio was nearly 1:5 of the lowest to the highest.

By some stupid bureaucratic legerdemain, the number of constituencies allocated to each state was frozen.

The Constitution (Article 82) prescribes that a fresh drawing of boundaries of Lok Sabha constituencies should take place after each census. The first delimitation of constituencies took place in 1952, a minor revision took place in 1956, and comprehensive revisions were carried

out in 1966 and 1976. The 1991 elections were fought in 543 constituencies with boundaries that had been unchanged since 1977. The constituencies that were drawn up in 1976 by the Delimitation Commission have been used for five elections, as the constitution was amended in 1976 to postpone the next delimitation until after the year 2001.

"The differences in sizes of constituencies in India have been significant and have increased over time. The coefficient variation rose from 0.118 in 1962 to 0.184 in 1991". (Butler, Lahiri and Roy (eds.), *India*

Decides. Elections 1952-1995, p.15)

We are not interested in the bogey of North vs. South that has been raised by frivolous politicians and journalists (*Outlook*, 8.3.99, pp.24-26). Similarly, we are not concerned with the birth-rates and so on, which are being projected for the

ARUN BHATIA

Our *naukarshahi* is notoriously corrupt, irresponsible, unaccountable, secretive and obsequious. The Arun Bhatia case proves to the hilt the evil nature of our entire system of governance.

As we have written in earlier issues of *Mankind*, the Indian National Congress is the party of our *naukarshahs*.

Lord Dufferin and Home Secretary, A.O. Hume founded the Congress Party in 1885. Hume remained its secretary for twenty-two years, till 1907, when the Surat Split occurred (see R.C. Majumdar, *HCIP*, vol.10, *The Struggle for Freedom*, for historical evidence).

The Moderates led by Pherozeshah Mehta, expelled the Extremists at Surat. The Extremists or Tilakites returned to the Congress in 1916 to become the New Moderates who accepted the diabolical Dyarchy proposed by the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919-21 (see *Mankind*, April 1997).

Two further doses of reforms were implemented via the 1935-37 constitution and the Dominion Status India Independence Act, 1947, passed by the British Parliament to partition the country.

None of the Reform Acts altered the basic structure of the colonial administration. The *naukarshahi* remains supreme till today.

We received a limited amount of democracy in 1947 on two conditions

a) That the country was partitioned; and b) That the bureaucratic regime remained intact and supreme.

Arun Bhatia's 24th transfer in a career spanning 32 years exposes the rottenness of our system.

next few decades.

Our constitution of 1946-49 has deprived the people of India of all democratic power. We have a shamocracy in the country where the bureaucracy rules and the parliamentarians merely rubber-stamp the decisions of the bureaucracy.

Amongst the major scandals that Bhatia exposed, we may count the following:

★ Bhatia first shot into limelight in 1982 during his tenure as collector of Dhule when he detected large-scale corruption in the "Employment Guarantee Scheme". Avdhesh Prasad Sinha emulated Bhatia several years later in Thane district and found that the total number of square feet dug in a locality under EGS exceeded the total area of that locality and therefore there could be no roads, buildings or other structures left intact in that locality. Avdhesh told me this personally when he met me in the corridors of the Mumbai Mantralaya in the mid-eighties.

★ Later as collector of Bombay, Bhatia completed the inquiry regarding excess FSI used in the building called 'Pratibha', detected the illegal construction of an entire building, 'Arihant', etc. (two floors of 'Pratibha' were demolished many years later but Arihant's builder Navani got off scot-free).

★ Bhatia's transfer as Food and Drug Administrator in Mumbai pitted him against Glaxo, a multinational pharmaceutical giant, where he discovered a shameful recycling of factory rejects endangering the lives of millions of consumers.

★ Bhatia's responsibility as Pune Divisional Commissioner, 1997-99 involved him in a confrontation with the Chief Secretary P. Subramaniam who was merrily delaying the rehabilitation of the project-affected from the Maharashtra Krishna Valley Development Project.

★ This led to his last but one transfer but not before his discovery of the wrong-doing by village talathis who were busy forging land records. He

No democratic constitution can be framed by an undemocratic C.A. of 1946-49. The British had their own reasons for stifling India, but India has its own reasons for removing the British-imposed bureaucratic shackles. ■

uncovered 107 *prima-facie* cases involving falsification of records, deliberate by-passing of mandatory procedures, etc. involving 65 talathis, 30 circle officers and 4 superiors who had to be suspended.

★ When a week ago, from Pune Divisional Commissioner, he was demoted to the post of Pune Municipal Commissioner, he promptly began demolishing illegal structures put up by political big-wigs, including those by family members of Rajya Sabha MP Suresh Kalmadi; former Chief Minister Manohar Joshi; owner of the five star hotel Holiday Inn, and several other INC leaders. This led to his transfer in less than a week to the post of Director of Archives, Mumbai where no doubt he will uncover innumerable cases of corrupt practices indulged in by hundreds of Maharashtra cadre bureaucrats!

Two days ago, a young man met me whilst I was sitting on a parapet opposite Pune University building. He requested me to sign a petition for Arun Bhatia's recall and re-installment as Pune Municipal Commissioner. I promptly agreed and got several other friends to endorse the petition. I am told that many tens of thousands have signed the petition. Irrespective of the final outcome, I was happy to find that the educated and supposedly intelligent members of the middle classes in Pune are moving towards some form of action to back up their resentment.

The most disheartening feature of our contemporary crisis is the passivity of our middle classes and intellectuals. If the petition for recall and re-installment of Arun Bhatia indicates a break with this passivity, it presages good tidings for the future. ■

NAIVETY AND HISTORY

I exchanged a few letters with Romila Thapar in the mid-70s. I had just completed my doctoral dissertation on *Arts of Transitional India, 20th century*, vol. I and II published in 1986-88. I had considered her work. *History of India*, vol. I, 1966 and pointed out some of the major flaws in her work. She was quite nice about my forthright attack and invited me to the History Department of JNU for a lecture. I spoke on the Fallacy of The Asiatic Mode of Production.

Thus I have no personal animus against her. She is a pretty woman, built in the heavy North Indian style, in face and figure. However, she is utterly naive and completely empty-headed.

She is also not a full-blooded, consistent atheist.

That is why, she has come out with the eclat of the simpleton with the statement "SOMANATH TEMPLE RAID WAS NOT COMMUNAL" (*Times of India*, 30-1-99).

Religion as such is a camouflage. All communal activities by believers are a mask for mundane aims.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, European fundamentalists wanted to beat the Islamic onslaught. Therefore, they mounted some eight Crusades to raid, pillage and invade the Eastern Littoral of the Mediterranean (Modern-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel and Jordan). However feudally, rich and powerful Asiatic kingdoms were unbeatable and therefore, Saladin the Great, recaptured the Christian outposts and forts in the Fertile Crescent, and compelled Europe to think of non-feudal ways of overcoming Islam.

Communism and fundamentalism, thus, date from the Crusades.

Anyone who, wishes to steal, rob and kill finds it convenient to do so in the name of religion. In that sense, Romila is not wrong; the raid on Somanth had no religious aim. Islam was to gain nothing doctrinally

from the raid. But Mohammad Gazni and Mohammad Ghori as leaders of war-bands centred upon Gazna and Ghor provinces of Afghanistan had everything to gain by giving their robber raids a communal colour, just as Crusaders had everything to gain by giving a Christian colour to their raids upon outposts and forts in the Fertile Crescent in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Especially, as it was customary for non-Muslims to be excluded from any share of the booty acquired during the day. All Muslims engaged in the routine daily task of raiding and pillaging (and of course, killing) were entitled to a share of the day's spoils as per their rank and their contribution.

Why would not a robber or thief claim his depredation to be executed in pursuit of a religious ideology so that he can collect sectarian sympathy as well as claim to be pursuing unselfish goals, when in reality he is carrying out nothing but self-centred aims of personal enrichment and individual aggrandisement?

That is how religion has been used through the centuries. Instead of saying that 'I raided Somnath for personal gain', it is not better for him to say, 'I raided Somanth for the greater glory of Islam'.

If his share of the loot depended upon his being Muslim, how can he fail to make such an ideological claim?

It is obvious to me that Romila Thapar is utterly naive. It is true that no religious aims were ever realised by raids on Somanth, Mathura or Varanasi temples.

Material gains always get precedence over hypocritically proclaimed spiritual objects. This is as true now, as then! Why would Mohammed Gazni or Ghori not claim to be Great Islamic Crusaders, when such a claim enables them to collect mob-support and give a non-mercenary colour to their operations?

Why is the bogus secularist in Romila Thapar attributing a motive to

every present member of the BJP or follower of the Hindu Parivar, whilst claiming exoneration of similar selfish aims for Afghan-Pathans of the past?

It just does not make any sense! Hindus are not particularly devilish and Muslims (also Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and others) are not especially broad-minded and benign! Why are we leaning over backwards to claim that we are decent and civilised Hindus, after demonstrating that every other community is more decent and more civilised than us?

I personally never think of myself as a Hindu. I am an atheist and as I have repeatedly maintained, no one asked for my prior permission, before being born in a Hindu family. I do not recollect anytime when I was Hindu, though there must have been some years of childhood, when I must have accepted unconsciously the family environment. But not since I came of age in 1942, when I was fifteen years old, do I remember of ever having thought like a Hindu!

Also, I do not think that all Muslims were foreigners. In fact, I consider Afghan-Pathan Sultanate of Delhi the 12th to 13th centuries to have been an entirely native feudal entity. Under their rule and under the rule of Sher Shah Suri and the Mughals and the Bahamani kingdoms and the Hyder - Tipu Karanataka dynasty and so on; there was no Drain of Wealth from India as it happened under the British Rule from 1765 onwards. All the monies and goods and forced labour looted from Indian people by the innumerable Muslim kingdoms of the 12th to the 18th centuries, remained in India. All the luxuries of the feudal courts, all the public works sponsored by them, all the wars fought by their armies against each other, created employment within the country and therefore promoted economic development and employment within the country and did not result in an endless series of Famines of Purchasing Power within the country so as to promote the Industrial Revolution in Manchester, Liverpool.

Birmingham and London! The First Industrial Revolution in Great Britain does not justify the genocidal massacre of 85 mln. poor and dalit Indians

between 1765 to 1947 !

Romila Thapar has never understood the basic mechanism of

material historical evolution. That is why she is floundering and making inane statements pertaining to our past history. ■

HAS GEORGE REALLY BECOME A BIHARI GOONDA?

A bizarre story has been front-paged by *The Afternoon Despatch And Courier* on 24th March, 1999, in which the dismissed Navy Chief Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat has appealed to President Narayanan for protection from "Terrorist Elements friendly with Defence Minister George Fernandes!"

Such things are known to happen in small nations under one party rule, but I believe it is the first time that such goings on are reported in a large democracy like India. If true, and the report has gone uncontradicted for a week, George has indeed travelled a long way from the days when he was a simple honest trade unionist subordinate of P. D'Mello and a militant Lohiaite friend of mine. I have of course performed an ideological *ghatashraddha* in the *Mankind* issue of June / July 1998. Nevertheless it comes as a bit of a shock even to me that he should let loose Burmese or Tamil or other miscellaneous terrorist goons upon his own former subordinate, the Naval Chief Vishnu Bhagwat. I know that he shifted from the Janata Party to his brand new Samata Party in 1997 under the evil influence of the former bureaucrat Nitish Kumar, the present Railway Minister, but even this rotter should not have influenced him to such an extent! I marvel at the high esteem in which the winning of a parliamentary seat is placed by former Lohiaites.

We must remember that quite a few Lohiaites have prospered at the cost of their principles in recent times. George Fernandes, Madhu Limaye, Raj Narain, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Sharad Yadav, Kalpanath Rai, Ram Vilas Paswan, Jancswar Mishra, Ram Dhan, J. H. Patel and several more who I used to meet, hanging around Lohia's Gurudwara Rikabganj residence in Delhi in the sixties. Supposing they had remained together and they could have remained together only with ideological bonds, do they not think

that at least in a sad retrospect, they could have made a difference? Look at the spectrum of talent that Lohia had managed to collect around him! Of course even at that time, there were a few bad eggs amongst the brilliant revolutionaries that Lohia had collected around him !

That analogy itself leads us to the right track! As long as the revolutionary tide is running high, one or two rotten eggs like Madhu Limaye and George Fernandes do not matter. It is when the times turn adverse, which happened from the mid-seventies, that a whole generation flounders and is wiped out! In Russia, we had to perform the *ghatashraddha* almost every day as news of this and that leader having confessed to impossible and absurd crimes swept through corridors of the Stalinist concentration and forced labour camps made known to the world by Solzhenitsyn as the Gulag Archipelago. These forced confessions which Stalin and Vyshinsky had extracted from broken, brow-beaten and brain-washed Old Bolsheviks, were self-contradictory and contradicted each other. But never mind! Counter-revolutionary tide balks at no logic, no shame, no indignity!

I became an old Bolshevik as I read the writings of the "Old Man", as Leon Trotsky was fondly known amongst us old-timers. I was dismayed and brought to the verge of tears repeatedly, as one stalwart fell after another. I felt the Siberian chill winds blowing, as they ran through, and rattled my bones, behind the pitiless electrified barbed-wires of the concentration camps. Many times I wondered how so many can be broken in such quick time, so systematically! But times and tides of history are inexorable.

Look at the spectacle that the Lohia Socialists have made of themselves! After 1967, Lohia was no more. How could so many fall so fast? So, he was no more but he had never

wielded state power. Several had left him during his own lifetime, but the revolutionary tide was still rising. In 1947, the socialists had rejected the ridiculous farce of an imperialist-foisted Constituent Assembly of 1946-49 and had proposed an entirely New Constitution! They had lost in the charade of the First Sham General Election of October 1951 to February 1952, but they had walked out of the Congress in 1948 and Lohia had formed his militant outfit, the Socialist Party, in Dec. 1955-Jan 1956. The Socialists had performed much better in 1962 elections and Lohia had become a member of the Parliament from 1963. **Ram Sevak Yadav had moved the first No Confidence Motion against Nehru successfully and fifty members of Parliament stood up to be counted.** Lohia had made his magnificent three and a half hour oration amidst a rapt silence, in the Lok Sabha outlining the dire poverty of the Indian people and contrasting it sharply with Jawahar's wasteful luxury. In 1967, Lohia's militant group had captured twenty three parliamentary seats as against thirteen of the PSP, nineteen of CPM, twenty three of CPI. The break-up of the Congress had begun in 1967, the year of Lohia's death, and SVD governments had come into power in several important states: West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu (DMK was the equivalent in Tamil Nadu of the SVD of the North); Punjab, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala (here the CPM became the equivalent of SVD); Haryana and Bihar.

The world context was also not unfavourable. In the sixties, several African countries were to attain independence as in the cases of Algeria (1962), Mauritania (1960), Senegal (1960), Mali (1960), Burkina Faso (1960), Sierra Leone (1961), Ivory Coast (1960), Ghana (1967), Togo (1960), Benin (1960), Gabon (1960), Cameroon (1960), Nigeria (1960), Congo (Brazzaville, 1960), Niger (1960),

(contd. on p. 16)

I WORLD ECONOMY

- Current International Confrontation,** Oct.95.
- Indian Polity in World Context: Exploited Entities,** Jan-Feb 96.
- Wage-rates in Global Hiring Hall,** Jul. 96.
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WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

THE ARREST OF THE ARCH CRIMINAL, RAJAN TIWARI FROM A BJP MP'S RESIDENCE

A history sheeter of UP and Bihar with a long trail of killings, stealings, kidnappings and extortions. Rajan Tiwari was arrested on 13th Feb. 99 from the lawns of the official residence of Gangaram Koli, a BJP MP.

Although Koli denied any connection with the criminal and took a legal position that Tiwari was not arrested from his house but only from

the lawns in front of his house; the police confirmed that Tiwari was indeed staying at Koli's house but had stepped out into the lawns in front of his house when the police could nab him. The police could not arrest him from inside the MP's house since they had not the necessary warrant to enter the MP's residence. The police, however, left an escape clause for

themselves. It is possible that Rajan Tiwari was in Koli's house without Koli being aware of his identity. Why the police should presume that Koli did not know the identity of his own house guest is a singular mystery.

Rajan Tiwari case once again proves the continuing connection or nexus between politicians and criminals. In comprador capitalist society, no means are taboo when the goal is personal aggrandisement.

As can be seen from the box given alongside that businessman use criminals for eliminating their rivals, especially for grabbing big contracts, like railway and other government contracts.

Cases against Rajan Tiwari

1. Murder of Vivek Singh, accomplice of former MLA Birndra Pratap. **Motive:** Grabbing of a railway tender.
2. Attempt on the life of B.P. Shahi near Gol Ghar, Gorakhpur. Shahi's Security officer and a head constable were shot dead. **Motive:** Tender grabbing.
3. A Gorakhpur businessman was shot dead. **Motive:** Extortion.
4. Dubey brothers of Hydell Colony shot dead. **Motive:** Grabbing of railway contracts.
5. Stealing Maruti Esteem after shooting its owner in the legs.
6. Killing of B.P. Shahi and his associates. **Motive:** Tender grabbing.
7. Gunning down of Vivek Shukla.
8. Kidnapping of Kunal Rastogi. **Motive:** A ransom of Rs.60 lakh.
9. Killing of RJD MLA who was a former Energy Minister of Bihar. The victim was undergoing treatment in a hospital.
10. Killing of Pramod Singh, a Samata party worker from Bihar.
11. Killing of Pritam Singh, Inspector with the Special Task Force, Ghaziabad. **Motive:** D.P. Yadav had given him 'supari' for the killing

Source: *The Week*, Feb 28, 1999

THREE COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY REPORTS

Recently several commissions of inquiry have reported on matters of public interest in Maharashtra and each of the three reports has indicted the Shiv Sena - BJP government in power and its predecessors the Congress government, for its grave misdeeds.

One of the reasons why *Mankind* has maintained that democracy does not prevail in India, is precisely this oversight, neglect and sabotage of reports of inquiry commissions. In every embarrassing case, the government attaches an Action Taken Report by the very executive which committed the original crimes against the people of India and Maharashtra. The very existence of ATRs proves

irresponsibility, unaccountability and non-transparency of the bureaucratic set up that rules over us.

Mankind is placing before its readers a brief summary of 3 judicial commission reports namely i) Shrikrishna Commission Report ii) Dani Commission Report and iii) Gundewar Commission Report and their Action Taken Reports prepared by the Sena - BJP Government in Maharashtra.

1. The Srikrishna Commission Report: The report on communal riots in Mumbai in December 92- January 93 has severely and in an unambiguous manner indicted Shiv Sena and Sena Chief Bal Thackeray and several other Shiv Sainiks for organising attacks on Muslims and their properties. It has

also indicted BJP and Sangh Parivar for intimidating Muslims by using provocative and intemperate language. The report was submitted to the Government on 16 February 1998. The Sena-BJP Government has rejected the main part of the report. In ATR that was placed before the House on the report sought to suggest that the report of the Commission was anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim. Shiv Sena supremo Bal Thackeray accused the sitting judge of Bombay High Court of bias.

The Commission observed that speeches and slogans of BJP rallies and their Sangh Parivar from or about July 1992 as a part of Ayodhya Temple campaign were "downright communal, warning the Muslims that dissent on Ramjanmabhoomi - Babri Masjid

dispute would be an act of treachery for which the Muslims could be banished from the country. Slogans like 'mandir vahi banayenge' and 'is deshme rehana hoga to vande mataram kahena hoga' rent the air." The report also observed that "clashes and minor cases of rioting" took place along the route of the BJP leader L. K. Advani's *rath yatra* were the distant thunderclaps portending the storm to come."

Nine hundred people died in December-January riots. The causes include, as reported by the commission, police firing, stabbing, arson, mob action and "private firing". The injured numbered 2036. The Commission examined 502 witnesses and their depositions running into 9655 pages were recorded. Twenty eight months after the commission was appointed by the Chief Minister Sudhakarrao Naik, the Sena-BJP Government, which came to power subsequently, added terms of reference pertaining to the serial bomb blasts in Mumbai on March 12, 1993 which claimed 257 lives, injured 713 people and damaged property worth Rs.27 crores.

The Commission observed that the bomb blasts seem to be a reaction to "the totality of events" at Ayodhya and Mumbai in December 1992 and January 1993. The Commission has also blamed the Congress(I) Government headed by Sudhakarrao Naik and the police force for not handling the situation effectively. The then C.M. should have sought army help to control the riots, according to the observations made by the Commission. Sharad Pawar who was the Defence Minister at the time is supposed to have delayed the deployment of the army.

The Sena-BJP Government rejected. The Commission's conclusions on the events and immediate causes of the riots and apportionments of blame for them. It also found the conclusions on bomb blast less than adequate. However, the government's ATR proclaims the acceptance of the recommendations on administrative lapses on the part of

police and the recommendations were forwarded to the police commissioner for appropriate action to prevent the recurrence of riots and to secure communal harmony and to improve law and order machinery.

2. Dani Commission Report:

The death of 104 members of the Gowari tribe in Nagpur in 1994 during the winter session of Maharashtra legislature, when a morcha was brought by their leaders to press for their long-standing demand for a scheduled tribe status. As no minister went to receive their memorandum, the crowd became restless and started surging ahead by breaking the police cordon. This provoked the police to resort to a lathi charge. The scared simple villagers in the morcha started running helter skelter which resulted in a stampede. 104 people lost their lives.

The Sena-BJP legislators who were in opposition then, demanded the resignation of the then Chief Minister, Sharad Pawar. The judicial inquiry was instituted under the chairmanship of Justice Dani.

When this report was submitted the Sena-BJP Government was in power. And to their utter consternation the report did not indict Sharad Pawar or any other minister. Having lost the opportunity to settle scores with the Congress party the Sena-BJP combine decided to use the Action Taken Report to embarrass the Congress in general and Sharad Pawar in particular. Their frustrations resulted in two published Action Taken Reports. After publishing the first ATR, the Government probably thought that there was not enough material to politicise the issue. Therefore, another ATR was prepared adding 15 new paragraphs and deleting certain key points fixing responsibility for the incident.

This chicanery of the Sena-BJP combine was exposed by the opposition leader Chhagan Bhujbal by showing the two ATRs on the commission's report in the legislature. The second one was hurriedly prepared and got printed from a

private printer, with some additions and deletions to the first one which was printed in government press.

3. Gundewar Commission Report :

In July 1997, in Ramabai Nagar of Mumbai, the statue of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was desecrated by some mischief - mongers by garlanding it with footwear. This infuriated the dalits and riots broke out. In the police firing 11 dalits lost their lives.

The Sena-BJP government's pro-dalit credentials were specially hyped while preparing the ATR on the Dani Commission Report. Therefore, to pacify dalits, the judicial inquiry was instituted under the chairmanship of Justice Gundewar.

In his report, Justice Gundewar, severely indicted the police for handling the situation in a manner which betrayed total disregard for legal provisions.

The Commission also indicted the Police Sub Inspector M.Y. Kadam for his decision to open fire. The Report records that "there was no provocation for firing and that it was not in self-defence, that it was not for saving damage by the alleged apprehension of the blast of gas tanker, that it was neither justified nor warranted".

The self-defence theory of the police had the endorsement of the then Chief Minister Manohar Joshi. But the Gundewar Commission completely demolishes this theory.

The Sena's other claim was that the riots were engineered by the opposition leader Chhagan Bhujbal who had asked Rajendra Gupta Agarwal to do the act of desecration. It was also not acceptable to the Commission. There were serious discrepancies in dates cited by Agarwal. Moreover, the antecedents of Agarwal were of dubious nature. It took ten days for him to share what Bhujbal supposedly told him with anyone. Thus, this game-plan of Shiv Sena with its obvious political motives was also exposed.

The Sena-BJP Government did not take Gundewar Commission Report seriously, except for suspending the

Sub Inspector. This shows the indifferent attitude of Sena-BJP alliance towards Judicial Commission Reports. If this mockery of Judicial Commission Reports is not checked and if the politicians are allowed to think themselves above law, the criminals-

turned-politicians are bound to subvert the democratic institutions of our country one after another with impurity.

We can see from the fate of these three reports that the

indifferent and arrogant attitude of the government underlines the futility of the judicial commissions, which leads to the devaluation of the judiciary and ultimately it will lead to the abridgement of democracy. ■

POVERTY IN INDIA AS REFLECTED BY CALORIE INTAKES OF FOOD IN THE STATES OF INDIA : 1972-73 TO 1993-94

This is a summary of data on nutritional intake in India, given in NSS Data 50th round (July 1993-June 1994) published in *Servekshana*, the journal of the NSS Organisation (vol. XXI, no. 2, 73rd issue, Oct-Dec, 1997).

In rural India, average calorie intake fell from 2266 Kcals to 2153

Kcals. The average calorie intake rose only in four states: Orissa, Kerala, West Bengal and Maharashtra. The largest increase was in Kerala followed by West Bengal, Orissa and Maharashtra.

In urban India, average calorie intake fell by a very narrow margin (30Kcals). Calorie intake rose in :

Kerala, Karnataka, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. However, a sharp reduction in consumption is noted in the case of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh.

Data on Kerala is apparently anomalous. In respect of education and healthcare it stands at the top of the table. Then why should its per capita / per day calorie intake for 1972, 73 and 1993-94 be merely 1600 Kcal?

Is it a case of the usual hazard in statistics posed by Indian official data?

CALORIE INTAKE OF FOOD IN STATES OF INDIA 1972-73 TO 1993-94						
State	Rural Areas			Urban Areas		
	1972-73	1993-94	Change	1972-73	1993-94	Change
Andhra Pradesh	2,100	2,000	-100	2,150	2,000	-150
Assam	2,050	2,000	-50	2,050	2,025	-25
Bihar	2,200	2,100	-100	2,050	2,100	+50
Gujarat	2,100	2,000	-100	2,100	2,000	-100
Haryana	3,200	2,500	-700	2,400	2,150	-250
Himachal Pradesh	2,950	2,300	-650	3,500	2,450	-1,050
Jammu & Kashmir	2,900	2,500	-400	2,500	2,450	-50
Karnataka	2,200	2,050	-150	1,900	2,000	+100
Kerala	1,600	1,950	+350	1,600	2,000	+400
Madhya Pradesh	2,400	2,100	-350	2,100	2,020	-80
Maharashtra	1,900	1,950	+50	1,950	2,000	+50
Orissa	1,900	2,100	+200	2,200	2,150	-50
Punjab	3,500	2,450	-1,050	2,800	2,050	-750
Rajasthan	2,600	2,500	-500	2,300	2,150	-150
Tamil Nadu	1,950	1,900	-50	1,900	1,970	+70
Uttar Pradesh	2,510	2,400	-110	2,100	2,050	-50
West Bengal	1,900	2,100	+200	2,010	2,020	+10
All India	2,107	2,071	-36	2,050	2,020	-30

(Computed from the four graphic tables given in *Frontline*, 12 3 99, pp 109-11)

MINORITY STATUS SOUGHT FOR HINDUS IN SIX STATES

Several organisations like Panun Kashmir are demanding Minority Status for Hindus in six states i.e. Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and the four North-Eastern states: Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram.

The demand has been made to the National Commission on Minorities and whose Chairman Tahir Hussain has conveyed it to Home Minister L.K. Advani. The Home Ministry had never expected this kind of response from the NCM and as such is sitting tight on the subject.

THE BATTLE OF WADGAON-MAVAL ON 16th JAN.1779 BETWEEN MARATHAS AND EAST INDIA COMPANY COULD HAVE BEEN A TURNING POINT IN WORLD HISTORY

Recently, the 220th anniversary of the Battle of Wadgaon was celebrated at Wadgaon-Maval under the auspices of the Shrimant Mahadaji Shinde Pratishtan and Maval Taluka Shikshak Griharachana Sanstha.

Col. (Retd.) Anil Athale, military historian explained the brilliant strategy of Mahadaji that led to the total rout of invading English Army on Jan.14. and total surrender on Jan.16. 1779.

The Marathas allowed the English Army to climb the ghats and then trapped them inland snapping of their supply link with Mumbai at two

places and adopting a scorched earth policy that denied them the availability of grain, a drop of water or even a blade of grass locally.

The Maratha cavalry, rode menacingly, flanking the sides of the supply - starved English Army throughout the night, even denying the luxury of snatching forty winks. As the English morale collapsed totally and they began retreating to Talegaon-Dabhade, the Marathas pounced upon them at Wadgaon-Maval and brought them to their knees. The English were made to sign a treaty that signified their humiliating surrender.

The military success, however, was not put to political advantage. Even a great statesman like Nana Phadnavis was not aware of the British in international scenario, with most of their armies and naval fleet confined to the American continent. In fact, one tenth of the English soldiers in India were captured by the Marathas at Wadgaon. A new twist to the history of the sub-continent could have been given, if there had been a proper political vision and solidarity which was lacking amongst the Marathas at that time.

"A memorial in memory of the battle is to be erected by erecting five bronze statues according to Dr. S.B. Majumdar, Founder Director of Symbiosis Society, who is the project director. ■

(contd. from p. 7)

Opening Statement

Chad (1960), Zaire (1960), Zambia (1964), Tanzania (1964), Kenya (1963), Somalia (1960), Burundi (1962), Gambia (1965), Equatorial Guinea (1968), Malawi (1964), Rwanda (1961), Uganda (1962).

In fact, the 1960s was the decade of National Liberation in Africa when twenty nine African countries attained freedom.

Cuba had become socialist in 1959.

The student movement had exploded in France in 1968.

The anti-Vietnam war had gathered steam in US and so had the Equal Rights Movement of the Blacks.

Though Lohia could not have known it, Bangladesh was to be liberated in 1971.

Though Goa had been liberated in 1961, during Lohia's lifetime, all the Portuguese colonies in Africa became free only in 1975, as did East Timor to merge with Indonesia in the same fateful year 1975.

The dates of two important revolutionary studies may also be noted: Frantz Fanon wrote 'The Wretched of the Earth' in 1961 and Regis Debray, 'The Strategy for Revolution' in 1965.

The conclusion is inescapable. THE REVOLUTIONARY TIDE WAS

RUNNING HIGH TILL AROUND 1975. TILL IT INVERTED ITSELF. FROM THAT TIME AND THE EBB TIDE IS RUNNING STRONG TILL TODAY. THE LATE NINETIES.

I am not saying that we should forgive the Lohiaite Socialists of yore, who treacherously became turncoats and betrayed the socialist movement. THEIR COLLECTIVE FAILURE CAN NEVER BE OVERLOOKED.

At the same time, the explanation reaches beyond their individual wills and foibles. Thus we can clearly see that the revolutionary tide was running high till the mid-70s wherefrom it took a sudden plunge. China proclaimed 'Market Socialism' in 1978 and Russia followed suit a decade later. The State Capitalist Empire in Eastern Europe collapsed in 1989-91, and the USSR itself disintegrated at about the same time.

The new and altered Lohaites were the offspring of the receding wave of nationalism and socialism that has swept over the world, over the last quarter century. THEY ARE VILLAINS AS WELL AS VICTIMS OF THE TIMES AND TIDES OF HISTORY. They have forgotten the first lesson that Lohia imparted to them: HOW TO SWIM AGAINST THE CURRENT! FOR THE NEXT

WAVE, THAT WILL LIFT THEM UP IS COMING, IS BOUND TO COME ! INDIA WILL NOT REMAIN PERPETUALLY PRONE AND POOR ! AFTER ALL, WE ARE ONE HUNDRED CRORES, NEARLY ONE FIFTH OF HUMANITY !

LIBERATION WILL COME !
WE SHALL OVERCOME !
WE ARE TOO MANY !
WE ARE HUMANITY !
THIS IS BRAHMAKAL !

THE RED DAWN IS JUST BELOW THE HORIZON STRUGGLING TO BE BORN !

WE MUST SHARPEN OUR WEAPONS AND KEEP OUR NERVES COOL AND REMAIN READY TO GREET THE REVOLUTION !

WE ARE NOT AFRAID ! WE ARE NOT COWARDS !

WE SHALL KEEP THE POWDER DRY ! WE SHALL NOT FALTER IDEOLOGICALLY !

WE ARE TOO MANY !
WE ARE HUMANITY !
WE ARE THE DALITS AND PIDITS OF THE WORLD ! WE ARE THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH !
WE SHALL OVERCOME !

TOMORROW BELONGS TO US ! ■

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Exe. Edr.

NEO-COLONIAL SUPPORT TO CHRISTIANITY

One of the most censorious aspects of the current supposedly anti-Christian missionary stand of the Vajpayee government is the spate of protests being received from the Diplomatic Missions in India and the Foreign Ministers of U.S.A., U.K., Germany, France, Portugal, Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand and other Christian countries in the world.

Let us make it absolutely clear to all the missions and their masters that Christianity in India does not enjoy extra - territorial status. Christian citizens of India are not entitled to receive any protection from any Christian power of any part of the world.

In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, Czarist Russia had been given powers under several Russo-Turkish treaties to consider the entire Christian community living in the Ottoman Empire to be under the Czar's protection. On behalf of any Christian living under Ottoman rule, Czarist Russia was given the right to interfere and intercede. Later, the same extra-territorial Christian privilege was extended to other Christian colonial powers of Europe, like Great Britain and France. In fact, during the war of

Greek Independence around 1830, Lord Byron supposedly, a Greek liberationist, claimed such privileges for British intervention in Greek affairs. Greece being then a part of the Ottoman Empire.

In an *Aide-Memoire* to all foreign missions in India and through our embassies in all Christian countries, we should make it absolutely clear that any defence of Christian persons and property in India is the sole concern of the government of India. We shall decide from time to time, what is in the best interest of our citizens, whether the citizens belong to 2.4% of the Christian minority in the country or to any bigger communal entity. We shall be the sole judge of the welfare of the citizens of India and of any section thereof.

Western neo-colonial powers organised in various overlapping groups called G-7/8, EU, NATO and OECD powers have no business to send any communication to the Government of India concerning the lives and properties of any group of Indian citizens.

Tomorrow, the Muslims of India will seek Pakistani protection, Hindus will seek Nepalese protection and

Buddhists will seek Thai, Sinhalese or Japanese protection. We must nip this tendency in the bud.

We must return formally to their writers, all the protest notes so far received by our External Affairs Ministry. To USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand; in particular we should add a factual statement of genocidal massacres carried out by their citizens upon Red Indians and Australasian aborigines. We may especially point out to these White racialists that they have not expressed any regret for their long-standing crimes against humanity; that they have shown as yet no remorse or awareness of guilt for their heinous crimes carried out against Red Indians, Australian aborigines, Maoris, Zulus, Congolese, Angolans, Madagascarians, Ethiopians, Somalis, Sudanese, etc.

We must not mince words, where neo-colonial powers are concerned.

Christians of India must find their own safety-net within our democratic polity. We are allowing Christian missions in India to receive financial support from foreigners. This facility will itself be cut off, if a strict hands off policy is not followed by Christian countries of the world.

We are not concerned with the details of alleged persecutions of Christians in India. This is not a subject of discussion with any foreign embassy or consulate. No foreign visitor can express whilst in India any opinion in the subject.

We are a sovereign nation and we resent all encroachments on our sovereignty, however, well-intentioned and well-disguised these encroachments may be. ■

BANANA WAR BETWEEN EUROPE AND USA

Since the last few weeks, a fierce verbal duel has been going on between Europe and U.S.A. on the issue of bananas from the Third World.

USA is a paranoid power. It

produces no bananas of exportable quality and quantity on its soil. Under certain trade agreements signed with sub-Saharan African countries, USA has objected to preferential entry to their Banana exports to Europe under

an imperialist discriminatory law called Super-301.

The USA considers itself to be above and beyond maritime law and it seems to think, it is entitled to impose unilateral sanctions upon European

exports of a hundred other commodities and products sent to USA.

A few months ago, our readers will recall, that the U.S.A. had kicked up a big row about inflammability of our *ghagras* and the fire hazard that they supposedly posed to the wearers of Indian cotton skirts, which were driving out all competitors from the field. Before that, particular U.S. interest had detected a Hepatitis Beta virus in strawberry imports from Mexico and imposed sanctions against Mexico that proved to be based upon a false alarm.

This is a normal practice in U.S. business circles. To kick up a row about the fire hazard posed by Indian undergarments for women or in respect of some virulent disease entering USA when actually USA poses the greatest threat to world health and well-being.

Once, some U.S. company makes a baseless allegation, USA proceeds immediately to threaten and impose unilateral sanctions without having recourse to any investigative or arbitration procedure.

It is enough for an American company to make a stupid allegation against any foreign firm and American chauvinism is immediately aroused.

In the new Tri-Polar World that

has come into being since 1975, all American tantrums are not going to be triumphant. Even if comprador India succumbs to US pressures repeatedly, the other parts of the world, like Europe and the Pacific Rim of Asia (Japan, South Korea, China, Hungary,

STOP PRESS

The WTO has upheld American objections. It is now upto Europe to cave in or escalate. Since Banana War concerns grant of preferential entry to Third World bananas, it is most likely that Europe will cave in and the Third World will lose its preferential treaty rights in the European markets.

Taiwan and ASEAN) are not going to bootlick and kow-tow to endless US bullying. America will be cut to size and either the WTO will break up into three major trading blocs in line with the tri-polar division of the world or America will have to give in.

That is why, we have been urging in and through *Mankind* that Indian acquiescence in US bullying and the Structural Adjustment Programme of the West is not going to spare the world of the looming spectre of trade and communal wars.

These innocent looking export-

import transactions will inevitably lead to limited wars with conventional weapons and soon thereafter to limited wars with tactical nuclear weapons.

We have repeatedly stated that USA is a paranoid power. It has a relatively small economic base. That is why, it is forever frightened of commercial and military challenge from any and every quarter. The USA is apt to discover the devil in the shadow of every rock. The leaders of USA are stupid enough to believe in their own lies and think that USA is the greatest power on earth.

Recently, U.S. Secretary of State, Medeline Albright visited China and promptly the US State Dept. circulated handouts which claimed that the meeting was '*between the two greatest powers on earth*'. Now that Russia is no more a super-power, China is being built up to take its place as the leading immoral and evil force in the world.

I wish our compradorised and empty-headed journalists and politicians would wake up from their habitual stupor and take notice of the happenings in the real world surrounding them.

Once banana wars have started, can missile wars lag far behind? ■

D8, ANOTHER EXERCISE IN FUTILITY

Whilst the Cold War lasted, from 1945 to 1985, the Non-Aligned Movement could make a lot of noise and pretend that the NAM was needed by the world.

Actually the NAM was nothing but nonsense-arrogance-maverickness. India, under Nehru provided cheap soldiers for UN-policing of ceasefires in Korea, Indo-China, Egypt, Congo-Zaire etc. Nehru was like the dog walking beneath the loaded cart who thought that he was carrying the load of the full cart! Tito thought that he was fighting a mock battle with Stalin! What exactly Nasser, Nkrumah and Sukarno thought about NAM is not known but each of these 5 'Great Leaders' dreamt that he was a world statesman!

The NAM collapsed when Deng-Xiao-Peng and Gorbachev came out with their theories of *gaige* and *kaiseng* in 1978 and *glasnost* and *perestroika* in 1985.

After that, the *raison-d'etre* for NAM disappeared and private capitalism began to re-conquer the state capitalist societies of Russia and China.

NAM at its height had embraced 114 countries. But no one had defined what exactly NAM stood for and what the 114 members were to do in the absence of a Bi-Polar World.

As a matter of fact, we have been urging in the columns of *Mankind* that a Tri-Polar World has come into existence since 1975,

consisting of America, Europe and the Pacific Rim of Asia.

In the changed circumstances, the rudderless and clueless members of the old NAM have been running hither and thither, searching for a mission and a goal that would help the thousands of bureaucrats employed in their foreign ministries to find a way to justify their expensive life-styles.

We may therefore formulate a new Parkinsonian Law for the Non-aligned: Futile groupings must take the place of former utilities and when utilities are collectively sanctioned they cease to be such!

In our last issue, we dealt with the G 15/17 Group of Non-entities. In this issue we shall deal with a further

lot of eight zeroes who call themselves the "Developing 8". We attach a small table showing the current ineffectual international status of these eight Islamic countries of the Third World. Since the entire Third World is being cruelly exploited by the neo-colonial powers organised in

OECD (See *Mankind*, Dec 97, p.47, wherein we have shown that the OECD powers prevent the Third World from earning annually \$550 billion).

Within this over-arching context, it is not possible to visualise any technological or industrial progress for any member of G15 or D8

or any other grouping of members of the Third World!

Only a nationalist and socialist revolutionary breakaway can help them.

Unfortunately such a point of departure is not on the Agenda of G-15 or D-8 or any other X^N! ■

Name	Area (in thousands of sq. km.)	Percent of World Area	Population (in billion)	Percent of World population	GDP / PPP (in billion US dollars)	Percent of World GDP/PPP
EGYPT	995.0	0.76	60.00	1.03	177.30	0.47
TURKEY	770.0	0.59	64.00	1.10	409.70	1.11
IRAN	164.8	1.26	71.50	1.23	352.63	0.95
PAKISTAN	771.0	0.59	137.00	2.35	218.20	0.59
NIGERIA	911.0	0.70	118.00	2.02	103.50	0.28
BANGLADESH	130.0	0.10	124.00	2.13	129.60	0.35
MALYESIA	329.0	0.25	21.00	0.36	229.30	0.62
INDONESIA	1812.0	1.39	200.00	3.43	690.70	1.87
		5.64		13.65		6.44

HAWA KA EK JHONKA

MEDIA SHARKS MUST BE FED EXCLUSIVELY BY US, SAYS INC.

● Congress in Andhra Pradesh is extremely perturbed. APCC President, Rajsekara Reddy is agitatedly complaining to the President, K. R. Narayanan that Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu has spent Rs. 350 crore on publicity, whereas the budgetary outlay was estimated at only Rs.26.58 crores for the year 1998-99. Congress patronage of the press died with the end of Congress rule in Andhra in 1983 (Excluding the mini-revival in 1989-94). Obviously the Congress is worried that after Chandrababu's largesses, the AP media barons will develop an insatiable appetite. ■

TEA EXPORTS PERTURB THE WEST

● There is bad news for the neo-colonial powers. Indian tea exports reached a record level Rs. 2,156.22 crores in calendar 1998, Rs.375.44 crores more than the previous year's figure of Rs. 1780.78 crores. What is most alarming for Euro-America is that in quantity terms, it was merely 206.09 mln. kgs against 203 mln. kgs in 1997. Thus the price of tea/kg has improved to Rs.104.62 in 1998 against Rs. 87.72 in 1997. This despite a serious fall in the exchange value of the rupee from Rs.37.16 per dollar in 97-98 to Rs.41.99 per dollar in 98-99, or a fall of 11.9 per cent (*Economic Survey*, 98-99, p.2). So, the price improvement was 19.26 per cent, notwithstanding a devaluation of 11.9 percent. An overall improvement in our terms of trade for tea in one year of almost one-third (19.26+11.50 = 30.76 per cent). ■

INTEREST RATES REFUSE TO GO DOWN

● The world over, interest rates are being slashed. Recently, in the United Kingdom, the interest on prime bonds came down by 1/2 per cent to 5.5 to draw them nearer to the European standard of about 3 per cent, and

away from the American level of approximately 6.5 per cent.

The small savings rate offered by Indian post offices is being brought down by 1/2 per cent. The Kisan Vikas Patras and the Indira Vikas Patras will now double in six years and not five and a half as hitherto.

The Japanese rate is a mere half to one per cent. Are we approaching that? ■

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES MAKE MERRY WITH FOREIGN FUNDS

● In the last quarter of 1998, Christian missionary bodies received Rs. 14 crore foreign contributions, out of a total of Rs.19.80 crore foreign donations of all sorts received during the last quarter of 1998. ■

CLINTON CONTINUES BANANA WAR

● The Clinton administration has revived the notorious Super 301 law, a trade weapon aimed at imposing unilateral American sanctions on competitors anywhere in the world who discriminate against American trading companies. As we know from the current Banana War between Europe and America, the Americans even if they do not cultivate bananas, have a right to export bananas that they buy in the Caribbean with appropriate mark-up for their own super-profits.

Thus, the world must buy anything that an American export company wishes to sell, even if the international buyer can get his goods at lower prices from somewhere. This is unfair; because American traders cannot quote lower prices! Thus, if Europeans make special deals with banana producers in Sub-Saharan Africa or the Caribbean, the Central American US subsidiaries must be allowed to undersell the European importers. Otherwise, it is Discrimination and Anti-American! ■

RURAL INDIA MUST PAY FOR FOREIGN CALLS

● In the entire fracas between the Communication Ministry and the Telecommunication Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), with price-hikes being ordered by the latter, stayed by the former, re-imposed by the latter; and finally compromised by the former: so that no telephone owner in the entire country knows exactly at what rate he will be billed and from which date he will be mulcted. It has escaped the notice of the media that the principle is that OVERSEAS CALLS MUST BE SUBSIDISED BY LOCAL USERS AND VILLAGERS MUST PAY FOR GLOBALISATION. The overseas calls are few, but they earn foreign exchange at least one way (incoming), whilst the Indian users number millions and each can pay a small amount for the globalisation effort of the rich elite. It is the Udupi principle: Take a small amount from each poor customer and you will become rich enough to own chains of restaurants and hotels! ■

TOP MNCs ARE YET AMERICAN

● Microsoft has overtaken General Electric as the world's richest company according to the *Financial Times* annual ranking of FT 500. The market capitalisation of Microsoft was placed at \$272 billion while GE was worth only \$259 billion. Next come Exxon, Royal Dutch / Shell, Merck, Pfizer, Intel, Coca-Cola, Wal-Mart Stores and IBM. Overall, 244 of the top 500 firms were American. ■

ISABEL ALLENDE

● Isabel Allende, who the Executive Editor of *Mankind* met three decades and more ago, when he interviewed her uncle, Salvador Allende, is in the news. General Augusto Pinochet whose goons killed Salvador and 3,000 Chileans and other nationals who disappeared during the general's rule over Chile from 1973 to 1990, is fighting a second court-room battle in England to avoid extradition to Spain to face trial for his crimes.

(contd. on p. 25)

BUDGET :1999-2000

1: INDIAN NAUKARSHAH I NOT BOUND BY BUDGETING ESTIMATES

In our analysis of the budget for 1998-99 (*Mankind*, Jun-Jul 98, pp. 18-20), we had made the observation that Actuals of Revenues and Expenditures given in successive

budgets differed from Budget-Estimates by wide margins.

We tabulate below the variations since 1991-92.

We do not know why the variations ranged from +8.82% to -2.80% in particular years, except that our bureaucrats feel that they are the real rulers of the country, who are not answerable to the elected representatives that pass the budgets: that they are the permanent service in power whilst the ministers are mere temporary occupants of seats of power and are transients who come and go; and finally that they are entitled to vary the actual income and outgo for corrupt reasons as and when they like (see further below).

YEAR	REVENUE			EXPENDITURE		
	B. E.	ACTUALS	% CHANGE OVER B. E.	B. E.	ACTUALS	% CHANGE OVER B. E.
1991-92	1.05,703	1.04,559	-1.09	1.13,422	1.11,414	-1.80
1992-93	1.13,698	1.10,306	-2.80	1.19,087	1.22,618	+2.88
1993-94	1.27,009	1.30,893	+2.97	1.31,323	1.41,853	+7.43
1994-95	1.45,699	1.59,778	+8.82	1.51,699	1.60,739	+5.43
1995-96	1.67,151	1.68,468	+0.78	1.72,151	1.78,275	+3.44
1996-97	1.98,082	1.87,823	-4.54	2.04,660	2.01,007	-1.81
1997-98	2.32,176	2.32,068	-0.95	2.32,176	2.32,068	-0.04
1998-99	2.67,927	2.81,912	+4.97	2.67,927	2.81,912	+3.27

(Source: *Economic Survey, 1998-99*)

2: ACTUALS VARY FROM TIME TO TIME AND PLACE TO PLACE ACCORDING TO NETWORKS OF CORRUPT CONNECTIONS

Consider the Bihar Fodder Scam. Laloo Prasad Yadav who became Chief Minister of Bihar, started life as a lowly peon in the State Animal Husbandry Department. He knew all the ropes and was intimate with all the big bosses and their business connections. Whenever he needed funds, for his election campaigns as MLA or MP, he would approach the departmental hierarchy of *naukarshahs* with requests for urgently needed finance. He would overlook the 'goings on' and regularly approach the contractors and tenderers for 'his immediate needs'. Particular treasuries located at Hazaribaug, Ranchi, Chaibassa or anywhere else would be favoured, as the Accounts Officers concerned were

known to be 'soft targets'.

Budget Estimates passed by the Assembly were mere bench-marks. Actual withdrawals from sub-treasuries need not tally with estimates passed by the Assembly. Secondly, central aid was to be tapped whenever necessary and was generally 'unlimited'. The minute particulars of each head of expenditure was to be totalled only at the end of the year or could be carried forward for several years! Who was guilty of transgressing authorised allocations, and to what extent, would be determined only after a lot of procedural wrangles. In the meantime, many *babus* would be transferred to new postings, many times over. After a lapse of time, nobody knew who was

responsible and the extent of the culprits' responsibility could always be fudged.

Provided Laloo got his lion's share, the departmental bosses could pocket whatever stuck to their fingers. After all, when so many fishes are swimming about in the muddied waters, who could say which fish was drinking what quantity of the liquid H_2O ?

The big-shots of Animal Husbandry Department were full of admiration for the peon who know everyone, who was full of tricks and was extremely clever, who was always ready with witty jokes and good humour, who defied central directives regarding family planning by fathering eleven children upon the enduring toughie Rabri Devi and who was always willing to help out with his intimate knowledge of the network and

business contacts of the department.

Ultimately, the Actuals spent by the Animal Husbandry Department became the model for 'adjustments' of allocations to all other departments. In effect, the Animal Husbandry Department dictated the allocations to the entire Government of Bihar. All the

sub-treasuries in Bihar awaited the signal from the Patna headquarters of the Animal Husbandry Department whose peon had been Laloo Prasad Yadav! It did not matter two hoots who headed the Department. The Departmental head might run away to Australia, or may have decided to hide

in one of the twelve flats bought by him in the heart of Patna. Nothing mattered so long as vouchers could be procured from fodder-suppliers covering the expenditure incurred, and pay orders could be cashed through some sub-treasury ! ■

3 : THE FLIP-FLOP REGARDING ADMINISTERED PRICES

In our mixed economy, there is a segment of the market that is known as the section of 'Administered Prices'.

This is a large and important slice of the India Market. It deals with railway freight rates and passenger fares, petrol, diesel and LPG prices, telecom, telephone and postal rates, electricity and irrigation charges and subsidies on sugar, foodgrains, fertilisers and other agricultural products.

It is the usual practice of Finance Ministers to hike up all these Administered Prices just before the budget and claim in their budgetary proposals non-imposition of inflationary measures.

We give below an outline of this bureaucratic legerdemain carried out since mid-1991 when the New Economic Policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation was adopted by the minority Congress government of Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh.

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

MANMOHAN SINGH (1991-96):

1. Proposal: Increase in the price of urea by 40 per cent in the 1991-92 budget to reduce subsidy.

Change: Political opposition forced a cut in the price hike to 30% within three weeks.

2. Proposal: Government to contribute Rs.100 crore to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation over five years.

Change: The official grant had to be rescinded since Sonia's trust was a private one. (see our earlier, *A Pair of Witches Exposed in MK*, Nov. 96, pp. 3-4; and *The Richest Landholder in India is Sonia Maino Gandhi, MK*, April 98, pp.25-7).

3. Proposal: Tax deduction at source on interest accruing to term deposits with banks in the 1991-92 budget.

Change: Taxpayers and members of parliament opposed the move. Directive was withdrawn in the 1992-93 budget.

4. Proposal: New expenditure tax on air-conditioned restaurants in the 1991-92 budget.

Change: Levy withdrawn a year later following public protest.

P. CHIDAMBARAM (1996-98):

1. Proposal: Non-voting shares by firms up to 25% of the issued capital. Change: This raised a furore and in December 1996 the relevant amendment to Companies Act was withdrawn.

1. Proposal: Minimum Alternate Tax (MAT) on zero tax paying companies. Change: Scheme was amended a year later in the 1997-98 budget. Export profits were exempted and firms could claim credit for MAT which could be carried forward for the next five assessment years. In the year in which tax was actually payable, this credit could be adjusted.

3. Proposal: In 1997-98, Budget levied a service tax on transportation of goods by road.

Change: The tax was withdrawn when transporters went on strike.

YASHWANT SINHA (1998-):

1. Proposal: Hike in excise duty on petrol from 20 to 35 per cent which was passed on to the consumers.

Change: Government announced roll-back of prices to the pre-budget level except for the Rs. one increase on account of petrol cess for the development of highways. Therefore, excise duty on petrol was slashed from 35% to 32%, a reduction of 3%.

2. Proposal: Hike in urea prices by Rs. 1 per kg, which would increase the price of urea for the farmer to Rs. 8,260 per tonne.

Change: Hike in urea prices cut by 50% to 50 paise per kg, instead of Rs. 1 announced earlier. The cut would still mean that the farmer would have to pay Rs. 4,130 per tonne of urea as compared to the previous sale price of Rs. 3,630 per tonne.

3. Proposal: 8% excise duty on various branded items, including sweetmeats and namkeen.

Change: The duty put on hold till the decision on the finance bill is taken.

4. Proposal: A levy of 2% withholding tax on external commercial borrowings and exemption given to capital goods imports designed for exports.

Change: The levy was withdrawn.

5. LPG cylinder prices to go up in Delhi by Rs.16, in Bombay by 16.05, in Chennai by 16.65, in Calcutta by Rs.18.40. The price increases were to be effective from 1st Feb. 99.

6. At the same time Nitish Kumar, the Railway Minister and former bureaucrat, just like Yashwant Sinha himself, increased freight rates by 4% to yield an additional revenue of Rs.700 crore. Second-class passengers were spared, but first class fares were to go up to yield additional Rs.200 crore.

7. Steep hikes in prices of foodgrains supplied through the PDS (rice, wheat, sugar and urea).

Change: Two days after the proposed increase under pressure from its allies. Sinha declared that the increases in the issue prices of

foodgrains and sugar will not apply to those card-holders who are below the poverty-line. Since in any case, the distinction between different categories of cardholders is extremely dubious and volatile, and is enmeshed in deep corruption; actually no one

knows accurately the true impact that this roll-back will have.

We have briefly examined above the shenanigans that go on in the name of budget-hikes and roll-backs. ■

4 : BHAGWAT AND GURUSWAMY AFFAIRS

In the meantime, serious allegations have been levelled by the former Naval Chief Vishnu Bhagwat and the former Advisor to the Finance Ministry, Mohan Guruswamy.

Bhagwat's allegations are more weighty and carry grave implications for the security of the country. It appears from Bhagwat's charges that our Defence Minister, George Fernandes, is facilitating arms deliveries to Aung San Suu Kyi, who is America's chief agent in Myanmar (see in particular, his cowardly response to some of Bhagwat's allegations in *Times of India* of 24.2.99, headlined "Defence Minister refuses to join issue with Bhagwat").

It is difficult to make out why an old socialist should become so pro-American, but usually there is a logic in degeneration. Those who once shed principled behaviour, find it easy to descend to the logical extreme of immoral alliances. Once the Samata Party had embraced the communalism of BJP, it is quite on the cards that George would see merits in a pro-American stance, especially if the pro-American tilt can also be made to appear to be pro-Russian at the same time. Formal Admiral Nanda has floated a commercial venture which is being patronised by the new breed of capitalist Russians, Harinder Singh,

the Vice-chief of Naval staff accepted lavish hospitality from the Crown Corporation of Nanda in London, Moscow and Petrograd and extended equally lavish hospitality to Vajpayee and the PM's adopted family in Anadamins during the PM's new-year eve holiday this year. Incidentally, Harinder Singh was in charge of the Andaman base which was instructed to overlook the arms deliveries to Aung San Suu Kyi.

In the meantime, Mohan Guruswamy, an Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, has come out with very strange revelations. **According to him, Vajpayee was advocating the cause of Hindujas and the Home Minister L.K. Advani was lobbying for Essar and IB Minister Pramod Mahajan was promoting Ispat of Mittals.**

The cognoscenti in Delhi will recollect that the first BJP government of 1996 which lasted for thirteen days, had Pramod Mahajan as Industries Minister. During his short tenure of less than a fortnight, Mahajan had found the time to favour Ispat to the tune of crores if not hundreds of crores !

Laxmi Mittal of Ispat is supposed to be the richest NRI alive. He and his wife have built up a fortune worth several thousand crores. Their

presence in India, has become substantial during the last few years.

Guruswamy did not allude to his own Essar connections but these have come out in the open as a result of his feud with the MOF officialdom.

The *Indian Express* has published a series of investigative reports on the matter. Fourteen steel companies including the Tatas and also newcomers like Mittal Ispat, Jindals, Vijaynagar Steel and Essar of the Ruia group have been literally milking and mulcting the public sector financial institutions for cost overruns, unpaid interest charges on previous loans; diverting funds to group companies; obtaining support prices in an illegal manner and so on. According to the series published on the front page of the *Indian Express* in the last week of March, the total finagling by just fourteen steel companies have reached the figure of Rs. 7000 crores.

Since we are one hundred crores, this means that each Indian has been cheated and robbed to the tune of only Rs. 70! This is how it goes on in our country. Crores are defalcated, but the per capita burden is so insignificant that our comprador-naukarshahi regime just does not care. ■

5 : THE BASIC RATIOS

From the forgoing, it will become apparent to the intelligent reader of *Mankind* that the annual budget exercise is actually a practice session for the players belonging to various business and bureaucratic lobbies in Delhi. It is a dress rehearsal for crooks to try out their favourite

tricks; for after the budget, further operations are carried out. The playing field is very small.

The basic ratios are extremely restrictive. The bulk of the Revenue flows from indirect taxes (Excise and Customs). Total Revenue is about 9% of GDP. The bulk of the

expenditure (about 15% of GDP) is on Defence 3%, interest payments are 4%, and establishment expenses, 5 / 6%. This is usually uncovered and passes from year to year as fiscal deficit.

A picture of the basic ratios is given on next page.

Table II
TAX REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

(as % of GDP)

	1990-91 Actuals	1994-95 Actuals	1995-96 Actuals	1996-97 Actuals	1997-98 Revised Estimates	1998-99 Budget Estimates
1. Fiscal Deficit	7.7	5.6	4.9	4.7	5.5	5.1
2. Revenue Deficit	3.2	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.8	2.7
3. Primary Deficit	4.0	1.3	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.9
4. Gross Tax Revenue	9.9	8.9	9.1	9.1	9.1	8.9
(a) Direct Tax	1.9	2.6	2.8	2.8	3.3	2.8
(i) Income Tax	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2
(ii) Corporation Tax	0.9	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.5
(b) Indirect Tax	7.8	6.3	6.4	6.4	5.8	6.1
(i) Union Excise Duties	4.2	3.6	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.3
(ii) Customs	3.5	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.6	2.7
5. Total Expenditure	18.1	15.5	14.6	14.3	15.0	15.1
of which						
(i) Interest Payments	3.7	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.2
(ii) Major Subsidies	1.6	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
(iii) Defence	2.6	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.3
(iv) Other Non-Plan Expenditure	5.2	3.3	3.5	3.2	3.5	3.4
(v) Budget Support For Plan	4.9	4.6	3.8	3.8	3.9	4.1

Note: 1. The ratios to GDP are based on new series of National Account Statistics with 1993-94 as base year released by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO) on February 3, 1999. For the purpose of comparability, GDP at current market prices for the year 1990-91, 1991-92 and 1992-93 have been interpolated by using an average link factor of 1.0878 obtained from the overlapping years viz. 1993-94, 1994-95, 1995-96 and 1996-97 for which both the old series and new series for the GDP at current market prices are available.

2. The estimate of GDP at current market prices for 1998-99 is based on CSO's advance estimates of real GDP growth of 5.8 per cent along with an assumption of an average inflation rate of 7 per cent for the year.

Source: *Economic Survey*, 1998-99, p.12.

Table III
CERTAIN VITAL RATIOS OF NATIONAL GDP

YEAR	GNP AT FACTOR COST (Rs.crore) At Current prices	INDEX OF GNP (1950-51= 100)	GROSS TAX REVENUE as % of GNP			TOTAL EXPENDITURE as % of GNP			EMOLUMENTS OF PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYEES as % of GNP	FISCAL DEFICIT as % of GNP
			TOTAL	DIRECT	INDIRECT	TOTAL	INTEREST PAYMENTS	DEFENCE		
1950-51	8,938	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1980-81	1,22,772	1,290.9	9.4	-	-	10.0	2.0	2.6	2.13	-
1981-82	1,43,256	1,502.2	9.8	-	-	9.9	2.0	2.6	2.18	-
1982-83	1,58,761	1,654.7	10.2	-	-	10.9	2.2	2.7	2.29	-
1983-84	1,85,779	1,942.5	9.9	-	-	11.1	2.3	2.7	2.40	-
1984-85	2,07,109	2,157.9	10.6	-	-	12.1	2.6	2.8	2.47	-
1985-86	2,32,370	2,404.2	11.1	-	-	11.3	2.9	2.9	2.39	-
1986-87	2,58,225	2,663.9	11.7	-	-	14.3	3.1	3.4	2.46	-
1987-88	2,92,232	3,019.5	11.5	-	-	14.3	3.4	3.0	2.46	-
1988-89	3,48,210	3,607.3	11.4	-	-	14.2	4.0	2.4	2.41	-
1989-90	4,02,931	4,167.1	12.6	-	-	14.2	4.0	2.4	2.41	-
1990-91	4,70,269	4,875.1	10.8	2.1	8.7	19.7	4.0	2.9	2.32	8.3
1991-92	5,42,691	5,593.8	10.9	2.5	8.5	18.1	4.3	2.7	2.26	5.9
1992-93	6,18,969	6,368.4	10.6	2.6	8.0	17.4	4.4	2.5	2.25	5.7
1993-94	7,19,548	7,441.1	9.4	2.5	6.8	17.5	4.5	2.7	2.07	7.4
1994-95	8,43,294	8,731.7	9.7	2.8	6.9	16.9	4.6	2.4	2.01	6.1
1995-96	9,67,763	10,002.0	10.0	3.0	7.1	16.7	4.7	2.4	2.24	5.8 RE
1996-97	-	-	10.6	3.1	7.4	16.3	4.8	2.2	-	5.0 BE

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

* We do not know, who and how many Public Sector Employees are covered by their Emoluments figure given in table 3.4, upon which our calculation of percent of GNP are based. The number of Public Sector Employees shown in Table 3.4 does not tally with any category of employees in the Public Sector enumerated in Table 3.1. However, Table 3.4 covers some 20.51 lakh employees in the Public Sector whose average emoluments totalled Rs.21,716 crores, *Mankind* Jun-Jul 98, p.20.

6 : CONCLUSION

The share market reaction to this year's budget has been quite favourable. The main BSE index has moved up by several hundred points. Therefore Yashwant Sinha has obviously prepared the BJP Government for an early mid-term poll !

As we can see from the table of Basic Ratios given

above that on the whole the Budget Revenue is about 10% and Expenditure is about 15% with the Fiscal Deficit hovering around 5%. This has been the situation for the last decade and apparently that will be so for several years to come.

On the whole, the Indian Budget is a storm in a teacup ! ■

(contd. from p. 20)

HAWA KA EK JHONKA

Isabel's statement which made news is to say the least, paradoxical. On the one hand, she says that she has forgiven Pinochet and on the other, she feels that he should be tried by Judge Guzman's court in Spain for the crimes he committed. Why does she want to forgive a cold-blooded? If Pinochet can be forgiven for killing her uncle, surely he can be forgiven for killing 3,000 others; unless of course, we invert Charlie Chaplin's dictum in *Monsieur Verdoux* that "numbers do not sanctify". In which case, Isabel should not forgive Pinochet for ordering the killing of her uncle !

It is a funny stand that many White, Christian racialists take. The old Australian colonists were entitled to massacre the Australian aborigines, because they were "opening up an entire continent". But the killing of one Australian priest in Orissa was improper because he was engaged in "godly activities"!

I will leave the subject for the time being. It is difficult for me to understand bourgeois logic about "opening up continents", and religious logic which justifies genocidal massacres, and condemns isolated personal murders; and believes that the latter need to be forgiven! ■

A. K. BASU IS CHIEF CULPRIT

● It has been elaborately explained in many news stories and magazine articles that Yashwant Sinha, the Finance Minister or Naveen Patnaik, the Steel Minister, had very little to do with the floor prices for steel imports. The average import price in October 1998 was \$185 per tonne as per the users who were importing from Russia and allied sources. As per some report called Vasudev Panel Report, it was \$230 per tonne in the same month, October 1998. As per the Steel Minister, Patnaik, it was \$308 per tonne on November 12, 1998. On November 20, it suddenly became \$282 per tonne according to the Steel Secretary, A.K. Basu. Ultimately, Basu's price became the floor price, which fetched at least Rs. 5,000 crores to the 14 steel firms who were making hot-rolled coils. ■

25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY : VIII

TWO IMPERIALIST LISTS OF BOGUS BIG BATTLES OF WORLD HISTORY FOUGHT BY THE WEST

Vinayak Purohit

Mankind's forte has been World History.

It is our normal practice to examine every issue and place it within a historical perspective. **For us, all knowledge is history.** As Buddha said, 'Everything that is, comes into being, is sustained momentarily, and passes away.' Everything is like the flame of the candle; it flashes into existence, is sustained by forces constantly renewed, and ceases to be ! It is a triadic form of the Eternal Chain of Dependent Origination. Nothing can come into being which has not been preceded and caused by a pre-conditionary situation. Nothing will last, if it is not sustained by some nourishment. Everything will eventually dissolve and become or cease to be! However, nothingness or *shunyata* is an illusion or *maya*. Out of this state of non-being, already a process of Dependent Origination has commenced, and another crystallisation has already been triggered. This new congealation will again proceed towards apparent dissolution and nothingness. Everything proceeds from *lava* to *vilaya*, which is merely a change of form or *rupa-bheda*.

We had begun our enquiry in world history by examining the arrogantly racist and idiotic lists of great battles propogandised by Eurocentric academics who presume that they know world history. These Christians and White pseudo-scholars believe that world history was centered upon i)Europe, ii)Christians, iii)Doings of White men (called 'Nordics' by some and 'Aryans' by others).

As a matter of fact, for almost the entire span of world history, Europe had been totally marginal. Its climate was

hostile and cold. It was generally misty, foggy and damp, with the sun shining only for short spells, both during the day and during the year. Europe was merely a peninsula projecting from the Asiatic landmass. Its physiographic and meteorological configurations were such that it could not sustain much bio-diversity. **Europe was, in fact, a blind alley.** Etymologically, Europe meant 'an area of darkness and sunset' just as Asia meant 'an area of light and sunrise.'

It was within the tropics that most prolific bio-diversity could be found, and the richest floro-faunal developments could take place. That is why, first the hunters found the most lucrative forest grounds between the tropics within the rain forests. Later, they were able to make the earliest transition from hunting to pastoralism.

India was particularly rich in natural resources. The largest number of cultigens useful to mankind were concentrated within its borders. Historic India was the only region where the Himalayan orogeny prevented polar cold winds from penetrating. The Himalayan scimitar lay between 36° North latitude and 30° North latitude, from Afghanistan-Kashmir to Bengal and Assam. India was also the largest land mass that permitted the circulation of the warm tropical monsoon currents into temperate latitudes as far North as the 'Hindu Kush'-Karakorum-Pamir junction in Central Asia. This tremendous richness of biodiversity was made possible by accidental coincidence of geological, geographical and climatological factors and provided the basis for Indian primacy in history.(see 'Uniqueness of Geography, Climate and Cultigens Creates Indian Primacy in

History, *Mankind*, Dec.98, pp.8-20)

We reiterate that Europe was marginal to world history and a blind alley for humankind. That is why, in all probability, the abortive and sterile hybridisation of *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* occurred mainly in sub-continental Europe (see map produced alongside which shows the location and age of Neanderthal fossils, from Richard S. Leakey, 'Origin of Humankind', 1994, p.91); see also 'World Atlas of Archeology', 1985, pp.20-21, where it has been shown that "Disappearance of Neanderthals and the transition to modern man continued at least upto 30,000 B.C. so that the two populations of *Neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* must have been contemporaneous before Neanderthal man disappeared without descendents, for reasons that remain mysterious." (*Ibid.*, p.26)

Europe was sidelined by world history for more than nine thousand years from c.7000 / 6000 B.C. When the Pastoralist Revolution occurred in North-West India, as evidenced by Rigvedic and Saraswati River Civilisation, to 1765-1860 when Indian loot became available to British Imperialism to carry through the First Industrial Revolution (1765-1860 in Great Britain).

We have carried out our investigations in world history through certain thrust areas which we have summarised in *Mankind*, Nov. 98, pp.4-5 and this issue, pp. 8-12.

In addition, we have examined within the historical perspective certain topics like Healthcare in India, see *Mankind*, Nov. 97, pp. 20-24 and 45.

Our viewpoint is holistic as well as monistic. We accept the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism.

We look at the world through a zoom lens, so to speak. There are certain stops to the lens. These 'stops' are like 'Frames of Reference'. We believe that the sum of parts is greater than their simple addition. The inter-connections between the parts are equally important and together with the parts, these interconnections add up to a much greater total than simple summation.

We also believe that truth is singular and unique. There are not

multiple answers to a single problem. The answer is not merely possible and logical, but also has to be necessary, sufficient and inevitable.

Finally, we believe that dynamism is imparted to a system by its internal contradictions. The system evolves, grows and dies out as its internal

contradictions dictate. Nothing is permanent, but the system would not be in motion unless impelled in a particular direction by antithetical forces struggling within it. The contradictions within the system are not static, as is visualised by the forces of good and evil attaining a near balance within

Zoroastrianism. Our model is more Buddhistic and triadic: to be, to sustain oneself momentarily and to cease to be, is the triadic reality that is eternal.

For us all systems and historical processes are open-ended. There is no teleological pre-determination or pre-destination as posited by Ajivikaists. For us, *niyati* does not exist.

**DECISIVE BATTLES : I - List by Henry Hallam (1777-1859) in
Longman's Illustrated Encyclopedia of World History, 1976,
revised edition, 1985, pp.85-7**

Name	Date	Place	Description
1. Marathon	490 B.C.	40 kms N. E. of Athens, Greece	First Persian invasion of Europe turned back.

Significance in World History

No consequence whatsoever. Athens was successfully sacked by the same Darius the Great (ruled 521-486 B.C.) in 480 B.C. barely 10 years later. Greek cities, the size of Indian villages, with majorities consisting of slave populations, were constantly united and broken up in numerous Leagues, of which the Delian, formed against the Persian invasion, was led by Athens. "With Persian money (and agents), Sparta built ships which eventually (405 B.C.) inflicted the decisive defeat on the Athenian navy to end the Peloponnesian war (431-404 B.C.)" Marathon was of no significance except that Persia, after the battle, changed its strategy and tactics. Instead of a frontal invasion, Darius the Great henceforth relied on internal subversion and supported different Greek "cities" (villages) against each other, especially Sparta.

2. Arbela or Arbil or Irbil	331 B.C.	Capital of Kurdish Province of the same name in North Iraq which was a part of the Ottoman Empire till 1919.	The Macedonian adventurer, Alexander III defeated Darius III of Persia.
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Significance in World History

The incursion of Alex III the Macedonian (336 B.C.) into the Persian Empire was intended to avenge the murder of his father, Philip II, by a Persian agent. Alex III was a general servicing the League of Corinth, founded by his father. "The Greek contribution of soldiers to Alexander's Asian campaign was neither significant nor dependable" (*Ency Brit*, 1983, *Micro*, vol.3, p.150). The so-called invasion of Asia by Alexander III, the Macedonian, lasted barely 13 years (336-323 B.C.). He was badly beaten and injured during his campaign in India, where his troops refused to march beyond the Ravi-Beas Doab in Kashmir. Frightened by the Indian war elephants, and the monsoon, they retreated through the hostile Makran desert which destroyed both his army and navy. Alexander's army had been completely Persianised since 331 B.C.. "In the spring of 330 B.C., Alexander marched forth into Media and occupied its capital Ecbatana. The Thessalians and the Greek allies were sent home, henceforth he was waging a purely personal war. As Mozarus' appointment indicated, Alexander's views on the empire were changing. He had come to envisage a joint ruling people consisting of Macedonians and Persians" (*Ency Brit*, 1973, vol.1, p.393). (Mozarus was a Persian general who had been made satrap of Babylon). Thousands of his officers and men were induced to accept Persian wives and many thousands were sent back to Macedonia and Greece (No country named Greece existed at the time. "Greece" was a purely notional tribal / ethnic territory) His treasurer and paymaster Harpalus ran away in 324 B.C. from Ecbatana, on hearing news of the Indian disaster, with 5000 Gold Talents and 6000 troops to "Greece". (1 Talent then equalled £ 243/443 of pre-WWI parity i.e. Harpalus bolted with 1,115 mln. pounds sterling). Part of Harpalus loot was shared out to bribe Athenian politicians, including Demosthenes, the "orator", who received 32 Talents for which he was

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sentenced to death and exile. Alex's successors, the Seleucids (dynasty founded by Seleucus I Nikator (358-280 B.C.) a Macedonian general of Alexander. Seleucus was defeated by Chandragupta Maurya (c.325-299 B.C.) and retreated to the west of Persia, i.e. to Syria in c.321-317 B.C. There was no permanent effect of Alex III's brief intrusion which was not a Greek but a Macedonia-Persian affair. Bactria and Afghanistan remained a part of India from Chandragupta Maurya's time (4th Century B.C.) to 1919 A.D. when the British were forced to acknowledge Afghanistan's "independence" as an area of India that they were unable to conquer despite repeated attempts. (1860-1919).

Name	Date	Place	Description
3. Metaurus, also called Battle of the Metaurus river.	207 B.C.	A small rivulet in Italy about 65 miles long, falling into the Adriatic sea.	

Significance in World History

The first Punic war started in 264 B.C. and was almost confined to Sicily. The second Punic war (218-201 B.C.) was waged by the Carthaginian generals Hamilcar, Hasdrubal and Hannibal from their new base in Spain. Rome was a small European power based in central Italy and its Northern and Eastern frontiers were formed by the rivers Rhine and Danube. Carthage was a Phoenician settlement in modern-day Tunisia. Rome was an economic blind alley, with a slave MOP, which somehow survived till 320 A.D. when it feudalised itself and shifted its centre to Byzantium under Constantine I and engaged in wars with Persia which was then under the Parthians (241 B.C. - 224 A.D.), and the Sassanians (224-633 A.D.). The Rome-Persia and the Byzantium-Persia wars went on for centuries (3rd century B.C. to 7th Century A.D.) till the rise of Islam (7th Century A.D.) and the occupation of Byzantium (modern Anatolia) by the Seljuk Turks (11th Century A.D.) who extinguished all Euro-Christian pretensions. Islam remained in power in Spain and Portugal from the 7th Century A.D. to 1492 A.D., when the last Islamic Kingdom in Spain, Granada, fell and Columbus reached the Caribbean. At its peak, Islam extended its power to Central France (Poitiers, see below), to Sardinia, Sicily and Central Italy, the entire Balkan Peninsula up to Vienna (besieged by Turks twice in 1529 and 1683) and the whole of Russia called Muscovy till Ivan III (1440-1505) proclaimed himself free from the rule of the Mongol Golden Horde. His son, Ivan the Terrible (1530-84), for the first time assumed the title of Tsar of all Russia. Thus it was a three-pronged Islamic attack on Europe: Arab-Berber (7th to 15th century A.D.); Turk (11th to 20th century A.D.) and Mongol (13th to 16th centuries, A.D.), in Ukraine and Crimea till 19th century A.D. The Punic wars between Italy and Tunisia-Spain were indeed absolutely puny.

4. Chalons	451 A.D.	North-East France	Attila was defeated in his attempt to invade France in 451 A.D. by the Roman General Aetius and the Visigoth, Theoderic.
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Significance in World History

Victory of Roman over Visigothic forces by Attila, the king of the Huns. The Huns were known as Hsiung-Nu to the Chinese and as Kushans / Sakas, meaning one of 5 tribes of Yueh-chi, to the Indians in antiquity. The Huns invaded S.E. Europe in c. 370 A.D., and built up an empire in central Europe and Italy that lasted until 455 A.D. They overthrew the Ostrogoths under Ermanaric and fell upon the Visigoths of Romania in 376 A.D. In 432 A.D. The Huns unified themselves under one Ruxa or Rugila. About 430 A.D., the Eastern Byzantium Emperor Theodosius agreed to pay them a tribute of 350 lbs of gold per annum. In 443 the Huns received a lumpsum of 6,000 lbs of gold and forced Rome to pay an increased annual tribute of 2100 lbs gold. All the great Hun leaders became immensely wealthy. In 451 A.D. Attila was defeated by Roman Visigothic forces led by Aetius. The Roman victory was truly pyrrhic. Huns were incorporated into Roman society by numerous alliances and treaties. They in fact guarded the Roman frontiers in return for the immense amounts of gold and other loot that they received from the Western and the Byzantine Emperors.

Name	Date	Place	Description
5. Leipzig	1813 A.D.	Leipzig	Napoleon's defeat by a combined force of Russians - Austrians- Prussians and Swedes.

Significance in World History

The French Revolution and Napoleonic wars ravaged Europe from 1789 to 1815. Napoleon defeated himself by renouncing abolition of serfdom after the fall of Poland (1795). Poland had been partitioned by Russia, Austria and Prussia in three stages: 1772, 1793 and 1795. Upto 1795, Napoleon had liberated serfs, as French armies marched across Europe. They were welcomed as liberators everywhere, but the Russian campaign (1812) exposed the reactionary side of Napoleon's Buonapartism and he had to beat a hasty retreat that turned into a total rout. The only lasting effect of the Napoleonic war were Liberation of Spanish American colonies due to Napoleon's invasion of Spain and coming into being of the modern map of Europe at the Congress of Vienna (1830). (see Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988).

DECISIVE BATTLES : II - Sir Edward Creasy's(1812-78) List as per Fifteen Decisive Battle of world, 1852, in *Longman's Illustrated Encyclopedia of World History*, 1976, revised edition, 1985, p. 87

Name	Date	Place	Description
1. Marathon	490 B.C.	A town in East Sicily	Athenians defeated by Spartans in the Peloponnesian Wars (431-404 B.C.)
2. Syracan	413 B.C.	destroyed by the Arabs in 878 A.D. and rebuilt by the Normans in the 11th century A.D.	

Significance in World History

The Peloponnesian Wars were instigated by Persia with the help of Sparta which eventually prevailed over Athens in c.540 B.C. No special significance can be attached to any particular battle that took place in the course of the long war. Athens had a very short period of glory from c.479 B.C. to 431 B.C. and all the terribly exaggerated descriptions of the so-called Golden Age of Athens pertain to just 48 years:(479 to 431 B.C.). It is nonsensical to attribute so much to marginal "Greece" in marginal Europe, at that early age. European history joins world history after 1492, the date of commencement of the genocidal campaign in Latin America, and 1498, the year of the first piratical attacks upon India (Calicut) by Vasco de Gama.

3.Arbela	331 B.C.	(For Place, Description and Significance, see Hallam's List 2)	German / Teutonic victory over Rome. German tribal leader in service with Rome revolted and inflicted a major defeat on three Roman regions led by P.Q. Varus during the regime of Emperor Augustus.
4.Metaurus	207 B.C.	(For Place, Description and Significance, see Hallam's List 3)	Augustus was the first Roman Emperor and ruled from 27 B.C. to 14 A.D.
5.Teutoburg Forest	9 A.D.	Rhine Danube Frontier of Roman Empire. The battle took place in Teutoburg forest (W. Germany, South East of modern Bielefeld)	

Significance in World History

The Northern frontier of the slave MOP lay along the Rhine-Danube frontier of the Roman Empire. Teutoburg forest lay between the Rhine and the Elbe rivers and may be considered as the birth place of the German nation. As we know, the HFFG MOP needed 20km² of territory for each person whilst the pastoralist MOP permitted higher densities of population, with 2 persons per km² and the agricultural-feudal MOP made possible demographic densities of a few hundreds or even thousands per km². On the northern, Rhine Danube frontier of the Roman Empire of slave MOP, pastoralist tribes (Huns, Teutons, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Alemanni, etc.) flourished. "The conception of Arminius as a German national hero reached its climax in the late 19th century."(*Ency Brit*, 1983 edn., *Micropedia*, (contd. on next pg.))

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vol. 1, p. 527). This climax is reflected in Creasy's list of Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, published in 1852.

The German tribal victory over Rome was of no significance, because i) Slave MOP was a blind alley for mankind and was to be found only in marginal Europe and the near East of last centuries B.C. and early centuries A.D. ii) Victories by pastoralist bands in North West India in the Rig Vedic Age (6000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) formed a significant turning point in world history and iii) many other battles were fought and won by Gothic-Teutonic-German tribal bands against slave Rome in the first five centuries A.D., of which we have dealt with the Hunnic-Scythian victory of Attila in Battle no. 4 of Chalons in Hallam's list discussed above. The victory of pastoralist MOP over slave Rome ultimately forced the transplantation to Byzantium (renamed Constantinople from 320 A.D. and later called Istanbul, Turkey) and an acceptance of feudalism in the so-called Second Rome.

Name	Date	Place	Description
6. Chalons	451 A.D.	(For Place, Description and Significance, see Hallam's List 4)	
7. Tours or Poitiers	732 A.D.	Central France	The farthest advance by Islamic armies into North-West Europe, carried them to Central France, where Charles Martel stopped them.

Significance in World History

The event is of purely local European significance and has no place in world history, as either "Decisive Battles" or as "Turning Point". As shown against (3) in Hallam's list above. Persian armies, not yet Islamic, had invaded South East Europe in 490 B.C. Islam marked a three-pronged attack on Europe in the period, 7th to 20th centuries.

The **FIRST** was by Arab-Berber armies from North Africa (Morocco-Algeria-Tunisia littoral of the Mediterranean known then as the Maghreb) upon the Iberian Peninsula (Portugal-Spain) which they occupied wholly or partly from 7th century A.D. to 1492 A.D. The Arab-Berber Islamic armies also occupied part of France, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia and Malta at various times, particularly between 11th to 13th centuries A.D. It compelled Europe to launch eight crusades against Islam (11th to 13th) which were totally routed particularly by Saladin the Great (1138-93). The **SECOND** prong was by the Turks, led first by the Seljuks, who occupied most of modern Turkey area (known in earlier times as Anatolia-Cappadocia, and Byzantium). The Seljuk Empire centred upon Iran, lasted from 1055 to 1243 A.D. and included Iraq, Iran, Syria and the area West of Turkey. The Seljuk Turks were succeeded by the Ottoman Turks whose rule extended over the whole of Balkans upto Vienna (including Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and other Islands in the Eastern Mediterranean). Ottoman Turkey's rule lasted from 1300 to 1920. The **THIRD** prong was by the Mongols, who ruled over Russia from the 12th to the 16th centuries. (Mongol rule lasted in Ukraine, northern coast of the Black Sea, and Crimea till well into the 19th century A.D.) The failure of the Crusades convinced Europe that it was not possible to combat Asiatic Feudalism with petty, divided and poverty-stricken feudalism of the European princes and Pope. Thus came into being the initial capitalist breakthrough in the shape of the Italian Communes (11th century to 12th century A.D.), the Rhinish and Danubian river ports development and above all, the Hanseatic League (12th century to 1669); as also various mining concentrations like the Fuggers. Ultimately, the bourgeois forces succeeded in 1492 and 1498 (in Latin America and India respectively). This period of horrible racialist Christian crimes against the peoples of the world, has been called the Renaissance or the Age of Discovery or the Golden Age by European writers, who pretentiously call themselves, scholars, historians and academics. They are nothing of the sort, they are merely imperialist propagandists, White racialist, bigoted Christians and Euro-centric idiots who know precious little about the main currents of world history. But the world today is an imperialist-capitalist world, where pro-Western hype prevails.

8. Hastings	1066 A.D.	South England near the modern town of Battle	Norman victory over the English, William, the Conqueror, defeated Harold II of England.
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Significance in World History

A purely symbolic event of hardly local interest. At that time in the 11th century and upto the 15th, England was not even a compact, well-defined geographical entity. The possession of English kings, who were Norman Dukes under the French crown, extended from the Anglo-Scottish border to Aquitaine in South of France and excluded Wales and Ireland. Scotland remained an independent kingdom till 1603, when the Scottish king James VI, occupied

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the English throne as James I. At the moment of this writing, two contradictory processes are going on. On the one hand, legislation has been passed by the House of Commons granting autonomies to Scotland and Wales. Northern Ireland already has separate parliament which Wales and Scotland will acquire now for the first time. At the same time, the Euro --- the common currency of eleven countries of continental Europe, has come into being from 1st Jan. 99 to which UK will be admitted fairly quickly. Thus Scottish and Welsh autonomies will be within a restructured Europe. Historically, England was a resource-poor island of Europe which for the first time became differentiated from France under the Tudors (1485-1603). Under Henry VIII (1509-1558), England repudiated the Roman Catholic papal tutelege and formed an autocephalous Anglican church. Due to the accidental location of the British Isles near the Great Circle shipping lanes used by Spanish treasure fleets returning from the Americas, a wonderful opportunity became available to English pirates, buccancers, bandits, corsairs, and sea-rovers (Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, Frobisher, etc.). The plunder from Spanish and Portuguese treasurerships enabled the London merchants to participate in the most lucrative Indian and oriental trade and they formed the East India Company in 1601. Due to the Spanish occupation of Portugal (1580-1640), and the French invasion of Spain and Holland during the Napoleonic wars and finally, the French pre-occupation with European wars, England suddenly found itself without competitors in its conquest of India. After the arrival of the Bengal Loot from 1765 onwards, England was able to cause (i) drain of wealth from India (ii) to use Indian men, materials and money for the conquest of India, (iii) institute a regime of perpetual Famines of Purchasing Power in India killing 85 mlns. poor and low caste Indians, to de-industrialise, ruralise and pauperise India, (iv) carry out the first Industrial Revolution in Great Britain (1765-1860) with this "primitive accumulation."

Name	Date	Place	Description
9. Orleans	1429 AD.	Joan of Arc's victory over English.	
Significance in World History			
A battle of purely momentary and local importance. It had no significance in world history. When gigantic upheavals were taking place in China, India, Persia, Turkey and the Mongol empire that extended from Continental Europe to the Pacific Sea. (see Table in 25 Turning Points in World History, <i>Mankind</i> , Feb-March 1997, pp.19-31)			
As England differentiated itself from France under Tudors, France was separating itself from England.			
10. English-French Channel, Calais, Plymouth and nearby ports	1588 AD.	Franco-English channel and adjacent seas and ports.	Defeat of the Spanish Armada by Drake and other pirates and buccancers who enjoyed the protection of Queen Elizabeth I. (Reigned 1558-1603)

Significance in World History

England being absolutely marginal to world history, the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 AD was a non-event. The depredations of the quartet of English pirates, who were actually the builders of British Navy, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, John Hawkins and Martin Frobisher, were bound to provoke an open conflagration with Spain. England and associated islands had become a nest of thieves and robbers who were partners with the British royalty in every crime. (see *Encyclopedia Britannica* '73 ed., entries under Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Elizabeth I and Spanish Armada.)

The Spanish Empire of the 16th century was the greatest that the world had known, since the end of the Mongol Empire of the 13th to 15th centuries. Charles V (1519-1556), and Phillip II (1556-1598) ruled over this empire. It consisted of Spain, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Germany, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentine, Paraguay, Florida, parts of California, Philippines, and Spanish colonies of North Africa.

The quarrels and fights between gangs of European robbers were of no significance in world history. Even after the greatly exaggerated and lauded defeat of the Spanish Empire, the largest since Mongol Empire and prior to the British Empire on which 'the sun never set' of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, due to the essentially feudal nature of Counter-Reformation (1545-17th centuries) and anomalous survival of pastoral institutions like the Mesta, Spain could not make the breakthrough to industrial capitalism which had to wait for the arrival of the Bengal Loot in England from 1765 and the First Industrial Revolution based upon this Loot, which occurred between 1765 and 1860.

Name	Date	Place	Description
11. Blenheim	1704	Bavarian village of West Germany on the banks of Danube.	Victory of English, Austrian and Dutch armies against French and Bavarian troops.

Significance in World History

The War of Spanish Succession did not even end at Blenheim but went on for another eight years.

It was a miserable little victory by the Duke of Marlborough leading the Allied (English, Austrian and Dutch) forces against the French and Bavarian armies. Duke of Marlborough later became the British Prime Minister and the inclusion of this skirmish in the list of Decisive Battles was an attempt by Sir Edward Creasy to flatter the English Establishment.

Innumerable little wars were fought by hundreds of tiny European kingdoms against each other from the 12th century onwards. The Crusades had been defeated by Asiatic Feudalism; that is why bourgeois development began in Europe. Europe was not able to defeat Asiatic feudal kingdoms, which had occupied three quarters of Europe, in any other way. The Italian Communes, the Rhine-Danube riverine towns and the Hanseatic League led the movement towards capitalism by promoting feuds between little European princelings.

Little skirmishes between ever-changing alliances of European princelings were of no consequence in world history.

12. Poltova	1709	Ukraine on the Vorskla River.	Russian victory over a minor European Kingdom called Sweden.
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Significance in World History

This was a small victory by Peter the Great of Russia over Charles III the Great, of Sweden in the Great Northern War, ending Sweden's status as a major European Power and marking the beginning of Russian supremacy in Eastern Europe.

Russian Orthodox Christians' triumph over Protestant Sweden actually strengthened reactionary forces all over Europe and was a setback for capitalist forces, which were often allied with Protestant religious dissent.

Ultimately, industrial capitalism could not triumph in Eastern Europe under normal bourgeois conditions and had to await the arrival of State Capitalism under Stalin. At the end of World War II, Stalinist armies occupied the Baltic Republics, Eastern Germany, Poland, Eastern Austria, Northern Greece, Bulgaria and Romania. Northern Greece was lost to Anglo-American forces in 1950-52; Yugoslavia under Tito revolted against Stalin (1943-48); Eastern Austria united with the rest of Austria (1961); Germany was reunified in 1989-91 and all the fifteen constituents of the old USSR became independent free market entities in 1991. Today, all the nine European constituents of USSR and all the other satellites of the former U.S.S.R are seeking membership of NATO and the European Common Market.

13. Saratoga	1777	A town in New York state where one of the victories was won by the thirteen colonies against Britain.	A small colonial victory over Britain during the War of Independence.
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Significance in World History

American War of Independence was won by the colonists with the help of France, Spain and Holland. Vital military help given by these European enemies of Great Britain is deliberately lost sight of by U.S. chauvinists.

The Statue of Liberty in New York harbour was a gift of the French to USA to commemorate the vital assistance given by France during the American War of Independence.

The decisive event of this little war was the surrender by Cornwallis in 1781.

We must always remember that these little skirmishes between the White people were being fought within the larger context of genocidal massacres of Americans that were going on from 1492 onwards.

The loss of American colonies was of no significance since about the same time India was being acquired by Great Britain and Cornwallis became a Viceroy of India (1786-93). The decisive year was 1765 when the East India Company obtained the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa so as to be able to use Indian land revenue for "investments" which were unrequited exports of Indian commodities to Great Britain. That is how 1765 triggered the Industrial Revolution in England.

Name	Date	Place	Description
14. Valmy	1792	Napoleon's victory in a French village, Valmy 55 kms southwest of Rhine.	An early victory by Revolutionary France over reactionary Europe in the course of French Revolutionary Wars (1789-1815).

Significance in World History

The French won many victories over their European enemies right from 1789 --- the year of the French Revolution to 1812 when in his Russian campaign, the French leader Napoleon refused to liberate the serfs.

Why Creasy should have singled out victory at Valmy over the Prussians, is a mystery. Anyway, it was purely a trivial event in world history.

15. Waterloo	1815	Waterloo village nine miles southwest of Brussels in Belgium.	Victory of British, Russia, Austria and Russian armies against Napoleon.
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Significance in World History

The victorious Allies fell out with each other immediately after Waterloo. The Prussians who led the German Confederation had to go to war with France again and again, in 1870-71, 1914-19 and 1939-45. The Austro-Hungarian Empire dissolved in 1919 at the dictates of France and Britain. British joined France in World War I and II. Russia became the principal enemy of Anglo-Americans during the Cold War (1954-85).

Therefore, Waterloo had no significance, whatsoever, in any world history, even if written from European standpoint.

Actually, right now, Confederation of Europe is taking place, with Franco-German Alliance leading the way.

A SPECIAL NOTE ON HENRY HALLAM'S 'LIST OF FIVE GREAT BATTLES' AND EDWARD CREASY'S 'FIFTEEN DECISIVE BATTLES'

Henry Hallam's life span (1777-1859) almost exactly coincided with East India Company's rule over India which extended from 1765-1860. In 1765, East India Company acquired the Diwani or Revenue Collection Rights over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars from the then Mughal emperors. This enabled the East India Company to use the surplus from Indian revenues to buy Indian goods. The utilisation of Indian men, money and materials for the further conquest of India, marks the commencement of Drain of Wealth from India. This drain caused momentous consequences: i) Deindustrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation of India, so that the populous Indian towns where the feudal lords and 'king of kings' resided, became progressively depopulated, and thousands and lakhs of craftsman who had earlier met the needs of the palace, armies, transportation hubs, temples, pilgrimage routes and irrigation complexes became landless labourers and paupers in villages.

ii) Famines of Purchasing Power became endemic and killed off 85 mln. poor and low-caste Indians in a series of famines that ravaged the land from 1770 (Great Bengal Famine) to 1943 (another Bengal Famine).

Similarly, Edward Creasy's list was made in 1872, in the heyday of imperialism, in the latter half of the 19th century, when the British Imperialist ideologues flourished splendidly and propagated the nonsensical motion that the empire on which "the sun never set" was on a civilising mission and 'will last for ever'. As a matter of fact, British imperialism was barbarising the world. Genocidal campaigns were carried out on Canadian or American Frontiers, in South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, to name only the major concentrations of British savagery.

If a holistic view is taken of British and European deprivations all over the world, they would together comprise the most infamous and horrible record of unspeakable crimes. Man's biological name is *homo-sapiens*, i.e. 'thinking man'. British and European record is that of unthinking rapine, plunder and murder. The amazing thing is that this extraordinary and historically verifiable record of infamy is still continuing and the Third World is being robbed of the sinews of industrial and technological advancement year after year (see *Mankind* back cover, Sept. and Oct. 97, and WB reports from 1978 to 1998-99 and UNDP reports from 1990-1998).

It may be that today, ours is a lonely voice. But the record speaks loud and clear. We are confident that the present iniquitous system under the tutelage of the Western colonial powers of Euro-America (the so-called G-7 powers) will come to an end, sooner rather than later, at least in the first quarter of the next century!

The White-Christian Euro-Americans have never expressed any remorse for their 'crimes against humanity' (see Back cover, *Mankind*, Jan-Feb 99). Nor have they ever contemplated payment of compensation for their crimes, to the peoples of the Third World. They have sought to cover up their foul deeds, which took a total of 250 mln. human lives in the last five centuries (1492 / 78 to the present) by hypocritical ravings, falsifications and camouflage. ■

THE ORIGIN OF HUMANKIND

Richard Leakey

CHAPTER 2

A CROWDED FAMILY

By my count, fossil specimens of varying degrees of incompleteness, representing at least a thousand individuals of various human species, have been recovered from South and

East Africa from the earliest part of the record—that is, from about 4 million years ago up until almost a million years ago (many more have been found in the later record). The oldest human fossils found in Eurasia may be close to 2 million years old. (The New World and Australia were populated much more recently, some 20,000 and 55,000 years ago, respectively.) It is fair to say,

therefore, that most of the action of human prehistory took place in Africa. The questions anthropologists must answer about this action are twofold: First, what species populated the human family tree between 7 million years ago and 2 million years ago, and how did they live? Second, how were the species related to each other evolutionarily? In other words, what was the shape of the family tree?

My anthropological colleagues face two practical challenges in addressing these problems. The first is what Darwin called “the extreme imperfection of the geological record.” In his *Origin of Species*, Darwin

devoted an entire chapter to the frustrating gaps in the record, which result from the capricious forces of fossilisation and later exposure of bones.

THE LEAKEY FAMILY

Richard Leakey is a son of Louis and Mary Leakey, archeologists and anthropologists, settled in Kenya for many years.

Louis Leakey was born of missionary parents and spent his youth with the Kikuyu people of Kenya, about whom he later wrote. He was educated at Cambridge and began his archeological research in East Africa in 1924. He was later aided by his archeologist wife, Mary and his sons. He held academic posts in major US and British universities and was curator of Coryndon Memorial Museum in Nairobi from 1945 to 1961.

In 1931, Louis Leakey began his research at Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, which became the site of his most famous discoveries. In 1959, Mary Leakey uncovered a fossil that was named *Zinjanthropis*, that is now regarded as an australopithecine, and believed to be 1,750,000 years old. Leakey later theorised that *Zinjanthropis* was not a direct ancestor of modern man, claiming that distinction for another fossil discovery that he called *Homo habilis*.

His son, Richard, is the author of *Origins of Humankind* and has made several documentations for BBC World Television. Richard was also for a while, the Minister in charge of National Parks. His wife, Meave Epps, is also an archaeologist and anthropologist.

The conditions that favour the rapid burial and possible fossilisation of bones are rare. And ancient sediments may become uncovered through erosion --- when a stream cuts through them, for instance --- but which pages of prehistory are reopened in this way is purely a matter of chance, and many of the pages remain hidden from view. For instance, in East Africa, the most promising repository for early human fossils, there are very few fossil-bearing sediments from the period between 4 million and 8 million years ago. This is a crucial period in human prehistory, because it includes the origin of the human family. Even for the time period

after 4 million years we have far fewer fossils than we would like.

The second challenge stems from the fact that the majority of fossil specimens discovered are small fragments --- a piece of cranium, a checkbone, part of an arm bone, and many teeth. The identification of species from meagre evidence of this nature is no easy task and is sometimes impossible. The resulting uncertainty allows for many differences of scientific opinion, both in identifying species and in discerning the interrelatedness of species. This area of anthropology, known as taxonomy and systematics, is one of the most contentious. I will avoid the details of the many debates and concentrate instead on describing the

overall shape of the tree.

Knowledge of the human fossil record in Africa developed slowly, beginning in 1924 when Raymond Dart announced the discovery of the famous Taung child. Comprising the incomplete skull of a child --- part of the cranium, face, lower jaw, and brain case --- the specimen was so named because it

was recovered from the Taung limestone quarry, in South Africa. Although no precise dating of the quarry sediments was possible, scientific estimates suggest that the child lived about 2 million years ago.

While the Taung child's head had many apelike features, such as a small brain and a protruding jaw, Dart recognised human aspects too: the jaw protruded less than it does in apes, the cheek teeth were flat, and the canine teeth were small. A key piece of evidence was the position of the foramen magnum --- the opening at the base of the skull through which the spinal cord passes into the spinal

column. In apes, the opening is relatively far back in the base of the cranium, while in humans it is much closer to the centre; the difference reflects the bipedal posture of humans, in which the head is balanced atop the spine, in contrast to ape posture, in which the head leans forward. The Taung child's foramen magnum was in the centre, indicating that the child was a bipedal ape.

Although Dart was convinced of the hominid status of the Taung child, almost a quarter of a century was to pass before professional anthropologists accepted the fossil individual as a human ancestor and not just an ancient ape. The prejudice against Africa as the site of human evolution and a general revulsion at the idea that anything so apelike might be a part of human ancestry combined to consign Dart and his discovery to anthropological oblivion for a long time. By the time anthropologists recognised their error --- in the late 1940s --- Dart had been joined by the Scotsman Robert Broom, and the two men had found scores of early human fossils from four cave sites in South Africa: Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraai, and Makapansgat. Following the anthropological custom of the time, Dart and Broom applied a new species name to virtually

every fossil they discovered, so that very soon it appeared that there had been a veritable zoo of human species living in South Africa between 3 million and 1 million years ago.

By the 1950s, anthropologists decided to rationalise the plethora of proposed hominid species and recognised just two. Both were bipedal apes, of course, and both were apelike in the way that the Taung child was. The principal difference between the two species was in their jaws and teeth: in both,

these were large, but one of the creatures was a more massive version of the other. The more gracile species was given the name *Australopithecus africanus*, which was the appellation Dart had given to the Taung child in 1924; the term means

"southern ape from Africa." The more robust species was called, appropriately, *Australopithecus robustus* (see figure 2.1).

From the structure of their teeth, it was obvious that both *africanus* and *robustus* had lived mostly on plant foods. Their cheek teeth were not those of apes --- which have pointed cusps, suited to a diet of relatively soft fruit and other vegetation --- but were flattened into grinding surfaces. If, as I suspect, the first human species had lived on apelike diets, they would have had apelike teeth. Clearly, by 2 million to 3 million years ago the human diet had changed to one of tougher foods, such as hard fruits and nuts. Almost certainly this indicated that the australopithecines lived in a drier environment than that of apes. The huge size of the robust species' molars suggests that the food it ate was especially tough and needed extensive grinding; not for nothing are they referred to as

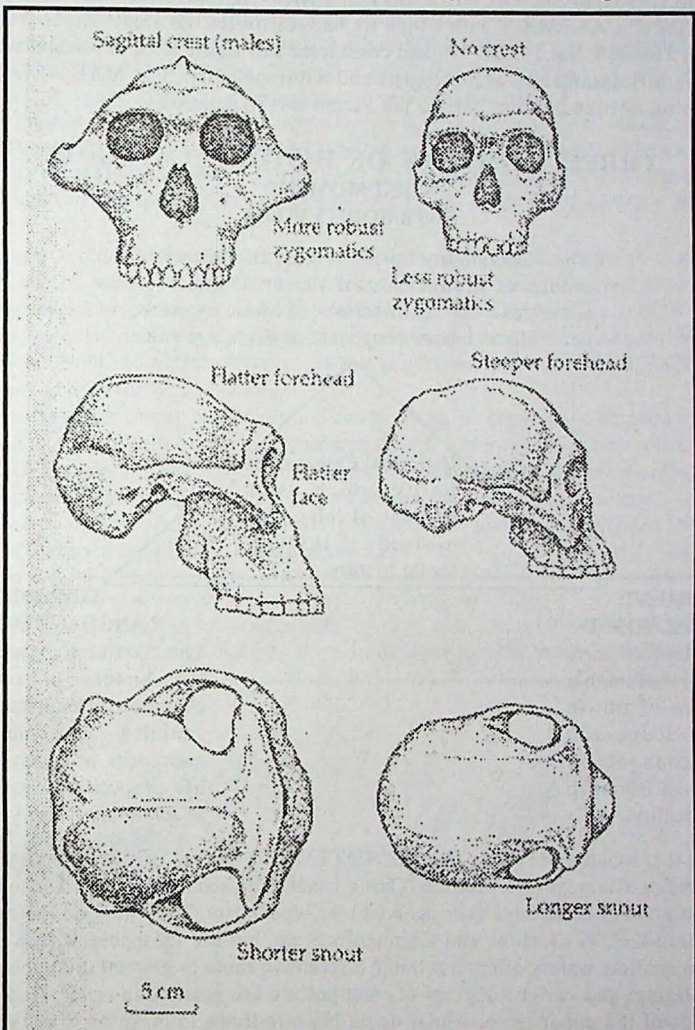


FIGURE 2.1
Australopithecine cousins. The principal difference between *Australopithecus robustus* (and *boisei*) and *africanus* is in the chewing mechanisms, which include the structure of the jaws, cheekbones, and associated sites for muscle attachments. The *robustus* species was adapted to a diet that contained tough plant foods, requiring heavy mastication. (Courtesy of A. Walker and R. E. F. Leakey/*Scientific American*, 1978, all rights reserved.)

"millstone molars."

The first early human fossil in East Africa was found by Mary Leakey, in August 1959. After almost three decades of searching the sediments of Olduvai Gorge, she was rewarded with the sight of millstone molars, like those of the robust australopithecine species in South Africa. The Olduvai individual was, however, even more robust than its South African cousin. Louis Leakey, who, with Mary, had taken part

TREE CLIMBING VS LAKE-WADING

We differ from Richard Leakey on two important questions:

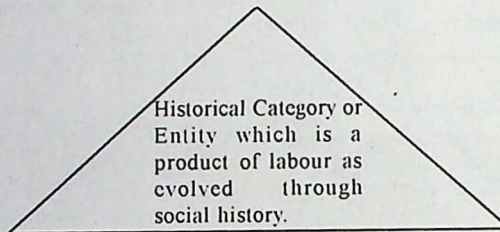
Leakey rightly considers BIPEDALISM as a fundamental departure in the evolution and development of humankind, leading to LANGUAGE, TECHNOLOGY and ART. We reproduce hereinbelow a digram of THREE MOMENTS OF HISTORIC CATEGORY with which we had illustrated our study, *The Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century* (2 Vol.s) 1986-88, Vol.1, P.27. We had considered this figure to be of fundamental value.

It has been generally assumed by archeologists and anthropologists, that MAN ATTAINED BIPEDALISM by way of three climbing or branchiation. We do not accept this hypothesis.

THREE MOMENTS OF HISTORIC CATEGORY

FIRST MOMENT: COMMODITY FORM

The "Commodity Form" reveals the history of the modes of production, of the evolution of class societies, of exploitation of man by man, of generalised labour congealed as exchange value.



SECOND MOMENT: TECHNOLOGICAL FORM:

The "Technological Form" exposes the history of man's struggle with nature, of growth of scientific knowledge and technology, of changes in application of human labour to transform material reality.

THIRD MOMENT: LANGUAGE OR ART FORM:

The "Art or Language Form" projects the history of man's ideological evolution, of imprints of social life upon vehicles of communication and awareness, of labour as expressed social life, of specific forms of labour congealed as ideologised use values.

We believe that it is much more likely that MAN ATTAINED BIPEDALISM through wading in water along lake shores. Other Primates, Chimpanzees, Gorillas, Orang-Utans and Gibbons have all taken to branchiation or living in trees in forests. But none of them have ever achieved true bipedalism. They walk on their two hind feet and on the knuckles of two fore-feet, as Gorillas and Chimpanzees do, but are incapable of true free standing bipedal movement. Wading in shallow waters offers a reliable alternative route to gradual attainment of bipedalism. The body weight is made lighter and various degrees of erect posture are possible in water. A man may lean forward, forming various angles of the upper torso, whilst using his fore-limbs to make his way through shallow shore-waters of lakes.

That there had been an episode of unknown length or duration in the evolution of humankind, when man lived in water is generally accepted by those anthropologists who believe in the Hardy Theory. The Hardy Theory proves its case by reference to the following features:

1. *Homo sapiens* possess a layer of sub-cutaneous fat, which is a characteristic of water-immersion in animals, as a protection against cold.
2. Human beings possess on their body hairlines (both an under-coat of down, and stouter guard hair) that follow certain patterns of hydro-dynamics, that facilitate walking or wading or swimming in water.
3. The placenta is filled with an amniotic fluid, which has the chemical composition of sea-water.
4. Human beings have sexual intercourse with the opposite sex facing each other, as in the case of sea-mammals, and quite contrary of the posture of land mammals, monkeys and primates who have sexual intercourse in the breach position, i.e. the male mounting the female from behind or over the buttocks.
5. All new-born human babies possess the swimming syndrome, for the first three or four weeks of their lives after birth. This would never have remained as an evolutionary vestige, if *Homo Sapiens* had evolved entirely on land.

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There are many more points to be considered but the above five are decisive enough for our present purpose.

The Great Rift Valley of Africa, stretching from Mozambique, through Zambia, Malawi, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia, including part of Sudan, Belgian-Congo (Zaire), Zimbabwe and Dgibouti (Afar and Isas), has now established itself as the Original Habitat of *Homo Sapiens*. It is a remarkable coincidence, that this Rift Valley is the land of the greatest Lacustrine Chain On Earth. The great Rift Valley extends northwards to include the Red Sea and via the Gulf of Elat, the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. It also runs along the shores of Yemen and Oman to end up in the Persian Gulf and the Bahrain-Kuwait region.

We believe that mankind evolved along this magnificent chain of the lakes in the Great Rift Valley and attained true **BIPEDALISM BY WADING / SWIMMING ALONG LACUSTRINE BANKS, MAKING THE GENTLE TRANSITION TO ERECT POSTURE BY ACQUIRING STANDING ABILITY ON TWO HAND LIMBS BY LEANING INTO WAIST-DEEP (OR CHEST DEEP) WATERS AND WALKING / WADING THROUGH THEM.**

Another vital point to remember is that Man is a puny creature. There are many more monstrous land animals (carnivores like lions, tigers, hyenas, leopards, cheetahs, etc. and herbivores like elephants, rhinoceros, giraffes, big antelopes as many species, etc.) who would have made life very hazardous for men, if they had not taken to some kind of lake-shore existence. It was quite safe for man to inhabit lake-shores where (apart from the hippopotamus and crocodiles in the African rivers) very few predators were to be found. Man could live a protected life amongst the grasses and weeds of lake-shore.

The nails on our fingers also point out to an existence where he could have scraped off snails, mussels, etc. as food from rocks, submerged in water. The huge middens found along many lake-shores provide evidence of the important role that such creatures played in the diet of human in the remote past. Our nails, otherwise are of very little use, except that modern-day females use them as a cosmetic device of sexual allure.

To sum up, *Mankind* editor believes that humanity made the transition to BIPEDALISM via the lake wading route, rather than through the tree-climbing, branchiation route.

in the long search, named it *Zinjanthropus boisei*: the generic name means "East African man" and *boisei* referred to Charles Boise, who supported my father and mother in their

Turkana, in 1969.

We know from the size of various bones of the skeleton that the males of the australopithecine species were

work at Olduvai Gorge and elsewhere. In the first application of modern geological dating to anthropology, Zinj, as the individual became known, was determined to have lived 1.75 million years ago.

Zinj's name was eventually changed to *Australopithecus boisei*, on the assumption that it was an East African version, or geographical variant, of *Australopithecus robustus*.

The names are not particularly important in themselves. What is important is that we are seeing several human species with the same fundamental adaptation, that of **bipedalism, a small brain, and relatively large cheek teeth.** This was what I saw in the cranium I found resting on a dry streambed on my first expedition to the eastern shore of Lake

much bigger than the females. They stood - more than 5 feet tall, while their mates barely achieved 4 feet. The males must have weighed almost twice as much as

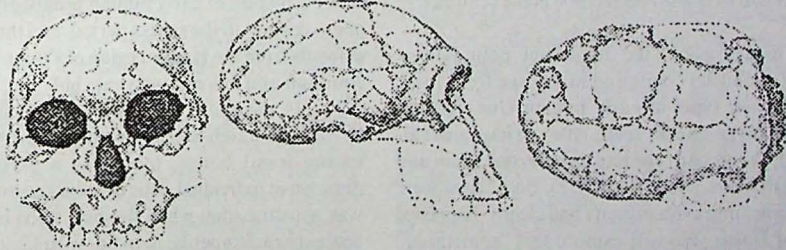


FIGURE 2.2 Early *Homo*. This fossil, known by its museum acquisition number of 1470, was found in Kenya in 1972. It lived almost 2 million years ago and is the most complete early specimen of *Homo habilis*; it shows significant brain expansion and reduction in tooth size, compared with the australopithecines. (Courtesy of A. Walker and R. E. F. Leakey/*Scientific American*, 1978, all rights reserved.)

the females, a difference of the sort that we see today in some species of savanna baboons. It is a fair guess, therefore, that the social organisation of australopithecines was similar to that of baboons, with dominant males competing for access to mature females, as noted in the previous chapter.

The story of human prehistory became a little more complicated a year after the discovery of Zinj, when my older brother, Jonathan, found a piece of the cranium of another type

of hominid, again at Olduvai Gorge. The relative thinness of the cranium indicated that this individual was of slighter build than any of the known australopithecine species. It had smaller cheek teeth and, most significant of all, its brain was almost 50 percent larger. My father concluded that although the australopithecines were part of human ancestry, this new specimen represented the lineage that eventually gave rise to modern humans. Amid an uproar of objections from his professional colleagues, he decided to name it *Homo habilis*, making it the first early member of the genus to be identified. (The name *Homo habilis*, which means "handy man," was suggested to him by Raymond Dart, and it refers to the supposition that the species were toolmakers.)

The uproar was based on esoteric considerations in many ways: it erupted in part because in order to assign the appellation *Homo* to the new fossil, Louis had to modify the accepted definition of the genus. Until that time, the standard definition, proposed by the British anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith, stated that the brain capacity of the genus *Homo* should equal or exceed 750 cubic centimeters, a figure was that intermediate between that of modern humans and apes; it had become known as the cerebral Rubicon. Despite the fact that the newly discovered fossil from Olduvai Gorge had a brain capacity of only 650 cubic centimeters, Louis judged it to be *Homo* because of its more humanlike (that is, less robust) cranium. He therefore proposed shifting the cerebral Rubicon to 600 cubic centimeters, thereby admitting the new Olduvai hominid to the genus *Homo*. This tactic surely raised the emotional level of the vigorous debate that ensued. Ultimately, however, the new definition was accepted. (It later developed that 650 cubic centimeters is rather small for the average adult brain size in *Homo habilis*; 800 cubic centimeters is a closer figure.)

Scientific names aside, the important point here is that the pattern of evolution beginning to emerge from these findings was of two basic types of early human. One type had a small brain and large cheek teeth (the various australopithecine species); the second type had an enlarged brain and smaller cheek teeth (*Homo*) (see figure 2.2). Both types were bipedal apes, but something extraordinary had clearly happened in the evolution of *Homo*. We will explore this "something" more fully in the next chapter. In any case, anthropologists' understanding of the shape of the family tree at this point in human history—that is, at around 2 million years ago—was rather simple.

The tree bore two main branches: the australopithecine species, all of which became extinct by 1 million years ago, and *Homo*, which eventually led to people like us.

Biologists who have studied the fossil record know that when a new species evolves with a novel adaptation, there is often a burgeoning of descendant species over the next few million years expressing various themes on that initial adaptation—a burgeoning known as adaptive radiation. The Cambridge University anthropologist Robert Foley has calculated that if the evolutionary history of the bipedal apes followed the usual pattern of adaptive radiation, at least

sixteen species should have existed between the group's origin 7 million years ago and today. The shape of the family tree begins with a single trunk (the founding species), spreads out as new branches evolve through time, and then reduces in bushiness as species go extinct, leaving a single surviving branch—*Homo sapiens*. How does all this match up with what we know from the fossil record?

For many years after the acceptance of *Homo habilis*, it was thought that 2 million years ago there were three australopithecine species and one species of *Homo*. We would expect the family tree to be heavily populated at this point in prehistory, so four coexisting species doesn't sound like much. And in fact it has recently become apparent—through new discoveries and new thinking—that at least four australopithecines lived at that period, cheek by jowl with two or even three species of *Homo*. This picture is by no means settled, but if human species were like species of other large mammals (and there is no reason to think that they were not, at that point in our history), then such is what biologists would expect. The question is, What happened earlier than 2 million years ago? How many branches were there on the family tree, and what were they like?

As noted, the fossil record quickly becomes sparse beyond 2 million years ago and blank further back much more than 4 million years ago. The earliest-known human fossils are all from East Africa. On the east side of Lake Turkana, we have found an arm bone, a wrist bone, jaw fragments, and teeth from around 4 million years ago; the American anthropologist Donald Johanson and his colleagues have recovered a leg bone of similar age from the Awash region of Ethiopia. These are slim pickings indeed upon which to recreate a picture of early human prehistory. There is, however, one exception to the sparse period, and that is a rich collection of fossils from the Hadar region of Ethiopia which are between 3 million and 3.9 million years old.

In the mid-1970s, a joint French/American team, led by Maurice Taieb and Johanson, recovered hundreds of fascinating fossil bones, including a partial skeleton of one diminutive individual, who became known as Lucy. Lucy, who was a mature adult when she died, stood barely 3 feet tall and was extremely apelike in build, with long arms and short legs. Other fossils of individuals from the area indicated that not only were many of them bigger than Lucy, standing more than 5 feet tall, but also that they were more apelike in certain respects—the size and shape of the teeth, the protrusion of the jaw—than the hominids that lived in South and East Africa a million years or so later. This is just what we would expect to find as we moved closer and closer to the time of human origin.

When I first saw the Hadar fossils, it seemed to me that they represented two species, perhaps even more. I considered it likely that the diversity of species we see at 2 million years ago derived from a similar diversity a million years earlier, including species of *Australopithecus* and *Homo*. In their initial interpretation of the fossils, Taieb and Johanson supported this pattern of our evolution. However, Johanson and Tim White, of the University of California,

Berkeley, conducted further analyses. In a paper published in the journal *Science* in **January 1979**, they suggested that the Hadar fossils did not represent several species of primitive human but instead were the bones of just one species, which Johanson named *Australopithecus afarensis*. The large range of body sizes, which earlier had been taken to indicate the presence of several species, was now accounted for simply as sexual dimorphism. All the known hominid species that arose later were

descendants of this single species, they said. Many of my colleagues were surprised by this bold declaration, and it provoked strong debate for many years (see figure 2.4).

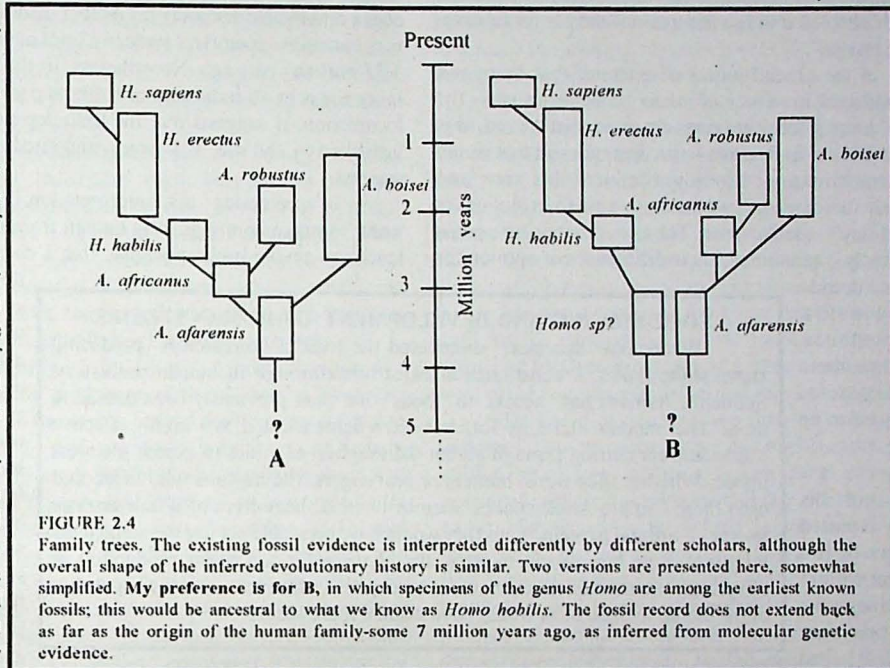
Although many anthropologists have since decided that Johanson and White's scheme is probably correct, I believe that the scheme is wrong, for two reasons. First, the size difference and anatomical variation in the Hadar fossils as a whole is simply too great to represent a single species. Much more reasonable is the notion that the bones came from two species, or perhaps more. Yves Coppens, who was a member of the team that recovered the Hadar fossils, also holds this view. Second, the scheme makes no biological sense. If humans originated 7 million years ago, or even only 5 million years ago, it would be highly unusual for a single species at 3 million years ago to be the ancestor of all later species. This would not be the typical shape of an adaptive radiation, and unless there is good reason to suspect otherwise, we must consider human history to have followed the typical pattern.

The only way this issue will be resolved to everyone's satisfaction is through the discovery and analysis of more fossils older than 3 million years, which seemed possible early in 1994. After a decade and a half of being unable, for political reasons, to return to the fossil-rich sites in the Hadar region, Johanson and his colleagues have made three expeditions since 1990. Their efforts have met with great success, being rewarded with the recovery of fifty-three fossil

specimens, including the first complete cranium. The pattern seen previously from this time period --- that of a great range of body sizes --- is confirmed and even extended by the new finds.

How is this fact to be interpreted? Is the issue of one species or more at the brink of resolution?

Unfortunately it is not. Those who considered that the size range of the previously discovered fossils indicated a difference in stature between



males and females viewed the new ones as supporting that position. Those of us who suspected that so broad a size range must indicate a difference between species, not a within-species difference, interpreted the new fossils as strengthening that view. The shape of the family tree earlier than 2 million years ago must therefore be regarded as an unresolved question.

The discovery of the Lucy partial skeleton in 1974 seemed to offer the first glimpse of the degree of anatomical adaptation to bipedal locomotion in an early hominid. By definition, the first hominid species to have evolved some 7 million years ago, would have been a bipedal ape of sorts. But until the Lucy skeleton came along, anthropologists had no tangible evidence of bipedalism in a human species older than about 2 million years. The bones of the pelvis, legs, and feet in Lucy's skeleton were vital clues to this question.

From the shape of the pelvis and the angle between the thighbone and knee, it is clear that Lucy and her fellows were adapted to some form of upright walking. These anatomical features were much more humanlike than apelike. In fact, Owen Lovejoy, who performed the initial anatomical studies on these bones, concluded that the species' bipedal locomotion would have been indistinguishable from the way you and I walk. Not everyone agreed, however. For instance, in a major scientific paper in 1983 Jack Stern and Randall Susman, two anatomists at the State University of New York,

Stony Brook, offered a different interpretation of Lucy's anatomy: "It possesses a combination of traits entirely appropriate for an animal that had travelled well down the road toward full-time bipedality, but which retained structural features that enabled it to use the trees efficiently for feeding, sleeping or escape".

One of the crucial pieces of evidence that Stern and Susman adduced in favor of their conclusion was the structure of Lucy's feet: the bones are somewhat curved, as is seen in apes but not in humans --- an arrangement that would facilitate tree climbing. Lovejoy discounts this view and suggests that the curved foot bones are a mere evolutionary vestige of Lucy's apelike past. These two opposing camps enthusiastically maintained their differences of opinion for more than a decade.

Then, early in 1994, new evidence, including some from a most unexpected source, seemed to tip the balance.

First, Johanson and his colleagues reported the discovery of two 3-million-year-old arm bones, an ulna and a humerus, that they attribute to

Australopithecus afarensis. The individual had obviously been powerful, and its arm bones had some features similar to those seen in chimpanzees while others were different. Commenting on the discovery, Leslie Aiello, an anthropologist at University College, London, wrote in the journal *Nature*: "The mosaic morphology of the *A. afarensis* ulna, together with the heavily muscled and robust humerus, would be ideally suited to a creature which climbed in the trees but also walked on two legs when on the ground." This description, which I support, clearly fits closely with the Susman camp and not the Lovejoy camp.

Even stronger support for this view comes from the innovative use of computerised axial tomography (CAT scanning) to discern the details of the inner ear anatomy of these early humans. Part of the anatomy of the inner ear are three C-shaped tubes, the semicircular canals. Arranged mutually perpendicular to each other, with two of the canals oriented vertically, the structure plays a key role in the maintenance of body balance. At a meeting of anthropologists in April 1994, Fred Spoor, of the University of Liverpool, described the semi-circular canals in humans and apes. The two vertical canals are significantly enlarged in humans compared with those in apes, a difference Spoor interprets as an adaptation to the extra demands of upright balance in a bipedal species. What of early human species?

Spoor's observations are truly startling. In all species of the genus *Homo*, the inner ear structure is indistinguishable from that of modern humans. Similarly, in all species of

Australopithecus, the semicircular canals look like those of apes. Does this mean that the australopithecines moved about as apes do --- that is, quadrupedally? The structure of the pelvis and lower limbs speaks against this conclusion. So does a remarkable discovery my mother made in 1976: a trail of very humanlike footprints made in a layer of volcanic ash some 3.75 million years ago. Nevertheless, if the structure of the inner ear is at all indicative of habitual posture and mode of locomotion, it suggests that the australopithecines were not just like you and me, as Lovejoy suggested and continues to suggest.

In promoting his interpretation, Lovejoy seems to want to make hominids fully human from the beginning, a tendency among anthropologists that I discussed earlier in

this chapter. But I see no problem with imagining that an ancestor of ours exhibited apelike behavior that trees were important in their lives. We are bipedal apes, and it should not be surprising to see that fact reflected in the way our ancestors lived.

TOOL-MAKING AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN SPECIES

When our ancestors discovered the trick of consistently producing sharp stone flakes, it constituted a major breakthrough in human prehistory. Suddenly, humans had access to foods that had previously been denied to them. The modest flake, as Toth has often demonstrated, is a highly effective implement for cutting through all but the toughest of hides to expose the meat inside. Whether they were hunters or scavengers, the humans who made and used these simple stone flakes thereby availed themselves of a new energy source --- animal protein. Thus they would have been able not just to extend their foraging range but also to increase the chances for successful production of offspring. The reproductive process is an expensive business, and the expansion of the diet to include meat would have made it more secure.

At this point, I will switch from bones to stones, the most tangible evidence of our ancestors' behavior. Chimpanzees are adept tool users, and use sticks to harvest termites, leaves as sponges, and stones to crack nuts. But --- so far, at any rate --- no chimpanzee in the wild has ever been seen to manufacture a stone tool. Humans began producing sharp-edged tools 2.5 million years ago by hitting two stones together, thus beginning a trail of technological activity that highlights human prehistory.

The earliest tools were small flakes, made by striking one stone --- usually a lava cobble --- with another. The flakes measured about an inch long and were surprisingly sharp. Although simple in appearance, they were put to a variety of uses. We know this because Lawrence Keeley, of the University of Illinois, and Nicholas Toth, of Indiana University, microscopically analysed a dozen such flakes from a 1.5-million-year-old campsite east of Lake Turkana, looking for signs of use. They found different kinds of abrasions on the flakes-marks indicating that some had been used to cut meat, some to cut wood, and others to cut soft plant material, like grass. When we find a scattering of stone flakes at such an archeological site, we have to be inventive to imagine the complexity of life that took place there, because the relics themselves are sparse: gone is the meat, the wood, and the grass. We can imagine a simple riverbank campsite, where a human family group butchered meat in the shade of a structure made from saplings and thatched with reeds, even though all we see today are the stone flakes.

The earliest stone-tool assemblages that have been found are 2.5 million years old; they include, besides flakes, larger implements, such as choppers, scrapers, and various polyhedrons. In most cases, these items, too, were produced by the removal of several flakes from a lava cobble. Mary Leakey spent many years at Olduvai Gorge studying this earliest of technologies --- which is known as the Oldowan industry, after Olduvai Gorge --- and in so doing established early African archology.

As a result of his experimental toolmaking, Nicholas Toth suspects that the earliest toolmakers did not have the specific shapes of the individual tools in mind --- a mental template, if you like --- when they were making them. More likely, the various shapes were determined by the original shape of the raw material. The Oldowan industry---which was the only form of technology practised until about 1.4 million years ago --- was essentially opportunistic in nature.

An interesting question arises about the cognitive skills implied by the production of these artifacts. Were the earliest toolmakers employing mental abilities comparable to those of apes, but in a different way? Or did it require them to be of higher intelligence? The brain of the toolmakers was some 50 percent bigger, than that of apes, so the latter conclusion seems intuitively obvious. Nevertheless, Thomas Wynn, an archeologist at the University of Colorado, and William McGrew, a primatologist at the University of Stirling, Scotland, disagree. They analysed certain manipulative skills displayed by apes, and in a paper they published in 1989, called "An Ape's View of the Oldowan," concluded: "All the spatial concepts for Oldowan tools can be found in the minds of apes. Indeed, the spatial competence described above is probably true of all great apes and does not make Oldowan tool-makers unique."

I find this statement surprising, not least because I have seen people try to make "Stone Age" tools by bashing two rocks together, with little success. That's not how it was done. Nicholas Toth has spent many years perfecting techniques for making stone tools, and he has a good appreciation of the mechanics of flaking stone. To work efficiently, the stone knapper has to choose a rock of the correct shape, bearing the correct angle at which to strike; and the striking motion itself requires great practice in order to deliver

the appropriate amount of force in the right place. "It seems clear that early tool-making proto-humans had a good intuitive sense of the fundamentals of working stone." Toth wrote in a paper in 1985. "There's no question that the earliest toolmakers possessed a mental capacity beyond that of apes," he recently told me. "Toolmaking requires a coordination of significant motor and cognitive skills."

An experiment under way at the Language Research Centre, in Atlanta, Georgia, is putting this question to the test. For more than a decade, Sue Savage-Rumbaugh, a psychologist, has been working with a pygmy chimpanzee on developing communication skills. Toth recently began a collaboration with her, to try to teach the chimp, named Kanzi, how to make stone flakes. Kanzi has undoubtedly displayed innovative thinking to produce sharp flakes, but so far he has not reproduced the systematic flaking technique used by the earliest toolmakers. I suspect this means that Wynn and McGrew are wrong and that the earliest toolmakers were using cognitive skills beyond those present in apes.

That said, it remains true that the earliest tools, the Oldowan industry, were simple and opportunistic. About 1.4 million years ago in Africa, a new form of assemblage appeared, which archeologists call the Acheulean industry, named after the site of St. Acheul, in northern France, where these tools, in later versions, were first discovered. For the first time in human prehistory, there is evidence that the toolmakers had a mental template of what they wanted to produce --- that they were intentionally imposing a shape on the raw material they used. The implement that suggests this is the so-called handaxe, a teardrop-shaped tool that required remarkable skill and patience to make (see figure 2.5). It took Toth and other experimenters several months to acquire

the skill to produce handaxes of the quality that are found in the archeological record of the time.

The appearance of the handaxe in the archeological record follows the emergence of *Homo erectus*, the putative descendent of *Homo habilis* and ancestor of *Homo sapiens*. As we will see in the following chapter, it is a reasonable deduction that the makers of the handaxes were

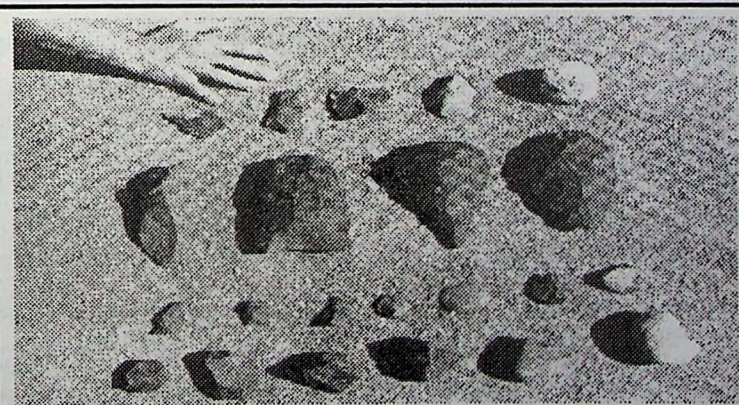


FIGURE 2.5
Tool technologies. The bottom two rows are representative of the Oldowan technology, which first appears in the archeological record at about 2.5 million years ago and is comprised of a hammerstone (the white cobble), simple choppers and scrapers (in the same row as the hammerstone), and small, sharp flakes (the row above). The top two rows are examples of items from the Acheulean industry, which first appeared in the record at about 1.4 million years ago and is characterized by handaxes (the two teardrop-shaped implements), cleavers, and picks, in addition to small tools similar to those found in Oldowan assemblages. (Courtesy of N. Toth.)

Homo erectus individuals, with endowed as they were a

RIGVEDIC PASTORALISM

Richard Leakey's anthropological insights have to be supplemented by socio-economic information that we possess regarding the sequence of modes of production that have arisen in the course of human social history.

If the reader has carefully followed Leakey's reasoning, it will be clear to him that the human species initially made the breakthrough via bipedalism. We have already clarified our differences from Leakey regarding this crucial transformation. We have emphasised that brachiation or living in trees, swinging from branch to branch, did not lead to bipedal posture and gait. We have urged that it would have been easier and more logical for our species to have made the transition to bipedalism by wading and swimming on lake-shores and shallow coastal waters of relatively placid inland seas (like The Arabian Sea and similar salt water and fresh water collections in North-West India in the region of internal drainage where the present borders of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan converge and where the Helmand river is swallowed up).

Leakey had correctly stressed the importance of a sudden increase in intake of animal proteins which is suggested by altered teeth structures and the adoption of stone tools for agro-pastoral operations.

As we have suggested, pastoralism is a natural transitional stage from hunting to agriculture. A hunter observes the favourite feeding and breeding grounds of animals that are amenable to domestication (antelops, cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, jungle fowl, horses and elephants). It is easy to attract such docile vegetarian creatures by tempting them with easy availability of green grasses, steppe pastures and small shrubs. Originally riverbanks and lake sources would provide the ideal habitats. Gradually the practice of transhumance would get established especially on the edges of rain forests.

Just as the Rift Valley in East Africa stretching from Mozambique to Ethiopia was the cradle for the evolution of humankind, similarly North-West India provided the ideal environment for the next higher stage in societal evolution. This was the centre of Rigvedic or Saraswati culture.

This is where all the floral and faunal cultigens came together, barely, wheat, rice, millets, pulses, oilseeds, tubers and roots, spices and herbs, grasses and bamboos came together with domesticable animals. Here was an immense variety of vegetations. The great riverine plains of Sapta-Sindhu and Ganga-Jamuna-Saraswati stretched out to and the mountainous terrain held innumerable lakes of the Himalayas to steppe grassland of Thar, Makran, Seistan and the oases of Rajasthan, Sindh, Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

Rigvedic India was the only place where tropical and temperate flora and fauna could intermingle. The enormously high wall of the Himalayas provided an immense variety of elevations and secluded valleys. Arctic conditions could be emulated within sites of tropical vegetation in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachal Pradesh. Animals of the cold regions like the Yak, the Santoosh Goat, the Wild Sheep, the Bear and the Panda, almost intermingle with the Tiger, the Elephant, the Jungle Fowl, the Wild Pig and the Deer of the tropical forest and swamps.

It was an extraordinary co-existence and co-mingling of almost all the significant plants and animals that mankind has ever tamed or domesticated.

There were rainforests stretching from Bengal and Assam to Sri Lanka and from thence upwards and Northwards to the Dangs in Gujarat and Bhilistan in Rajasthan. There was no ecological niche anywhere in the world which was not parallel in tropical and temperate India.

Hunting could continue to be practised on a substantial scale throughout the length and breadth of India, from 36° North to 6° North, latitude and 60° East to 100° East longitude. India was like the entire world in miniature. Cold winds from Siberia, Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet were blocked by the five mile high Himalayan wall. Warm tropical monsoonal currents could penetrate as far as the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs in Afghanistan and Central Asia.

Leakey has assumed that suddenly the hunters of old become more proficient and were able to add plentiful animal proteins to their diets. Even if this were true, which I do not for a moment believe, the area of intensive hunting could never have been in Europe. It would be the tropical forest regions that would support the highest density of wild animals suitable for trapping and killing. But hunting itself is inefficient, it would need one square mile of territory to support a single family of hunters, whilst pastoralism could easily bear the burden of twenty persons to a square mile (see, Vinayak Purohit, *Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century*, vol.1, 1986, pp. 54, 56 and 57).

Let us now look at the obverse of the same coin. Why is Rigvedic literature the oldest record of Indo-Aryan culture? Whatever may be the date assigned to the Rigveda by the stupid racialist German Max Mueller (we have covered this argument in our earlier contribution in Mankind, see box on page - issue no. MK), it is admitted by everyone in the world that there is no literature older than the *Rigveda*. Even if it is assigned to 1500 BC by White Europeans it is still oldest in the world!

Why was this so? Why were the Indians the first to project a great literature?

(contd. on next pg.)

(contd. from previous pg.)

There must have been material reasons for the flourishing of the Sapta-Sindhu culture. As we have shown elsewhere, there were two cultures co-existing and overlapping with each other, in time and space, one called the Indus culture with only material remains and another called Vedic culture with only literary remains ! They could not have overlapped with each other between 3000 and 500 bc.

Anyway, why were the Indians privileged to project *Rigveda* literature so early in human history? Leakey must rethink the entire the evolutionary sequence from a non-White, non-European and non-Christian viewpoint. Only then can he understand true world history !

Why is Asia the most populous part of the world even today? Why is the Indian subcontinent the most populous part of Asia, if equal areas are to be compared? Why is only one-fifth of China arable and why is almost two-third of India cultivable? Why does India even today have such an immense population of domesticated cattle, sheep, goats and buffaloes? The combination of pastoral wealth and agricultural richness is unique to India even within Asia, which itself is far ahead of Europe and Africa.

In our opinion, just as bipedalism was achieved by our species via a semiaquatic existence, similarly a sudden accretion of animal proteins in human diets and expansion of cranial capacity was realised via pastoralism. The first event occurred in the Rift Valley of East Africa and the second event occurred in the Sapta-Sindhu region of Rigvedic India.

significantly larger brain than *Homo Habilis*.

When our ancestors discovered the trick of consistently producing sharp stone flakes, it constituted a major breakthrough in human prehistory. Suddenly, humans had access to foods that had previously been denied to them. The modest flake, as Toth has often demonstrated, is a highly effective implement for cutting through all but the toughest of hides to expose the meat inside. Whether they were hunters or scavengers, the humans who made and used these simple stone flakes thereby availed themselves of a new energy source — animal protein. Thus they would have been able not just to extend their foraging range but also to increase the chances for successful production of offspring. The reproductive process is an expensive business, and the expansion of the diet to include meat would have made it more secure.

An age-old question for anthropologists has been, of course, Who made the tools? When tools appear in the archeological record, several australopithecine species existed, and probably several *Homo* species, too. How can we decide who the toolmaker was? This is extremely difficult. If we found tools in association only with fossils of *Homo* and never with australopithecines, that might be taken to imply that *Homo* was the only toolmaker. The prehistoric record is not as clear-cut as this, however. Randall Susman has argued from the anatomy of what he believes are *A. robustus* hand bones from a site in South Africa that this species had sufficient manipulative ability to make tools. But there is no way of being certain whether it actually did so or not.

My own position is that we should look for the simplest explanation. We know from the prehistoric record that after 1 million years ago only *Homo* species existed, and we also know that they made stone tools. Until there is good reason to suppose otherwise, it seems cautiously wise to conclude that only *Homo* made tools earlier in prehistory. The australopithecine species and *Homo* clearly had different specific adaptations, and it is likely that meat eating by *Homo* was an important part of that difference. Stone toolmaking would have been an important part of a meat-eater's

abilities: plant eaters could do without these tools.

In his studies of tools from archeological sites in Kenya, and in his experimental toolmaking exercises, Toth made a fascinating and important discovery. **The earliest toolmakers were predominantly right-handed, just as modern humans are.** Although individual apes are preferentially right- or left-handed, **there is no population preference; modern humans are unique in this respect.** Toth's discovery gives us an important evolutionary insight: **some 2 million years ago, the brain of *Homo* was already becoming truly human, in the way we know ourselves to be.**

CHAPTER 3

A DIFFERENT KIND OF HUMAN

Exciting and imaginative research performed only recently has allowed us to use fossils to gain insights into aspects of the biology of our extinct ancestors in a way that no one could have predicted a few years ago. It is now possible, for example, to make reasonable estimates of when individuals of a particular human species were weaned, when they became sexually mature, what their life expectancy was, and so on. Armed with the means of uncovering information of this type, we have come to see that *Homo* was a different kind of human right from its first appearance. The discovery of a biological discontinuity between *Australopithecus* and *Homo* has fundamentally changed our understanding of human prehistory.

Until the appearance of *Homo*, all bipedal apes had small brains, large cheek teeth, and protruding jaws and pursued an apelike subsistence strategy. They ate mainly plant foods, and their social milieu probably resembled that of the modern savanna baboon. These species --- the australopithecines --- were humanlike in the way that they walked but in nothing more. **At some time prior to 2.5 million years ago --- we still can't say exactly when --- the first large-brained human species evolved. The teeth changed, too --- probably an adaptation produced by a shift in diet from one made up exclusively of plant foods to one that included meat (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism).**

These two aspects of the earliest *Homo*—the changes in **brain size and tooth structure**—have been apparent since the first fossils of *Homo habilis* were uncovered, three decades ago. Perhaps because we modern humans are dazzled by the importance of brain power, anthropologists have focussed strongly on the jump in the size of the brain—**from some 450 cubic centimeters to more than 600 cubic centimeters**—that occurred with the evolution of *Homo habilis* (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism). No doubt this was an important part of the evolutionary adaptation that took human prehistory in a new direction. But it was only a part. The new research into the biology of our ancestors reveals that many other things changed, too, moving them away from being apelike to being more like humans.

One of the most significant aspects of human development is that **infants are born virtually helpless and experience a prolonged childhood**. Moreover, as every parent knows, children go through an adolescent growth spurt, during which they put on inches at an alarming rate. Humans are unique in this respect: Most mammalian species, including apes, **progress almost directly from infancy to adulthood**. A human adolescent about to embark on his or her growth spurt is likely to increase in size about 25 percent; by contrast, the steady trajectory of growth in chimpanzees means that **the adolescent adds only 14 percent to its stature by the time it reaches maturity**.

Barry Bogin, a

biologist at the University of Michigan, has an innovative interpretation of the difference in growth trajectories. The body's growth rate in human children is low compared with that in apes, even though the rate of brain growth is similar. As a result, **human children, are smaller than they would be if they followed the normal simian growth rate**. The benefit, Bogin suggests, has to do with the high degree of learning that young humans must achieve if they are to absorb the rules of culture. Growing children learn better from adults if there is a significant difference in body size, because a student-teacher relationship can be established. If young children were the size they would be on an apelike growth trajectory, **physical rivalry rather than a student-teacher relationship might develop**. When the learning period is over, the body "catches up," by means of the adolescent growth spurt.

Humans become human through intense learning not

just of survival skills but of customs and social mores, kinship and social laws—**that is, culture**. The social milieu in which helpless infants are cared for and older children are educated is much more characteristic of humans than it is of apes. **Culture can be said to be the human adaptation**, and it is made possible by the unusual pattern of childhood and maturation.

The helplessness of newborn human infants is, however, less a cultural adaptation than a biological necessity. **Human infants come into the world too early, a consequence of our large brain and the engineering constraints of the human pelvis** (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism). Biologists have recently come to understand that brain size influences more than just intelligence. It correlates with a number of what

are known as **life-history factors**, such as the age of weaning, the age at which sexual maturity is reached, gestation length, and longevity. In species with big brains, these factors tend to be stretched out: infants are weaned later than those in species with small brains, sexual maturity is reached later, gestation is longer, and individuals live longer. A simple calculation based on comparisons with other primates reveals that **gestation length in *Homo sapiens*, whose average brain capacity is 1350 cubic centimeters, should be twenty-one months, not the nine months it actually is**. Human infants therefore have a year's growth to catch up on when they are born, hence their helplessness.

Why has this happened? Why has nature exposed

human newborns to the dangers of coming into the world too early? The answer is the brain. **The brain of a newborn ape, on average about 200 cubic centimeters, is about half that of adult size**. The required doubling in size occurs rapidly and early in the ape's life. By contrast, **the brains of human newborns are one-third the adult size, and triple in size in early, rapid growth**. Humans resemble apes in that their brains grow to adult size early in life; thus, if, like the apes, they were to double their brain size, human newborns' brains would have to measure **675 cubic centimeters**. As every woman knows, giving birth to babies with normal-size brains is difficult enough, and sometimes life threatening. Indeed, the pelvic opening increased in size during human evolution, to accommodate the increasing size of the brain. But there were limits to how far this expansion could go—limits imposed by the engineering demands of efficient bipedal locomotion. The limit was reached when **the newborn's**

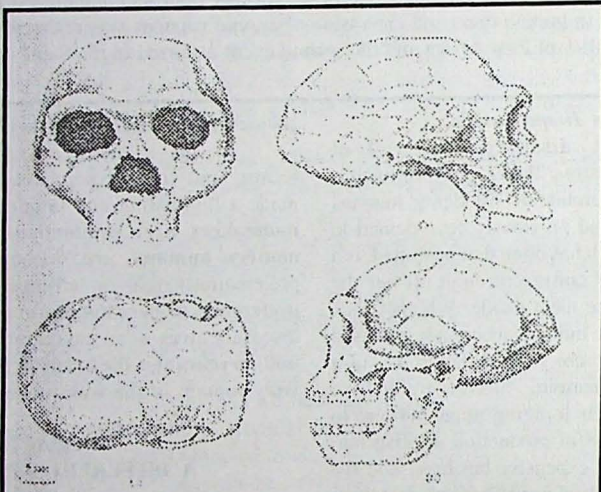


FIGURE 3.1

Homo erectus. (a), (b), and (c) show three views of the skull KNMER 3733, found east of Lake Turkana in 1975. This individual, with a brain capacity of **850 cubic centimeters**, lived about **1.8 million years ago**. For comparison, (d) shows a *Homo erectus* from China (Peking Man), which lived a million years later than 3733 and had a brain capacity of **almost 1000 cubic centimeters**. (Courtesy of W. E. Le Gros Clark / Chicago University Press, and A. Walker and R. E. F. Leakey / *Scientific American*, 1978, all rights reserved.)

brain size was as its present value — 385 cubic centimeters (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism).

From an evolutionary point of view, we can say that in principle humans departed from the apelike growth pattern when the adult brain exceeded 770 cubic centimetres. Beyond this figure, brain size would have to more than double from birth, thus beginning the pattern of helplessness in infants who came into the world "too early." *Homo habilis*, with an adult brain size of about 800 cubic centimetres, appears to be on the cusp between the ape growth pattern and that of the human being, while the brain of early *Homo erectus*, some 900 cubic centimeters, pushes the species significantly in the human direction (see figure 3.1). This, remember, is an argument "in principle"; it assumes that the birth canal in *Homo erectus* was the same size as it is in modern humans. In fact, we were able to get a clearer idea of how human *Homo erectus* had become in this respect from

measurements of the pelvis of the Turkana boy, the early *Homo erectus* skeleton my colleagues and I unearthed in the mid -1980s not far from the western shore of Lake Turkana.

In humans, the pelvic opening is similar in size in males and females. So, by measuring the size of the Turkana boy's pelvic opening, we obtained a good estimate of the size of his mother's

birth canal. My friend and colleague Alan Walker, an anatomist at Johns Hopkins University, reconstructed the boy's pelvis from bones that had been separate when we unearthed them. He measured the pelvic opening, found that it was smaller than in *Homo sapiens*, and calculated that the newborns of *Homo erectus* had brains of about 275 cubic centimeters, which is considerably smaller than the brain size of modern human newborns.

The implications are clear. *Homo erectus* infants were born with brains one-third the adult size, as modern humans are, and, as modern humans do, must have come into the world in a helpless state (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism). We can infer that the intense parental care of infants which is part of the modern human social milieu had already begun to develop in early *Homo erectus*, some 1.7 million years ago.

We cannot do similar calculations for *Homo habilis*, the immediate ancestor of *erectus*, because we have yet to discover a *habilis* pelvis. But if *habilis* babies were born

with *erectus*-size neonate brains, then they, too, would need to be born "too early," but not by as much; they, too, would have been helpless at birth, but not for as long; and they, too, would have required a humanlike social milieu, but to a lesser degree. It therefore seems that *Homo* moved in a human direction from the very beginning. Similarly, the australopithecine species had ape-size brains, and so would have followed an apelike pattern of early development.

An extended period of helplessness in infancy --- a period during which intensive parental care was required --- was already characteristic of early *Homo*: this much we have established. But what of the remainder of childhood? When did this become prolonged, enabling practical and cultural skills to be absorbed, followed by an adolescent growth spurt?

The prolongation of childhood in modern humans is achieved through a reduced rate of physical growth compared

PROLONGED CHILDHOOD OF HUMAN SPECIES

One of the most significant aspects of human development is that infants are born virtually helpless and experience a prolonged childhood. Moreover, as every parent knows, children go through an adolescent growth spurt, during which they put on inches at an alarming rate. Humans are unique in this respect: Most mammalian species, including apes, progress almost directly from infancy to adulthood. A human adolescent about to embark on his or her growth spurt is likely to increase in size about 25 percent; by contrast, the steady trajectory of growth in chimpanzees means that the adolescent adds only 14 percent to its stature by the time it reaches maturity.

Humans become human through intense learning not just of survival skills but of customs and social mores, kinship and social laws --- that is, culture. The social milieu in which helpless infants are cared for and older children are educated is much more characteristic of humans than it is of apes. Culture can be said to be the human adaptation, and it is made possible by the unusual pattern of childhood and maturation.

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with that in apes. As a result, humans reach various growth milestones, such as tooth eruption, later than apes do. For instance, the first permanent molar appears in human children at about the age of six, compared with three in apes; the second molar erupts between the ages of eleven and twelve in humans and at

age seven in apes; and the third molar shows up at eighteen to twenty in humans and nine in apes. In order to answer the question of when childhood became prolonged in human prehistory, we needed a way of looking at fossil jaws and determining when the molars erupted.

For example, the Turkana boy died just as his second molar was beginning to show through. If *Homo erectus* followed the slower, human pattern of childhood development, this would mean that the boy died when he was about eleven years old. If, however, the species had an apelike growth trajectory, he would have been seven. In the early 1970s, Alan Mann, of the University of Pennsylvania, performed an extensive analysis of fossil human teeth and concluded that all species of *Australopithecus* and *Homo* followed the human pattern of slowed childhood growth. His work was extremely influential, and bolstered the conventional wisdom that all hominid species, including the australopithecines, followed the modern human pattern.

Indeed, when we found the Turkana boy's jaw and I saw the second molar erupting, I assumed that he had been eleven when he died, because that is what he would have been were he like *Homo sapiens*. Likewise, the Taung child, a member of the species *Australopithecus africanus*, was thought to have died at the age of seven, because his first molar was erupting.

In the late 1980s, these assumptions were shattered by the work of several researchers. Holly Smith, an anthropologist at the University of Michigan, developed a way of deducing life-history patterns in fossil humans by correlating brain size and the age of eruption of the first molar. As a baseline, Smith amassed data for humans and apes: she then looked at a range of human fossils to determine how they compared. **Three life-history patterns emerged: a modern human grade, in which first-molar eruption occurs at six years of age and life span is sixty-six years; an ape grade, with first-molar eruption at a little over three years and a life span of about forty years; and an intermediate grade. Later *Homo erectus* — that is, individuals who lived after about**

800,000 years ago -- fit the human grade, as did Neanderthals. European bias of Leakey is apparent. All the australopithecine species, however, slotted into the ape grade. Early *Homo erectus*, like the Turkana boy, was intermediate:

the boy's first molar would have erupted when he was a little more than four and a half years old; had he not met an early death, he could have expected to live about fifty-two years.

Smith's work showed that the australopithecines' pattern of growth was not like that of modern humans; instead, it was apelike. She further showed that early *Homo erectus* was intermediate between modern human and ape in its growth: we now conclude that the Turkana boy was about nine years old when he died, and not eleven, as I had initially supposed.

Because these conclusions were contrary to a generation of anthropologists' assumptions, they were highly controversial. There was a possibility, of course, that Smith had made some kind of error. In these circumstances, corroborative work is always welcome, and in this case it came quickly. The anatomists Christopher Dean and Tim Bromage, both then at University College, London, devised a way of directly determining the age of teeth. Just as tree rings are used to calculate how old a tree is, **microscopic lines on a tooth indicate its age.** This method of calculation is not as easy as it sounds -- not least because of some uncertainty about how the lines are formed. Nevertheless, Dean and Bromage initially applied their technique to an australopithecine jaw identical to the Taung child's in terms of tooth development.

They found that the individual had died at a little over three years of age, just as his first molar was erupting -- right on cue for an apelike growth trajectory.

When Dean and Bromage surveyed a range of other fossil human teeth, they, like Smith, **found three grades: modern human, ape, and something intermediate.** Once again, the australopithecines were squarely in the ape grade, late *Homo erectus* and the **Neanderthals were in the modern human grade.** European bias of Leakey is quite clear and early *Homo erectus* was intermediate. And once again the results stirred debate, particularly over whether australopithecines grew like humans or apes.

That debate was effectively ended when the anthropologist Glenn Conroy and the clinician Michael Vannier, at Washington University in St. Louis, brought high technology from the medical world into the anthropological laboratory. Using **computerised axial tomography** -- the three-dimensional **CAT scan** -- they peered into the interior of the Taung child's petrified jaw and essentially confirmed Dean

and Bromage's conclusion. **The Taung child had died when it was close to three years old, a youngster on an apelike trajectory of growth.**

The ability to infer biology from fossils through research

in life-history factors and tooth development is enormously important to anthropology, because it allows us metaphorically to put flesh on the bones. For instance, we can say that **the Turkana boy would have been weaned a little before his fourth birthday and, had he lived, would have become sexually mature at about fourteen years old. His mother probably had her first baby when she was thirteen, after a nine-month pregnancy; and thereafter would have been pregnant every three or four years.** These patterns tell us that by the time of early *Homo erectus*, human ancestors had already moved in the direction of modern human biology and away from ape biology, while the australopithecines remained in their ape grade.

The evolutionary shift by early *Homo* toward modern human patterns of growth and development occurred in a social context. **All primates are social, but modern humans have developed sociability to the highest degree.** The change in biology we inferred from the evidence of teeth in early *Homo* tells us that social interaction in this species had already begun to intensify, creating an environment that fostered culture. It appears that the entire social organisation was significantly modified, too. How can we know this? It is evident from a comparison of the body size of males and females, and from what we know of such differences in modern primate species, such as baboons and chimpanzees.

SHIFT TO MODERN HUMAN PATTERNS OF GROWTH

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In savanna baboons, as noted earlier, males are twice the size of females. Primatologists now know that this size difference occurs when there is strong competition among mature males for mating opportunities. As in most primate species, male baboons, when they reach maturity, leave the troop into which they were born. They join another troop, often one nearby, and are from then on in competition with the males already established in the group. Because of this pattern of male migration, the males of most groups are usually unrelated to each other. They therefore have no Darwinian (that is, genetic) reason for cooperating with each other.

However, in chimpanzees, for reasons that are not fully understood, males remain in their natal group and females transfer. As a consequence, the males in a chimpanzee group have a Darwinian reason for cooperating with each other in acquiring females, because as brothers they have half their genes in common. They cooperate in defending against other chimp groups, and on occasional hunting forays, when they usually try to corner a hapless monkey in a tree. This relative lack of competition and enhanced cooperation are reflected in the size of males compared with females: they are a mere 15 to 20 percent bigger.

With regard to size, australopithecine males follow the baboon pattern. It is a reasonable assumption, therefore, that social life in australopithecine species was similar to what we see in modern baboons. When we were able to make a comparison of male and female body size in early *Homo*, it immediately became obvious that a significant shift had occurred: males were no more than 20 percent bigger than females, just as we see in chimpanzees. As the Cambridge anthropologists Robert Foley and Phyllis Lee have argued, this change in body-size differential at the time of the origin of the genus *Homo* surely represents a change in social organization, too. Very probably, early *Homo* males remained in their natal groups with their brothers and half brothers, while the females transferred to other groups. Relatedness, as I have indicated, enhances cooperation among the males. (Vedic society considered all members of the tribe to be brothers).

We can't be certain what prompted this shift in social organization: enhanced cooperation among males must have been strongly beneficial for some reason. Some anthropologists have argued that defense against neighboring troops of *Homo* became extremely important. Just as likely, and perhaps more so, is a change centered on economic needs. Several lines of evidence point to a shift in diet for *Homo* - one in which meat became an important energy and protein source. The change in tooth structure in early *Homo* indicates meat eating, as does the elaboration of a stone-tool technology. Moreover, the increase in brain size that is part of the *Homo* package may even have demanded that the species supplement its diet with a rich energy source (Pastoral Protein Explosion).

As every biologist knows, brains are metabolically expensive organs. In modern humans, for example, the brain constitutes a mere 2 percent body weight, yet consumes

20 percent of the energy budget. Primates are the largest-brained group of all mammals, and humans have extended this property enormously: the human brain is three times the size of the brain in an ape of equivalent body size. The anthropologist Robert Martin, of the Institute of Anthropology in Zurich, has pointed out that this increase in brain size could have occurred only with an enhanced energy supply: the early *Homo* diet, he notes, must have been not only reliable but nutritionally rich. Meat represents a concentrated source of calories, protein, and fat. Only by adding a significant proportion of meat to its diet could early *Homo* have "afforded" to build a brain beyond australopithecine size (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism).

For all these reasons, I suggest that the major adaptation in the evolutionary package of early *Homo* was significant meat eating. Whether early *Homo* hunted live prey or merely scavenged carcasses, or both, is a highly controversial issue in anthropology, as we will see in the next chapter. But I have no doubt that meat played an important part in our ancestors' daily lives. Moreover, the new subsistence strategy of obtaining not just plant foods but meat as well probably demanded significant social organization and cooperation (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism).

Every biologist knows that when a basic change occurs in a species' pattern of subsistence, other changes usually follow. Most often, such secondary changes involve the species' anatomy, as it adapts to the new diet. We have seen that the tooth and jaw structure of early *Homo* is different from that of the australopithecines, presumably as an adaptation to a diet that includes meat.

Very recently, anthropologists have come to believe that, in addition to dental differences, early *Homo* differed from the australopithecines in being a much more physically active creature. Two independent lines of research converged on the conclusion that early *Homo* was an efficient runner, the first human species to be so.

A few years ago, the anthropologist Peter Schmid, a colleague of Robert Martin's in Zurich, had an opportunity to study the famous Lucy skeleton. Using fiberglass casts of the fossil bones, Schmid began assembling Lucy's body, with the full expectation that it would be essentially human in shape. He was surprised with what he saw: Lucy's rib cage turned out to be conical in shape, like an ape's, not barrel-shaped, as would be seen in humans. Lucy's shoulders, trunk, and waist also turned out to have a strong apelike aspect to them.

At a major international conference in Paris in 1989, Schmid described the implications of what he had found, and they are highly significant. *Australopithecus afarensis*, he said, "would not have been able to lift its thorax for the kind of deep breathing that we do when we run. The abdomen was potbellied, and there was no waist, so that would have restricted the flexibility that is essential to human running." *Homo* was a runner; *Australopithecus* was not.

The second line of evidence that bore on this issue of agility flowed from Leslie Aiello's work on body weight and stature. She obtained measures of these features in modern humans and apes and compared them with similar data gleaned from human fossils. Present-day apes are heavily built for their stature, being twice the bulk of a human of the same height. The fossil data, too, fell into a clear pattern—one that by now was becoming familiar. The australopithecines were apelike in their body build, while all *Homo* species were humanlike. Both Aiello's findings and Schmid's work are consistent with Fred Spoor's discovery of the difference in anatomical structure of the inner ear in australopithecines and *Homo*: a greater commitment to bipedality goes along with the new body stature.

I hinted in the previous chapter that major changes other than that of brain size occurred with the evolution of the genus *Homo*. We can see now what it was: australopithecines had been bipeds, but were restricted in their agility: species of *Homo* were athletes.

I argued earlier that bipedalism evolved initially as a more efficient mode of locomotion in a changed physical environment, enabling a bipedal ape to survive in a habitat unsuited to conventional apes. Bipedal apes were able to roam more terrain as they foraged for widespread sources of food in open woodland. With the evolution of *Homo*, a new form of locomotion emerged, still built on bipedalism but with greater agility and activity. The lithe stature of modern humans permits sustained striding locomotion and promotes effective heat loss, which is important for an animal that is active in open, warm environments, as early *Homo* was (see box on Rigvedic Pastoralism). The efficient, striding biped represented a central change in hominid adaptation. And that change surely involved some degree of active hunting, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The ability of an active animal to dissipate heat is especially important for the physiology of the brain, a point emphasised by the anthropologist Dean Falk, of the State University of New York, Albany. In her anatomical research in the 1980s, she demonstrated that the structure of the

vessels that drain blood from the *Homo* brain is conducive to efficient cooling, while in australopithecines it is much less so. Falk's so-called radiator hypothesis is one more argument in support of the magnitude of the *Homo* adaptation.

That the *Homo* adaptation was successful scarcely needs to be said: we are here today as evidence. But why do we not have other bipedal apes for company?

Two million years ago, *Homo* coexisted with several species of *Australopithecus* in East and South Africa. But a million years later, *Homo* was in splendid isolation, the various australopithecine species having slipped into extinction. (We tend to think of extinction as a mark of failure --- as something that happens to a species that is somehow not up to the challenge that nature presents to it. In fact, extinction appears to be the ultimate fate of all species: more than 99.9 percent of all the species that ever existed are now extinct—probably as much a result of bad luck as of bad genes.) What do we know about the fate of the australopithecines?

I'm often asked whether I think that *Homo*, having become a meat-eater, might have included their australopithecine cousins in their diet, thus pushing them into extinction. I have no doubt that from time to time early *Homo* killed vulnerable australopithecines, just as they took antelope and other animal prey when they could. But the cause of australopithecine extinction is likely to have been more prosaic.

We know that *Homo erectus* was an extremely successful species, since it was the first human to expand its range beyond Africa. It is therefore likely that early *Homo* grew rapidly in numbers, thus becoming a significant competitor for a resource essential to australopithecine survival: food. Moreover, between 1 million and 2 million years ago ground-living monkeys—the baboons—were also becoming highly successful and burgeoning in numbers, and would also have competed with australopithecines for food. The australopithecines might well have succumbed to a two-fold competitive pressure—from *Homo* on one side and baboons on the other. ■

EMPLOYMENT IN THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Item	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1983	1984	1985	1986
A. By Branch of Public Sector										
1. Central Govt.	30.47	30.82	30.96	31.34	31.78	31.95	32.66	33.11	33.24	33.46
2. State Govt.	48.97	50.20	51.60	53.09	54.78	56.76	60.38	61.54	62.80	64.73
3. Quasi Govt.	33.92	36.75	39.29	41.70	43.43	45.76	50.40	52.74	54.96	56.74
4. Local bodies	19.85	19.89	20.15	20.63	20.80	20.37	21.11	21.30	21.64	21.90
5. Total	133.22	137.66	142.00	146.76	150.78	154.84	164.56	168.69	172.69	176.83
6. Total in Organised Private Sector	68.44	68.67	70.43	72.08	72.27	73.95	75.52	73.45	73.09	73.73
7. Total in Public & Private Sectors	201.66	206.33	212.43	218.84	223.05	228.79	230.08	242.14	245.78	250.56
8. No. of Public Sector Employees (in lakhs)*	15.04	15.75	16.38	17.03	17.75	18.39	20.24	20.72	21.07	21.54
9. Total Emoluments of the above no. Rs.Crores*	1,352	1,408	1,908	2,214	2,619	3,133	3,649	4,465	5,126	5,576
10. Emoluments per capita Rs.*	8,983	8,940	10,048	11,210	12,468	14,239	18,029	21,549	24,328	25,887

Sources: *Economic Survey*, 1989-90, Table 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, pp. S -47-48-49 (For data for 1976 to 1980).

Employment in Non-Agricultural Establishments in the Private Sector employing 10 or more persons.

* We do not know how these workers have been counted or why ! Anyway for the group enumerated, the total

ORGANISED SECTORS IN INDIA : 1976-97

(IN LAKHS)

1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	
33.50	33.81	33.95	33.75	34.10	34.28	33.83	33.92	33.95	33.66	32.95	1
66.66	67.81	68.29	69.79	71.12	71.90	72.93	73.37	73.55	74.14	74.85	2
57.95	59.48	59.99	61.73	62.22	63.93	64.90	65.14	65.20	64.68	65.35	3
22.14	22.11	22.38	22.23	23.13	21.98	21.60	22.02	21.97	21.92	22.44	4
180.25	183.21	184.44	187.72	190.57	192.10	193.26	194.45	194.66	194.29	195.59	5
73.64	73.91	74.70	75.82	76.76	78.46	78.51	79.30	80.59	85.12	86.86	6
253.89	257.01	259.14	263.53	267.33	270.56	271.77	273.75	275.25	279.41	282.45	7
22.11	22.14	22.09	22.36	22.19	21.79	21.52	20.70	20.43	20.52	19.78	8
6.371	7.193	8.683	9.742	10.912	12.311	13.984	14.913	17.015	21.931	22.352	9
28.820	32.537	39.415	43.665	49.179	56.508	64.983	72.043	83.284	105.880	113.003	10

Economic Survey, 1998-99, Table 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, pp. S -52,-3, -4 (For data for 1981 to 1997).

burden is given in line 8 and per capita earnings in Line 9.

ADDA AT NUKKAD

COMMUNICATION FROM SHRI T. PATTABHIRAMA REDDY AND REPLY

2724, New Tippasandra Main Rd.,
Banglore - 560 075.

19.3.99

Dera Sarayu and Vinayak.

Some one presented me a fat book. Normally I do not read them. This one is "*Guns, Germs and Steel*" by Javed Diamond. It deals with the fates of human societies. It is of 425 pages.

The main reason he gives for the world as it is, is because the geography. Geography determines Food Production, Domestication of Animals, Concentration of Population. He attributes agriculture and domestication of plants and animals to the Fertile Crescent consisting of Syria, Jordan and Iraq. He does not give much importance to India. The only domestication done by India, is *Kala Mirchi* (Black Pepper) and probably Citrus. Elsewhere in the book he mentions that the three independant centres that domesticated cattle, India could be one of them. This goes counter to what has appeared in *Mankind* and what you have been saying.

Pattabhi.

8.4.99

Dear Pattabhi,

It was good to hear from you. Please keep reacting to whatever you read in *Mankind*. I am sorely in need of sensitive and intelligent readers.

You must not be taken in by Western pseudo-scholars who as a

group are reluctant to admit the criminal activities of White-Christian bourgeois imperialists, who have massacred at least 250 million poor people of the Third World, from 1492 when Columbus reached the Caribbean, and 1498 when Vasco de Gama entered Calicut harbour. (Please see the back cover of *Mankind*, Jan-Feb 1999).

I have always maintained that it is impossible for a large number of Western authorities to lie consistently. When they become authors of multi-volume encyclopedias, they invariably contradict themselves, but it needs very careful and painstaking reading to discover their contradictions and find the truth. For instance, the myth of Alexander III's brief incursion into the Persian empire of Darius the Great and its real nature are exposed not in the main entries relating to Alexander or Greece in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, but are revealed by the entry on League of Corinth (*Encyclopedia Britannica, Micro*, 1983 edn., p. 150):

"**Corinth, League of**, offensive and defensive alliance of all the Greek states except Sparta, organised in 337 B.C. at Corinth under the leadership of Philip II of Macedon (Alex III's father). At its first meeting, the League decided to conduct a war against Persia and elected Philip commander of its armed forces. When he was murdered (by a Persian agent of Darius the Great) the following year (336 B.C.), his son, Alexander III, succeeded him as head of the League. **The Greek contribution of soldiers to Alexander's Asian campaign was neither significant nor dependable**, and the League's major action seems

to have been the condemnation of the Thebans to slavery and the distribution of their territory among neighbouring states following the Theban revolts (336 and 335 B.C.). The League broke up after Alexander's death (323) but was briefly restored by Demetrius I (303)".

Thus, at one stroke, the specialist on League of Corinth has wiped out the White man's mythologising of Alexander's insignificant foray into the Persian Empire in the 4th Century B.C. It was not a Greek invasion of India. It was not even a Macedonian invasion. Alex III Persianised himself before reaching India and all the Greek soldiers plus almost all the Macedonian soldiers had been sent back to Europe, prior to Alexander's bogus 'invasion of India'. (Please see the first issue of *Mankind* of Oct. 1995. You had not become a subscriber then, therefore I am sending this old and rare issue to you).

I have not read the book by Javed Diamond. It is not necessary. It is the standard practice of western pseudo - historians to imperialistically annex Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Sumeria and Babylon and consider them to be parts of Europe. The Fertile Crescent of Egypt is a fabulous concept coined by Western writers to explain the origins of European history which of course, lie outside Europe.

Take the standard example of *An Outline History of the World*, by A.H. Davies, 1928,] and *Outline of European History* by J.H. Breasted and J.H. Robinson, 1914, where the frontispieces are of the Giza pyramids and Babylonian excavations. The Davies work on world history is a typical European fraud. In a work purporting to be on world history, about 80 pages out of 600 are devoted to non-European events. This is the kind of 'world history' that the European mind is capable of comprehending.

In fact, European history originated in India as proved by S. R. Rao, S.G. Talageri, M. Winternitz and Jacobi and several other Vedic scholars.

Max-Mueller was not only a racist scoundrel but also an imperialist hoax. He has made numerous contradictory statements on the age of the Vedas. Innumerable Vedic scholars including many from the West, have exposed Mueller's illiterate Vedic chronology.

In spite of the fact that Mueller is now known to be a fraud, Western authorities go on repeating his lies.

Needless to add, the *Samhitas*, *Brahmanas*, *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* would not have been written in the precise two hundred years' slots allotted to them by the German racist Mueller and his ilk.

You must bear in mind that European and especially English writers on Indian history were particularly keen to deny Indian origin of culture, art, technology, domestication of flora and fauna, linguistics etc. The English were engaged in a conquest of India and they were loath to admit that they themselves had derived everything from India. They just could not believe it, but it is true!

Western alphabet is derived from Aramaic which is derived from India. Western languages are daughter languages of Sanskrit. Western music, in so far as it is related to modal church music and Greek modes, is entirely derived from Indian *grama*, *murchhana*, *jati* and related forms. The science of numbers itself originates in India.

The Huns were the Hsuing-nu of the Chinese annals and were known as the Yuch-chi. Kushanas and Sakas in Indian History.

In my article on Cultigens (*Mankind*, Dec. 1998), I have indicated the numerous entries scattered in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

There is no short cut. The Western White Christian imperialist writers will not admit that silk or tea or honey or a hundred other critical cultigens originated in India. You will have to work it out yourself, of course, with the help of the encyclopedic authorities which I have quoted.

For instance, let us take Silk. There are four moths in India which

produce Mulberry, Tussar, Muga and Endi silks. Amongst the Mulberry silk worms alone, we have half a dozen species. You must know that *Bombyx Mori* is not the only Mulberry silk worm domesticated in India. There are several more of its cousins.

The same goes for honey bee.

The same for wheat, rice, barley, millets and innumerable pulses and oil seeds.

All fibre plants are of Indian origin: cotton, jute and mesta, coir, cannabis, flax etc.

There is no other place in the world where so many cereals, spices, cattle, goats, sheep, pig, jungle fowl, elephant, donkey, camel, horse and countless fruits, seeds, vegetables and herbs could have come together.

I will stop here.

I have developed my ideas, without falling prey to Western racist imperialist nations. I am a dialectical and historical materialist and also a Lohiaite rationalist.

I can quote hundreds and thousands of encyclopedic authorities. There is no short cut, you will have to sit down and painstakingly refer to scores of entries in the multi-volume as well as single volume encyclopedias.

The notion of Western superiority and that of the antiquity of the Fertile Crescent is an exploded myth. Please clearly follow the *Manorama Year Book* references to the French archeological excavation of Mehrgarh (6000 BC and earlier).

After Mehrgarh, the Fertile Crescent becomes a belated arrival. Jarrige and Medows, two French archeologists who discovered Mehrgarh near the Bolan Pass have placed India firmly beyond the reach of Western falsifiers of history. The Hittites, the Mitanni, the Kassites, the Hurrians, the Hyksos etc. all fall into place. These were migrating pastoralist tribes that originated in North-West India, which at that time included the arch up to the Hindu Kush and especially included Scistan, at the junction of Afghanistan, Iran and Baluchistan. The Sakas established two secondary centres in Semi-

Rechiye in the East, between the Kun Lun and Tien Shan mountains, beyond the Syr Darya, overlapping with Sogdiana; and in the West, in the Kuban urn-fields in south Russia to the north of the Black Sea. These secondary centres were deliberately inflated by European writers.

We have to break out of the present neo-colonial mind-set. Not all Whites are scoundrels, but a large proportion are conscious of the fact that they are racials and Christian liars.

To compare the Fertile Crescent which belongs to the vast desert and arid zones stretching from Morocco to Mongolia is a bathetic effort by Western ideologues. In the richness of flora and fauna, the India to Indo-China and India to Indonesia arcs can only be compared to the Congo-Zaire rainforest or the Brazilian - Amazonian equatorial rainforest. The Fertile Crescent stands nowhere.

You must clearly grasp the longitudinal and latitudinal grid that covers India. (6° N and to 36° N and 60° E to 100° E).

The Fertile Crescent lies above the Tropic of Cancer on the eastern mediterranean littoral and is a part of the Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinean, Jordanian, North Arabian deserts. Except the crazy White European racials, who have been maddened by imperialist loot, who would think of pitting such a miserable rock and sand region against the richness of India?

I am reminding you again and again that there is no ecological niche in the world which is not duplicated in India. The high latitudes are matched by the high Himalayan altitudes, cold winds from the North are blocked and though two-thirds of India lies above the Tropic of Cancer, warm monsoon currents penetrate up to the junction of the Himalayas, Hindu Kush, Kara-Korum and the Pamirs at about 36° N and THIS IS A UNIQUE GEOGRAPHICAL ACCIDENT. THERE IS NOTHING LIKE IT ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. INDIA IS A TEMPERATE COUNTRY WITH TROPICAL WINDS; AND IT CAN ALSO BE

CALLED A TROPICAL LAND WITH ALTITUDINAL ELEVATIONS MATCHING THE POLAR CLIMATE.

You cannot find it in Congo or in the Amazon regions.

You will have to make the intellectual effort to go step by step wading into volume after volume of the encyclopedias to overcome Western prejudices and falsifications.

The Bactrian camel from India (two-humped) is hardier, stronger and can carry more weight for longer periods of drought than the Arabian camel (single-humped) which is faster with thinner legs and less stamina.

The elephant which has a score of names in Sanskrit, was domesticated for warfare and forestry. India was covered with thick forest, almost throughout its length and breadth.

The Thar 'desert' is populated by 7 million people.

Sugar is from *sarkara* (Sanskrit).

The only herds of wild asses in the world are to be found in Iran-Iraq and Kutch-Gujarat in India.

Almost all possible varieties of cattle (zebu, gaur, gayal, yak etc.) originated in India.

Sindh horses were identified in *Jataka Kathas* (7th century B.C.) as the best in the world.

All the leading varieties of wild sheep and goat are to be found in India.

The *Bible* identifies Sopara just north of Bombay as the place from where traders brought incense, peacocks and monkeys and of course mangoes (which is derived from the Tamil word *mankay*). The pig was domesticated in eastern India: the jungle fowl, in the Deccan.

You will have to see the lists of spices, vegetables, herbs, seeds and fruits given in the encyclopedias to have a glimpse of the Indian richness.

Let us put it the obverse way. Given the grid of latitudes and longitudes and the configuration of the Himalayan mountain chain and the two arms of the Indian Ocean called the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian

Sea, why would the extreme richness of flora and fauna not originate in India? And given the fecundity of life forms in India, why would not the first civilisations arise in India?

That is why the *Vedic Samhitas* placed at the ridiculously belated date of 1500 B.C. by the European scoundrel Max Mueller are nevertheless admitted by him to be the oldest Indo-Aryan literature and culture of the world.

You will observe from the recent issues of *Mankind* that I have taken the Indo-centric argument to its logical limits in several directions:

- 1) Geography, climate and cultigens (Dec. 98).
- 2) Origins of humankind and the pastoral revolution that made possible the sudden spurt in protein intake by *Homo Sapiens* (Jan-Feb, March & April 99).
- 3) The meaning of surplus value, (Oct. 98).
- 4) The fallacy of the Asiatic mode of production, (Dec. 95).
- 5) The second breath of capitalism and the emergence of the tri-polar world since 1975 (Dec. 95).

Please, Pattabhi, believe me, given the geography, meteorology and societal history, it is not possible for mankind to have projected a succession of cultures from 6000 B.C. and earlier to 2000 A.D. in any other place than India.

I happen to be an Indian. That is an accident of history. But any historical-materialist and any student of economic history of the world would have reached the same conclusions about India.

Congo-Zambezi and Amazon-Parana cannot rival Sapta-Sindhu, Ganga, Yamuna, Brahmaputra, Godavari, Kaveri!

This is how history runs.

The Fertile Crescent is an infertile, hostile, poor, arid land from the Indian Rig Vedic point of view.

That is why, inspite of the Drain of Wealth, Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation; and the Perpetual Famines of Purchasing Power from 1765 to 1947, that carried away 85 million poor dalit Indians, we are still 1000 millions. With the

population of Bangladesh, Pakistan added, we will rival that of China.

You must never forget that only one fifth of China is cultivable land, whilst two-thirds of India is. In addition, the pastoral wealth of domesticated animals in India, explains the relative backwardness of China and its historical time lag relative to India. Europe is not in the picture till 1492 to 1498.

We must wait for a favourable turn in the historical and societal surroundings.

Normally we would be inclined to think that it will take a long time for Indian historians to break out of the Western incubus. But revolutions have a peculiar habit of imparting quick and thorough lessons. Let us hope that revolutionary events will overtake us in India within the next twenty years.

With best wishes and a reminder that the Fertile Crescent is a bad European joke, I look forward to further communications from you.

Yours Sincerely,
Vinayak.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM NATIONAL CENTRE OF ADVOCACY STUDIES

MYTHS ABOUT WORLD HUNGER DISPELLED

The world produces enough grain to provide every human being on the planet with 3,500 calories a day, according to the Institute for Food and Development Policy. This estimate does not take into account many other commonly eaten foods, such as vegetables, beans, nuts, root crops, fruits, grass-fed meats and fish. When all foods are considered together, there is enough to provide at least 43 pounds of food per person a day.

According to World Hunger: Twelve Myths, powerful misconceptions block our understanding of the true causes of hunger and thus prevent us from taking hunger is not scarcity but policy; not inevitability but politics,' said Dr. Peter Rosset, Executive Director of Food First.

The information revolution and explosion of new and advanced technologies have not solved world hunger, in large part because national and global food systems today are increasingly controlled by a few powerful corporate interests. These corporations control the availability and cost of food while the world's millions of poor are increasingly barred from political decision-making on food production, access and distribution.

Hunger persists despite the fact that increases in food production during the past 35 years have outstripped the world's population growth by about 16%. World-wide, an estimated 786 million people have inadequate access to food. In the US alone, an estimated 30 million people cannot afford a healthy diet.

Many of the countries in which hunger is rampant, export more agricultural goods than they import. India ranks near the top among Third World agricultural exporters. While at least 200 million Indians went hungry, in 1995, India exported US \$625 million worth of wheat and flour and US \$ 1.3 billion worth of rice, the two staples of the Indian diet. In addition, the American Association for the Advancement of Science found in a 1997 study that 78% of all malnourished children under five in the developing world live in countries with food surpluses.

Nowhere does population density explain hunger. Like hunger itself, rapid population growth results from underlying inequities that deprive people, especially poor women, of economic opportunity and security. Rapid population growth and hunger are endemic to societies where land ownership, jobs, education, health care and old age security are beyond the reach of most people. Those Third World societies with dramatically successful reductions of population growth rates - China, Colombia, Cuba, Sri Lanka and the Indian state of Kerala - prove that the lives of the poor, especially poor women, must improve before they can choose to have fewer children.

World Hunger: Twelve Myths brings together evidence to support the case that, with different policies in

place, the world could feed itself. For example, the Japanese government carried out major land reform after World War II, transforming tenant-farmers into owner-cultivators. Today Japanese cereal yield per acre is one of the highest in the world, and these small farmers have achieved middle-class standards of living.

A study of 15 countries (primarily in Asia and Africa) found that per-acre output on small farms can be four to five times higher than that on large estates. Even limiting comparisons to output on actually cultivated land, small farms are still significantly more productive.

Another study carried out in India in 1993 compared 'ecological farms' with matched 'conventional' or chemical-intensive farms. The study's author found that ecological farms were just as productive and profitable as the chemical ones. If extrapolated nationally, ecological farming would have 'no negative impact on food security' in India and would reduce soil erosion and depletion of soil fertility while greatly lessening dependence on external inputs.

Hunger is caused by decisions made by human beings and can be ended by making different decisions. 'This will enable us to stop twisting our values so that economic dogma might remain intact while millions of fellow human beings starve amid ever greater abundance.'

TRADING FOOD SECURITY

Devinder Sharma

The loss of momentum in food production growth rate, falling below that of the population, and the alarming decline in the ratio of the world cereal stocks to annual global consumption, reaching the lowest level in the past twenty years, is perhaps the most depressing economic trend in the world today. Added to this agonising the scenario is underlying objective of the free trade regime to remove the safeguards that developed countries have had for providing food to the poor and the needy. The reliance on imports for basic food does not take

into account the impact on people and their development, to the losses of jobs and food security.

And yet, at the 1996 World Food Summit, the focus of the detailed Plan of Action is disproportionately weighted towards believing that international trade is a key element in achieving food security.

What is not being accepted is that free trade in food products and agricultural commodities does not help the survival of farming in Third World countries, where it forms the basis of the economy. Food security systems are evolved as an integral of a development strategy bringing about a striking technological change in food crops, providing effective price and market support to farmers and deploying a wide range of measures to generate employment and income for the rural poor with a view to improve their level of well-being, including better physical and economic access to foodgrains.

Zimbabwe shows how important price support and import controls are in overcoming food deficits. In the first half of the eighties, price support helped facilitate a threefold increase in maize production most of it coming from small producers. By 1989, Zimbabwe had a maize surplus of around 1.5 million tonnes, part of which was exported to the neighbouring countries of Malawi and Mozambique to cover the food deficit. After this the situation worsened. Maize prices in the region became depressed as a result of heavily subsidised maize dumping and food aid, and Zimbabwe's surplus could be sold only at a loss stored at great expense. Prices of maize were reduced and storage operations scaled down, while incentives for commercial export crops such as tobacco were stepped up. The effects of drought and this policy shift led to a 75 per cent drop in maize production in 1992, leaving the country with a 1.4 million tonne food deficit. Millions of lives have been put at risk and the country has been drained of the much-needed foreign exchange.

Burkina Faso in western Africa provides another glaring example of how cheap food imports undermine local

production and thereby threaten food security. In the mid-eighties EU wheat was being sold in urban centres at \$ 60 a tonne, supported by export subsidies of over \$ 100 per tonne. Faced with this 'competition', financed by EU treasuries, production of local staples such as sorghum and millet were unable to compete, and as a result lost their markets. Investments in local agriculture suffered, and in some cases, farmers were forced to leave their land and migrate to urban centres. The result - increased poverty, stagnating local food production and a growing dependence on imports.

Brazil indicates how liberalisation of agricultural trade is reinforcing the mechanisms of marginalisation of millions of farmers. An increasing number of small farmers are now confronted with the impossibility of maintaining their activities, and many are even losing their land. Estimates are that about 4.5 million families are in search of a portion of land to cultivate, living in misery and suffering from hunger and a total lack of alternatives for survival.

In addition, the Philippines, Argentina, Mexico and Yemen are some glaring examples how cheap food imports have resulted in further

marginalisation of small farmers and the loss of supplementary livelihoods and other poverty-coping mechanisms for millions of agricultural labourers. Several European countries have destroyed the strong agricultural foundations that existed in parts of sub-Saharan Africa merely by dumping cheap foodgrains and beef.

The food - insecure populations need income through employment generated in the production of food, and not just physical availability of food. That is why even the Economic Commission for Africa has emphasised the need to restore food self-reliance in the region.

Free trade and market domination of food and agriculture will quite clearly be inadequate to make food reach those who need it most. Market intervention in the developing countries are geared towards supporting more commercial farmers and export crops. In India, free trade in agriculture is being proposed at a time when there exists clear signs of slowing down in the growth rate of wheat and rice. And yet, WTO believes that the deficiency in India's food needs can be met from imports.

Ever since liberalisation became the buzzword, the focus has shifted to agri-business linked to foreign investment and exports. This approach

ignores the critical connection between agricultural production and the access of poor households to employment opportunities, income and food. Millions of people are, therefore, migrating to the urban centres. The rural-urban migration by the year 2010 in India will be equivalent to twice the combined population of UK, Germany and France.

In India, which has over 70 per cent of its population directly or indirectly banking upon agriculture for survival, the growing reliance on trade as the saviour for food security is already beginning to cast its ugly shadow. Since the economic reforms were unleashed in 1990-91, Considering that India is the second most populous country in the world the implications there is a steady erosion of the ability of the country to produce enough for its masses and this is the leading the country towards social tensions and chaos. The same holds true for China, which has a farming population exceeding 500 million, and faces an emerging foodgrain crisis in the coming years.

The focus, therefore, has to be restored on achieving local and regional food security. Any tinkering with the food self-sufficiency paradigm in favour of global food trade is sure to push the Third World into a begging bowl.

(Source: *Advocacy Internet*, Feb. 99)

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

THE PERIOD OF CLOSE COOPERATION-III

1830s TO 1870s

Sharayu Mhatre

Social Reform

Education was just one part of the much larger field of social reform. Social reform was a field in which both the foreign and native elites could work together. The foreigner was flattered by imitation and the native could display its desire to accept the changed circumstances. Social reform was the banner under which the British could pretend that they were engaged in a civilising mission, whilst for the Indians it was a device to pick up bourgeois values by a gradual compromise. How elitist the whole conception of social reform was, can be seen from the fact that, by and large, the lower and the so-called backward castes of India were in an extremely reformed stage.

Let us consider some of the major planks of the platform of the social reformists. They advocated abolition of *sati*, which the poor did not practise. They condemned polygamy which the non-affluent even amongst the Muslims could not afford. They championed widow remarriage which the masses permitted. They stood for abolition of child marriage which the tribals at least had not indulged in and where the lower caste practices could be shown to have resulted from imitation of the higher castes. The social reformers were enthusiastic about education above all, which in actuality was denied to the downtrodden.

This does not mean that social reforms were not needed. On the contrary the process of bourgeois

development which had been accelerated by the British had to promote social adjustment with the new relations of production. The rising petty-bourgeois had to come to terms with the new social order. But whether such reformist compromises represented the panacea for the evils afflicting Indian society as was

EXTREME MODERATION OF MANDLIK AND RADHAKANTA DEB

Mandlik's position in the public life of Western India bears resemblance to that of Radhakanta Deb in Bengal. Just as the latter opposed Ramamohan Roy and Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, similarly Mandlik criticised the social reformers of Bombay. Both Deb and Mandlik belonged to the landed aristocracy which sought refuge in British arms. Mandlik belonged to a *khat* family and in his *Native Opinion* bitterly attacked the revenue survey in South Konkan which according to him was unnecessarily meddling in the the time-honoured rights of the *khots* to receive rent from their tenants.

claimed by the social reformers or whether the central problems confronting India were the problems of national subjugation, deindustrialisation and poverty of the people is a matter on which differing judgments are possible.

Apart from the social reform organisations promoted by the new elite, there were rudimentary and spasmodic attempts at projection of extremely moderate political organisations. In conformity with the moderate and compromising nature of the nineteenth century elite, these political formations—The Dekhan Association, The Bombay Association, The Sarvajanic Sabha, the Bombay branch of the East India

Association, the Bombay Presidency Association and The Deccan Sabha—were loyal to the British in letter and in spirit; were generally formed to support and to echo proceedings and inquiries in the British House of Commons, and, to raise extremely minute, minor and marginal political demands.

We may now take up for consideration the individual contributions of the leading personalities of this period, every one of whom was concerned with the educational and social reform movements. In fact, as a group, these leading personalities of the period symbolically project the process of social change that occurred.

Among the individuals, we have already presented in ch.1, thumb-nail sketches of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, Kurnondas Mulji, Lokahitawadi, Nana Shankarsheth, Bhau Daji, Dadabhai Naoroji, G.W. Joshi and Jamsheji Tata.

To this illustrious rank we may add V.N.Mandlik, N.G. Chandavarkar, K.T.Telang, Jotiba Phule and Vishnubuwa Brahmachari.

The reason we have chosen to deal with the individuals listed in the foregoing two paragraphs separately from those like Ranade, Ghokhale, etc. who will be considered in the next chapter, though quite a few members of both groups were contemporaries, is that as social type and carrier of particular ideological elements, the first group seems to fit into the rather placid, extreme moderate style of the mid-century. Secondly, these individuals—Dadoba Pandurang, Kurnondas Mulji (who like Jambhekar died very young), Lokahitawadi, Nana Shankarsheth, Sarvajanic Kaka (he too died young), J. N. Tata, Mandlik, Chandavarkar, Telang and Bhau Daji—were already lost voices in the last years of the 19th century. The only exception to this rule is Dadabhai Naoroji who not only enjoyed a long life but also was one who continued to grow with changing times and thereby managed to keep himself

abreast of events.

V.N. Mandlik

Rao Bahadur Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik (1833-1889) was a typical member of the western Indian elite. He was a conscious conservative and, as the editor of *Native Opinion*, Bombay's second important Anglo-Marathi weekly founded in 1864, he entered into public controversy with less conservative journals like *Indu Prakash*. *Native Opinion* took a violent dislike to Kursondas Mulji who appeared in its columns as "shallow-pated individual" and "noisy and self-seeking". Strangely enough, *Native Opinion* was opposed to the newly-introduced system of government education for boys which, it claimed, made all institutions of learning "anglicised, classicalised and thus denationalised..." Therefore on the issue of introducing such an educational system for girls, it was vehemently of the opinion that all such schemes should "be retarded until society in general was ready for them." So class-conscious was Mandlik that he not only advised Indians to buy things from their own countymen even at a higher rate but also, as a member of the Bombay Factory Commission of 1875, voted with the majority against any enactment in favour of labour and opposed the levy of income-tax on the rich by the I.T. Bill of 1886.

An amusing incident occurred when on the morrow of the abolition of the import duty on Manchester and Lancashire textile goods, Mandlik appeared in the Viceregal Council meeting dressed in home-spun country cloth to voice his protest. V.N. Mandlik had a most successful career as a government servant, joining the Governor's Council in 1874 and the Governor-General's in 1884. (N.V. Mandlik, *Writings and Speeches of the late Hon. Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik*, 1896, p. 661, Bipan Chandra, *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, 1969, pp. 123, 135, 330 and 522, Christine Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India*, 1972, pp. 76, 43,)

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rights of the *khots* to receive rent from their tenants (Dobbin, *op.cit.*, p.96)

N.G. Chandavarkar

Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1855-1923) was a typical member of the native elite of those days. He graduated from the socially pre-eminent centre of those days, the Elphinstone College, together with B.G.Tilak in 1876. Like Ranade, Telang and Tyabji, he too became a High Court judge. He succeeded Ranade as the editor of the English columns of the Anglo-Marathi journal, *Indu-Prakash*, on the recommendation of K.T.Telang in 1878. He was an ardent Prarthana Samajist and jointly edited with N.M. Parmanand

its journal *Subodh Patrika* (1877). He became a President of the Congress (1900) and was knighted by the British (1910). He was a supporter of Ranade's Social Conference founded in 1887. In general, Chandavarkar flowed with the currents of his times. What he had to say was neither very individual nor very significant. When he died he was already a long-forgotten man (G.L. Chandavarkar, *A Wrestling Soul*, 1955).

JOTIBA PHULE'S NAIVETE USED BY THE BRITISH TO DIVIDE THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Jotiba Phule (1827-1890) represented the same extremist moderate stand that was dominant in the middle years of the 19th century, though in Jotiba's case loyalty to the British arose out of a basically sound anti-brahmin feeling, since in the immediate pre-British period, i.e. under Peshwa rule, brahmins had shared the spoils of exploitation with other Maharashtrian castes. Some of the leading sardars of Maharashtra were, of course, shudras, e.g., Gaikwad, Shinde and Holkar. In fact, Shivaji himself had to take considerable trouble to establish his status as a kshatriya (K.T.Telang, *Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles*, in M.G. Ranade, *Rise of Maratha Power*, 1990, Appendix, p.285 ff). Nevertheless, considering the caste discrimination generally practised by the *dvijas* in India's long history, in a somewhat simplistic manner Jotiba was probably justified in his overall anti-brahmin outlook. Unfortunately, in his case simplicity often degenerated into naivete.

The British merely used Jotiba as a tool to exacerbate dissensions within the Indian people, just as later on they enrolled B.R. Ambedkar in the same nefarious game.

K.T.Telang

Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893) was also a product of the Elphinstone College and belonged to the same group of successful lawyers that included Mandlik, Mehta, Chandavarkar and Tyabji. Like some of them, he too became a High Court judge, was active in the Bombay Association, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, the Bombay Presidency Association and the Indian National Congress. He wrote for both Mandlik's *Native Opinion* as well as Ranade and Chandavarkar's *Indu Prakash*. He was active in the Bombay Municipal Corporation and was nominated by the British to the Bombay Legislative Council. He seems to have had some scholarly interest and was a President of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He prepared an outline of the ancient Indian history. He was aware of his constituency and in a representation to the government in relation to the Bombay Municipal Corporation Bill of 1872 urged that since the representation was a demand from the whole educated native community of Bombay, the Government ought to pay deference to it (Dobbin, *op.cit.*, p.145). His most important contribution from the bourgeois nationalist position was an essay, "Free Trade and Protection from an "Indian point of View" (1877) He argued the case for tariff protection and

state encouragement to Indian industries particularly pointing out that till the middle of the 19th century British textile industry had itself been protected by heavy duties and outright prohibitions against Indian imports, and therefore what had been used as a sword against India should be turned into a shield for it (Bipan Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 729). It seems that he actually tried to test British "intentions" by joining Pheroze Shah Mehta and others in starting a soap factory in Bombay (*Ibid.*, p.85). We do know that his advice given free to the Britishers was not heeded, but do not know whether the soap factory survived or not.

Jotiba Phule

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THE LIBERTARIAN VIEWS OF VISHNUBUWA BRAHMACHARI

The warmest and the most likeable personality of the period was Vishnu Bhikaji Ghokhale alias Vishnubuwa Brahmachari (1825-1871). He was a Vedantist of an extremely libertarian sort. He used to preach and enter into disputations with Christian missionaries on Chowpati sands. He published in 1859, a work entitled *Vedokta Dharmaprakash*. Later in 1867-69, he separately published the 15th Chapter of this work. In his *Rajnitii*, he projected a utopian egalitarian ideal.

According to Vishnubuwa, the caste system was not Veda-based. Therefore it was totally irregular and Vishnubuwa himself refused to observe any caste prohibitions and restrictions in his personal life. Naturally the journals of the native elite, *Prabhakar*, *Indu Prakash*, *Native Opinion*, *Vividhadnyanavistar* launched bitter attacks upon his essay. That is why he remains one of the neglected figures in Maharashtra historiography.

India's long history, in a somewhat simplistic manner Jotiba was probably justified in his overall anti-brahmin outlook. Unfortunately, in his case simplicity often degenerated into naivete. For instance, he tried to propound fantastic etymologies for Marathi words, as in the case of "*Har! Har!*" which according to him derived from "*Hurrah! Hurrah!*"

In the same innocent manner, Jotiba suggested that the British should station English or Scot observers in every village to watch over Brahmin barratry and to prevent conspiracies aimed at overthrowing British rule (Keer and Malshe, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-28). But why was it necessary to have Englishmen and Scotsmen to carry out this task? The non-brahmins formed an overwhelming majority of the Indian people and they could have easily and far more effectively kept a check over Brahmin misbehaviour. At another place, the following bizarre dialogue appears :

"Dhondiba : In your youth why were you training yourself in target shooting, etc?"

Jotiba : In order to overthrow our merciful English government.

Dhondiba : From where did you imbibe these evil ideas?

Jotiba : From three or four reformed and learned brahmins (*Ibid.*, p.135)

What is one to make of this fantasy? The overwhelming evil was represented by British rule over India. Crores of artisans had been thrown back on land because of the flood tide of British manufactures, and the principal victims of this process of colonial deindustrialisation and recurrent crippling famines were the lower castes. In what sense can Jotiba be said to be sympathetic towards the aspirations of the lower orders when he failed to identify the massive presence of British oppression and exploitation?

We believe that being essentially a naive individual, the British merely used Jotiba as a tool to exacerbate dissensions within the Indian people, just as later on they enrolled B.R.

Ambedkar in the same nefarious game. (For a wrong-headed, American-biased analysis of India's colonial situation, see Gail Omvedt, "Jotirao Phule and the Ideology of Social Revolution in India", in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Sept. 11, 1971, pp. 1969-1979. Omvedt calls Phule a social revolutionary. This is robbing a simple word of all meaning, for Jotiba desired no change in the regime instituted by imperialism which had its own necessary sociological implications. Vishnushastri's diatribe against Phule in *Nibandhmala* though justified in attacking Phule's attachment to imperialism and in exposing

his strange etymological theories, fails to take account of the fact of Brahmanical exploitation of the peasantry during Peshwa rule - *Nibandhmala*, pp.441-457.)

Vishnubuwa Brahmachari

The warmest and the most likeable personality of the period was Vishnu Bhikaji Ghokhale alias Vishnubuwa Brahmachari (1825-1871). He was a Vedantist of an extremely libertarian sort. He used to preach and enter into disputations with Christian missionaries on Chowpati sands. He published in 1859, a work entitled *Vedokta Dharmaprakash*. Later in 1867-69, he separately published the 15th Chapter of this work. In his *Rajnitii*, he projected a utopian egalitarian ideal.

"All the citizens belong to one family and all the land is one garden from which all the produce should be shared equally. A political system which ensures this would fulfil the desires of the people ... All lands should be tilled and warehouses should be built in every village. The people should draw from these grain-stores according to their needs. The state should have all kinds of clothing made and deposited in village

treasuries. From these stocks whoever is in need of cloth may draw... The marriage bureau of the state should arrange all the marriages. In case of a couple being ill-suited, the man may marry again and the woman have another husband. In other words marriage should be by mutual choice. At the age of five, all children should be handed over to the state. The state will educate all of them and find employment as per their ability. The king must be elected by the people. No position of power should be hereditary." (G.T. Madkholkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31)

According to Vishnubuwa, the caste system was not Veda-based. Therefore it was totally irregular and Vishnubuwa himself refused to observe any caste prohibitions and restrictions in his personal life. Naturally the journals of the native elite, *Prabhakar*, *Indu Prakash*, *Native Opinion*, *Vividhadnyanavistar* launched bitter attacks upon his essay. That is why he remains one of the neglected figures in Maharashtra historiography. (See G.B. Sardar, *Maharashtrache Upekshit Mankari*, Marathi, 1941, which translated, means "The Neglected Honourables of Maharashtra.")

THE ARTS

Architecture

It was during this period that Bombay's skyline began to acquire its familiar landmarks. We have already noticed in the section on trade and communications in the preceding sections, that reclamation of swamps and marshes was proceeding apace and the land development companies were building cause ways linking up the various islands that composed Bombay. Architecturally, the notable events were the building of the new Mint (1829), the Town Hall (1833) and the Crawford Market (1865-71). The B.B. & C.I. Railway's office was also shifted from Surat to Bombay about 1863 and was located at Lalbaug, Parel. The Colaba Observatory building came up in 1826. By 1839, the Bombay Races had been organised and expanded into a five days meeting held at the Byculla Club. Government House during this period was at Parel. The original house was enlarged and embellished by Mountstuart Elphinstone (1819-27), and Bishop Heber found "a fine staircase and two noble rooms one over the other of 75 or 80 feet long very handsomely furnished." This establishment, now converted into the Haffkine Institute, was used as permanent residence by Governors till 1883. Malabar Point, which was used as occasional retreat since the days of Evan Nepean (1812-19), developed with many additions in 1868 and 1877 into a respectable bungalow.

Prior to 1845, it seems that there was no hotel in Bombay worth the name. The first big hotel to come up was in 1864 when one Watson built the Esplanade Hotel. The Bombay Mint was designed by Major John Hawkins of the Bombay Engineers and was safely located on reclaimed land close to the Town Hall and the Arsenal. By 1874, the Secretariat was shifted to the premises which were so utilised till very recently. It was designed by Colonel Wilkins in the bogus Venetian-Gothic style.

It seems that in those days the Bombayite was very religious, for there were some 400 Hindu temples catering to

his needs, including three large groups, one of 40 shrines at Bhuleshwar, another of 33 at Walkeshwar and a third of 26 at Byculla. Far from being old, most of these temples seem to have been built in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The ugliest building was probably the Town Hall. It was built with monies collected from three lotteries, was designed by another army man, Colonel T. Cowper, and was finally completed in 1833 at a cost of Rs. 6 lakh. It has a pseudo-Doric colonnade in front whilst the interior is Corinthian (Durbar Hall). The University Buildings of a florid and decorative French-Gothic style were designed by Gilbert Scott and completed in 1874 at a cost of 9 1/2 lakhs. The Rajabai Tower and Library cost Rs. 5.8 lakhs partly defrayed by a donation of Rs.4 lakhs from Premchand Raichand.

The Victoria Gardens were opened to the public in 1862. Its eclectic frontage comprises a small building in mixed Graeco-Roman style, a clock-tower in Palladian style and a Victoria and Albert Museum in the Italian Renaissance style (*Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. III).

Drama

This phase (1830s-1870s) has been made memorable on account of the appearance of the first Marathi drama, *Seeta Swayamvar* by Vishnudas Bhave in 1843 and the first Marathi novel *Yamuna Paryatan* by Baba Padamnji in 1857.

Vishnudas Bhave was a puppeteer who was asked by the Raja of Sangli to produce a Marathi play on the model provided by a *Yakshagana* visiting troupe. Bhave brought his party to Bombay in 1853 to perform in Nana Shankarsheth's newly-built theatre (Kusumavati Deshpande, *Marathi Sahitya*, p.67).

It was in 1842 that Jagannath (Nana) Shankarsheth offered a site on the north side of Grant Road, midway between Bhandi Bazar and Girgaum for the construction of a new theatre. By 1845, the structure had been partially erected and K.N. Kabraji, described it as "standing alone in 1850 like an oasis in the desert." According to the *Bombay City Gazetteer*, "some years later the building disappeared." (Vol. III, p. 365)

"Native drama commenced to appear in Bombay about the middle of the 19th century. A new theatre was opened in October 1853 for a performance in Gujarathi by Parsi amateurs. In the same year a performance by Hindus was given in the garden of one Vishwanath Atmaram at Girgaum, (*Times of India*, 16th February and 29th October 1853), the pioneer being a certain Rambhau, who borrowed the plots of his plays from the Sanskrit Purans. The language at first employed was Hindi, which subsequently yielded place to Urdu and Marathi. In 1865 a Gujarat Hindu put a Gujarati play upon the boards, and between that date and 1875 a large number of plays in this language were performed... Between 1875 to 1885 several new native dramatic companies were formed, the most popular of which were the Niti Darshak and the Hindustani, the former being under the management of a Gujarati and the latter of a Parsi. The closing years of the decade also witnessed the foundation by Dadabhai Ratanji Thudhi of the Parsi Natak Mandali. Dadabhai introduced a higher standard both of acting,

scenic effect and music, substituting the Western harmonium for the Indian string instruments (sarangis) which had upto that date formed the only orchestra. In 1888 a permanent Gujarati company was formed.... Marathi dramas are performed only by travelling companies, the chief of which are the Kirloskar and the Shahu Nagarwasi companies... There are six theatres for native performances at the junction of Falkland Road and Grant Road, in addition to the rebuilt Gaiety Theatre opposite Victoria Terminus, and two theatres in Kalbadevi Road." (*Ibid.*, pp. 366-67)

Vishnudas Bhawe was followed by V.J. Kirtane whose *Thorle Madhavrao Peshwe* (1861) was the first original historical play, and which according to K.Narayan Kale was "also a romantic play." (*Theatre in Maharashtra*, 1967, p.2) This was followed by M.B. Chitale's *Manorama* (1871), the first Marathi social play.

POETRY

Major changes occurred in the literary scene. The old feudal literature experienced its dying gasps.

"The poet who had been the parasite of the court and its environs withered away for lack of sustenance The stir of a new life particularly in and around Bombay, which created the new prose, was by its very nature incapable of creating poetry. It did not even translate English poetry till late in the century. The abandon and intensity of true poetry were beyond that diffident set. Nor did the missionary and the official, who sought to educate them and encourage literature, instil into new world was slow to take birth." (*Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Language and Literature*, pp. 56-57)

There were three mainstreams in the poetry of the preceding feudal age: the poetry of the pandits, that indulged in the worst conceits and prosodic acrobatics; the poetry of the *shahirs*, that was largely heroic *powadas* which could not survive in an unheroic environment of capitalist money-counters; or that was erotic (*lavni*) and intended for the *bargi* away from home and where also the new British military bands allowed no scope; and, thirdly, devotional poetry (*abhang*), which also, lacking state patronage, lost its elan. Ram Joshi, Anant Phandi, Honaji, Prabhakar, Saganbhau, Parsharam survived into this period, but nothing could arrest the decline of this poetry and by the forties of this century it had expired (*Ibid.*, p. 58). The exception was one B.D.Palande's *Ratnamala* (1867), which achieved dubious popularity as a chant used for Prarthana Samaj services.

In the place of the earlier feudal forms of prose, there appeared Baba Padmanji's pioneering novel *Yamuna Paryatan* (1857) and R.K. Gunjekar's *Mochangad* (1871) the first historical novel. Lack of space forbids us from commenting on individual literary works. Hence we shall take up the overall survey made by M.G. Ranade.

Ranade's Survey

To continue with Ranade's summary, an earlier part of which we have already quoted in Chapter 3, we may note :

"The catalogue shows that thirty works were published... from 1837 to 1847... A more hopeful feature of the publishers

began to bring out editions of the old Marathi poets.... The next ten years contributed 102 works.... School books were brought out as before, but they bore a smaller proportion to works intended for adult readers.... There were also original works on Railways by Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar, on political economy by Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar. ... on domestic reform by Rev. Baba Padmanji ... and a work on Mechanics by Govinda Gangadhar Fadake..... the eight years from 1857 to 1864 (the works) number nearly five hundred and fifty.

"A few general remarks on the state of Marathi literature for the whole of this period (1818-64) covered by the catalogue may fitly conclude this introduction... The total number of purely Marathi books published down to the end of 1864 was 661." (There is once again a minor arithmetical error involved in this grand total. The sub-totals given by Ranade add upto 698. *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 13-17.)

But to continue with Ranade's general remarks for the period 1818 to 1864 :

"The only works with any pretensions to literary merit were, as stated above, translations ... of Fiction in the modern sense, only a small beginning was made... The poverty of this class of prose literature is easily accounted for by the fact that the ancient Puranas and stories, which satisfied the cravings of the national mind, and left no room thereon for modern fiction... Under Travels there was if possible a still greater paucity of books. The spirit of adventure has never been characteristic of the people of this country, and this department of prose literature will always occupy a very secondary place in our publications" (*Ibid.*, p.18)

On what basis Ranade reached the overall judgment that Indians were lacking in the spirit of adventure and that works that appeal to the sense of adventure will always occupy a very secondary place, we do not know. Probably as an English-educated, well-paid government servant, he had entirely personal reasons for thinking as he did. However, his next few lines are written in a healthier, sceptical spirit :

"Under Philosophy we have a large number of works, fifty-five in all, published during this period. The prevailing philosophy is that of the Vedanta with the Bhagvat Gita as its foundation. Of religion proper there is no end of books, but they are chiefly devoted to superstitious observances departure in this connection is Vishnuvua Bramhachari's *Vedokta-Dharma-Prakash* which attracted considerable notice at the time... As regards verse literature it is not necessary to notice it in detail. The new contributions under this head... are of no special importance... This review of the labours of the first 50 years (1818-64) is not very satisfactory in respect of actual results achieved; but it should be remembered that 50 years is but a short span in the life of a nation, which started its first literary activity in the printing of books in 1829, when the Native Education Society was first established. (*Ibid.*, pp.18-19)

To bring the survey to the end of our period, Ranade, in the second part of his study, the Growth of Marathi Literature, finds that between 1865 to 1874, 1, 530 Marathi books were published, of which the proportion of prose to verse showed a very healthy trend in favour of prose. ■

STORY OF THE INA-2

S. A. AYER

5: NATIONAL LEADER

When Subhas was still abroad in January 1938, he was elected president of the Indian National Congress, the highest honour the nation could bestow on any Indian. He was only forty-one years old, and one of the youngest presidents.

The year of the Congress presidentship of Subhas Chandra Bose was noteworthy for the appointment of a national planning committee under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. His leadership of the Congress proved to be a turning point in the life of Subhas and in India's history. Feeling that a bare one year as president was not enough to put through his manifold programmes, Subhas decided to stand for election in 1939 also. Gandhi did not approve of this wish of Subhas and, instead, gave his blessings to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. In a keen

contest, Subhas won and Gandhi described Sitaramayya's defeat as his own. This saddened Subhas. He was too ill to participate actively in the plenary session at Tripuri in Madhya Pradesh. His suggestion to give a six-month ultimatum to the British to grant independence was rejected by the right wing. The rift between the right

and left wings in the Congress now came out into the open. Supporters of Gandhi carried a resolution at the plenary session asking Subhas to select members for the Congress high command, the top executive body, in consultation with Gandhi. Subhas failed to persuade Gandhi to help him in choosing his

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GANDHI AND SUBHAS

The year of the Congress presidentship of Subhas Chandra Bose was noteworthy for the appointment of a national planning committee under the chairmanship of Jawaharlal Nehru. His leadership of the Congress proved to be a turning point in the life of Subhas and in India's history. Feeling that a bare one year as president was not enough to put through his manifold programmes, Subhas decided to stand for election in 1939 also. Gandhi did not approve of this wish of Subhas and, instead, gave his blessings to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. In a keen contest, Subhas won and Gandhi described Sitaramayya's defeat as his own. This saddened Subhas. He was too ill to participate actively in the plenary session at Tripuri in Madhya Pradesh. His suggestion to give a six-month ultimatum to the British to grant independence was rejected by the right wing. The rift between the right and left wings in the Congress now came out into the open.

Exactly as Subhas had predicted at Tripuri, war broke out in Europe in September 1939. The Forward Bloc intensified its anti-British campaign, seriously menacing the British war effort in India. The authorities jailed him in July 1940. Subhas was now convinced that India must take full advantage of the World War and enlist the aid of Britain's enemies to liberate his motherland.

'cabinet' colleagues. There could be no rapprochement between the two. When the All-India Congress Committee met later at Calcutta, Subhas resigned his presidentship and later formed the Forward Bloc within the Congress. The new Bloc received widespread, enthusiastic support from leftist Congressmen. The conflict between the right wing and the Forward Bloc steadily grew more acute, and the Congress high

command barred Subhas Bose, twice-elected president, from holding any office in the organisation for three years. This was done to punish Subhas for advising Congressmen to protest against two resolutions of the AICC, defining the relation of ministers vis-a-vis the Provincial Congress Committees, and ruling that permission should be taken from these committees for starting passive resistance.

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went on a hunger-strike in jail in November 1940, demanding his release. The British did not want his death on their hands, and released him but kept a strict vigil on his movements.

Subhas was bent on getting out of India and enlisting the support of the powers ranged against Britain in the war, and organising an armed force to march against the alien rulers entrenched in India. One day in January 1941 all of India was thrilled to hear that Subhas had eluded the secret police and escaped from his Calcutta home on which the police had been keeping a round-the-clock watch. The next time the world heard of Subhas

was when he himself began speaking to India on the radio from Germany nine months later. His slipping out of his house at midnight in the guise of an upcountry Muslim gentleman, his *incognito* train travel to Peshawar as an insurance agent, and then by truck to Kabul, hardships, privations, anxieties and risks in the Afghan capital as a 'deaf and dumb pilgrim' before the Italian Embassy there got him out of Kabul,

and to Berlin via Moscow— this thrilling story is vividly narrated by his nephew, Sisir Kumar, in his book *The Great Escape*, his escort from Peshawar to Kabul, by Bhagat Ram Talwar in his paper, *My Fifty-Five Days with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose*, by his Peshwar host, Abad Khan in his paper, *Netaji's Escape— an Unknown chapter and his Kabul host, Uttamchan Malhotra*, in his booklet *When Bose was Zauddin*.

6: QUEST FOR FOREIGN AID

For some time after his arrival in war-time Berlin, Subhas went under the guise of 'Orlando Mazzota'— the Italian name on his passport for travel from Afghanistan to Germany via Russia. He soon settled down to his important mission with the active help of a handful of sincere and sympathetic Germans in the special India division of the German foreign ministry. This small, devoted band of German helpers was not of Nazi persuasion and was headed by Adam von Trott Zu Solz, a Rhodes scholar, who was **hanged three years later for a plot to assassinate Hitler (1944)**. His assistant was Dr. Alexander Werth, who actively promoted friendship between West Germany and Free India, and who delivered the Netaji oration at the seventy-third Netaji birthday celebration at Calcutta on January 23, 1977. This small group of sympathisers in Hitler's government made it a point to see that Subhas was able to pursue his important mission with maximum facilities and no interference from the Nazi Party cadre outside the government or the bureaucracy in the government. Subhas organised the Free India Centre in Berlin with a nucleus of some twenty Indians including former ambassador, A.C.N. Nambiar, Dr Girijja Mookerjee, and Dr. M.R. Vyas who looked after daily broadcasts from the National Congress Radio. Later, Subhas organised the Indian Legion recruited from among the Indian prisoners-of-war in Europe and north Africa whither they had been taken by the British to fight their imperialist war against Germany and Italy. The Free India Centre was the forerunner of the provisional government of Azad Hind proclaimed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at Singapore two years later. The Indian Legion was the western vanguard of the Indian National Army which Subhas led across the Burma-India border three years later.

The working team under Von Trott had the support of the political department of the German foreign office, specially of the division under **Dr Melchers who later became German ambassador to independent India**. The Free India Centre established by Subhas in Berlin enjoyed a semidiplomatic status and had dealings only with the German foreign office like all other missions of neutral countries accredited to the German government. Subhas could afford to dispense with any direct contacts with the Nazi Party.

The clear understanding between Subhas and the German foreign ministry from the very beginning was that Indian cooperation with Germany being was a direct consequence of Germany being at war with England; Indians did not wish to be mixed up in Germany's quarrels with other countries or in her own internal quarrels. **Neither Subhas nor the Azad Hind Radio at any time defended the Nazi Party's policy in Europe, or elsewhere**. Indian activities in Germany were based on the distinct understanding that Indians would advance

the cause of their country's independence without being ideologically involved in the Nazi Party's doctrine. Though **Subhas would have preferred Rome as the centre of his activities in Europe**, as a practical politician he decided on Berlin in the light of a **German-Italian agreement** which could not be altered by Subhas or by the German sympathisers of the Indian cause. He might have even preferred Moscow, if Russia (now called Commonwealth of Independent States) had given him some hint while he was in Moscow on his way from Kabul to Berlin. It would not be rank opportunism for a pragmatist like Subhas who was out to enlist the aid of every friend of India. But the political set-up in Europe at that time more or less compelled him to make Germany his base of operations.

This is the background against which Subhas organised the Free India Centre, the Indian legion, nationalist Indians in Europe, the secret Indian radio stations, and, eventually his own submarine odyssey to East Asia. **From the day he set about organising the Indian Legion (Free India Army), members of the Legion address him as Netaji (respected leader)**.

Summit conferences between the Indian leader and the political leaders of Germany began a few weeks after his arrival in Berlin. They started with a meeting with the foreign minister, von Ribbentrop, but he could not meet Chancellor Hitler till May 29 the following year (1942). As a result of these top-level meetings, Netaji was given absolute independence in financial and procedural matters. The German foreign minister conceded Netaji's rather exacting demands that no German authority shall interfere with his work, **that all financial assistance shall be treated as loans to Free India returnable after the war**, and that the foreign office and supreme military command shall extend all necessary personnel and technical assistance. **Netaji received funds out of the foreign minister's special fund for war expenses**. He was promised more funds if the movement expanded and the number of followers increased. This promise was kept by the Germans later on without further negotiations. **Two years later, Netaji made a token repayment of the loans in the name of Free India when the German ambassador in Tokyo was handed Yen 5,00,000 out of the voluntary contributions of Indians in East Asia to Netaji's war-chest**. The absolute freedom of Netaji's activities in Germany was thus guaranteed in principle.

On the German side, Secretary of State, Wilhelm Keppler, functioned as a liaison officer with the German foreign minister, the Chancellor, and the government organisations generally. And, by and large, Netaji, his Indian associates, and the German staff of the special India division got on well with Wilhelm Keppler and everything ran smoothly from the organisational point of view. **The number of Indian co-workers now totalled thirty-five**. The official inauguration of the Free India Centre took place on November 2, 1941. **N.G. Ganpuley, a former member of the Indian National Congress in Bombay, had also joined the Free India Centre as an active worker and Nambiar's aide**. The next year **Netaji appointed Nambiar as his deputy and successor**.

The Free India Centre concentrated its attention on the **broadcasting services, and the Azad Hind radio started**

with its transmissions in October 1941. Some twenty Indians belonging to the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Parsi communities, hailing from different parts of India manned these broadcasting services in seven languages, namely, English, Hindustani, Bengali, Persian, Tamil, Telugu and Pushtu.

Netaji tried to establish contact with the German military authorities in Berlin, first through the special India division of the German foreign office and thereafter directly. In the course of these contacts, he met Dr. Seifriz with whom he developed a warm friendship. Dr. Seifriz looked after the interests of the Indian Legion in accordance with Netaji's wishes, and, after the war, he played a leading role in starting the German-Indian Society and expanding its activities. This Society today in a way continues the functions of the Indian National Congress at the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru.

The nucleus of the further Indian National Army was created by Netaji in Germany more or less about the same time as General Mohan Singh did in East Asia. Only, the Indian Legion could not be physically moved from Europe to the north-western frontier of India to synchronise its assault on the British citadel in India with the INA's attack from across the Burma-India border in February 1944. However, organising the India Legion as the fighting wing of the Free India Centre was for Netaji a dress rehearsal for the expansion of the INA in East Asia as the sword-arm of the provisional government of Azad Hind. Thus, the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion provided Netaji with invaluable practical experience in running a war-time revolutionary government and organising a liberation army to fight under the leadership of that duly constituted government. It was this far-sightedness of Netaji that enabled Bhulabhai Desai, defence counsel at the INA Red Fort trial in 1945, to claim rights of immunity under international law.

Originally, in Germany, there were only Indian commando troops formed by Indian volunteers numbering fewer than one hundred. These commandos had been trained by Captain Harbish assisted by two Indian civilians, Abid Hasan and N.G. Swami, both of whom later played important roles in east Asia also. German reverses in Stalingrad on the Russian front and in El Alamein on the North African front ruled out all possibilities of the Indian commandos operating on the north-west border of India. The original plan was to airlift these troops to the northern frontier of India at a propitious moment, and to transport the larger body of Indian Legionaries consisting of four battalions in a more leisurely way. But, this was not to be.

Recruitment for the Indian Legion began in September 1941 among the Indian army prisoners-of-war in Germany and north Africa, and Netaji visited Camp Annaburg for the first time in December. In the course of his discussions and speeches, he categorically demanded a clear allegiance to Free India and absolute readiness for sacrifices. Netaji made a tremendous impact on the officers and other ranks.

The first official manoeuvres by the Indian Legion were held by three battalions of the Legion and witnessed by Netaji and his friend Colonel Yamamoto, military attache to the Japanese ambassador in Germany, who later became the

chief of the Japanese organisation in East Asia doing liaison work for the INA with the government in Tokyo.

The Indian soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Krappe swore their loyalty to their national flag which was the same as the Congress tricolour, except for the springing tiger in place of the spinning-wheel on the Congress flag. The springing tiger was to symbolise India's struggle for freedom. *Jai Hind* was the official greeting for soldiers and civilians, and Rabindranath Tagore's *Jan Gana Mana* was the national anthem.

Netaji had attained his primary goal in Germany by organising the Free India Centre and the Indian Legion. But he had not yet secured a joint declaration by Germany, Italy and Japan of their policy towards India and a guarantee of India's independence after the war. Mussolini gave his consent to such a guarantee but also asked for himself freedom of political action within Germany. When Hilter asked what sort of political concept Netaji had in mind, Netaji got impatient and said to von Trott, who was acting as interpreter, "Tell His Excellency, that I have been in politics all my life and that I don't need advice from any side." Hitler neither spoke nor understood English, and Von Trott translated this reply in more diplomatic language. The meeting was a failure. Netaji was now in a blind alley in Germany, and there was nothing more to be done there in furtherance of his mission. He was now convinced that his field of activity must shift from Europe to Asia. From the day the British surrendered to the Japanese in Singapore in February 1942, Netaji began planning to proceed to Asia. He drew up tentative plans to organise and unify the three million Indians in east Asia and to prepare them for a fight from across the eastern borders of India.

7: REVOLUTIONARIES IN EXILE

When Subhas was waiting in the west for destiny, Rash Behari Bose was waiting in the east for the pre-dawn hour of India's freedom. The frail, ageing revolutionary in exile had been waiting in Japan for the great hour to strike. It struck when Japan declared war on Britain on December 8, 1941. India's British rulers became Japan's enemies overnight, thus suddenly releasing Rash Behari Bose from all restraints and clearing the decks for all-out action for the liberation of his motherland. Rash Behari had been patiently waiting for this golden hour for thirty long years since he escaped from India to Japan in disguise. There was a price on his head in India for a bomb attack on the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in Delhi in 1911. Britain and Japan were then great friends and the British embassy's men in Japan kept up a relentless man-hunt for Rash Behari from the moment they knew that he had taken refuge in Tokyo and gone underground. In eluding the British agents, Rash Behari went through untold suffering and privation, changing his residence very frequently to cover up his traces and to elude extradition to India for trial on a charge of attempted murder of the viceroy. Ultimately the only way he could end his agony was to become a Japanese citizen which he did and settled down openly. In the meanwhile, he had married the daughter of his Japanese benefactor. A son and a daughter were born of this union, but the son was killed in World War II. A grand-daughter in the daughter's line visited India in 1969

and witnessed with her own eyes the freedom of India which her grand father had dreamt of all his life and had toiled to win till he breathed his last. **He died in Japan a bare twenty months before India became independent.** His last and only wish was to see India free and to lay his tired bones in the soil of free India. India is free and his relics in Japan await their pilgrimage to the independent India of his life-long dream and for which he lived, laboured and died.

Rash Behari Bose was not the only Indian revolutionary who actively worked for his country's freedom, with East Asia as his base of operations. At the beginning of this century, others went to Japan, China, Thailand and Malaysia to start revolutionary activities amongst Indians there to prepare for the liberation of their motherland. They were convinced that an armed uprising within the country was impossible. They planned to take advantage of the rivalries among the world powers and enlist the aid of some foreign country to liberate India from the British yoke. Outstanding among these revolutionaries, besides Rash Behari Bose, were the veterans **Baba Amar Singh in Thailand and Baba Osman Khan in Shanghai.**

Baba Amar Singh was arrested in India during World War I and sentenced to twenty-two years's rigorous imprisonment. After his release from jail in Burma, which was then part of India, he escaped to Thailand and started revolutionary activities there. As he grew too old for hard work, he groomed young **Giani Pritam Singh, a Sikh missionary of Bangkok, to carry on his work.** Under Baba Amar Singh's guidance, Giani Pritam Singh carried on considerable underground activities before the outbreak of the East Asia war in December 1941. He addressed letters to the British Indian army in Malaysia and Burma and these letters were secretly circulated among the Indian armed forces.

Baba Osman Khan organised a revolutionary party in Shanghai and published a newspaper which was circulated in all the principal towns of China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Indonesia and even in Malaysia, Burma and India. When Shanghai fell to the Japanese at the start of the east Asiawar, Baba Osman Khan, with the help of the Japanese navy sent some of his men to India via Thailand and some other young men to Malaysia to do anti-British propaganda among the British Indian forces there.

In the meanwhile, Thailand became a centre of Indian revolutionary activities largely through the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge opened by Swami Satyanand Puri, a great Indian scholar and philosopher and disciple of Rabindranath Tagore. He had intimate contacts with some of the leading revolutionaries in India. When the Japanese declared war on Britain and America on December 8, 1941 and landed in Thailand the same day, the

Indian Independence League was formed at Bangkok under the leadership of Baba Amar Singh within the next twenty-four hours. Swami Satyanand Puri promptly converted the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge into the Indian National Council and joined hands with the League.

From then on, it was an all-out effort on the part of all the patriotic elements among Indians from Burma in the west to Japan in the east. Branches of the Indian Independence League were established all over east Asia by the **three million Indians residing there.** The Japanese forces landed on the coast near the Malaysia-Thai border on the night of December 7/8 and the break of dawn saw them advancing towards Kotah Baru in Malaysia. The land forces of the British put up a poor resistance to the Japanese who were pastmasters in jungle warfare and always managed to outmanoeuvre the British forces. The first battalion of the 14th Punjab Regiment stationed at Jitra in north Malaysia fought gallantly for three days but had to fall back before the advancing Japanese forces.

8 : FIRST INA FORMED

In the meanwhile, Giani Pritam Singh left Bangkok by air on December 10 and, accompanied by Major Fujiwara and other Japanese army officers, crossed the Thai-Malaysia border and actively contacted the Indian army officers. The fateful and historic meeting between **Giani Pritam Singh and Captain Mohan Singh took place in the jungles near Jitra.** It may be said without exaggeration that the concept of the first Indian National Army

ARMED UPRISING AND INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

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was born on this fateful day. **Captain Mohan Singh was the seniormost Indian officer of his regiment at Jitra.** He had already been thinking of raising an Indian National Army to oust the alien rulers from India. He saw the Indian national tricolour on the bonnet of one of the cars accompanying the Japanese forces, and decided to approach the Japanese. When Captain Mohan Singh soon met Giani Pritam Singh, the latter explained to Mohan Singh the aims and objects of the Indian Independence League and urged him to join the League and raise an Indian National Army. After prolonged discussions in which Major Fujiwara also took part, Captain Mohan Singh agreed to join the Indian independence movement and fight against the British. He and fifty four of his men pledged their lives for the freedom of India. The Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) was symbolically formed at Jitra and Captain Mohan Singh was styled General Officer Commanding (G.O.C.) of the liberation army. For the first time in the history of the British Indian army, the sky reverberated with full-throated shouts of '*Azad Hindustan Zindabad*' and '*Azad Hind Fauj Zindabad*' from men of that army. From now on, an increasing

number of officers and men joined the INA under Mohan Singh's leadership, as the Japanese forces rolled the British back towards Singapore and the Indian army officers and men were left leaderless on the battle-fields and taken prisoner by the Japanese.

A branch of the Indian Independence League was formed at Kuala Lumpur, the capital of the Federated Malaysia States on January 16, 1942, at a large gathering of Indians from all over Selangor state. Giani Pritam Singh and Major Fujiwara addressed the gathering and assured the audience that the Japanese government would give Indians every possible assistance in their effort to win their country's freedom.

Captain Mohan Singh later addressed five thousand Indian army prisoners-of-war at the main camp at Kuala Lumpur and told them that the object of the INA was to drive the British out of India and that the Japanese government had pledged its aid for the achievement of that aim. Mohan Singh's appeal met with a ready response and about four thousand out of the five thousand prisoners joined the INA. The end of January saw a network of the Indian Independence League formed throughout Malaysia.

Singapore fell to the Japanese on February 15, 1942. The same night the Indian army was ordered together at Farrer Park (Singapore) on the following morning. The prisoners-of-war assembled at the park at 2.00 pm on February 16 when Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, a staff officer of the British military headquarters in Malaysia, Major Fujiwara, Captain Mohan Singh, prominent members of the Indian Independence League, and some Japanese and Indian officers appeared before the Indian army. Lieutenant-Colonel Hunt, addressing the prisoners-of-war, said: "I, on behalf of the British government, hand you over to the Japanese government whose orders you will obey, as you have done ours."

Major Fujiwara then came to the microphone and said: "I, on behalf of the Japanese government, take you under our command and hand you over to GOC Captain Mohan Singh. As the British empire is coming to an end, Indians have a unique opportunity to attain freedom. It is an ideal time for you to rise and strike for your country's cause. Japan is prepared to help Indians in every way, even though Indians are British nationals and thus technically enemy nationals. We know that Indians are not British subjects from choice. The Japanese army would not treat you as enemies, but is prepared to treat you as friends if you repudiate the British nationality."

Captain Mohan Singh, speaking in Hindustani, said: "The days of British oppression in the east are numbered and their hated rule must come to an end. The Japanese armed forces have driven them from Malaysia and Singapore and they are beating a hasty retreat in Burma. India stands on the threshold of freedom and it is incumbent on every Indian to drive away those demons who have been for so many decades sucking the life-blood of Indians. The Japanese have promised us their all-out help in the realisation of our coveted dreams and it is up to us now to organise ourselves and fight for the freedom of four hundred million of our countrymen and women. For this purpose we have organised an Indian National Army from amongst the Indian soldiers and civilians in the Far

East and I appeal to you all to join this army."

The soldiers responded to Captain Mohan Singh's speech with shouts of '*Inquilab Zindabad*' and '*Azad Hindustan Zindabad*', and raised their hands to show their readiness to join the INA. Close on the heels of the handing-over ceremony, Mohan Singh organised propaganda lectures among the prisoners-of-war, and more than thirty thousand of them volunteered to join the INA. But in tackling the practical task of organising the liberation army, Captain Mohan Singh had to face a number of difficulties. While the response from the rank and file was spontaneous, some of the senior officers vehemently opposed the formation of the INA and advised the soldiers under them to keep out of it. The treatment of the prisoners-of-war by the Japanese was not wholly satisfactory; the supply of rations, clothing and medicines was inadequate and Captain Mohan Singh and the Indian Independence League found it difficult to supply the prisoners' needs. The Japanese also began to issue arbitrary orders to the INA and to the prisoners-of-war. Some mischievous elements tried to create Hindu-Muslim dissensions; British fifth columnists tried to impede the progress of the INA. Some VCO's (Viceroy's Commissioned Officers) had honest differences of opinion with Mohan Singh. They believed that the Japanese were raising the INA for their own selfish ends. There were others who did not like to work under Mohan Singh as they were senior in the British Indian army. Captain Mohan Singh, however, tried his best to overcome these difficulties and was able to convince his honest opponents about his sincerity of purpose.

He set up his headquarters in Singapore and was assisted by Lieutenant-Colonel N.S. Gill in charge of prisoners-of-war headquarters, by Lieutenant-Colonel J.K. Bhonsle as Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, and by Lieutenant-Colonel A.C. Chatterjee as director of medical services.

9 : THE SINGAPORE, TOKYO AND BANGKOK CONFERENCES

The spiritual training of the INA aimed at developing a high sense of honour and responsibility in all ranks of the army. They were taught to think of themselves as Indians first, irrespective of caste or creed. **Gradually, separate kitchens and other religious barriers were abolished. The Congress tricolour was adopted as the national flag of the INA.**

On the civilian side, Giani Pritam Singh lost no time after reaching Singapore in helping Indians in Malaysia to form the Independence League of India for all of Malaysia with N. Raghavan as president. Before the war, Raghavan had been practising law as a barrister in Penang, **In independent India, Raghavan became India's ambassador to China and France successively.**

At a meeting of the representatives of the Indian Independence League of Thailand and Malaysia held at Singapore on March 9, 1942, Swami Satyanand Puri revealed that he had cabled from Bangkok to Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany on February 2, 1942 inviting him to come and lead the movement in East Asia and that Subhas had replied, agreeing to do so.

The Singapore conference was preliminary to a larger conference of representatives from Shanghai, Malaysia, Hongkong and Thailand to be held at Tokyo to negotiate with

the Japanese authorities the terms of cooperation with Japan for achieving India's independence. Besides Raghavan who presided, others who participated in the conference including **Baba Amar Singh, Giani Pritam Singh, Swami Satyanand Puri, K.P.K. Menon, Captain Mohan Singh, Lieutenant-Colonel N.S.Gill and Major M.Z.Kiani who became a major-General and commanded the first division of the INA under the Supreme Commander, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.** one of the decisions of the Singapore conference was to request Subhas to come to Tokyo and accept the leadership of the Indian independence movement in East Asia.

A dark shadow fell on the Tokyo conference when disaster overtook the plane carrying four important delegates. Aboard the plane were Swami Satyanand Puri, Giani Pritam Singh, Captain Mohammed Akram, the right-hand man of Captain Mohan Singh, and Nilakanta Aiyer, a trusted colleague of Raghavan. They took off from Saigon on March 13, 1942 and nothing more was heard of them.

The Tokyo conference met on March 28, with Rash Behari Bose in the chair. In a message to the conference, the Japanese prime minister, General Tojo, said that the Japanese government expected that Indians would throw off the British yoke by themselves and create an independent India. "The Japanese government is fully sympathetic towards your efforts and will not hesitate to render all possible help in this respect," the message added.

Colonel Iwakuro, who later became head of the liaison organisation between the Japanese government and the Indian independence movement, attended the Tokyo conference as the representative of the Japanese government.

The conference passed a number of resolutions. One of them stated that unity, faith and sacrifice would be the motto of the movement. Another requested the Japanese government, in clarification of Japan's attitude to India, to make a formal declaration to the effect that Japan was ready to give all possible help to India to attain complete independence; that Japan would then recognise India's full sovereignty and guarantee India's absolute independence; and that the framing of the future constitution of India would be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India. The conference also

resolved to have an elected Council of Action and appointed Rash Behari Bose interim president of the Council of Action. These resolutions were to be ratified by a conference of League representatives from all over East Asia to be held in Bangkok.

As decided at Tokyo, a conference of delegates from the Indian Independence Leagues in Japan, Manchukuo, Honkong, Burma, Borneo, Java, Malaysia, Thailand, Shanghai, Manila and Indo-China was held at Bangkok for a week from June 15. It ratified the Tokyo resolutions including the one calling upon the Japanese government to make a formal declaration guaranteeing India's absolute independence after the departure of the British. It also appointed **Council of Action consisting of Rash Behari Bose as president and Raghavan, General Mohan Singh, K.P.K Menon and Colonel G.Q. Gilani as members.** The Council was invested with powers of control over the Independence League in all the territories and over the Indian National Army. It also invited Subhas Chandra Bose to come to East Asia, and appealed to the Japanese government to use its good offices with the government of Germany to enable Subhas to reach East Asia.

Immediately after the Bangkok conference, both the League organisation and the INA plunged into action, with Bangkok as headquarters of the Council of Action, and Singapore as headquarters of the INA. The Council functioned through a number of departments in the League organisation. **The INA was composed of the Field Force Group, Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade, Azad Brigade, S.S. Group, Intelligence Branch, Military Hospital, Medical First Aid Corps, Engineering Company, Military Propaganda Unit and Reinforcement Group.**

The Japanese liaison office was first under Major Fujiwara and was known as the Fujiwara *kikan* (office) and later under Colonel Iwakuro, it was known as the Iwakuro *kikan*. Major Fujiwara convinced most Indians of his sincerity from the very beginning of the INA. Colonel Iwakuro could not easily fill the void left by Major Fujiwara. Colonel Iwakuro, as the on-the-spot liaison officer in Singapore between the League and INA on the one side and the Japanese government in Tokyo on the other, could not establish the same rapport with the Indian side as his popular predecessor. ■

(To be contd)

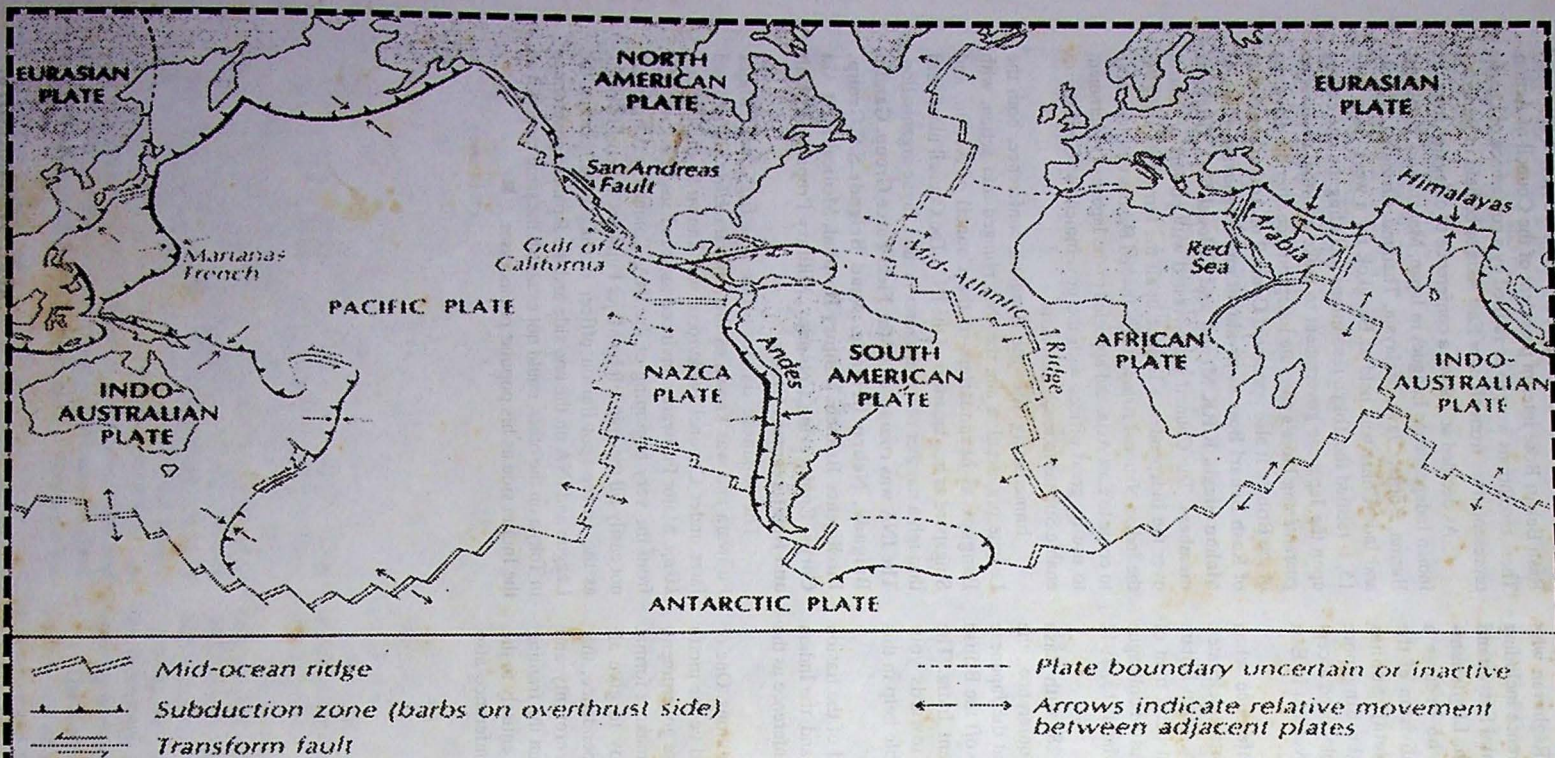


Plate tectonics, modern theory of Continental Drift that has revolutionised geologists' understanding of Earth history, especially since the '60s. It holds that the earth's crust is divided into about 12 contiguous, moving plates that carry the embedded Continents. Plate boundaries are marked by lines of Earthquake and volcanic activity. One kind of boundary is at the mid-ocean ridges, where tensional forces open rifts, allowing new crustal material to well up from the earth's mantle and become welded to the trailing edges of the plates. When a continent straddles such a rift it is split apart, forming a new ocean area (e.g. the Red Sea and the Gulf of California). The ocean trenches mark subduction zones, where plate edges dive steeply into the mantle and are reabsorbed. A third boundary type occurs where two plates slide past each other in a shearing manner along great transform Faults (e.g. the San Andreas Fault in California). Mountain ranges form where two plates carrying continents collide (e.g. the Himalayas; the Indo-Australian Plate was moving against the Eurasian Plate at the rate of 5 cms. per year. This rate has now slowed down to 2 cms. per year) or where ocean crust is subducted along a continental margin (e.g. the Andes). Geologists believe that C. 200 million years ago there was a super-continent, Pangaea, which subsequent plate movements have split and resplit into the continents and islands we recognise today. Radar mapping of Venus has revealed some apparent effects of subduction on that planet's surface.